The Solidarity Wave: Settlement Experiences and their Influence on the Identity of Polish Migrants Arriving in Australia During the 1980s

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Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Declaration	3
Acknowledgements	4
Abbreviations and Translations	5
Introduction	6
Chapter One: Government and Community Support	39
Chapter Two: Employment	72
Chapter Three: Education	92
Chapter Four: Family Life	111
Chapter Five: Faith and the Church	134
Chapter Six: Relationship with Poland and Visits 'Home'	161
Chapter Seven: Relations between the 'Displaced Persons' and the 'Solidarity wave'	185
Conclusion	206
Bibliography	215

Abstract

This thesis examines the settlement experiences of the 'Solidarity' wave of Polish migrants who arrived in Australia in the 1980s. In particular, it asks: How did the Solidarity wave migrants negotiate the obstacles impeding their successful integration into the Australian community? When they failed to do so, how did they account for this and what was the result? What were the most important factors that facilitated integration? And how did this process of settlement and integration affect their identities as people of Polish background? In order to answer these questions, the thesis focuses on seven aspects of the settlement experience: government and community support, employment, education, family life, faith and the Church, continuing relationships with Poland and visits 'home', and the relationship between the Solidarity wave migrants and the Polish 'Displaced Persons' who settled in Australia in the decade after World War Two.

On the surface, circumstances were conducive for the successful integration of the Solidarity wave Poles at the time of their migration to Australia. 'Skilled' migrants were highly desired by Australia, and this group of Poles was well educated and qualified. The government's preferred model of 'multiculturalism' gave migrants the freedom to maintain their cultural practices and language without the fear of being discriminated against because of their race and culture. The policies surrounding multiculturalism also meant that the Australian Government invested in education and provided the means for migrants to learn the English language for free. The Catholic Church in Australia provided Polish migrants a physical space where they could partake in church services in their native tongue while at the same time mingle with other Poles who shared the same beliefs and cultural practices. Moreover, the established Polish ethnic community provided centres where the new Polish migrants were able to join groups and organisations that celebrated and maintained Polish culture.

Each of these elements *should* have ensured that the Polish migrants had positive experiences in settlement and given them the ability to settle on their own terms. However, this was not always the case. The Solidarity wave Poles were well educated and qualified, but they arrived in a decade punctuated by periods of high unemployment

and high interest rates, and their qualifications were not always recognised by the industries/sectors in which they sought work. Despite the promotion of ‘multiculturalism’, and even though there were policies and legislation introduced to protect the rights of the Polish migrants such as the *Racial Discrimination Act*, public attitudes took longer to change. The Poles experienced instances of animosity and resentment that came from three directions: Anglo-Australians, other migrants, and other Poles. The existing Polish community and established cultural groups and organisations should have encouraged the new arrivals to join and interact with the older Polish migrants. Instead, misunderstandings and tensions developed and caused a divide between members of the Displaced Persons and the Solidarity migrant groups.

This thesis focuses on the Solidarity wave migrants, a group relatively neglected by scholars of migration in Australia. It engages with the literature on settlement experiences of Polish migrants, confirming existing arguments put forth by researchers such as Elizabeth Drozd, Adam Jamrozik and Beata Leuner, but ultimately goes further than previous studies by studying a sample of Poles who settled in South Australia (a previously ignored location) and by examining a much wider range of factors that affected the settlement experience.

Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

I give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

I acknowledge the support I have received for my research through the provision of an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship.

Signed: __

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Abbreviations and Translations

HREC = Human Research Ethics Committee

IRO = International Refugee Organisation

NUMAS = Numerical Multifactor Assessment System

SB = Służba Bezpieczeństwa - Polish political police force

SBS = Special Broadcasting Service

SHAEF = Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force

TAFE = Technical and Further Education

WRON = Wojskowa Rada Ocalenia Narodowego - Military Council of National Salvation

ZOMO = Zmotoryzowane Odwody Milicji Obywatelskiej - Motorized Reserves of the Citizens' Militia (paramilitary police)

Introduction

Zygmunt, the youngest of three children, was born in 1950 in Zielona Gora, Poland.[1] His mother was a seamstress and his father served in the Polish Army before stepping down and taking on odd jobs. From a young age, Zygmunt was self-reliant and independent. So much so that he left home at the age of 15 to work, but he continued to attend school and eventually completed several degrees and became an engineer. Zygmunt married in Poland and had two small children, a son and daughter. He had a long-held desire to leave the country, but his wife felt that their place was in Poland and so he never truly considered leaving. That was until the fateful day that Zygmunt was confronted by the police who tried to pressure him into becoming an informer. The veiled threats made by the police led to a discussion with his wife who agreed that the family needed to leave Poland. While Zygmunt worried about his mother and father-in-law, who would remain behind, he knew that he needed to leave the country for the sake of his immediate family.

There had been some indecision when it came to deciding the family's final destination. Zygmunt had considered Canada for their new home. In one week, he and his wife changed their minds four times before eventually deciding on Australia. A number of factors led to this decision. Firstly, the Australian Consulate had informed Zygmunt and his wife that they were looking for individuals with qualifications. Zygmunt was a motor mechanic engineer and his wife was a mathematician which made them suitable candidates. In addition to their desirability as skilled individuals, Zygmunt's incident with the police back in Poland also meant that they were recognised as political refugees. Australia was a good choice because Zygmunt's older sister was already living in the country. He had encouraged his sister to migrate to Australia earlier, in 1980. Zygmunt was given the option to pick the city in which to reside in Australia. In the end, it was his sister's presence in Adelaide that influenced the decision to settle in South Australia. Zygmunt's wife reinforced this idea because she felt that it would be beneficial to be close to family in a new country. The family arrived in May 1987, and originally found

[1] The information contained in these first two pages are drawn from 'Zygmunt,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 3 February 2017 (pseudonym). The audio recording of this interview and the other interviews conducted by me are held in my personal possession.

accommodation at the Pennington hostel. Zygmunt was pleasantly surprised by the reception they received from the people in the migrant hostel. A woman with Polish background worked in the hostel and she proved to be a valuable asset who assisted the family in buying their first home.

Zygmunt wanted to maintain a sense of Polishness while living in Australia. Traditional Polish foods were a family staple within his home. He would make his own sausages and dill gherkins. Sunday mass was a weekly affair and the entire family would attend. However language proved to be one of the most important aspects of Polish life that Zygmunt wished to maintain with his family. He recognised that even with English classes, he would never be able to speak English as well as his children. But if his children continued speaking Polish then he would be able to express himself in a way that would ensure his children understood him. This is why Zygmunt ensured that his children only spoke Polish with him and his wife. He wanted his children to be surrounded by the Polish language as well as other Polish people because it connected them with Poland, their country of origin.

Zygmunt had a positive attitude towards his new country but he noticed that certain aspects of settlement were more challenging than others. He found that gaining employment was difficult especially without English language proficiency. However once Zygmunt improved his language skills, he secured an interview and, an hour later, was working in his new job. When speaking about the Polish community, Zygmunt described a wall existing between the younger and older Poles who had migrated to Australia after World War Two. He said that the older migrants started from zero but had low education and the younger migrants were professionals and were able to improve their situations faster. Zygmunt also said that the older migrants refused to give up control of the Polish community organisations to the newer Poles even though the new arrivals wanted to participate and expand on the existing community activities available.

What other settlement issues did Zygmunt face after arriving in Australia? And what factors impeded or facilitated Zygmunt's efforts to maintain a sense of Polish identity? This thesis seeks to answer these questions in relation to Zygmunt and other individuals

like him who were part of the group known as the 'Solidarity wave' of Polish migrants who came to Australia in the 1980s. It will answer the following questions: How did Solidarity wave migrants negotiate the obstacles impeding their successful integration into the Australian community? When they failed to do so, how did they account for this and what was the result? What were the most important factors that facilitated integration? And how did this process of settlement and integration affect their identities as people of Polish background? In order to answer these questions, the thesis will focus on seven aspects of the settlement experience, around which are based the seven chapters of this thesis: government and community support, employment, education, family life, faith and the Church, continuing relationships with Poland and visits 'home', and relations between the Solidarity wave Polish migrants and the 'Displaced Persons' who settled in Australia after World War Two.

Scholars conceptualise identity in varying ways, but their definitions are broadly compatible and complementary. Sociologists Avtar Brah and Stuart Hall state that identity is "always plural and in process"[2] and "never complete [or] accomplished fact".[3] Scott Paris and James Byrnes argue in a similar fashion that identity is constantly formed and reformed in order for people to understand themselves and "partly in relation to their own histories and anticipated futures".[4] Educational psychologists James Vander Zanden and Ann Pace define identity as "an individual's sense of placement within the world – the meaning one attache[s] to oneself as reflected in the answers one provides to the questions, 'who am I' and 'who am I to be?'"[5] Gerontologist and sociologist Robert Atchley suggests that identity is "a set of characteristics that differentiates self from others and that persists over time. Identity can also be a goal through which people try to arrive at a

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[2] Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (London: Routledge, 1996), 194.
[3] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation," *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media*, no. 36 (1989): 51.
[4] Scott G. Paris, James P. Byrnes and Alison H. Paris, "Constructing Theories, Identities, and Actions of Self-Regulated Learners," 2nd ed., in *Self-Regulated Learning and Academic Achievement: Theoretical Perspective*, ed. Barry J. Zimmerman and Dale H. Schunk (New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2007), 257.
[5] Quoted by Lynda Kelly, "What is Identity?" *Australian Museum*, 19 May 2010, https://australian.museum/blog-archive/museullaneous/what-is-identity/ (accessed 6 July 2020); see also James Vander Zanden and Ann Pace, *Educational Psychology: In Theory and Practice* (New York: Random House, 1984), 74.

conception of themselves as loving, competent and good".[6] Sociologist Warren Kidd first defines identity as "the characteristics of thinking, reflecting and self-perception that are held by people in society".[7] He then breaks down identity into three main forms: individual identity, social identity and cultural identity. Individual identity is defined as "the unique sense of personhood held by each person in their own right".[8] Social identity is "a collective sense of belonging to a group, identifying themselves as having something in common with other group members", and cultural identity is seen as "a sense of belonging to a distinct ethnic, cultural or subcultural group".[9] This thesis is engaged with exploring the second and third of these characteristics with respect to a group of people who migrated from Poland to Australia in the 1980s.

It is not surprising that Zygmunt and many (but not all) of his fellow migrants sought to maintain a sense of Polishness and connection to their country of origin. The struggle to maintain Polish identity is etched into the nation's history. Polish people have been under multiple occupations and suffered forced suppression of their Polishness. In its history, Poland ceased to exist as a nation for 123 years when it was partitioned and occupied by Soviets, Austrian and Prussian rulers. After World War Two, Poland experienced major protests since 1956 that cemented it as one of the most problematic Communist satellite states of East-Central Europe.[10] In order to survive these attempts to destroy the Polish identity, Polish people needed to adapt and find new ways to continue to maintain their sense of Polishness.

However, the shared past cannot be seen in isolation and migrant settlement experiences play a role in how ethnic identity is maintained or refashioned. The social and cultural background of the migrant, the circumstances leading to migration, and the host country and its structures and opportunities for migrants all impact on the process of identity

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[6] Quoted by Kelly, "What is Identity?"; see also Robert Atchley, "A Continuity Theory of Normal Aging," *Gerontologist*, 29, no. 2 (1989): 183-190.
[7] Warren Kidd, *Culture and Identity* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2002), 24.
[8] Kidd, *Culture and Identity*, 24.
[9] Kidd, *Culture and Identity*, 24.
[10] Jessica Jocher, "The Political Role of the Catholic Church in Poland Under Martial Law, 1981-1983" (M.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 2012), 6.

formation and maintenance.[11] Historian and sociologist Trevor Batrouney and sociologist John Goldlust recognise these factors and highlight how both the background of the individual and their experiences influence identity. They state: "the form of collective identity salient to any individual is inevitably shaped by the particularities of his or her personal background tempered by the vicissitudes of his or her life experience".[12] Researcher Linda Burnett argues: "Settlement is constructed by the immigrant's interaction with various elements of the political, economic and social structures of the host society."[13] As Burnett identifies, these factors do not have equal weight and it is the "socioeconomic and cultural context encountered by the immigrant in the new country"[14] that has the greatest impact on an individual's settlement experience. Psychologist Ronald Taft argues how settlement experiences are also influenced by the expectations of the migrants. In his words: "Adjustment of an immigrant to his environment is very much a function of what he wants out of life together with the capacity of his environment to satisfy him."[15] In this sense, migrants can be active agents in shaping their settlement experiences, not passive and inert objects.

The Solidarity wave

This thesis focuses on the 'Solidarity wave' of Polish migrants who came to Australia under particular circumstances in the 1980s. How did they come to be known as such, and why did they feel compelled to leave Poland? It largely comes down to dissatisfaction with Communist rule. The Polish people resisted Communist rule and revolted on numerous occasions following the end of World War Two. Polish historian Andrzej Paczkowski argues that unrest was "usually sparked by economic grievances and came

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[11] See Gillian Bottomley, *From Another Place* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Linda Burnett, *Issues in Immigrant Settlement in Australia* (Sydney: National Centre for English Language, 1998); David Ray Cox, *Migration and Welfare: An Australian Perspective* (Sydney: Prentice-Hall, 1987); Frank Lewins and Judith Ly, *The First Wave: The Settlement of Australia's First Vietnamese Refugees* (Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1985); Richard C. Nann, *Uprooting and Surviving: Adaptation and Resettlement of Migrant Families and Children* (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1982); Ruth Scott and William A. Scott, *Adaption of Immigrants: Individual Differences and Determinants* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989).
[12] Trevor Batrouney and John Goldlust, *Unravelling Identity: Immigrants, Identity and Citizenship in Australia* (Melbourne: Common Ground, 2005), 8.
[13] Linda Burnett, *Issues in Immigrant Settlement in Australia* (Sydney: National Centre for English Language, 1998), 17.
[14] Burnett, *Issues in Immigrant Settlement,* 17.
[15] Ronald Taft, "The Concept of Social Adaptation of Migrants," in *Mosaic and Melting Pot: Cultural Evolution in Australia*, ed. Philip R. de Lacey and Millicent E. Poole (Sydney: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Group, 1979), 336.

to resemble political rebellions against the ruling cliques".[16] Strikes took place in June 1956 in Poznan, demonstrations and strikes then occurred in 1957 in Lodz, in December 1970 (with the largest in Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin) and June 1976.[17] In addition, during the 1960s, students and young people demonstrated in places like Nowa Huta near Krakow.[18] Conditions worsened in Poland with food vouchers being the only way to purchase goods; waiting in line for hours was standard practice.[19] It was these poor conditions and dissatisfaction with the political and economic situation experienced by the people that led to the creation of the Solidarity union. It began in August 1980 in the shipyard of Gdansk. The union was formed during a strike against the deteriorating standards of living and the limited basic supplies. The creation of the Solidarity union sparked what journalist Ella Odrowaz called "the first symbolic crack in the Berlin wall".[20] This union was regarded as the "first successful action to resist a Communist regime in Eastern Europe".[21] One steelworker leader described his feelings towards the union in these words: "Solidarity gave people courage."[22]

However, this resistance did not last long as the Communist authorities retaliated with the imposition of Martial Law. Martial Law began in December 1981 with the closing of the Polish borders from the rest of the world. Executive authority passed into the hands of the so-called Military Council of National Salvation (or WRON).[23] This authority was made up of 21 senior figures from the Polish armed forces and under the leadership of General Wojciech Jaruzelski. WRON was able to, in the words of Richard Spielman, "implement the repression necessary to destroy Solidarity".[24] Telecommunications were suspended and travel outside the country was not permitted without a special visa. In most cases,

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[16] Andrzej Paczkowski, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Poland, 1980-1989* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2015), 3.
[17] Paczkowski, *Revolution and Counterrevolution,* 3.
[18] Paczkowski, *Revolution and Counterrevolution,* 4.
[19] Malgorzata Krywult-Albanska, "Caught in a Fever? The Social and Economic Background of Emigration from Poland in the 1980s," *Polish American Studies,* 68, no. 2 (Autumn 2011): 116.
[20] Ella Odrowaz, "Collapse of Communism Started in Poland," *The Epoch Times*, 8 November 2009, https://www.theepochtimes.com/collapse-of-communism-started-in-poland_1520119.html (accessed 7 November 2019).
[21] Odrowaz, "Collapse of Communism."
[22] Jack Bloom, "The Solidarity Revolution in Poland, 1980-1981," *The Oral History Review*, 33, no. 1 (2006): 46.
[23] Andrew A. Michta, *Red Eagle: The Army in Polish Politics, 1944-1988* (Stanford: Hoover Press Publication, 1990), 132.
[24] Richard Spielman, "Crisis in Poland," *Foreign Policy,* no. 49 (Winter 1982-1983): 22.

priests were exempt from these restrictions. Almost all organisations were suspended but the Catholic Church was relatively unscathed by the new conditions that saw all gatherings barred except for church attendance. There was, however, a curfew put into place that prevented people from attending midnight mass services. It was only after the Church approached the Communist regime to ask for permission to lift the curfew that people were given the opportunity to attend midnight mass for Christmas.[25]

Workers began protesting almost immediately against the imposition of Martial Law. In most cases, the strikes were crushed by the ruling authorities with many casualties in some cases. One particularly brutal case was the "Wujek" massacre. The miners in the Wujek mine in Silesia began a strike to protest Martial Law in December 1981. The force used to disperse the strike resulted in the death of nine miners.[26] Polish people were faced with the prospect of prosecution as a result of their oppositional activities and that resulted in police surveillance, harassment and job blacklisting.[27] Authorities wanted the Polish people to revoke their membership with the union or else place their career at risk. Judges were one example who were pressured to leave the Solidarity union or risk their positions.[28] This treatment of Solidarity members was, according to Andrew Swidlicki, a way to force the people to "renounce his trade-union membership and pledge loyalty to the military rulers".[29] For a number of individuals, the most common form of punishment came as imprisonment either in prison or internment camps. By the end of December 1981, it is estimated that some 13,000 Polish people were arrested and 9,700 Solidarity activists were held in internment camps.[30] Imprisonment could occur for the most minor of infractions. Polish people were imprisoned for having underground Solidarity pamphlets in their possession. Boleslaw Biedrzycki, a Solidarity activist from Leszno, was "sentenced

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[25] Robert Pear, "Regime to Ease the Curfew For Mass on Christmas Eve," *The New York Times,* 23 December 1981, A8.

[26] "President Marks 30th Anniversary of Brutal Wujek Coal Mine Massacre," *Radio Poland*, 16 December 2011, http://www.thenews.pl/1/9/Artykul/80613,President-marks-30th-anniversary-of-brutal-Wujek-coal-mine-massacre (accessed 6 October 2019).

[27] Mary Patrice Erdmans, *Opposite Poles: Immigrants and Ethnics in Polish Chicago, 1976-1990* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 65.

[28] Andrew Swidlicki, "Mechanism of Repression in Poland During Martial Law," *The Polish Review,* 29, no. 1/2 (1984): 100.

[29] Swidlicki, "Mechanism of Repression," 101.

[30] Piotr Tadeusz Kwiatkowski and Jonathan Weber, "Martial Law in the Collective Polish Memory following the Collapse of Communism," *International Journal of Sociology,* 36, no. 4 (Winter 2006/2007): 47.

to three years imprisonment for saying that he was detained by the militia and beaten".[31] Conditions within the internment camps were harsh. Henryk Sporon, an internee, described the conditions within his memoir. He wrote that many Polish people within the camps suffered from gastric complications on a daily basis.[32] The one positive Sporon spoke about were the food packages organised by the Church because in his view: "it is difficult to imagine what the internees' state of health would have been, since the prison food provisions were poor".[33]

Polish migrants began leaving at the beginning of the 1980s of their own free will. Individuals who felt the conditions were deteriorating made the conscious choice to leave Poland usually under the guise of taking a holiday somewhere in Europe. There was a fear among some of the people that another war may break out in Poland and this fuelled their need to leave.[34] According to Piotr Korcelli, a professor of Geography, the main people who were migrating came from "highly urbanized regions [like Katowice, Warsaw, Gdansk, Krakow and Wroclaw]".[35]

The individuals who made the decision to leave Poland experienced guilt and were stigmatised for their choice. There was a consensus among the people who remained in Poland that the individuals who left were deserters and, by leaving, had weakened the country. The guilt and stigma was particularly heavy on the Solidarity activists who left because it was felt they had more of an obligation to stay in Poland than non-activists.[36] Adam Michnik, who was an internee himself, wrote in 1982 that only internees were given the choice to leave or stay in jail; in his case, he chose to stay. For him, "interned Solidarity activists who choose emigration [were] 'committing an act that is both a capitulation and a desertion'."[37] Sociologist Mary Patrice Erdmans' research found that

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[31] Swidlicki, "Mechanism of Repression," 103.
[32] Henryk F. Sporon, *My Internment During Martial Law in Poland 1981-1982* (Czeladz: Wydawn. Hejme, 2011), 35.
[33] Sporon, *My Internment During Martial Law,* 35.
[34] Krywult-Albanska, "Caught in a Fever?" 113.
[35] Piotr Korcelli, "International Migrations in Europe: Polish Perspectives for the 1990s," *The International Migration Review,* 26, no. 2 (Summer 1992): 302.
[36] Mary Patrice Erdmans, "The Social Construction of Emigration as a Moral Issue," *Polish American Studies,* 49, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 12.
[37] Quoted in Erdmans, "The Social Construction," 12.

migrants experienced guilt on some level. However they often found a way to mitigate their guilt through productive ways. Her respondents "admitted that perhaps all the money-collecting and banner-waving they were doing in America to help Poland was a way to assuage their feelings of guilt for having left their homeland".[38]

While some people chose to leave, there were some who were forcibly exiled from the country. The authorities gave certain individuals ultimatums that if they did not accept the one way tickets they would risk imprisonment.[39] These individuals were in most cases influential Solidarity activists.[40] The reason for the forced departure was because the individuals were viewed as a threat to the socio-political order.[41] Pawel Majcher argues that the Polish Government also deliberately restricted the validity of passports by confining them to a year or two in order to prevent individuals from returning.[42] Globally, approximately 150,000 Poles left Poland during the 1980s,[43] with around 81,578 fleeing to the United States and a total of 23,741 Polish people settling in Australia between 1980 and 1990.[44]

Despite being referred to as political refugees, opinions are divided among historians and sociologists as to how accurate this label is for the 'Solidarity' migration wave. Adam Jamrozik and Joanna Kujawa are two Australian historians who argue for the case that the 1980s migrants were political refugees. Jamrozik describes the Solidarity wave migrants as being "primarily refugees rather than 'voluntary' immigrants".[45] Kujawa argues that the Polish migrants entering Australia were not economically motivated.[46] She claims

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38 Erdmans, "The Social Construction," 13.

39 Krywult-Albanska, "Caught in a Fever?" 111.

40 Migration Museum, *From Many Places: The History and Cultural Traditions of South Australian People* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1995), 375.

41 Pawel Majcher, "Polish Immigration to the U.S. Since 1980 as a Political Question" (M.A. thesis, West Virginia University, 2014), 28.

42 Majcher, "Polish Immigration to the U.S.," 28.

43 Majcher, "Polish Immigration to the U.S.," 27.

44 Erdmans, *Opposite Poles,* 59; Elizabeth Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way: The Settlement of the 1980s Solidarity Wave of Polish Immigrants in Melbourne" (M.A. thesis, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, 1997), 10.

45 *The New Polish Immigrants: A Quest for Normal Life: Report of the Polish Task Force to the Ethnic Affairs Commission of NSW* (Sydney: Ethnic Affairs Commission, 1983), 17.

46 Joanna Kujawa, *Migration, Belonging, Alienation: The Narratives of Polish Adventurers, Artists, and Intellectuals in Australia* (Saarbruken: VDM Verlage Dr. Muller, 2010), 60.

that the Polish migrants that were settling in Australia were "exiled intellectuals".[47] Through her research, Kujawa came to the conclusion that the Polish migrants who settled in the United States of America, Canada or Brazil had been motivated economically in contrast to the political exiles that chose Australia due to "political developments in Poland".[48]

In terms of the migrants who went to America, historians and sociologists tend to agree with Kujawa's assessment. Using statistical data and other scholarly works, Pawel Majcher argues in his Masters thesis that only 10% of the overall number of Polish migrants were political refugees.[49] Malgorzata Krywult-Albanska also argues that even though the Poles were called the 'Solidarity emigration' only a small number of people were actually political refugees.[50] She claims that one study estimates only between 20,000 and 30,000 were political refugees.[51] Patryk Pleskot similarly highlights the relatively small number of individuals who were defined as political refugees. He claims that the number of political migrants was "less numerous but [that they were] very important and influential Solidarity activists who had left Poland primarily for political reasons".[52]

These debates have resulted in a small group of historians claiming that the Solidarity wave that came to Australia were also economically motivated. Danielle Drozdzewski claims in her research that they came as a result of the "deteriorating economic and political situation in Poland".[53] Katarzyna Kwapisz Williams also suggests that the motivations of the Solidarity wave as a whole were "mainly economical".[54] The migrants were "concerned with the desire to meet particular material needs, exceeding basic ones,

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[47] Kujawa, *Migration, Belonging, Alienation,* 60.
[48] Kujawa, *Migration, Belonging, Alienation,* 55.
[49] Majcher, "Polish Immigration to the U.S.," 33.
[50] Krywult-Albanska, "Caught in a Fever?" 113-114.
[51] Krywult-Albanska, "Caught in a Fever?" 114.
[52] Patryk Pleskot, "Polish Political Emigration in the 1980s: Current Research, Perspectives, and Challenges," *Polish American Studies*, 72, no. 2 (Autumn 2015): 49.
[53] Danielle Drozdzewski, "A Place Called 'Bielany': Negotiating A Diasporic Polish Place in Sydney," *Social and Cultural Geography,* 8, no. 6 (December 2007): 857.
[54] Katarzyna Kwapisz Williams, "Transnational Literary Cultures in Australia: Writers of Polish Descent," in *The European Diaspora in Australia: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, ed. Bruno Mascitelli, Sonia Mycak and Gerardo Paplia (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016): 126.

which could not, however, be fulfilled in Communist Poland (such as a good car, video player etc.)"[55] One of Krywult-Albanska's interviewees explained how his wife had been waiting in a queue for eight hours to purchase butter and how people rushed for it when the crowd learned there were limited supplies. This resulted in some pensioners hitting each other with canes to get to the front of the line.[56] The man's wife returned home in tears, refusing to wait in line, and so he decided that they should leave the country. Such dramatic and desperate scenes were not rare and forced migrants to leave in order to seek out countries were basic staples were easily available.

Other scholars have argued that the Solidarity wave migrants were in fact influenced by both economic and political factors. Geographers James Forrest and Weronika Kusek suggest that the Solidarity wave migration originated from an economic deterioration starting in the 1970s and then was "accompanied by political unrest associated with the rise of the Solidarity movement".[57] Similarly, Elizabeth Drozd concludes that the Solidarity wave was influenced by both economic and political factors. She states: "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."[58] Even though Krywult-Albanska highlights a number of economic factors, she was able to sum up the main factor that contributed to the Polish people exiting Poland: "One of the common denominators behind the decision to leave Poland in the 1980s seems to be a sense of a lack of control over one's life."[59]

Pleskot suggests that the exact number of political refugees is difficult to determine because of the complex and fluid factors influencing migration. Even though Pleskot suggests that the Polish migrants were economically motivated, he states that the Solidarity wave could not be easily categorised as either political or economic.[60] The

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[55] Krywult-Albanksa, "Caught in a Fever?" 115.
[56] Krywult-Albanksa, "Caught in a Fever?" 116.
[57] James Forrest and Weronika Kusek, "Human Capital and the Structural Integration of Polish Immigrants in Australia in the First, Second and Third Generations," *Australian Geographer*, 47, no. 2, (2016): 236.
[58] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way", 1.
[59] Krywult-Albanska, "Caught in a Fever?" 125.
[60] Pleskot, "Polish Political Emigration in the 1980s," 62-63.

issue that Pleskot found with motivations was defining what constituted political emigration. The exact problem, in his view, was how to categorise these individuals, particularly, if they did not continue their political activities outside of Poland.[61] Historian Egon Kunz offers another explanation as to why it is problematic to distinguish the motivations of migrants. His model of refugee movements explains two distinct movements: "anticipatory" and "acute".[62] The anticipatory refugees were individuals who left their countries prior to "the predicated disintegration of social and political order".[63] This does describe some of the Polish migrants who left prior to the declaration of Martial Law. Kunz argues that these individuals were often mistaken for voluntary migrants who were seeking better economic situations as they left during moments of relative stability.[64] Acute refugee movements, according to Kunz, were those who left because of "major political upheavals and the mobilisation of armed forces".[65] Again, some of the Polish migrants were leaving during the imposition of Martial Law but not to the same extent because of the difficulties with acquiring passports and border controls. However, another issue is that some Polish migrants left the country as economic migrants but when Martial Law was enforced and countries were accepting political refugees, they changed their stated motivation to give themselves a better chance to be accepted into a new country. This was the case for Ewa in my study sample. Ewa and her family had left prior to Martial Law for economic reasons but changed their stated motivation to political to help speed up the acceptance process into Australia rather than remain in the camps in Europe.[66]

Literature Review

There are only a small number of studies that have been dedicated to the Solidarity wave migrants in Australia. One of the first of these was *The New Polish Immigrants* report completed by the Polish Task Force for the Ethnic Affairs Commission in New South

[61] Pleskot, "Polish Political Emigration in the 1980s," 62.
[62] Egon F. Kunz, "The Refugee in Flight: Kinetic Models and Forms of Displacement," *International Migration Review*, 7, no. 2 (1973): 132.
[63] Kunz, "The Refugee in Flight," 132.
[64] Kunz, "The Refugee in Flight," 133.
[65] Kunz, "The Refugee in Flight," 133.
[66] 'Ewa,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 March 2018 (pseudonym).

Wales in 1983.[67] The report took into consideration a number of factors that hindered and/or benefitted the new arrivals and how this affected their settlement experiences. The authors studied 237 people in the group, leading them to conclude that three main factors exacerbated problems during settlement: circumstances prior to migration, the difficult situation in the labour market, and the qualifications, skills, and experiences migrants brought with them that were not easily adaptable in the short term in Australia.[68] The study also concluded that the Polish migrants tended to seek out friendships through work or personal interests rather than through the Polish community or through the Church. I will make a similar argument regarding the social relationships with the Polish community, however in Chapter Five I will contend that the Church did have a significant role socially for the Polish migrants. While the Task Force report is valuable in its examination of the Solidarity migrants and their initial settlement, it has limitations. The report was conducted during the beginning of the migration of the Solidarity wave and the length of time that the respondents spent in Australia varied greatly, one month to three years.[69] This does not allow for an adequate adjustment to the new society nor does it allow time for the migrants to accurately assess their experiences. The respondents could have harshly judged or overly praised their conditions especially if they had only lived in Australia for several months. Without a follow-up study, it is difficult to determine how this group of migrants coped with their settlement and whether their situation improved or declined.

Elizabeth Drozd's 1997 Masters dissertation provides a relatively well-rounded examination of the settlement experiences of the Solidarity wave in Melbourne. Drozd chose to conduct interviews because of the opportunity this afforded her to "clarify questions and responses immediately".[70] Her sample was recruited via social events, a Polish community agency, word of mouth and radio announcements and, in the end, 300 names were collected and 60 were interviewed. Her sample group comprised of 36 women and 24 men. Drozd acknowledged that her study group did not represent the Solidarity wave migrants arriving between 1980 and 1984 as the actual breakdown was

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67 *The New Polish Immigrants*, 4.
68 *The New Polish Immigrants*, 60.
69 *The New Polish Immigrants*, 3.
70 Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 15.

closer to 53% men and 47% women.[71] Drozd's findings led her to conclude that while the Polish people maintained a connection with their Polish culture, they were not linked to the Polish community. Nor did they feel part of the Australian community. Most of the Polish migrants in her sample identified as Polish or Polish-Australian. There was an importance placed upon the continuation of Polish culture and language even though there were low levels of participation in Polish community groups and negative feelings towards the Polish community in Melbourne.[72] I will reiterate and expand on some of Drozd's existing points. For example I will examine the animosity between the Solidarity wave arrivals and the existing Polish community, which was dominated by Poles who arrived in the decade after World War Two. A limitation of Drozd's thesis is the absence of a deeper analysis of certain areas of settlement. For example, when examining the significance of Christmas and Easter, Drozd's only comment on the subject is to state that these traditions were an important part of Polish culture and 90% celebrated in a traditional Polish way.[73] But she does not explain why they were important or how they were celebrated. She only provides a brief footnote on the celebration of Christmas Eve.[74] Similarly, she spends only five pages discussing the significance of the Church and the role of faith for the Polish migrants. This may be explained by the word limit constraint of the Masters thesis. In comparison, my thesis is able to examine deeper and more extensively the importance of faith and the Catholic Church, to which an entire chapter is devoted.

Beata Leuner's research on the Solidarity wave focuses on how immigration policies impacted on the successful integration of Polish migrants and the maintenance of the Polish language. Her study sample was concentrated in Melbourne and divided among endogamous (people marrying within an ethnic group) and exogamous (people marrying outside an ethnic group) individuals. Leuner's research method consisted of a survey of 180 people via questionnaire and 15 interviews. From the 180 questionnaires, 150 were completed by 50 endogamous families (both parents and a child) and 30 were from exogamous families (one parent and child). The interviews were similarly balanced in

[71] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 16.
[72] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 216.
[73] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 141.
[74] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 141.

favour of the endogamous category with 12 interviewees coming from endogamous families and three interviewees from exogamous families.[75] Leuner's conclusions were similar to the Polish Task Force Report in that she found the Polish migrants settled well in Australia but their experiences were dependent on three things: qualifications, occupation, and English language proficiency.[76] She also found that the family home was the most popular domain for the maintenance of the Polish language, and language retention was the most prevalent among the first generation migrants compared to the second generation. Further, Leuner argues that language maintenance was higher among the second generation migrants in endogamous families compared to exogamous families, especially when the father was Polish.[77] Leuner primarily focuses on language and how the multicultural society influenced this language retention. She does not spend a great deal of time examining and investigating other important factors that affected the settlement experience and process of identity maintenance/reformation, such as the role of the Church and visits to Poland. She also only spends two pages of her research specifically examining language maintenance and its link to identity. My thesis builds on Leuner's conclusions by examining whether language maintenance was confined to the family home and its significance in facilitating a Polish identity, but I examine identity throughout my thesis and how different aspects of settlement, not just language, influenced identity retention and/or reformation.

Danielle Drozdzewski chose to focus her doctoral dissertation on cultural memories as a method of identity maintenance for Polish migrants in Australia. In order to gather her data, Drozdzewski conducted semi-structured interviews in Poland with representatives from two public memory institutes (Institute of National Remembrance and the International Auschwitz Council) as well as fieldwork in Poland. The field work consisted of identifying three main sites in Krakow in order to "(re)construct the multiple layers of narrative set down, over time that are part of Krakow's memory landscape".[78] In addition, Drozdzewski interviewed 61 Poles in Sydney – 14 from the post World War Two migration

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[75] Beata Leuner, *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance in Australia: Polish Migration to Melbourne in the 1980s* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 151.
[76] Leuner, *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance*, 254.
[77] Leuner, *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance*, 256.
[78] Danielle Drozdzewski, "Remembering Polishness: Articulating and Maintaining Identity Through Turbulent Times" (PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, 2008), 47.

wave, 11 second generation children born to the World War Two migrants, 7 third generation grandchildren of the post World War Two migrants, 15 from the Solidarity wave and 14 of the children of individuals from the Solidarity wave.[79] The aim of her interviews was to examine cultural memory formation and transmission – how these memories informed the construction of Polish identity for the Polish migrants. Through her research, Drozdzewski concludes that Polish identity is maintained in the public setting through art in the form of literature, poetry, music and paintings and transmitted in monuments like the Planty in Krakow (a green belt that forms a boundary around the Old Town and contains 11 monuments from the Romantic Era).[80] In private settings in Australia, the maintenance of Polish identity was determined on the continued use of the Polish language. While her findings are insightful, they are largely focused on explaining how past events have shaped cultural memories and played a role in maintaining Polish identity *during Poland's occupations and cultural suppression.* This is a matter separate to that which I explore in my thesis. However, in Chapters Three, Four and Five I build on her conclusions concerning Polish identity being maintained through Polish language and customs.

While the largest population of Polish migrants are found in Victoria, the third highest number of Poles reside in South Australia. None of the above mentioned studies focus on migrants who settled in South Australia. According to sociologist Edgar Carson, one of the main reasons why people are drawn to a specific location is the presence of an existing ethnic community.[81] This is where my thesis explicitly adds to the existing literature by providing experiences of the Polish migrants who settled in South Australia and examining whether this community resulted in different experiences compared to the other Polish ethnic communities around Australia. The thesis will also examine societal, political and economic changes and how these impacted on an individual level to seek an understanding of what elements assisted Polish migrants in maintaining their own sense of identity whether this be Polish, Australian or a combination of both.

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[79] Drozdzewski, "Remembering Polishness," 65.
[80] Drozdzewski, "Remembering Polishness," 258.
[81] Edgar Carson, *Social Networks and Job Acquisition in Ethnic Communities in South Australia* (Canberra: Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research, 1995), 7.

From the seven areas that will be covered in my thesis (government and community support, employment, education, family life, faith and the Church, visits to Poland and relations between the Displaced Persons and Solidarity waves), four themes have been given particular consideration by scholars when examining the experiences of the Solidarity wave migrants. These themes are: employment, language, return visits to Poland, and the relationship between migrant groups of different generations. Salient aspects of this literature are discussed below.

Employment and, in particular, issues with qualifications and the impact it has on settlement experiences have been studied by scholars. When examining the Solidarity wave in particular, scholars like Mary Patrice Erdmans, Delai Badasu, and Elizabeth Drozd argue that this cohort were highly educated.[82] The majority of individuals brought tertiary and trade certificates with them to their new countries. However, these qualifications were not always easily accepted. In Australia, sociologist Frank Jones notes that despite migrants bringing qualifications with them, this did not prevent them from experiencing unemployment.[83] Economists Paul Inglis and Thorsten Stromback go beyond difficulties with qualifications and state that skills also present an issue for employment because they "may not be perfectly transferable onto the Australian labour market".[84] As a result, economists Paul Miller and Leanne Neo argue that immigrants had higher unemployment rates than Australian born workers particularly between 1980 and 1996.[85] The unemployment rate of overseas born individuals was 9.8% compared to Australian born individuals that sat at 8.1%.[86] Unsurprisingly, in addition to qualifications and skills impacting employment, scholars have argued that language greatly impacted the employment prospects of migrants.[87] Political scientists Brian Galligan, Melissa

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[82] Erdmans, *Opposite Poles*, 73; Delali Margaret Badasu, "Polish Immigration to Alberta Since 1980: Determinants and Consequences" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1990), 37; Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 39.
[83] Frank L. Jones, *Sex and Ethnicity in the Australian Labour Market: The Immigrant Experience* (Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1992), 11.
[84] Paul A. Inglis and Thorsten Stromback, "Migrants' Unemployment: The Determinants of Employment Success," *The Economic Record*, 62, no. 3 (September 1986): 312.
[85] Paul W. Miller and Leanne M. Neo, "Immigrant Unemployment: The Australian Experience," *International Migration*, 35, no. 2 (1997): 155.
[86] Miller and Neo, "Immigrant Unemployment," 155.
[87] See Robert L. Bach and Jennifer B. Bach, "Employment Patterns of Southeast Asian Refugees," *Monthly Labor Review*, 103, no. 10 (October 1980): 31-38; Mark Wooden, "The Experience of Refugees in the

Phillips and Martina Boese highlight how individuals in their research attributed their limited English skills as having affected their ability to find suitable employment.[88] This meant that many individuals were forced to work in positions well below their qualifications and in employment for which they were not suited.[89] Chapter Two of my thesis will examine the difficulties migrants faced with having qualifications recognised and returning to former professions. It will extend further and identify how significant employment was in the lives of Polish migrants and whether a person's profession influenced their identity.

Language has been recognised as a key component in preserving identity as well as maintaining culture. Philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin claims that language is not simply about communication. He argues: "Language arises from man's need to express himself, to objectify himself… And if language also serves as a means of communication, this is a secondary function that has nothing to do with its essence."[90] Linguist professor Sonja Lanehart argues how "language can be a means of solidarity, resistance, and identity within a culture or social group".[91] She contends that the language a person speaks is the language with which that person identifies and therefore by trying to dictate or force a person to discard their language is to change the individual and change their identity.[92] Looking specifically at language among Polish migrants in Australia, Jerzy Smolicz describes it as being a core value in preserving identity. Along with Margaret Secombe, he identifies 'core values' as "aspects of culture which are of such fundamental importance for its continued viability and integrity that they can be regarded as the pivots around which the whole social and identification system of the group is organised".[93]

Australian Labor Market," *International Migration Review*, 25, no. 3 (September 1991): 514-535; Inglis and Stromback, "Migrants' Unemployment," 310-324.

[88] Brian Galligan, Martina Boese and Melissa Phillips, *Becoming Australian: Migration, Settlement, Citizenship* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2014): 128.

[89] Igor I. Kavass, "Migrant Assimilation," *The Australian Quarterly,* 34, no. 2 (June 1962): 63.

[90] Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays,* ed. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 67-68.

[91] Sonja L. Lanehart, "The Language of Identity," *Journal of English Linguistics*, 24, no. 4 (December 1996): 322.

[92] Lanehart, "The Language of Identity," 322.

[93] Jerzy Smolicz, "Language Core Values and Cultural Identity in Australia: Some Polish, Welsh and Indian Minority Experiences," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 19, no. 2 (June 1991): 109.

Smolicz and Secombe state that core values create an “indissoluble link”[94] within the group’s cultural and social network. Smolicz and Secombe argue that Polish language and traditions like folk dancing are vital elements in assisting with the aim of maintaining a Polish identity in Australia. As mentioned previously, Danielle Drozdzewski examines language and symbolism in both public and private spheres to explore Polish identity. She argues that, at least in private settings such as the family home, Polish identity was “predicated on the continuing use of the Polish language and customs”.[95] However this is not the case outside of the family home. Drozdzewski explains in the case of the ‘Solidarity wave’ of migrants, the maintenance of the Polish language outside of the home was not high on the list of priorities. This is because the Solidarity wave did not feel that their Polish identity was threatened and therefore did not feel the need to preserve the language outside the home.[96] The importance of language will be examined throughout this thesis and is given particular attention in Chapter Three, where the preservation of language by migrant children is discussed, and Chapter One, which examines how migrants needed to adjust their language in order to integrate with work colleagues.

Despite the significance of visits to the country of origin and the interactions between the migrants and their country of birth, very few historians have considered this issue by focusing specifically on Polish migrants in Australia. Maksymilian Kwiatkowski’s doctoral dissertation, which examines how Poland and its landscapes continued to influence the lives of children of the Solidarity wave who arrived with their parents during the 1980s, is one exception.[97] Kwiatkowski’s respondents came from the Sydney area and had been children under the age of 18 at the time of migration. He differentiated this group from the first generation (those who were born overseas and migrated as adults) and the second generation (those who were born locally to migrant parents). Kwiatkowski calls these individuals the “1.5 generation”[98] and says they are typically treated as either first or second generation despite there being clear differences because they did not initiate

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[94] Jerzy Smolicz and Margaret Secombe, “Polish Migrants in Hobart: A Study of Community Formation,” in *Polish People and Culture in Australia*, ed. Roland Sussex and Jerzy Zubrzycki (Canberra: Australian National University, 1985), 109.
[95] Drozdzewski, “Remembering Polishness,” 258.
[96] Drozdzewski, “Remembering Polishness,” 156.
[97] Maksymilian Kwiatkowski, “Backwards, Forwards and In-Between: Nostalgic Landscapes, Photography, Identity and the Return Journey ‘Home’” (PhD thesis, The University of Sydney, 2006), 2.
[98] Kwiatkowski, “Backwards, Forwards and In-Between,” 2.

migration nor were they born in the new homeland. Kwiatkowski used semi-structured interviews in addition to photographs provided by the interviewees to inform his research. The photos were used as a "stimuli that initiated further, generally very detailed, discussion about various subject matter (mostly to do with the travelling 'back' and associated stories and asides) that viewing the photos brought to mind."[99] The use of photographs as a methodological tool proved useful in how the return experience was remembered as well as communicated to others.[100] One of the main arguments Kwiatkowski makes in his dissertation is the importance to a migrant's identity of return journeys to the country of origin. He argues that the trips "rejuvenated already held memories and images of these nostalgic landscapes, as well as creating new ones".[101] Kwiatkowski found that rather than increase interest in participation in local Polish communities, the trips primarily "resulted in an initial realignment of self-identity, and increased transnational links with Poland, though in some cases the links were only temporary".[102] While his dissertation provides insight into the Solidarity wave, there are several limitations. Firstly, it contains data based on only 18 individuals who were under the age of 18 at the time of arrival. He recruited his sample group mainly through friends and family networks, which could explain the limited participant number. Kwiatkowski acknowledges the short comings of having such a small sample and establishes that it is not his goal to "provide an authoritatively representative picture of the Solidarity Children generation"; rather "the goal instead is to examine the lives, opinions, and also images of select members of this group".[103] Secondly, Kwiatkowski focuses on trips to Poland and the images/photographs taken during these visits that influenced the sense of identity for these individuals. However, he does not employ a 'control group' of migrants who did not return home and did not have access to such photography. Kwiatkowski only had one case where a respondent had not returned to Poland and therefore did not have images from a trip. He could therefore not really prove whether trips 'home' or photographs affected the Poles sense of identity. A comparison of the differences between those who visited Poland and those who did not would have provided insight into how identity might

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[99] Kwiatkowski, "Backwards, Forwards and In-Between," 32.
[100] Kwiatkowski, "Backwards, Forwards and In-Between," 239.
[101] Kwiatkowski, "Backwards, Forwards and In-Between," 239.
[102] Kwiatkowski, "Backwards, Forwards and In-Between," 242.
[103] Kwiatkowski, "Backwards, Forwards and In-Between," 24.

have differed between these Poles and what influence visits had on how they viewed themselves. Furthermore, Kwiatkowski's dissertation does not take into consideration other factors existing within Australia that might have influenced the '1.5 generation's' sense of identity. Nevertheless, my work in Chapter Six intersects with Kwiatkowski's thesis in examining the connections to Poland maintained by Polish migrants and the significance of return visits. It will argue that visits compounded the fact that migrants' identity as 'Poles' were no longer satisfactory.

The interactions between different generations within an ethnic community within a host country, and its impact on settlement experiences and identity formation, have been given some consideration by scholars. In terms of migrants in Australia, this scholarship has largely focused on non-Polish groups. Historian Sarah Green briefly mentions the interactions between the different generations within the Bosnian community. She found that among the younger, more recent arrivals, there was ambivalence towards the Bosnian community in Australia.[104] She argues that the individuals were "actively distancing themselves from these communities".[105] Green makes this argument because she found "that young people with shared ethnic background have more in common with each other, regardless of birth place, than they do older generations".[106] Sociologist professor Val Colic-Peisker identifies that the Croatians who arrived into Australia during the 1980s did not find the same relevance in ethnic communities as the older migrants who arrived in the 1940s and 1950s. She claims that "the traditional ethnic community they found in the clubs could not meet their practical and cultural needs or their need to belong".[107] Colic-Peisker clearly points out that the younger migrants placed little emphasis on establishing themselves within the existing ethnic communities. Instead, she argues that the Croatian migrants "aspired to establish themselves in the wider society".[108] According to sociologists Zofia Kinowska and Jan Pakulski, who examined Poles in Australia, the organisations and groups created by the early migrants were not

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[104] Sarah Green, "'All Those Stories, All Those Stories': How Do Bosnian Former Child Refugees Maintain Connections to Bosnia and Community Groups in Australia," in *Memory and Family in Australian Refugee Histories,* ed. Alexandra Dellios (Oxon: Routledge, 2019), 86.
[105] Green, "All Those Stories, All Those Stories," 86.
[106] Green, "All Those Stories, All Those Stories," 88.
[107] Val Colic-Peisker, *Migration, Class, and Transnational Identities: Croatians in Australia and America* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 144.
[108] Colic-Peisker, *Migration, Class, and Transnational Identities*, 143.

only created for adaptive needs but also driven by a need to "sustain Polish cultural values, religion, language and national traditions".[109] As a result, in some instances, the newer migrants felt that existing organisations were often "closed and exclusive communities".[110] Adam Jamrozik also recognises that, in the Polish example, the older generation was focused on cultural maintenance while the newer migrants were concerned with finding employment and good schools.[111] While Jamrozik recognises that interactions within the Polish community were strained, he does not go further into why tensions existed among the Poles aside from merely listing a few factors that could explain the tensions. He highlights that the earlier settlers were from a "working class culture; [and] the new immigration by their educational occupational background fit more appropriately into the middle class culture. The social and political systems in which each group has lived are also quite different".[112] In terms of some international-focused literature, sociologist Mary Patrice Erdmans claims that the Polish migrants who came after World War Two and those who arrived in the 1970s and 1980s differed in four dimensions: culture, networks, power and national loyalty.[113] The last factor was a particular issue as the older migrants viewed the new arrivals as Communist agents. Erdmans states that the older migrants recognised that the younger migrants may not even be aware of the extent that Communism influenced their lives but blamed this influence as being one of the reasons why the new arrivals refused to participate in Polish organisations.[114] My work in Chapter Seven, which focuses on the relationship between the postwar 'Displaced Persons' wave and 1980s Solidarity wave of migrants, extends this existing literature by arguing that there were four main areas that created friction between the two migrant groups in South Australia: a perceived affiliation with Communism, a generation (age) gap, circumstances on arrival and social class. These tensions led to suspicion and misconceptions and a failure to form a cohesive community.

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[109] Zofia Kinowska and Jan Pakulski, "Polish Migrants and Organisations in Australia," *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, 10, no. 2 (2018): 40.
[110] Kinowska and Pakulski, "Polish Migrants and Organisations," 39.
[111] Adam Jamrozik, *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984: Seminar, 12 October 1984, Polish Welfare and Information Bureau* (Ashfield: Polish Welfare and Information Bureau, 1984), 10.
[112] Jamrozik, *Polish Settlement in Australia*, 10.
[113] Erdmans, *Opposite Poles*, 10.
[114] Erdmans, *Opposite Poles*, 86.

