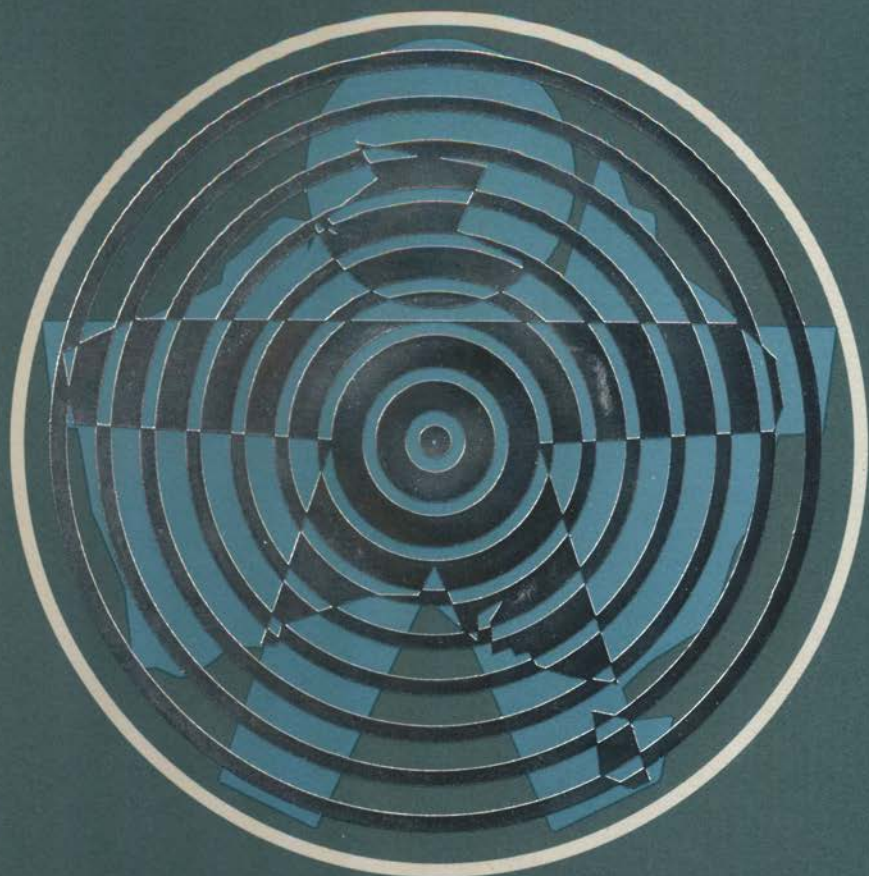


Ruth Johnston

Future Australians
Immigrant Children
in Perth, Western
Australia

Immigrants in Australia series





No immigrant of any age finds easy the process of assimilation to a new homeland. The children of immigrants face the same problems as their parents: the often conflicting forces of the cultures of their adopted land and of their native land, but for the children the conflict is greater. Often they wish to become fully assimilated, but their parents insist on their ethnic culture being maintained.

Dr Johnston studied three ethnic groups in Perth—Polish, German, and British, with an Australian control group—to see how the immigrant children reacted to these conflicting cultural values. Her findings make revealing reading, not only on the degree of assimilation of each group but also on the reactions of Australian parents and children to the immigrants and the way in which the Australian community has been changed by the newcomers.

This book disproves some widely held assumptions and throws new light on many aspects of assimilation. Of value to sociologists, psychologists, and linguists, it is nevertheless written for the immigrants themselves and for all concerned with a society in the making.

This book was published by ANU Press between 1965–1991.

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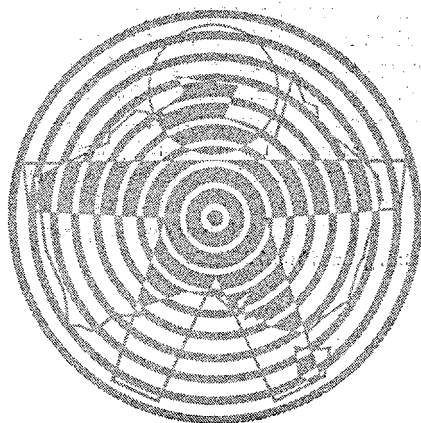
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Immigrants in Australia 2

A Series sponsored by
The Academy of the Social
Sciences in Australia

Ruth Johnston

Future Australians
Immigrant Children
in Perth, Western
Australia



Australian
National
University
Press
Canberra
1972

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Catalog Card no. 72-84820

To Ruth, Anne, and Alan

Note on the Series



The Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia is the national body representing the social sciences. One of its objectives is the sponsorship of major research projects in areas of national importance. Two previous projects, sponsored under its earlier name of the Social Science Research Council of Australia, were *The Role of Women in Public and Professional Life* and *Aborigines in Australian Society*. It was hardly surprising that in 1966 the Council, as it then was, decided to sponsor another project designed to examine the contribution of overseas immigrants in Australia's economic, social, and cultural life, for new settlers had not only supplied slightly more than half the nation's growth from 7,579,000 in 1947 to 11,550,000 in 1966, but had brought into our society a great diversity of national groups from the United Kingdom and many parts of Europe.

The major difference between the flow after World War II and all previous immigration was the high proportion of non-British, first from northern and western Europe, primed by the influx of some 200,000 refugees in the immediate post-war years, and thereafter from southern Europe, particularly from Italy and Greece. The mosaic of post-war immigration is seen in the following estimate by Dr C. A. Price of the ethnic origin of persons who came to this country between July 1947 and June 1970 with the intention of settling here.¹

British Isles	1,086,500	Germany	121,300
Italy	337,700	Malta	68,400
Greece	200,000	Other East Europe	220,600
Netherlands	140,600	Others	334,100
Yugoslavia	136,800	Total	2,646,000

In the immediate post-war years, marked by high levels of economic activity associated with rebuilding the nation's capital stock and re-opening the channels of

¹ Charles A. Price (ed.), *Australian Immigration, a Bibliography and Digest*. No. 2 (1970). Department of Demography, Australian National University, p. A15.

overseas trade, immigrants were absorbed into the economy almost without notice and with few structural changes. These were also years when, because of the very low fertility in Australia in the great pre-war depression of the thirties, there was a marked lag in the natural increase of the non-immigrant workforce: immigrants were welcomed if only because they filled that gap. They manned great national projects like the Snowy Mountains Scheme; they provided a great part of the labour force for new mineral enterprises; they helped to build houses, offices, and industrial buildings; they made the nation's steel; and they became the workhorses of the burgeoning motor industry. But, above all, they settled in the major cities, often forming substantial ethnic groups, restructuring national customs in their adopted environment, keeping alive their native languages, yet rubbing shoulders with Australians, being influenced by Australian culture—often through the participation of their children in Australian schools—and at the same time influencing by their presence and activity a remarkably homogeneous and at times slightly suspicious Australian society.

By the sixties few Australians could be unaware of the impact of the immigrants, whose flow continues to the present. As their numbers have grown, as the ethnic origins of the new settlers have become even more diversified, as the size of some of the ethnic communities in major cities has increased, as some schools have emerged in which the majority of children are immigrants brought up in a non-British tongue, and as job competition has grown keener as the swelling Australian cohorts of the post-war 'baby boom' have reached maturity and seek employment in the nation's workforce, the presence of the immigrant has been increasingly apparent. Some call for a reduction of the inflow; many seek to know what the impact has been on the nation's culture, economy, and society; none can ignore the immigrants' presence.