Methodology

My research is predominantly qualitative in nature using oral history interviews to investigate the settlement experiences of Polish migrants of the 1980s and how these experiences impacted on their identity. I chose individual oral history interviews as the best method of data collection rather than surveys or questionnaires. Oral history interviews offer opportunities to ask immediate follow up questions to the responses given by the interviewees, by which answers can be clarified or new lines of investigation emerge. This mode allows the interviewees to impart their stories and experiences in their words and in great detail. Oral histories undertaken by other scholars have also been utilised, particularly in Chapter Seven, to examine the relationship between the two Polish migrant waves. While the focus has been on the oral histories conducted by others and myself, other scholarly works as well as government sources such as Australian Bureau of Statistics data, have been consulted to impart context and enhance analysis, and provide further examples of migrant experiences.

My study sample consists of 45 individuals who I interviewed in South Australia between 2017 and 2018. (My recruitment method is outlined in a later section.) Men were the most eager to participate in my study. This skew towards male respondents is in line with the current literature concerning recruitment, and might be partly explained by men often being the prime decision makers in the migration process.[115] In one study, it was suggested that the gender breakdown among the Polish migrants of the Solidarity wave was 53% men and 47% women.[116] My sample included 28 men and 17 women or 62% and 37%. The interviewees mostly came from the larger cities in Poland like Warsaw, Wroclaw, Krakow, Poznan, and Lublin. Some individuals did come from smaller cities/villages that surrounded the larger cities like Zielona Gora and Krapkowice. The respondents within my sample arrived between 1978 and 1993, with 89% arriving between 1980 and 1987. Most in my sample were between 20 and 39 years of age when they arrived in Australia. Four of the respondents were teenagers, aged between 10 and 19 years, at the time of arrival and some of them came with their parents. Twenty-nine of my interviewees were married or had a de facto partner when they arrived in Australia.

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[115] See Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 16; Erdmans, *Opposite Poles*, 72.
[116] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 16.

Overall the main reason why individuals within my sample left Poland was their disapproval of the Communist rule. They did not accept the political and economic situation that existed in Poland under the rule of the Communist authorities and were seeking a place that was far away from its influence. They brought with them high educational credentials with 22 of my interviewees having completed technical courses and 20 completed university. Among those with professional qualifications were engineers, electricians, teachers, and specialists in the medical field. The majority of the respondents in my sample were Catholics which is in line with the research that shows that approximately 90% of people in Poland identified as Catholics in the 1980s.[117]

The following table summarises the key characteristics about the people in my study sample at the time of their arrival in Australia (it is not the complete database that I compiled):

Table 1: Snapshot of Solidarity Wave Sample at Time of Arrival into Australia

Name	Year of Arrival	Age	Martial Status	Religion	Has Child -ren	Notional 'Class'	Reason for leaving
Jacek	1983	17	Single	Catholic	N	Working	Economic – Political
Zygmunt	1987	37	Married	Catholic	Y	Middle	Political
Piotr	1985	40	Married	Catholic	Y	Middle	Political
Robert	1981	21	Partner	Catholic	N	Working	Stayed after holiday
Henryk	1984	23	Single	Catholic	N	Working	Political
Ryszard	1993	43	Married	Catholic	Y	Working	Economic
Ania	1980	22	Married	Catholic	N	Middle	Political situation
Janusz	1980	27	Single	Catholic	N	Working	Economic – Political
Lena	1986	39	Single	Catholic	Y	Middle	Interviewee did not disclose
Danek	1983	34	Married	Catholic	Y	Working	Political

[117] See Tadeusz Szawiel, "Religion and the Church in the New Democracy," *Polish Sociological Review,* no. 132 (2000): 447; Mirella W. Eberts, "The Roman Catholic Church and Democracy in Poland," *Europe-Asia Studies,* 50, no. 5 (July 1998): 818.

Lucy	1983	32	Married	Catholic	Y	Working	Political
Staszek	1980	28	Married	Catholic	Y	Working	Economic
Adas	1980	25	Single	None	N	Middle	Political
Andy	1981	16	Single	Catholic	N	Working	Political
Andrzej	1981	29	Married	Catholic	Y	Working	Socio-economic
Antony	1984	34	Married	None	Y	Working	Political
Mateusz	1982	38	Single	Catholic	N	Working	Social
Annie	1984	24	Single	Catholic	N	Working	Stayed after visiting family
Jarek	1980	26	Partner	None	N	Working	Economic
Ella	1989	42	Married	Catholic	Y	Middle	Political
Alicja	1982	27	Single	Catholic	N	Working	Economic
Barbara	1987	40	Married	Catholic	Y	Middle	Economic
Adam	1981	33	Single	None	Y	Working	Political situation
Danuta	1982	29	Married	Catholic	Y	Working	Economic
Carolina	1981	19	Single	Catholic	N	Working	Stayed after visiting family
Janina	1981	21	Single	Catholic	N	Middle	Political
Aleksy	1988	27	Married	Catholic	N	Working	Family reunion
Father Roman	1982	33	Single	Catholic	-	Middle	Missionary role
Andre	1981	29	Married	Catholic	Y	Middle	Economic
Iza	1981	24	Married	Catholic	Y	Middle	Economic
Andrew	1981	31	Married	Catholic	Y	Middle	Socio-economic
Pawel	1984	26	Married	None	Y	Middle	Political
Sylwia	1983	30	Married	None	Y	Middle	Economic-political
Tadeusz	1983	30	Married	None	Y	Middle	Economic-political
Szymon	1981	25	Married	Catholic	N	Working	Economic-political
Bartek	1980	36	Married	Catholic	Y	Working	Political

Mariusz	1986	16	Single	Catholic	N	Middle	Political
Father Marian	1978	38	Single	Catholic	-	Middle	Establishing Resurrection Congregation
Agata	1982	24	Married	Catholic	Y	Middle	Economic
Daria	1989	28	Married	Catholic	Y	Working	Socio-economic
Julia	1980	27	Married	Catholic	Y	Working	Economic
Ewa	1982	24	Married	None	Y	Middle	Economic-political
Renata	1982	22	Married	Catholic	Y	Middle	Socio-economic
Jon	1981	20	Married	Catholic	Y	Working	Economic-political
Christopher	1981	32	Single	Catholic	N	Middle	Economic

This study primarily focuses on the settlement experiences of members of the Solidarity wave in the first 10-15 years of their arrival in Australia. There is debate among historians and sociologists as to the exact amount of time necessary for 'settlement' to occur and hence the length of time a scholar should focus on. Within Australia, Adam Jamrozik maintains that three years is sufficient for Polish migrants to integrate into everyday Australian life.[118] Jamrozik states that after the third year, the Polish migrants were able to achieve a "pattern of life rather similar to that of the average Australian".[119] In contrast, Beata Leuner argues that it can take between five and seven years before this occurs.[120] While Leuner found this to be true among her respondents, she went further to say that even after spending 15-24 years in the new country, the Polish migrants "did not have a sense of belonging to Australia".[121] Joanna Kujawa again has a different idea as to the exact amount of time it takes to improve one's situation in a new country. She states that the reality is much closer to eight and 15 years for some migrants.[122] Drozd chose to focus on 10-14 years in her study of Polish migrants and their experiences as she

[118] Jamrozik, *Polish Settlement in Australia*, 9.
[119] Jamrozik, *Polish Settlement in Australia*, 9.
[120] Beata Leuner "Settling Down and Settlement Patterns Case Study: Polish Migrants from the 1980s in Melbourne," *Polish Sociological Review,* 4, no. 160 (2007): 418.
[121] Leuner "Settling Down and Settlement Patterns," 418.
[122] Kujawa, *Migration, Belonging, Alienation*, 47.

describes this time period as being the “migrant’s life journey”.[123] There are those who argue that there is no simple link between settlement and the passage of time. Economists Mark Wooden and Judith Sloan, sociologist Robert Holton and demographer Graeme Hugo do not view the settlement process as “an inexorable process of integration that is more or less complete after 10 years or so”.[124] In their opinion, factors such as unfavourable economic conditions and lack of access to employment and resources lead to settlement being “an unfinished and incomplete process”.[125] To make my investigation achievable I needed to set a limit on the settlement period I would examine. I have elected to use Drozd’s timeline for my own study. The reason why I have chosen to focus on the period up to 10-15 years following arrival is because it is a significant timeframe to allow migrants to make new lives for themselves. It was also practical to have an end point for this research project. The times where I went beyond the timeframe occurred when discussing the relationship between the migrants and their children. This is because a few of the respondents in my sample were in their mid teens when they arrived in Australia and therefore did not have children within the timeframe. Additionally, there were individuals that arrived single or as a young married couple and had children later in their lives. Therefore in order to gain insight into their interactions with their children, I needed to extend slightly beyond this timeframe to incorporate these experiences.

Prior to recruitment, I completed ethics training. This training assisted me in learning valuable knowledge about the Australian Code for Responsible Conduct of Research and ethical considerations for qualitative research. The training was also valuable in completing the ethics approval process, needed to undertake the interviews and have plans in place for any eventualities that could arise during the interview process. The training and application to my university’s Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) helped me clarify how I would recruit the participants, how I would pose questions, how the data would be managed, and measures to protect the participants and their privacy. All the recruitment material was approved by the HREC prior to me sending out the material (H-2016-256).

[123] Drozd, “They Have Come a Long Way,” 15.
[124] Mark Wooden, Robert Holton, Graeme Hugo and Judith Sloan, *Australian Immigration: A Survey of the Issues* (Canberra: Australian Government Publication Service, 1994), 316.
[125] Wooden, Holton, Hugo and Sloan, *Australian Immigration*, 316.

Recruitment of my interviewees proceeded through various means and in stages. I advertised the project in posters that were displayed in public places such as libraries, councils, Polish community centres, the Federation of Polish Organisations, and travel agencies that were frequented by Polish people. Announcements were made on the 'ethnic' radio station during Polish programs and during church services within Polish churches (Saint Maximilian Kolbe in Ottoway and The Resurrection Church in Unley). They were also printed in the weekly bulletins of those churches. My first few interviewees were recruited via these means; however, after a few weeks, the phone calls stopped. At the end of each interview, I asked the participants if they had any acquaintances that might be willing to participate. This 'snowball effect' proved to be the most effective form of recruitment. Recommendations from individuals that had already completed an interview gave confidence to those people that were undecided about whether they should join the study. Yet, even in these cases, I found that there was still some uncertainty among the Polish people. As a result, I actively engaged with the Polish community by meeting with the Polish parishioners at the Ottoway Church. The parish has a hall that is opened every Sunday after weekly mass service and offers the community coffee, cake and lunches. This space allowed the community to see and interact with me before deciding whether or not they wanted to participate in my study. The individuals were given the opportunity to approach me and ask further questions about the study and, if they were willing, book a time to conduct the interview. Seeing me in person was a helpful tool as it pleased and intrigued the participants because someone of the younger generation was interested in the experiences of Polish people from the 1980s era. Interviewees also felt even more comfortable and even excited to learn that I was Polish and able to understand and speak the language. In those cases, the individuals were more determined and willing to participate.

Even after a surge of individuals accepting to participate in the study, there were several barriers that prevented further individuals from being recruited. The idea of having to make time for the interview, and the formal nature of the interview process, may have been off putting to some individuals. One respondent initially accepted to participate however when learning that there were official papers to be signed, pulled out of the

project. This official nature of the project may also explain why one potential participant organised an interview but then did not attend the time allocated nor answer my follow up calls to find out why they did not attend. There was also some suspicion of whether I was a potential ‘agent’. Some people commented that individuals were concerned about me being a Communist spy and wanting this information for purposes other than for historical research. This begs the question of whether the paranoia felt in Communist Poland carried over to Australia and therefore this may have hindered people from being willing to speak about their experiences. I also encountered a type of jealousy by some of the interviewees, who asked: “What’s in it for you?”

An aim of this study was to recruit a group that was representative of the Poles who migrated in the 1980s. As seen in the previous paragraphs, attempts were made to ensure the sample reflected the gender mix of Polish people migrating to Australia as well as incorporating individuals from larger cities who were the most prominent within the Solidarity wave. However, as outlined here, recruitment issues impeded the possibility of gaining a perfectly representative sample, but it comes close and the research still offers useful insight into the experiences of this group of individuals and how their identities changed as a result of migration.

I sought to create conditions that would enable my interviewees to speak as freely as possible. The Polish people within my sample were given the option to use a pseudonym to protect their privacy but also to make them feel more comfortable in participating in the study. Many were happy to use their first name only while others took advantage of using a different name. They were also given the option of being interviewed in Polish or English, as I am fluent in both languages. Use of their first language can offer Polish migrants a sense of familiarity and comfort to better express themselves. From the 45 interviewees, 24 chose to speak in Polish, 16 in English and five asked to respond in Polish while the questions were given in English. The high number of migrants choosing to have their interviews conducted in Polish suggests that despite having acclimatised to the Australian community, the familiarity offered by the Polish language was important to them. It was Agata who explained during our interview that not all Polish words easily

translate into English.[126] Daria and Antony agreed with this view and added how even after 35 years living in Australia it was still easier to explain oneself in Polish rather than in English.[127] The interviews were semi-structured with set questions based around the seven focus areas that form the chapters of this thesis. However there was opportunity for the individuals to shape the interview to suit them. One respondent, for example, preferred to reflect on his experiences chronologically and so the order of questions was altered to suit his needs. The participants were also given the opportunity to contribute their own ideas about aspects of settlement that influenced their life, which might not have been previously discussed in the interview.

The ability to speak Polish with my interviewees stems from my Polish heritage. I am a first generation Australian born with the majority of my family having been born in Poland. As a child, my parents both spoke Polish to me within the home and I had Polish lessons in primary school. My Polish language skills were developed further after two visits to Poland – as a young child and later as a young adult – while researching my Masters dissertation on the political role of the Catholic Church in Poland during Martial Law. My interest in Polish migration was influenced by my own parents having migrated to Australia during the 1980s, and also my interest in Modern Eastern European history. My Polish background could have had a positive influence on the testimony of the interviewees. They could have viewed my background as reassuring because I know about Polish practices and customs. Being from a Polish family also afforded me the knowledge on how to interact and communicate with the Polish people in order to be sensitive to their needs and have them open up when they might be hesitant to speak about certain issues.

While I chose to use interviews as my main source of evidence, I recognise that scholars have challenged the reliability of oral histories and the testimony it contributes to historical literature. Traditionalists have questioned the validity of oral histories, particularly during the 1970s, viewing this form of evidence as limited because of its reliance on memory.

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[126] 'Agata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).

[127] 'Daria,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym); 'Antony,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2017 (pseudonym).

Historian Patrick O'Farrell argued oral histories move straight into "the world of image, selective memory, later overlays and utter subjectivity (…) And where will it lead us? Not into history, but into myth".[128] The main issue O'Farrell has with oral histories is that its truth is not about what happened or how things were but "how the past has been recollected".[129] This issue with recollection has also been identified by Alistair Thomson who states that memory can be distorted by "physical deterioration and nostalgia in old age, by the personal bias of both interviewer and interviewee, and by the influence of collective and retrospective versions of the past".[130] Building on these arguments, historian Lenore Layman states that interviewees have almost as much control over the final product as does the interviewer.[131] This is because she argues that interviewees often employ reticence, "a common conversational ploy to avoid either outright refusal to respond or full disclosure".[132] As a result, Layman states that the narrator has a shared authority with the interviewer as they each have a reason for what is withheld and what is discussed. It is important to note that, while making these points, Thomson and Layman utilise oral testimony extensively in their historical research and publications.[133]

Thomson raises the issue of collective memory influencing the oral narratives of individuals. Collective memory is defined by Alon Confino as "the representation of the past and the making of it into shared cultural knowledge by successive generations in 'vehicles of memory'".[134] Anna Green argues that individual memory "is either subsumed under 'collective memory', or assigned to the realm of the passive unconscious".[135]

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[128] Patrick O'Farrell, "Oral History: Facts and Fiction," *Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, no.5 (1982-1983): 9.
[129] O'Farrell, "Oral History: Facts and Fiction," 4.
[130] Alistair Thomson, "Four Paradigm Transformations in Oral History," *The Oral History Review*, 34, no. 1 (Winter-Spring 2007): 53.
[131] Lenore Layman, "Reticence in Oral History Interviews," *The Oral History Review,* vol 36, no. 2 (Summer – Fall 2009): 218.
[132] Layman, "Reticence in Oral History Interviews," 208.
[133] See Alistair Thomson, "*Anzac Memories* Revisited: Trauma, Memory and Oral History," *The Oral History Review*, 42, no. 1 (2015): 1-29; Alistair Thomson, "Australian Generations? Memory, Oral History and Generational Identity in Postwar Australia," *Australian Historical Studies*, 47, no. 1 (2016): 41-57; Lenore Layman, "Metaphorical Meanings in Oral Histories of Wittenoom," *Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, no. 12 (1990): 132-143; Lenore Layman, "Ethical Imperatives in Oral History Practice," *Studies in Western Australian History,* no. 26 (2010): 130-150.
[134] Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *American Historical Review*, 102, no. 5 (1997): 1386.
[135] Anna Green, "Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory': Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates," *Oral History*, 32, no. 2 (Autumn 2004): 36.

Historians now increasingly focus on how individual memories fit into "cultural scripts or templates".[136] This can prove to be an issue as Jeffrey Olick states that "powerful institutions clearly value some histories more than others, [and] provide narrative patterns and exemplars of how individuals can and should remember".[137] Therefore if accounts are not in line with the collective whole, individuals may feel the need to alter their accounts to gain approval of a particular group. Historians Paul Sendziuk and Sophie Howe's research on the Polish Displaced Persons argue that identity among this group was maintained through confirmation of their shared experiences. They state: "The formation and maintenance of their identity relies upon them telling their stories over-and-over again, to each other and to others, and reciting them in a similar way that confirms their legitimate place within the group."[138] The reciting of approved stories can lead to an alteration of other accounts that do not fit the accepted narrative and result in the conflicting stories being diminished or dismissed. I cannot discount that the memories of my interviewees are distorted in a similar way. In the most part, however, I was asking questions about very specific individual circumstances – one's family life for example or relationship to the Church – for which there are no clearly formed cultural scripts or templates. All sources, of course, have their limitations. Alistair Thomson argues that document sources are "no less selective and biased"[139] than oral accounts or any other type of source.

Oral histories actually offer historians an insight that cannot be accessed via other means. Italian oral historian Alessandro Portelli claims that oral histories allow access to a range of "expressive possibilities within a given society or time".[140] Even the discrepancies that exist in oral histories present insight into values, attitudes and feelings of the person retelling the story.[141] Similarly, Alistair Thomson argues that oral histories can be a "powerful tool for discovering, exploring, and evaluating the nature of the process of historical memory – how people make sense of their past, how they connect individual

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[136] Green, "Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory'," 36.
[137] Jeffery K. Olick, "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures," *Sociological Theory*, 17, no. 3 (1999): 342.
[138] Paul Sendziuk and Sophie Howe, "Interrogating Memories of Salvation: 'Stalin's Poles' in India and Africa, 1942-50," *Oral History Australia Journal*, no. 41 (2019): 28.
[139] Thomson, "Four Paradigm Transformations in Oral History," 54.
[140] Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1997), 86.
[141] Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia*, 12.

experience and its social context, how the past becomes part of the present, and how people use it to interpret their lives and the world around them".[142] Julianne Nyhan and Andrew Flinn state that oral histories not only explore an individual but the collective and this enables oral historians to "explore the community's shared history, the tacit knowledge and understandings the group retains as well as noting the significance of individual agency and divergences".[143] Paul Thompson states how oral histories can also open up new areas of investigation. He states: "by introducing new evidence from the underside, by shifting the focus and opening new areas of inquiry, by challenging some of the assumptions and accepted judgements of historians, by bringing recognition to substantial groups of people who had been ignored, a cumulative process of transformation is set in motion".[144] It is this productive power of oral history that has enabled me to generate new insights about the Solidarity wave of Polish migrants, their settlement experiences, and their process of identity formation and reformation.

[142] Thomson, "Four Paradigm Transformations in Oral History," 55.
[143] Julianne Nyahn, Andrew Flinn, "Why Oral History?" *Computation and the Humanities*, (2016): 31.
[144] Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 8-9.

Chapter One – Government and Community Support

This chapter examines the political and structural factors that either enabled or hindered the integration of Polish migrants into the Australian community. It begins by examining the changes in society and the shift from the idea of migrant assimilation to multiculturalism. This will help identify the conditions that awaited the Polish migrants and whether this meant that the community was attuned to being welcoming and accepting of the new arrivals. The chapter then explores what support services were available to the Polish migrants and whether Polish community-run cultural organisations and clubs played a role in maintaining a sense of Polishness and identity.

From Assimilation to Multiculturalism

Until the 1970s, migrant assimilation into the 'Australian way of life' rather than the retention of their ethnic identity and practices was the official preference of the Australian Government and likely the majority of Australian citizens. Assimilation was, to an extent, meant to maintain a British identity in Australia through "a process of osmosis by which European immigrants would be painlessly absorbed into a British Australia".[1] This means that migrants were encouraged to give up their ethnic identity that included their distinctive linguistic, cultural and social characteristics.[2]

However, scholars and policy makers now feel that Australia was less rigid in enforcing migrant assimilation to the dominant Australian culture than previously thought. According to Andrew Markus and Margaret Taft, there were already opponents of assimilation in the early years. They state that "it is a mistake to assume that extreme assimilationist views were either widely articulated or unchallenged".[3] Through their research, Markus and Taft argue that assimilation failed to be adequately implemented because there were "almost no resources allocated to assimilation".[4] Harold Holt, the Minister for Immigration from

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[1] John Lack and Jacqueline Templeton, *Bold Experiment: A Documentary History of Australia Since 1945* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1995), 218.
[2] Beata Leuner, *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance in Australia: Polish Migration to Melbourne in the 1980s* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 78.
[3] Andrew Markus and Margaret Taft, "Postwar Immigration and Assimilation: A Reconceptualisation," *Australian Historical Studies*, 46, no. 2 (2015): 237.
[4] Markus and Taft, "Postwar Immigration and Assimilation," 250.

1949 to 1956, described assimilation as being a gradual process. During the ABC radio programme ‘Nations Forum of the Air’ in January 1952 that was based on the topic ‘What do we mean by assimilation of migrants?’ Holt said: “Undoubtedly one of the most effective ways to effect assimilation is a knowledge and use of the English language… But we’ve got to realise that it’s a gradual process… We’ve got to be prepared to allow them to have their own newspapers… in this transition stage. We must let them have their own clubs… and gradually be absorbed over the years.”[5]

There came a realisation that assimilation was not working and this was partially why multiculturalism was adopted. Sociologist Robert van Kreiken discusses Australia’s model of assimilation and its underlying premise that was focused on migrants “simply forget[ting] their background and becom[ing] ‘just like us’ with the mere passage of time”.[6] He argues that this never really happened because assimilation policies of Australia up until the 1960s were lacking clear mechanisms for achieving integration into “the Australian way of life”.[7] Political scientist James Jupp also notes how assimilation did not function in reality as it had been described in theory. Jupp observes how the “the whole assimilative effort began to collapse between 1955 and 1970 with the arrival of large numbers of Italians and Greeks who had no intention of giving up their well-defined practices and attitudes.”[8] There was a view even among proponents of assimilation that total assimilation was not necessary to maintain a stable society. For example, demographer Wilfred David Borrie stated: “where there is no conflict on economic grounds, the cultural persistence of a minority which forms only a fraction of the total population is unlikely to be a cause of tension unless that minority’s country of origin pursues a political or international policy which is opposed to the interests of the receiving country”.[9]

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[5] Markus and Taft, “Postwar Immigration and Assimilation,” 240.
[6] Robert van Krieken, “Between Assimilation and Multiculturalism: Models of Integration in Australia,” *Pattern of Prejudice,* 46, no. 5 (2012): 508.
[7] van Krieken, “Between Assimilation and Multiculturalism,” 505.
[8] James Jupp, “Immigrant Settlement, Ethnic Relations and Multiculturalism in Australia,” in *Nations of Immigrants: Australia and the USA Compared,* ed. John Higley, John Nieuwenhuysen and Stine Neerup (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2009), 155.
[9] Wilfred David Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia: A Study of Assimilation* (Melbourne, FW Cheshire, 1954), 219.

In addition to the resistance of migrants to assimilate, there are four other main historical factors that led to the Australian Government officially ending assimilation and the introduction of multiculturalism: skilled migrants not staying, the increased importance of the migrant vote and lobbying, international pressure and precedent, and migrants being more productive if adequately resourced and allowed to retain their cultural traditions.

Community reception and the economic situation in Australia influenced skilled migrants to leave the country. Some migrants may have left Australia because of suspicion and hostility on the part of the Australian people (and their political representatives) in the early years. *The Sydney Morning Herald* said in 1947: "Australians should abandon the attitude of suspicion, and even of hostility, with which they have hitherto greeted most foreign immigrants in the past."[10] Jupp identified this hostility and suspicion when he wrote that Displaced Persons had to contend with the inability to speak their language in public and having to appear identical to native Australians.[11] The conditions that greeted migrants in the 1940s and 1950s were difficult and it was described that only "the Displaced Persons were willing to accept conditions which would have been rejected by voluntary migrants".[12] In the case of British migrants, their reason for leaving was related to their expectations of the receiving country. Jupp explains: "most British migrants came from conditions which were not intolerable and expected even better standards on their arrival".[13] This would then explain why numerous migrants returned to countries like Germany, Britain and the Netherlands and prosperous areas of Italy.[14]

Migrants and their determination to lobby for better services was also part of the downfall of assimilation. Academic Giancarlo Chiro identifies the importance of lobbying by migrants in Australia. He claims that by the late 1960s there were "increasingly well organised and vocal ethnic minorities who began to lobby state and federal governments for funding to promote the survival of their languages and heritage within mainstream

[10] "Migration Problems," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 January 1947, 2.
[11] James Jupp, *Australian Retrospectives: Immigration* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1991), 73.
[12] Jupp, *Australian Retrospectives*, 73.
[13] Jupp, *Australian Retrospectives*, 71.
[14] Jupp, *Australian Retrospectives*, 78.

institutions and began to exert real or imaginary electoral pressure".[15] This lobbying led to what Chiro describes as 'ethnic activism' that led to a Senate inquiry and a report that served as the basis for the National Policy on languages.[16] Ethnic migrants were determined to ensure their voices were heard and that changes were made. Jupp also identifies the importance of the ethnic 'lobby' but remarks it was a slow process. He claims: "As many aliens were not yet naturalised or could not effectively speak English, their political impact was relatively slight."[17] However when their influence did increase, the main demands of the migrants centred on "an end to assimilation and for recognition that non-English speaking immigrants needed special educational and welfare services".[18]

The example of other countries embracing multiculturalism added pressure to Australia to change its policies. In Canada in 1969, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism published a report on the contribution of non-Indigenous, non-French and non-English ethnic groups to the enrichment of Canada.[19] The report made several recommendations that included the idea of integration rather than assimilation. As a result, the recommendations led to the introduction of the Multiculturalism Policy in 1971.[20] The main objectives were: "to assist cultural groups to retain and foster their identity; to assist cultural groups to overcome barriers to their full participation in Canadian society, to promote creative exchanges among all Canadian cultural groups and to assist immigrants in acquiring at least one of the two official languages."[21] Political theorist Andrew Parkin and social scientist Leonie Hardcastle state that "it was Canada, of course, which invented the term 'multiculturalism', which was borrowed by Australia

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[15] Giancarlo Chiro, "From Multiculturalism to Social Inclusion: The Resilience of Australian National Values Since Federation," in *Migration, Citizenship and Intercultural Relations: Looking Through the Lens of Social Inclusion*, ed. Fethi Mansouri and Michele Lobo (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 21.
[16] Chiro, "From Multiculturalism to Social Inclusion," 23.
[17] Jupp, *Australian Retrospectives*, 113.
[18] Jupp, *Australian Retrospectives*, 114.
[19] Laurence Brosseau and Michael Dewing, *Canadian Multiculturalism* (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, 2009), 3.
[20] Brosseau and Dewing, *Canadian Multiculturalism*, 3.
[21] Brosseau and Dewing, *Canadian Multiculturalism*, 3.

shortly afterwards."[22] James Jupp, Andrew Markus and Peter McDonald recognise that Australia's multiculturalism model was influenced by Canada. However there were differences between the two. Jupp, Markus and McDonald note: "Australian multiculturalism puts less emphasis on civil rights and constitutional protections than the American variety. It puts far less emphasis on cultural maintenance than in the Canadian version."[23] Another point of difference that the authors claim is that Canada does not link multiculturalism with immigration "whereas Australia has and still does".[24]

There was a belief that if migrants to Australia were adequately resourced this would result in them being more productive. This was a desirable result as it would highlight to the wider public the value of new migrants and prompt the new arrivals to adjust to the society. In 1950, the Good Neighbour Committee was formed in Australia and was a government subsidized Australia wide organisation.[25] The organisation was "intended to co-ordinate the activities of voluntary groups, churches, and other bodies concerned with the welfare of immigrants".[26] However, its main purpose was to foster migrant assimilation rather than to support their integration into Australian society on their own terms.[27] Political scientist Gwenda Tavan argues that there was a continuous commitment to cultural and racial homogeneity and the Good Neighbour Committee was suspicious of difference and unwilling to involve migrants in its work.[28] The situation changed considerably in the 1970s under Gough Whitlam's Labor Government with the establishment of the Settlement Services Branch of the Department of Immigration in 1973 and the Telephone Interpreter Service in 1974.[29]

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[22] Andrew Parkin and Leonie Hardcastle, "Immigration Politics in the USA and Canada," in *The Politics of Australian Immigration* ed. James Jupp and Marie Kabala (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1993), 49.
[23] Andrew Markus, James Jupp and Peter McDonald, *Australia's Immigration Revolution* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2009), 95.
[24] Markus, Jupp and McDonald, *Australia's Immigration Revolution*, 95.
[25] Jean Martin, *Refugee Settlers: A Study of Displaced Persons in Australia* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1965), 27.
[26] Martin, *Refugee Settlers*, 27.
[27] Gwenda Tavan, "'Good Neighbours': Community Organisations, Migrants Assimilation and Australian Society and Culture, 1950-1961," *Australian Historical Studies*, 27, no. 109 (1997): 79.
[28] Tavan, "Good Neighbours," 81.
[29] Michael Klapdor, Moira Coombs and Catherine Bohm, "Australian Citizenship: A Chronology of Major Developments in Policy and Law," *Parliament of Australia,* 11 September 2009, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/0910/AustCitizenship#_Toc224109065 (accessed 20 February 2020).

The Whitlam Government and Immigration minister Al Grassby were the prime champions of multiculturalism. According to political scientist James Jupp, it was the Whitlam Government that "officially ended White Australia".[30] The concept of multiculturalism was first introduced in 1973 during Al Grassby's speech titled 'A Multi-Cultural Society for the Future'.[31] In this speech, Grassby outlined an adjustment to policies that included bilingual teaching. Students would be given the opportunity to continue their mother tongue as well as learning a second language.[32] Grassby explained that this initiative would "seek to minimise cultural and social conflict by encouraging the children of migrants to take pride in their language, to become acquainted with its standard and literary forms, and thus engage the goodwill and co-operation of parents in the schooling of their children".[33] The Whitlam Government also created a Commissioner for Community Relations and introduced the *Racial Discrimination Act* in 1975.[34] The *Racial Discrimination Act* states:

> It is unlawful for a person to do any act involving a distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of any human right or fundamental freedom in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.[35]

While this was happening at the federal level, each state and territory also created its own laws that overlapped with the *Racial Discrimination Act.*[36] When looking at South Australia

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[30] James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 41.
[31] Elsa Koleth, "Multiculturalism: A Review of Australian Policy Statements and Recent Debates in Australia and Overseas," *Parliament of Australia*, 8 October 2010, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1011/11rp06#_ftn22 (accessed 2 July 2020).
[32] Al J. Grassby, *A Multi-Cultural Society For the Future* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1973), 8.
[33] Grassby, *A Multi-Cultural Society*, 9.
[34] John Lack and Jacqueline Templeton, ed. *Bold Experiment: A Documentary History of Australia Since 1945* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1995), 89.
[35] The Australian Government, *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*, https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C2016C00089 (accessed 23 August 2020).
[36] Australian Human Rights Commission, *A Quick Guide to Australian Discrimination Laws*, 11 February 2015, https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/employers/quick-guide-australian-discrimination-laws (accessed 2 July 2020).

in particular, the state created an *Equal Opportunity Act* 1984 that forbid discrimination on the basis of race, among other things.[37] The Poles of the Solidarity wave were thus arriving in Australia at a time when a significant ideological shift had occurred in terms of what was considered the best way to accommodate migrants, and legislation was in place to protect their rights to cultural/ethnic expression.

While the Whitlam Government initiated multiculturalism, it was during the Fraser Government that multiculturalism was first officially defined. In 1977 the first official definition of multiculturalism was articulated by the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, appointed by the Fraser Government, in a submission to the Australian Population and Immigration Council.[38] In this submission, the Council concluded:

> In our view, an acceptance of the multicultural nature of Australian society implies that government and established institutions acknowledge the validity of ethnic cultures and respond in terms of ethnic beliefs, values and customs… What we believe Australia should be working towards is not a oneness, but a unity, not similarity, but a composite, not a melting pot but a voluntary bond of dissimilar people sharing a common political and institutional structure.[39]

In the same year, the Fraser Government announced a review of programs and services on offer to migrants. Frank Galbally, a Melbourne barrister, oversaw this report. The Galbally Report was concluded in 1978 and had examined the effectiveness of the programs and services available and identified areas of improvement. Galbally highlighted the importance of consultation: "[the report] argues that people affected by decisions should have a say in those decisions".[40] He went on to state: "information is essential if individuals are to take their place in society, partake of its benefits, exercise their rights and their duties".[41] The report focused on three main themes:

> A strong emphasis on initial settlement programs that are preventive, rather than curative, in dealing with the problems migrants experience in

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[37] Australian Human Rights Commission, *A Quick Guide to Australian Discrimination Laws*.
[38] Koleth, "Multiculturalism: A Review of Australian Policy Statements."
[39] Koleth, "Multiculturalism: A Review of Australian Policy Statements."
[40] *Galbally Information Kit: The Galbally Report* (Canberra: Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1980), section 1, 1-2.
[41] *Galbally Information Kit*, section 1, 1-2.

> adjusting to a new environment, back-up services that recognise that cultural differences, different ways of thinking, not language alone, can be a barrier to adjusting to a new life and a two-way process of adjustment by which Australia is emerging as a multicultural society in which newcomers and more established Australians realise they can learn from each other.[42]

Following the Galbally Report, a number of recommendations were put into effect and settlement services were expanded to include English lessons, accommodation on arrival as well as orientation assistance, interpreting and translating services, assistance with qualifications and recognition and the establishment of resource centres to assist migrants with their welfare needs.[43]

Even though government policies had changed, public attitudes were slower to adjust. The Minister of Immigration between 1975-1979, Michael MacKellar, acknowledged that public opinions were not in line with the changing policies. He said: "As an interested observer, I am sometimes disappointed by the narrowness of vision which some of those public opinions represent."[44] Sociologists Gary Freeman and Bob Birrell also argue that when the number of skilled migrants increased during the 1980s, the wider public was not pleased with the increased support for these individuals. They noted: "opinion polls showed substantial majorities of voters did not support the increased outreach to migrants or the commitment to multiculturalism".[45] As a result of these feelings in the wider public, the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs published a policy paper entitled *Multiculturalism for all Australians* "in recognition of the 'widespread uncertainty in the public mind about the meaning of multiculturalism for Australian society'".[46] The paper attempted to appease doubts held by the public to frame multiculturalism in terms of "a

[42] *Galbally Information Kit*, section 3, 1.
[43] Koleth, "Multiculturalism: A Review of Australian Policy Statements."
[44] Michael J. R. MacKellar, *Immigrants or Refugees? Paper Delivered by the Hon. M. J. R. MacKellar, M.P., Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, at the Australian Institute of International Affairs Seminar on 'Immigrants or Refugees* (Canberra: Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1978), 1.
[45] Gary P. Freeman and Bob Birrell, "Divergent Paths of Immigration Politics in the United States and Australia," *Population and Development Review,* 27, no. 3 (September 2001): 553.
[46] Koleth, "Multiculturalism: A Review of Australian Policy Statements."

way to look at Australian society that involved living together with an awareness of cultural diversity" rather than simply a provision of services for ethnic migrants.[47]

With the understanding that the Solidarity wave of Polish migrants arrived in the decade after the Australian Government embrace of the 'multicultural' approach, but cognisant that community attitudes do not always align with government policy, the following section will examine how receptive the community was towards the Polish migrants and what impact this had on the retention of their Polish identity. And it will suggest where the Polish people felt the most comfortable to express their Polishness.

Community reception

Community acceptance can have a profound effect on the settlement experiences of Polish migrants as well as identity. How people are received impacts on the decision to either assimilate or more happily and independently integrate into society. For the Polish migrants of the 1980s, there was a mix of people who chose to focus on acclimatising to the Australian way of life and others who went out of their way to ensure they were able to retain their sense of Polishness.

Scholars in Australia and abroad have noted the tendency for Polish migrants to assimilate into the dominant society. Adam Jamrozik repeatedly outlines how Polish migrants who arrived in the early 1980s easily assimilated into the wider Australian community. He does not believe Polish migrants created their own communities and describes them as having a "quiet presence".[48] Inwald and Ciesielski found that children whose parents migrated in the 1980s were more likely to assimilate quickly into Australian society than their parents. The ability to grasp the language and adapt to the Australian customs were some of the main factors that assisted the children in adapting to their new environment.[49] Looking outside of Australia, Richard Baker also concludes from his research that the Solidarity wave Polish migrants who moved to Canada were not

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[47] Koleth, "Multiculturalism: A Review of Australian Policy Statements."
[48] Adam Jamrozik, *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984: Seminar, 12 October 1984* (Ashfield: Polish Welfare and Information Bureau, 1984), 2.
[49] S. Inwald and K. Ciesielski, "Polish Families and Migration," in *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984: Seminar, 12 October 1984* (Ashfield: Polish Welfare and Information Bureau, 1984), 3.

attached to the Polish community in their new location.[50] He argues that the command of the English language by the migrants made it easier for them to adapt to Canadian life.[51] As a result, the Polish people felt more independent and less reliant on Polish community support.

Integrating into the new society posed some difficulties that primarily consisted of discrimination and intolerance. Former director of the Multicultural Centre at the University of Southern Queensland Krzysztof Batorowicz states how immigrants were often rejected by the receiving society.[52] It was often the supposed threat of having other people come into the country and potentially take jobs from the existing population that created these tensions. Literature suggests that regardless of when the Poles arrived in their new country, the reception was usually one of animosity. One possible explanation as to why Polish people were specifically targeted stems from an assumed belief that Poles were inferior in some form. Political scientist Joseph Roucek claims that immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were viewed as "inherently inferior [and] that they could not be assimilated".[53] Historian Janice Kleeman has a similar conclusion in regards to the Polish migrants in the United States and argues that the Poles fared badly when being accepted into mainstream America.[54] Kleeman writes in her article that Polish Americans were not culturally assimilated because of three particular reasons: religious prejudice, racism, and general resentment of immigrants.[55] She finds that the new migrants were from southern and eastern Europe and more culturally different from Americans than the older migrants.[56] While she acknowledges that it was relatively difficult to document this theory, other scholars have also identified this trend. In his article, Alan Dundes explores the treatment of Polish migrants and argues how 'Polack' jokes were based on a "lower

[50] Richard Baker, "The Adaptation and Ethnicity of Polish Immigrants in Toronto: The Solidarity Wave," *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* 21, no. 3 (January 1989): 84-85.
[51] Baker, "The Adaptation and Ethnicity of Polish Immigrants," 85.
[52] Krzysztof Batorowicz, "Multiculturalism and Immigration: the Australian Case," in *Scandinavian and European Migration to Australia and New Zealand: Proceedings of the Conference held in Stockholm, Sweden, and Turku, Finland June 9-11, 1998*, ed. Olavi Koivukangas and Charles Westin (Turku: Institute of Migration, 1999), 15.
[53] Joseph S. Roucek, "The Image of the Slav in U.S. History and in Immigration Policy," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 28, no. 1, (January 1969): 1.
[54] Janice Kleeman, "Polish-American Assimilation: The Interaction of Opportunity and Attitude," *Polish American Studies,* 42, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 12.
[55] Kleeman, "Polish-American Assimilation," 15.
[56] Kleeman, "Polish-American Assimilation," 16.

class stereotype that could be equally applied to any immigrant group that presently registered low on the social scale."[57] Helen Lopata also identifies these prejudicial stereotypes and argues how the jokes about Polish people were a "constant reminder to Polish Americans that they ha[d] not been strictly assimilated".[58]

Perceived animosity towards Polish migrants often took the form of resentment from three directions: resentment from Anglo-Australians, resentment from other migrants and resentment from other Poles. Within my sample, Danek recalled several moments where Anglo Australians were rude to the Polish people in his work place. He explained that these individuals were proud of their British heritage and acted like they were superior to everyone else. Danek said: "they always had their noses in the air".[59] The British individuals even reported Danek and the other Poles to the union for speaking in Polish. Danek stated: "they complained to the union but the union explained to them that we were speaking Polish on our breaks. Our own personal time."[60] Daria viewed the attacks by some Australians on her performances at work as jealousy because she was able to cope and thrive in her new environment.[61] Daria explained: "We had to work harder than others to get the life we wanted but the others were envious because of how well we were able to cope."[62] Language was often the source of resentment. The general consensus was that the migrants should speak English. During our interviews, Henryk and Antony brought up instances of Australians being offended when they spoke Polish around them.[63] Henryk described how at work, he would speak in Polish with other Polish colleagues. He explained: "You could feel them staring at us when we spoke in Polish. They were not happy and in some cases they would voice their thoughts and say, 'do not speak Polish'. It was hard sometimes."[64] In his interview, Antony said, "I think in many cases, they thought we were talking about them. That is why we tried to speak in English

[57] Alan Dundes, "A Study of Ethnic Slurs: The Jew and the Polack in the United States," *Journal of American Folklore,* 84 (1971): 199.
[58] Quoted in Kleeman, "Polish-American Assimilation," 13.
[59] 'Danek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[60] 'Danek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[61] 'Daria,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[62] 'Daria,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[63] 'Antony,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2017 (pseudonym); 'Henryk,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 February 2017.
[64] 'Henryk,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 February 2017.

around them."[65] Christopher mentioned that he overheard Australians telling his students to speak English whenever they spoke in Polish.[66] Other migrants and Australians did not understand the desire and need to speak in Polish. As Antony explained, speaking in Polish was an easier way to communicate and express themselves instead of trying to fumble over English words.[67] These examples support my earlier point about public attitudes taking longer to change even though government policies were in place to make integration easier for migrants. The responses from my sample suggest that the Solidarity wave group were willing to be conciliatory in their actions and defer to the English language rather than offend. In this way migrants have, in the words of sociologists Jan Pakulski and Bruce Tranter, developed multiple identities that are "often organised in hierarchies and 'enacted' according to social situations".[68]

Discrimination and resentment also came from other migrants who left their respective countries to move to Australia. Carolina's workmates were from Italy and attempted to cause problems for her to make her work life unpleasant. She explained: "They were jealous because I could work faster and on more machines than they could. They refused to come and help me when the cotton tangled in the machines and were generally nasty behind my back."[69] Lucy had an almost identical experience in her workplace. She said: "When the thread snapped on the machines I was working on, I did not know what to do. None of the Chinese or Vietnamese women there helped me. They were quite rude."[70] In Baker's Canadian research, his respondents also experienced resentment when interacting with other migrants.[71] Equally, there were instances in which Polish migrants were not supportive of each other. They were envious of the success of other Polish people. This issue is explored in depth in Chapter Seven.

There was reluctance among many Polish migrants to discuss the instances of prejudice and intolerance that happened during their settlement. During my interviews, the typical

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[65] 'Antony,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[66] 'Christopher,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 April 2018 (pseudonym).
[67] 'Antony,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[68] Jan Pakulski and Bruce Tranter, "Civic, National and Denizen Identity in Australia," *Journal of Sociology*, 36, no. 2 (August 2000): 206.
[69] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[70] 'Lucy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[71] Baker, "The Adaptation and Ethnicity of Polish Immigrants," 87.

response was “it does not matter anymore”[72] or “that is something in the past”.[73] This phenomenon was also found in Leuner’s study. She found there was reluctance and even, to a point, a refusal to acknowledge these negative experiences. Leuner explains that the cause for this was related to their mentality of only speaking positively about their new home country.[74] This could explain the unwillingness of Polish migrants within my sample to discuss prejudice aimed against them. Another explanation could relate to migrants preferring not to mention names or speak poorly about other people. Julia said, “I’d rather not mention who that person was because it was so long ago.”[75] Renata also said in her experience, “it was just that person who was rude and so I should not say anything because it was not everyone who was nasty”.[76]

In general, however, Polish migrants of my sample experienced a receptive community that was friendly and supportive. Many reported how people were nice to them.[77] For example, despite there being some issues in the workplace, Carolina did have positive experiences with several of her colleagues. There were some Australians and Vietnamese people who became close friends and helped her adjust to the working environment.[78] She felt a certain level of acceptance among these individuals. During one positive moment, Carolina recalled how a Spanish colleague brought in a cake to help celebrate her birthday.[79] She said: “It was very sweet of her to go to the trouble not only to remember my birthday but to also bring in the cake.”[80] Janina also experienced supportive colleagues in her workplace. She found her work mates were helpful in offering advice and support for her. She explained: “They were kind enough to offer their opinions about places where I could go to get help and what schools would be the best for my children.”[81] In Melbourne, migrants in Leuner’s sample noticed the friendliness of

[72] ‘Alicja,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 5 April 2017.
[73] ‘Agata,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[74] Beata Leuner, “Settling Down and Settlement Patterns Case Study: Polish Migrants from the 1980s in Melbourne,” *Polish Sociological Review,* 4, no. 160 (2007): 418-419.
[75] ‘Julia,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[76] ‘Renata,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[77] ‘Henryk,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 February 2017; ‘Christopher,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 April 2018 (pseudonym).
[78] ‘Carolina,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[79] ‘Carolina,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[80] ‘Carolina,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[81] ‘Janina,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 August 2017 (pseudonym).

people extended beyond the workplace and this was observed by some of my interviewees as well. The migrants found that the community was welcoming and willing to accept them into their lives.[82] In particular, Leuner recorded responses regarding how shop assistants were friendly and patient with the Polish migrants to the point of suggesting words if they were having difficulty in communicating.[83]

Support services

Support can play an important role in how migrants integrate or retain their identity in the new country. Support can come in many forms whether it is in the form of material assistance or psychological support. At the time of the Solidarity wave's arrival, there were a number of services on offer to encourage the retention of ethnic identity. Governmental assistance, spiritual and cultural associations, and Polish centres were the main sources of support. However, not all migrants sought or needed this support.

Government-provided accommodation, usually in the form of hostel living, was the first assistance given to Polish migrants upon their arrival. In South Australia, the first housing for the Polish migrants of the 1980s was the Finsbury-Pennington hostel. Formerly military barracks, this accommodation was first opened in 1949 to house refugees settling in Australia after World War Two. It was located near Main Junction Road in Finsbury.[84] The hostel was comprised of Nissan huts constructed out of galvanised iron and corrugated asbestos. It was divided into five sections, each with a capacity of 400 people, which could be opened or closed depending on demand.[85] There were communal toilets, showers, laundry and dining areas as well as recreational activities. The hostel was renamed Pennington in 1966 because of postal boundary changes and it was referred to as the Pennington Migrant Centre in 1980.[86] By 1985, most of the communal facilities had closed and the huts were replaced by self-contained family units for the migrants. There were still support services available but most of the English classes took place at the Renaissance Centre in the city rather than at the Pennington hostel. The migrants in

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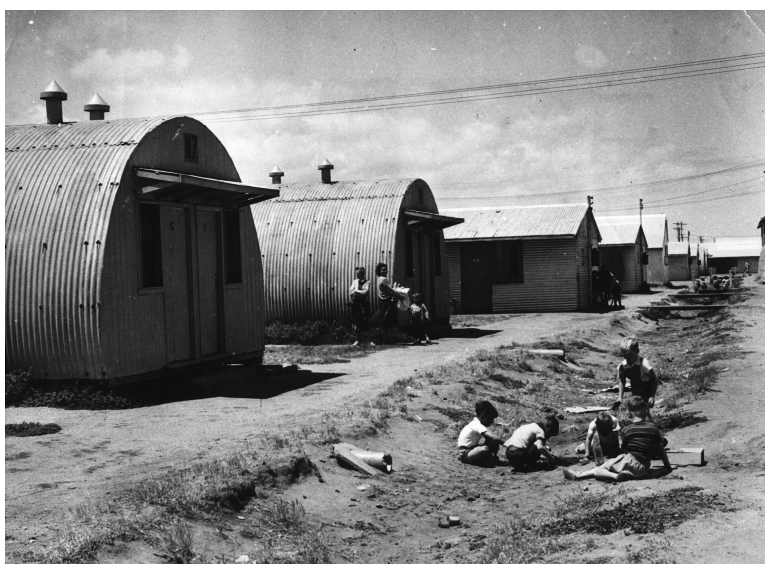
82 Leuner, "Settling Down and Settlement Patterns," 421.
83 Leuner, "Settling Down and Settlement Patterns," 422.
84 Karen Agutter and Catherine Manning, "Pennington Migrant Hostel," *SA History Hub,* http://sahistoryhub.com.au/places/pennington-migrant-hostel (accessed 8 December 2019).
85 Agutter and Manning, "Pennington Migrant Hostel."
86 Agutter and Manning, "Pennington Migrant Hostel."

South Australian hostels did not pay rent until they found their first job.[87] Tensions arose when individuals were required to pay rent (about 80% of income according to historian Rachel Ankeny)[88] and resulted in protests. The hostels, in many cases, offered preliminary services ranging from housing-finding services and employment-finding services to medical services. Initial settlement courses were also arranged which included English classes for adults and an orientation program that provided information about Australia.[89] The following images show the Finsbury-Pennington hostel in the 1950s when it was first opened, and 1986, around the time the Solidarity wave of Polish migrants stayed there.



Finsbury-Pennington hostel in the 1950s.[90]

[87] Rachel Ankeny, "Hostel Stories," *The Adelaide Review*, December 2012, 20.
[88] Ankeny, "Hostel Stories," 20.
[89] Leuner, "Settling Down and Settlement Patterns," 421.
[90] Karen Agutter and Catherine Manning, "Children Playing in the Drains at Finsbury Hostel, Early 1950s," *Migration Museum Photographic Collection, PN05782* Pennington Migrant Hostel, *SA History Hub*, History Trust of South Australia, http://sahistoryhub.com.au/places/pennington-migrant-hostel (accessed 8 December 2019).

Finsbury-Pennington hostel 1986.[91]

Many of my interviewees recalled positive experiences with the Pennington hostel and its facilities and services. Agata said: "It was good to be given some information about Australia. They helped us get bank accounts and loans to get started."[92] Ewa recalled: "The people were really helpful. They organised our English classes and orientation so we were able to get the basics like how to shop and find work."[93] Robert commented on how the chef in the hostel helped him find employment. He said: "There was a chef, a Sri Lankan man, I had a chat with him and told him I was a qualified chef with little experience and he said 'well I know someone, I will give him a ring and find a job for you.' So he did call someone and I had an interview with the executive chef of the restaurant."[94] Even though he had some issues with language, Robert managed to secure the job. This kindness by the chef meant that Robert was able to kick start his career faster and he also became close friends with the executive chef who gave him his first job.

There were some Polish migrants who believed that the support within the hostels did not go far enough. Mateusz stated that while there was some assistance on offer at the

[91] Migration Museum, "Pennington Hostel 1986 - Pennington Formerly Finsbury Prior to Demolition," Migration Museum Photographic Collection, PN03722.
[92] 'Agata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[93] 'Ewa,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[94] 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.

hostel, overall, it was not much.[95] In his experience, assistance offered outside the hostel was more beneficial. Similarly, Julia said, “All I wanted to do was get away from the hostel and into my own home. I did not feel like they were helping me enough.”[96] Most moved out of the hostel as quickly as possible because of the conditions, which were austere. For those that arrived in Australia during the summer, the metal accommodations were difficult to live in and therefore many sought out housing on their own. Renata recalled those moments at the Pennington hostel being “unbearably hot and uncomfortable”.[97] She wanted to leave as soon as possible because she was not accustomed to the high temperatures of Australia. This was not only experienced by Polish migrants but also Slovakian migrants who arrived in South Australia during the 1980s. They also had similar negative opinions about the hostel. Jan Vrtielka’s honours research focused on the Slovakian community in South Australia and one migrant summed up their feelings in these words: “The hostel in Pennington was another shock. Old barracks made from corrugated iron. Two women who invited us to the hostel were very unfriendly and dictatorial and this discouraged us.”[98] A possible explanation for these negative experiences could stem from the expectations held by migrants in general. A report by the Polish Task Force for the Ethnic Affairs Commission of New South Wales in 1983 suggests this and argues that there could have been an expectation on the side of the migrants that Australia would provide better or extended assistance in finding homes and not simply the rudimentary hostels they were housed in.[99]

Financial assistance was, in many cases, the most useful form of support for the Polish migrants. The most common source of this monetary support came from the Australian Government which provided unemployment benefits for incoming migrants. In 1985, the

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[95] ‘Mateusz,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[96] ‘Julia,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[97] ‘Renata,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[98] Jan Vrtielka, “Slovaks in Adelaide: Three Waves of Slovak Immigration into South Australia 1948-1951, 1968-1971, 1979-1989” (Honours thesis, Flinders University, 1993), 25.
[99] *The New Polish Immigrants: A Quest for Normal Life: Report of the Polish Task Force to the Ethnic Affairs Commission of NSW* (Sydney: Ethnic Affairs Commission, 1983), 51.

government had introduced a new rate structure for unemployment benefits. The weekly payments can be seen in the table below:[100]

Age	Weekly payment
16 and 17 years	$50
18 and 20 years	$88.20
21 years and over	$91.45

In comparison, the average weekly wages for individuals in 1985 can be seen in this table:[101]

	Full Time Adult	All employees
Males	$399.60	$392.70
Females	$328.40	$260.10
Persons	$377.50	$340.10

There is a considerable difference between the unemployment benefits and the weekly wages, yet, as a starting point, this would have significantly assisted migrants before they were able to secure employment. In my sample, 18 out of 45 people drew upon government financial support, but tended to only use this assistance for a few months in between arriving and finding work. In Janina's case, her family gained benefits for six months before being able to support themselves. She explained: "We were grateful that we received some support before finding jobs. It helped relieve some of the stress we had about how we would support ourselves because we did not come over with much money."[102] Julia was also grateful for the benefits and how it helped in relieving some stress before her family were able to support themselves. She said: "It helped a great deal to know that we had some assistance before we got settled."[103] Some of the other migrants explained how much they appreciated this assistance but elaborated that it did

[100] "Unemployment Benefit, 1945 to 1991, Job Search Allowance, 1988 to 1991," *Parliament of Australia,* https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/2012-2013/SSPaymentsUnemployment/AppendixB/AppendixBTable1 (accessed 19 January 2020).
[101] "Average Weekly Earnings, States and Australia Mar 1985," *Australian Bureau of Statistics,* 24 June 1985,
https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/allprimarymainfeatures/C8973D02E4FDBA6CCA25750300822410?opendocument (accessed 19 January 2020).
[102] 'Janina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[103] 'Julia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).

not go far enough in helping them live outside the hostel. Ewa stated: “It was good getting some money but that only takes you so far. We needed more help. Finding work, finding a home. That is the kind of help we needed in addition to the welfare money.”[104]

Even though this monetary assistance existed there was, in some regards, stigma associated with accepting this. When migrants in my sample were asked about the financial support, most individuals replied that they hardly ever accepted any monetary assistance. The common answer included a sense of “wanting independence” and “making their own way”.[105] Twenty-seven individuals out of the 45 interviewees said that they did not use unemployment benefits after arriving in Australia. The number seems relatively high considering that most of the people leaving Poland would not have had much money for an extended period because of the fact that the authorities had only allowed them to leave because they claimed they were taking a short holiday. A large amount of money would have tipped off the authorities to a different motive. The number who temporarily accepted unemployment benefits was thus probably higher, however the sense of pride and embarrassment in accepting such assistance might have prevented the interviewees from admitting it. Indeed, the idea of accepting financial assistance for some of the migrants could have been embarrassing and would explain the refusal to even consider the support.

Interpreters based in the Pennington hostel and in public libraries were one source of support that acted as a medium to connect migrants to various institutions. At least in the beginning stages of settlement, the use of interpreters was essential in communicating with the new society and establishing a framework to start a new life. Migrants in my sample were more comfortable in accepting this form of assistance than money. The interpreting services extended beyond the simple task of translating speech. Migrants often used the services to translate their documents and qualifications into English. Renata discussed how one interpreter helped by offering her information about the best

[104] ‘Ewa,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[105] ‘Jon,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 30 March 2018 (pseudonym); ‘Andrzej,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.

places to find assistance.[106] She said: “They were very helpful. They pointed out organisations and places like banks to help us get started.”[107] However not all the experiences with translators or interpreters were positive. Jon described his experience with a female interpreter who was not helpful in assisting him find work. In fact, she was a hindrance in finding employment.[108] As a result, Jon avoided the woman and applied for jobs on his own without assistance. He even spent time in the local library attempting to learn English to get through job interviews.[109] It was the librarians who noticed his efforts and offered their time to help him with his resume and English proficiency.

Low interest rates on bank loans in the early and mid 1980s provided migrants an opportunity to buy their own homes and leave the hostel sooner. A small handful of migrants within my sample were able to purchase a home with relative ease and pay off the mortgage within a short period of time. Andre described how he was able to take advantage of the low rates. This was, in his words, “one of the greatest forms of help”.[110] Taduesz also mentioned this low interest rate and said: “It helped us buy our own house much faster.”[111] However, not all migrants were able to take advantage of this opportunity. Aleksy said that when he went to apply for a loan, the interest rates had increased. He explained: “We missed out on the opportunities each time.”[112] Whereas Zygmunt was able to receive a government loan of $48,000 with only 5% interest in the early 1980s,[113] when Aleksy went to apply for a loan in the late 1980s, he was not able to afford the loan because the interest rates had increased to 17.5%[114] He needed to abandon his dream of owning his own home until he was in a more established position to take out a loan and interest rates were lower.

[106] ‘Renata,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[107] ‘Renata,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[108] ‘Jon,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 30 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[109] ‘Jon,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 30 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[110] ‘Andre,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 13 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[111] ‘Tadeusz,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017.
[112] ‘Aleksy,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[113] ‘Zygmunt,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 3 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[114] Steve Evans, “The Horror! The Horror! Interest Rates Up at 17.5 Per Cent! *Canberra Times*, 3 July 2019, https://www.canberratimes.com.au/story/6253573/the-horror-the-horror-interest-rates-up-at-175-per-cent/ (accessed 24 October 2020).

The idea of owning a home was of paramount importance for the Solidarity wave migrants because it provided security as well as a space that migrants could call their own. In Poland the dream of owning a home was almost unobtainable. Geography professor Lydia Coudroy de Lille states that in Poland: "the pace of construction began an inexorable decline in 1979, and housing became one of the least accepted symptoms in the spread of shortages throughout Polish society".[115] The problems with housing shortages in Poland grew and the council of ministers ordered the Bureau of Housing Cooperatives to stop accepting new applicants.[116] The situation was the worst for young couples as they were placed at the bottom of waiting lists and elderly individuals who were living in degraded housing units.[117] Coudroy de Lille highlights that films and television series were created that denounced the housing situation in Poland. One of the most popular was *Alternatywy 4* and was described as "a violent satire describing the hopes and disappointments of a provincial manager transferred to Warsaw, who was promised a cooperative housing unit, but which was of course unfinished".[118] This is why Polish migrants placed a significant emphasis on having their own home. Looking at another ethnic group, Croatians also had a similar problem with housing in their country of origin. Vlado, a Croatian migrant interviewed by sociologist Val Colic-Peisker, left Croatia for Australia in 1988 and explained that it would take him 200 years to buy his own flat despite having a job as an engineer.[119] When Vlado returned to visit his family in Croatia, his brother and his wife and children were still living with their mother in a two-bedroom apartment whereas Vlado had his own home in Australia.[120]

Religious organisations and charities were another source of assistance available for the Polish migrants in Australia. These included charities such as Saint Vincent de Paul and the Salvation Army. When in Australia, the charities provided basic furnishings needed for migrants to get started in their new life such as beds, tables, and chairs. Barbara explained how the furniture and moral support provided by the Saint Vincent de Paul

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[115] Lydia Coudroy de Lille, "Housing in the Polish People's Republic: From 'Deficit' to 'Crisis'," *Le Mouvement Social,* 4, no. 245 (2013): 6.
[116] Coudroy de Lille, "Housing in the Polish People's Republic," 6.
[117] Coudroy de Lille, "Housing in the Polish People's Republic," 11.
[118] Coudroy de Lille, "Housing in the Polish People's Republic," 12-13.
[119] Val Colic-Peisker, *Split Lives: Croatian Australian Stories* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2004), 195.
[120] Colic-Peisker, *Split Lives*, 198.

Society was appreciated. She said: “The organisation was very generous. It was more than we expected.”[121] Her family had been previously sleeping on the floor and therefore were incredibly grateful for basic furnishings.[122] Barbara’s gratitude for the assistance provided by the charity continues to this day. She made sure to keep one piece of furniture given to her family from the Society. She said: “It is a reminder to me and to my children and grandchildren of the help we received. It was in fact a present. I saw them restoring this side table and tears filled my eyes. The volunteers asked if I liked it and I said that it reminded me of a piece my grandmother had. They finished restoring it and gave it to us as a gift.”[123] Antony described how the Salvation Army helped provide his family with a refrigerator and other household products to get them started.[124] Mariusz’s family received assistance from both the Salvation Army and Saint Vincent de Paul organisations who provided cheap goods for his family to purchase when they first arrived.[125] In Chapter Five, it will be shown that the Catholic Church provided assistance to the Solidarity wave migrants but other denominations were also helpful to the new arrivals. Bartek and Danuta found that the Seventh-Day Adventist Church and its members were willing to help them with information or acquiring furniture.[126] Bartek described having positive experiences with people from the Seventh-Day Adventist Church. He had several work colleagues who were church members who helped him with various affairs including paperwork that needed to be completed. However he added: “They were very nice because they wanted to suck me in to their religion.”[127] Danuta also had positive experiences with the Adventist Church but did not feel the same pressure as Bartek. She said: “We met some people during our English courses at Pennington and became friends with them and they were Seven Adventist. They helped us a lot setting up our home with furniture and such. And they never pressured us to join their religion.”[128]

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[121] ‘Barbara,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[122] ‘Barbara,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[123] ‘Barbara,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[124] ‘Antony,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[125] ‘Mariusz,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017.
[126] ‘Bartek,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017 (pseudonym); ‘Danuta,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 18 July 2017.
[127] ‘Bartek,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[128] ‘Danuta,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 18 July 2017.

Friends and acquaintances, mostly former migrants themselves, were for many Polish migrants another reliable source of support. In my sample, Andrzej explained how his family received the majority of assistance when moving into their first home through a Polish friend. This friend helped them organise a mattress that was laid on the floor and the three of them – his wife, daughter and himself – shared.[129] Janina described how Polish friends who had arrived in Australia before her helped her family with finding work and offering advice to help settle in.[130] She said: "Friends who came before us were able to tell us the best places to go and get help. They knew what worked best and things to get us started faster."[131] Robert also highlighted the significance of individuals in helping his family after arriving. There was a mix of the older Poles and the Solidarity wave migrants who offered their help to him and his family.[132] In most cases, the friends had prior experience and therefore were able to tell the recent arrivals about their experiences and offer advice about the best places to turn to for support. Tadeusz described this during our interview. He explained how friends provided the greatest support because "they lived it so they had a different way of explaining things that made sense to us."[133]

Some in my sample of Polish migrants experienced problems in gaining information about programs and resources. Henryk explained how it was not until a few months after his arrival that he learned about the close proximity of a Polish church near the Pennington hostel.[134] While he was visiting the local Polish centre, Dom Kopernika, the other Polish people did not inform him about the local parish. He was surprised that no one had mentioned it to him.[135] Agata also commented how it was not always easy to get information. She explained: "You were not always told where to go and who to ask for help. Sometimes, you would only find out about it when it was no longer needed."[136] Academic Renata Ciesla recognises that migrants were sometimes not receiving information from government agencies and service providers following their arrival that was crucial for their settlement. She argues that there was little consultation with ethnic

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[129] 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
[130] 'Janina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[131] 'Janina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[132] 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[133] 'Tadeusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017.
[134] 'Henryk,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 February 2017.
[135] 'Henryk,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 February 2017.
[136] 'Agata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).

communities and therefore the programs available were not geared towards the needs of migrants.[137] There was a survey conducted in 1981 that involved of 90 state government departments and authorities which was conducted by the Committee on Information Marketing to Ethnic Communities. It discovered that more than half of the agencies produced material only in English, there was a heavy reliance on printed material as the prime means to communicate, and over 60% of the agencies did not have directives for their staff to guide them in their contact with migrants.[138] Ciesla also concludes from her research that in order to service clients better, the officers in the organisations needed to know about the migrants' cultural background, social and demographic characteristics and the context in which they were arriving in order to understand and better support the individuals.[139]

Polish community centres were some of the first places where Polish migrants were able to engage with the community and participate in cultural groups. In South Australia, there were two main centres that catered to the Polish community: Dom Polski in the centre of Adelaide and Dom Kopernika in the Pennington area. The Dom Polski centre first began in meeting rooms within the Saint Francis Cathedral. It then moved to Woodville before a larger venue was chosen and purchased within the centre of Adelaide on Angas Street. It was officially opened in 1973 and the original establishment in Woodville was sold in 1980. The Displaced Persons wave of Polish migrants who arrived soon after World War Two established Dom Kopernika during the 1960s in order to provide a place for people to meet and socialise. This Polish centre later included a function centre in the early 1970s and also was home to a Polish language school.[140] It was here in Dom Kopernika that Mateusz, a respondent in my sample, taught Polish Sunday School.[141] Its close proximity to the Pennington hostel meant that the first contact Polish migrants arriving to the hostel had was with the Dom Kopernika centre. These centres served as the basis for clubs that were formed like choir groups and folk dance associations. The Polish centres not only provided locations for people to gather and meet but hosted dinners, cultural

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137 Renata Ciesla, "Importance of Information," in *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984: Seminar, 12 October 1984* (Ashfield: Polish Welfare and Information Bureau, 1984), 1.
138 Ciesla, "Importance of Information," 1.
139 Ciesla, "Importance of Information," 3.
140 *Polish Society Dom Kopernika*, https://domkopernika.com.au/about-us/ (accessed 12 December 2018).
141 'Mateusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 March 2017 (pseudonym).

festivals, and dances. They were crucial in preserving Polish culture and traditions for those who wished to participate.

The most common cultural groups that were housed in the Polish centres were the Polish Theatre and the Tatry (the Polish folk dance ensemble). These two clubs were the most popular among my sample for those seeking out a place to participate within the Polish community. Andrzej was deeply involved with the Polish Theatre.[142] He described the theatre as having a social function aside from providing a location to continue Polish culture. It was a place where information was exchanged during breaks in rehearsal about what migrants needed to do and where to go.[143] But more than that, for Andrzej in particular, it was a place to find "people to talk to, people to have coffee with and most of my friends came from those involved in the theatre".[144] These emotional support networks were meaningful and significant to Andrzej for not just helping him adjust to his new life but expressing himself. He said, "I was able to find my place in Australia through the theatre."[145] Jarek and Jacek were also involved in the Polish theatre. These men described a closeness and friendship that developed from their involvement in the group. Jarek's main role within the theatre was music and that fitted well because of his background as a musician.[146] Jacek was an active participant in the theatre mainly as an organiser and planner of the different plays.[147] All of this was possible because of Father Marian, who was the main driving force in the creation of the Polish Theatre and who also arrived in Australia in 1979, just prior to the Solidarity wave migrants.

The Tatry dance group was a place for migrants and their children to maintain their Polish identity and connection to Polish culture. Jon described how important it was for his daughters to be involved in this group. The dance troop, for him, was a way for his children to continue Polish traditions and "not forget their Polishness".[148] This was a central idea that he wanted to impart to the girls because remembering their Polish

[142] 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
[143] 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
[144] 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
[145] 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
[146] 'Jarek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 30 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[147] 'Jacek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 January 2017.
[148] 'Jon,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 30 March 2018 (pseudonym).

heritage and identity was important now that they were living in Australia. However, while he initiated contact, it was his daughters that made the choice of whether they would continue to participate. One daughter continued participating while the other decided to leave the group after a short period of time.[149] Agata was also the driving force behind her children attending Polish clubs. It was important for her to incorporate her daughters into Polish activities to ensure they did not forget their heritage. She said: "I wanted my girls to remember where they came from and have that be a continual part of who they would become."[150]

Despite the desire of migrants to create new or join existing organisations, studies have shown quite low levels of involvement. Out of the 45 respondents in my study, only 18 or (40%) were active members of one or more Polish groups. Researcher Elizabeth Drozd found that only 30% of her 60 respondents in Melbourne belonged to Polish organisations.[151] It is difficult to pinpoint a singular factor that explains the relatively low rate of membership or participation in cultural groups. One possible explanation could be related to migrants having a firm idea of their identity, and this identity not been threatened in 1980s multicultural Australia. Janina replied during her interview: "We are Polish. We do not need to remember that. It is just who we are."[152] Julia also said: "We just came from Poland. We were not going to forget that we are Polish."[153] Similarly, Carolina explained how being Polish was something obvious to her.[154] She justified that she had spent so many years in Poland that she would not forget her heritage so quickly. Carolina said: "I do not need to attend Polish events or be part of different Polish groups. I am Polish and I will not forget that."[155] Researcher Danielle Drozdzewski found a similar response among her sample of Polish migrants in Australia.[156] Anthropologist Keith Sword similarly states that the reason why Polish migrants tended not to participate in

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[149] 'Jon,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 30 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[150] 'Agata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[151] Elizabeth Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way: The Settlement of the 1980s Solidarity Wave of Polish Immigrants in Melbourne" (M.A. thesis, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, 1997), 147.
[152] 'Janina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[153] 'Julia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[154] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[155] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[156] Danielle Drozdzewski, "Waves of Migration Exclusion and Inclusion: The Experiences of Polish Australians," in *Migration, Citizenship and Intercultural Relations: Looking Through the Lens of Social Inclusion*, ed. Fethi Mansouri and Michele Lobo (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 70.

activities in Polish communities in Britain was because they did not feel the need to reinforce their sense of being Polish.[157] As we have seen, those who participated did so for the sake of their children, whose connection to Poland was more tenuous, or to find friends or potential partners as in the case of Andrzej.

Geographic location proved to be a factor in determining the use and establishment of Polish clubs and groups. For some of the migrants in South Australia, the limited opportunities and Adelaide's suburban sprawl sparked their desire to create their own cultural groups in specific locations. Ania, one of my interviewees, discussed how the travel distance for the Polish people living in the south of the city made it difficult to ferry children into the city to participate in groups like folk dancing.[158] Ania said: "It was just too far away for us. We would not be able to get the children there and back."[159] Instead, a group of Polish migrants banded together and formed new groups like a choir in the south to satisfy their needs to be part of a Polish group.[160] This creation of the new group in the Noarlunga area brought together the Polish migrants because there "was shared values and background".[161] Daria's husband and a few of his Polish friends also created their own small golf club that would meet on a regular basis.[162] Rather than joining a larger organisation, the men preferred to keep the group small and based around friends who lived in the same area. As an exclusively Polish group, the golf club helped maintain Polish identity and language for the men but the activity itself was not specifically Polish or a Polish tradition.

One might argue that participation in Polish cultural groups remained at a fairly low level because the Polish migrants tended not to cluster in specific locations. James Forrest and Weronika Kusek used Australian Census data to argue Polish migrants tended to disperse rather than cluster in specific geographical locations and this suggested a "largely successful intergenerational merging into the residential fabric of Australia's

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[157] Keith Sword, *Identity in Flux: The Polish Community in Britain* (London: University of London, 1996), 209.
[158] 'Ania,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.
[159] 'Ania,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.
[160] 'Ania,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.
[161] 'Ania,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.
[162] 'Daria,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).

urban life".[163] Jamrozik came to a similar conclusion when examining Poles in New South Wales and says he did not find an identifiable "Polish ghetto".[164] He states, at least at the beginning of the 1980s, that Polish migrants did not congregate in geographic locations but spread out across the state.[165] Jamrozik therefore concludes that the Polish migrants of the Solidarity wave were more likely to integrate into the wider society rather than the established Polish community.[166] Parimal Roy and Ian Hamilton explain that there is a potential link between people living in an area with less ethnic nationals and a weaker disposition to maintain a connection to them.[167] In their view, groups that tend to congregate and, therefore, live in close quarters with other members of their group gave them a greater sense of identity with their ethnic background.

In South Australia, Polish migrants tended to settle in locations that suited their individual needs rather than focus on locations near Polish organisations or parishes. In most cases, migrants looked for suburbs conveniently located near schools or work and which offered affordable land for homes. Antony and his family rented a home in the Pennington area because they did not want to live in the hostel but wanted to remain in the area. He explained that they were familiar with the location of shops and other facilities and that made the location the best choice for them.[168] Bartek chose the location of his home based on the closeness to schools to make things easier for his children and his workplace to make the daily commute shorter.[169] Ewa in contrast made the decision to live in Parafield Gardens because of the land prices. She said: "The cost to buy land and build a house was good. We wanted something affordable and Parafield Gardens offered us a good price. We wanted to buy something quickly but also something that we could pay off quickly too."[170] Where clustering did occur this seemed to be an unconscious decision. The small pockets of migrants living and working in the same area was an

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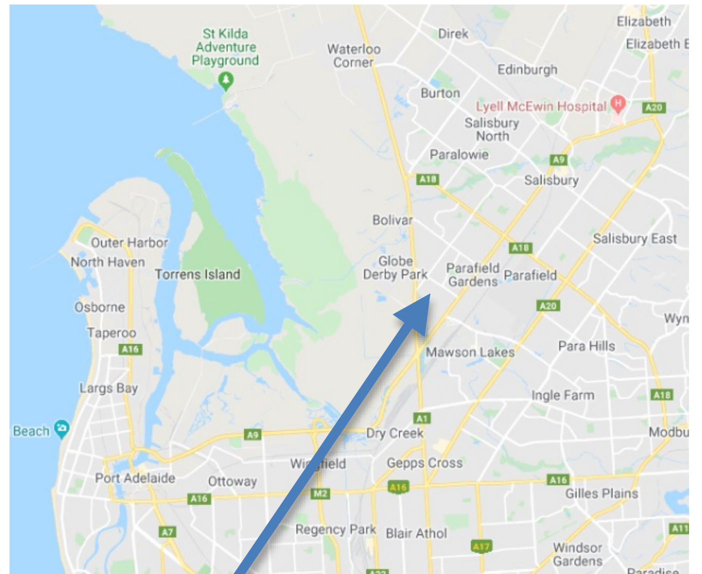
[163] James Forrest and Weronika Kusek, "Human Capital and the Structural Integration of Polish Immigrants in Australia in the First, Second and Third Generations," *Australian Geographer,* 47, no. 2, (2016): 242.
[164] Jamrozik, *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984*, 3.
[165] *The New Polish Immigrants*, 30.
[166] Adam Jamrozik, "Recent Polish Immigration," in *The Australian People: An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins,* ed. James Jupp (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 744.
[167] Quoted in Parimal Roy and Ian Hamilton, "Interethnic Marriage: Identifying the Second Generation in Australia," *The International Migration Review,* 31, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 138.
[168] 'Antony,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[169] 'Bartek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[170] 'Ewa,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 March 2018 (pseudonym).

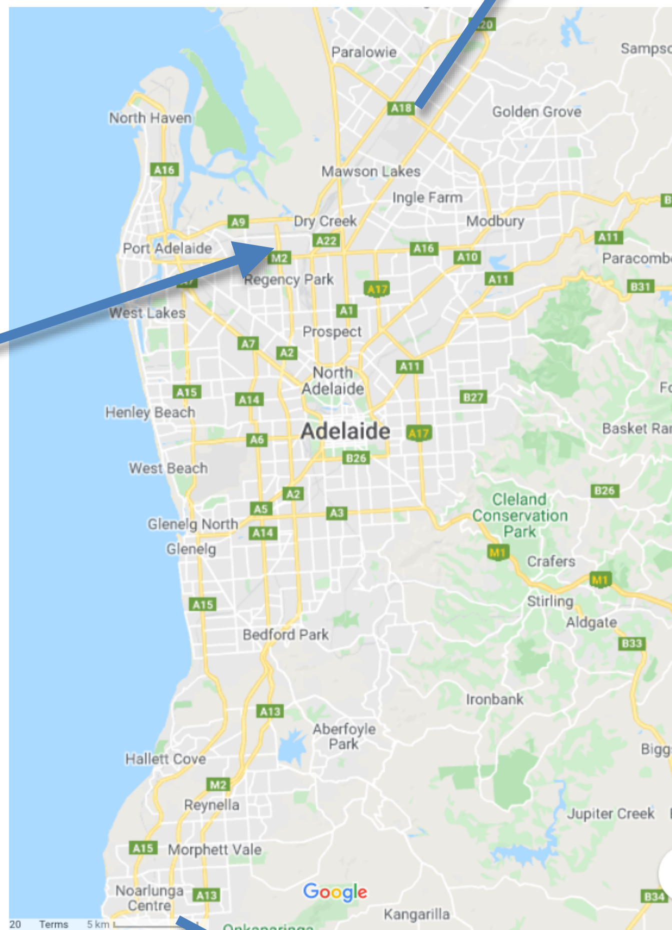
accidental occurrence as the migrants had not purposely chosen locations because they were aware of other Polish people living in the same area. As Danuta explained, it was not until her family had established themselves in the area of Burton that they had learned about the other Polish people living in the same vicinity.[171] Some of the suburbs that drew the migrants after their initial settlement in Ottoway, Royal Park, and Pennington were Burton, Parafield Gardens, and Salisbury in the north and Noarlunga in the south as seen in the maps on the following page:

[171] 'Danuta,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 18 July 2017.

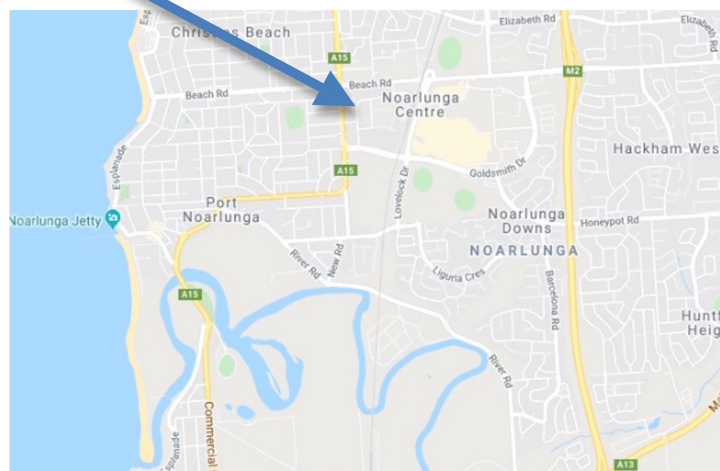
Adelaide, South Australia



Northern Suburbs: Burton, Salisbury and Parafield Gardens



Initial Settlement: Ottoway, Royal Park and Pennington



Southern Suburbs: Noarlunga

There was a conscious decision taken by some migrants to avoid creating a Polish ‘ghetto’ in Adelaide. While Tadeusz and Sylwia had their own community with their small circle of Polish friends, they had not actively wanted to create a mini Poland. This was because they did not want to isolate themselves from the Australian society.[172] Lena, another respondent in my sample, was strictly against creating “a little Poland” in Australia.[173] After her arrival, she distanced herself from the Polish community, at least initially, to focus on helping her daughter succeed in the new country and establishing herself as a teacher.[174] She explained that she had two main goals: “Developing my English was one of my goals when coming here to Australia. And integrating myself and my daughter into the Australian society.”[175] Lena’s example is a typical response according to sociologists Zofia Kinowska and Jan Pakulski. They argue that Polish migrants tended to focus their attention on adapting and integrating socially and economically after their arrival. Once the migrants had established themselves and their children were older, the migrants were more inclined to join the existing organisations and participated in the creation of Polish schools and other cultural groups.[176] Therefore migrants tended to avoid actively positioning themselves in close geographical proximities to each other. Andrew was a good example of this when he responded to the question regarding location. He felt that migrants tended to spread all over the place, himself included, because in his words he felt Polish individuals “did not need to be part of a close knit society”.[177]

Individuals could, of course, participate in a ‘Polish community’ in an informal capacity, without living in close proximity to other Poles or becoming official members of Polish organisations that might entail extensive commitment. Migrants like Daria described the enjoyment her and her husband derived from attending events like balls and concerts within the Polish community.[178] She said that these gatherings provided a place to be part

[172] ‘Tadeusz,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017; ‘Sylwia,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[173] ‘Lena,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[174] ‘Lena,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[175] ‘Lena,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[176] Zofia Kinowska and Jan Pakulski, “Polish Migrants and Organizations in Australia,” *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal,* 10, no. 2 (2018): 41.
[177] ‘Andrew,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 November 2017.
[178] ‘Daria,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).

of the Polish community without having to attend every single one.[179] This informal participation meant that Daria did not need to commit herself to weekly or monthly activities. She was able to pick and choose when and which events she wanted to attend. Renata was another who attended dances with her husband. She enjoyed the dances especially because it did not require a full time commitment.[180] Renata commented: "My family and I did not always have time to be completely involved in the Polish groups. The dances let us enjoy mixing with other Polish people for one evening every so often."[181] Aleksy attended a few events like this with his wife however the behaviour of some of the Polish migrants eventually discouraged them from going back.[182]

This chapter has shown that the changes in policy and the adoption of multiculturalism meant that Polish migrants were able to access services and programs to assist them to integrate into society. While policies were changing, public opinions were not as quick to adjust. Even though the overall conditions gave Polish migrants a receptive and inclusive environment, there were still undercurrents of discrimination, animosity and resentment by other migrants and Anglo-Australians. Resentment over the use of the Polish language meant the Poles altered their identity to better integrate into the community. Support was equally important in regards to giving migrants the tools and knowledge needed to settle into their new environment. It could take many forms and while reliance on monetary assistance was generally rejected, cultural groups were accepted. Groups like the Polish Theatre and folk dance clubs presented opportunities for the Polish migrants to create new friendships as well as provide a place where they could continue their identity as Polish people. However, it did not play an integral part for all migrants in their cultural maintenance. While there were numerous services on offer for arriving migrants, not all of these were utilised to the full effect. This was for a number of reasons. First, not all migrants knew about the services available to them and as a result were not able to take advantage of them to ease settlement experiences. The second main reason why migrants did not use support services was because of the shame and embarrassment associated with this assistance. Migrants had a sense of pride and refused to ask for

[179] 'Daria,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[180] 'Renata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[181] 'Renata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[182] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).

assistance preferring to be independent in their settlement. While none of the individuals interviewed said outright that they were embarrassed, the undertone of their responses suggested a sense of shame in taking assistance and why they tended to avoid this help. Overall, the level of geographical dispersal, attachment to Polish cultural organisations, and integration into Australian society of the Solidarity wave in South Australia appear to match that observed elsewhere by scholars such as Kinowska and Pakulski, Jamrozik and Drozd.

Chapter Two – Employment

The 1970s and 1980s in Australia were punctuated by periods of high unemployment and high inflation. In particular, the start and the end of the 1980s – the decade of the Solidarity wave's arrival – were defined by economic recessions. Martin Parkinson, secretary to the Treasury, noted that unemployment rates during the early 1980s recession rose from 5.4% in June 1981 to 10.3% in May 1983, an increase of almost five percentage points.[1] High levels of unemployment and a slowing economy meant that migration levels and the types of migrants accepted had to be reconsidered. Until this point, the Australian Government had generally cut migrant intakes during economic recessions in order to ease competition for jobs. However, some economists argued for an increase in migrants during such times, because they stimulated the economy with spending and increased demand for goods and services. They effectively created as many – if not more – jobs than they took. This depended on the type of migrant accepted. As Robert Rowthorn observed: "Provided their talents are fully utilized, the immigration of skilled workers or entrepreneurs will raise the demand of unskilled labour in the recipient country and will thereby benefit existing unskilled workers."[2] However, Rowthorn noted if unskilled workers should arrive then they could make the situation worse for the existing unskilled labour force in that country.[3] The qualifications and skills brought by the members of the Solidarity wave were thus going to be of interest to the Australian Government and shape their settlement experiences.

This chapter will outline the economic conditions awaiting the Polish migrants in Australia and examine whether this had any bearing on their ability to find suitable employment. It will also explore the type of qualifications the Polish people brought with them from Poland. Current literature has highlighted the considerable number of highly qualified migrants who made up the Solidarity wave, but also that they faced obstacles in having

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[1] Martin Parkinson, "Reflections on Australia's Era of Economic Reform: Address to the European Australian Business Council," 5 December 2012, https://treasury.gov.au/sites/default/files/2019-03/reflections_eco_reform_speech.pdf (accessed 27 July 2020).
[2] Robert Rowthorn, "Winners and Losers of Migration in the European Context: Economic Aspects," in *Migration and Mobility in Europe: Trends, Patterns and Control*, ed. Heinz Fassmann, Max Haller and David Lane (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2009), 17.
[3] Rowthorn, "Winners and Losers of Migration," 17.

their qualifications recognised. The chapter will therefore examine if and what barriers the Polish migrants faced in returning to their former professions. It will also examine whether an inability to return to the same socio-economic position prior to migration had any impact on their psychological wellbeing and their conceptions of self.

While Australia was willing to take individuals who were searching for a safe home, the Government was still selective in who was admitted into the country. Following World War Two, Australia had adopted the migration concept of 'populate or perish'. While Prime Minister John Curtin voiced his belief that Australia needed to bolster its population for security reasons, it was Arthur Calwell, the Minister of Immigration, who pushed the need for more people. He argued in the House of Representatives: "Our first requirement is additional population. We need it for reasons of defence and for the fullest expansion of our economy."[4] Even though the country wanted and needed to increase its population, it was selective in the type of people they were accepting. Initially, there was a preference for individuals who physically and culturally looked similar to Australians and therefore Jews were considered "too foreign".[5] Likewise, Eastern European migrants were lower on the list. As historians John Lack and Jacqueline Templeton explain, "Only when the supply of blonde and blue eyed Baltic people dwindled were other groups accepted: Poles, Ukrainians, and Slovenes at the end of 1947, Czechs and Yugoslavs in early 1948, and so on to a point in 1949 were virtually all European refugees were regarded as acceptable."[6] Similar bias occurred with what is called the White Australia policy where Asian and other 'non-white' people were excluded from migrating to Australia.[7] According to Leuner, the Australian Government "sought migrants of a kind, namely 'white', who could be easily assimilated".[8]

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[4] "Speech by Arthur Calwell, Minister for Immigration and Information: Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives, 2 August 1945, Vol. 184," in *The Australian Welfare State: Key Documents and Themes*, ed. John Wilson, Jane Thomson, and Anthony McMahon (Melbourne: Macmillan Education Australia, 1996), 158.
[5] Ruth Balint, "Industry and Sunshine: Australia as Home in the Displaced Persons' Camps of Postwar Europe," *History Australia*, 11, no. 1 (April 2014): 107.
[6] John Lack and Jacqueline Templeton, *Bold Experiment: A Documentary History of Australia Since 1945* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1995), 11.
[7] See Beata Leuner, *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance in Australia: Polish Migration to Melbourne in the 1980s* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 76; James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 8-9.
[8] Leuner, *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance*, 77.

Due to the deteriorating economic conditions of the mid-to-late 1970s and early 1980s in Australia, there was an increasing focus on attracting skilled individuals. The Department of Immigration described the change by stating: "the focus was again on attracting migrants with skills, business expertise and capital, an emphasis that to some extent was influenced by concerns about our aging population and declining fertility rate".[9] A new system for migrant selection was created and called the Numerical Multifactor Assessment System (NUMAS). As sociologist professor Christine Inglis points out, Australia followed the Canadian example in using a point system to filter through migrant applications.[10] She argues that NUMAS "favoured younger, skilled migrants with knowledge of English – the type of workers required as Australia restructured its economy to better cope with the challenges of globalization, by moving toward knowledge-based industries and away from manual labor".[11] Political scientist Freda Hawkins explains that NUMAS "preserved the two-part assessment form of the Structured Selection Assessment System, making only minor deletions and changes in terminology, but adding numerical weightings to a total of 100 as in the Canadian system."[12] The main difference Hawkins identifies between NUMAS and the Canadian system was that the latter focused almost entirely on economic factors and left only a maximum of ten points for personal suitability.[13] The NUMAS point system however was viewed as biased and against family reunion. Therefore the system went through changes and in May 1980 was expanded to better facilitate family reunion.

Qualifications

Historians and sociologists have argued that one of the main characteristics of the Solidarity wave were the high credentials they possessed and they were thus favoured by this system. When looking at international focused literature, Anna Sosnowska describes

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[9] Department of Immigration and Border Protection, *A History of the Department of Immigration: Managing Migration to Australia* (Canberra: Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2015), 65.
[10] Christine Inglis, "Australia: A Welcoming Destination for Some," *Migration Policy Institute* (15 February 2018) https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/australia-welcoming-destination-some (accessed 18 July 2020).
[11] Inglis, "Australia: A Welcoming Destination for Some."
[12] Freda Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 142.
[13] Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration*, 143.

the post-Soviet immigrants in New York as being the “newest professionals”.[14] She states how the individuals were making their presence known “as physicians, entrepreneurs, stock analysts, industrial researchers, accountants and computer specialists”.[15] Also in the United States, sociologist Mary Patrice Erdmans claims that in her Chicago study sample of 59 Polish people, more than 90% of the Solidarity wave had university education or technical degrees.[16] When examining the Canadian context, senior research fellow Delali Margaret Badasu found within her data sample of 300 Solidarity wave migrants in Alberta that 52% had completed university and 32% had a Masters degree.[17] However Badasu acknowledges that her sample might not be entirely representative of the Solidarity wave. Still, these levels of education seem high when compared to the Australian example. Elizabeth Drozd argues that for the Solidarity wave in her Melbourne-based sample of 60 people, the percentage of individuals who had some tertiary education or completed tertiary degrees was 40%.[18] Joanna Kujawa found a similar number to Drozd. She argues that 45.3% of the new Polish arrivals had tertiary education, 28.3% had technical education and 22.6% had secondary education.[19] A study conducted in 1981 in Sydney by the Polish Task Force found that 37% of the 237 newly arrived Poles interviewed had completed at least three years of tertiary education.[20]

The following table shows the educational levels among my sample of 45 migrants when they arrived in Australia:

Highest Level of Education prior to Migration	Number of Migrants
High School	3

[14] Anna Sosnowska, “Different. Polish and Post-Soviet Jewish Immigrants in New York City,” in *Between the Old and the New World: Studies in the History of Overseas Migrations*, ed. Agnieszka Malek and Dorota Praszalowicz (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2012), 97.
[15] Sosnowska, “Different. Polish and Post-Soviet Jewish Immigrants,” 97.
[16] Mary Patrice Erdmans, *Opposite Poles: Immigrants and Ethnics in Polish Chicago, 1976-1990* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 73.
[17] Delali Margaret Badasu, “Polish Immigration to Alberta Since 1980: Determinants and Consequences” (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1990), 11-12.
[18] Elizabeth Drozd, “They Have Come a Long Way: The Settlement of the 1980s Solidarity Wave of Polish Immigrants in Melbourne” (M.A. thesis, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, 1997), 40.
[19] Joanna Kujawa, *Migration, Belonging, Alienation: The Narratives of Polish Adventurers, Artists, and Intellectuals in Australia* (Saarbruken: VDM Verlage Dr. Muller, 2010), 56.
[20] *The New Polish Immigrants: A Quest for Normal Life: Report of the Polish Task Force to the Ethnic Affairs Commission of NSW* (Sydney: Ethnic Affairs Commission, 1983), 42.

TAFE (Technical and Further Education) or equivalent	22
University	20

As can be seen here, education among my respondents was evenly distributed between trade school and university. This table shows that the Polish migrants did have high levels of education when they arrived into Australia. The small number of migrants who only had high school level education after arriving into South Australia were teenagers at the time of their migration.

The Polish migrants who had completed university degrees from the University of Warsaw experienced fewer complications when having their qualifications recognised in Australia. This was the case for Tadeusz and Andrew. Tadeusz completed a journalist degree from the University of Warsaw and explained that he had no trouble with having his credentials recognised.[21] Andrew had a similar experience to Tadeusz and explained that his electronics engineering degree was easily recognised in Australia.[22] In comparison, Janina and Agata did not have degrees from the University of Warsaw. Janina had completed a law degree from the Maria Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin and Agata had a dentistry degree from the University of Wroclaw.[23] Both women explained that they were not able to have their qualifications recognised in Australia without examinations and further study.[24] Beata Leuner also found this in her migrant sample in Melbourne. She argues that Polish people who did not have degrees from the University of Warsaw had a harder time with their qualifications being recognised.[25] Educational researcher Andrew Chodkievicz also found this to be the case in his research and found that certain degrees were harder to have accredited than others. He argues that engineers and automotive trades had little issue with having their qualifications recognised however "a small number of arrivals in the traditional professions – medicine,

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[21] 'Tadeusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017.
[22] 'Andrew,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 November 2017.
[23] 'Janina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 August 2017 (pseudonym); 'Agata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[24] 'Janina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 August 2017 (pseudonym); 'Agata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[25] Beata Leuner, "Settling Down and Settlement Patterns Case Study: Polish Migrants from the 1980s in Melbourne," *Polish Sociological Review,* 4, no. 160 (2007): 423.

dentistry, law and some of the social sciences – have found it a very different story".[26] This was the case for Ewa's husband and Barbara. Both individuals were in the medical profession but were not able to return to their field in Australia. Having qualifications recognised could be a long process and a costly endeavour, and Badasu found that this resulted in many Polish people in Canada giving up the possibility of returning to their profession.[27] There was one case in my sample where the individual did not return to their profession because of the costly process in having qualifications accepted. Renata decided not to pursue her teaching profession because she was concerned with the amount of money needed. She said: "I was worried that it would cost a great deal of money. Money we did not have because we only brought a small amount with us from Poland."[28]

The Polish migrants in my sample were trained mainly as engineers, electricians, medical professionals and teachers. This trend can be seen in the current literature with historians also finding many Poles were specialising in these professional fields. According to Leuner, the Polish migrants of the 1980s in Melbourne had a variety of occupations that included self-employment (12.2%), teachers (9.6%), engineers (7.8%), real estate agents (5.2%), accountants (3.5%), computer technicians (3.5%), nurses (3.5%), and academics (2.6%).[29] Sociologist Richard Baker states that what was significantly different about the Solidarity wave in Canada compared to the previous waves of migrants were the 30% of immigrants being categorised as professional/technical.[30] In his sample, Baker's respondents primarily consisted of professional/technical workers who specialised as engineers and computer programmers which is similar to Leuner's example.[31] In comparison, George Kapalka found in his doctoral dissertation that his respondents within in the United States were working mainly in skilled labour and white collar positions in areas such as service, repair, crafts, transportation, sales, marketing, clerical and

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[26] Andrew Chodkievicz, "Employment and Accreditation – Refugee Hope for the Future," in *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984: Seminar, 12 October 1984* (Ashfield: Polish Welfare and Information Bureau, 1984), 4.
[27] Badasu, "Polish Immigration to Alberta Since 1980," 76.
[28] 'Renata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[29] Leuner, *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance*, 158.
[30] Richard Baker, "The Adaption and Ethnicity of Polish Immigrants in Toronto: The Solidarity Wave," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 21, no. 3 (January 1989): 75.
[31] Baker, "The Adaption and Ethnicity of Polish Immigrants," 75.

communication workers.[32] Kapalka also argues that women held higher positions prior to migration whereas men were more likely to increase their occupational status after migration. This was not the case within my sample. There was an even distribution of females and males regaining their social-economic position after migration as will be seen in the following section.

Employment

Migrants of the Solidarity wave in South Australia claimed that the economic climate did not impact their employment opportunities. Ewa explained that despite a recession existing in Australia, she was able to find work relatively quickly and easily. She said: "It was not too hard to find a job. Some places even gave a person a bonus if they brought a Polish person to their work. It was good in the beginning."[33] Julia also highlighted the ease with which she was able to find work in Australia. She explained: "I went to the factory and when they learned I was Polish, they were willing to give me a job easily. We [Polish people] had a good reputation at the start. The employers were happy to take us on."[34] Antony explained how finding work in Australia was straightforward. In his words: "If you wanted a job, you found it."[35] Mateusz had a similar ideology in that if you wanted to find work, it would happen. He said: "Because I wanted to find work, I did. I did not have too many requirements. I just wanted to work."[36] Lena also discovered that she had little problems with finding the type of employment she wanted. Not only did economic factors not hinder her chances but she also had no issues with her teaching and speech therapy credentials been recognised. Her qualifications meant that she was offered two permanent positions in a high school and primary school.[37] Lena said: "I was lucky that all my professional life I only worked as a teacher with children with learning difficulties and never in a factory."[38]

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[32] George Miroslaw Kapalka, "Acculturation and Family Functioning of Recent Polish Immigrants in the United States" (PhD thesis, Fairleigh Dickinson University, 1989), 75.
[33] 'Ewa,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[34] 'Julia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[35] 'Antony,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[36] 'Mateusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[37] 'Lena,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[38] 'Lena,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).

My sample of Polish migrants instead highlighted the general difficulties associated with starting from scratch and how this impacted their personal economic situation more so than the economic conditions in Australia. Most individuals had brought very few belongings and money with them in order to keep up the ruse that they were only leaving Poland for a short vacation within Europe. Julia described the first 10 years as being the hardest. She said: "We did not have much with us when we arrived. Just two suitcases and not a lot of money. It was hard having to start from nothing again."[39] Robert explained: "It was a struggle for the first 10 years but it got better after those first years."[40] Robert was working two jobs to advance himself and provide for his family so it is understandable that he struggled in his new situation. Additionally, his wife accepted a job as a nanny and spent the working week looking after two teenagers before returning home to her family on the weekends.[41]

Language has been shown to have greatly affected the ability of Polish people to return to their former professions after migrating. Political scientists Brian Galligan, Melissa Phillips and Martina Boese found that language was one of the main barriers migrants had when finding employment. In their sample of 70 people, 19 attributed low-level English as having affected their ability to find work.[42] Scholars Robert Bach and Jennifer Bach, Mark Wooden, Paul Inglis and Thorsten Stromback also indicate that language plays a role in the difficulties migrants experience when looking for employment.[43] Many individuals in my study sample also commented on how their limited language proficiency delayed or prevented them from returning to their former profession. Janusz, a trained motor mechanic, outlined how even though he had his qualifications translated and recognised, it took him two years before he was able to find work in his field.[44] Janusz then said: "Language was the biggest obstacle in my case. I had very limited language skills at that

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[39] 'Julia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[40] 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[41] 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[42] Brian Galligan, Martina Boese and Melissa Phillips, *Becoming Australian: Migration, Settlement, Citizenship* (Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing, 2014): 128.
[43] Robert L. Bach and Jennifer B. Bach, "Employment Patterns of Southeast Asian Refugees," *Monthly Labor Review*, 103, no. 10 (October 1980): 33; Mark Wooden, "The Experience of Refugees in the Australian Labor Market," *International Migration Review*, 25, no. 3 (September 1991): 527; Paul A. Inglis and Thorsten Stromback, "Migrants' Unemployment: The Determinants of Employment Success," *The Economic Record*, 62, no. 3 (September 1986): 311.
[44] 'Janusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 February 2017 (pseudonym).

stage."[45] It was not until Janusz expanded his language skills, both English and the technical terminology in his field, that he had success in finding employment in his former profession. Andre, who settled in regional South Australia, highlighted the issues he experienced with gaining access to English classes outside of Australia's larger cities. He explained: "Being isolated from big cities like Adelaide or Sydney or Melbourne meant we did not have real access to English lessons. There were only a few lessons before they stopped in Whyalla and this is a problem for a professional. Our language suffered. I was unemployed for nine months."[46] The lack of English meant that many migrants felt that it was useless to pursue employment in their former professions. Barbara made a comment on how many Polish people who came to Australia complained that Australia had "hurt them" because they were forced to work in a factory.[47] She explained: "Many were electricians but they did not work as electricians here. Why? Because their language skills were not where there should be. Language is the basis of everything. You cannot find yourself and adapt to the country if you cannot make yourself understood. That is why I made sure to work on my language skills."[48]

Gender and age have also been identified as factors that influenced job prospects for the Polish migrants. Carolina described how *her* gender helped her husband gain employment. Not long after having her first child, Carolina and her husband were making enquiries at various factories to see if they were taking on new employees. She recalled:

> I went to the reception area and asked if they had any openings. They said they did and wanted me to fill out the application straight away. I told them that the job was for my husband. This made them hesitate. They were looking for women. But the manager told me to get my husband. I went to get him and our daughter who was sleeping in the car. We talked with the manager and he informed us that he preferred a female. I said to him, 'fine, I will take the job. Someone has to work so he [my husband] will stay home with our daughter and I will take the job.' The man said

[45] 'Janusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[46] 'Andre,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 13 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[47] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[48] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.