So the Academy sponsored a project to try and find at least some of the answers to the questions being asked, both by encouraging and helping workers already known to be engaged in immigrant research, and by organising new studies to fill some of the major gaps. In September 1967 two Honorary Directors were appointed: Dr C. A. Price, Professorial Fellow in the Department of Demography at the Australian National University, to

lead studies in the cultural, political, and social fields; and Professor R. T. Appleyard, Department of Economics, University of Western Australia, to lead work in economic and industrial studies. An Organising Committee with a wide geographical and disciplinary representation was also appointed and set about costing the enterprise, which proved to be beyond the financial capability of the Academy. It is with gratitude that the Academy acknowledges generous financial support from government, business, and foundation sources. The Academy also records its appreciation of the co-operation of the Department of Demography of the Australian National University, both for its contribution in research and for its assistance in many organisational aspects of the project.

Throughout the project every attempt has been made to keep the research workers in communication with the main objectives of the project and with one another. To this end a major seminar was held in Canberra in May 1970.

The project does not, and indeed could not aim to produce a single definitive volume, but rather to sponsor books and journal articles within areas felt to be significant with regard to the processes of settling, the interaction of Australian and immigrant and the impact of immigrants upon the nation. Major areas in which studies are being sponsored are:

The economic role of immigrants in specific industries.
Patterns of immigrant consumption and expenditure.
Mobility and career patterns of immigrants.
Displaced persons and other refugees.
Professional and highly skilled immigrants.
Immigrant communities and problems of integration.
Studies of selected ethnic groups.
Immigrant concentrations in metropolitan areas.

In addition to articles in learned journals, it is expected that at least a dozen books will flow from the study. The sponsorship of new research ceased at approximately January 1971; the task now is to bring to publication work begun by that date. The manuscript of the first book went to press in September 1971. By December of that year three further manuscripts were virtually ready for the press, and the flow is expected to continue through 1972 and 1973.

The Academy hopes that the project will assist in an understanding of a great national enterprise and the growing complexity of a nation in which almost a quarter

Note on the Series

of the population is of post-war immigrant stock; for, whatever the future of immigration, there can be no doubt that the introduction of the 2,646,000 new settlers from 1947 to 1970, of whom about 85 per cent have remained in Australia, has changed the character as well as the economic structure and the size of this young nation.

W. D. Borrie
Chairman, Organising Committee

Canberra
December 1971

Preface



The Social Science Research Council of Australia (now the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia) launched a major research program in 1968 on 'Immigrants in Australia' and I was assigned to investigate problems faced by second generation immigrants, that is children of immigrant parents.

The undertaking and its execution was a lonely sort of venture as it was carried out almost single handed. I collected all the material for the project, a task which took six months of walking and knocking at people's doors day and night, weekends and holidays. Without a car the job became at times almost impossible.

After the material had been collected I began the cumbersome task of translating into English the answers of immigrant parents who had been interviewed in foreign languages—German and Polish. Another lonely job was the scoring of hundreds of answers and the statistical analysis of data, a job which demanded minute preparation as I was able, with the gracious consent of the University of Western Australia authorities, to use their computer for data processing.

There were a few people who intermittently assisted and to them I am truly grateful. Mrs L. Hodan gave me some help in the initial stages of the research, but when she was recalled to other duties, I was forced to carry on by myself until final completion.

Dr A. Richardson, Reader in Psychology at the University of Western Australia, read some parts of the manuscript and made some valuable suggestions. My deepest gratitude, however, goes to Dr Charles Price, the Director of the social, political, and cultural studies of the major S.S.R.C. project. I submitted a number of manuscripts to him, and he went through each with a very fine comb, making major and minute alterations which considerably improved the composition of this book. Dr Price is in no way responsible for the interpretation of the material or the conclusions drawn therefrom, but he is responsible for the encouragement

and the stimulus he provided at times when things were tough. I wish to thank him sincerely for all that he taught me and for his hard work, tact, and the unobtrusive manner in which he carried out his role as the editor and director of my study.

I am also deeply indebted to Professor R. T. Appleyard, Chairman of the Economics Department, University of Western Australia, where the research was carried out. It was he who made it possible for me, in the first instance, to work on the S.S.R.C. project. For this privilege, his unfailing help, and frequent constructive criticisms I am truly grateful.

The best and most gratifying part of the work was the personal contact with the immigrants and their children. I have had ample experience in carrying out research in Western Australia, whose people acted as my 'guinea pigs' in such projects as an investigation into problems of old age, attitudes of Australians to immigrants and to Aborigines. In addition, immigrants and particularly Polish immigrants and their children participated in three different studies. Never before, however, did I feel such intrinsic satisfaction as in the current work. This may be because I dealt with four different national origins simultaneously, and somehow the Germans and the Australians stand out in my mind more clearly than the others. To me they were the most interesting and the most challenging to study, because the Germans turned out to be quite different from what I expected, and the Australians showed a much greater interest in immigrants around them than I was led to believe.

The Poles I knew well and had little to discover, and the British offered little challenge because I did research on them in a large hostel for British immigrants just before the present study. My memories were still fresh and the latest research just confirmed the general ideas previously gained.

I must state quite frankly that I was literally overwhelmed with the reception in each of the hundred homes I visited. I often wondered if I could give of myself as much as my subjects did, if I were in their position. My deep belief in human goodness and dignity has never been shaken despite some painful experiences, and my research with these persons strongly convinced me that people are much kinder and more generous than one thinks.

Although greatly demanding emotionally and mentally, and physically quite exhausting, I loved every minute of

Preface

my interviews and felt depressed and lost when my contacts with my subjects came to an abrupt end. Of many of them, both adults and children, I still think in affectionate terms and a casual meeting in the street assures me that I have many good friends. It is a pity that details of a study like mine never reach the people for whom it is foremost meant and who should have access to findings first, because without their contributions such research could never be contemplated.

R.J.
University of Western Australia

June 1971

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Introduction



This study is concerned with second generation immigrants of Polish, German, and British ethnic origin aged between 13 and 19 years. Second generation immigrants are defined as Australian-born children of immigrant parentage and children who came to Australia in infancy or early childhood. Since it would be a formidable task to study all children of immigrants, the study was restricted to Western Australia and further restricted to the metropolitan area of Perth.

Second generation immigrants have a unique position in any society because they usually remain under the influences of two different cultures: the cultural heritage of their parents and the culture of the receiving community. In this sense the problem of assimilation always arises for immigrant children, who often are exposed to countervailing influences from two sides, each of which claims the child's loyalty. Torn between the two, second generation immigrants have to make up their minds and it is here that they are faced with problems of assimilation. For this reason the study investigates carefully the assimilation rate of these children, to illuminate the way they solve their difficulties as second generation immigrants.

Their parents' assimilation must also be taken into account, because the children have to find a *modus vivendi* between their parents' possibly unassimilative tendencies and their own assimilative inclinations. In such cases there is bound to be much friction between the parents and their children, and these particular frictions have *per se* a cultural connotation. In addition, parents and children may experience misunderstandings between themselves by virtue of the generation gap, which has nothing to do with migration and assimilation, but is typical of parents and their children in modern times. Both tensions, cultural and generational, are also considered in the present study since they too throw light on the mode of living of the people under investigation.

It has been said that second generation immigrants often have to evaluate merits involved in different cultures and to make decisions between one or the other. Such dilemmas may be perplexing to some young immigrant children and in this respect they differ greatly from children who, brought up in one culture, have no problem of choice or selection. The psychological stability of some immigrant children may well be impaired when they are unable to resolve their cultural identity. These problems, too, are investigated here.

Since the home of the immigrant child has a paramount influence on his development and adjustment to society at large, it is examined from various points of view, including that of home authority, interaction between parents and their children, interaction between brothers and sisters in the family, and incidents of global family maladjustment which result in some becoming 'problem families'.