> that he could not do that. He said my daughter needed her mother so he agreed to take my husband for the job.[49]

It is difficult to determine whether this was a typical case. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, between 1980 and 2000, the employment rates of males decreased from 82% to 77% while at the same time the employment rates for females increased from 47% to 61%.[50] The Bureau of Statistics argues that by the 1980s and 1990s, there was a "shift away from a male-dominated workforce to one where women were participating to a greater extent, leading to converging employment rates for men and women".[51] Unfortunately, the data only discusses males and females in general and does not differentiate the number of male/female migrant workers. Similarly, scholarly works by Caroline Alcorso, Eva Cox, Sue Jobson and Jeannie Martin, and Des Storer tend to compare the female migrant experiences to the native born population or other migrant females rather than comparing the experiences to male migrants arriving during the same period.[52] Gender may have favoured men at least initially simply because females needed to remain at home with the children but as the Australia Bureau of Statistics states, this changed because of economic needs and females were employed more in the 1990s and 2000s.

While Carolina's example proved to be a positive experience, Polish migrants facing age barriers had primarily negative experiences. Ella highlighted during our interview that age was a barrier for both her and her husband finding work after arriving in Australia. Both were 42 years old at the time of migration. She stated: "It was hard to find work because of my age. Our age basically eliminated us out of the workforce."[53] Barbara also commented how hard it was to find employment in Australia due to her age. Her and her husband were also in their 40s when they arrived and this created problems in finding

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[49] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[50] Australian Bureau of Statistics, "Australian Social Trends, 2001 - Paid Work: Trends in Employment Population Ratios," 6 June 2001, https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/2f762f95845417aeca25706c00834efa/f1c8a6644d4b6280ca2570ec000c8e5e!OpenDocument (accessed 30 October 2020).
[51] Australian Bureau of Statistics, "Australian Social Trends, 2001."
[52] Caroline Alcorso, *Non-English Speaking Background Immigrant Women in the Workplace* (Brisbane: University of Wollongong, 1991); Eva Cox, Sue Jobson and Jeannie Martin, *We Cannot Talk Our Rights: Migrants Women 1975* (Sydney: New South Wales Council of Social Services, 1976); Des Storer, *But I Wouldn't Want My Wife to Work Here: A Study of Migrants Women in Melbourne Industry* (Melbourne: Centre for Urban Research and Action, 1976).
[53] 'Ella,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 2 April 2017 (pseudonym).

employment. She said: "I was 40 and my husband was 44. So you can imagine how hard it was to find a job. I was basically unemployed for seven years."[54] The Polish Task Force identified this age barrier during its study of Polish migrants in Sydney. Within its sample of 237, 54.1% of Polish migrants aged between 20-29 years of age were employed in full time jobs but only 33.6% of individuals aged between 30-49 years had a full time position.[55]

Retraining and additional study was often required in order to return to a former profession. Pawel explained that he studied once a week for two semesters at a civil engineering school.[56] He said: "It was three or four hours a week. It helped me to get the additional vocabulary and being exposed to the technical vocab was important. And some years later, I did a postgraduate diploma in management."[57] In a similar fashion, Janusz studied while working in order to return to his previous profession. He enrolled in a TAFE course for motor mechanics to retrain himself in areas like electronics and automatic transmissions.[58] He said: "I realised while looking for a job that technology here compared to what we had in Poland at that time, I was behind. So consequently I decided to enrol into the TAFE College because they had motor mechanics and took additional courses that I knew that I was behind in with my knowledge."[59] However, retraining proved to be an issue for many individuals. Aleksy was a qualified electrician in Poland but his qualifications were not recognised in Australia. Aleksy would have needed to retrain himself and complete certain tests to prove himself as qualified in Australia. He summed up his situation in these words: "I would have had to go and learn all the safety rules in Australia and their guidelines. So I would have had to study again. I did not have time for that. I needed to work straight away. So I took the jobs that were available to me in factories.[60] Returning to Barbara, she also had issues with her qualifications and tried to retrain in order to return to her medical field. Her specialist area was Laryngology. Her medical degree from Poland was recognised as the equivalent of a Bachelor of Medicine

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[54] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[55] *The New Polish Immigrants*, 46.
[56] 'Pawel,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[57] 'Pawel,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[58] 'Janusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[59] 'Janusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[60] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).

and Surgery in Australia but she hoped to get her specialist area recognised as well even if that meant she would need to redo parts of her degree. Unfortunately for Barbara, her specialist qualifications were not accepted and she was not able to retrain in her specialist area. She explained her situation in these words: "The Australian Medical Council said that I was an overseas medical specialist and said I could not study medicine."[61] As a result, Barbara pursued other avenues that will be explored later in this chapter. Researcher Elizabeth Drozd found that retraining did not always guarantee employment. A migrant in her Melbourne sample was an economist with a Masters degree and several years experience in a managerial position in Poland. Despite his educational experience, he did not find work in his profession.[62] Even though he went on to complete a TAFE course in accounting and obtained a six month internship with the Environment Protection Authority through the Community Employment Program he was still unable to find work. Therefore he made the decision to work as a driving instructor. At the time of Drozd's interview, the man was still working in that capacity. Drozd noted that there was some regret in regards to his occupational status.[63]

There were some Polish migrants who were able to find new employment in a different field or at least use some of their former skills. Piotr was one such individual. He explained during our interview that he worked in a factory for two years.[64] However after a work place accident, he was unable to work at all. It was not until he completed his rehabilitation that Piotr was able to return to full time employment. Rather than waste time during his rehab Piotr was able to complete TAFE courses that later helped him in gaining employment as a travel agent.[65] While he was not able to return to his former profession, he was able to advance his career and not remain a factory worker. Sylwia was another individual who started her working career in Australia by working in a factory.[66] This only lasted a few months when she made the decision to improve her situation. She stated: "There was a professional job centre, it does not exist anymore but it would help

[61] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[62] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 80.
[63] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 80.
[64] 'Piotr,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[65] 'Piotr,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[66] 'Sylwia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).

professionals find work. So I placed in an application."[67] This centre would eventually help Sylwia gain new employment as a geophysicist. It was in a slightly different field to her original qualifications but Sylwia was able to use her mathematical and physics skills in her new job. Returning to Barbara once more, even though she was not able to return to her medical profession, she did eventually work in the aged care industry.[68] She had begun her employment career as a cleaner but eventually with some further study, she was employed first with the Noarlunga Council and later the Onkaparinga Council in helping develop an aged care program to help elderly residents remain at home. She was even able to extend this program slightly to help the homeless find suitable housing. Her programs gained her recognition overseas when she was invited to Germany to give a lecture at a conference of the Gerontology Association.[69] While Barbara was not able to use her medical skills in the way she imagined, she was able to apply her knowledge in a different manner. She said: "I was offered a job in the Gerontology area because they did not have a medical Gerontologist. Gerontology is all about examining aging from a medical and sociological point and so I thought this is very good for me."[70]

A number of Polish migrants were able to advance their positions and gain fulfilment from their new employment. Bartek began his employment in Australia as a worker on the factory line before becoming a press shop mechanic. After some time working on the assembly line, Bartek heard about the press shop position. He said: "I found out about the position and applied and managed to get the job. I was able to earn a good living in that position."[71] Similarly, Adam began his working life as an assembly line worker in the car manufacturing industry. He described his first job as being a "basic job, the worst job, a hard job".[72] Adam held this job for six months before he was made redundant with a number of other individuals. He was able to get a new job at the same factory in a better position working as a forklift driver.[73] Adam was pleased with this new position and said he was "happy working for Mitsubishi".[74] Even though these respondents were not able to

[67] 'Sylwia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[68] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[69] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[70] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[71] 'Bartek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[72] 'Adam,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 June 2017.
[73] 'Adam,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 June 2017.
[74] 'Adam,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 June 2017.

return to their former professions, they were still happy with the promotions they experienced in their new jobs.

The Polish migrants who were not able to have their qualifications recognised or had difficulties in returning to their former professions experienced a downward move in their careers. Writing about the situation in the American city of Chicago, sociologist Mary Patrice Erdmans describes how many Polish migrants had to accept unskilled positions because of the lack of recognition with their educational qualifications. She highlights how doctors worked as nursing home attendants, engineers as drafters and midwives worked as maids and childcare workers.[75] Erdmans states that her respondents in the United States had conceded that certain sacrifices would be necessary to fulfil their material desires. In order to enjoy material possessions like cars and stereos, the migrants would need to accept a lower occupational status.[76] *Wakacjusze* or vacationers were the most affected by what Erdmans describes as *emigracja to deklasacja:* emigration as downward class mobility.[77] These migrants were restricted because they did not possess valid work permits and therefore were limited to construction work for men (especially tuck pointing and roofing) and domestic services for women (housekeeping, child care and elderly care). In Australia, Elizabeth Drozd and Adam Jamrozik note that the Solidarity wave found it difficult to accept labouring positions. Drozd explains that the majority of Polish migrants first worked in factories as labourers or machine operators and the individuals found this "demeaning".[78] Jamrozik's findings led him to conclude: "People with high educational and occupational qualifications find it more difficult to accept 'substitutes' and to content themselves with temporary solutions."[79] As a result, the migrants remained unemployed for longer periods of time. The refusal to accept lower positions could stem from the conditions the migrants left behind in Poland because they would have strived to regain that same economic status which they possessed in Poland. Looking at other migrant groups, sociologist Robert Bach also found this downward mobility among Cuban

[75] Mary Patrice Erdmans, *Opposite Poles: Immigrants and Ethnics in Polish Chicago, 1976-1990* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 73.
[76] Mary Patrice Erdmans, "The Social Construction of Emigration as a Moral Issue," *Polish American Studies,* 49 no. 1 (Spring 1992): 23.
[77] Erdmans, *Opposite Poles*, 73.
[78] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 75.
[79] *The New Polish Immigrants*, 47.

immigrants arriving to the United States during the 1980s. He states: "Many experienced downward social mobility as they took whatever jobs were available – a characteristic common to refugees and immigrants. Professionals also experienced initial licensing problems, forcing many of them to accept jobs well below their level of training."[80]

The inability to accept new lower positions was difficult to overcome and a few individuals suffered psychologically. According to political scientists Brian Galligan, Melissa Phillips and Martina Boese, "employment has long been understood as both an indicator and means of successful settlement and social integration for both migrant refugee arrivals. As a source of income, self-esteem and a sense of belonging, employment is important for its intrinsic and extrinsic values."[81] They further claim that the presence or absence of employment opportunities impacts on a person's "internal migration decisions and their overall wellbeing".[82] Within my sample, Ewa described the situation with her husband and how the lack of employment impacted his state of mind. Initially, Ewa's husband had to take a job in a factory despite having completed university.[83] He was a specialised doctor in Poland but his qualifications were not recognised in Australia. She said: "It was especially hard for my husband. He was not able to cope with not being a doctor. It was a part of him. But in Australia he was not sure who he was and what he would do."[84] This inability to accept his new social-economic position meant that, to some degree, he had lost his identity. American researcher James Gee claims that a person's core identity is based around different experiences and self-perceptions: "Being recognised as a certain 'kind of person,' in a given context, is what I mean here by 'identity'. In this sense of the term, all people have multiple identities connected not to their 'internal states' but to their performances in society."[85] Being a doctor is what gave Ewa's husband purpose and helped define how he viewed himself as a person and when this was taken away he was not able to acclimatise. Ewa recalled when this changed for her husband: "Things got better when my husband bought a car and began restoring it. He was able to find some

[80] Robert L. Bach, "The New Cuban Immigrants: Their Background and Prospects," *Monthly Labor Review*, 103, no. 10 (October 1980): 44.
[81] Galligan, Boese and Phillips, *Becoming Australian,* 111.
[82] Galligan, Boese and Phillips, *Becoming Australian,* 111.
[83] 'Ewa,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[84] 'Ewa,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[85] James Paul Gee, "Identity as an Analytic Lens for Research in Education," *Review of Research in Education Research Association*, 25 (2000-2001): 99.

purpose while rebuilding that car. He found something of himself again. The restoration helped him realise that he was capable of other things and was not defined by what he did for a job."[86] Ella was another example who had a husband who faced difficulties in adjusting to his new situation. He was not able to find work in his specialist area of electronics and he could not find other employment. Ella explained: "He was not able to find work here and he could not requalify himself in an area that suited him. He was already 42 when we arrived and so that made things hard too. Psychologically it affected him."[87] Lucy experienced some psychological stress while in her new position in Australia. It was not the same as Ewa or Ella's husbands but it still caused distress. When she gained employment in a textile factory, she was placed on sewing machines and given instructions on how to use them in English. Lucy explained her feelings in these words: "It was stressful because they did not have the same sewing machines like those in Poland. I did not know how to use the ones here and I could not read the instructions they gave me."[88] She went on to describe how she would often go home and end up in tears because of the stress and anxiety caused from her new employment. This situation has been observed by scholars commentary in other contexts. Nursing professor Karen Aroian found some of her sample of Polish migrants in the United States were suffering from distress and low self-esteem. A young woman in Aroian's sample described her situation: "I have in Poland very good job and my family was very comfortable and they can help me. It was easier. When I came over with him [her husband], he have good job and I haven't anything. I can only clean houses and I feel very, very low."[89] This example stresses the importance of employment but not just any kind of employment. The job needed to provide financial security as well as personal satisfaction and esteem for the migrants.

In many respects, the act of migration placed greater importance on finding employment and on financial independence than if the Poles had remained in Poland. Aroian, writing about the American context, argues that the lack of support from family and friends meant that the migrants focused on financial security especially in the United States. By not

[86] 'Ewa,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[87] 'Ella,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 2 April 2017 (pseudonym).
[88] 'Lucy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[89] Karen Aroian, "From Leaving Poland to Feeling at Home: Psychological Adaption to Migration and Resettlement" (PhD thesis, University of Washington, 1988), 111.

having family and friends for support, the Polish migrants realised how isolated they were in their new country. According to Aroian, the Polish people therefore placed a greater importance on employment and money.[90] If the migrants did not find a way to support themselves, they would have no home or health care. This fuelled fears for the individuals because in Poland at least they would have their extended family and friends to rely on if their situation became dire. In Poland, not much thought was given to employment whereas in the United States, the situation was not the same. One respondent in Aroian's sample had this to say: "In Poland people don't think about jobs. They just do their jobs. Job is job and when they come home, this is real life. But everything is different in U.S.A. Jobs is everything in U.S.A."[91] Anthropologist Keith Sword also found that Polish migrants placed a greater emphasis on employment in the United Kingdom. He states that it is reasonable to understand why individuals were focused on work "given the insecurity of life in a new culture and the need to establish a new material base to life".[92] This insecurity can explain why numerous individuals in my sample chose to accept whatever work was available in order to support themselves and their families. Danuta was one such individual in my sample who placed the needs of her family before her desire to gain better employment. She said: "I wanted to get to work as quickly as possible for my children."[93] Alicja held a similar view regarding work. She was more than willing to accept her new economic position in Australia because she was focused on finding work and starting her future. She stated: "As long as I could get a job it did not matter what it was."[94]

In order to alleviate the issues with employment, a small number of Polish migrants decided to start their own business. Within my sample, four individuals chose to pursue self-employment. Robert was one person who opened his own business. Initially, Robert was working two jobs for a few years. Both jobs were in restaurants but he was only paid for one position. Robert explained that he would work for free in the other restaurant to

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[90] Karen J. Aroian, "Polish Immigrants in the US: Adjusting to Capitalism," *Polish American Studies,* 47, no. 2 (Autumn 1990): 79.
[91] Aroian, "Polish Immigrants in the US," 79.
[92] Keith Sword, *Identity in Flux: The Polish Community in Britain* (London: University of London, 1996), 209.
[93] 'Danuta,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 18 July 2017.
[94] 'Alicja,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 5 April 2017.

gain experience and make connections in the hospitality industry.[95] He would often go from one restaurant to the other without a break in between. Robert said: "My friend would call and ask me to come and work with him. I did not want to because I needed sleep. But he said 'come, you'll sleep in the office and then you'll do some work for me'. And so I went."[96] Robert began baking cakes in a kitchen he built within his home. He described how he had a professional come take photographs of his creations after he had sprayed them with hair spray because this gave the cakes "a shiny look and made the colours brighter".[97] Robert created a book of his cakes and went around to various shops to see if they would sell his creations. After three months, he had so many orders that he needed to move out of his kitchen into something larger. This is when a friend joined Robert and they started a patisserie shop. At the same time, he was also doing private catering for functions like weddings, christenings and birthdays, mainly for Polish families, to gain some extra money. Zygmunt also started his own business. He and his wife and her Australian friend joined together and decided to open a private school that tutored children in mathematics. He stated: "Lessons were only $5 for two hours. As it turned out, after one year, there were more Australian students than Polish attending the classes."[98] Like Zygmunt's wife, Barbara set up piano lessons to help support her family in the initial months following her arrival. She recalled how one day she was speaking to an Australian friend and explained to her that she knew how to play piano: "She asked me why I did not teach. I said I did not have a piano to teach on. A week later, she came and brought me an envelope with money inside. I was shocked and I said I did not know when I would be able to return the money. She said to me, 'who said anything about returning it?'"[99] Barbara went on to describe that each week she set aside some money from her lessons to repay her friend. This kindness enabled Barbara to teach private lessons to children and bring in some extra income for her family. Staszek was another example of an individual within my sample who opened up his own business. Even though he had a good job in the oil production industry, he made the decision to invest in a Video Ezy

[95] 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[96] 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[97] 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[98] 'Zygmunt,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 3 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[99] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.

franchise, a movie rental shop, with his friend.[100] He did this because he felt it was a good way to set himself up in Australia.

This creation of small businesses by Polish migrants of the Solidarity wave occurred in other countries as well. According to sociologist Richard Baker, Polish migrants in Canada were also forming their own businesses. Baker explains how many individuals in his Toronto sample were creating their own businesses even though they had no prior experience. One individual in Baker's sample said: "There is opportunity here, you can do it. That is why we value this country here. Because in Poland, for a comparison our opportunities were very limited."[101] Baker explains that the Polish migrants would work in small businesses, to start with, in order to learn the necessary skills before starting their own.[102] History professor Anna Sosnowska also found that Polish migrants of the 1980s in the United States turned to self-employment. She says: "the immigrants of the 1980s (…) often turned to self-employment including contracting companies in construction."[103]

This chapter has shown that it is true that the Solidarity wave migrants were highly educated professionals and those who settled in South Australia were keen to secure suitable employment and achieve financial security. Less than half were able to find jobs in their former professions mainly due to their qualifications not being recognised in Australia and their unwillingness or inability to retrain or pay to resit exams. Some people felt defined by their job and if they no longer worked in this profession, they felt lost and dissatisfied. It was vital to their personal identity to regain some semblance of their former life and position. This is why a few of the migrants were not able to psychologically cope with the change for many years. This downward mobility caused psychological distress for these individuals and resulted in a longer adjustment period. While it was relatively easy for some to gain recognition for qualifications, it was the lack of English that prevented individuals from obtaining jobs in higher positions. This in turn meant that the Polish migrants were often willing to accept any position available because they wanted to provide for themselves and their families. Without relatives or friends to fall back on,

[100] 'Staszek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 February 2017.
[101] Baker, "The Adaption and Ethnicity of Polish Immigrants," 80.
[102] Baker, "The Adaption and Ethnicity of Polish Immigrants," 80.
[103] Sosnowska, "Different. Polish and Post-Soviet Jewish Immigrants," 99.

migrants needed to attain financial independence quickly. Gender and age also factored into the difficulties surrounding employment, however, on the whole, migrants within my sample commented that they were able to easily find employment to restart their lives. Migrants themselves did not blame the economic context for the difficulties they experienced in the labour market/workplace. Rather, they blamed language, age and the transferability of their qualifications. They felt if one was work-willing, then a job could be secured. Being given a chance by the Australian Government, they viewed it as their responsibility to succeed.

Chapter Three – Education

This chapter will examine the role education had in assisting the Polish migrants to integrate into Australian society. It will explore what opportunities the migrants had to study English and whether migrants chose to further extend or build on their existing education. From there, the chapter will examine the significance placed upon education by the Polish migrants for their children. Of particular interest here is the decision made by the migrants to enrol their children into private or public schools. The chapter will then examine Polish language schools and what role it played in the lives of the children to maintain a Polish identity. The main questions that will be explored are: What opportunities did migrants have to learn English and how effective were these classes? Did the Polish migrants pursue further education in Australia? What emphasis did the migrants place on education for their children? And what role did Polish language schools play in assisting in maintaining a Polish identity?

Migrant education

Current literature concerning the education of the Solidarity wave focuses largely on the education the migrants brought with them from Poland. Scholars rarely discuss the educational experiences of Polish migrants in their host country. Geraldine Balut Coleman, an American writer, identifies this gap in the literature with her article that focuses on Polish migrants in Chicago. She states: "Why is it that the education of Polish immigrants remains a virtually unexplored topic? Why is it that most educators, including professors in university schools of education, and the general public, as well as most second and third generation Polish Americans have little or no knowledge of Polonia's contributions to American education or of the unique foreign language and cultural education system Polonia has established through its community-based Polish Saturday Schools?"[1] Coleman set about rectifying this neglect and explained how Polish migrants tended to return to school either to recertify or develop new skills. The odd researcher of the Australian context has also bucked this trend in the scholarship, although it has not been a core focus of their work. Elizabeth Drozd's study of Solidarity wave migrants in

[1] Geraldine Balut Coleman, "Educating Polish Immigrants Chicago Style: 1980-2002," *Polish American Studies,* 61, no. 1 (Spring 2004), 27.

Melbourne found that approximately half of her sample pursued education other than English after arriving in Australia.[2] She explains that the reason for the high number of individuals undertaking study could be explained by the situation in Poland: "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."[3] As I go on to explain, both the explanations of Coleman and Drozd are pertinent to my sample of Polish migrants who settled in South Australia.

The study of the English language was the first experience of education in Australia for most Polish migrants. It was also one of the biggest hurdles for the Polish people in their new lives. Drozd sums up the issue in these words: "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."[4] This statement rings true because without the English language, Polish migrants found it nearly impossible to find work and interact with the wider Australian community. Sociologist Richard Baker also highlights the impact the lack of English had on Polish migrants. He states: "[It is] one of the most serious problems in initial adjustment of immigrants".[5] The Australian Government acknowledged the importance of the English language in the settlement of migrants in the 1970s and 1980s. Barrister Frank Galbally wrote a report in 1978 reviewing the programs and services on offer for migrants. In this report, Galbally wrote: "We have concluded that the migrants who have the greatest difficulties are those who arrive here with little or no understanding of the English language and who remain at a disadvantage because of it. Difficulties are greatest immediately after arrival, particularly for migrants who come from countries without a long established tradition of migration to Australia or for those who are refugees."[6] Ian Macphee, Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs between 1979 and 1982, also recognised this difficulty during an address to the Congress of Applied Linguistics Association in 1982: "My Department's own budget recognises the importance

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[2] Elizabeth Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way: The Settlement of the 1980s Solidarity Wave of Polish Immigrants in Melbourne" (M.A. thesis, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, 1997), 73.
[3] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 73.
[4] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 55.
[5] Richard Baker, "The Adaption and Ethnicity of Polish Immigrants in Toronto: The Solidarity Wave," *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* 21, no. 3 (January 1989): 81.
[6] Frank Galbally, *Review of Post Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants: Migrant Services and Programs* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1978), 2.

of English. Over 30 percent of my Department's total 1981-1982 budget is directed to the teaching of English to adult migrants. [The] English language is probably the single most important factor in maintaining and reinforcing the cohesion of the Australian society."[7] True to his word, the budget for adult migration education grew substantially between 1979 and 1982 with spending increasing from $72.6 million to $104.5 million.[8] Most of the initial English classes began as soon as migrants arrived in Australia within the hostel system that housed them and these classes were given to the migrants free of charge.

In general, Polish migrants commented positively on the availability of free English lessons that were offered to them after arriving in Australia. Within my sample, Lucy recalled fondly how she and her husband had a good experience with learning the English language. Their classes took place in an English school in the city of Adelaide. She said: "The teacher would take us to the shops and teach us how to buy things in English and go to banks to take out money."[9] Lucy thought that the approach of the teacher was exceptional, however she was only there for two months before school holidays began for Christmas. When classes resumed, Lucy was not able to attend because she had found work. She explained: "What could we do? We had to work to support ourselves so we could not continue with our lessons."[10] Tadeusz's free English lessons also took place in the city. He described his experience in these words: "Not only was this the main place to learn the language but we also learned other things while we were there. It was useful. I think I was able to learn for free for three years but I do not think I even used all of it."[11] This availability of free classes was particularly helpful for individuals like Lucy and Tadeusz because they had arrived in Australia with no prior English skills.

There was, however, a number of complaints among Polish migrants with regards to English classes. The common problems they identified were that the classes were too

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[7] *Immigration Policies in Action: A Selection of Speeches by the Hon. Ian Macphee, M.P. Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1979-82* (Canberra: Australian Publishing Service, 1982), 11.
[8] James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 45.
[9] 'Lucy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[10] 'Lucy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[11] 'Tadeusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017.

short; there was no formal teaching of grammatical rules, syntax or spelling; and the teachers were not suited to teaching.[12] Beata Leuner's Melbourne respondents remarked that the courses had been chaotic and focused on basic necessities like buying bus tickets.[13] This complaint was mirrored in my sample. Andrzej commented during our interview that the classes he received in the Pennington hostel were very basic and did not provide a formal study of the English language.[14] The classes often included teaching the migrants how to use a phone book or purchase tickets. While this was useful to some, the majority of migrants like Andrzej felt that these programs were a waste of time because their needs went well beyond this. Szymon, another interviewee in my sample, commented that his initial experiences with English classes had been good. However, once the teachers had changed, the quality of the classes declined. The first two teachers Szymon met both had a European background and, in his opinion, understood what it was like to learn a new language. He said: "When the teacher was an Australian, the classes were not so good because it did not match our learning needs."[15] Adam had a similar complaint about the quality of teachers when he was attending English classes. He was able to study English for six months for free in the city but he explained how it was not particularly helpful for him. Adam said: "The teachers were not up to teaching. They were simply bad teachers. I guess I had bad luck. There were 20 teachers there but the two I had were not good. In my opinion they did a bad job in teaching. I learned more at home reading the newspaper than there. Maybe if they would have conversed with me and gave us a chance to talk in English with them, that would have been better."[16] Lena explained that while she viewed her experience with English classes as positive, she did not reach the level of English proficiency she had hoped. She recalled the first sentence she said to the teacher in class: "If I had known how hard it would be to understand Australian English, I would have never come to Australia."[17] Lena said that the teacher was so impressed with her grammar that she moved her up a class. However this did not

[12] *The New Polish Immigrants: A Quest for Normal Life: Report of the Polish Task Force to the Ethnic Affairs Commission of NSW* (Sydney: Ethnic Affairs Commission, 1983), 45.
[13] Beata Leuner, *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance in Australia: Polish Migration to Melbourne in the 1980s* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 173.
[14] 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
[15] 'Szymon,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[16] 'Adam,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 June 2017.
[17] 'Lena,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).

prove to be a good thing for Lena as she described it as a "tragedy".[18] She felt like she had been dropped into the middle of her schooling rather than slowly building up from the beginning. For this reason, Lena made the decision to enrol into university courses for English to develop her skills that would later help her with her work as a teacher.[19] Unfortunately for Lena, her need to take paid employment prevented her from completing her courses.

As indicated above, not all Polish migrants were able to utilise the free English classes on offer. Time and finances were two reasons that prevented Polish migrants from being able to improve their English skills through educational programs. Mariusz, a young man who arrived with his family, pointed out that his father's English suffered because he was not able to continue English lessons for as long as needed.[20] He stated: "My father was keen to just get to work. He was a hard worker and wanted to get a job and start earning some money. We had debts because we borrowed money to get here and so even now his English is pretty horrific in comparison to my mum. Partly because he is not particularly gifted with languages but secondly because he did not have a good start with it."[21] As Mariusz explained, his father's main priority was to enter the workforce and provide for his family, and juggling study and work was impractical. Similarly, Aleksy studied English by taking night classes that he paid for but he only completed the lessons for three months because he was not able to study and work at the same. He explained his situation in these words: "It was too exhausting studying English and working 10 hours a day. Something had to go and I needed to make sure I provided for my family."[22] Likewise, Staszek abandoned his English classes in the Pennington hostel after only one week because he chose to enter the workforce. He was sent out into regional parts of South Australia to work on the pipelines for his job and there were no classes available in the area to continue his study.[23] He said: "It was more important to start work faster. So there was no time for English."[24] Bartek echoed the need for employment rather than

[18] 'Lena,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[19] 'Lena,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[20] 'Mariusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017.
[21] 'Mariusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017.
[22] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[23] 'Staszek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 February 2017.
[24] 'Staszek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 February 2017.

continue English classes. He explained during our interview: “There was no time to take advantage of lessons. I did not have time for that. I was working two shifts. Only through work did I learn what I needed to know. That is all I learned.”[25] So while the Australian Government was keen for the new arrivals to learn or improve their English language, and invested in it, the realities and practicalities of life prevented many from taking full advantage of the opportunities.

The Polish migrants who did not attend English classes learned the language through practical use, mainly ‘on the job’. Robert explained during our interview that he practiced his English skills while working in a restaurant. He was given the task to update the special’s board each day and this gave him the chance to practice his writing skills. On one particular day, the special was broccoli soup. Uncertain about the spelling, Robert asked his colleagues how to write the word. The other workers glanced at each other and had no idea despite them being Australian-born. Robert recalled this moment: “My colleagues said to me, ‘just write beans because we do not know how to spell broccoli.’ I thought to myself, if they cannot spell it, I should be okay!”[26] As a result, Robert described having feelings of pride that his language skills were not as bad as he imagined because even the Australian born people had trouble with the language. As mentioned earlier, Aleksy stopped his English classes in order to work and therefore he also developed his language skills like Robert through practical use. In his employment, Aleksy was promoted to leading hand where he had extra responsibilities that included writing reports. He said: “I told my boss that maybe he should pick someone else because my English skills were not great and I did not think anyone would be able to understand my reports. But he just said, ‘no, I know you can do it. Just write it as best you can.’ And so I did and after a while, my writing was better than my speaking.”[27] Staszek recalled how he learned the language while working. He joked that at work, “the first words I learned were the curse words. They were the easiest to learn.”[28]

[25] ‘Bartek,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[26] ‘Robert,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[27] ‘Aleksy,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[28] ‘Staszek,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 February 2017.

Apart from studying English, there was a small number of individuals who expanded their education. Within my sample of 45, nine individuals were able to study in Australia. Two of those were teenagers when they arrived which gave them the advantage of completing high school and then proceeding onto university. In addition to those nine people, a further eight individuals studied courses as part of their jobs to expand their skills for their employment but did not actively seek out further education. Most of them were offered these opportunities from their employers.

The teenagers who arrived with their families faced obstacles in the educational system in Australia. Jacek arrived with his family and entered Year 11 and mentioned in his interview how he had initial difficulties with the English language. In his words: "My English comprehension at the time was not enough to get me into a chemical engineering course that I wanted to study once I completed my final years of high school."[29] Coleman observed this difficulty with language in her American sample when she describes how children of migrants were placed into classes without any specific help in learning English. This was particularly prevalent among Catholic schools which preferred an "immersion" approach when it came to teaching English to migrant students.[30] It is clear that Jacek did not have the support needed because he failed Year 12 and had to repeat the year again. English was not particularly a difficult concept for Mariusz, the other teenager who arrived with his family, but he found the public school system alarming. He initially attended a public school when he first started school in Australia. Mariusz described his experiences in these words: "It was a horrific experience. I saw students throwing chairs at teachers, constantly swearing and smoking. I came from a culture where that was unacceptable and unheard of. It scared the living daylights out of me."[31] This negative experience led him to make the decision that a private high school was more desirable.[32] Mariusz even took on a part time job on the weekends to ensure that he could afford to attend a private school.

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[29] 'Jacek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 January 2017.
[30] Coleman, "Educating Polish Immigrants Chicago Style," 34.
[31] 'Mariusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017.
[32] 'Mariusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017.

As noted, several individuals expanded their education in order to gain better employment. Robert was one such individual in my sample who expanded his training to pursue his dream of "being locked up in a kitchen".[33] He made the difficult decision to leave his wife and son in Australia while he went to Switzerland to study a patisserie course for nine months. As was seen in the previous chapter, this was a good decision on his part because he was able to fulfil his dream and open his own business creating pastries. In Sylwia's case, she was able to expand her education in a slightly different field. She said: "I chose… well not exactly chose, the path was chosen for me."[34] As was seen in the previous chapter, Sylwia had submitted her application to find employment to the professional job centre. A professor from the University of South Australia picked up her application and she was offered the opportunity to undertake a Masters degree in Geophysics that then ultimately led to her new profession as a geophysicist.[35] Meanwhile, the professor organised for Sylwia to be in contact with other teachers who helped develop her technical language skills. Sylwia made this remark about her experience: "As a result of my study, my normal language skills were worse than my technical language skills."[36] Ania had completed dentistry in Poland however she was not able to go straight into the workforce. When in Australia, Ania went to sit for the clinical dentistry exams in order to work in her field. She needed to pay for these exams herself and this cost her a total of $15,000.[37] Unfortunately for her, she did not pass the exam. In her words she was placed "on probation"[38] and so she would need to sit the exam again. Instead, Ania began working as a researcher for the medical research unit at the University of Adelaide. She developed connections with people in the department of Dentistry and eventually the Dean of Dentistry invited Ania to become an undergrad dental student.[39] Ania said: "So I became an undergrad student again and completed the fourth and fifth years."[40] In the previous chapter I introduced Barbara and the issues she had with her medical specialist degree. When she was not able to return to her former profession, Barbara went back to

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[33] 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[34] 'Sylwia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[35] 'Sylwia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[36] 'Sylwia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[37] 'Ania,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.
[38] 'Ania,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.
[39] 'Ania,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.
[40] 'Ania,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.

study Gerontology, the study of social, cultural and psychological aspects of aging, and continued on to complete her Masters degree in this area.[41]

The lack of English or confidence in English proficiency prevented many Polish migrants pursuing further education. Julia explained that she did try to study in order to return to her profession as a beautician. However she was not able to complete her retraining. She said: “The main problem was my English. I found it hard to finish assignments and understand everything. So I had to give it up and find work in a factory.”[42] Szymon also had a similar issue when he tried to go back to university and complete a degree in Applied Science. He was not able to finish the degree and said: “Things were changing in the workforce and I was too old and I had to stop.”[43] While Szymon did not explicitly state that language hindered his efforts to complete his degree, it is possible that he did experience some issues with language and this added further complications in completing his education. Sociologist Richard Baker saw this lack of language proficiency when he examined Polish and Czechoslovakian migrants in Boise, Idaho. He found that wives felt as though their language was too limited and migrants over the age of 40 felt self-conscious of their imperfect language skills.[44]

A focus on family was another reason why migrants of the Solidarity wave did not pursue educational study in Australia. Ewa had been a nurse in Poland but did not return to her field in Australia. She said: “I would have had to go back to university in order to work in my field once more but I was looking after my children. I needed to make sure I provided for them and make sure they had everything they needed.”[45] Carolina had been a young teenager when she arrived but rather than repeat Year 12, she made the decision to find work. During our interview, she explained why she chose employment over study: “I wanted to help my family back in Poland. It was not easy under Communist rule and I

[41] ‘Barbara,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[42] ‘Julia,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[43] ‘Szymon,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[44] Richard Baker, “Refugee Assimilation: A Study of Polish and Czech Refugees,” *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations,* 15, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 1988): 161.
[45] ‘Ewa,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 March 2018 (pseudonym).

wanted to make sure they had everything they needed. So I saved up the money I earned while working to send it back to them."[46]

Children of the Solidarity wave

The Solidarity wave migrants tended to invest more in their children's education instead of their own. A teacher within Geraldine Coleman's American research highlighted the importance that parents placed upon providing educational opportunities for their children. She said: "The Polish immigrants are quite transient, and because of their upward mobility, these immigrant parents will secure two or three jobs, save their money, then, move to the suburbs where they feel the best possible education is available to their children."[47] Within my sample, Aleksy expressed his desire for his daughter to get the best education she could. He said: "I wanted her to take advantage of the opportunities I did not. I did not want her working in a factory like I did, I wanted her to finish university and find a good job so she could be independent."[48] Similarly, Andre said that while he and his wife spent a great deal of money on the education of their three children, he did not regret this investment. He explained: "Education is very important. Especially in a new country. I wanted my children to have some kind of status in their life. We do not regret making sure they had a good education."[49]

Polish migrants were keen to send their children to private schools rather than public schools. From the 45 respondents in my sample, 29 had children. Of the 29 migrants, 21 interviewees (72.4%) had chosen to send their children to private schools. Eleven of the 21 individuals specifically chose to send their children to Catholic schools. These numbers are much higher than the Australian average. In Australia in 1996, 29% of all children were attending private schools.[50] The Polish migrants within my sample felt that private schooling offered better education. In some cases, they had sent their children to public schools before enrolling them into private schools. They explained that this decision to send their children to public schools first had been related to enrolment

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[46] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[47] Coleman, "Educating Polish Immigrants Chicago Style," 35.
[48] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[49] 'Andre,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 13 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[50] John Ainley, Jeff Malley and Stephen Lamb, *Thematic Review of the Transition from Initial Education to Working Life* (Canberra: Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs, 1997), 6.

difficulties. Lucy explained that this was the case for her two children. She said: "When we built our home, there was a Catholic school nearby but there were no places available for our children. We signed up on the waiting list and waited but it was a long wait so the children began in a public primary school."[51] Carolina also explained how difficult it was to get her daughter into a private primary school. She stated: "It was difficult to get a place because of the school boundaries. Schools often gave preference to siblings of those students already attending which made it harder to get a place. But primary school did not really matter. It was more important for my daughter to attend a private high school. To get her ready for university."[52] In both cases, Lucy and Carolina's children attended public schools for their primary education and completed their high school education in private schools.

The expensive nature of schooling prevented several migrants from enrolling their children into their preferred school. Bartek sent his daughter to the most convenient school that was available. He said: "I sent her to whatever there was. Private schools were expensive so I sent her to one that was closest to home."[53] Ella sent her children to Adelaide High School because they were living in the area and that meant her daughters could attend the school.[54] When asked about her preference of either private or public schools, Ella explained: "Education is the most important thing for us. But private schools were expensive and when you only come with two suitcases, we did not have the funds."[55] So even though some individuals wanted to send their children to private schools, their financial situation prevented this from happening.

Many migrants preferred to send their children to private Catholic schools for their education. There was a perception that Catholic schools were a good learning environment and my interviewees described how the Catholic school community promoted the values held by the Polish migrants. Agata explained that Catholics schools were the better option for her children. In her words: "Catholic schools maintained a certain level of discipline and they had the same religious beliefs that we had. It was good

[51] 'Lucy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[52] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[53] 'Bartek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[54] 'Ella,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 2 April 2017 (pseudonym).
[55] 'Ella,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 2 April 2017 (pseudonym).

for the children to be around that and have them enforced by the school community."[56] Alicja had a similar belief in why she wanted her daughter to attend a Catholic school: "I wanted a private school with a bit of religion. Being Catholic, it was important for me to have her in that environment."[57] Szymon also chose to send his daughter to a private school because, in his view, "they offer better quality of teaching".[58] However, as it turned out in his experience, he did not feel that there were good teachers at his daughter's school. He said: "I was totally wrong. Private school is looking for your money not teaching. The teachers changed so often there. I feel that each child is a little genius when they are born but it depends on the approach of the teacher. If they do not care, you have bad results."[59]

The migrants who sent their children to public government schools made this decision based on the reputation of the school. Several individuals within my sample chose to send their children to Adelaide High School, a selective-entry public school. Ewa had heard that the school had a good reputation in providing high standards of education. She stated: "An entrance exam was a good sign that the standards were high in that school. And that is what we wanted for our children. We wanted to make sure they received the best education and opportunities we could provide for them."[60] Zygmunt also approved of Adelaide High School because of the entrance exam. He explained: "It was a very good school. Very high standing and big competition. I picked the best school. I never really thought about private only government schools."[61] Lena explained that she did not want her daughter attending private schools because she did not agree with their methods. Lena's profession as a teacher meant that she had experienced the different teaching styles of public and private schools and one school in particular cemented her choice to send her daughter to a government school. Lena said: "The [private] school had three different levels starting from year 8. Level A was the best and ensured that those students would go to university. Level B was good but they were not studying the same as level A. And level C was the worst. It was not fair that the students were paying the same money

[56] 'Agata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[57] 'Alicja,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 5 April 2017.
[58] 'Szymon,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[59] 'Szymon,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[60] 'Ewa,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[61] 'Zygmunt,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 3 February 2017 (pseudonym).

and getting a different education."[62] She was happy with her decision to send her daughter to a government school and Lena added that her daughter was very happy in that school as well.

A small number of migrants chose schools based on recommendations of people they knew. Pawel described why he chose to send his son to a public school. He met a Polish lady with a son who was a doctor and she gave him some advice about the type of schools. Pawel said: "She told us to pay attention to a good suburb because the school could place more emphasis on education if it was in a good suburb rather than on sport activities. And so we made the decision to look for accommodation in suburbs that had good public schools and we bought there while our son was still in kindergarten so we could enrol him into a good public school."[63] Ryszard chose the high school for his daughters based on a recommendation made by a Polish person when he attended a church service. He said: "We were talking and he said 'oh, where are you from such and such' and then I asked where do your children go to school? And he said, 'Marion High School.' So I said, 'Marion, ah, Paulina [his daughter] you are going to Marion.' And that is how it happened."[64]

Polish Language Schools

Historians and sociologists are in agreement that the Polish language has been intrinsically linked with Polish culture. Jerzy Smolicz claims that language was crucial in ensuring the survival of Polish people as a distinct culture especially during the 19th century when the country was partitioned.[65] In this way, Smolicz argues that "an indissoluble link was forged between the Polish language and the perpetuation of the Polish people as a distinct social and cultural group".[66] Janusz Janik agrees with the idea of language maintenance being central to Polish culture. Through his research, Janik found that Polish migrants as well as Greeks and Latvians were language centred ethnic groups who were more likely to maintain their language because it was vital to their

[62] 'Lena,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[63] 'Pawel,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[64] 'Ryszard,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 February 2017.
[65] Jerzy Smolicz, "Language Core Values and Cultural Identity in Australia: Some Polish, Welsh and Indian Minority Experiences," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 19, no. 2 (June 1991): 113.
[66] Smolicz, "Language Core Values and Cultural Identity in Australia," 113.

identity.[67] Ruth Johnston also states that the Polish language was central to Polish culture. She maintains that the Polish were deeply convinced that as long as their language was kept alive, their culture would always survive regardless of their country's political and geographical misfortunes.[68] Victor Callan and Cynthia Gallois' study on attitudes towards language led them to conclude that language and speech styles can be "primary symbols of ethnicity and ethnic membership in multicultural societies".[69] In Canada, Eric Payseur found that Polish, and by extension Polish schools, were important for a number of reasons. The main responses he received from the Polish students he interviewed were: that it provided them the opportunity to read and write in Polish, to learn Polish history, the chance to know two languages, the ability to speak and write to relatives in Poland and because they felt Polish and their parents were Polish.[70] Payseur notes that there was an overwhelming sense of pride among the students to be Polish and them wanting to communicate with relatives in Poland. One of the students in Payseur's study said: "I go to a Polish school because I was born into a Polish family, and they, like me, do not want my ethnicity to disappear and that is why I need to know the Polish language."[71] Unfortunately, Payseur did not spend a great deal of time focusing on the experiences of the migrants of the 1980s, preferring to base his research on the 1950-1970 period. However, as I will explain shortly, these findings do reflect similar feelings held by the Polish migrants of the 1980s.

Historians argue that gender has a profound influence on the continuation of language. Through her research on Polish migrants who settled in Western Australia during the 1960s, Ruth Johnston argues that women were more committed to preserving the Polish language than men. She states: "Many teenage daughters were adamant about this and firmly believed that a sound base of the Polish language is necessary to uphold and foster

[67] Janusz Janik, "Polish Language Maintenance of the Polish Students at Princes Hill Saturday School in Melbourne," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 17, no. 6 (1996): 5.
[68] Ruth Johnston, *Future Australians: Immigrant Children in Perth, Western Australia* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1972), 80.
[69] Victor J. Callan and Cynthia Gallois, "Anglo-Australians' and Immigrants' Attitudes Toward Language and Accent: A Review of Experimental and Survey Research," *The International Migration Review,* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 48.
[70] Eric Payseur, "Making Polish-Canadian Identities: Generation, Gender, Politics, and the Rise of Polish Canadianness from the 1950s to the 1980s" (PhD thesis, York University 2013), 263.
[71] Payseur, "Making Polish-Canadian Identities," 264.

Polish culture in Australia."[72] In contrast, based on a study of 46 boys and 57 girls aged between nine and 18, Janusz Janik argues that boys tended to speak Polish more often than girls. In his research, 58.7% of boys preferred to use only Polish compared to 17.5% of girls.[73] In his view, girls were more focused on success and integration into the mainstream and therefore Polish was seen as a burden.[74] The Australian Census data of 1986 gives us an idea of which of these conclusions was more likely to be correct. It was reported that only 10.9% of Polish born females spoke only English at home compared with 19% of Polish born males.[75] This suggests that Johnston's conclusion was more reflective of the community as a whole despite having been completed in the 1960s. From the results of my research, gender did not greatly impact on the retention of the Polish language. The migrants had an equal mix of female and male children who continued the language.

A number of migrants sent their children to Polish Saturday Schools either to begin or continue their Polish language training. Of the 29 migrants in my sample who had children, 16 of them (55.2%) sent their children to Polish Saturday schools. Zygmunt sent his children to Polish school because he wanted to maintain a sense of Polishness. He explained: "I tried to ensure that the children stayed as close as possible to Polishness."[76] Polishness for Zygmunt meant maintaining Polish traits like language because it connected his children to Poland and their heritage. It was also a link between him and his children. This is why Zygmunt was particularly determined to ensure that his children maintained the Polish language. In his words: "They should continue the Polish language because we will never speak English like our children. But our children, if we speak Polish to them, we can communicate what we think and they will be able to understand. If I learn English from the children, I will not be able to explain to them what I am thinking. That is why I always believe in speaking in our father's language."[77] Agata also held the view that the children should learn the language and speak only Polish at home. She explained: "I

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[72] Ruth Johnston, "Post-war Polish Refugees," in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins,* ed. James Jupp (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 741.
[73] Janik, "Polish Language Maintenance of Polish Students," 8.
[74] Janik, "Polish Language Maintenance of Polish Students," 12.
[75] *Community Profiles: Poland Born* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1986), 26.
[76] 'Zygmunt,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 3 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[77] 'Zygmunt,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 3 February 2017 (pseudonym).

made sure the girls went to Polish school so they had a better understanding of the language. I did not want them to lose their language. That is why we only spoke Polish at home so they had a space to practice. And it reminds them of their heritage."[78]

A small portion of my sample decided to have their children study Polish as a subject as part of their matriculation rather than send them to a Polish school. Tadeusz commented during our interview how his daughter studied the Polish language as a subject during her final year of high school. He said: "It was an added bonus for her because she knew Polish very well and it increased her overall scores for university."[79] Similarly, Pawel's son did not attend Polish schools but he undertook Polish as an additional subject through the Adelaide High School. Pawel explained: "He drove himself every day after school to take these classes. We thought it would help his overall grades to get him into university."[80]

There was a decline in enrolments in Polish language classes and schools in Australia that started in the mid-to-late 1980s despite migrants viewing language as essential for Polish identity. Beata Leuner found in Melbourne that there were difficulties in ensuring the minimum eight people for each class in mainstream schools. As a result, classes included children of varying ages ranging from seven years old up to 11.[81] This problem with maintaining enrolments was also seen in South Australia. According to documents held by the State Records of South Australia, at the start of the decade, the class numbers were relatively high but by the late 1980s, numbers had decreased. There were three mainstream high schools that offered Polish as a subject during the 1980s: Woodville High School, West Lakes High School and Adelaide High School.[82] The Community College (TAFE) also offered Polish, however from 1984 talks began in regards to closing the classes as well as the Latvian courses because of the declining numbers. By 1988, Woodville High School also felt that it was no longer viable to continue to offer Polish classes. The mainly single digit class sizes meant that it was unable to

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[78] 'Agata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[79] 'Tadeusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017.
[80] 'Pawel,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[81] Beata Leuner, "Settling Down and Settlement Patterns Case Study: Polish Migrants from the 1980s in Melbourne," *Polish Sociological Review,* 4, no. 160 (2007): 422.
[82] I. R. Fewster to Ms B. Denman, "RE: Polish Language – Woodville High School Correspondence Files, Three Tiered Numeric Series – Termination of Polish and Latvian Language," 1 September 1988, GRS/809/7, Unit 91 File 16/05/102A, State Records of South Australia.

sustain the classes and the projected numbers for 1989 were not promising. The estimated enrolments for 1989 were as follows:[83]

Class Year	Estimated Enrolments
Year 8	9
Year 9	7
Year 10	6
Year 11	5
Year 12	4

One of my interviewees, Mateusz, did not have children however he taught Polish language classes in the Dom Kopernika centre for approximately five years and noted the drop in the number of students by the late 1980s. He said: "At the beginning there were many students but as time went on, there was less and less. There were also less people arriving from Poland."[84]

For those migrants in my study who had children and did not send their children to Polish classes or have them study it at secondary school, the reason behind the decision was because they felt that their children already had a good grasp of reading and writing in that language. Aleksy said: "I did not really think about sending my daughter to Polish school because we spoke Polish at home. She was learning from us when we spoke to her and when my wife and I spoke to each other. She heard the language everyday. Also, she had a weekly lesson in her primary school which seemed to be enough for her."[85] Bartek had a similar sentiment. He did not send his daughter to Polish school because in his words: "Her language skills were good and so she did not need to take those classes."[86] In some cases, like Andrew, children only attended classes for a short time. Andrew stated that his son only attended classes for a year. The reason for this was two-fold. Andrew explained: "My son decided that it was too hard for him and he could not stand the teacher."[87] Likewise, Szymon said that his daughter only attended classes for a

[83] Fewster to Denman, "RE: Polish Language – Woodville High School".
[84] 'Mateusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[85] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[86] 'Bartek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[87] 'Andrew,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 November 2017.

few years when she was a small child. He explained that the reason for this brief attendance was because time was short and he and his wife were not able to take their daughter to classes.[88] Andrzej stated how his daughter only attended Polish classes for a short time because “it did not do much for her education”.[89] A small number of migrants commented that their children were not happy about attending Polish Saturday Schools. Ella explained that her daughters only attended Polish classes for a short time because “they decided they were very smart and did not need to go”.[90] Ella’s daughters had already started attending school in Poland (Year 1 and Year 4) and therefore had the fundamentals of the Polish language. It is possible that the girls felt competent in their language skills and may have felt that the classes were too basic for them.