It is frequently said that second generation immigrants are victims of personal maladjustment more often than ordinary children, because the former have greater barriers to overcome, barriers which their parents may erect for them as they are growing up to take their place in the host community. To compensate, these children may turn to anti-social behaviour which often demonstrates itself in acts of delinquency. This aspect of their behaviour is also examined.

To detect how differently second generation immigrants live from ordinary Australian children, an Australian control group was included, comprising teenagers of the same age as the immigrant children. Both lots of children were compared on all possible characteristics, to uncover similarities and differences in their modes of living.

Some Theoretical Considerations



From the aims of this study ensue its theoretical implications. Four major concepts are involved: assimilation; culture conflict as differentiated from culture tension and ordinary tension; delinquency; and 'problem families'.

The concept of assimilation

Assimilation has been understood in many ways by many writers. Some deal with group assimilation; e.g. Zubrzycki (1956: 75) states that assimilation obtains 'when the immigrant group is so completely incorporated into the society to which it has attached itself that its separate identity may be completely lost'. Others concentrate on the assimilation of the individual. Kent (1953: 8) states that a refugee in America is assimilated 'when he becomes so Americanised that among native Americans he passes unnoticed as being foreign'. Horobin (1957: 241) deals with group and individual assimilation and describes it as a process 'through which all distinction between an immigrant group, or individual immigrant, and the receiving community is lost'.

More examples of individual or group assimilation can readily be cited, but typical of all is the complete lack of emphasis on the psychological aspects of the assimilation process. The major point of explanation in these definitions lies in the outward appearance or behaviour of immigrants, thus neglecting their inner orientation towards the immigration country.

Incomplete as this approach may be in the theoretical sense, it also fails to account for real life situations. Traitors or spies may be so Americanised that they are completely indistinguishable from

other Americans. This does not imply, however, that they are assimilated to the American way of life or approve of it.

It is for reasons like these that the concept of assimilation must be treated at the two different levels of 'inward' and 'outward' assimilation. The demand for such an approach has already been made in the work of the famous sociologist Znaniecki, who says: 'Do not let the Americans illusion themselves that because the second or third generation of Polish or German immigrants talk American slang and know how to vote, they are assimilated psychologically and have acquired the American ways of feeling and thinking. More is needed to attain such a result than most people are inclined to imagine' (quoted in Brown and Roucek, 1945: 480).

Some time later Frazier (1957: 316) made the distinction more explicit in stating: 'Therefore, assimilation involves something more than acculturation or the acquisition of the language, moral and religious ideas, and patterns of behaviour of the dominant group. Assimilation includes a subjective element—identification with members of the society'.

Although the distinction between these two basic aspects of assimilation has recently come back into prominence, the specific psychological aspect has been somewhat blurred. Gordon (1964) mentions 'behavioural' assimilation, meaning by this the acquisition of the language, dress, diet, sport, art, and religion of the host society. To contrast this, he uses the term 'structural' assimilation, which implies that the immigrants and their children have become distributed in the social and occupational structure of the receiving society.¹ Yet concessions granted to immigrants in securing positions commensurate with those held by members of the indigenous community do not guarantee the identification of immigrants with that community. Immigrants may strive to achieve high occupational status for economic reasons or for the enhancement of their self-esteem, but at the same time fail to identify with the host society.

Social contacts with members of the receiving community at the primary group level are a better index of psychological assimilation,

¹ Structural assimilation in Gordon's terms is a prerequisite for identification with the host society. The notion is disputed here. Gordon's real contribution lies in his distinction between acculturation and identification, which he incidentally does not define. The present researcher has worked on the acculturation and identification aspects of assimilation since 1958 and has continued to refine the meaning of both concepts ever since.

but these may be maintained because the immigrants in question are ostracised by members of their own ethnic group, or because they cannot escape having contacts with members of the receiving community. For some, ulterior motives may come into play in that it pays them to have these contacts.

The necessity for dividing assimilation into two kinds has been amply demonstrated, and within the present study assimilation is referred to as external and subjective assimilation. External and subjective assimilation have been established at the empirical level by the present author (see Johnston, 1963b, 1965b) and correlation statistics have strongly supported the existence of two aspects of assimilation in studies based on precise methodological principles. Thus, on grounds of logic and research evidence, there is a good case for insistence on treating assimilation in an external and subjective sense.

Findings by others tend to complement this notion. Price (1963) makes the same distinction in his study of southern European immigrants to Australia, and Richardson (1967) separates assimilation on the same lines in his attempt to build a model of steps leading to full assimilation.

The following example, taken from the area of naturalisation, illuminates in full the distinction between external and subjective assimilation. A Polish immigrant who accepts Australian nationality purely for practical reasons, such as to secure an old age pension, is only externally assimilated. Another immigrant who strongly identifies with Australian nationality, but is unable to become naturalised on account of legal difficulties, is only subjectively assimilated. A third immigrant becomes naturalised because he feels himself to be an Australian. This immigrant is both externally and subjectively assimilated. When an immigrant does not approve of Australian nationality and takes no steps to acquire it, he is neither externally nor subjectively assimilated. Assimilation as a process of departure from one culture to another must depend on certain areas from which a change is being made. For the present purpose four areas are chosen, those of food, language, leisure, and social contacts. They are different for immigrants and for Australians and easily lend themselves to treatment within the notion of external and subjective assimilation.

Psychological identification seems to be a crucial element in sub-

jective assimilation. It means, first, to consider something as just and proper and, second, to approve of that something for oneself, and to be willing to adopt it whenever possible. The theme of external and subjective assimilation forms the core of this study, hence the analysis of the empirical material gathered occupies a major part of the work.

General tensions, culture tensions, and culture conflict

The psychological literature on adolescence is full of information relating to the 'stresses and storms' of young people during maturation. Hollingworth (1928), and others after her, consider the difficulties which youth encounters with parents in the light of severe ambiguity of the children's status within the family. The young people are growing away from their childhood and have not, as yet, reached the stage of maturity for which they are striving. Parents, too, are in an unenviable position, not quite knowing whether to treat their youngsters as adults or not.

The problem of role confusion in the adolescents' status, leading to a number of tensions between the children and their parents, is widespread and taken for granted. Immigrant children, together with other children, are bound to be exposed to the same set of circumstances, but in addition they will often suffer certain misunderstandings with their parents because they are second generation immigrants. Some of these children may make real attempts to wean themselves away from the ethnicity of their parents, who may disapprove of such behaviour. Tensions between the two parties are bound to result over Australian and non-Australian ways of doing things. Such tension between the first and second generation occurs in the immigrant family quite frequently. It is termed here 'culture tension' and it differs from 'culture conflict', which is a conflict within the individual who is unable or unwilling to establish for himself a certain cultural identity. Culture conflict may apply, for example, to those Polish children who suffer from an indecision of choice between the Polish and the Australian culture, not being able to make up their minds with which of the two cultures to identify, or in which to place their allegiance. Such a lack of anchorage leads to inner confusion and inner conflict and, since the conflict is centered around the problem of culture, it is designated here as 'culture conflict'.

It is generally assumed that only second generation immigrants suffer from culture conflict, because they live in the midst of two cultures and are not firmly rooted in either. First generation immigrants are said to be free of this malady, as they are well anchored in their own culture. Such explanations are offered by Koenig in Brown and Roucek (1945), Smith (1939), Stonequist (1937), and Young (1929) but are not altogether satisfying, as will be shown later in this study.

Culture conflict suffered by the second generation immigrants has strong psychological connotations. Immigrant youth is alleged to live in a psychological flux, trying to choose between the ethnic culture of the parents and that of the host society. Smith (1939) and Sommers (1964) take the view that such indecision in the search for a cultural identity has serious repercussions for its victims and manifests itself in mental disorders, delinquency, restlessness, and occupational instability.

Two major criticisms can be aimed at this approach. First, it is improbable that all first generation immigrants are stably settled within their own culture, as this would imply that they do not assimilate to the host culture at all. Numerous examples of various nationalities of immigrants can be quoted showing a definite departure from the ethnic culture and acceptance of the new culture (e.g. Johnston, 1965b). In addition, several studies indicate that second generation immigrants are capable of solving their cultural problems without undue hesitance. Their psychological indecision is normally of short duration and does not inflict great harm on their personalities (Child, 1943; Lambert, 1967; Johnston, 1964a, 1969b). In the last two studies, Polish children ordered themselves into three distinct groups: those who identified with the Polish culture, those who strongly identified with the Australian culture, and those who identified simultaneously with both the Australian and the Polish cultures. All children were quite well adjusted and presented a group of happy and well satisfied people.

It cannot be denied, however, that some second generation children do suffer from a real culture conflict. They may encounter it when children who have lived in an entirely ethnic environment suddenly find themselves on the threshold of a new culture by way of school or some other institution. For others at a later stage, culture conflict may originate in some unhappy experiences with mem-

bers of the host group, where rejection by them may force a young immigrant to reassess his original identification with that group and may temporarily lead to a deep inner culture conflict. In other instances some people, migrants and non-migrants alike, can be psychologically so unstable as never to reach a firm cultural identity. They become the cultural hybrids ascribed to all second generation immigrants.

Special questions were designed to tap this phenomenon of culture conflict amongst the immigrant subjects. Other questions were used to uncover any signs of culture tension, yet others to expose generational tensions, so accounting for all relationships between parents and children.

Delinquency

Delinquency has many definitions, but for the purpose of the present study it is defined in terms suggested by Wirt and Briggs (1959). A delinquent is a youth for whom there is a police or court record for conviction for an offence against a person or property.

Two separate methods can be used in investigating delinquency. The first and the most commonly used is to choose a population of delinquents residing in reformatory institutions and to study this population from a variety of points of view according to the investigator's task and interest. The delinquents are then compared with a group of matched non-delinquents to observe the differences between the two groups.

The second approach is to study delinquency in the general population. This approach is strongly recommended by Nye (1958), who claims that institutionalised delinquents are for many reasons a biased population, since children from poor or broken homes are more readily sent to institutions because of the absence of a proper home. Nye also maintains that institutionalisation breeds delinquency and in this sense the population becomes all the more criminally biased.

The present research is admirably suited for the study of delinquency using the 'general population' method, because the basis of this research is the family unit, where parents and children are being interviewed with a lengthy interview schedule. Since a direct attack on delinquency, even in a private home, may cause an uneasy atmosphere, whereas a prelude leading up to it may eliminate

hostility, specific inquiry into matters of delinquency was postponed in the interview until many other intimate problems had already been discussed. Moreover, questions on delinquency were woven into the general conversation and additional information was secured while discussing other topics. All interviews with parents and children took place, where possible, in the home of the family, on the grounds that familiarity with surroundings should afford an easy flow of information both from parents and children on different aspects of family living, including delinquency. Other reasons for using this method are explained later in a separate chapter dealing with further theoretical issues of delinquency and actual findings on it.

The present study, however, is not a study of delinquency *per se*. Delinquency is only a side line of the general inquiry on the mode of teenage living. In so far as it is studied, however, it has one technical advantage in that the non-delinquent children assume the role of the control group. If culture tension or culture conflict are investigated as a cause of delinquency, all that needs to be done is to watch for children who suffer from them and who are in fact delinquents, and then compare them with others who also suffer, but who are not delinquents.

It must be stated in all fairness, however, that the 'general population' method in no way implies an investigation of delinquency in the whole population of children in Perth. The small number of families studied, 100 in all, is in no way representative of all the families in the area, nor are the separate 25 families of varying ethnic origins necessarily typical of those ethnic populations. The 'general population' method, as used here, is simply an alternative method of studying delinquency to the institutional method, and is applied in a small-scale intensive study of selected families.

Problem families

Three of the theoretical concepts used in this study have so far been discussed. One more remains to be analysed, namely the concept of 'problem families'. The sociological literature looks at 'problem families' from various points of view. Most frequently, scholars focus their attention on the non-conforming aspects of family behaviour such as neglect of children, dire poverty, and severe neglect of health rules. The general term of 'retreatism' is applied

to such behaviour because it departs from the accepted norms of community living. These outward manifestations of social disorganisation are generally recorded and sociologists use them as criteria for the definition of 'problem families'.

More recently, attempts have been made to discover the causes of family maladjustment. Baldamus and Timms (1955) found that such families suffer from deep psychological inadequacies, among which are a low degree of vitality, a lack of personal initiative, and subnormal intelligence. The 'retreatism' from the normal standards is a function of these psychological factors.

The present study makes no attempt to investigate either of these approaches to 'problem families'. External factors, such as neglect of health or dire poverty, belong to a specialist's province quite outside the competence of the present investigator. The psychological aspects of maladjusted families could have been pursued here, but were omitted because time and resources were too limited to cover them all.

Instead, we used an operational definition to describe 'problem families' as families which sought or were advised to seek assistance from a number of agencies which operate in Perth for the sole purpose of helping people in trouble. A slight difference exists between this approach and the notion of 'problem families' as used in the sociological sense, where an outside observer decides and classifies families into a specific category. In the present context, the family itself decides the issue, if it feels a need which it cannot satisfy by itself, or has a problem it is unable to solve. It then decides of its own accord to seek help from the institutions in the community on the advice of personal friends or the Citizen's Advice Bureau, which is an organisation in Perth specially designed for the purpose.

Many institutions operate in the Western Australian community to assist people who feel that they have problems. So parents with children. With few exceptions, all interviews were conducted in the Child Guidance Clinic, where children are given psychological tests and parents are consulted about the diagnosis made and the recommendations to be implemented for future treatment. Other organisations, like the Apex Club, although unofficial, help families with food, clothes, and money in cases of a sudden disaster. The Child Welfare Department, as the name implies, looks after children

when they become neglected or delinquents. It also helps financially all those families whose breadwinner is ill or unemployed, so that the children will not suffer undue hardship. Other organisations, like the Good Neighbour Council, work solely for the benefit of immigrants, assisting with such matters as naturalisation; some of its work, however, is typically welfare work. Church associations and Alcoholics Anonymous play their respective roles in the alleviation of various other family problems. All families assisted at the welfare level by any of these organisations are classified as 'problem families' for the present purpose.



The broad aim of this study is to compare Australian, British, German, and Polish teenagers, and to describe the families within which they live. A structured interview schedule was used as the method of data collection, containing fixed alternative and open ended questions. Without the schedule, the interview could have become disorganised and some vital questions been left unanswered; furthermore unless members of each family were asked the same sort of questions in the same sequence, comparison would be impossible.

Although the interview schedule was structured, plenty of latitude was given to interviewees to express their thoughts freely, the schedule being used as a guide to take the subject from one point of conversation to another. Flexibility in answering was maintained throughout, and more questions were used in the interviews than were listed in the actual schedules. Subjects' verbatim answers, quoted later, illustrate the free and spontaneous atmosphere created in the talks.

Three separate interview schedules were used: one for the head of the family, another for his spouse, and a third for each of the children who are backward in their schoolwork can turn to the homes of respondents. Some boys attending evening classes or away from home at weekends were interviewed at their schools or places of work. Employers and headmasters were more than co-operative and helpful. Permission was first sought from parents to interview their children outside their home. The parents then provided addresses of schools and places of their children's employment.