The lack of opportunities to use the Polish language may have also persuaded the children of Polish migrants to discontinue lessons in the language schools. Sociologist Jerzy Smolicz argues that as a result of there being insufficient acceptance of languages other than English, the Australian education system had failed to provide opportunities for students to use languages outside the home environment.[91] In this way, the children shed their Polish language and assimilated, at least partially, because as Smolicz claims: “they found it easier to use English, as the linguistic system was better developed and more often activated; and they were not prepared to make the greater effort needed to speak Polish in context where it was not specifically required”.[92] Janusz Janik also concludes that there was little support from state and federal governments with regards to language maintenance. Interestingly, despite scholars emphasising these structural impediments to the maintenance of Polish language (and hence Polish culture), my interviewees did not mention them. They saw it as a matter of individual responsibility, as if they or their children had the agency to choose whether or not to seek this kind of education. Mariusz, one of my interviewees, explained how he was the driving force behind his desire to continue maintaining his Polish language skills. Mariusz’s parents had encouraged him and his sister to speak English in the home but Mariusz resisted. He said:

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88 ‘Szymon,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 November 2017 (pseudonym).
89 ‘Andrzej,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
90 ‘Ella,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 2 April 2017 (pseudonym).
91 Smolicz, “Language Core Values and Cultural Identity in Australia,” 114.
92 Smolicz, “Language Core Values and Cultural Identity in Australia,” 114.

> It was a gigantic conflict in my family. My family, like many migrant families, in the beginning had this idiotic idea because they wanted to learn English, for their children to speak to them in English and I absolutely refused. They then pushed this onto my sister and it worked. For a time, I was so angry with my family that I did not speak to them for six months. I refuse to speak to my sister in English. I speak to her in Polish, I text her in Polish and she is all the better for it.[93]

It was his determination and commitment that motivated him to continue speaking Polish and encourage his younger sister to maintain her language especially because she did not attend any Polish lessons in Australia. Szymon commented during our interview that while he encouraged his daughter to speak Polish, he was not sure if she would continue it. He said: "how long it will continue, only time will tell."[94]

This chapter has shown that language was a significant barrier in Polish migrants continuing further education. The lack of confidence migrants had in their English skills prevented them from taking advantage of educational opportunities and impeded their integration into Australian society. What the migrants did do was invest in their children and provide the opportunities for their children to study as much as they wanted. This meant that private schools were more desirable because they provided, in the view of the Polish migrants, a higher set of standards for their children and had a set of values that was in line with their own. It was the Polish schools that highlighted the strongest link to Polish identity as the schools provided an environment where the children could develop and maintain their Polish language skills. However as the children grew older, their attendance waned suggesting that the children either felt confident enough in their identity as Polish individuals or the lack of opportunities to use Polish outside the family home played a role in their disinterest to undertake Polish classes.

[93] 'Mariusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017.
[94] 'Szymon,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 November 2017 (pseudonym).

Chapter Four – Family Life

This chapter will examine the influence the family circle had on the integration of Polish migrants into Australian society and their retention of ethnic identity. It will begin by examining the relationship status of the Polish migrants prior to migration and during their settlement in Australia. It will also examine if the Polish people brought children with them or if they had children in Australia. From there, the chapter will identify aspects of Polish life that were maintained within the family, and explore the role of extended family members and the influence they had on the lives of Polish migrants. The main questions that will be examined are: Did family interactions assist in integrating into Australian society or provide a means to maintain a Polish identity? And what significance did extended family have in the lives of Polish migrants in Australia?

The family unit

Current literature highlights an overall tendency for Polish born migrants to marry other Polish people. During the early 1980s, Polish born females marrying Polish born males in Australia and vice versa had increased to 59% and 55% respectively compared to 43% and 35% in the 1960s and early 1970s.[1] Researcher Beata Leuner's study highlights this tendency for Polish migrants to marry other Polish people. She initially used questionnaires to locate her sample before conducting interviews. From the questionnaire sample, 100 out of the 115 people who identified as parents were married to other Polish people.[2] Leuner does not specifically state outright if these individuals married in Poland or Australia but, of her interview sample, 12 people were in endogamous relationships (Polish individuals who married within the Polish ethnic group in Australia) and three were in exogamous relationships (individuals who married people outside the Polish ethnic group in Australia). However, historian Adam Jamrozik produced contrary findings in a paper delivered in 1984 – two decades before Leuner's study was published. He suggested that more than half of the group were marrying outside of the ethnic

[1] Jan Pakulski, "Polish Community Life in Australia," in *The Australian People: An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins,* ed. James Jupp (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 742.
[2] Beata Leuner, *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance in Australia: Polish Migration to Melbourne in the 1980s* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 155.

community.[3] The time gap might have something to do with the contrary findings. Charles Price, a social scientist, also calculates that more than half of Polish first generation men and women were marrying outside the Polish ethnic group.[4] By the second generation, the number had increased to nearly 90%.[5] This suggests a process of cultural assimilation.

Below are two tables that indicate the relationship status of the 43 respondents in my sample prior to arrival in Australia and after their arrival. (Two were not included because they were priests.)

Relationship Status	Single	Married/De factor partner
In Poland	14	29

The majority of Polish migrants had Polish spouses before leaving Poland. One exception to this case was Antony who married a Czechoslovakian woman before arriving in Australia and his daughter was born in Czechoslovakia.[6]

As can be seen from the table below, nine migrants married after arriving in Australia.

Relationship Status	Single	Married/De facto partner
In Australia	5	38

In my sample 77% were married to Poland-born people which is closer to the figure arrived at in Leuner's study of Melbourne-based Poles. Both Robert and Jarek arrived in Australia with their Polish girlfriends and married them here in Australia.[7] Jacek and Andy married Australian born females who came from Polish families and Alicja married an Australian born man from a Slovenian family.[8] This means a small number of respondents married Australian born individuals but they all had migrant heritage. Andy's marriage to

[3] Adam Jamrozik, *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984: Seminar, 12 October 1984* (Ashfield: Polish Welfare and Information Bureau, 1984), 11.
[4] Quoted in Jamrozik, *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984*, 11.
[5] Quoted in Jamrozik, *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984*, 11.
[6] 'Antony,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[7] 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017; 'Jarek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 30 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[8] 'Jacek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 January 2017; 'Alicja,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 5 April 2017; 'Andy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 6 March 2017 (pseudonym).

an Australian born woman from a Polish family had been his second marriage as he had previously been married to an Australian born female.[9] Lena married outside the Polish ethnic community as she married a German man while in Australia.[10] Adam was one interviewee who married outside both the Polish and European ethnic community when he married a Vietnamese woman after coming to Australia.[11] These relationships suggest that, to a certain extent and in this respect, the Polish migrants resisted cultural assimilation into Australian society. The majority of migrants in my sample were married to other Poles or non-Anglo migrants suggesting that it was important for these individuals to find a spouse with a similar background and experiences to create a better connection with them.

Divorce was experienced by a small portion of the Polish migrants prior to migration and after arriving in Australia. In Elizabeth Drozd's research, 16% of her respondents had divorced.[12] While she did not break down this number into genders, it is similar to the Census data that found levels of separation for Polish migrants at 16% for women and 12% for men in Australia.[13] This was slightly higher than the overall Australian born population who divorced at a rate of 14.4% for women and 12.8% for men.[14] Within my sample, six people out of the 45 respondents, or 13%, had divorced. Two had divorced prior to leaving Poland and four had divorced while in Australia.

There is some difficulty in discussing sensitive issues like divorce and therefore acquiring answers to possible causes for this phenomenon can be problematic. Not all of my interviewees wanted to talk about divorce or how they ended their relationships. Adam had a wife and son in Poland before he migrated to Australia. Adam mentioned that he realised he made mistake by marrying his first wife within six months of their nuptials.[15] But he stayed for the sake of his son for 10 years. He was reluctant then to discuss how

[9] 'Andy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 6 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[10] 'Lena,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[11] 'Adam,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 June 2017.
[12] Elizabeth Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way: The Settlement of the 1980s Solidarity Wave of Polish Immigrants in Melbourne" (M.A. thesis, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, 1997), 110.
[13] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *The Social Characteristics of Immigrants in Australia* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1994), 41-43.
[14] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *The Social Characteristics of Immigrants,* 41-43.
[15] 'Adam,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 June 2017.

he left his family in Poland and whether they knew he was planning to leave.[16] Lena also did not want to go into detail about her ex husband in Poland and whether or not she divorced him prior to leaving or after.[17] Two interviewees did discuss some of the pain and issues they faced in their relationships. Julia had arrived in Australia with her husband and not long after had a child. The added pressures of raising a child, starting again in a new country and language difficulties strained the relationship. She recalled: "It was hard to start all over again. He was working all the time and I was stuck at home with the baby with no one to talk to."[18] Staszek recalled with some pain that his marriage was affected by his job. He was working on pipelines out in regional South Australia for two to three weeks at a time and returned home for one week each time.[19] One day, he returned back from his job and found his house empty. After contacting the police, Staszek learned that his wife had taken their children back to Poland with her boyfriend.[20] He said: "The distance created as a result of my job impacted on my relationship with my family. There is no denying it."[21]

The challenge of settling in a new country was a main factor identified as a cause for Polish migrants divorcing after arriving in Australia. Social scientists Nidhi Wali and Andre Renzaho found that migrants faced difficulties with the "absence of traditional forms of social support for daily functioning and social engagement".[22] Similarly, nursing professor Karen Aroian found that "leaving a significant network of friends and family appeared to be the most distressing type of loss".[23] Within my sample, Piotr recognised that the pressures of leaving Poland and having to start again placed a strain on marriages.[24] He said: "We expected it to be easy but life was difficult."[25] Agata had a similar view. She recalled her start in Australia as being hard: "It was a challenge to start again in a new country. Especially when we did not know anyone or have any family to help us. In

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[16] 'Adam,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 June 2017.
[17] 'Lena,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[18] 'Julia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[19] 'Staszek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 February 2017.
[20] 'Staszek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 February 2017.
[21] 'Staszek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 February 2017.
[22] Nidhi Wali and Andre M. N. Renzaho, "'Our Riches Are Our Family,' The Changing Family Dynamics and Social Capital for New Migrant Families in Australia," *PLoS One,* 13, no. 12 (December 2018): 9.
[23] Karen Aroian, "From Leaving Poland to Feeling at Home: Psychological Adaption to Migration and Resettlement" (PhD thesis, University of Washington, 1988), 127.
[24] 'Piotr,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[25] 'Piotr,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 February 2017 (pseudonym).

Poland, they could have offered us advice or support but not here. We only had each other. Me and my husband."[26] Not all couples were able to cope with the challenges and as a result marriages dissolved after a few years in Australia.

For the majority of interviewees in my sample, children had been brought with them when they migrated to Australia, and most of the remainder had children in Australia. At the time of interview with me, only five of the 45 respondents did not have children at all and this number included two priests. The table below shows where the 40 respondents had their children:

Birthplace of children of Polish migrants	Number of interviewees
In Poland/Europe	19
In Poland and Australia	7
In Australia	14

The respondents in my sample tended to have small families and usually no more than two children. Eleven interviewees had one child, 24 had two children and five had three children. Historian Adam Jamrozik has also identified that Polish migrants had small families. He states: "the average size of a Polish family has been smaller than that of all overseas-born ethnic groups and smaller than the average size of the family in total Australian population".[27]

Family and children have been shown to impact on a person's connection to culture and ethnic identity. Sociologist Jerzy Smolicz argues: "It seems that the social structure of the family provides the anchorage for the retention of Polish identity".[28] What he meant by family was a wide range of relationships that include grandparents and cousins.[29] In my sample, Renata explained how her family and children created a safety net. She said: "We became our own little unit. A little bubble where we could share things with each other and continue our customs that might have seemed strange to others but were completely natural to us. We could lean on each other and help each other when

[26] 'Agata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[27] Jamrozik, *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984*, 11.
[28] Jerzy Smolicz, "Polish Culture and Language," in *The Australian People: An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins,* ed. James Jupp (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 746.
[29] Smolicz, "Polish Culture and Language," 745.

problems happened."[30] Researchers Rebecca Wickes, John van Kooy, Rebecca Powell and Claire Moran recognise how important family is when integrating into society. They claim: "The presence of a supportive family enhance the capacity to negotiate services, access education, enter the labour force and establish strong social networks."[31] By having a close-knit family, migrants felt comfortable and secure in a foreign country because they could rely and support each other especially in times of crisis, as seen with Renata. For other migrants in my sample like Staszek and Mateusz, this was not the case. As mentioned earlier, Staszek's wife returned to Poland with their children and Mateusz was a single male when he migrated and did not have children before or after his arrival.[32] To fill the void, they needed to create new connections and relationships. Mateusz found his new place within the Polish community and this will be further examined later in this chapter.

Polish migrants had high expectations for their children in the new country especially regarding their education. Margie Shields and Richard Behrman, editors of *The Future of Children* journal, argue that immigrant families are eager to improve their standard of living.[33] As a result, Shields and Behrman explain that parents are willing to work hard and expect that their children will do the same.[34] Janusz was one interviewee who had high aspirations for his children in Australia. He said: "We had aspirations that they would be well educated. And they did. They are both professionals and we gained good satisfaction from it."[35] Particularly for those migrants who were not able to return to their professions in Australia, it was paramount that their children be given the opportunities to succeed in Australia. Carolina was not able to attend university in Australia and as a result was determined for her daughter to succeed academically. She explained: "My daughter was born here [in Australia] and therefore had opportunities that I was not given.

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[30] 'Renata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[31] Rebecca Wickes, John van Kooy, Rebecca Powell and Claire Moran, *The Social Impact of Family Separation on Refugee Settlement and Inclusion in Australia* (Melbourne: Monash Migration and Inclusion Centre, 2019), 27.
[32] 'Mateusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[33] Margie K. Shields and Richard E. Behrman, "Children of Immigrant Families: Analysis and Recommendations," *The Future of Children,* 14, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 5.
[34] Shields and Behrman, "Children of Immigrant Families," 5-6.
[35] 'Janusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 February 2017 (pseudonym).

I wanted to make sure she took advantage of them and succeed by attending university so she could gain good employment."[36]

Not all the migrants within my study were focused on academic success for their children. For Alicja, it was more important for her daughter to be happy rather than forcing her to be academically successful. She said: "I just wanted her to achieve her dreams. Whatever they may be. I did not want to push her to study."[37] Similarly, Andrzej also did not have specific aspirations for his children. His main concern was making sure his children were good people. He said: "We wanted them to be good, honest people."[38] It is fair to say, however, that this was not the attitude of the majority of Polish parents that I interviewed, who placed more emphasis on their children's academic achievement.

Family interactions

Language was one feature that was maintained among Polish migrants who had children born prior to arriving in Australia. Agata, one of my interviewees, described how important it was for her to continue speaking the Polish language at home. She said: "I wanted my daughters to have a place where they could continue to use the language they had been brought up with."[39] Similarly, Renata had children prior to her migration to Australia and also placed a greater emphasis on maintaining the Polish language within the home. She explained: "English will always be their second language and even though it is important here, Polish is important too because it reminds them of their family and heritage. It is a way that connects us as a family more so than English because we will never have the same comprehension of English that our daughters do."[40] Ewa also found that language connected her family together and also ensured that her children were able to continue their relationship with grandparents back in Poland. She said: "While it was not always easy to call back home, the children would write letters to their grandparents in Poland and let them know what they were doing. It always brought joy to my parents to see the children write to them and it meant that the children continued being close to their

[36] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[37] 'Alicja,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 5 April 2017.
[38] 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
[39] 'Agata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[40] 'Renata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 March 2018 (pseudonym).

grandparents despite the distance."[41] In these cases, language was closely linked to identity. Each of these women viewed language as being crucial to identity because it defined who they are and their heritage and this was essential to pass on to their children.

Interestingly, migrants who had children in Australia had a similar desire to maintain the Polish language within the family home. Both Aleksy and Carolina described how Polish was the prevalent language within their homes. Aleksy was determined to continue speaking Polish at home not only for his benefit but also for his daughter. He said: "My wife and I always spoke Polish together. In the beginning, it was difficult to learn English and it was much easier to speak in Polish. After my daughter was born, it was the best way for her to learn the Polish language. She was able to hear it everyday."[42] Carolina said this during our interview: "My husband and I are both Polish, why would we speak English at home?"[43] An interesting point that can be seen in Carolina's statement is her description of being Polish. This highlights her association of the Polish language with her identity as a Polish woman. In the case of Aleksy, the tendency to use Polish highlights a desire to maintain the familiar as well as wanting to ensure his language was passed onto his children. Before arriving in Australia, Julia was married to a Polish man but divorced not long after her arrival before remarrying an Australian born man.[44] Interestingly, while her first born child from her first marriage spoke semi-well in Polish, it was her daughter with her second husband that spoke Polish the most fluently. Julia said: "My parents spent a lot of time with us in my home and it gave my daughter the opportunity to hear and speak in the Polish language."[45]

Some migrants experienced barriers with regards to the continuation of the Polish language with their children. Interviewees like Henryk and Jacek said that their children tended to speak English with their siblings and only Polish with their parents.[46] Henryk said: "My children would speak in English to each other but as soon as their grandmother

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[41] 'Ewa,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[42] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[43] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[44] 'Julia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[45] 'Julia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[46] 'Henryk,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 February 2017; 'Jacek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 January 2017.

came into the room, they would quickly switch to Polish to avoid being scolded."[47] Jacek discussed how his children also spoke English with each other because it was easier for them.[48] This lack of continuation of the Polish language presents a complication according to sociologists Jerzy Smolicz and Margaret Secombe. They indicate that three main factors are needed in order to maintain Polish culture: the Polish language, family ties, and friendships with other Polish people.[49] Historically, language was linked closely to Polish traditions and one stable trait that allowed Polish culture to continue. Smolicz, in a different article, said that the role of language was the "main defence mechanism against assimilation".[50] He did however also acknowledge that there was a form of "passive submission to the *status quo* in society"[51] among the Polish migrants because the English language was easier to use and the linguistic system was better developed.

One possible explanation for the difficulties associated with children and the retention of language could stem from their feeling of isolation within the Australian community. Leuner identifies the difficulties faced by teenagers arriving with their parents in Australia during the 1980s. She describes these individuals as suffering from "living between two cultures as they were hardly ever 'immigrants' in the direct sense of the word".[52] Psychologists Leon and Rebecca Grinberg termed this group as being "exiled".[53] The children were exiles because "they are not the ones who decided to leave, and they cannot decide to return at will".[54] This living between cultures or exiled nature has a direct impact on language and culture according to social scientists Parimal Roy and Ian Hamilton. They state: "persons who live in an area with relatively few ethnic compatriots on the average have an initially weaker disposition toward ingroup maintenance".[55]

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[47] 'Henryk,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 February 2017.
[48] 'Jacek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 January 2017.
[49] Jerzy Smolicz and Margaret J. Secombe, "Polish Culture and Education in Australia: A Review of Some Recent Research and Educational Developments," in *Polish People and Culture in Australia,* ed. Roland Sussex and Jerzy Zubrzycki (Canberra: Australian National University, 1985), 132.
[50] Jerzy Smolicz, "Language Core Values and Cultural Identity in Australia: Some Polish, Welsh and Indian Minority Experiences," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society,* 19, no. 2 (June 1991): 110.
[51] Smolicz, "Language Core Values and Cultural Identity," 114.
[52] Beata Leuner, "Settling Down and Settlement Patterns Case Study: Polish Migrants from the 1980s in Melbourne," *Polish Sociological Review,* 4, no. 160 (2007): 420.
[53] Leon Grinberg and Rebecca Grinberg, *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 125.
[54] Grinberg and Grinberg, *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration*, 125.
[55] Quoted in Parimal Roy and Ian Hamilton, "Interethnic Marriage in Australia: Identifying the Second Generation in Australia," *The International Migration Review,* 31, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 138.

Therefore a smaller number of individuals who share the same language and cultural background mean that those traits are more likely to be replaced with those of the more dominant culture.

Cuisine has been identified as a characteristic that was used to maintain Polishness within the family. According to journalist and writer Marian Kaluski, even if Polish people discarded their language and religion, certain traditions and foods would survive.[56] Foods like Polish sausages, salami, cheeses, cakes and dill gherkins are a few examples Kaluski lists as forming part of the typical Polish cuisine.[57] Drozd makes a similar point in her research. She argues that cuisine was one of the last things to change in the process of cultural integration. Within her sample, Drozd found 60% continued to consume Polish food everyday.[58] Within my research, the main foods identified from the respondents included other foods beyond Kaluski's list: *pierogi, bigos* and *rosol*. Piotr recalled how some foods had changed but his family continued to make Polish food such as *pierogi* and *bigos*.[59] *Pierogi* are Polish dumplings filled with a variety of ingredients from meat and sauerkraut to potatoes and even blueberries. *Bigos* is a dish made up of a sauerkraut and/or cabbage with different meats. It is cooked in a single pot and is ideal for winter months because of its rich and heavy nature. Dill gherkins or *ogorek kiszony* are another typical Polish food that migrants like Henryk and Zygmunt specifically mentioned that continued to be made and consumed here in Australia.[60] In Henryk's case, Polish sausages were also a delicacy that continued to be a special part of his life.[61] It was not simply about buying the sausages from the butchers; rather it was a family affair with his mother, cousins and himself all working together and making their own at home.[62] Ryszard also highlighted that sausages, sauerkraut and pickles were part of his family's daily life.[63] Jarek described his first Sunday in Australia with his aunt as including *rosol*, or

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[56] Marian Kaluski, *The Poles in Australia* (Melbourne: AE Press, 1985), 110.
[57] Kaluski, *The Poles in Australia*, 110.
[58] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 141.
[59] 'Piotr,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[60] 'Henryk,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 February 2017; 'Zygmunt,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 3 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[61] 'Henryk,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 February 2017.
[62] 'Henryk,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 February 2017.
[63] 'Ryszard,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 February 2017.

chicken soup. He recalled fondly, “It was tradition to have *rosol* on a Sunday.”[64] In Poland, it is tradition to have twelve dishes on Christmas Eve that includes foods like cabbage, mushroom *pierogi* and *makowiec*, a poppy seed cake.[65] The reason for the twelve dishes is both a symbol for the Twelve Apostles and a representation of the twelve months of the year.[66] Robert Piotrowski, the head of the ethnographic division of the Museum of the Mazovian Countryside in Sierpc, claims that the specific number of dishes representing the twelve months was “intended as a wish for sufficient amount of food for each month of the next year. Strength and luck was to be guaranteed by tasting each of the dishes.”[67] A number of respondents in my sample explained how their children continued this Christmas Eve tradition. Lena said: “My daughter always does this every year. She is much stricter about continuing this tradition than I am!”[68] Barbara had a similar experience with her daughter. After several years of continuing these traditional foods, she said: “Now my daughter has taken over and cooks everything.”[69]

Cuisine for Polish migrants did however evolve after migration and a new form developed that combined the old and the new. Rather than being restricted to Polish foods, the adoption of other cuisine from the Australian culture became fairly common practice in the homes of the Polish people. Carolina described how, for her and her family, the adoption of other foods was needed as in some instances Polish food was too rich and heavy on the stomach.[70] In the warmer climates of Australia, such food was unsuitable and lighter meals were adopted instead. This was also noted by Jacek and Antony who both separately stated how barbeques were adopted not only because it helped them to acclimatise to Australia but also because it suited the climate better than the Polish cuisines to which they were a customised.[71] Ania described how her family’s preferences

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[64] ‘Jarek,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 30 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[65] Marek Kepa, “Polish Christmas Eve Traditions,’ *Culture PL,* https://culture.pl/en/article/polish-christmas-eve-traditions (accessed 23 September 2019).
[66] Magdalena Kasprzyk-Chevriaux, “The 12 Dishes of Polish Christmas,” *Culture PL*, 13 December 2013, https://culture.pl/en/article/the-12-dishes-of-polish-christmas (accessed 24 August 2020).
[67] Karolina Kowalska, “Poland’s Traditional Christmas Eve Dishes,” *Poland.pl*, 22 December 2015, https://poland.pl/tourism/cuisine/polands-traditional-christmas-eve-dishes/ (accessed 24 August 2020).
[68] ‘Lena,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[69] ‘Barbara,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[70] ‘Carolina,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[71] ‘Jacek,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 January 2017; ‘Antony,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2017 (pseudonym).

became a mix of traditions where Australian food influenced their cuisines.[72] In her words, "there was a fusion of Australian and Polish food".[73] Julia experienced a more drastic change in her family. The cuisine changed to suit the tastes of her children that were influenced by their friends.[74] She stated: "After spending time with their friends, my children wanted to eat the same foods that they had experienced at their friend's house."[75]

The specific selection of food highlights a merging of cultures on the part of the Polish migrants. The migrants of my sample had chosen specific traits that they wanted and wished to maintain within their family and adopted new ones that they learned in their new homeland. They were freer to do so in the 1980s than the migrants of, say, the 1950s because the Australian Government had adopted multiculturalism rather than assimilation as its preferred model of migrant integration. The retention of Polish foods in their diets was, of course, a less threatening form of cultural identity retention for the host society, as it was mainly confined to the private sphere of the home.

While Polish migrants in Australia were maintaining and modifying traditional Polish cuisine, diets and the types of food consumed in Poland were changing in the 1980s and 1990s. During the Communist period, the *bar mleczny*, or milk bar was highly popular. The first milk bar (*Mleczarnia Nadświdrzańska*) was opened by dairy farmer Stanisław Dłużewski in Warsaw in 1896 to sell cheap milk and egg based meals.[76] The milk bars were expanded and 40,000 were open during the Communist era and served Polish comfort food that was subsidized by the government.[77] Not everyone viewed the Communist influence on Polish cuisine as being positive. *The Economist* described the situation in these words: "The 40 years of Communism Poland endured battered its food. Communism did to the national cuisine what it did to so much else and reduced it to the lowest common denominator: uniform and bland stodge characterised by poor

[72] 'Ania,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.
[73] 'Ania,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.
[74] 'Julia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[75] 'Julia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[76] Joanna Kakissis, "Poles Return to A Taste of Their Communist Past: Cheap Milk Bars," *National Public Radio*, 1 December 2016, https://www.npr.org/sections/thesalt/2016/12/01/503788967/poles-return-to-a-taste-of-their-soviet-past-cheap-milk-bars (accessed 24 August 2020).
[77] Kakissis, "Poles Return to A Taste of Their Communist Past."

ingredients, low standards and low expectations."[78] Maciej Majewski, a Polish chef, adds that difficulties with sourcing produce during the Communist years impacted Polish cuisine. He states: "It was very difficult for people to find the things they wanted at groceries. People were actually getting their food through ration cards and they just had to take whatever was there. This at times meant that for a whole week one person could get no more than 300 grams of beef, for example."[79] However, Polish cuisine changed again following the collapse of Communism and the increased exposure to America. There was a surge in Polish people going to fast food chains like Burger King and McDonalds. Polish culture writer Olga Drenda claims that people who used to frequent milk bars were now going to fast food outlets because "many people in Poland tried to avoid [milk bars], at all costs, anything associated with the communist period. They associated that period with poverty and austerity".[80] Reporters Andrew Serwer and John Wyatt state that it only took five years after the fall of Communism for fast food stores like Pizza Hut, Burger King and McDonalds to begin opening stores.[81] This rise in the consumption of American food indicates that the migrants in Australia were preserving an antiquated version of Polish culture that was no longer as common as they thought.

Polish migrants within my study expressed the belief that Polish families were supportive and more connected with their relatives compared to Australian families. While there is limited literature on the comparison between Polish and Australian families, several profiles created on the Polish ethnic group have indicated the importance of family. Margaret Hess and Elizabeth Zajac claim that "successful family life is very important to Poland-born people".[82] They go on to argue that "traditional family values and loyalty are strong in most Polish households […] The extended family is also very important, however many aged Poland-born persons do not have extended family."[83] In my sample,

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[78] "What Communism Did to Polish Food," *The Economist*, 8 August 2013, https://www.economist.com/eastern-approaches/2013/08/08/what-communism-did-to-polish-food (accessed 24 August 2020).
[79] Dina Ezzat, "Of Pierogis, Bagels and Other Polish Recipes of a Visiting Polish Chef," *Ahram Online*, 22 May 2016, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/7/49/217364/Life--Style/Food/Of-pierogis,-bagels-and-other-Polish-recipes-of-a-.aspx (accessed 24 August 2020).
[80] Kakissis, "Poles Return to A Taste of Their Communist Past."
[81] Andrew E. Serwer and John Wyatt, "McDonald's Conquers the World," *Fortune*, 130, issue 8 (17 October 1994): 103-116.
[82] Margaret Hess and Elizabeth Zajac, *Polish Culture Profile* (West End: Diversicare, 2006), 8.
[83] Hess and Zajac, *Polish Culture Profile*, 8.

Renata interacted with several Australian families and could not understand their mentality regarding their children and family life. She said: "The parents would say, 'I cannot wait until they are 16 so they can leave home.' For us, that did not make sense. Why would you want them to leave? We wanted our children to stay as long as they could. Even in Poland, children would stay with the parents until they were married. It was a good way to save money but also to be close to each other."[84] Alicja saw the same mentality among the Australians she interacted with at work. She was surprised to hear them speak about their children in this way: "My son or daughter is old enough, they can look after themselves."[85] This was not something Alicja could understand because family was an important part of her life. She added: "We always support our family. I know this is not every Polish or Australian family but we were very family orientated."[86] Zygmunt was another respondent in my sample that commented on the differences between Polish and Australian families. He said that the main differences he observed were: "Polish families maintain more discipline within the home and respect for elders."[87] In these statements, we can perceive an awareness on the part of Poles – even some 35 years after their arrival – that their attitudes and practices were different from 'average Australians', and that, as a group, they were distinct.

Extended Family

An aspect of family life that was important to the Solidarity wave migrants was the reunion with the extended family. They had left behind almost all of their family and friends in Poland in order to set out for Australia. These networks and connections were difficult to recreate in another country especially one that was both linguistically and culturally different from the one they had left behind. Beata Leuner sums up the struggles that migrants faced with this statement by a migrant: "Arriving in a new country, an immigrant may not know anyone. She/he may have to deal with difficult situations alone which often makes life frustrating."[88] In addition, Leuner highlights longing for families as being a

[84] 'Renata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[85] 'Alicja,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 5 April 2017.
[86] 'Alicja,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 5 April 2017.
[87] 'Zygmunt,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 3 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[88] Beata Leuner, "Settling Down and Settlement Patterns Case Study: Polish Migrants from the 1980s in Melbourne," *Polish Sociological Review,* 4, no. 160 (2007): 424.

common feeling experienced by Polish migrants.[89] The Solidarity wave arrived, we must remember, at a time before the invention of email and cheap video calls, when a long distance phone call was a luxury many could not afford. Historians Inwald and Ciesielski agree with Leuner's assessment and discuss how the Polish migrants had no one to consult with when making decisions about their life because their family was left behind In Poland.[90]

For these reasons, and with their families' welfare in mind, the Polish migrants within my sample were determined to bring their families to stay in Australia permanently. Forty percent of respondents in my study brought at least one parent/in-law or sibling to live in Australia on a permanent basis. Julia's immediate family migrated to Australia not long after her arrival. She said during her interview: "My siblings were the first to arrive here after me and then eventually my parents joined us."[91] Julia was fortunate enough to have an aunt living in Australia that gave her a connection to someone familiar in a strange country. However, having her parents here was important in her life. She said: "I wanted them here not just for myself but for my children too. So we could be all together."[92] Janusz made sure to bring his brothers to live in Australia not long after his arrival.[93] His wife had an uncle living in Australia and he was the one that brought her and her family to live in Australia permanently. Janusz said: "I felt content with life because all of my family were here in Australia."[94]

Migrant intake through the 'family reunion' stream was at its highest during the 1980s in Australia. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, the number of individuals arriving under the family immigration category rose from 26,952 to 69,571 in 1987-1988.[95] This intake was the highest it had ever been and the process of bringing relatives was

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89 Leuner, "Settling Down and Settlement Patterns Case Study," 418.
90 S. Inwald and K. Ciesieski, "Importance of Information," in *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984: Seminar, 12 October 1984* (Ashfield: Polish Welfare and Information Bureau, 1984), 2.
91 'Julia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
92 'Julia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
93 'Janusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 February 2017 (pseudonym).
94 'Janusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 February 2017 (pseudonym).
95 Australian Bureau of Statistics, "Australian Social Trends, 1998, Population Growth: Changes in Immigration Intake," 3 June 1998,
https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/2f762f95845417aeca25706c00834efa/60b63fa45ebb4b61ca2570ec0018e4f6!OpenDocument (accessed 18 July 2020).

relatively straightforward. In order to bring relatives into the country, individuals simply needed to be Australian citizens or permanent residents for at least two years to be able to sponsor their relatives.[96] In the 1950s and 1960s European migrants needed to wait much longer before becoming eligible for citizenship (and thus the right to sponsor family members), and the wait time was even longer for Asians and Africans. As will be seen later in this chapter, conditions changed and family reunions became more difficult and costly after the 1980s. The Solidarity wave thus arrived at the ideal historical juncture to facilitate the migration of their family members.

Family reunion for some Polish migrants in my sample was a way to resolve guilt experienced as a result of the migration process. Guilt primarily existed within those individuals who had either not been able to say goodbye to their family and those who had been forced to leave Poland because of political reasons and had been threatened with punishments if they did not leave. Andrzej acknowledged that guilt existed and he did have concerns about his family. He said: "Before Martial Law while we were in Austria [where he stayed prior to emigrating to Australia], we were able to stay in contact with our family. But once Martial Law came into place, that was cut off. Sometimes correspondence got through, sometimes it did not. And when it did, it was opened, read and censored. It was scary."[97] This only became worse when he arrived in Australia because of the distance between the two countries. Andrzej worried about the family and made sure to work hard to bring his family to Australia. Piotr also had feelings of guilt from having left family behind. He brought his mother here to help alleviate this feeling. He recalled his thoughts at the time: "I knew it would be better if I brought her here."[98] Julia also brought her mother and her father to Australia after she was financially able. She said: "Of course I felt guilty leaving them there. In Poland, the children look after their parents so leaving them there was hard. I felt responsible for them. So when I was able to, I brought them here to live with us."[99]

[96] Australian Bureau of Statistics, "Australian Social Trends, 1998, Population Growth."
[97] 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
[98] 'Piotr,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[99] 'Julia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).

A small handful of individuals did not feel guilt or did not consider it at the time of migration. Henryk claimed that he did not feel guilt. No one in his family knew he was leaving because of the danger associated with the information being leaked out. He said: "My family was sad that we [my brother and I] were gone but glad that we made it out. But I knew they would not be in any danger."[100] Aleksy also did not feel guilt in leaving behind his family because he left Poland to join his wife in Australia.[101] He was not a political refugee and did not need to leave in secret. Aleksy remarked: "I was able to say goodbye to my family but I had always wanted to leave the country. I never knew where I would end up but I always believed that I would leave Poland for another country one day."[102] Antony did not think about guilt because his concern with getting his immediate family – his wife and child - out overrode all other thoughts. He said: "I was not really thinking about that. The adrenaline of getting us out was more important to me."[103] It is possible that even though there was no conscious thought by these individuals regarding guilt, there might have been some residual guilt that lingered.

Aside from guilt, some migrants felt there was a sense of obligation or duty to take care of their elders. In many cases, parents were older and the idea of leaving them in Poland with limited or no one to take care of them was unfathomable. Renata had moved to Australia with her husband and daughters and after some years organised for her mother to move as well. Even though her brother lived in Poland, she had a closer connection to her mother. Renata said: "Mothers and daughters are always close even when they get married. The sons usually focus their attention on their wives. That is why I wanted to have my mother here so as the years went by, I could look after her."[104] Similarly for Agata, her immediate family migrated to Australia and therefore her desire to bring her mother here was paramount. She first arrived in Australia with her husband and daughters. Following her arrival, she helped her two siblings bring their families to Australia before eventually bringing her mother. Agata said: "It was important to bring my mum here. With all the children in Australia, I could not imagine leaving her there on her

[100] 'Henryk,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 February 2017.
[101] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[102] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[103] 'Antony,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[104] 'Renata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 March 2018 (pseudonym).

own. Who would take care of her?"[105] Another respondent in my sample had a similar feeling of wanting to take care of her parents. Alicja had her sister and two brothers come to Australia with her. In her family, it was important to stay together and bringing their parents to join the family in Australia was always planned. She said: "No one told me to do it but I felt that it was my responsibility to bring my parents and make sure they had a home to live in."[106]

My interviewees told me how many of their older relatives were pleased with the decision to reunite with their family in Australia. Sylwia's mother lived happily with her and her family after arriving in Australia, however over time she needed more care. Sylwia recalled how her work colleagues helped her find a nursing home that would cater to her mother's needs.[107] It was a difficult decision for her because of the different way Polish people were brought up. She described how in Poland the younger family members took care of the older relatives rather than sending them to nursing homes. She made sure to tell her mother that if she did not like the place, she would leave her job and stay home with her. During one visit, Sylwia said, "I asked my mother how is everything and she said, 'I should have come here 10 years ago! There is so much to do!' For me, that was a great relief that she was happy."[108] Robert's mother was deeply upset with the fact that he left Poland. However, she changed her mind after she came to visit her son.[109] Robert described how his mother could see the life he had created for himself was better than the one he left behind.[110] After her initial holiday, Robert's mother came back and she decided to stay in Australia permanently. He said: "She really grew to love this place. She learned to drive and she learned English. She would even translate for some of the older Polish people on her street."[111] Barbara had a similar experience with her mother. She first came for a six month vacation but decided to stay with her daughter.[112] Barbara said: "She was happy here. She even learned English and felt like she belonged."[113]

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[105] 'Agata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[106] 'Alicja,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 5 April 2017.
[107] 'Sylwia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[108] 'Sylwia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[109] 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[110] 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[111] 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[112] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[113] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.

Not all the older individuals had an easy time adjusting to life in Australia with their children. During our interview, Aleksy said that the reason why his mother did not remain permanently with his family was because of the differences between Poland and Australia. He stated: “She was not used to the distances here in Australia nor was she able to adjust to the different social life.”[114] In Poland, Aleksy’s mother was able to visit her friends for coffee on a regular basis and visit the shops for her grocery needs. In Australia, this was not the case. Aleksy continued and said: “She would have had to rely heavily on myself and my wife to get around because she did not have a driver’s license and catching the bus with her limited English language would have been stressful for her.”[115] Leuner recognises that older individuals were one of the groups that experienced difficulties in acclimatising to the new situation in Australia. She describes their situation in these words: “An old person in general does not wish to move: it is painful to leave things that give them security; his past is much greater than his future; he always loses more than he gains.”[116] Leuner went on to say how if older individuals followed their children, they were unhappy and often felt “regressively despondent, like a child, but without a child’s expectations and growth potential to reach new achievements”.[117] But the experience of Aleksy’s mother was not common among my migrant sample. Instead, nearly all viewed their parents migration as a positive experience and of great benefit to all – suggesting Leuner’s pronouncement was somewhat exaggerated, or at least not able to be universally applied.

Bringing family to the new country plays an important role in assisting in the maintenance of identity and makes the experience of settlement easier. The Refugee Council of Australia states: “Family plays a pivotal role in providing emotional, physical and material support. Family anchors the individual’s identity by affirming mutual understanding of roles and experience. Intact families can devote their full energies to rebuilding their

[114] ‘Aleksy,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[115] ‘Aleksy,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[116] Leuner, “Settling Down and Settlement Patterns,” 421.
[117] Leuner, “Settling Down and Settlement Patterns,” 421.

lives."[118] Therefore, the absence of family can have a negative effect. Rebecca Wickes, John van Kooy, Rebecca Powell and Claire Moran make this argument when they state: "When family members are separated, they are deprived of important social and emotional support that is critical to positive settlement outcomes."[119] They go on to argue that the negative effects of family separation not only impacts the individual but the wider society. They claim how the "constant fear for their family creates barriers to engaging in social and economic activities most desired during settlement".[120] In this sense, the emphasis given to the family reunion migration scheme by the early Hawke Governments was a positive thing for the nation, not just the individuals involved. Critics of this approach, who sought a higher portion of migrants to arrive through the 'skilled' stream, misunderstood or underestimated this positive effect.

Changes to migration policies regarding family reunion in the 1990s meant that bringing relatives to Australia became more difficult than the Solidarity 'era'. Gareth Larsen writes in a parliamentary paper how "reforms to family migration by the Liberal Government in the 1990s, and regular and ongoing reforms to skilled migration have reversed the trend from a predominantly family-focussed migration program towards a skills-focussed program".[121] Under the *Migration Regulation Act* of 1994, the definition of who qualified as 'family' was tightened to just mean parents and children under the age of 18 years.[122] This meant that unmarried adult children, older relatives who live with the family, brothers and sisters, stepchildren whose biological parents have died, and children who have been adopted where no government-sanctioned process of adoption is available were excluded.[123] Even the admittance of parents rankled the critics of the family reunion 'stream'. The government was responding to concerns about 'unproductive' migrants arriving under the family reunion steam, especially the potential welfare dependency by older relatives such as parents. Sociologist Katharine Betts argued: "Many had low skills

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[118] Refugee Council of Australia, "Family Reunion and Australia's Refugee and Humanitarian Program: A Discussion Paper," November 2016, https://www.refugeecouncil.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Family-reunion-discussion-paper.pdf (accessed 18 August 2020).
[119] Wickes, Kooy, Powell and Moran, *The Social Impact of Family Separation*, 24.
[120] Wickes, Kooy, Powell and Moran, *The Social Impact of Family Separation*, 24.
[121] Gareth Larsen, "Family Migration to Australia," *Parliament of Australia*, 23 December 2013, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1314/FamilyMigration (accessed 18 August 2020).
[122] Wickes, Kooy, Powell and Moran, *The Social Impact of Family Separation*, 26.
[123] Larsen, "Family Migration to Australia."

and little English and their chances of finding paid work were slim. The adult children who sponsored them were asked to sign assurances of support, promises to look after the relatives they were bringing into the community. In fact these assurances were seldom enforced and the tax payer met the bill just as if the pieces of paper had not been signed."[124] As a result of such criticism, in 1995-1996, the intake of parents of previous migrants was reduced from 8,890 with the plan to only take in 500 by 2001/2002.[125] Sponsorship then increased for aged parents under the contributory visa. The introduction of the contributory visa in 2003 meant that more places were available for parents to migrate each year on the "basis that they or their sponsor [would] make a fairer contribution to their health or welfare costs".[126] This means that individuals were required to pay up to $25,000 for the visa in addition to a $10,000 bond for their parent.[127] Parents could only be sponsored by children if at least half of their total number of children lived in Australia permanently.

When the extended family network was absent, migrants would fill the void with friendships to create a new kind of family. Social scientists Nidhi Wali and Andre Renzaho argue that new migrants have limited access to family members and therefore their new families consist of "local people with similar background, ethnicity and culture".[128] It is the community members who share similar cultural beliefs and background that, according to Wali and Renzaho, helped the migrants "feel comfortable and filled the void of missing family and friends".[129] Mateusz was not married when he arrived to Australia.[130] He did not find a partner after his migration and his experience of family life was different to the other Polish migrants. As a result, he tried to create a different kind of 'family'. Mateusz spent the majority of his time within the Catholic Church assisting the priest.[131] This community environment allowed him the feeling of being part of a family. It also helped

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124 Katharine Betts, "Immigration Policy Under the Howard Government," *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 38, no. 2 (May 2003): 174.
125 Australian Human Rights Commission, "Questions and Answers about Migrants and Multiculturalism," https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/questions-and-answers-about-migrants-multiculturalism (accessed 18 August 2020).
126 Australian Human Rights Commission, "Questions and Answers about Migrants and Multiculturalism."
127 Australian Human Rights Commission, "Questions and Answers about Migrants and Multiculturalism."
128 Wali and Renzaho, "Our Riches Are Our Family,' 2.
129 Wali and Renzaho, "Our Riches Are Our Family," 8.
130 'Mateusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 March 2017 (pseudonym).
131 'Mateusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 March 2017 (pseudonym).

maintain his Polish identity because he was still within the Polish community. He stated: "The other people involved in assisting the parish priest were other Polish people who had the same cultural and spiritual beliefs as me. It was nice to be around other Polish people."[132] This familiarity allowed him to adapt to the new country while still having the support of other Polish people. Mateusz created what sociologist Nanlai Cao describes as a "surrogate family".[133] Cao explains this concept using 'Chinese parishes' in the United States that successfully integrated Christian and Chinese identities "in order to meet the psychological and emotional needs of the middle-class immigrant Chinese Christians".[134] Similarly, the Catholic Church's 'Polish parishes' catered to needs of the Polish people outside of the spiritual realm as can be seen with Mateusz.

Another of my interviewees, Adas, also found friendships outside of the Church and found that these connections were important because he was not married or had any children. Adas felt he needed connections with other Poles because of the shared traits and culture that strengthened the bonds.[135] Andrew experienced something similar in his migration. He commented during his interview on how he did not mix socially with Australians or his work colleagues.[136] In his case, his friendship circle was already well established with other Polish migrants who shared the same journey of having to start again in Australia. He said: "I had more in common with the Polish people than those I worked with."[137]

This chapter has shown that family interactions assisted in the maintenance of a Polish identity. This was aided by the fact that Polish migrants in Australia tended to marry other Polish-born people. Just like Leuner's sample, my study found a high proportion of migrants were either already married to Polish people upon arrival or married other Poles in Australia. This tendency to marry other Poles, combined with the small number of individuals who married other ethnic migrants, suggests that the Polish migrants were more inclined to marry migrants or those from migrant families because they were able to

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[132] 'Mateusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[133] Nanlai Cao, "The Church as a Surrogate Family for Working Class Immigrant Chinese Youth: An Ethnography of Segmented Assimilation," *Sociology of Religion,* 66, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 184.
[134] Cao, "The Church as a Surrogate Family," 190.
[135] 'Adas,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 6 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[136] 'Andrew,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 November 2017.
[137] 'Andrew,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 November 2017.

form a better connection with them. In this way, the migrants were maintaining their sense of Polish identity rather than assimilating into the Australian society. This was further seen with the maintenance of the Polish language within the family home. Migrants who had children born in Poland and those who had children in Australia were equally determined to maintain the Polish language within their family. However feelings of isolation among the children affected the retention of the Polish language. This meant that the children of Polish migrants were not always using the Polish language at home and would split between English with their siblings and Polish with their parents/grandparents. Cuisine ensured Polish identity was maintained within the home with familiar and traditional Polish foods being consumed. But just like language, cuisine went through an evolution and, in many cases, became a combination of Polish and Australian food based on the preferences of the migrants.

Extended family both facilitated and affected integration into the Australian society. On the one hand, extended family members provided the Polish migrants with emotional, physical and material support in Australia. This meant, according to Wickes, Kooy, Powell and Moran, that migrants were more likely to participate in the wider society because they felt supported and not fearful for their family in their country of origin. On the other hand, Polish migrants wanted their extended family to live permanently in Australia as a way to partially recreate their lives in Poland in their new country. Extended family members provided children with a connection to Poland and their heritage as well as ensuring that language and Polish practices were maintained. This can explain why some migrants without close family in Australia in my sample recreated family networks with other people who had similar backgrounds and experiences because they needed that connection to family and Polish life.

Chapter Five – Faith and the Church

This chapter explores the impact that faith and the Church had on Polish migrants and their role in the settlement process. It begins by examining the central role played by the Catholic Church in the lives of people in Poland. This will help identify if and how the religious lives of migrants changed when arriving in Australia. Of particular interest here is the position adopted by the Church – at least key figures within it – towards the Solidarity movement and the Communist regime. The chapter will then examine how the practice of faith and the Catholic Church in Australia impacted on the migrant settlement experiences in three respects: spiritual, political and social, and how it facilitated the maintenance of Polish language and identity. The main questions that will be explored here are: How did the Catholic Church assist the migrants in settling in Australia and maintaining a connection to Poland or Polish identity? And is there evidence of the Polish migrants shifting or modifying their faith due to their migration experience?

Role of the Catholic Church in Poland during the 1980s

In the early 1980s, Poland was (and remains) a Catholic country, with a very high proportion of the population defining themselves as Catholics. Sociologist Tadeusz Szawiel and researcher Mirella Eberts both suggest that the proportion of the population identifying as Catholic stood around 90% for many decades, including the 1980s.[1] This link to Catholicism was strengthened under Communist rule according to American scholars Krystyna Bleszynska and Marek Szopski who believe a 'Pole-Catholic' concept or identity was crucial because the Church was seen as a shelter for Polishness.[2] In their view, the Church enjoyed high levels of social confidence during the Communist rule. American historian Brian Porter-Szucs estimates that between 1981 and 1983, the percentage of Catholics attending church services in Poland rose from 53% to over 55%.[3]

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[1] Tadeusz Szawiel, "Religion and the Church in the New Democracy," *Polish Sociological Review,* no. 132 (2000): 447; Mirella W. Eberts, "The Roman Catholic Church and Democracy in Poland," *Europe-Asia Studies,* 50, no. 5 (July 1998): 818.
[2] Krystyna Bleszynska and Marek Szopski, "Polish-Catholic Religiosity in California," in *Gender, Religion and Migration: Pathways of Integration*, ed. Glenda Tibe Bonifacio and Vivienne S.M. Angeles (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2010), 183.
[3] Brian Porter-Szucs, *Faith and the Fatherland: Catholicism Modernity and Poland* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 12.

This was likely a sign of resistance against the Communist regime rather than a sign of an increase in faith.