Each respondent was interviewed in private, to eliminate any personal influence in answering questions. Requests for privacy made at home and elsewhere were generously granted in every instance. All answers were recorded verbatim in front of each respondent. A simple explanation for the necessity of such a procedure, where it was questioned, met with complete approval.

Polish and German interview schedules were printed in the appropriate language of origin, giving subjects a chance to talk in their own language and allowing the interview to take the form of a pleasant conversation instead of a stiff inquiry. Some questions also demanded a certain amount of insight, and immigrants, no matter how well they speak English, are often not in a position to express nuances of thought in a language other than that of their upbringing. Answers in Polish and German were initially recorded in those two languages and translated into English a day or so after the interview. Parents were able to reply either in their own language or in English, as well as use one or the other language intermittently.

All Polish parents chose to be interviewed in their own language. In three homes parents demanded that their children also be interviewed in Polish, because they are adamant that no other language should be spoken in their homes. I was very glad of my own command of the Polish language, without which I would have lost at least three families from the Polish sample, and probably antagonised many more. In one of these families the mother complained about her daughter's failure twice in succession to pass Matriculation English at school. The reasons for this were quite obvious to me, but neither parent saw any connection between their daughter's poor performance and their rigid insistence on speaking Polish in the house. For the parents in question, the speaking of Polish had a national connotation, but at the same time they were quite inarticulate in English. The same applied to the rest of the Polish adults whose English was halting. The evidence of their poor command of English became patently clear in the course of the interviews and after.

Quite different was the situation for the German immigrants. Of the twenty-five sets of parents only ten fathers and seven mothers expressed a preference for German as the language for the interview; the rest were interviewed in English. None of the parents placed any restrictions on their children, taking it for granted that English was

to be used. A lot of time and effort were thus saved because far less translation was needed of German than of Polish answers.

For British families, the questions were almost the same as those for the German and Polish families, except for the section on 'language'. Some questions pertaining to language behaviour of non-English speaking immigrants were quite inappropriate for British immigrants. Instead they were asked to comment on the use of Australian slang by their children, and their general opinions on the English language as used by Australians.

Three completely different interview schedules were used for the Australian mothers, fathers, and children, though some questions relevant to all families and to all children were included in these schedules.

All interview schedules are included in Appendix I. The interviews were conducted between 15 June 1968 and 17 February 1969. In all, 342 people were interviewed, 200 adults and 142 children. Two Australians refused to co-operate; other names from further down the list were substituted for them. Rapport was excellent throughout with adults and children, except for one Polish and one British head of family.

The scoring of all schedules was done by two judges, one being the researcher and the other a person not directly associated with the project. The second judge, an honours graduate in Economics, was appointed because the researcher carried out all the interviews, translated all the answers and was intimately associated with some of the families, and hence there was a real danger that personal bias might creep into the analysis of the material. The second judge was introduced to the core of the study, made familiar with its theoretical implications and shown how to score answers. Each judge scored the schedules independently and disagreement was resolved in mutual discussion. The degree of agreement between the two judges on all items judged equalled 89 per cent, which can be considered reasonably high.

All material for the two aspects of assimilation were scored on a three point scale ranging from 'all Australian' (score 3) to 'all ethnic' (score 1). For tension the scores read: slight tension (score 1), moderate tension (score 2), and severe tension (score 3). Attitudes were also scored on a three point scale from favourable (score 3) to unfavourable (score 1).

The pilot study

The study proper was preceded by a pilot study of two families from each of the ethnic groups and the Australian group fulfilling conditions for inclusion in the samples. Parents and children were interviewed individually, without the presence of any other person. Extra time to think about the questions was given because each subject was later asked to express opinions on the quality of some questions, the ease of their understanding and their verbal content.

As a result, some questions in the schedule were reworded and the sequence of some was changed to allow for a smoother flow of ideas, alterations occurring mainly in the schedule for immigrant and Australian children. Some adults found difficulty with certain questions but, when asked if these should be eliminated, replied that these questions were sound, useful, and fitting, but needed 'some thinking out'. Other respondents were glad to be challenged by questions involving introspective ability and were grateful for the opportunity of a talk on personal and family matters.

Replies collected in the pilot study were scored, on scales indicated, by the interviewer and the second judge. No difficulties in scoring were encountered, and the degree of agreement between judges' scoring was very high. Results from pilot interviews, the rapport established with respondents, their attitudes to questions asked and the ease of answer scoring gave real encouragement for the study proper.

The samples

Four samples are included in this study: twenty-five Polish families, twenty-five German families, twenty-five British families, and twenty-five Australian families. In each family the father, the mother, and each child between the age of 13 and 19 years was interviewed.

Immigrant families had to fulfil the following conditions to be included in the sample:

- arrive in Australia during the years 1957, 1958, 1959, or 1960;
- have at least one child between 13 and 19 years of age;
- be a full unit, consisting of a father, mother, and at least one child of the prescribed age.

It was originally intended to eliminate possible differences arising from variation in period of arrival in Australia by including

only those who came to Australia in a given year, 1960 being at first chosen because there existed unusually good records for certain British families arriving at that time. Unfortunately very few Poles came during that year, and an inadequate number of Germans (see Appendix II). The four years 1957-60 were therefore selected. As it happens there was a reasonably even flow of Germans and Poles over that time, while the period itself (8-11 years' residence in Australia) seemed coherent enough to eliminate most variations arising from differences in time spent in Australia. Further difficulties, however, arose with the Poles, but it seems best to describe these in the context of the Polish sample itself.

The Polish sample. It seemed best to select only those Polish families who were of the Roman Catholic faith. I know this particular type of family well, have worked with such families over a long period of time and have reported findings about them in two publications (Johnston, 1965b, 1969a). There are in Perth Polish families of the Jewish, Orthodox, and other faiths, but my restricted knowledge of their location and their community structure made me hesitant about studying them. Help, assistance, co-operation and a deep interest in research on Poles in Western Australia, as displayed by the Polish chaplain in Perth, who is the leader of the Polish Catholic community, gave me extra encouragement to concentrate on Catholic Poles; moreover, by excluding non-Catholics I was able to obtain a relatively homogeneous cultural and social group.

The Polish chaplain and his church form a pivot around which revolves the life of the Polish Catholic community. The church in Perth has two priests, who preach to their flock in the Polish language in five Australian Catholic churches, lent for that purpose and scattered all over the metropolitan area. The Polish chaplain in Perth would like every Polish family to come to church at least once a month, but attendance is apparently less frequent. He regrets that Polish children attend the ordinary Catholic churches because their knowledge of Polish is restricted.

Two kinds of Polish Saturday Schools operate in Perth. One with an attendance of sixty children is run by the Association of Poles in Perth at its headquarters called the Polish House. The same association also conducts smaller schools in certain suburbs in the metropolitan area. Nuns of the Order of Sisters of the Holy Family

of Nazareth are in charge of another school, where forty children attend. Children of all ages come to school for two-and-a-half hours on Saturday mornings and learn Polish history, geography, the Polish language, Polish songs and receive religious instruction.

Very cordial relations prevail between the Polish priests and the various Polish organisations in Perth. The Polish Association organises national and religious functions at its headquarters and the priests are always invited and actively participate. There is also a sporting organisation called Club Cracovia, which helps to support the Polish church and the Polish schools. The Polish Combatants Association is a large organisation and it, too, assists the church. It is now planning a new venture, a hall dedicated to General Sikorski, the head of the exiled Polish Government in London during World War II. The hall will be erected in that part of Perth where most of the Polish families live. Its functions, purpose, and building procedures are closely discussed with the two Polish priests, who act as advisers and give guidance on all matters of Polish community life.

When I approached the Polish chaplain with a request for lists of Poles who came to Western Australia between 1957 and 1960, we found that for that particular period the lists, generally kept up to date, were incomplete owing to the death of one of the Polish priests responsible for checking entries of Polish immigrants to this state. On the advice of the Polish chaplain, further information was sought from the local Catholic Migration Office in Perth, which financially assists many Polish families with their emigration from communist Poland. Some additional Polish families were located through this source. The help rendered by the Polish chaplain and the Catholic Migration Office is duly acknowledged. Other names were given to me by respondents already interviewed, who knew of other families with qualifications similar to their own. Finally, priests of local Catholic parishes and lay leaders of the Polish community were asked to locate the right subjects. By exhausting all these approaches the names of fifteen families were at last obtained.

It can be said with a high degree of confidence that the sample thus found is in fact not a sample but a census of all Polish families having the required characteristics. For purposes of comparison with other samples, twenty-five for Germans, British and

Australians, the Polish sample of fifteen families was deemed to be too small.

After careful consideration, it was decided to enlarge the sample of Polish families by incorporating some families who came to Perth during the years 1948 to 1951, the period of the highest arrival rate of Poles to Western Australia. Full and complete lists of these arrivals were available from the Polish chaplain, who at the time had a full staff to deal with them.

From his lists were selected at random ten more Polish families fulfilling the necessary conditions. All families gladly co-operated, there were no refusals. Excellent rapport was established with all mothers, all children, and with all but one father.

So there are two groups of Polish families with a divergent length of stay in Australia and one is tempted, for the sake of convenience, to combine them as one sample. A comparison¹ of the two groups indicates that there may be some difference in assimilation between Polish families arriving during the 1949-51 and the 1957-60 period, but it did not show up in my two groups. Admittedly both my groups are very small and I would be most hesitant to generalise from this finding, or cast doubts on the usual view that period of residence is positively associated with assimilation. But as there was no discernible difference in my two groups it seemed pointless to keep them separate for analysis of other characteristics.

Not only parents, but also the children were compared in terms of degree of assimilation and length of stay in Australia. Here, earlier arrivals are significantly more subjectively assimilated than children with a shorter stay. In external assimilation, however, there is no difference between children with varying lengths of stay. External assimilation as such is a function of factors largely outside the children's control. If their parents insist on them speaking Polish or eating Polish food, they are forced to do so and this reduces their external assimilation score. In the case of subjective assimilation, the individual is much more his own master, free of any constraints and free to identify with the new culture, or not to do so.

¹ The Fisher Exact Probability Test was used throughout for tests of significance, where N was smaller than 40. For N equalling 40 or larger χ^2 tests of significance were used with Yates's correction for continuity where necessary. The 5 per cent level of confidence was accepted as the level of significance.

Children who live in Australia longer identify with the country more.

The German sample. German migration to post-war Australia is unlike any other migration. Owing to their historical and ideological background, the Germans are different from immigrants of any other nationality and it is for this reason that more detail is given for this than any other group. Friedman (1952: 4) thus describes their position:

The problem of German immigration obviously has certain unique aspects. They stem predominantly from the psychological effects of the recent world war, in which Germans were, for the second time in this century, the enemies of the British Commonwealth of Nations. They stem also from the extraordinary political and psychological complications which the collapse of the Nazi regime, the total military occupation of Germany by her conquerors, the subsequent split between the Allies, the consequent division of Germany into two separate states, and the mass exodus of millions of Germans from Eastern Europe into Western Germany, have produced.

The author goes on to say that the 'Nazi philosophy and the Nazi system of Government are utterly irreconcilable with the values . . . all the Western democracies abide, and there is much anxiety lest German immigrants should still be infected with the poison of the Nazi system' (p. 11). He refers to the anxieties of the people in Canada, where he studied German post-war immigration.

In Australia, Price (1945) voiced much stronger opposition to, or rather warned the Australian people that, if they felt the importance of an increased population outweighed difficulties arising from non-assimilation, then they would have to realise there would be some difficulties with German immigration, especially if the pan-German movement recovered after World War II as it had done after World War I (p. 87). Relying on pre-war evidence, he cites the case of Germans who settled in South Australia and who refused to assimilate to the Australian way of life, encouraged by pro-Germanic settlers to retain their cultural identity and their political loyalty to Germany. He adds: 'the German language is the basis of Pan-Germanism, and . . . the retention of the German language is a reliable guide to the strength of German national feeling' (p. 5). Apparently, the German Government, at the turn of the cen-

tury, openly supported an official organisation called 'Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland' (which means an organisation for the preservation of the German culture abroad). Its activities included the distribution of pan-Germanic literature and the financing of German schools abroad.

The Lutheran Church played a major role in this field. According to Price (1945), German Lutherans persecuted by the Prussian State left Germany and settled in South Australia from 1839 onwards. Taking advantage of religious freedom, the church set out to retain *das Deutschtum*, meaning Germanism, in this part of Australia. Its task was easy, as the Germans lived mainly in agricultural areas far away from the main stream of Australian life in the cities. More Germans came to South Australia after 1848 and the fight for preservation of the German culture became all the more intensified. The Lutheran Church opposed intermarriage, so as to keep the German community and the Lutheran faith intact. German clubs spread German literature and stimulated a deep interest in German political affairs. The acceptance of Australian nationality by some Germans did not change in any way their attitudes and deep commitment towards *das Deutschtum*.

The Lutheran Church preached purity of its own religious doctrines and disallowed any influence from other denominations. The German language was the only means of communication between parishioners, who in many areas refused to send their children to the ordinary state schools until the German schools were closed in 1917. Despite the obvious determination by many not to assimilate, the Germans apparently made valuable immigrants, well thought of at the official and unofficial level.

With the advent of Nazism in Germany, the church was pushed aside and the Nazi Government undertook the whole enterprise of spreading the influences of German culture amongst settlers abroad. It sent propaganda literature to every corner of the world and invited Germans from abroad to see the wonders and the achievements of the German Third Reich. A Nazi party emerged in South Australia and, according to Price (1945), the German Consul openly engaged in Nazi activities. Regardless of its diminished role, the Lutheran Church, too, or at any rate one branch of it, continued to protect and nurture *das Deutschtum*. In spite of all this pan-Germanic activity, the hold of *Deutschtum* on German settlers

steadily fell away until, at the outbreak of World War II, the number of ardent pan-Germans was relatively small. The majority, however, still retained many German customs and values, so that scholars studying pre-war settlers in Australia have little hesitation in classifying them as not assimilated (Borrie, 1954).

It is not surprising, therefore, that such widespread opposition and discontent appeared when the Australian Government put forward a plan in the 1950s to allow 25,000 Germans to enter Australia as immigrants. Many Australians were against such a proposal, their beliefs being supported vigorously by the out-of-office Labor Party, whose representative, Mr Calwell, said at one of the election meetings: 'the possibility of the admission of any of Hitler's organised supporters would be repugnant to most Australians . . .' and 'Australia cannot risk its security and its democratic institutions by the introduction of any Nazi, Fascist or Communist elements into our population'. Strong opposition also came from Returned Soldiers' organisations and the Jewish community throughout Australia, as well as from student bodies. Trade Unions said that their members would not work alongside Nazi indoctrinated Germans. A public meeting of 3,000 people in the Melbourne Town Hall held late in 1950 voiced an emphatic protest against the government's policy. Similar meetings took place in other capital cities all over Australia.