The Catholic Church had a complex relationship with the Communist authorities in Poland. Prior to 1981, the Church had a mediator role between the Solidarity union and the Communist authorities. It tried opening up channels of discussion between the two parties but its efforts ultimately failed as neither party was willing to compromise. Initially, the imposition of Martial Law took the Church by surprise. Historian Mieczyslaw Biskupski describes Primate Jozef Glemp's initial response as one of utter shock. As a result, Glemp "releas[ed] a rather timid statement urging his countrymen to bow to overwhelming forces".[4] Once Martial Law took place, the Church became the only place where dissent could be expressed especially because the Solidarity union was forced underground.[5] According to political scientist Frank Dinka, the reason the Church was able to create a space for the Solidarity union was because it was "the only organisation which could successfully compete with the regime".[6] The reason the Communist authorities were conciliatory in many instances with the Church was because they needed the Church to control unrest. The regime understood the influence the Church had on the people and therefore needed to, at least, seem to be cooperative with the Church.[7]

This did not mean that members of the Church did not face oppression and unfair arrest, or that groups of priests within the Church acquiesced to the Communist regime's program. There was an operation named *Kruk* (Raven), which involved putting priests on trial for their actions. For example, Father Boleslaw Jewulski, of the parish in Polczyn Zdroj, was sentenced to three and a half years imprisonment and four years of deprivation of civic rights for the wording in one of his homilies.[8] The charge against him claimed that he had "publicly abused and slandered the political system and the

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[4] Mieczyslaw B. Biskupski, *The History of Poland* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000), 167.
[5] Andrew West, "Churches as Resisters and Collaborators Behind the Iron Curtain," *ABC Online*, 5 November 2014, http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/religionandethicsreport/churches-as-resistors- and-collaborators-behind-the-iron-curtain/5868806 (accessed 14 March 2018).
[6] Frank Dinka, "Sources of Conflict Between Church and State in Poland," *Review of Politics,* 28, no. 3 (July 1966): 333.
[7] Jolanta Mysiakowska, *A Repressive Apparatus of Father Jerzy Popiełuszki 1982-1984 Vol I* (Warsaw: Institute of National Remembrance, 2009), 134.
[8] Andrew Swidlicki, "Mechanisms of Repression in Poland During Martial Law," *The Polish Review,* 29, no. 1/2 (1984): 120.

authorities of the Polish People's Republic, disseminated false information about the situation in the country, and advocated resistance against the actions of the state authorities".[9] Another priest from Jaroslaw, Father Edward Drewniak, was charged with "agitating students with leaflets circulated by him condemning Martial Law and the state".[10] Father Stefan Dzierzyk from Kalisz was charged for "abusing freedom of conscience in the course of his religious duties".[11] This came about as a result of the symbolic references that Father Dzierzyk used within his church. One of them was during Christmas when he created a crib that made reference to the events of the Wujek coal mine where several miners were killed when they clashed with riot police and the *Zmotoryzowane Odwody Milicji Obywatelskiej* (Motorized Reserves of the Citizens' Militia - paramilitary police).[12]

Father Adolf Chojnacki and Father Popiełuszko also refused to accept the Communist regime. The Służba Bezpieczeństwa (SB) or Polish political police force persecuted these priests mostly because of their anti-regime activities.[13] From early on, Chojnacki had been placed under SB observation after refusing to be an informant for the secret police. The authorities attempted to blackmail him by promising to give a visa for his sister who was attempting to leave Poland.[14] He was defiant in his opposition to the Communist regime and refused to cooperate. Chojnacki used religious analogies and symbolism to convene his opinions on the situation. For example, in 1982, shortly before the start of Easter, Chojnacki spoke in his sermon: "on Wednesday begins the great [fast] but we have been fasting for a long time".[15] This was a clear reference to the food shortages being experienced by the Polish people. He also displayed symbolic articles within his church which represented the suffering of the Polish people. During Christmas of 1981,

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[9] Swidlicki, "Mechanisms of Repression in Poland," 120-121.
[10] Swidlicki, "Mechanisms of Repression in Poland," 121.
[11] Swidlicki, "Mechanisms of Repression in Poland," 121.
[12] Swidlicki, "Mechanisms of Repression in Poland," 121.
[13] See Andrzej Paczkowski, *Wojna Polsko-Jaruzelska: Stan Wojenny w Polsce 13 XII 1981- 22 VII 1983* (Warszawa: Proszynski i S-ka SA, 2006); Krzsztof Wojcicki, *Rozmowy z Ksiedzem Hilarym Jastakiem* (Gdynia: 1999); Peter Raina*, Kosciol w Polsce 1981-1984* (Londyn: „Veritas", 1985); Mysiakowska, *A Repressive Apparatus of Father Jerzy Popiełuszki*.
[14] Tadeusz Isakowicz-Zaleski, *Priests Against the Security Service in the Example of the Archdiocese of Krakow* (Krakow: Wydawnictwo Znak, 2007), 74.
[15] Informacje biezace o sytuacji politycznej i gospodarczej w wojewo dztwie miejskim krakowskim, 1981 r., sygn. 29/2382/450. Komitet krakowski PZPR wydzial informacji analiz, dalekopis nr 86 dnia 25.02.1982, Panstwowe Archiwum w Krakowie, Polska.

Father Chojnacki displayed a Christmas tree in his church and decorated it with barbed wire. Instead of ornaments, he hung slips of paper from the tree inscribed on which were dates that referred to previous instances of Communist persecution: 1956, 1968, 1970, and 1981.[16] Even after learning he was under investigation by the Curia after allegations that he had allowed anti-Communist leaflets in his church, Chojnacki became more open about his convictions. He began openly attacking the State and those in positions of power because, in his view, they had not been elected and did not owe their authority to the consent of the people.[17] As a result of his vocal condemnation, Chojnacki suffered threats and harassment with abusive phone calls and unwanted visitors. Events escalated after Martial Law when authorities attempted to kill him in a staged car accident.[18]

Father Popiełuszko maintained a sense of restraint when discussing the situation in Poland during his church services compared to Father Chojnacki. Popiełuszko was not only a parish priest but had also been a workplace chaplain, hospital chaplain and a chaplain for Solidarity in Warsaw.[19] He was so popular that people travelled from across the country to hear his sermons which meant that more people would turn up than could fit in the church.[20] During a sermon in September 1982, Father Popiełuszko said: "We can bear our sufferings and crosses jointly with Christ because the trial of Christ is still going on. The trial of Christ is going on in His brothers because actors of the drama and the trial of Christ are still alive, only their surnames and faces, their dates and places of birth have changed."[21] Despite his restraint, the SB targeted the priest and in 1984 Father Popiełuszko was murdered.[22] This occurred after the initial attempt to kill the priest in a staged car accident had failed. He was kidnapped by the SB, beaten and then killed, and his body was dumped into the river Vistula.

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[16] Tomasz Balon-Mroczka, and Jarosław Szarek*, Church in the Hour of Trial: 1945-1989 Unknown Documents and Testimonies* (Krakow: *„Rafael",* 2006), 368.
[17] Jessica Jocher, "The Political Role of the Catholic Church in Poland Under Martial Law, 1981-1983" (M.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 2012), 61.
[18] Balon-Mroczka, and Szarek*, Church in the Hour of Trial*, 370.
[19] Tadeusz Krawczak and Cyrian Wilanowski, *The Church During Martial Law* (Warsaw: Institute Publishing Pax, 2008), 313.
[20] Krawczak and Wilanowski, *The Church During Martial Law*, 313.
[21] Jocher, "The Political Role of the Catholic Church," 64-65.
[22] Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta, "Father Jerzy's Murder," *The Washington Post,* 30 September 1990, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1990/09/30/father-jerzys-murder/1d08bdc2-d27f-49bc-981a-08765f1d6681/?utm_term=.97d453020ffa (accessed 14 March 2018).

Even though the Church, as a whole, was reluctant to be overly active in political matters, it helped the cultural and social life in Poland to continue during and after Martial Law. Plays, exhibitions and lectures were often held within church walls when they were prevented from occurring in public locations by the Communist regime. For some artists, the authorities prevented their works from being displayed and as a result, there was no other place for them to express themselves. Polish journalist Konstanty Gebert sums up the Church's role by stating: "it remains true that the churches and parishes … became one of the main refuges of the non-political part of independent social activity".[23]

The Church also offered moral support to the Polish people during Marital Law. Comfort and assistance provided by the Catholic Church for the people took many forms. Food, clothing and shelter were some of the services offered by the Church. As a child, Pawel Bragoszewski remembered the role the Church played in distributing aid to the Polish people during this time. In his words: "I remember help from other countries. Food packages with cheese, butter and sweeties were available at local churches."[24] The Church even organised jobs for journalists who lost their positions with government papers by finding them work with the Catholic newspapers.[25]

Historians recognise the Catholic Church in Poland as being an institution that went beyond spiritual aspects of life. According to Pawel Machcewicz, the Church's dominant force was not only as a result of it being a religious institution but because it was "a historic stronghold of Polishness in times of peril".[26] This was particularly true during times in Polish history when the state ceased to exist. Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, a former Polish primate, highlighted the role of the Church as being an enduring entity when he stated: "the state had shifted in form and occasionally ceased to exist altogether but

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[23] Konstanty Gebert, "An Independent Society: Poland Under Martial Law," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political,* 15, no. 3 (Summer 1990): 365.

[24] "On this Day, 13 December 1981: A 'Sad Christmas' in Poland," *BBC News,* http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/witness/december/13/newsid_4524000/4524704.stm (accessed 7 November 2018).

[25] Antoni Dudek and Krzysztof Madej, "Martial Law in Poland," *Institute of National Remembrance,* http://ipn.gov.pl/publikacje/publikacje-internetowe/stan-wojenny-w-polsce.-stan-badan (accessed 9 September 2017).

[26] Pawel Machcewicz, *Rebellious Satellite: Poland 1956,* trans. Maya Latynsia (Washington D.C: Woodrow Wilson Press, 2009), 14.

throughout this the Church was united above all with the family and with the Nation".[27] William Avery, a political scientist, agrees that the Church had an integral connection to Polish identity. He claims: "Poles tend to regard all attacks on the church as attacks on their sacred nation, causing believers and nonbelievers alike to flock to its defence."[28]

As a result of the Catholic Church's intricate role in the lives of Polish people, church adherence did not always reflect religious belief. American journalist Scot Paltrow argues that the intense Catholicism of Polish people was not necessarily an indication of pure religious piety.[29] He argues that since the late 18th century, Catholicism had fulfilled a political role in Poland. The loss of political sovereignty caused Polish Catholicism and nationalism to blend together. Sociologist Maryjane Osa took Paltrow's assessment a step further and concludes how this loss of sovereignty then led to the emergence of a "Polish civil religion".[30] What Osa means by this civil religion is that rituals and religious practices took on other roles such as serving as expressions of "Polishness" when schools and language were suppressed.[31] Scholar Thomas Monzell agrees with Osa and adds how the Catholic Church was "a powerful factor in preserving Polish ethnic unity and identity".[32]

The following section will examine if and how Polish Catholics changed after their migration to Australia. In particular, it explores the migrants' practice of faith and the Catholic Church's role in facilitating the migrants' integration into the Australian community and in facilitating language and identity maintenance. Did it, as suggested above, continue to be a "civil religion" and essential in maintaining a sense of Polish identity among the new arrivals to Australia?

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[27] Porter-Szucs, *Faith and the Fatherland*, 345.
[28] William P. Avery, "Political Legitimacy and Crisis in Poland," *Political Science Quarterly,* 103, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 117.
[29] Scot Paltrow, "Poland and the Pope: The Vatican's Relations with Poland, 1978 to the Present," *Millennium – Journal of International Studies,* 15, no. 1 (1986): 3.
[30] Maryjane Osa, "Resistance, Persistence, and Change: The Transformation of the Catholic Church in Poland," *East European Politics and Societies,* 3, no. 2 (1989): 276-277.
[31] Osa, "Resistance, Persistence, and Change," 276-277.
[32] Thomas I. Monzell, "The Catholic Church and the Americanization of the Polish Immigrant," *Polish American Studies,* 26, no 1 (January-June 1969): 8.

Polish Catholics in South Australia during the 1980s

The number of parishes that catered for Polish migrants in South Australia was relatively small. There were five primary churches that offered Polish language services. These included: Saint Maximilian Kolbe (in Ottoway), Saint Stanislaus (Royal Park), Resurrection Church (Unley), Saint Augustine (Salisbury), and Saint Margaret Mary (Croydon).[33] There were (and remain) two religious orders that presided over the churches in South Australia who cater to the Polish community. Saint Maximilian Kolbe was presided over by the Resurrection Fathers.[34] This group of priests were founded in Paris, France, on 17 February 1836 under the leadership of Bogdan Janski. The congregation developed from "the social milieu of the Great Polish Exodus that followed the November Uprising in 1830" and "dedicated themselves to the renewal of society by means of life marked by the Paschal Mystery; to proclaim with great fervour the presence of the Saviour in the midst of the people of today and of every age".[35] According to Father Anthony Kain, the Resurrection Fathers ministry extended beyond their parish area to minister to Polish people in the Noarlunga Downs area.[36] There was even a Resurrection community based in the Brighton area that served those migrants every Sunday evening.[37] The churches in Unley, Royal Park, Salisbury and Croydon were presided over by the priests of the Society of Christ.[38] The Society was founded on 8 September 1932 by the then Primate of Poland, Cardinal August Hlond, in cooperation with Father Ignacy Posadzy.[39] According to the Society's own history of its activities outside of Poland, the main aim of the priests is to "worship God and achieve holiness through the imitation of Jesus Christ. In a special way, members of the Society take an active part in the apostolate of caring for the souls of Poles living outside the borders of Republic of Poland."[40] While a Polish priest primarily managed the church in Ottoway, the churches

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[33] *150 Years of Polish Settlement in South Australia, 1856-2006* (Adelaide: Polish Hill River Church Museum Committee, 2006), 33.
[34] Father Anthony Kain, *Multiculturalism in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Adelaide: A Study, March 1987 – January 1989* (Adelaide: Catholic Archdiocese, 1990) Box 592, Adelaide Catholic Archdiocesan Archive, Adelaide, South Australia, 31.
[35] "Clerical Religious," *Catholic Ministry Vocations Australia, 2018,* http://www.catholicozvocations.org.au/Home/Catholic-Life/Clerical-Religious (accessed 21 May 2018).
[36] Kain, *Multiculturalism in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Adelaide*, 31.
[37] Kain, *Multiculturalism in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Adelaide*, 31.
[38] Kain, *Multiculturalism in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Adelaide*, 31.
[39] "Society of Christ: About Us," *Society of Christ Polish Disapora Aboard, 2018,* http://tchr.us/about-us (accessed 21 May 2018).
[40] "Society of Christ: About Us."

presided over by the Society of Christ priests were, at times, shared with other migrant groups. For example, the church at Croydon was presided over by the Society of Christ priests (Polish) and the Scalabrini Fathers (Italian).[41] Below is a table indicating the priests and the churches they presided over during the 1980s.[42] I conducted oral history interviews with two of them: Father Marian Szabelwski and Father Roman Palma.

Church	Priest
Society of Christ (Unley, Salisbury, Croydon, Royal Park)	Fr. Mieczyslaw Kolodziej, Fr. Stanislaus Lipski, Fr. Wladyslaw Lisik, Rev. Tomasz Zaremba, Rev. Bernard Bednarz, Rev. J Slowinski, Fr. Wojciech Swiatkowski
Resurrection Fathers (Ottoway)	Fr. Marian Szabelwski, Fr. Roman Palma, Fr. Antoni Charaszewski, Fr. Wojciech Soblewski

According to Census data in Australia, there was a high number of Polish migrants who identified as being Catholic. In the Census data of 1986, there were 79.9% Polish Catholics in South Australia.[43] Only 4.4% of Polish born respondents reported to having no religion compared to 12.7% of the overall Australian population.[44] Within my own sample, the numbers were lower than those found within the Census data. The following table indicates changes in religious adherence among my South Australian sample of 45 respondents:

Religious Identification	Percentage
Catholic at the time of departure from Poland	35%
Catholic upon arrival to Australia	32%
Catholic after 5 years	29%
Conversion to another denomination	4%

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[41] Kain, *Multiculturalism in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Adelaide*, 78.
[42] *Official Directory of the Catholic Church in Australia*: *Australian Episcopal Conference, 1983-1984* (New South Wales: E. J. Dwyer, 1983), 21-22; *Official Directory of the Catholic Church in Australia: Australian Episcopal Conference, 1985-1986* (New South Wales: E. J. Dwyer, 1985), 18; *Official Directory of the Catholic Church in Australia: Australian Episcopal Conference*, 1988-1989 (New South Wales: E. J. Dwyer, 1988), 29; Marian Szabelwski, *The Resurrectionists: 150 Years Anniversary of the Congregation* (Adelaide: Resurrection Father's Publication, 1986), 134; 112.
[43] *Community Profiles: Poland Born* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1986), 33.
[44] *Community Profiles*, 32.

This data is based on my interviewees' self-definition and according to their recollection of their faith some 35-odd years after their arrival. There was some difficulty in ascertaining what it means to be Catholic for the Polish migrants in my sample. Some felt that being Catholic was intrinsically connected with being Polish even if they did not attend services or even believe in the Catholic faith, whereas the above category designations represent the Polish migrants who identified as practicing Catholics and had contact with the Catholic Church. The way the migrants were defined as 'practicing Catholics' was through the regular attendance of church services. Regular attendance varied among the migrants with some individuals like Mateusz attending services every week, some like Aleksy attended once a month and others like Adas only attended on special occasions like Christmas and Easter.[45] But all of these individuals were included in the table above because this was identified as regular attendance in their experiences.

Researcher Beata Leuner's findings in Melbourne led her to conclude that, in her sample of 180 people, only 24.3% of first generation migrants participated in mass worship.[46] In Elizabeth Drozd's Melbourne sample, she found between 34% and 45% attended services, in Polish and English respectively, regularly or sometimes.[47] The numbers in my sample and these other studies are thus significantly lower than those found in the Census data. One explanation for the differing numbers could be the definition of what it means to self-identify as a Catholic. Sociologist Robert Dixon also accurately identifies an issue with the Census data question related to religion. The question in the survey simply asked what was a person's religious denomination. Dixon highlights that the survey does not give an indication of how involved a person is within his or her religious community.[48] This can be applied to my own sample as the respondents may have interpreted my questions regarding regular attendance and faith in stricter terms compared to the vaguer question in the Census and therefore not classed themselves as Catholics.

[45] 'Mateusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 March 2017 (pseudonym); 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym); 'Adas,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 6 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[46] Beata Leuner, *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance in Australia: Polish Migration to Melbourne in the 1980s* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 205.
[47] Elizabeth Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way: The Settlement of the 1980s Solidarity Wave of Polish Immigrants in Melbourne" (M.A. thesis, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, 1997), 163.
[48] Robert E. Dixon, *The Catholics in Australia* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1996), 52.

Within my sample, the predominant faith practised by the migrants was Catholicism. None of the migrants adhered/practised another type of faith prior to arrival, however a few changed to other Christian denominations after arrival which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Spiritual life

Historians and sociologists have repeated the notion of religion providing a means to process migration experiences. The central argument of sociologist Sophie Watson's research was how religion for migrants was a "source of meaning to an individual in a sometimes disenchanted world imprisoned by meaningless bureaucracy".[49] Krystyna Bleszynska and Marek Szopski who studied the Californian context argue that those migrants who maintained a connection to their Catholic religion made references to their belief system as being "a framework for reorganising the immigration experience and providing emotional support".[50] If a person needed help, all they needed to do was to find a Catholic Church in America.[51] Scholar Robert Schreiter took these ideas and broke down the significance of the Church in the lives of migrants into three main ways. He identifies that religion sustained people in difficult times, religion served as a marker for healing when the migration experiences were painful or demeaning, and religion provided meaning for the migrants in adjusting to new situations.[52]

It was this belief system and, particularly, the belief in God that was used to help sustain individuals and provide a system to cope with the migration process and daily life in Australia. For example, in his interview with me, Ryszard explained how his family experienced a long and complicated process in getting to Australia. The family had been rejected by the Australian Government several times because Ryszard's daughter was in poor health. Migration was essential because the treatment needed for his daughter was not available in Poland and, therefore, the thought of returning back to Poland filled the

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[49] Sophie Watson, "Performing Religion: Migrants, the Church and Belonging in Marrickville, Sydney," *Culture and Religion,* 10, no. 3 (2009): 319.
[50] Bleszynska and Szopski, "Polish-Catholic Religiosity in California," 191.
[51] Bleszynska and Marek Szopski, "Polish-Catholic Religiosity in California," 193.
[52] Robert Schreiter, "Spaces for Religion and Migrants Religious Identity," *Forum Mission,* 5 (2009): 156.

family with dread.[53] He said: "We were stressed. We went through so much stress during that time."[54] Ryszard's belief in God helped him cope with the stresses and anxiety during that period. The strength he found in faith continued even after arrival, which meant going to church services and participating within the Church was an important part of life in Australia.[55] Ryszard recalled finding a picture of Saint Pio just before his family gained their visas to Australia. He said: "I took it with me and later, after living in Australia, I went on a pilgrimage where Saint Pio was from because he was there for us during that difficult time."[56] In a different experience, Daria, a married mother of three, described her connection with the Church as also being deeply spiritual. For her, the weekly attendance at church services reenergised her for the week.[57] When she did not attend Sunday mass, Daria felt like something was missing. She said: "You feel like you are missing something. I go to church and I feel that my week goes easier. I feel like I need to go."[58] This reliance on the Church and faith is supported by the findings of Bleszynska and Szopski mentioned earlier regarding migrants and their dependence on religion as giving them emotional support.[59]

The migration process sparked a self-examination that led to a re-evaluation of the role of religion. For some, this meant an increased importance of faith and the Catholic Church. As Mariusz, a teenager at the time of migration, pointed out during his interview, he was forced to go to church by his parents in Poland. However in Australia, he made the conscious choice to attend church services.[60] For him, the significance of religion and the Church increased in Australia because it helped him maintain a sense of Polish identity – indeed, his pre-arrival sense of self.[61] Scholar Prema Kurian suggests how some migrants rediscovered the importance of religion and became more active in their faith in

[53] 'Ryszard,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 February 2017.
[54] 'Ryszard,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 February 2017.
[55] 'Ryszard,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 February 2017.
[56] 'Ryszard,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 February 2017.
[57] 'Daria,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[58] 'Daria,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[59] Bleszynska and Szopski, "Polish-Catholic Religiosity in California," 191.
[60] 'Mariusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017.
[61] 'Mariusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017.

their new country.[62] Timothy Smith also suggests how when migrants were faced with loss and separation associated with migration, "faith provide[d] them with a vocabulary to express these experiences and construe meaning, while religious communities offer structure, support and intimacy".[63] This is another possible explanation for church attendance and why Mariusz decided to continue with his faith.

For some migrants, after a re-evaluation of their faith the Catholic Church was no longer the main source of spirituality nor, by extension, vital to their identity. Within my study, a few migrants found other Christian denominations which played a significant part of their spiritual well being. Barbara and Lena respectively chose to attend Anglican and Uniting churches rather than a Catholic one. For Barbara, the Catholic Church held a stricter and less convincing interpretation of the bible.[64] The Anglican Church provided a place where she felt as though a friend was speaking to her. The decision to change denominations was driven by a lack of spiritual fulfilment.[65] Barbara described how her experiences led her to seek out a priest who would help build her up with positive re-enforcement and be there for her when she needed someone to talk to about her problems.[66] Meanwhile, Lena attended Catholic services and Uniting Church services.[67] Her main concern was about the message being delivered in the sermons and therefore she did not restrict herself to only attending Catholic mass services. Lena described herself as a very religious believer of God but did not wish to restrict herself to Polish Catholic descriptions of what it meant to be a Christian.[68]

A small group of individuals expressed that the Church did not play a significant role in their identity. For eight migrants out of the 45 individuals interviewed by me, the distant relationship they had with the Church prior to migration continued after arriving in Australia. For example, Antony explained that the Church was not a vital part of his life in

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[62] Prema Kurien, "Becoming American By Becoming Hindu: Indian Americans Taking Their Place at the Multicultural Table," in *Gatherings in the Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigrants,* eds. Stephen Warner and Judith Witter (Philadelphia: Templeton University Press, 1998), 40.
[63] Quoted in Martha Frederiks, "Religion, Migration and Identity," *Mission Studies,* 32 (2015): 186.
[64] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[65] See Elizabeth Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way: The Settlement of the 1980s Solidarity Wave of Polish Immigrants in Melbourne" (M.A. thesis, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, 1997), 165.
[66] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[67] 'Lena,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[68] 'Lena,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).

Poland or after his arrival in Australia.[69] He had married a woman from Czechoslovakia, who identified as Catholic but a non-practicing Catholic. Therefore, apart from celebrating marriage and baptism within the Catholic faith, there was no real connection to the Church for both of them.[70] The Church also had a limited role in the lives of Tadeusz and Sylwia. Sylwia described the Church as being "a tradition" in Poland but in Australia its importance was no longer vital to her life.[71] This distance with the Church suggests a desire to become more Australian and adapt to the new country. It is possible that Sylwia no longer needed the Church to be her "repository of national identity and moral truth".[72] She was able to create a new identity which still combined Polish traditions with new Australian customs. In a similar situation, Pawel described the lack of connection to the Catholic Church.[73] For his family, certain traditions that had religious origins such as Easter and Christmas continued to be part of their lives. However the Church itself had no significant role.[74] This suggests that being a Catholic was tied to their sense of Polishness and by diminishing the significance of the Church in their lives, the migrants were adopting a more Australian identity to assimilate. That being said, in most instances, the migrants were picking certain aspects of Catholic life which they viewed as Polish but separate from religion to maintain as part of their identity and to pass onto their children.

While male respondents in my sample were more likely to volunteer within the Church setting, the females were more inclined to continue and maintain their faith. It has been suggested in the scholarly literature that gender has influenced religious identity among Polish migrants. According to scholars Bleszynska and Szopski, females were more likely to engage in religion than men. In particular, they suggest that wives and daughters were stricter with church attendance and maintaining the faith than the males in the family.[75] This gives weight to Dixon and Johnston's proposal that female migrants had the strongest sense of belonging to the Church and were the driving force in maintaining the

[69] 'Antony,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[70] 'Antony,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[71] 'Tadeusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017; 'Sylwia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[72] Rudolf Rizman, *Uncertain Paths: Democratic Transition and Consolidation in Slovenia* (Austin: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 111.
[73] 'Pawel,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[74] 'Pawel,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[75] Bleszynska and Szopski, "Polish-Catholic Religiosity in California," 195.

connection between the family and the Church.[76] Annie, a respondent in my sample, provided an example that supported the idea of gender influencing faith. Annie said that she attended services more often than her husband.[77] On occasions, he would attend with her but on the whole, she was more likely to set aside time to go to mass. Carolina was another example of a female being the driving force behind the connection of the Church and her family. For her, the familiarity of home and her identification as a Catholic spurred on the desire and need to maintain her church attendance and to continue the tradition for her family.[78] In comparison, Andy replied in his interview with me that he himself was not overly religious, unlike his father, therefore he would only occasionally attend services with his sons.[79] Zygmunt explained that he did attend church but it was his wife and daughter that were the main driving force. He said: "Every Sunday. The whole family would go together. […] My wife and daughter are more Catholic than I. My wife tends to drag us to church."[80] This response was echoed by a number of men interviewed in my study. Given the way in which the Catholic Church – and partly Polish language services – fostered a connection with Poland, this suggests that men more than women were prone to the erosion of their ethnic identity.

Religious traditions have been shown to be important aspects linked to identity not only for practising Catholics but also for non-practising Catholics. Easter and Christmas were the two most important Catholic events that transcended the Church and infiltrated into Polish culture. These cultural traditions brought together the families of my sample of Polish migrants and they continued these Church practices even if the families did not regularly attend services. This notion is reiterated by social scientist Viktor Zander who identifies the power of ritual and its function in restoring, reinforcing or redirecting identity.[81]

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[76] Dixon, *The Catholics in Australia*, 741.
[77] 'Annie,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[78] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[79] 'Andy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 6 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[80] 'Zygmunt,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 3 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[81] Viktor Zander, *Identity and Marginality Among New Australians: Religion and Ethnicity in Victoria's Slavic Baptist Community* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 165.

One particularly Polish tradition, which was observed by the majority of my Polish migrants, is the *Święconka*, or the blessing of the Easter baskets. The blessing takes place on Easter Saturday when the Polish people fill baskets with coloured eggs that symbolise rebirth. In addition, they include salt which symbolises purity, bread which symbolises life, a lamb made from sugar which represents Jesus as the lamb of God, and sausage which symbolises abundance.[82] Carolina discussed how on Easter Sunday the family would share the offering that had been blessed on the previous day for breakfast. Her family would share the eggs and wish each family member well for the remainder of the year.[83] Lucy also talked about how it was a family tradition for her and her children to attend the blessing together.[84] Traditional dishes that the migrants conveyed to me that they cooked for Easter include: *zur*, a sour soup made from rye flour which consists of boiled eggs and white sausage, dishes of herring, and *uszka*, a Polish ravoli often filled with sauerkraut and mushrooms.[85]

Christmas, like Easter, was a traditional Catholic event through which migrants sought to maintain their Polish identity. For the migrants interviewed in my study, Christmas celebrations were regarded as typical Polish occasions filled with specific traditions. These traditions were different to the Christmas celebrations of most average Australian families. *Wigilia* or Christmas Eve is one of the biggest events celebrated by Polish Catholics and Polish non-Catholics. The traditional feast includes twelve courses, one dish for each of the apostles.[86] An extra place is always set at the table in case unexpected guests came to visit.[87] Agata described a traditional adherence of Christmas for her family after moving to Australia that included reading from the bible before the evening meal was consumed on Christmas Eve.[88] *Wigilia* traditionally began with the breaking and sharing of *oplatek* or wafers and exchanging good wishes to family

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[82] Jay McCarthy, "Polish Christmas Dinner: Carp in the Bathtub and Hay Under the Table Cloth," *The Independent,* 22 December 2017, https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/food-and-drink/polish-chrismas-dinner-carp-wigilia-borscht-barszcz-kompot-pierogi-ruskie-eastern-europe-a8118281.html (accessed 16 May 2018).
[83] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[84] 'Lucy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[85] Maria Lemnis and Henryk Vitry, *Old Polish Traditions in the Kitchen and at the Table* (Warsaw: Interpress Publishers, 1979), 224.
[86] McCarthy, "Polish Christmas Dinner."
[87] McCarthy, "Polish Christmas Dinner."
[88] 'Agata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).

members and friends for the New Year. *Wigilia* was comprised of fish and vegetables with no meat whatsoever. *Barszcz* or borscht soup was served for Christmas Eve as well as *pierogi* or Polish dumplings with sour cabbage and mushroom. The dumplings could also be filled with potatoes and cheese that are known as *ruskie pierogi* or Russian dumplings. Poppy seed cakes and babkas were included as desserts. After the meal, families would often attend *Pasterka* or midnight mass. Part of the tradition on Christmas Eve included waiting for the first star to appear. Aleksy, a participant in my study, said that when his daughter was little, they would wait for the first star to appear which meant she could open presents.[89] He recalled fondly how eager she was for the star: "She was always so excited and constantly asking me if the star was out before rushing out to check herself."[90] Returning back to Taduesz and Sylwia, despite them not attending church services, it was important for them to continue Christmas especially the twelve dishes and the sharing of the wafer. Taduesz may not have been religious but Christmas "had to be traditional. Polish traditional."[91] Sylwia explained the significance of the meals and wafer. She said: "It was tradition and something I remembered from my childhood. The meals always tasted better at Christmas than they did during the year."[92] It was important for them to pass on the traditions to their children in order to maintain their sense of Polishness.[93] For Pawel, another respondent who did not participate within the Church setting, the continuation Christmas was also important.[94] He said: "It was important to continue these traditions and make sure we ate traditional foods during that time of year. We wanted to make sure to expose our children to this culture and food."[95] These religious customs were more closely linked to their identity as Polish people than their identification as Catholic individuals.

The Church's Political Role

Even though the Catholic Church maintained it did not have a political role in Poland, its function as mediator caused it to partake in political events. Journalist Marian Kaluski

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[89] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[90] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[91] 'Tadeusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017.
[92] 'Sylwia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[93] 'Tadeusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017; 'Sylwia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[94] 'Pawel,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[95] 'Pawel,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).

acknowledges the close link between nationalism and the Catholic Church and he claims that it was often called "the other government in Poland".[96] After migration, some Polish people wanted to support the Solidarity union and often they wanted the Catholic Church working with them. This was seen with the Polish migrants who migrated to the United States of America. Sociologist Mary Patrice Erdmans found through her research that tensions existed between Polish migrants in Chicago and the priests because of the refusal to hang political banners in churches.[97] The Church outside of Poland did not always provide the political support migrants desired.

Political action was, in some cases, a restrained show of protest and support for those back in Poland. Within South Australia, there was no mention of the dissatisfaction of the Church and its actions from the migrants interviewed in my study. In general, the respondents were more concerned about spiritual and social aspects of the Church rather than wanting political support. However, in South Australia, the Solidarity International organisation planned an Ecumenical service and peaceful demonstration to mark the first anniversary of imposed military rule.[98] In letters held by the Adelaide Catholic Archdiocesan Archive, John Ballantyne, the state secretary of Solidarity International, wrote to Archbishop James Gleeson to ask for the support of the Church. Ballantyne wanted the Archbishop to invite his congregation to the demonstration because many Polish migrants were fearful of the repercussions of their participation. Even though Archbishop Gleeson was unable to attend, Monsignor Aitken attended the event which began in Saint Francis Xavier Cathedral before the demonstration left Victoria Square to reach Parliament House on North Terrace.[99] Similarly in Sydney, a peaceful demonstration was also organised by Polish people. The four day demonstration took place outside the Consulate General of the People's Republic. The demonstration ended with a requiem Mass for Father Popiełuszko in a Polish church in Ashfield.[100] The potential repercussions spoken about in the above mentioned letter by Ballantyne could

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[96] Marian Kaluski, *The Poles in Australia* (Melbourne: Australiasian Educa Press, 1985), 108.
[97] Mary Patrice Erdmans, "Immigrants and Ethnics: Conflict and Identity in Chicago Polonia," *The Sociological Quarterly,* 36, no. 1 (Winter 1995): 181.
[98] John L. Ballantyne, Letter to Archbishop Kennedy, 2 December 1982, 'Help Poland Live,' Box 335, Adelaide Catholic Archdiocesan Archive, Adelaide, South Australia.
[99] Laurie Short and Roger Woodward, "Solidarnosc: Solidarity International," invitation 7 December 1982, Box 335, Adelaide Catholic Archdiocesan Archive, Adelaide, South Australia.
[100] Malgorzata Klatt, *The Poles and Australia* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2014), 76.

be one reason for the priests' refusal. Priests would have considered the possible ramifications of migrants participating in political demonstrations on family members back home in Poland.[101]

Rather than taking a moderate political stance like the clergy in Poland, the Catholic Church in Australia tended to focus on humanitarian ventures. One main focus for the Church was the raising of funds for Polish people in Poland. The Help Poland Live relief appeal was launched in 1981 and was broadcast over the radio in Australia.[102] Archbishop Kennedy and South Australia's Premier, John Tonkin, headed the official launch on radio 5EBI. In his speech the Archbishop put out the plea to all Australians to help. He said: "Financial help from people in Australia will ease distress. The Polish Bishops are looking to us who are safe politically and economically."[103] The relief appeal raised over 2 million dollars for the people in Poland. Support for the appeal came from the Polish people living in Australia but also included the wider Australian and Catholic community and Federal and State governments as well as church groups outside the Polish community.

None of the interviewees in my sample discussed participating in the political activities undertaken by the Church. Aleksy had been part of the Solidarity union in Poland but his involvement had waned while still in Poland.[104] He said: "I just did not have the same values and beliefs as the union anymore."[105] Not surprisingly then, Aleksy did not have any interest in participating in union activities. He stated: "I was more focused on building a new life with my wife. I did not feel the need to be part of the Solidarity union in Australia and there was no time for it."[106] The Polish people in my study preferred the Church sticking to its spiritual role. Danek had been part of the Solidarity movement in Poland and wanted to do something similar here in Australia. However, while trying to organise a demonstration in Australia with the help of people from the locally-based Federation of

[101] Mysiakowska, *A Repressive Apparatus of Father Jerzy Popiełuszki*, 145.
[102] Archbishop Philip Kennedy, letter to A. Szczyglelski, 21 February 1983, 'Help Poland Live,' Box 335, Adelaide Catholic Archdiocesan Archive, Adelaide, South Australia.
[103] Kennedy, letter to A. Szczyglelski, 21 February 1983, 'Help Poland Live'.
[104] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[105] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[106] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).

Poland, he decided he no longer wanted to be an active member. He said: “We called up a lot of people over the phone and managed to get about 1,000 people together. The Federation was then supposed to tell us the location of the demonstration. They told us the wrong place but I found out later that those people were there. When there was a gathering after the demonstration, I went there and told them what I thought of them and said I would no longer be part of this group.”[107] This is when Danek went to the Church and began helping by cleaning and assisting with the rebuild of the church building. He said: “I preferred helping that way and not focusing on the political aspects.”[108] Janina responded during our interview with these thoughts on the political role of the Church: “I was not really aware of the activities the Church did for Solidarity or Poland. I did not really need them to be political. I was fine with them focusing on their spiritual role and guidance.”[109]

The Church’s Social Role

The Catholic Church’s role in the lives of Polish migrants extended beyond the spiritual and political sphere and filtered into the social life of the Polish community. The Church became the centre point for Polish people interacting and exchanging information. It was also a gathering point for individuals to maintain their language and connection to Poland. In the first respect it aided the integration of the Solidarity wave into the Australian community and in the second it assisted in maintaining important aspects of Polish culture and ethnic identity.

The Church became the central location for exchanging information between the Polish migrants thus facilitating the settlement process. The gathering of Polish people at church for mass services allowed migrants to meet other individuals who shared similar experiences. This social aspect prompted some individuals to actively seek out the Church to connect with their own ethnic community. Mateusz commented during his interview how people were able to learn about available jobs and good schools from other Polish people.[110] He said: “The Church gave us the opportunity to meet with our friends

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[107] ‘Danek,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[108] ‘Danek,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[109] ‘Janina,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[110] ‘Mateusz,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 March 2017 (pseudonym).

and find new Polish people and interact with them."[111] Andrzej also agreed that the Church was a useful source of information and an ideal place to gain advice about work.[112] In his words: "The exchange of information was probably the greatest form of help because I was able to find a community of people who became my friends. I was able to call them and talk to them when I needed help or just have a coffee together."[113] Julia found the interactions with other Polish migrants as positive because the people had shared experiences.[114] In her words, she said: "Everyone had to start from nothing but they came at different times. This meant that some were more established than others. They were able to tell us what worked for them to help them get started."[115] From their experiences, she was able to learn vital pieces of information to help with her settlement. The migrants were able to offer advice and recommendations about banking and home loans to other migrants which helped make the settlement process a more easy transition.

As well as providing an outlet for information, the Church offered other forms of assistance to the migrants. Dixon discusses the role of the Church in Australia and its services for migrants in his book *The Catholics in Australia*. He argues that all dioceses in Australia provided welfare services and this included professionally staffed agencies under the direct auspices of the Bishop.[116] The majority of individuals interviewed in my study did not receive this type of assistance. For many of the respondents in my sample, the idea of asking for material help, particularly financial help, was embarrassing. In one way, this suggests a sense of pride on the part of the migrants who sought to be independent and support themselves rather than relying on others.[117] However some of my interviewees did describe receiving support from the Church that was not financial. As previously mentioned, Barbara said how thankful her family was to the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, a Catholic organisation, for the furniture that was given to them when they first arrived to Australia.[118] And Jon's parish priest was particularly instrumental when his family first arrived in Australia. The priest helped him and his family find a home to live in

[111] 'Mateusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[112] 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
[113] 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
[114] 'Julia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[115] 'Julia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[116] Dixon, *The Catholics in Australia*, 41.
[117] 'Christopher,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 April 2018 (pseudonym).
[118] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.

and a school for his daughters.[119]

After these initial arrangements were made, some of the migrants no longer needed the Church. After gaining the information and the friends they wanted, the migrants did not have the same pull to attend church services as before. The individuals were able to organise their own social gatherings with the select group of friends they had created. Robert agreed that the Church provided an ideal place to meet other people and make friends but afterwards this reliance on the Church waned.[120] He said: “For me, it was a place where you could meet other Polish people in the same place. You could network. But it changed after.”[121] The pressure that was exerted by the Church for the migrants to attend weekly services, and their sense of guilt in failing to do so, partly accounts for their change in attitude. Those juggling new jobs, sometimes more than one, and young families were hard pressed for time to give back to the Church or the parish community.

Language maintenance was a social function that resulted from church participation. The action of attending services in Polish churches allowed the migrants to continue their language and be surrounded by the familiar. Polish migrants within my sample tended to attend services that had mass in Polish. Renata said: “It was good to hear the readings in Polish because it was easier to understand. And then after, we stayed after the service to talk to the other Polish people in Polish.”[122] Janina sent her children to Polish Sunday School in preparation for Communion. She explained: “It was important that they have their first Holy Communion in Polish. That way they could continue using their Polish and we could send back a video of the event to our family in Poland.”[123] Sociologist Jerzy Smolicz recognises the important role the Church played in the retention of the Polish language. In his view, the work of the priests had “undoubtedly helped to maintain the Polish language through its use in services, thus providing one of the few public domains where young Polish Australians [were] able to appreciate its use in settings other than the

[119] ‘Jon,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[120] ‘Robert,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[121] ‘Robert,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[122] ‘Renata,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[123] ‘Janina,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 August 2017 (pseudonym).

home or ethnic club".[124] Ruth Johnston also argues the role of priests and the Church had in nurturing the Polish language. She highlights how the Church sustained the use of the language among the congregation members because "it is a symbol of their national identity which they feel they must preserve in the face of Poland's troubled history".[125] For Jon, a father of two daughters, the use of the Polish language in the Church was important for personal reasons. In his view, it allowed his daughters to continue using their language skills and also have exposure to their Polish culture and traditions.[126] He said: "It is a part of who they are and I wanted to make sure they did not forget where they came from. And hopefully, one day, pass down our traditions to their own children."[127]

While language maintenance was a factor that drew Polish migrants to the Catholic Churches, not all migrants placed a heavy emphasis on the Polish language. A very small group of Polish migrants in my study suggested that the language in which the service was delivered was not necessarily a priority. Andre and Iza attended Catholic Churches, both English and Polish speaking services, because for them the services were the same regardless of the language.[128] The ceremony and content of the church service was the same and this was what mattered the most for Andre and Iza. The language aspect was not a determining factor in their decision to attend church services. The two of them enjoyed travelling around Australia and therefore finding a Polish speaking service was not always possible. Father Roman, a priest who I interviewed, actually spent little time within Polish parishes and thus did not utilise his language skills to full effect. After a short prelude within the Ottoway parish, he was assigned to an English speaking church and therefore his contact with the Polish community was somewhat limited in the beginning.[129]

Aside from maintaining language, the Church filled a social void that was caused by migration. Danuta stated how the Church provided her a connection to Poland and the

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[124] Jerzy Smolicz, "Polish Culture and Language," in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins,* ed. James Jupp (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 746.
[125] Ruth Johnston, "Post-War Polish Refugees," in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins,* ed. James Jupp (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 741.
[126] 'Jon,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[127] 'Jon,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[128] 'Iza,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 13 November 2017 (pseudonym); 'Andre,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 13 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[129] 'Father Roman,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 August 2017.

culture she knew. The long distance and separation from family caused her to feel immense loneliness.[130] The Church offered a link to the familiar aspects that she had left behind in Poland. Sociologist Charles Hirschman explores this concept and found the absence of extended family members, which usually provided social and spiritual comfort, was provided to migrants through the Church.[131] Stephen Warner sums up this connection by describing the religious community as providing a "home away from home".[132] Carolina responded that the church services offered the Polish people something familiar in a foreign country.[133] This view was shared by Rev. Father Wieslaw Slowik, a migrant who moved to Australia during the 1970s: "We recall the uncomfortable sense of being different and lost in this new and unknown world. We could not communicate, and everything around us was strange. The only real and accessible link with the outside community was our faith."[134] The Church therefore provided a familiar space for the migrants that connected them to their Polish traditions and the life they had left behind in Poland.

Scholars have described how the Catholic parishes and schools attended by new migrants play a social role by organising sporting teams to participate in city-wide competitions. Historian Janusz Janik found through his research in Australia that children of migrants were more inclined to participate in sporting groups linked to the church than their parents.[135] These sporting clubs were more often created in Catholic schools rather than within the parish community per se. This can be seen in the Whitefriars School in Woodville Park, South Australia, which had sporting clubs within the Catholic school setting. There was a netball team as well as a hockey team.[136] Father Anthony Kain, a priest who completed a report at the request of Archbishop Faulkner that focused on multiculturalism in the Archdiocese of Adelaide, found contrasting evidence about the

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[130] 'Danuta,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 18 July 2017.
[131] Charles Hirschman, "The Role of Religion in the Origins and Adaption of Immigrant Groups in the United States," *The International Migration Review,* 38, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 1207.
[132] Quoted in Martha Frederiks, "Religion, Migration and Identity," *Mission Studies,* 32 (2015): 188.
[133] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[134] Wieslaw Slowik, "A Religious Ministering to the Polish Community," in *Polonia in Australia: Challenges and Possibilities in the New Millennium,* ed. Desmond Cahill and Elizabeth Drozd (Melbourne: Common Ground Publishing, 2004), 73.
[135] Janusz Janik, "Polish Language Maintenance of Polish Students at Princes Hill Saturday School in Melbourne," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 17, no. 1 (1996): 10-11.
[136] Clarrie Bell, *The Parish of Woodville/Findon: Commemorating 75 Years 1912-1987: A History of a Catholic Community* (Woodville Park: Mater Dei Presbytery, 1987), 43-44.

participation of young people, particularly the Polish group, within sporting clubs.[137] From his sample which included surveys conducted among different cultural and language groups as well as local parishes, Kain discovered a lack of participation by Polish youth.[138] This was a concern brought up by the Polish migrant community in response to Kain's question in regards to the faith needs of the parish community.

My findings reflect this trend. There was a lack of participation in sporting organisations organised by the Church within the Solidarity wave migrants in my sample group. It can be explained by a lack of time and interest as well as a preference towards sporting clubs away from the Polish community. Renata explained that her children were not particularly sporty: "My girls were not really active. They did not like sports all that much and did not want be part of a club."[139] Lucy and Agata were two examples of individuals who had children that participated in sporting activities. However, their children were involved in groups not organised by the Catholic Church. Lucy's children participated in judo, taekwondo, and soccer. She would take her children to these groups to help them adjust to life in Australia. She said: "We wanted them to live in the system and thrive in their new life."[140] In this regard, Lucy wanted her children to be accepted into Australian society and be part of its community. Agata offered this explanation for why her children tended to choose sporting clubs outside the Church. She said: "My children wanted to join sporting clubs that their friends were part of. Most of them were not part of the Polish Catholic community and so they wanted to be with them."[141] Agata's case may be the best explanation of why children of Polish migrants tended to gravitate towards sporting organisations outside the Church sphere. The children's friends were involved in sport groups not associated with a Church and in order to be with their friends, they joined these groups to maintain and build on those friendships.

Unlike sporting clubs, cultural groups like the Polish theatre and choirs had social functions that allowed migrants the ability to maintain a connection to Polish culture. Father Marian, who I interviewed for my study, was a particularly active member of the

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[137] Kain, *Multiculturalism in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Adelaide*, 1-2.
[138] Kain, *Multiculturalism in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Adelaide,* 12.
[139] 'Renata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[140] 'Lucy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[141] 'Agata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).

Polish community especially after helping create the Ottoway Theatrical Ensemble based in the Ottoway parish.[142] This theatre group was created in 1980 to "uphold and develop both a Christian and Polish culture by performing concerts, plays and showing religious films".[143] The shows were performed primarily in the Polish language and based on Polish stories and individuals as well as Polish translations of well-known English playwrights such as George Bernard Shaw.[144] Through this organisation, Father Marian was able to interact with his parishioners on a social level.[145] Andrzej and Jacek also recalled the importance of the Polish Theatre and the connection it provided for them.[146] The plays connected the two men to Polish culture, language, and gave them a social network in which they could interact with other people of their ethnic community. Jacek described his time with the Polish theatre as being a memorable and enjoyable time.[147] In the Ottoway parish, by the late 1980s, there were two Polish choirs, which were comprised of 40 families, and the Polish theatre was also comprised of 40 families.[148] These choirs tended to sing in Polish exclusively and were focused on religious hymns. For Ryszard's wife, the Church choir gave her the opportunity to spend time with other Polish women and feel part of the Polish community.[149]

The Church was a centre where new arrivals were able to meet other migrants of the opposite gender. According to sociologist Charles Hirschman, finding partners within the church setting would be more likely met with parental approval.[150] This idea was supported by scholars Parimal Roy and Ian Hamilton who argue that, for some migrants, there was a preference among them for a partner from the same group.[151] This was not a prime motivation for my interviewees to be involved with the church, however, because the majority of them had already been married at the time of arrival to Australia. Only 14

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[142] 'Father Marian,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 November 2017.
[143] Marian Szabelwski, *The Resurrectionists: 150 Years Anniversary of the Congregation* (Adelaide: Resurrection Father's Publication, 1986), 134.
[144] Migration Museum, *From Many Places: The History and Cultural Traditions of South Australian People* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1995), 375.
[145] 'Father Marian,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 November 2017.
[146] 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017; 'Jacek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 January 2017.
[147] 'Jacek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 January 2017.
[148] Kain, *Multiculturalism in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Adelaide*, 93.
[149] 'Ryszard,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 February 2017.
[150] Hirschman, "The Role of Religion," 1229.
[151] Parimal Roy and Ian Hamilton, "Interethnic Marriage: Identifying the Second Generation in Australia," *The International Migration Review,* 31, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 128-129.

migrants were single before arrival. One migrant who was single at the time of migration, Henryk, did mention the benefits of attending church services to meet women from the same ethnic community.[152] He was one individual who found his wife while participating within the Church community. Staszek also found his partner within the church setting after a few years, when his first marriage ended.[153] Mateusz, however, did not find a spouse even though he was a single migrant attending church services regularly and involved with the Catholic community.[154] Even though Mateusz's involvement did not result in him finding a partner, the opportunity to meet other Polish people was a positive incentive to attend church services.

This chapter has shown that the Catholic Church assisted the Polish migrants in Australia in three main ways: spiritual, political, and social. The political activities of the Church were relatively mild and played only a minor role in the lives of Polish individuals in South Australia. The Church's political role in Australia was primarily a restrained show of protest and support for those still in Poland. Its focus rested on humanitarian efforts and raising monetary funds for the Polish people under Communist rule. Migrants within my sample were satisfied with this level of activity. It was the spiritual and social components of the Church that greatly influenced their settlement experiences and their identity. Church attendance was a particularly important aspect that gave the Polish migrants a means to cope with their migration experience. The Catholic Church was a source of comfort in a foreign land and gave the Polish people spiritual strength when they felt helpless. Although spiritually some migrants found that the Church was too restrictive and opted to convert to other Christian denominations to fulfil their spiritual needs. Furthermore, others decided that the Church was not vital to their Polish identity and preferred to have no relationship with it, spiritual or otherwise.