Stone (1951: 23) reports the feeling as it prevailed at the time, and concludes with his own remarks: 'there can be no duty of asylum to the murderers of millions of women and children, and even of more men; nor even to those who merely countenanced or acquiesced in it'.

Despite the government's assurance that all Nazis would be carefully screened and not admitted to Australia, nobody believed that such screening would be effective, and the author adds: 'on the public records of the International Military Tribunal and its related courts, that reservoir is at present still mentally and morally poisoned by Nazism' (p. 25). The author's main objection is against the entry of young Germans who have been indoctrinated with Nazism.

Ignoring this section of public opinion, the Australian Government entered into an agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1952, allowing Germans to enter Australia as assisted

immigrants and permitting them to stay in hostels after arrival until they found their own accommodation. A second agreement was signed in August 1958 and a third in 1962.

Borrie (1964: 79) thus summarises the state of German immigration to Australia for one specific period: 'Among the 36,700 immigrants of German nationality who came to Australia during the five years ending June 1962 with the intention of staying a year or more, 30,100 were assisted, with only 6,600 not assisted'.

Experiences in other countries have demonstrated that fears about Germans as post-war immigrants were exaggerated. Friedman (1952: 31) describes the ways of their adjustment to conditions in Canada: 'The overwhelming impression gained from many interviews with recent German immigrants is that they want to forget about Russia and Communism, about the dangerous situation of Germany, about occupation and fighting, about Nazis and anti-Nazis. Most of these immigrants are vigorous enough, strong and skilled, willing to work . . . whose further development and views will be moulded by the political and social atmosphere to which they come'.

How far the picture in Canada differs from conditions in Western Australia will be exemplified with the following sample of German immigrants.

A careful inspection of possible sources revealed that no lists of German post-war immigrants exist. The German Consulate only keeps records of those Germans who seek visas to return home either for a short visit or permanent stay, and further contact between the consul and his compatriots is almost negligible. The pastor of the Lutheran Church was willing to help, but was unable to provide much information. Although he has been in charge of the church since 1914, and knows the German community well, he was forced to admit that the post-war German arrivals never visit his church except for the occasional baptism of their children. He added that apparently the German people were deliberately weaned away from their church during the Nazi régime and have maintained a very meagre involvement in church affairs ever since.

Soon after the recent resignation of this pastor, two young Australian pastors, trained in the Lutheran Seminary in South Australia, took over the leadership and now conduct all sermons in English instead of German. They cater for Lutherans of all

nationalities. They also run a youth club within their church, but it is not widely patronised. Only one family of the immigrants interviewed made any reference to it, in connection with their daughter who is a member.

Approaches to the Commonwealth Immigration Office in Perth regarding names and addresses of German immigrants were also futile, because the officials are not allowed under any circumstances to divulge any personal information about any immigrants of any nationality. All such information is strictly confidential.

Contacts with the only other German organisation yielded no more success. The organisation is called the Rhine-Donau Club and caters for people whose mother tongue is German, and is thus not restricted to German nationals. To that club, however, belong some two hundred German immigrants, but their dates of arrival in Western Australia are not known to club officials.

By constitution of the club, all people speaking German are entitled to membership regardless of political, religious, or occupational background. The aim of the club is to foster the German language, to spread German culture in Australia and acquaint Australians with the culture and customs of German-speaking people. Its purpose is to integrate the German-speaking people into the Australian community and to facilitate amicable relations with Australians at work and leisure. The club offers friendship to its members through its sporting, cultural, and social activities, and it runs on its premises a German school for German-speaking children each Saturday morning for two hours. Teachers qualified in Germany and living in Perth teach German literature, the German language, and German history.

After interviewing all available informants in the German community, it looked as though there would be no possibility of obtaining lists of needed German families, until one person came to my rescue. This person put me in touch with two German-born business people who are in constant personal touch with all German families in Perth. When contacted, they produced lists and addresses of numerous German families, complete with dates of their arrival and ages of their children. A careful inspection of these lists showed that 27 families fulfilling the necessary conditions, from a total of about 3,800 German-born persons were available. It was intended to approach them all, but one family was abroad on a visit to

Germany, and another could not be contacted despite repeated calls. All interviewed families came from West Germany.

For the sake of preserving the anonymity of the two informants nothing more can be said about them, except that full confidence can be placed in their information, as this was later reaffirmed in the interviews. It can be said with assurance that the selected sample of German families who acted as subjects of this study form a large slice of the total population of families who arrived in Perth between 1957 and 1960 and who have children between 13 and 19 years of age. Like the Polish families, they are approaching a complete enumeration of the population and not a small sample of it. Findings for both groups of immigrants apply to all families with the necessary characteristics.

Personally, I felt acute apprehension about interviewing the German people. Being a Pole by birth, I was afraid of the reception I might receive upon entering a German home. My German, although sound, has traces of a foreign accent, which can be easily detected by those born in Germany. Experience with immigrants of various nationalities in the past reveals that before any real contact is established, there is always the inevitable question: 'Where do you come from?'. Australian people, too, often use the same approach. The success of any research is strictly determined by the researcher's honesty, and I could not and would not attempt to hide the country of my birth from the possible German respondents.

Cautiously I entered the first German home. To get to it I had to walk for two miles on a newly-made road in a new suburb of Perth. At the end of it was a stream I had to wade, and on the other side I had to climb a big embankment to walk on a narrow street where six houses stood, facing acres and acres of virgin bush. The last house on the verge of the bush belonged to the German family, and I discovered much later they had another way of access to their home. The lady of the house was at home with her four-year-old daughter. I explained the purpose of my visit in German, and we became friends immediately, the interview which followed being a sheer joy. I learned a lot about the deep prejudice she had to suffer when she first arrived in Australia, about life in Germany during the war, about her separation from her mother in early childhood owing to conscription of women for war factories in

Germany located in towns away from their homes, about the deeply-felt advantages of living in Australia and about the implications involved in assimilation as the immigrant sees it and lives it. I learned more still when I had to return for a second visit to interview the head of the family and the schoolchildren needed for the study.

It was good luck that I received such a warm welcome from the first family, and was given such deep understanding about the attitudes of German nationals to Australia. It gave me encouragement and an assurance that the research with the German immigrants was going to be rewarding, and indeed it was. The courtesy, the ease of conversation, the kindness and hospitality, also the generosity of thought and time, were quite overwhelming. I enjoyed the work with them more than with any other group.

The British sample. British immigrants are evenly distributed over the years 1958-60. Lists of British immigrants for 1958 and the first quarter of 1959 were obtained from the Good Neighbour Council of Western Australia, but they covered assisted passage immigrants only. These lists, although out-of-date, afforded the chance of obtaining a sample of British assisted passage immigrants for that period of time. After elimination of all those British immigrants whose addresses were in country areas, 160 families fulfilling the necessary conditions for inclusion in the sample were left in the metropolitan area of Perth. The Good Neighbour Council did not permit the researcher any access to the material, so an officer of the Council was instructed in the method of sample selection. Since it became clear, after the selection of the first sample, that many families were not to be found at the registered addresses, new samples were repeatedly selected until at last twenty-two families were located. The addresses of these families, all over the metropolitan area, were sent by the Good Neighbour Council to its contact officers in the appropriate suburbs. The contact officers then approached each family and, after explaining the purpose of the study, made a request for an interview with the researcher. All the families who were approached agreed to participate. Their names and addresses were then returned to the Council, which sent the addresses to me.