Rather than focusing on the spiritual components, migrants often maintained traditional or ceremonial aspects of the Church such as Christmas and Easter which connected them to their Polish heritage. These events were viewed as Polish traditions rather than being exclusively Catholic customs. In some cases, the Polish migrants maintained these

[152] 'Henryk,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 February 2017.
[153] 'Staszek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 February 2017.
[154] 'Mateusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 March 2017 (pseudonym).

traditions for the nostalgic memories they invoked of their childhood and something they wanted to pass down to their children. The Church became a space for the Polish people to interact with other Poles who had the same background and had similar migration experiences. It also gave migrants a place to use their Polish language and create new friendships and bonds while gathering useful information at the same time. In these respects it both facilitated the integration of the Solidarity wave of new arrivals into the community and helped those who desired to do so maintain Polish cultural traditions and their identities as Polish people.

Chapter Six – Relationships with Poland and Visits 'Home'

This chapter will examine the maintenance of the Solidarity wave's connection with Poland and how this affected the settlement experience. It begins by exploring the level of contact maintained by the migrants with Poland after arriving to Australia, and hence the concept of transnationalism. The chapter will then examine temporary visits to Poland and how family and friends in Poland interacted with the migrants. This will help identify if and how the separation from family affected the migrants and led to a desire to return home. The chapter will then examine what were intended to be permanent returns to Poland and the subsequent decisions to resettle in Australia. The main questions that will be explored here are: What level of contact was maintained with Poland? What impressions did the migrants have when visiting Poland temporarily? How did the interactions back in Poland impact on the migrants and their identity; for example, did it inhibit or possibly hasten their identification as 'Australians' or of being 'different'? And how did these visits influence their thoughts on remaining in Poland permanently?

The conception of transnationalism, applied to context of migration, can be defined as the process by which migrants build networks that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement.[1] Human Geographer Kathy Burrell highlights that transnationalism entails migrants creating social fields that cross national boundaries through their daily life activities and social, economic and political relations.[2] While she suggests that political activity is one of the most obvious examples of 'active' transnationalism, she states that most postwar Polish migrants she studied in Britain were participating in transnationalism on a more smaller and individual scale.[3] According to sociologist Ewa Morawska transnationalism "denotes sustained regular or situationally mobilized involvements of immigrants and their children in a few or several economic,

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[1] See Linda G. Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (London: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 7; 22; Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, & Cristina Blanc-Szanton, "Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 645, no.* 1 (1992): 1–24; Miriam Tedeschi, Ekaterina Vorobeva & Jussi S. Jauhiainen, "Transationalism: Current Debates and New Perspectives," *GeoJournal* (2020).

[2] Kathy Burrell, *Moving Lives: Narratives of Nation and Migration among Europeans in Post-War Britain* (London: Ashgate, 2006), 110.

[3] Burrell, *Moving Lives*, 112; 118.

political, social, and cultural affairs of their home or other countries at different national or local levels".[4] Through her research, Morawska found that Polish migrants participated in reading Polish language newspapers in order to keep up to date on news and affairs in Poland. She also argues that activities like letter writing are "an effective transnational system of communication".[5] Trips back to the homeland were also another form of transnationalism. Burrell claims that for her study sample, this played a central role in the lives of her interviewees. She noted how her British respondents found return visits to be "shocking and unsettling, [and forced] the respondents to confront changes in their homelands and potentially creat[ed] a dislocation between memory, time and place".[6]

Contact with Poland

The separation of families and the distance between Australia and Poland created difficulties in maintaining a connection with what was often called 'home'. Letters were a form of communication that provided a connection to relatives in Poland. However these letters were not always frequent. Carolina, one of my interviewees, recalled how she would write letters to her family but it was an occasional correspondence. She replied: "There were other things I had to do and sometimes letters took long periods of time to go back and forth."[7] In his interview, Robert described how letters were the primary method of communication with his family in Poland when he came to Australia. Robert said: "Even now I cry while reading those letters remembering how difficult it was for me but also for my mother."[8] He described how upset his mother had been with his choice to move to Australia because in her view her son was never coming back again.[9] Robert had not recognised how distressing the letters were at the time when he received them. This may have had something to do with a phenomenon described by Karen Aroian in her American study that focused on the psychological impacts of migration. Aroian's research

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[4] Ewa Morawska, "Exploring Diversity in Immigrant Assimilation and Transnationalism: Poles and Russian Jews in Philadelphia," *International Migration Review*, 38, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 1375.
[5] Ewa Morawska, *The New-Old Transmigrants, their Transnational Lives and Ethnicization: A Comparison of 19th/20th and 20th/21st Century Situations* (Florence: European University Institute, 1999), 7.
[6] Burrell, *Moving Lives*, 119.
[7] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[8] 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[9] 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.

found that “missing Poland comes later because there are too many things to do”.[10] As in Robert’s case, Aroian found that the feelings of guilt or sadness at the loss of connections with family were delayed because of basic essential needs. As Carolina said, for Polish migrants there were other things that took priority such as finding a place to live, a means to support themselves and later providing the best opportunities for their children.[11]

Phone calls were another form of communication with family but were not frequent because of the expensive nature. After coming to Australia, Robert found that phone calls were not always a possibility. He said: “Phone calls were too expensive. I could not afford them.”[12] Similarly, Sylwia remembered: “Phone calls were very expensive. I remember to this day that it cost $3.60 a minute to talk and back then you were earning $6.00 an hour or less. So we sporadically were calling our family.”[13] Andrzej also recalled how he wanted to stay in touch with relatives via phone calls. However he was not able to call as often as he wanted because of the expense. He said: “There was only one main phone company and the prices were so high for a few minutes of conversation.”[14] The advancement of technology made communicating with family members in Poland easier by the late 1990s and 2000s. Phone calls became cheaper with the introduction of more telecommunication companies and the Polish migrants were able to communicate more frequently and instantaneously through email and Skype.

Not all migrants continued a close correspondence with those left behind in Poland. Alicja recalled how there was some contact between herself and her cousins however it was not the same closeness that once existed. She explained during our interview that this was because “everybody had their own lives”.[15] She did comment on how she kept in touch with them on special occasions like Christmas and Easter via cards. In her situation, her immediate family were already in Australia and therefore this connection with family in Poland did not resonate with her like some of the other migrants. Julia also explained how

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[10] Karen Jean Aroian, “From Leaving Poland to Feeling at Home: Psychological Adaption to Migration and Resettlement” (PhD thesis, University of Washington, 1988), 135.
[11] ‘Carolina,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[12] ‘Robert,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[13] ‘Sylwia,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[14] ‘Andrzej,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
[15] ‘Alicja,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 5 April 2017.

the contact with relatives was limited after she came to Australia. She said: “Everyone had families and obligations to attend to. Busy schedules meant that there was not a lot of time left for phone calls or letters.”[16]

In some instances, migrants connected with their families in Poland by sending parcels or money. The situation in Poland under Communism meant that essential items like food and goods were in short supply. Slawomir Sierakowski, a Polish writer, recalled his experiences in Poland during these times. He said: “We spent a lot of time waiting in queues. For a kid, that was torturously boring.”[17] This occurrence of waiting in line was common and, in many cases, people waited for several hours only to reach the front and be told that nothing was left. As a result, migrants in my study provided support to their family even while in transit on their way to Australia as well as after they arrived into the country. Ryszard described how he sent money and parcels back to Poland while still in Austria awaiting his transfer to Australia.[18] Ania was in a similar situation and also mentioned how she would send supplies back home to her family while she was in Austria.[19] She recalled how they were given so many supplies in the camps that they could not possibly use them all and sent the surplus to her family.[20] When she arrived in Australia, the support was more limited and was mainly directed to her husband’s family. Carolina was also able to offer assistance for her family while in Australia. She said: “I would send money as often as I could and, in Poland, often organisations there would organise parcels with sugar and such to give to my family on my behalf.”[21] Her initial status as a single woman would have made it easier for her to offer support for family back in Poland. However, respondents like Danek and Lucy were also able to send parcels for their relatives back in Poland. Even though they had families in Australia, both individuals saw the importance of helping their relatives because of the situation in

[16] ‘Julia,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[17] Slawomir Sierakowski, “I was 10 When Communism Fell in Poland. My World Became Colourful But Unstable,” *The Guardian,* 4 June 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jun/04/communism-poland-democracy-pepsi (accessed 5 June 2019).
[18] ‘Ryszard,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 February 2017.
[19] ‘Ania,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.
[20] ‘Ania,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.
[21] ‘Carolina,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).

Poland.[22]

It is impossible to determine whether this level of material and financial support for family and relatives in Poland was substantial or more or less generous than that given by migrants from other countries. However, Desmond Cahill believes it to be 'limited' and suggests that this lack of assistance was not isolated to family but it also included reluctance by the Polish people in offering support and donations to Polish welfare and other agencies.[23] Rachel Unikoski investigated the Polish people in the 1970s and one of her respondents described the attitude of Polish people in this way: "We Poles are more generous with our blood than with our money."[24] If the support was indeed 'limited', this might be explained by the financial situation of the migrants and the emotional strain placed on them. Nursing professor Aroian recognises the problems associated with migration and how migrants would be focused on replacing their losses when starting again.[25] Among the interviewees, Ania said she was not able to send more parcels to her family because of the difficulties in starting again. In her words: "we were struggling".[26] Similarly, Robert said: "I needed to support my family here. I knew they [family in Poland] would be okay."[27]

The use of media and printed literature provided a different means for migrants to stay connected to Poland and fulfil a desire to interact with Polish culture. Services like the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) offered television and radio programs that allowed the Polish migrants to keep up to date with events back home.[28] While the service was appreciated it, its programs were not always of good quality. This was not a phenomenon isolated to Polish migrants. The Italians found a similar problem in how the programs did

[22] 'Danek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym); 'Lucy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[23] Desmond Cahill, "*Quo Vadis*, Polonia in Australia?" in *Polonia in Australia: Challenges and Possibilities in the New Millennium*, ed. Elizabeth Drozd and Desmond Cahill (Melbourne: Common Ground Publishing, 2004), 93.
[24] Quoted in Cahill, "*Quo Vadis*, Polonia in Australia?" 93; see also Rachel Unikoski, *Communal Endeavours Migrant Organisations in Melbourne* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1978), 39.
[25] Aroian, "From Leaving Poland to Feeling at Home," 142.
[26] 'Ania,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.
[27] 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
[28] Beata Leuner, "Settling Down and Settlement Patterns Case Study: Polish Migrants from the 1980s in Melbourne," *Polish Sociological Review,* 4, no. 160 (2007): 427.

not represent the transcultural complexity of contemporary Italian society.[29] Reading materials like newspapers and books were another connection to Poland, however, like the SBS programs, not all Polish migrants viewed them positively. For the Polish people in Melbourne, there was dissatisfaction with reading material and the difficulties in acquiring it. Few bookshops or newsagents sold Polish language material, meaning that the range of available books were restricted to simple texts that were not what migrants wanted.[30] Elizabeth Drozd found this dissatisfaction in her sample extended to Polish newspapers that were available. She found a low level of people were reading newspapers because of the price of the newspapers compared to books, which could be borrowed from libraries.[31]

For those who did not have a close correspondence to family in Poland, the radio programs offered a means to stay connected to the 'homeland'. However, migrants like Sylwia described the radio programs as being of relatively low level quality and did not include any stimulating content to challenge their thinking.[32] As a result, Sylwia mentioned during our interview how a few Polish migrants came together to create their own radio program to fulfil their need for contemporary and relevant information.[33] She said that the creation of a new Polish radio station was a good way to create "community spirit".[34] This occurred because the programs were created by the newer migrants who based the content around their interests and what they wanted to hear and know. Tadeusz helped transform an existing Polish language program. The Polish radio station in Adelaide invited Tadeusz to join their team and create segments about serious topics with some humour.[35] When one of the regular presenters left, he was asked to take on a larger role and host the program with another Polish person. When his co-host left as well, Tadeusz took over the program and changed its structure. He wanted the main format of the program to be based around interviews. As Tadeusz pointed out, some of the interviews

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[29] Francesco Ricatti, *Italians in Australia: History, Memory, Identity* (Melbourne: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 126.
[30] Leuner, "Settling Down and Settlement Patterns," 425.
[31] Elizabeth Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way: The Settlement of the 1980s Solidarity Wave of Polish Immigrants in Melbourne" (M.A. thesis, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, 1997), 144.
[32] 'Sylwia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[33] 'Sylwia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[34] 'Sylwia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[35] 'Tadeusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017.

went longer than the one hour program schedule and therefore the interviews were delivered in several parts across a few episodes.[36] While Tadeusz mentioned his motivations for joining this radio team were related to contributing to the Polish community in Australia, it was not his main motivation. He wanted to "use the knowledge [he] had from Poland".[37] The interviewees he invited were famous Polish actors and writers and this in itself brought Poland closer for those people who were not able to visit the country. Tadeusz primarily conducted the interviews in a small shed on the property of the Polish man who started the radio program. He would invite these individuals to come to Australia and there were others who were already in Australia for presentations or conferences and agreed to take time to participate in an interview. Tadeusz fondly recalled one of the many interviews he conducted: "My favourite interview was with Jerzy Hoffman [Polish director and screenwriter] who was in Australia for a presentation. He was surprised by the studio being in a small shed like something out of Siberia but he was surprised by my questions and background research and commented that it was the best interview he ever had in his life."[38]

Visits back to Poland

Temporary visits to Poland for holidays and other events were not only important for the migrants in maintaining a connection to their homeland but also for seeing the changes within themselves. The Solidarity wave migrants realised that living in Australia had altered their identity because they could no longer relate to the Polish people in their birth country. Moreover, return visits highlighted how much the country had changed as well as the people who had remained in Poland, which served to widen the gap between their past lives as 'Poles' and their new lives as something else.

Studies have shown that family and culture were the main reasons that fuelled the desire to visit Poland. Beata Leuner's research found that 88.7% of her sample of Solidarity wave Poles in Melbourne returned for a visit because of family and friends.[39] The second most common reason for visiting Poland was for tourism and the participation in cultural

[36] 'Tadeusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017.
[37] 'Tadeusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017.
[38] 'Tadeusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017.
[39] Beata Leuner, *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance in Australia: Polish Migration to Melbourne in the 1980s* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 230.

activities like visiting theatres, cinemas, concerts and art galleries.[40] Leuner's study also found an interesting correlation between the frequency of visits to Poland and the ethnic background of the spouses of the Polish migrants. She states that the couples who visited Poland "every year, every second year or every third year were represented more by exogamous couples [people who married outside the ethnic group] than endogamous couples [people who married within the ethnic group]."[41] This surprising finding led Leuner to speculate that the explanation for this phenomenon was a result of exogamous couples being "better off as they had had a stronger foothold in Australian society".[42] Equally, it might have been because Poland loomed as an exotic and thus interesting destination for the non-Polish spouse or because the visits helped fulfil their desire to better understand their partner. Maksymilian Kwiatkowski offers a further reason for Poles seeking to reconnect with their country of birth. He states that within his sample, individuals were motivated to return to Poland to develop their ethnic identities.[43] He maintains that prior to a trip back to Poland, "interest in Poland and the Polish language and culture was generally negligible, except by way of the fragmented images available through memory, family and nostalgia".[44] Therefore the main outcome that resulted after these trips was "an intense reawakening of interest in their family and heritage, in the Polish language and culture, and in Poland itself".[45] This might be true for the "1.5 generation" (those who did not initiate the migration nor were born in the new country) that he studies but this was not the case for my broader sample.

Circumstances prior to leaving Poland largely determined the possibility of returning for temporary visits. For those migrants that fled Poland for political reasons, the opportunities to visit the country were limited. It was not until Martial Law ended and the Communist state collapsed that the possibility to return home emerged. The first time Danek returned to Poland was after 11 years.[46] Prior to arriving to Australia, Danek had experienced conflict with the ruling authorities and he made the decision to take his family

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[40] Leuner, *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance*, 230.
[41] Leuner, *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance*, 229.
[42] Leuner, *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance*, 230.
[43] Maksymilian Kwiatkowski, "Backwards, Forwards and In-Between: Nostalgic Landscapes, Photography, Identity and the Return Journey 'Home'" (PhD thesis, The University of Sydney, 2006), 93.
[44] Kwiatkowski, "Backwards, Forwards and In-Between," 94.
[45] Kwiatkowski, "Backwards, Forwards and In-Between," 93.
[46] 'Danek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).

out of the country because of the fear of repercussions. Danek left in September 1983 and because Communist rule was still in place until 1989, it was not possible for him to return.[47] He did not want to risk imprisonment by returning while the country was still under Communist control. Lena's personal situation meant that it was not possible for her to return for a number of years. She did not elaborate about the details of her departure, but she noted that she needed to wait until an amnesty was introduced before she could visit Poland again.[48]

For those able to travel, Polish migrants in my sample were primarily driven to return to Poland to visit family and friends. In Aleksy's case, his first visit back to his birth country occurred after seven years. He took his daughter to Poland to meet family members living in the country.[49] Aleksy recalled the visit: "[My daughter] was young. Only six years old and everything was new for her."[50] While the trip back was a pleasant experience for Aleksy, it was more important for his daughter. Aleksy commented how it helped develop her Polish-language skills further because her cousins could not speak English. He said: "She had to speak Polish because there was no other way for her to communicate with them."[51] It also provided an opportunity for her to meet grandparents and other family relatives as the extended family had all remained in Poland. Therefore, for Aleksy, visits back home were focused on recreational purposes, whereas for his daughter it was about providing her with connections to her heritage and her family. For other migrants, the trip home to family was difficult because of the nature of the visit. In the case of Danuta, the first time she returned back to Poland was after seven years living in Australia. The main reason why she returned was because her mother was sick.[52] Andy returned with his mother who was sick to let her say her final goodbyes to the family.[53] Andrzej's first visit back to Poland was for a funeral, and came after 10 years living in Australia.[54] Not surprisingly, when he did go home, he commented on how his experiences were "not

[47] 'Danek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[48] 'Lena,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[49] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[50] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[51] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[52] 'Danuta,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 18 July 2017.
[53] 'Andy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 6 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[54] 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.

great".[55] The sombre atmosphere would have impacted on his visit and influenced his views of the country.

Polish migrants experienced culture shock when returning to Poland for temporary visits. The environment that awaited them can be summed up in this statement made by author Reynold Levy: "Refugees are going home. But to what? For many people, the trauma of being driven from one's home will now be matched by the shock of returning to a home that does not exist."[56] Migrants felt this shock to varying degrees depending on the time period that had passed since they had left the country. In the case of Ryszard, it took him 24 years before he was able to visit his homeland.[57] When asked about his initial reaction, he said: "Shock. Complete shock."[58] His first return trip was a pilgrimage that included visiting Poland as well as Rome. Ryszard's wife, who was not able to travel with him, asked for photos and films of Poland to see how much of the country had changed. While on the pilgrimage, he described how the other people were stunned by his constant photography of the surrounding landscapes. Ryszard explained to them: "When I lived here, there was nothing here. Cows would graze there!"[59] This long period of absence highlighted for him the changes that had occurred in his birth country, in particular the development of new buildings and infrastructure.

The Polish migrants noticed not only changes in the landscape but the changed view Polish people had of them. Alicja described her first interactions with the people back in Poland and how they treated her as "a big visitor".[60] The Polish people no longer treated her as one of them but as someone who was an outsider, someone different. Danuta also noticed a change in behaviour by the Polish people towards her. She remarked: "The people looked at me different now that I lived in Australia. Like I was not Polish."[61] Agata

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[55] 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
[56] Quoted in Ellen Oxfeld and Lynellyn Long, "Introduction: An Ethnography of Return," in *Coming Home? Refugees, Migrants, and Those Who Stayed Behind*, ed. Lynellyn Long and Ellen Oxfeld (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 11.
[57] 'Ryszard,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 February 2017.
[58] 'Ryszard,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 February 2017.
[59] 'Ryszard,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 February 2017.
[60] 'Alicja,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 5 April 2017.
[61] 'Danuta,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 18 July 2017.

similarly stated that the Polish people viewed her as "exotic"[62] because she had come from Australia to visit them. Barbara agreed that after returning to Poland for work and, later, vacation, there was a different feeling towards her. She explained: "The people in Poland said that my thinking had changed because I lived in Australia."[63] Pawel had a slightly different experience. The Polish people viewed him more as an oddity. He described how they viewed him with a sense of curiosity and were eager to learn more about Australia.[64] But he was still viewed as not one of them.

Polish migrants experienced resentment and envy when they returned temporarily to Poland. Anthropologist Ellen Oxfeld and migration scholar Lynellyn Long recognise this type of bitterness existed. They assert: "returnees face jealousy and complex social expectations".[65] This resentment is linked to what Kwiatkowski describes as Polish migrants reaching "legendary status" and this led to a stereotype being created that Polish émigrés had "made it or at least should have".[66] Within my own sample, many migrants identified this resentment directed at them. Tadeusz believed the reason why people were envious was because they [the migrants] were able to travel from Australia to visit them in Poland.[67] Jon felt that the people in Poland viewed his life and the lives of people like him as being better than theirs.[68] In his words: "They were jealous because we had made a better life for ourselves in another country."[69] In Adam's case, he commented: "They would say, 'we envy you. You are lucky.' That was their feelings towards us."[70] During our interview, Julia described how people in Poland believed that she did not have any problems in Australia and money was easily found: "They thought all we had to do was go along the streets and find money in the gutters. They resented how easy our life was. But they did not understand what we had experienced and the hard work we had to do in order to survive here."[71] This was a common sentiment that Polish migrants encountered when they visited Poland. Aleksy said: "They did not think that we

[62] 'Agata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[63] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[64] 'Pawel,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[65] Oxfeld and Long, *Coming Home?* 10.
[66] Kwiatkowski, "Backwards, Forwards and In-Between," 92.
[67] 'Tadeusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017.
[68] 'Jon,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 30 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[69] 'Jon,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 30 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[70] 'Adam,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 June 2017.
[71] 'Julia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).

had to work just as hard as them to provide for our families. But really, we had to work even harder because we were not born here. They believed that all we had to do was shake some trees to get money."[72] Aleksy went on to say that this was silly thinking on their part but they could not understand what life was like because they had never experienced the trials and tribulations of migration.[73] Andre had a similar experience. He stated say that the people back in Poland believed the migrants in Australia were vastly wealthy and had no problems.[74] Daria agreed with this view when she explained: "They viewed us as being rich when we went to visit. Like we got money from a tree. But they did not understand that we had to work twice as hard as we would have in Poland."[75]

The Solidarity wave migrants noticed the difference in mentality of the people living in Poland. Turning to Alicja again, she commented how her values and thinking had changed compared to the Polish people. For her, impressing people and their personal opinions of her were not her main focus. She said: "In Poland, they were always saying, what will people think? In Poland, appearances and impressions are the only thing people cared about."[76] This was not how Alicja viewed her life. The freedom offered in Australia had given her the chance to live her life the way she wanted rather than worrying about how others would perceive her. Sylwia also noticed the different mentality the people in Poland had compared to her. While close friends of Sylwia's did not treat her differently, she noticed some hypocrisy by other people. She recalled: "You did not hear it but you could feel how they acted nice to our faces but internally had different thoughts about us."[77] In her experience, the people in Poland were judging her and they were not able to find common ground with each other. Barbara commented how the behaviour of Polish people irritated her because she had grown accustomed to a different kind of behaviour in Australia.[78] Barbara remarked how she was at a lecture by a professor in Poland and he was pointing his finger the entire time. She said: "After the lecture, I went up to him and said why are you waving your finger around? Your finger cannot speak."[79] In this case,

[72] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[73] 'Aleksy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[74] 'Andre,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 13 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[75] 'Daria,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[76] 'Alicja,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 5 April 2017.
[77] 'Sylwia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[78] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[79] 'Barbara,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.

she found the gesture rude and nothing like she had experienced in Australia. Andre returned to Poland for a visit with his son after 11 years in Australia.[80] However, he wanted to come back to Australia soon after. He said: “We were not able to understand each other. They had different thoughts than us.”[81] The common ground that Polish migrants once shared with other Polish people was now absent. These are personal reflections on individual characteristics/personalities and might have been a result of the migrants’ having a ‘frozen in time’ concept of life in Poland. The migrants did not mention this and may not have even considered the possibility that the people in Poland and the country itself would have evolved since their departure.

These temporary visits challenged the views migrants maintained of Poland and the changes that had occurred within the country and themselves. In Aroian’s American study, she found that visits functioned as a means to help resolve the “nostalgic illusion”.[82] The temporary visits involved migrants having to actively confront the past. In the examples discussed above, migrants could see the change in mentality by the people in Poland and the differences in lifestyles. However these changes also highlighted the changes that had occurred within themselves as a result of living outside of Poland. Aroian argues: “Idealization of the past may prevent acceptance of the new or ‘changed’ self or, from the perspective of feeling at home, acceptance of the circumstances that changed the old self.”[83] Similarly, historian Trevor Batrouney and sociologist John Goldlust state how visits to the homeland help “clarify some of the unresolved tensions about identity as many come to realise that, in fact, they are now Australian and, more importantly, that Australia has become their home”.[84] Both men also identify the idealisation of the homeland and how return visits “no longer seem to match the reality of their more immediate experience”.[85] This is why temporary visits were crucial in dispelling ideas of returning to Poland permanently. To a certain extent, migrants had a frozen view of Poland and once returning back, even temporarily, the changes highlighted the reality

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[80] ‘Andre,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 13 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[81] ‘Andre,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 13 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[82] Aroian, “From Leaving Poland to Feeling at Home,” 265.
[83] Aroian, “From Leaving Poland to Feeling at Home,” 267.
[84] Trevor Batrouney and John Goldlust, *Unravelling Identity: Immigrants, Identity and Citizenship in Australia* (Melbourne: Common Ground, 2005), 90.
[85] Batrouney and Goldlust, *Unravelling Identity*, 90.

of life in Poland.

Returning to Poland permanently

The majority of migrants never considered returning back to Poland on a permanent basis. Indeed, Oxfeld and Long observe: "A provisional return visit may emphasize the impossibility or undesirability of permanent return."[86] Having experienced the changed atmosphere, migrants no longer felt the same longing to migrate back to Poland. However, for a few, going back to Poland did occur. While the majority of my interviewees did not have a desire to return back on a permanent basis, many of them had friends who went back to live in Poland and some of those even returned to settle in Australia again.

Return migration is a complicated concept because of the multiple definitions and difficulty of collecting relevant data. Sociologist Klaus Unger called this concept remigration.[87] He views this type of migration as "traditional, structural, planned and familial".[88] Russell King defines return migration as "the process whereby people return to their country or place of origin after a significant period in another country or region".[89] Violetta Parutis, a scholar of Slavonic and East European studies, identifies the ambiguity such definitions offer because the amount of time spent abroad was not specified nor was whether occasional visits to the country were viewed as a return home.[90] Anthropologist Ellen Oxfeld and migration scholar Lynellyn Long also identify that return migration was problematic because of the many migrations that exist, like circular migration, and the lack of precise data.[91] For Oxfeld and Long, return included: "temporally short visits to permanent repatriation, spatially from one's original place of origin to a reconstructed homeland (a particular site in the home country where one has never actually lived)."[92]

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[86] Oxfeld and Long, *Coming Home?* 10.
[87] Klaus Unger, "Greek Emigration to and from West Germany," *Ekistics,* 48, (1981): 370.
[88] Quoted in Sarah Scholl-Schneider, "Restoring the Vanished to View: The 'Return' of the Past Through Practices of Visiting by Sudeten Germans to the Czech Republic," in *Remigration to Post-Socialist Europe: Hopes and Realities of Return*, ed. Caroline Hornstein Tomic, Robert Pichler and Sarah Scholl-Schneider (Zurich, LIT Verlag, 2018), 167.
[89] Russell King, "Generalizations from the History of Return Migration," in *Return Migration: Journey of Hope or Despair?* ed. Bimal Ghosh (Geneva: International Organisation for Migration, 2000), 8.
[90] Violetta Parutus, "Returning 'Home': East European Discourses of Return," *International Migration,* 52, no. 5 (2014): 159.
[91] Oxfeld and Long, *Coming Home?* 2.
[92] Oxfeld and Long, *Coming Home?* 4.

Scholars also have differing ideas about the factors that trigger the decision to migrate back. Parutis argues that economic factors were "the context for re-migration decisions" however the decisions were guided by "social and personal circumstances".[93] In contrast, Nyi Nyi, Aphichat Chamratrithirong and Philip Guest argue that the role of the family was the deciding factor in migrants returning to their country of origin.[94] In their view, "Migration decisions are explained by an 'intrafamilial implicit contract' based on an unwritten understanding about the obligations and benefits of the two parties".[95] These scholars found that migrants who came with family members or other people were more likely to return home than those individuals who came alone.[96] Furthermore, those who sent material or financial support to family or friends in the homeland were more inclined to stay at their chosen destination than those who did not.[97] Historian Donna Gabaccia argues that Italians who migrated to the United States generally had the intention to return.[98] Therefore she claims that this intention to return did not always indicate that migrants were dissatisfied with life in the United States. Similarly, Baldassar and Pesman found in their study of Italians in Australia that they too had the desire to return to Italy. They argue: "the lives of all migrants are, in most cases, characterised by the desire to return, even those who do not undertake many, or even any, visits home. The pull of the homeland never entirely subsides".[99]

Very little has been written about Solidarity wave returnees. Scholars have tended to focus their attentions on the movements of Polish migrants in the post-Communist period that occurred with the European Union expansion.[100] There are however some examples

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[93] Parutus, "Returning 'Home'," 160.
[94] Nyi Nyi, Aphichat Charmratrithirong and Philip Guest, "The Role of Family Support and Other Factors in Returning Home," *Asian Population Studies,* 8, no. 2 (2012): 233.
[95] Nyi, Charmratrithirong and Guest, "The Role of Family Support," 233.
[96] Nyi, Charmratrithirong and Guest, "The Role of Family Support," 239.
[97] Nyi, Charmratrithirong and Guest, "The Role of Family Support," 239.
[98] Donna R. Gabaccia, "Is Everywhere Nowhere? Nomads, Nations, and the Immigrant Paradigm of United States History," *The Journal of American History*, 86, no. 3 (December 1999): 1131.
[99] Loretta Baldassar and Ros Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians: Veneto Migrants in Australia* (Perth: University of Western Australia Press, 2005), 185.
[100] See Kathy Burrell (ed.), *Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union: After 2004* (Farnham and London: Ashgate, 2009); Kathy Burrell, "Going Steerage on Ryanair: Cultures of Air Travel for Migration from Poland to the UK," *Journal of Transport Geography,* 19, no. 5 (2011): 1023-1030; Aleksandra Galasinska, "Leavers and Stayers Discuss Returning Home: Internet Discourses on Migration in the Context of the Post-Communist Transformation," *Social Identities,* 16, no. 3 (May 2010): 309-324; Louise Ryan and Rosemary Sales, "Family Migration: The Role of Children and Education in Family Decision-Making Strategies of Polish Migrants in London," *International Migration,* 51, no. 2 (2013): 90-103.

of scholars examining the Polish migrants of the 1980s and their decisions to return to Poland. Drozd found that only 10% of her Melbourne-based respondents considered going back to Poland.[101] She also established that more men than women considered returning to Poland. Some of the couples had opposing views in regards to this decision and tensions existed as a result.[102] Based on research undertaken in the early 1990s, Piotr Korcelli doubted that Poles now residing in Western Europe and North America would migrate back to Poland.[103] He did, however, indicate the possibility of these people potentially returning to Poland for retirement "in the more distant future".[104] Aroian had a similar finding when she suggests that Polish migrants did not consider returning back to Poland until many years later because there were too many other issues that took precedent over feelings of nostalgia.[105]

The general consensus among my sample was that the migrants would not return permanently to Poland. Only five of 45 people considered or did return to Poland on a 'permanent basis' before returning back to Australia. Of course, I was only able to recruit interviewees who were now living in Australia, so this is not surprising. For the majority of respondents in my sample, the overall feeling was one of understanding and acceptance of the new life they had made in Australia. Danuta described how her family had a better life as a result of their migration.[106] In her case, life was cheaper in Australia compared to Poland and greater opportunities had been provided for her family. Daria also pointed to the improved conditions here in Australia and did not consider going back to Poland even though it was hard to start life in Australia at the beginning. She described her life as "better but different. We had to start from zero."[107] Tadeusz never considered returning to Poland permanently: "I was thinking it would have been the biggest mistake. Our life is here."[108] While he loved Poland, Tadeusz viewed Australia as offering him and his family

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[101] Elizabeth Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way: The Settlement of the 1980s Solidarity Wave of Polish Immigrants in Melbourne" (M.A. thesis, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, 1997), 126.
[102] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 126.
[103] Piotr Korcelli, "International Migrations in Europe: Polish Perspectives for the 1990s," *International Migration Review,* 26, no. 2 (February 1992): 304.
[104] Korcelli, "International Migrations in Europe," 304.
[105] Aroian, "From Leaving Poland to Feeling at Home," 135.
[106] 'Danuta,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 18 July 2017.
[107] 'Daria,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[108] 'Tadeusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017.

a stable and peaceful life.[109] Andrew never had thoughts of moving back to Poland on a permanent basis because of two main reasons: politics and social life.[110] The political situation was one of the reasons why Andrew had left in the first place and it had not changed sufficiently since his departure and therefore he did not want to return back to that situation. He said: “I could not stand the politics and people were not being nice to each other.”[111]

The Solidarity wave migrants that I interviewed largely viewed their migration to Australia as the start of a new chapter in their lives, and returning was not ever considered. Ania recognised a clear divide between her old life and her new life. In her words, “My childhood was there. My adult life started here.”[112] She never considered going back to Poland because her new family roots had been planted in Australia. Ania could not “imagine going back. Home is here.”[113] Janina also created a new life when she arrived in Australia. Like Ania, she explained that her adult life had begun in Australia. Janina was a young woman when she left Poland and she saw her life divided into different phases. She explained: “Yes I was born there [in Poland] but I got married here and started a family. That is my life now. This is where my new life began. I could not imagine going back. Our family roots are with our children and they live in Australia.”[114]

A very small minority of individuals did continue to have thoughts of returning to Poland while living in Australia. Mariusz indicated that he was unhappy with having to leave Poland with his family.[115] Having left Poland as a teenager, he would have felt as though his choice had been taken away from him. Trying to fit into Australian society was difficult especially because he loved his social life in Poland.[116] Staszek, too, initially had thoughts of going back to Poland. He said during his interview: “I did think about going back but as time went on, those feelings faded with time.”[117] The desire to return back stemmed from

[109] ‘Tadeusz,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017.
[110] ‘Andrew,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 November 2017.
[111] ‘Andrew,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 14 November 2017.
[112] ‘Ania,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.
[113] ‘Ania,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.
[114] ‘Janina,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[115] ‘Mariusz,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017.
[116] ‘Mariusz,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017.
[117] ‘Staszek,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 February 2017.

his longing for the familiar. He mitigated this desire to return permanently by visiting Poland every few years. There was unpleasantness with his wife and while she returned permanently to Poland with the children, Staszek was less inclined to go back with them.[118] Carolina had been living in Australia for five years but was torn between remaining in the country or returning back to her family in Poland. She described her feelings in this way: "When I was here [in Australia], I wanted to be there. When I was there [in Poland], I wanted to be back here."[119] Her indecision was related to the separation from her family and the new life she had come to experience in Australia. Her resolve was changed after a conversation with her father who helped her make a decision. She said: "It was his advice about creating a better life for myself that made me eventually choose Australia."[120] This split loyalty was not isolated to my sample. Marta Erdal had a similar finding with one of her respondents, Maria, feeling out of place. Maria stated: "For some time I felt like I was more at home in Poland… later on, I had a period where I did not feel at home in either of the places because I was losing contact with the reality there and I did not feel at home there and at the same time I had not started feeling at home here yet."[121] Erdal concludes that migrants' feelings of returning had little to do with actually returning back to their country of origin and more to do with their "negotiations of belonging in the transnational social field".[122]

Some migrants sought to resolve this issue by dividing their time between both countries. Renata explained how after a number of years she had purchased a small home in Poland with her husband. In her case, "we were able to create a home in Australia and in Poland. We could go back whenever we wanted. We had a place in both countries."[123] For other migrants in my sample, while they did not make such a permanent purchase, the frequent trips acted in the same way. For example, individuals like Tadeusz and Sylwia would take regular trips back to Poland that helped maintain a link with Poland and

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[118] 'Staszek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 February 2017.
[119] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[120] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[121] Marta Bivand Erdal, "'This is My Home': Pakistani and Polish Migrants' Return Considerations as Articulations About 'Home'," *CMS,* 2, no. 3 (2014): 373.
[122] Erdal, "This is My Home," 379.
[123] 'Renata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 March 2018 (pseudonym).

their friends.[124] This dual connection was observed by Erdal who claims that migrants had the capacity and desire to maintain "dual ties and loyalties over time, neither following a classic assimilationist, nor ghettoization path, but rather embracing the opportunities that societal diversity opens up for, through sustaining dual ties over time".[125] Rather than simply accepting one home over the other, migrants were able to have two homes and visit them as frequently as they desired and finances permitted.

While my sample of interviewees mostly eschewed returning to Poland, some of their friends did go back. One of Mateusz's friends returned because of what he described as them "not coping well".[126] The difficulty in acclimatising oneself in the new country was a common reason for individuals to return. Ania also discussed one family she knew in Australia that had returned back to Poland. In her view, the family had not been able to adjust to the lifestyle in Australia and therefore made the decision to return back.[127] Iza similarly found this to be the case for a number of her friends. Those friends that had left to start life again in Poland did so because of their inability to fit in socially and economically in Australia.[128] It was as though they remained outsiders even within the Polish community because they were not Australians but not the same as the Polish people who lived in Australia. Zygmunt mentioned how a friend of his came to Australia but she was not able to work in her field and this led to a mental breakdown.[129] She was not able to psychologically cope with her new socio-economic situation and not being able to return to her professional field sparked her decision to return back to Poland. Renata also had friends who returned: "When they went back to Poland, they realised that the country had changed and it was not the same. They could not find their place in the new setting and sold everything to come back again."[130] Tadeusz had some acquaintances who experienced this displacement. He highlighted that the reason why these individuals came back to Australia was based on their inability to accept certain changes in

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[124] 'Tadeusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017; 'Sylwia,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[125] Erdal, "This is My Home," 366.
[126] 'Mateusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[127] 'Ania,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 20 February 2017.
[128] 'Iza,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 13 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[129] 'Zygmunt,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 3 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[130] 'Renata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 27 March 2018 (pseudonym).

Poland.[131] Carolina, like Renata, also knew some individuals that had sold everything they owned in Australia and returned back to Poland.[132] They had decided that they would start up new businesses in Poland. Carolina explained: “They thought it would be easier now that Communism had ended.”[133] When the business failed, the migrants returned back to Australia with nothing. As Carolina observed, “Australia had changed while they were away and starting again from scratch proved to be difficult for these people.”[134]

Boomerang migrants

There were examples of migrants returning back to Australia after coming to live in Poland. Echoing a term used by migration scholars, Andre, one of my interviewees, described these individuals as “boomerang migrants” because they were going back and forth between the two countries.[135] Within my sample, there were only two examples that fit this pattern: Annie and Andy. The struggle of finding her place coupled with the sadness of separation from family is what caused Annie to make the decision to return to Poland. She made the decision herself. Annie expressed how much she missed Poland especially because she had left her home as a single young woman.[136] After seven years in Australia, Annie and her family packed up and left for Poland. While the family planned to stay for a year, there were thoughts to remain permanently. In Poland, her husband started up his own business within the telecommunications sector, however things did not pan out the way they had hoped. Annie said: “We lost a lot of money but also I could not find myself there. Even the children were not able to acclimatise themselves in Poland.”[137] Life in Australia had been a certain way and Annie had her own routine planned out. Once in Poland, she realised that things were not the same and after one year decided that she was coming back to Australia.[138] Even though she returned, Annie described a lingering thought about what life would have been like back in Poland.

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[131] ‘Tadeusz,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017.
[132] ‘Carolina,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[133] ‘Carolina,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[134] ‘Carolina,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[135] ‘Andre,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 13 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[136] ‘Annie,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[137] ‘Annie,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[138] ‘Annie,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 March 2017 (pseudonym).

Andy chose to return to Poland with his family even though he wanted to remain in Australia. Andy was a teenager when he arrived in Australia and had attended high school before finding work in his new country. While his parents had made the initial decision to leave their homeland because of the uncertainty in Poland, once in Australia their thoughts turned to the new situation that faced them. He said: "My parents asked, 'why did we come?' And decided we should return back."[139] It was after two years in Australia that the family decided to migrate back to Poland. Andy said: "I felt bad for my parents and brother and I did not want them to be alone there and so I went back with them. But I always had the thought that I would return to Australia."[140] The family made it to Austria and realised how expensive life was and they did not make it to Poland before making a new decision. After two months, they returned to Australia.[141] After this journey, Andy commented that his parents never again thought about leaving Australia.

Migration does not always end once the people arrive at their destination. Both Annie and Andy's cases show that they evaluated their options and reassessed their choices. As migration scholars Louise Ryan and Rosemary Sales state: "Migration is thus not a one-off event which ends in settlement. Instead, it is an on-going process that may be re-evaluated and re-considered several times over the life-course."[142]

Home and identity

The idea of home and where home is for individuals can influence their desire to return to their place of origin or migrate back. For some, the concept of home was not related to a physical dwelling but the place where family resided and temporary visits highlighted that home could be both here and there.

The idea of home has been argued to include a physical location and a mental state of mind. According to researcher Marta Erdal, 'home' can be "both abstract and fluid but equally with physical manifestations in the concrete life worlds of individuals".[143] She highlights that research based on 'home' within migration studies emphasize identity and

[139] 'Andy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 6 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[140] 'Andy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 6 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[141] 'Andy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 6 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[142] Ryan and Sales, "Family Migration," 92.
[143] Erdal, "This is My Home," 362.

belonging.[144] In her research, Erdal identifies that home could be a physical house, a childhood home, and the more abstract home of social spaces that can be linked to their cultural social and linguistic characteristics within a city or country.[145]

For the Solidarity wave migrants in South Australia that I interviewed, home was commonly defined in terms of their children. Alicja said in a clear statement that her daughter was the deciding factor in her decision to stay in Australia: "Nicole is here and that is my life."[146] Lucy also never considered returning back to Poland.[147] With her children in Australia, there was nowhere else she would rather stay. In her words: "My home is wherever my children are. That is where I will stay."[148] Andrzej described a similar feeling when it came to his desire to remain in Australia. He continued to visit Poland every two years and maintained contact with some good friends. However this was not enough incentive for him to remain in Poland. It was his children that were his main focus and the motivation for remaining in Australia. This feeling became stronger as time passed and the feeling of returning home lessened.[149] Migrants who either arrived with children or had children in Australia were less inclined to return because of the attachment children made to Australia. The thought of having to leave their children behind was an undesirable consequence. As mentioned above, Erdal recognises the link of home and family. One of her respondents, Agnieszka, said: "I always say that home is where we are all together, where our family is."[150]

The temporary visits challenged the idea of where home was in a physical and emotional sense. In the case of Christopher, he found that while in Poland, ordinary things like jokes no longer made sense to him. In his words, he described his feelings as being "Polish but not Polish".[151] What it meant to be Polish had changed since he had been in the country and Christopher no longer felt as though he fitted in with the rest of the Polish people. It

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144 Erdal, "This is My Home," 364.
145 Erdal, "This is My Home," 364.
146 'Alicja,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 5 April 2017.
147 'Lucy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).
148 'Lucy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 February 2017 (pseudonym).
149 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
150 Erdal, "This is My Home," 371.
151 'Christopher,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 April 2018 (pseudonym).

was after returning to Australia that Christopher said: “I’m back at home”.[152] It was the smiling faces of the Qantas airline employees that made him realise that this was his home.[153] While he acknowledged that Poland would always be close to his heart, he did not feel at home in that country anymore. Jacek also recognised this change and he summed up the situation in these words: “We were strangers in our own country.”[154] The Polish people realised that they still had an emotional attachment to their birth country but home was not what they remembered. This could be explained by Erdal’s finding of a duality existing where the home for migrants was ‘there’ in an emotional sense and home was ‘here’ in practical terms.[155]

This chapter has shown that Polish migrant connections with the homeland were complex. The Polish migrants within South Australia had varying degrees of contact with Poland. Letters and phone calls were used to maintain correspondence with family back in Poland, but temporary visits provided the most beneficial form of contact. These trips back to the ‘homeland’ did however bring into stark contrast the different mentality held by the Poles who left Poland and those who had stayed. Moreover, the migrants were not viewed by their fellow Poles as Polish people. They were defined by their chosen home and treated with envy and resentment because of their situation. Therefore, the temporary trips compounded the fact that the migrants’ identification as Poles was no longer satisfactory. Seeing the differences between themselves and the people in Poland highlighted how the migrants had changed. They could no longer simply call themselves Polish; their Australian home had changed them. As a result, these experiences impacted on their desire to return to Poland on a permanent basis.

In a small number of cases, such as Annie and Andy, the migration process resulted in a return back to Poland and back again to Australia. Nostalgia and the longing for home meant that migrants reassessed their situation. However, once back in their country of birth, they realised their experiences had altered their identity and they no longer

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[152] ‘Christopher,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 April 2018 (pseudonym).
[153] ‘Christopher,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 April 2018 (pseudonym).
[154] ‘Jacek,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 January 2017.
[155] Erdal, “This is My Home,” 376.

belonged in Poland. The home they remembered no longer existed.[156] Home had also taken on a new meaning. At times, home was a specific location where the migrants' children resided. In other situations, home was split between both countries because a dual identity permitted migrants to maintain a connection to both Poland and Australia. What was consistent with the migrants in my sample, just as Drozd and Korcelli's studies showed, was that the majority of respondents never considered returning to Poland permanently.

[156] Oxfeld and Long, *Coming Home?* 11.

Chapter Seven – Relations between the 'Displaced Persons' and the 'Solidarity' Waves

This chapter will examine the relationship of the Solidarity wave migrants and the Displaced Persons wave of Polish migrants who settled in Australia in the first decade after World War Two. It will begin by providing some background information about the Displaced Persons to establish who they were as a group and what conditions were in place during their arrival. From there, the chapter will identify points of difference between the two groups and explain why tensions were present between them and how this impacted on the settlement experiences of the Solidarity wave. The main questions that will be explored in this chapter are: What factors created tensions between the Displaced Persons and the Solidarity wave migrants and how did this impact on their interactions? And how did the general nature of the relationship between the two groups affect participation in Polish community organisations and the likelihood of maintaining a sense of Polish identity?

There are difficulties in examining this relationship because there were relatively few members of the Displaced Persons migration wave still alive at the time I began my study. Accordingly I have utilised available oral histories that have been recorded by other scholars. Unfortunately, not all the scholars specifically asked about the sentiments or relationship the Displaced Persons maintained with the Solidarity wave and this somewhat limits the voices of the older Polish migrants in this discussion. Measures have been taken to include as many oral histories as possible that examine the relationship between the two Polish groups. Scholarly literature also adds to this argument and provides the interpretations of other scholars regarding the factors that influenced the relationship.

The Displaced Persons

In order to understand the relationship between the Displaced Persons and the Solidarity wave, it is crucial to explore the circumstances and experiences of the Displaced Persons following their arrival into Australia as these factors contributed to their attitudes towards the newer migrants and influenced interactions between the two groups.

Displaced Persons became a generic name used to identify individuals who were left homeless or 'stateless' due to the events of World War Two. According to historian Jayne Persian, the term was created in 1944 via the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) that was commanded by the United States General Dwight Eisenhower.[1] The SHAEF used this term because it wanted to avoid using refugee "which could imply a permanent rather than temporary state".[2] The Displaced Persons were defined as individuals who had been in concentration camps, forced agricultural and factory workers, as well as soldiers and civilians fleeing the Soviet Army.[3] Within this group, there were many nationalities that included Jewish and non-Jewish people, Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, Belarusians, Bulgarians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Hungarians, Yugoslavs, Romanians, and Albanians.[4] It was the Economic and Social Council who recommended the creation of an agency that would work for the repatriation and/or resettlement of refugees and this agency became the International Refugee Organisation (IRO).[5] The IRO created agreements with several countries who were willing to accept Displaced Persons.

The Displaced Persons were important in helping fulfil Australia's demographic and economic goals. In 1945, Prime Minister Ben Chifley established the Department of Immigration and Arthur Calwell was appointed the first minister for this new department.[6] Calwell was the driving force for bringing the Displaced Persons to Australia after the government became signatories to the constitution of the International Refugee Organisation on 13 May 1947.[7] Historian Ruth Balint argues that while there were humanitarian interests in providing refuge for the Displaced Persons, in her words, the

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[1] Jayne Persian, *Beautiful Balts: From Displaced Persons to New Australians* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2017), 13.
[2] Persian, *Beautiful Balts*, 14.
[3] Persian, *Beautiful Balts*, 14.
[4] Persian, *Beautiful Balts*, 14.
[5] Andrew Markus, "Labour and Immigration 1946-9: The Displaced Persons Program," *Labour History,* no. 47 (November 1984): 77.
[6] Egon F. Kunz, *Displaced Persons: Calwell's New Australians* (Sydney: Australian National University Press, 1988), 13.
[7] Kunz, *Displaced Persons*, 17.

resettlement programs were “essentially labour supply schemes for postwar economies”.[8] This can be seen when Calwell put forth his argument in Parliament in 1945: “Our first requirement is additional population. We need it for reasons of defence and for the fullest expansion of our economy.”[9]

There are some discrepancies in the current literature regarding the exact number of Displaced Persons that arrived in Australia. According to Elizabeth Drozd, over 170,000 were accepted into Australia with 60,000 of those people having Polish background.[10] Jayne Perisan similarly states that there were over 170,000 Displaced Persons that were accepted into Australia.[11] Katarzyna Kwipisz Williams however states that over 180,000 Displaced Persons arrived in Australia, with Poles being the largest ethnic group resettled.[12] The number of Poles is disputed. Social historian Egon Kunz notes: “With so many boundaries shifting under their feet, a person who in one set of statistics or document might be listed as a Pole, might in the next one be listed as Russian, a Ukrainian or stateless.”[13] Furthermore, not all individuals who listed themselves as Polish were in fact Polish. Kunz points out: “Because to be listed as a Pole was an advantage, while to be listed as a Russian or as an Ukrainian could have resulted in forced repatriation, it is reasonable to assume that the true number of Poles would be closer to the minimum than to the maximum figure quoted.”[14] Persian identifies this trend with one individual in her research, a Russian teenager, who tried to hide their Soviet background. Walter, the teenager, said: “[I] acquired a Polish life story. I had to learn things like what school I went to, which tram we used to get to school, who my friends were, where was the cinema in that particular town, because there were interviews called screenings and that is the sort of questions that were asked and if you did not pass the screening, well

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[8] Ruth Balint, “Industry and Sunshine: Australia as Home in the Displaced Persons’ Camps of Postwar Europe,” *History Australia,* 11, no. 1 (April 2014): 106.
[9] Arthur Calwell, “Commonwealth Parliamentary Debate,” *Making Multicultural Australia*, 184 (2 August 1945): 1.
[10] Elizabeth Drozd, “They Have Come a Long Way: The Settlement of the 1980s Solidarity Wave of Polish Immigrants in Melbourne” (M.A. thesis, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, 1997), 8.
[11] Persian, *Beautiful Balts*, 29.
[12] Katarzyna Kwipisz Williams, “Beyond Stories of Victimhood: Narrating Experiences of Displacement,” *Life Writing,* 11, no. 4 (2014): 440.
[13] Kunz, *Displaced Persons*, 82.
[14] Kunz, *Displaced Persons*, 82.

then you were not a Pole."[15] The difficulty in determining exact numbers is further complicated with the settlement of Polish ex-servicemen and the individuals arriving under the Landing Permit Scheme (unassisted by the government but supported by individual Australian Polish migrants).[16]

The Displaced Persons primarily came from low social and economic backgrounds. The majority of the people arriving were poorly educated, with 85% of males only having primary school education.[17] Sociologists Zofia Kinowska and Jan Pakulski describe this group of people in these words: "They had, over average, low education – or a type of education that had limited application (job relevance) in post-war Australia – and seldom spoke good English. Even if they did have professional education, skills and experience, these were not recognized in Australia, thus forcing immigrants into frustrating occupational degradation and into low skill, mainly manual jobs."[18] In the beginning, single men from rural settings made up the majority of the Displaced Persons coming into Australia. This was because they were seen as the most desirable candidates. However, by June 1948, family units were also accepted because "some of the best 'types' were unwilling to leave their wives and children behind".[19]

The majority of the people in the Displaced Persons group were victims of Nazi atrocities who were who were confined to camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy by the end of the war.[20] Others had suffered persecution and deportation by Soviet forces. These include people who had emigrated to Australia together in the 1950s and were interviewed by historian Paul Sendziuk for an oral history project 60 years after their arrival. The group also became the subjects of a book, *The General Langfitt Story,* by Maryon Albrook and Helen Cattalini. The work of these scholars highlight the difficulties experienced by the Displaced Persons and the long journey they endured through various camps before

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[15] Persian, *Beautiful Balts*, 18.
[16] Kunz, *Displaced Persons*, 82; Danielle Drozdzewski, "Waves of Migration Exclusion and Inclusion: The Experiences of Polish Australians," in *Migration, Citizenship and Intercultural Relations: Looking Through the Lens of Social Inclusion*, ed. Fethi Mansouri and Michele Lobo (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2011): 61.
[17] Kunz, *Displaced Persons*, 84.
[18] Zofia Kinowska and Jan Pakulski, "Polish Migrants and Organizations in Australia," *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal,* 10, no. 2 (2018): 38.
[19] Markus, "Labour and Immigration 1946-9," 80.
[20] Paul Sendziuk, "Forgotten People and Places: 'Stalin's Poles in Persia, India and Africa, 1942-50," *History Australia,* 12, no. 2 (2015): 41.

ending up in Australia. In the case of Halina Juszczyk, a woman who settled in Australia in 1950, her whole family except her father were arrested by the Russians and taken to Arkhangelsk in 1939. Halina's father had been taken by the Russians prior to their deportment and was never seen again. Even though Halina's family was freed in 1941, there was no place for them to go and they were transported to Persia and then India before eventually settling in Australia.[21] Halina's case was not an isolated one. Zofia Nadachowski had a similar experience when her family was deported to Siberia because of her father's military history. They remained there until the amnesty in 1941 when the family made their way to Uzbekistan, Iran and eventually Africa. After six years, Zofia and her family were once again displaced when the camp they were living in closed. She recalled how some Poles returned back to Poland before being arrested. Her mother was fearful of this and tried to gain acceptance into Canada. The family was rejected but they were eventually accepted by Australia. As part of the resettling process, the arriving individuals were medically examined prior to their arrival and those with any real or apparent health disabilities were refused entry. Zofia remembered this medical examination that she had to endure: "You felt like cattle. It was almost insulting. But it was one of the things you had to put up with."[22]

After arriving in Australia, the Displaced Persons had limited control over their initial work placement. Those who were over the age of 16 signed two-year work contracts with the Australian Government that often included subsidised accommodation in remote centres and hostels.[23] Between 1948 and 1951, the quarries, railways, hospitals were some of the most understaffed areas of employment, and Displaced Persons found work there.[24] The Displaced Persons were also contracted to fill areas that included textile factories, migrant hostels and hotels. Men were primarily classified as labourers while the women were classed as domestic helpers usually within hospitals, hotels and homes. In South Australia, the jobs that were offered for the two-year contracts included building roads,

[21] 'Halina Juszczyk,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 4 and 8 January 2010 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/14.
[22] 'Zofia Nadachowski,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 24 November 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/11.
[23] Alexandra Dellios, "Remembering Mum and Dad: Family History Making by Children of Eastern European Refugees," *Immigrants and Minorities*, 36, no. 2 (2018): 108.
[24] Jean Martin, *Refugee Settlers: A Study of Displaced Persons in Australia* (Sydney: Halstead Press, 1965), 12.

railways, reservoirs, coal mining for the Electricity Trust of SA at Leigh Creek, planting forests in the South East, and quarrying iron ore for Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd (BHP) near Whyalla.[25] The Displaced Persons were medically examined again upon arrival to Australia and classified into different capabilities either light, medium or heavy work depending on their results. For the Displaced Persons, the contracts often meant that individuals needed to take employment interstate or in remote regions and this geographical separation caused psychological distress as some families only saw each other infrequently. This was a result of the long distances between the families and the expenses associated with travelling back and forth.[26] For those families who were fortunate enough to be in the same area, commitments to work, transport and lack of funds meant that the families were not always together.[27] Displaced Persons were threatened with worse jobs or even deportation if they considered leaving their employment without proper approval.[28]

In addition to their work contracts, the Displaced Persons faced difficulties in their initial settlement years. Accommodation for the new arrivals was scarce and expensive. In many cases, the costs for housing took up most if not all of the wages of the refugees.[29] As mentioned briefly before, a small number of individuals who had completed higher qualifications in Poland faced difficulties with having their degrees recognised in Australia.[30] Researcher Beata Leuner pointed out that as part of the assimilation policy, there was a refusal to recognise qualifications from higher educational institutions other than those that were English based.[31]

Fears from the host community regarding the Displaced Persons resulted in instances of discrimination. Historian Adam Jamrozik argues that the Polish migrants and those

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[25] *150 Years of Polish Settlement in South Australia, 1856-2006* (Adelaide: Polish Hill River Church Museum Committee, 2006), 28.
[26] Karen Agutter, "Displaced Persons and the 'Continuum of Mobility' in the South Australian Hostel System," in *On the Wing: Mobility Before and After Emigration to Australia,* ed. Margrette Kleinig and Eric Richards (Sydney: Anchor Books Australia, 2013), 143.
[27] Agutter, "Displaced Persons and the 'Continuum of Mobility'," 142.
[28] Andrew Markus, "Labour and Immigration 1946-9: The Displaced Persons Program," *Labour History,* no. 47 (November 1984): 88.
[29] Agutter, "Displaced Persons and the 'Continuum of Mobility'," 142.
[30] Kunz, *Displaced Persons*, 84-85.
[31] Beata Leuner, *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance in Australia: Polish Migration to Melbourne in the 1980s* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 79.

arriving from Central and Eastern Europe faced persecution because they were viewed as 'being the Asians of the 1950s' because of the perception that they were taking jobs from the Australian-born.[32] In May 1949, Prime Minster Ben Chifley acknowledged that the community viewed the arriving immigrants with "misgivings and some with grave fear".[33] In his view, it was important for the Australians to help these migrants settle in as best as they could. The Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, tried to emphasize the positive points of the Displaced Persons to overcome what he perceived to be the community disapproval.[34] There are certainly examples among the Polish Displaced Persons who recalled instances of discrimination while settling in Australia. Boguslaw Trella recalled how the Australian society was not happy with the migrants coming into the country.[35] He remarked: "They did not say it to your face but you could hear it in their remarks."[36] Halina Juszczyk had a more direct experience with racism in Australia. She said: "I did not like the Coorow hotel. The cook was so nasty to us. She called us all sorts of dirty names. 'Stupid new Australians. Bloody new Australians'."[37]

Settlement experiences among the Displaced Persons were mixed with some adapting more easily than others. Social scientist Katarzyna Kwipisz Williams found that men experienced a longer sense of displacement and wanted to return back to Poland.[38] In comparison, Williams found a gender reversal where the women were becoming "confident and determined providers and protectors of families".[39] As a result, men were often not able to re-establish their position of decision maker and this impacted on their confidence. The females were "multifunctional women"[40] who had jobs, did the cooking, cleaning and gardening. This suggested that women were more easily able to acclimatise

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[32] Adam Jamrozik, *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984: Seminar, 12 October 1984* (Ashfield: Polish Welfare and Information Bureau, 1984), 6.
[33] Persian, *Beautiful Balts*, 70.
[34] Persian, *Beautiful Balts*, 70.
[35] 'Boguslaw Trella,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 4 and 8 January 2010 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/15.
[36] 'Boguslaw Trella,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 4 and 8 January 2010 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/15.
[37] 'Halina Juszczyk,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 4 and 8 January 2010 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/14.
[38] Williams, "Beyond Stories of Victimhood," 446-447.
[39] Williams, "Beyond Stories of Victimhood," 447.
[40] Williams, "Beyond Stories of Victimhood," 447.

to the new environment than the men.[41]

In summary, the newly arrived Polish Displaced Persons faced a demand to assimilate and their initial years of settlement were very tough. Their admission to Australian society was entirely on the terms dictated by their hosts. The conditions were thus different to those experiences by the Solidarity wave some thirty years after.

Tensions between the Polish people

The current literature has shown that tensions exist between the Displaced Persons and the Solidarity waves. For the most part, scholars tend to only list the factors that caused friction between the two waves with little elaboration. Jan Pakulski, for example, argues that the differences between the two waves could be narrowed down to: "age, social background, education, skills, aspirations and life-styles",[42] and states that rather than join the existing Polish communities, the newer arrivals preferred to create "informal networks of friendship […] and started to form separate organisations".[43] Adam Jamrozik points to "socio-economic differences and a generational gap".[44] He further lists that the tensions were based on: demographic composition, educational and occupational qualifications, as well as social attitudes, aspirations and expectations of their host country.[45] He notes, but does not attempt to explain, the different circumstances and social and economic conditions in Australia at the time of arrival that divided the Polish migrants into two distinct groups.[46] Danielle Drozdzewski elaborates a little, describing the Displaced Persons as being "poorly educated – 85 per cent of males had only a primary school education – and that most were from rural areas and small villages" and "one third of Solidarity immigrants possessed tertiary qualifications, and another 20 per cent had received technical education".[47] But these scholars do not explore what, exactly, it was that caused tensions and what the results were regarding the relationship among the

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[41] Williams, "Beyond Stories of Victimhood," 447.
[42] Jan Pakulski, "Polish Community Life in Australia," in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins,* ed. James Jupp (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 742.
[43] Pakulski, "Polish Community Life in Australia," 742.
[44] Adam Jamrozik, "Recent Polish Immigration," in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins,* ed. James Jupp (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 744.
[45] Jamrozik, *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984*, 8.
[46] Jamrozik, *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984*, 8.
[47] Danielle Drozdzewski, "A Place Called 'Bielany': Negotiating A Diasporic Polish Place in Sydney," *Social and Cultural Geography*, 8, no. 6 (December 2007): 857.

Polish people. The main tensions identified in my study are attitudes regarding Communism, a generational (age) gap, circumstances surrounding arrival, and social class. They each bred misunderstanding, jealousy and resentment.

Reflecting on their first meetings with each other, the Displaced Persons and the Solidarity waves describe each other as being oddities. In my sample, Annie felt that there was something about the Displaced Persons that prevented a strong and friendly relationship being formed. She said: "You could feel that the older Polonia were different to us."[48] Daria also commented how the Displaced Persons had "different views and different priorities".[49] Similarly, the Displaced Persons commented on the differences existing between themselves and the new arrivals. During her oral history interview with Sendziuk, Zofia Nadachowski described the new arrivals as being a "little bit strange. Like a different people".[50] Another Displaced Person interviewed by Sendziuk was Kazimierz Sosnowski who also described the 1980s migrants as being "peculiar and strange".[51] Rather than being connected by their shared traits, the migrants regarded each other as unusual and noticed the differences between each other more so than the similarities.

Communist links

According to my interviewees, suspicions regarding the affiliation of the Solidarity wave with Communism caused the most tensions within the Polish community. Several of them remarked on how the Displaced Persons viewed their arrival as hostile and distrusted them because they were believed to be Communist spies. Jarek recalled the first time he was taken to the Dom Polski centre by his uncle. He remembered that when he got there, the older Polish people said, "Oh the Communists are here."[52] Jarek seemed resigned when he said, "That is how it was. What can you do? So we left and went back home."[53] Christopher similarly explained: "We were an embodiment of what they hated."[54] Agata

[48] 'Annie,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[49] 'Daria,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[50] 'Zofia Nadachowski,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 24 November 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/11.
[51] 'Kazimierz Sosnowski,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 23-24 November 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/10.
[52] 'Jarek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 30 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[53] 'Jarek,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 30 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[54] 'Christopher,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 April 2018 (pseudonym).

was another respondent who said that the Displaced Persons viewed her migrant wave as being filled with Communists. She said: "They viewed us as Communist agents that had been sent to Australia to spy on them."[55] Andrzej said that the Solidarity wave migrants who came wanted to join the boards of the Polish centres however the older migrants regarded them as Communists. He said: "They thought because we came from a Communist country, we were Communists. They did not want Communists running their organisations."[56] While the oral histories undertaken with Displaced Persons do not explicitly record them labelling the new arrivals as Communist spies, there was a feeling that the Communist party influenced the Solidarity migrants' thinking and their views on life. Kazimierz Sosnowski stated during his oral history interview with Sendziuk that the new arrivals were "brainwashed against a lot of things. They were brainwashed against the West".[57] Similarly, Zofia Nadachoski viewed the newer migrants as being unknowing parties to the Communist system. She said: "Communism influenced people and they probably did not realise it."[58]

The fear and hatred for Communism was also identified within the Polish Polonia in America and the United Kingdom. In Chicago almost every Polish American and World War Two émigré mentioned Communism at least once in their interview with sociologist Mary Patrice Erdmans.[59] Erdmans outlines that the Poles used Communism to explain several aspects of the new Polish migrants' behaviour like work ethics, attitudes towards government assistance and unwillingness to participate in Polish organisations.[60] Similar to the Displaced Persons in Australia, Erdmans' interviewees felt that the Solidarity wave migrants did not realise how "indoctrinated they were".[61] One of her respondents described the influence of Communism as smog: "You cannot help breathing it, and those who breathe it are polluted."[62] She sums up their interactions as being "mutual

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[55] 'Agata,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 February 2018 (pseudonym).
[56] 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
[57] 'Kazimierz Sosnowski,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 23-24 November 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/10.
[58] 'Zofia Nadachowski,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 24 November 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/11.
[59] Mary Patrice Erdmans, *Opposite Poles: Immigrants and Ethnics in Polish Chicago, 1976-1990* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 86.
[60] Erdmans, *Opposite Poles*, 86.
[61] Erdmans, *Opposite Poles*, 88.
[62] Erdmans, *Opposite Poles*, 88.

accusations rather than helpful cooperation".[63] Anthropologist Keith Sword says that the arrival of newcomers into Britain was regarded with ambivalence.[64] This was because the Poles of the 1960s and 1970s were "shunned because, coming from communist Poland, they were suspected of being agents of the Warsaw regime aiming to infiltrate the emigracja, or at the very least, as people infected by the propaganda of the regime."[65]

While this may not have been the general view of all the Displaced Persons, it is important to acknowledge the feeling the Solidarity wave migrants felt of being accused of being part of the Communist regime. For those who were forced to leave Poland because of the punishments awaiting them if they remained in the country, the idea that they were Communists was a devastating blow. Janina remembered some of those comments with pain. She said: "It was hard to deal with when you heard those remarks. We left because we were against the Communist regime and to be accused of being one was upsetting. That is why I did not want to be around the older Poles."[66] This meant that migrants felt out of place and unwelcome within the Polish community. It discouraged them from interacting with the Poles and they decided to place some distance between themselves and those individuals.

Generational (age) gap

Part of the tensions existing within the Polish community stemmed from the different conceptions of Polish modernity held by those who arrived in Australia 35-odd years apart. This was particularly evident with the concept of a frozen idea of Poland. Researcher Elizabeth Drozd identifies this idea in her Melbourne research and calls this phenomenon as having a "freeze-frame vision of Poland".[67] Her Solidarity wave respondents described the feeling that the older migrants had "not moved with the times since their arrival in Australia".[68] The respondents within my sample also held this belief that the older migrants had a fixed view of Poland. Jon explained that the older Poles would have had this frozen in time idea about Poland because of the limited means of

[63] Erdmans, *Opposite Poles*, 85.
[64] Keith Sword, *Identity in Flux: The Polish Community in Britain* (London: University of London, 1996), 205.
[65] Sword, *Identity in Flux*, 205.
[66] 'Janina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[67] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 54.
[68] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 54.

discovering what was happening in Poland.[69]

This frozen view of Poland often resulted in the Solidarity migrants experiencing patronising attitudes or comments. During our interview, Ryszard explained that the Displaced Persons had a particular idea about what Poland was like in their day and did not realise that the country had changed. Ryszard recalled one experience where the older migrants invited him for a dinner. While at this dinner, the weather was hot and a fan was working. One of the older Polish individuals went to the refrigerator and opened it and said, “now it is cool”.[70] Ryszard explained that he was confused by this gesture. The older migrant clarified to him what a refrigerator does and how it works. Ryszard said that the man was behaving as if he had never seen a refrigerator.[71] It is clear that the Displaced Persons did not realise how the country had advanced in their absence. Antony almost had the exact same experience when interacting with the older migrants. He commented how the older Poles did not realise that the younger migrants all had refrigerators in Poland.[72] Jacek had a similar experience when the older migrants showed the new arrivals indoor plumbing. He described how one of the Displaced Persons showed his family a tap and said: “this is where water comes from”.[73] Jacek said during our interview: “We thought, hang on, we know what a tap does. Everyone had water but they remembered a time in Poland when people had to get water from a well.”[74] In another example, Andrzej recalled one situation where he was with a Polish friend who was looking for a place to rent. While in the home, the friend commented that he was going to have a decent gas stove. The owner, an older Polish migrant, said: “Since when are you an expert on gas stoves? You had gas stoves in Poland?”[75] In his opinion, the Displaced Persons viewed the Solidarity wave migrants as “coming from a third world country”.[76] Andrzej said that the older migrants viewed the Solidarity wave migrants as never having seen or known anything at all.[77]

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[69] ‘Jon,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 30 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[70] ‘Ryszard,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 February 2017.
[71] ‘Ryszard,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 February 2017.
[72] ‘Antony,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 15 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[73] ‘Jacek,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 January 2017.
[74] ‘Jacek,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 25 January 2017.
[75] ‘Andrzej,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
[76] ‘Andrzej,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
[77] ‘Andrzej,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.

Scholars have identified that the Displaced Persons had a stricter adherence to Polish cultural values and traditions than the newer arrivals, reflecting Polish society at the time they left. This partly explains one of the observations made by Drozd in her study of Polish migrants in Melbourne. She argues that the Displaced Persons established the majority of cultural associations while the Solidarity wave migrants only established a small number of groups in comparison.[78] One reason for this is because migrants wanted to keep something consistent with the life that they had left behind. As Drozdzewski states in her findings, for the Displaced Persons, these organisations "provide[d] tangible links back to traditional cultural practices with other Polish people".[79] Drozdzewski also adds that the Displaced Persons facilitated the creation of Polish clubs and Saturday language schools, which was an affirmative indication of their need to socialise within the Polish community.[80] Jan Pakulski similarly identifies that the Displaced Persons were the main driving force of the Polish groups when he states: "The leadership of Polish organisations is dominated by the early settlers."[81] Pakulski goes on to add that the Solidarity wave migrants were rarely joining the existing Polish organisations preferring to establish their own networks of friendships.[82] This was a source of resentment among the Displaced Persons, especially as they got older and looked to others to help them with the work of running community organisations. Mietka Gruszka said in Perth how excited the Displaced Persons were with the arrival of the Solidarity migrants. She stated: "We were hoping that they would join the existing organisations and eventually take over."[83] This sentiment was mirrored with Zofia Nadachowski in Melbourne when she expressed her feelings regarding the new migrants and their association with the Polish groups. She stated how the Solidarity migrants tended to follow their own circles and therefore there was a lack of participation in the groups. For her, this was sad because she said: "we are dying and they will have to take over. Otherwise the Australian government will take over

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[78] Drozd, "They Have Come a Long Way," 147.
[79] Drozdzewski, "A Place Called 'Bielany'," 862.
[80] Danielle Drozdzewski, "Waves of Migration Exclusion and Inclusion: The Experiences of Polish Australians," in *Migration, Citizenship and Intercultural Relations: Looking Through the Lens of Social Inclusion*, ed. Fethi Mansouri and Michele Lobo (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 72.
[81] Pakulski, "Polish Community Life in Australia," 743.
[82] Pakulski, "Polish Community Life in Australia," 742.
[83] 'Mietka Gruszka,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 1 October 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/11.

and that will be a shame."[84] Similarly, Andrew Kleeberg commented during his interview with Barry York that he wanted to see the Polish organisations continue.[85] He recognised that some of the groups were "dying and consolidating and maybe lose much of its Polish character but [they] will continue, I am sure of that".[86] It was his hope that the Polish people living in Australia would continue these organisations so they would remain in the future.[87]

The general reluctance on the part of the Solidarity wave to become involved in the established organisations has several causes. These reasons include their dislike of the way in which the older Polonia had treated them with suspicion and patronisation, which has already been demonstrated. The Solidarity wave migrants also felt that there was a sense of ownership regarding the Polish organisations. During our interview, Janusz said: "They [the Displaced Persons] would say to us: 'Why are you coming here? This is our place. We built it. This is not for you.'"[88] Andrzej also commented that he felt that the older migrants had the mentality that "we should build our own".[89] Janina said: "The Polish group [of the 1980s] wanted to join clubs and inject new ideas into the groups but the older Polonia were unwilling to let us in. They refused to give up their control over the groups."[90] Furthermore, it has been argued that the Solidarity wave had greater focus on establishing themselves economically in their new country.[91] Jamrozik argues that the cultural organisations provided by the Displaced Persons were not able to offer any resources in this regards and therefore the Solidarity wave were less inclined to participate as a result.[92]

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84 'Zofia Nadachowski,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 24 November 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/10.
85 'Andrew Kleeberg,' interview by Barry York, 18 June 2003 and 7 July 2003 for the Polish Australians Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 4995.
86 'Andrew Kleeberg,' interview by Barry York, 18 June 2003 and 7 July 2003 for the Polish Australians Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 4995.
87 'Andrew Kleeberg,' interview by Barry York, 18 June 2003 and 7 July 2003 for the Polish Australians Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 4995.
88 'Janusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 21 February 2017 (pseudonym).
89 'Andrzej,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 March 2017.
90 'Janina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 17 August 2017 (pseudonym).
91 Jamrozik, *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984*, 10.
92 Jamrozik, *Polish Settlement in Australia 1947-1984*, 10.

Circumstances on Arrival

The animosity between the two Polish groups also stemmed from the different conditions both migrant waves encountered when arriving in Australia. As discussed at the start of this chapter, the conditions for the Displaced Persons were difficult. As a result, the Displaced Persons resented the Solidarity wave migrants and the improved conditions and benefits offered to them. Even though Displaced Person Janusz Smenda, who was interviewed by Paul Sendziuk, did not begrudge the newcomers and their situation, he recognised the resentment held against the newcomers because "they had it easy".[93] He went on to comment how "it took them less time to save enough money for a deposit on a home. There was a degree of envy and resentment from the older Poles."[94] In some cases, the Displaced Persons described the new migrants as being entitled. Zenon Zebrowski said: "We had to work for everything. They were given everything in the Communist system. So they expect the same here."[95] Another individual from the older generation had a similar sentiment. Kazimierz Sosnowski believed that "they [the Solidarity migrants] had too much for nothing. They should go like us to work. The State looks after them too much."[96] Stan Patro also felt that the new migrants were not working as hard as they should. He said: "some of them came here, worked for a few weeks and then they thought why should I work when I get unemployment [benefit]? And so they stopped working and got unemployment. And they worked behind and got both ways. To us it was unacceptable. Why would you want to milk your own country?"[97] Nina Smenda, who arrived as a Displaced Person in 1952, maintained: "They were given unemployment [benefit]. They were given Medicare. So they were assured. They had unemployment [benefit]. We did not. There was work, mind you, but no unemployment. We had to work manually on the roads and railways but there was work."[98] Such resentment is understandable, as sociologists Zofia Kinowska and Jan Pakulski argue: "They arrived

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[93] 'Janusz Smenda,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 7-8 October 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/6.
[94] 'Janusz Smenda,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 7-8 October 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/6.
[95] 'Zenon Zebrowski,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 25 November 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/12.
[96] 'Stan Patro,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 6 October 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/4.
[97] 'Stan Patro,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 6 October 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/4.
[98] 'Nina Smenda,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 7-8 October 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/5.

well before multicultural policies changed Australian institutions and the attitudes of 'old Australians' towards non-British 'new Australians'."[99] Keith Sword also found in his research in Britain that Poles felt that the newcomers were "expecting to be handed things on a plate".[100] The older Polish people described the newcomers as lazy individuals who did not understand how hard people in the West had to work.

The Solidarity wave migrants deeply felt the resentment of the Displaced Persons towards their generation. During our interview, Janusz had the feeling that the older migrants resented the Solidarity wave because of the better conditions upon arrival in Australia. He recognised that the Displaced Persons had a harder time in settling in Australia and did not have the same support that the Solidarity wave migrants were given: "They resented us because they felt that everything was given to us."[101] Andy commented on this issue as well when he said: "The people already here felt that they had a harder time and when we arrived, it was easier. But they did not know what we had gone through."[102] Carolina remembered how one experience drastically changed her relationship with a couple from the older generation that had up been good until that point. During our interview, she discussed how she and her husband were renting a home from a Polish couple who arrived after the war.[103] Initially, their landlords were very pleasant and willing to help them. However this changed, according to Carolina, when she informed the older couple that her and her family would be moving out because they had bought their own house. Carolina said: "It surprised us how nasty they became. Asking where did we get the money to buy our new house, saying horrible things about our daughter to spite us. They even tried to block us from getting our bond back."[104] She understood that not all Polish people from the older generation were like this, however this experience gave her pause about accepting help from that generation again. She tended to keep her distance as a result because she did not want to have a repeat of a similar situation. Jon commented that such a reaction was not uncommon.[105] In his

[99] Zofia Kinowska and Jan Pakulski, "Polish Migrants and Organizations in Australia," *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal,* 10, no. 2 (2018): 38.
[100] Sword, *Identity in Flux*, 208.
[101] 'Janusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[102] 'Andy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 6 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[103] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[104] 'Carolina,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 12 August 2017 (pseudonym).
[105] 'Jon,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 30 March 2018 (pseudonym).

words: “If someone was better off than another, the jealousy grew because they could not accept how other people could have more than what they did”.[106] Iza and Andre also experienced this animosity when they first arrived in Australia. They expressed how there was a feeling among the older Poles that the new arrivals had to take the same path they had when they arrived. Iza said: “They thought we should work in factories, not have what the older migrants had or know more than them.”[107] Andre added how when they asked the older Polish people about acquiring things like washing machines and refrigerators, the Displaced Persons did not believe they needed such things.[108] A few months after Iza arrived, she learned from another woman that the Displaced Persons had brought toys and chocolates for the children arriving with their parents. However, they did not pass on these gifts to the children because, as Iza explained: “They thought we were rich because we were wearing our best clothes. But that is all we had. We had no money so we brought the best of what we had.”[109] Such misinterpretations widened the rift between members of the two migration waves.

The Solidarity wave migrants did recognise that circumstances were harder for the Displaced Persons. Barbara indicated that the older migrants had numerous barriers like the lack of language and being employed in physically hard labour jobs after fleeing Poland.[110] Bartek also acknowledged that there were difficult circumstances for the Displaced Persons when he said that most of the older migrants came from poor conditions and life was harder for them.[111] In his words: “We had better conditions and different thinking. We wanted to better our situation faster. Maybe they did not care how fast they took to change their situation because they would get there eventually.”[112] Annie recognised how much the Displaced Persons had done for the Polish community in Australia. She said, with a sense of respect, “They did a lot. We did not do much. Just getting ahead for ourselves. They created Polish organisations.”[113] Andy stated that the reason why the Displaced Persons were willing to help the new arrivals was because they

[106] ‘Jon,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 30 March 2018 (pseudonym).
[107] ‘Iza,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 13 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[108] ‘Andre,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 13 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[109] ‘Iza,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 13 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[110] ‘Barbara,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 April 2017.
[111] ‘Bartek,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[112] ‘Bartek,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[113] ‘Annie,’ interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 March 2017 (pseudonym).

understood how hard life was when starting again in a new country.[114] Pawel explained that the misunderstandings could have stemmed from the different lived experiences. He said that it was "hard to be friends" with them because of the lack of shared experiences.[115] It is clear, therefore, that shared ethnic identity is not enough to create solidarity or community among people. Settlement experiences – and the context of one's arrival in a new land – will be a significant determining factor in ethnic community cohesion.

Not all of the Solidarity wave interviewees were critical of the attitudes of the forebears. Lena viewed the relations between the older and younger Polish migrants as being "generally very bad",[116] but in her view this animosity in regards to participation in Polish organisations was caused by the younger generation. Lena suggested that some of the Solidarity wave migrants wanted to replace the older individuals in the Polish organisations and have a more active role in its administration.[117] Therefore she had a harsher view of her own migrant group and felt that there should have been more understanding between the two groups. Piotr, who arrived in Australia in 1985, remembered how the other Solidarity migrants commented to him that "the older Polonia does not want to let us in".[118] However, this was not his experience. He was one migrant who did have a role in a Polish club as a secretary for 20 years.[119] This suggests that the Displaced Persons did allow the new migrants into administrative roles, but Piotr's case does seem isolated.

On the whole, the Solidarity wave tended to interact with members of their own generation. The similar journey taken by the migrants bonded the group together because they were able to understand the trials and tribulations faced and the difficulties in making the decision to leave their country. Mariusz explained that the shared experiences were the reason he and his friends developed a close connection. He said: "shared experiences as a Pole and the shared experiences of being a migrant in a new country

[114] 'Andy,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 6 March 2017 (pseudonym).
[115] 'Pawel,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 19 November 2017 (pseudonym).
[116] 'Lena,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[117] 'Lena,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 24 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[118] 'Piotr,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 February 2017 (pseudonym).
[119] 'Piotr,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 7 February 2017 (pseudonym).

had me gravitate towards those people".[120] Robert also discussed how the shared experiences connected the migrants together. He commented on how "the struggle of leaving family behind was something we could all relate to".[121] Annie commented on how she had more contact with her own migrant wave rather than the older migrants.[122] She is an interesting case because even though she came to Australia to stay with her aunt, a former Displaced Person, she did not have much contact with the older migrants. Annie explained that her aunt was different to the other migrants who came after World War Two.[123] Her aunt did not interact with other Polish people who arrived around the same time as her and Annie described her cousins as "being more Australian than Polish".[124] In these three cases, it is clear to see that it was easier to relate to their migrant wave more so than the Displaced Persons because of the shared experiences and similar upbringings.

Social class

The final factor that created a divide between the Displaced Persons and the Solidarity waves, at least according to the people that I interviewed, was social class. While it was not always obvious, there were examples on both sides that referred to the differing class identity. There was a perception that the Displaced Persons came from 'peasant stock'; that is, they were from rural areas and less educated. Among the Displaced Persons, Janusz Smenda commented that some of his group felt as though the younger migrants looked down upon them. He said: "There was resentment because very often the older Poles were treated by the new ones as those peasants."[125] To a certain degree, the perception matched the reality: as was mentioned earlier in the chapter, the Displaced Persons predominantly held primary school level qualifications, and members of the Solidarity wave were generally much better educated and migrating from Poland's cities and major towns. Paul Sendziuk's Displaced Person interviewees acknowledged this. Janusz Smenda explained during his interview with Sendziuk that "most of [the Solidarity

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120 'Mariusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 22 November 2017.
121 'Robert,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 8 February 2017.
122 'Annie,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 March 2017 (pseudonym).
123 'Annie,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 March 2017 (pseudonym).
124 'Annie,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 26 March 2017 (pseudonym).
125 'Janusz Smenda,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 7-8 October 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/6.

wave], if not all, coming here were very highly skilled, many professionals. Some even capable of holding their own in English. And above all, some of them, like those with engineering qualifications were getting jobs quickly and jobs that paid very well."[126] Kazimierz Sosnowski agreed with this outlook when he discussed how the Solidarity wave migrants were better educated. He stated: "They had a longer time of schooling than we had. Even here, there was a lack of teachers during our time. They had English teachers who specialised in English as a second language."[127] While Zenon Zebrowski did not have a good opinion of Communism, he did recognise the positive point of its educational system for the Solidarity migrants. He said: "the Communists did well to educate everyone".[128] However it was this education that, according to Zenon, meant that the newer migrants viewed the older migrants as uneducated and, by implication, inferior to them.[129] On the other hand, Janusz of the Solidarity wave, who I interviewed, asserted there was jealousy among the older migrants because of the missed opportunities.[130] He suggests that the older generation may have felt threatened by the younger generation and felt inferior because of the limited education opportunities they were presented with in Poland and in Australia. In addition, there was resentment on the part of the Displaced Persons towards the newcomers because of the relative ease they experienced by having their educational credentials wholly or partly recognised by the Australian Government when this was rarely the case for the older migrants.

This chapter has shown that the interactions the Solidarity wave migrants had with the Displaced Persons impacted on their ability to maintain a connection with their Polish identity. Tensions existed among the two waves and were caused by these main factors: a perceived affiliation with Communism, generational age gap, circumstances surrounding arrival, and social class. Even though not all the Displaced Persons labelled the Solidarity migrants as Communist spies, the perceived affiliation with Communism still

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[126] 'Janusz Smenda,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 7-8 October 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/6.
[127] 'Kazimierz Sosnowski,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 23-24 November 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/10.
[128] 'Zenon Zebrowski,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 25 November 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/12.
[129] 'Zenon Zebrowski,' interview by Paul Sendziuk, 25 November 2009 for the Stalin's Poles Oral History Project held by the National Library of Australia, TRC 6175/12.
[130] 'Janusz,' interview by Jessica Jocher, 21 February 2017 (pseudonym).

meant that the new arrivals were influenced by the regime. This resulted in fear and suspicion by the Displaced Persons towards the Solidarity wave migrants. The divide in age and the preconceived ideas of Poland caused misunderstandings. Similarly to Drozd, my study found that the Solidarity wave migrants felt that the Displaced Persons had a frozen view of Poland. These interactions between the two waves led to incidences of patronisation. This was also seen in relation to social class where the Displaced Persons felt, or were treated as, inferior to the Solidarity wave migrants who possessed higher qualifications and regarded the former as ‘peasant stock’. The improved conditions that awaited the Solidarity wave caused resentment among the Displaced Persons who felt that the new arrivals were handed assistance like health care and unemployment benefits which were not in place during the 1940s and 1950s instead of working for it as the Displaced Persons had done after their arrival.

Each of these factors resulted in the Solidarity wave migrants distancing themselves not only from the Displaced Persons themselves but also from the Polish organisations. On the whole, the Solidarity wave migrants did not want to integrate or even participate, to a large extent, within the Polish community. Rather than being connected by their shared ethnic identity, the settlement experiences and the context of different waves of arrival divided the Polish community and prevented social cohesion. This meant that the Solidarity wave migrants were more inclined to create their own social circles with individuals with shared experiences.

Conclusion

On the surface, circumstances were conducive for the successful integration of the Solidarity wave Poles at the time of their migration to Australia. As this thesis has shown, skilled migrants were highly desired by Australia, and this group of Poles were mostly well educated and qualified. The government's preferred model of 'multiculturalism' gave migrants the freedom to maintain their cultural practices and language without the fear of being discriminated against because of their race and culture. The policies surrounding multiculturalism also meant that the Australian Government invested in education and provided the means for migrants to learn the English language for free. The government also provided initial low-cost accommodation for migrants and orientation programs to teach them how to open bank accounts and use public transport. Meanwhile, the Catholic Church in Australia, and particularly the 'Polish parishes', provided Polish migrants with a physical space where they could partake in church services in their native tongue while at the same time mingle with other Poles who shared the same beliefs and cultural practices. Furthermore, there was already a well-established Polish community in Australia, centred around the organisations and cultural groups established or maintained by Polish Displaced Persons who had arrived in Australia three decades before the Solidarity wave. These organisations and cultural activities celebrated and maintained Polish culture, or, at least, a particular version of Polish culture and history, and thus offered the possibly for participants to nurture their Polish identity.

Each of these elements *should* have ensured that the Polish migrants had positive experiences in settlement and given them the ability to settle on their own terms. However, as this thesis has demonstrated, this was not always the case. The Solidarity wave Poles were well educated and qualified, but they arrived in a decade punctuated by periods of high unemployment and high interest rates, and their qualifications were not always recognised by the industries/sectors in which they sought work. Despite the promotion of 'multiculturalism', and even though there were policies and legislation introduced to protect the rights of the Polish migrants such as the *Racial Discrimination Act*, public attitudes took longer to change. The Poles experienced instances of hostility and resentment from their work colleagues and members of the general public, including

other migrants. The existing Polish community with its cultural groups and organisations should have encouraged the new arrivals to interact with the older Polish migrants. Instead, as was shown in the previous chapter, misunderstandings and tensions developed and caused a divide between members of the 'Displaced Persons' and the 'Solidarity' migrant groups.

Like the immigrants from many countries who came before them, language was always going to be a key factor in determining how the Solidarity Poles were integrated into the Australian workforce. The new arrivals' lack of confidence in English was one of the reasons that some abandoned the idea of regaining employment in their former professions. Family commitments and financial needs prevented many of them utilising the opportunities to study the English language that was offered by the Australian Government. On the whole, the Polish migrants accepted their fate, and chose to invest in the education and success of their children instead, but a few individuals suffered psychologically because they could not cope with their loss of status and ability to continue their former occupations. Rather than blame external forces or factors, like the Australian Government or discriminatory attitudes of employers, the Polish migrants in my sample accepted that their language skills were the main issue. They did not feel resentment but accepted their limitations. In most cases, the Polish migrants were willing to accept any job available. They were keen to secure employment as quickly as possible to ensure they achieved financial security. The Polish migrants viewed their success in Australia as being their responsibility instead of it being reliant on other factors or people. This may then explain why they were ashamed or embarrassed to accept support, especially monetary assistance, and preferred to be independent in their settlement.

In terms of dealing with the problem of English language itself, and the animosity it aroused in work colleagues and others when it was not spoken, the Polish migrants in my sample were willing to alter their behaviour and speech in order to be accepted by Australians. The Polish migrants did not seem to have taken the situation personally. In fact, the majority of the Poles in my sample felt that the Australian community was very accepting of them. They understood the point of view of the Australian public and rather

than create an issue, most were more than willing to concede and use the English language to appease their colleagues.

Language – in this case Polish language – was also key for the migrants retaining a connection to their country of birth and maintaining a sense of Polish identity. For the Polish migrants in my sample, the Polish language was the best means to communicate with their children but they also viewed language as the strongest link to their Polish heritage. This is why the majority of individuals sent their children to Polish language schools to begin or continue their Polish language skills. They wanted their children to have a strong link to their Polish ancestry. In contrast, the children's priority for maintaining the Polish language was absent or at least diminished. When speaking with siblings, the children preferred to use the English language however they used Polish when speaking with their parents and particularly their grandparents. This preference for English implies that the children were more interested in integrating into Australian society because of feelings of isolation. By living between two cultures, the children of the Solidarity wave felt like exiles to an extent and this would have prompted them to use English more in order to integrate into Australian life. In a similar vein, cuisine maintained by the Polish migrants evolved in order to assist with the integration into the wider community. While the respondents in my sample chose to make and consume specific foods that identified them as Polish people, they adopted Australian foods in order to help them integrate into Australian society and better relate to their Australian neighbours. This was also done to fit Australia's climate, which favoured lighter meals and barbecues.

The Catholic Church in Australia facilitated integration but also assisted in maintaining an ethnic identity for the Polish migrants. It fulfilled this role in three ways: spiritually, politically, and socially. The political activities that the Catholic Church maintained in Australia played a relatively minor role in the lives of the Polish migrants and the individuals in my sample were satisfied with this level of activity. It was the spiritual and social aspects of church life that more profoundly affected and influenced their settlement experiences. The Catholic Church had been a source of comfort and support in Poland and church attendance in Australia offered Polish migrants a similar feeling. The individuals in my sample spoke of how church attendance gave them a means to cope

with the trials of separation from their family and friends in Poland and settlement in Australia. It provided them with spiritual strength when they felt helpless in a foreign country. Scholars have identified that the Church was an institution that maintained rituals and religious practices that served as expressions of Polishness. This was seen in my sample of Polish migrants. Even those individuals that did not adhere to regular church attendance or had no close connection to the Catholic Church, retained traditions associated with days of religious significance, such as Christmas and Easter. These traditions were therefore viewed as cultural customs rather than religious traditions and were integral to expressing and maintaining a sense of Polish identity. These customs were inherently different to the practices maintained by the average Australian and distinguished the Polish migrants from the wider Australian society. And, of course, the 'Polish parishes', in which some services and activities were conducted in Polish, offer opportunities outside of the home for Polish migrants and their children to speak the Polish language. The Catholic Church thus both facilitated the integration of the Solidarity wave migrants by helping them adjust to the new community and helped those who desired to maintain their identities as Polish people.

Visits to Poland also helped maintain relations with family and ease concerns about family left behind in Poland. However, the visits back to Poland were not always positive experiences, compounded by the fact that the compatriots of the Polish migrants mistook their socio-economic circumstances and did not view them as 'Poles'. The Polish migrants in my sample recognised that the visits to Poland highlighted the change in their own mentality as well as the change in the people who remained in Poland. Settlement experiences in Australia had altered their values and attitudes and this was present during interactions with Polish people in Poland. So much so that the Solidarity wave migrants realised that they were not able to find a common ground with their compatriots. The visits proved to be an awakening for the Polish migrants to the reality that Poland and its people had changed in their absence and that the idealisation of their country of origin may have prevented the acceptance of their changed identity. Therefore the visits cemented the idea that the Polish migrants were no longer identifiable simply as 'Poles' but had taken on Australian characteristics that influenced their identity. This change in identity also meant that migrants had come to accept that Poland was no longer their

home, with many respondents feeling relieved upon their arrival back to Australia after their visits.

The Polish migrants of the Solidarity wave did not readily participate in the Polish cultural groups and associations that were already established in Australia. Having only recently arrived, the migrants in my sample did not feel that their identity as Polish people was threatened and did not have the desire to participate on a continuous basis. One of the main reasons for the lack of participation identified in my study was the Solidarity wave's relationship with the Poles who had arrived three decades earlier as Displaced Persons. As discussed in the previous chapter, tensions within the Polish community dissuaded the Solidarity wave migrants from becoming deeply involved in Polish cultural groups and organisations. Rather than being connected by shared beliefs and background, the Displaced Persons and Solidarity wave were not able to create solidarity as a community. The tensions and misgivings within the Polish community resulted in the Polish migrants of the Solidarity wave pulling away and creating their own social circles with other Solidarity wave migrants and seeking greater involvement within the mainstream Australian community.

The migrants in my study were eager to speak about their Polish traditions and customs particularly the ones regarding Christmas and Easter. They were less enthusiastic to discuss negative experiences and some were evasive when it came to discussing accepting unemployment benefits and their first employment positions. This may be related to the embarrassment and shame they felt in having to accept employment below their self-perceived social status and also the possibility that they were working illegally. One theme that was consistent throughout the thesis was the emphasis placed on Polish language. The respondents in my sample reported this as being an important aspect to maintain as part of their identity. It was the goal of most individuals in my sample to ensure that the Polish language was passed down to their children.

This thesis has examined Polish migrants of the 1980s, a group relatively ignored by migration scholars in Australia. The first characteristic that separates this study from the existing literature is the location of the Polish migrants who are the centre of this thesis.

The previous studies completed in Australia have focused on the Polish migrants who settled in Sydney and Melbourne. There have been no previous completed studies that have taken into consideration the experiences of Polish migrants who settled in South Australia during the 1980s. There is merit in doing this, if only to confirm the findings of research undertaken concerning the Poles who settled in the eastern states. This thesis goes much further than this, however, by considering a wider range of factors that underpin the settlement experience than previous scholars of the Solidarity wave, and by sometimes challenging their findings. This thesis presents a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the Solidarity wave's settlement experiences, based on 45 original oral history interviews conducted mainly in the Polish language. It was these interviews that offered me the opportunity to examine the importance of historical changes and the impact this had on the individual level. I was able to illuminate the relationship between the larger structural changes such as the creation of new policies and organisations to improve conditions for migrants and to what extent this impacted the settlement experiences of the Polish individuals. This study therefore adds to the existing body of literature on historical migration experiences by providing life experiences of these particular Polish migrants and their specific migration context.

I have touched on issues broached by other scholars, but extended their analysis. Elizabeth Drozd, for example, argues that the Polish migrants in Melbourne did not have strong links with the Polish community nor was there high levels of participation within Polish cultural organisations and groups. She highlighted that there were negative feelings towards the existing Polish community in Melbourne with the older migrants. However, she, like Pakulski and Jamrozik who also touch on this question, does not examine in depth what led to this distance from the Polish community. My study has offered an explanation as to why the Polish migrants of the Solidarity wave did not regularly participate within the Polish community. I devoted an entire chapter to the relationship between the Displaced Persons and the Solidarity wave migrants and how the interactions influenced the latter to distance themselves from the Polish community. As seen earlier, I identified tensions that caused resentment and misunderstandings to divide the migrant waves instead of connecting them through their Polish heritage.

Drozd is also rather brief in discussing particular Polish traditions that were celebrated in Australia and which fostered the continuance of connection to Poland and Polish identity. (She was writing an MA thesis, not a PhD, so this is understandable.) For example, Drozd only provides a brief footnote in regards to how Polish people celebrated Christmas Eve. My study confirms the importance of celebrating Polish traditions, particularly Holy days, in Australia, even for those without religious affiliation. Even those individuals who did not have a close connection to the Catholic faith viewed Christmas and Easter as Polish customs. It provided nostalgic memories of childhood for the Polish migrants and they wanted to pass on these traditions to their children. Of course, there were many Poles that were religious, and sought active participation in the Catholic Church. I have devoted an entire chapter to the way in which the Catholic Church provided practical means for the Solidarity Poles to find a footing in the Australian community, while also nurturing their identities as Poles. Such a strong and sustained focus is absent from the other studies of the Solidarity wave in Australia that I have mentioned in this thesis.

Beata Leuner focused her study on language and how the multicultural society influenced language retention among Polish migrants of the Solidarity wave. Her study also incorporates other influences like the role of faith and visits to Poland, however the discussion of these areas is limited to short paragraphs that do not extensively examine how these experiences impacted settlement. The main factors that she contends impacted on the settlement experiences of Polish migrants were their qualifications, employment and English language proficiency. My study supports her findings concerning the way in which these factors either impeded or facilitated successful integration into the Australian community. I go further than Leuner, however, to explore how the Poles *felt* about this, particularly their difficulty in regaining their previous employment and socio-economic status. I found that the Poles in my sample were largely willing to accept their new socio-economic position. The majority were not able to return their former professions but were accepting of this outcome. They made the most of the opportunities offered to them, even going into self-employment to support themselves and their families, and invested in their children’s education and futures.

Maksymilian Kwiatkowski's study on Polish migrants explores the impact on Polish identity of visits to the homeland for the children of Polish migrants, whom he labels the "1.5 generation" because they had not initiated the migration process nor were they born in their new country. In this sense, his focus of investigation was much more narrow than the study I presented in Chapter 6. This investigation is also constrained by only examining the impact of visits to Poland and not including other factors that may have influenced the children's sense of identity here in Australia. My study focuses mainly on the adults who initiated their family's migration. Their experiences with Poland were different compared to their children's. Unlike Kwiatkowski's sample, my migrants were not necessarily focused on increasing links with Poland or rejuvenating their Polish identity. Rather, they visited Poland in order to participate in particular cultural activities that were absent in Australia and to spend time with relatives who remained there. My study can therefore be read as a companion to Kwiatkowski's thesis which highlights the different connections and significance placed upon visits to Poland.

This study provides a useful comparison to be used in conjunction with studies of other migrant cohorts. Indeed, throughout the thesis I have made reference to literature regarding other migrant groups that explored similar questions to those posed by me. This study will be of interest to policy makers and ethnic community leaders to better understand migrant needs and help facilitate integration and ethnic identity maintenance. Unlike some of the existing studies completed in Australia that focus on two or three areas of Polish migrant experiences, my study has taken into consideration seven factors that impacted the settlement experiences of Polish migrants. It has shown that government and community support, employment, education, family life, faith and the Church, continuing relationships with Poland and visits 'home', and the relationship between the Solidarity wave migrants and the Polish 'Displaced Persons' facilitated integration and influenced settlement experiences as well as how Polish migrants viewed themselves. The studies mentioned above have their merit, but by examining seven factors in the settlement experiences of Polish migrants in Australia, I have provided a broader examination into how Poles navigated difficulties in settling in South Australia in the 1980s. I have found that rather than blame external forces, the Polish migrants in my sample took the onus onto themselves and were willing to accept the new conditions.

They were willing to be conciliatory in their behaviour in order to integrate into Australian society. Yet, even when they were integrating into society, most sought to retain and maintain Polish aspects of life that helped identify them as people of Polish background.

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