For 1960, names and addresses of British assisted immigrants

were obtained from a random sample of British immigrants selected by Appleyard (1964), who first interviewed intending immigrants in Great Britain in 1959 and later followed them up in Australia. From the lists of British families who settled in Perth were selected three families fulfilling the required conditions, and thus a total of twenty-five families was obtained. Needless to say, in terms of representation, the obtained sample is very poor in view of the thousands of British immigrants involved (see Appendix II). Any conclusions drawn therefrom must be treated with the utmost caution, because they may well not apply to the whole group of British immigrants with children between 13 and 19 years of age who came to Australia within the specified three years. In other words, generalisation from this sample of British immigrants to other British immigrants in Perth may be done only with great care.

The Australian sample. The impossibility of obtaining the necessary official information about Australian families precluded the chance of selecting a random sample of appropriate families in Perth. In this case we selected two suburbs where the concentration of Polish, German, and British immigrants was the highest, and a call was made on every Australian family in these suburbs to find out the age of the children and whether the family was a complete unit. All children of the prescribed age and with both parents living at home were then listed. From these lists the required twenty-five families were chosen at random.

Reservations made about the British sample apply in full measure to the Australian sample, for the Australian sample thus selected is only a very small proportion of Australian families elsewhere. No generalisations from present findings can be made to Australian families living in suburbs other than those studied.

Immigrant and Australian Teenagers



Demographic variables

Tables 1-16 contain information about the children studied: the ages of all children in the family, the structure of their families, their attendance at school, their place in the work force. They also throw light on certain aspects of their parents' life.

Table 1 Age distribution of children in the interviewed families

Age in years	Boys				Girls				Total
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	
Under 6	4	2	1	3	1	4	3	4	22
6-10	11	4	4	9	5	6	9	9	57
11-15	16	14	8	17	14	12	15	18	114
16-20	11	10	19	12	20	6	7	10	95
21-25	7	1	6	7	1	—	8	5	35
25 and over	—	—	7	4	—	—	1	—	12
Total	49	31	45	52	41	28	43	46	335

It seems that the largest number of children fall into the age group 11 to 20 years of age. A large number of children over 20 years of age seem to be present in the Australian and British families only. The differences in number and ages of children could arise from several different causes: different ages of parents at marriage, different spacing of children, different interruptions to marriage caused by different migration patterns. This survey is not geared to investigate these matters on a general scale—a comprehen-

Table 2 Distribution of families by number of children

No. of children per family	Number of families				Total of children			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.
1	1	3	2	1	1	3	2	1
2	7	12	6	6	14	24	12	12
3	6	8	7	6	18	24	21	18
4	4	2	4	4	16	8	16	16
5	4	—	2	4	20	—	10	20
6	1	—	2	2	6	—	12	12
7	1	—	1	1	7	—	7	7
8	1	—	1	—	8	—	8	—
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	12
Total	25	25	25	25	90	59	88	98

sive demographic survey is needed here. Hence we do no more than note the differences actually occurring in the samples. The composition of families is shown in Table 2.

Figures in Table 2 indicate that the German families have the smallest number of children on average, and that their families in nearly half of the cases consist of two children only. There is great resemblance in family composition between the Polish, Australian, and British families. Half of them cluster around two to three children per family, but one-sixth of all of these families have four or five children each. In each of these ethnic groups there are isolated families with six, seven, or eight children. They differ in this respect from the German families, none of whom have more than four children. A more telling approach to the problem is the computation of the mean number of children per family. The means for the Polish, British, and Australian families are 3.6, 3.5 and 3.9 respectively. For the German families it is 2.4.

Not all children appearing in Table 2 live at home. Some of them are married and reside in independent households, others work away from Perth and some live in flats in Perth and are still unmarried. A more detailed account of their location by ethnic origin is given below.

Children	Boys	Girls
Polish	1 up north in W.A. 1 in Vietnam	2 married
German	—	2 married
British	6 married 4 live in flats	9 married 2 live in flats
Australian	9 married 1 works in the north of W.A.	4 married

In British families unmarried children often leave home and move into flats. This occurred in two British families in the sample and in both relationships between parents and children were rather strained. This strain was apparently affecting the parents' relations with the younger children still at home.

In one Polish family a son was serving in the armed forces in Vietnam. Both his parents were proud of the contribution he was making towards Australia's involvement in this theatre of war. They showed me pictures of their son in the company of other soldiers from Australia, but hastily added: 'He is still a Pole'.

Some girls from immigrant homes who have married Australian boys bring their husbands to their parents' home for visits. There are three such cases in the sample. In one British home, parents disapprove of their son-in-law's 'vulgar' manners. In a Polish home the young Australian lad was ill at ease when the whole family and I talked freely in Polish and he was unable to participate. These are just glimpses of what may happen when second generation immigrants marry Australians. Quite a separate and rewarding study could be carried out to investigate the attitudes of the Australian partner to his parents-in-law and theirs to him. Mutual influences in a cultural sense could also be tapped, including the role of the second generation immigrant in bridging the gulf.

From the total number of children shown in Table 2, only those children who were between 13 and 19 years of age were interviewed. Their age distribution is presented in Table 3.

The figures in parentheses indicate the number of children in the work force. More will be said about them shortly. It is noted at present, however, that some children have gone out to work at the early age of 15 years, being either fully employed or training in an apprenticeship which carries remuneration in all cases.

Table 3 Age and number of children studied

Age in years	Boys					Girls				
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Total	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Total
13	1	9	1	3	14	5	3	4	3	15
14	6	1	4	—	11	1	4	3	5(1)	13
15	2	2(1)	2	7	13	4(1)	2	3(1)	5	14
16	4(2)	2(1)	5(1)	2(1)	13	3(1)	—	—	1(1)	4
17	—	1(1)	5(3)	1	7	6(5)	2(2)	1	2(1)	11
18	2(2)	2(1)	—	4(3)	8	3	2(2)	1	2(1)	8
19	2(2)	2(2)	2(1)	3(2)	9	1(1)	—	1(1)	—	2
Total	17(6)	19(6)	19(5)	20(6)	75	23(8)	13(4)	13(2)	18(4)	67

Having described the children's age, it seems appropriate to say something about the age of their parents (see Table 4).

Table 4 Age distribution of parents by sex

Age range	Fathers				Mothers				Total
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	
31-40	3	8	2	3	8	15	6	5	50
41-50	19	15	17	15	17	10	17	15	125
51-60	3	2	6	7	—	—	2	5	25
61 and over	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	200

A span of ten years affords limited possibility for describing age accurately, but it does emerge from the figures in the table that the females are slightly younger than the males, as many more of them are in the 31-40 age groups and few in the more advanced age groups. This is more pronounced for the German females than for the females of the other groups, although Polish females show a similar tendency. It is possible to conjecture that European men marry women younger than themselves, but the size of the samples studied does not allow for any further generalisation.

Difference between marriage partners appears not only in their age but also in their religious affiliation, as shown in Table 5. Polish parents are excluded from the table because all selected males are Roman Catholics and three of their wives, who were of a

Table 5 Parents' religion as stated by them

Religion	Fathers			Mothers			Total	Total including Poles
	German	Brit.	Aust.	German	Brit.	Aust.		
Assembly of God	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1
Baptist	—	2	—	—	2	—	4	4
Church of Christ	—	—	1	—	—	1	2	2
Church of England	—	9	8	—	12	12	41	41
Jewish	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1
Lutheran	16	—	1	16	—	1	34	34
Methodist	—	2	5	—	2	1	10	10
Presbyterian	—	1	2	—	2	4	9	9
Roman Catholic	9	7	8	8	7	6	45	95
Agnostic	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1
No religion	—	1	—	1	—	—	2	2
Total	25	25	25	25	25	25	150	200

different faith before marriage, accepted the faith of their husbands afterwards.

As all Polish parents are of the Roman Catholic faith, it means that nearly half of all interviewed parents are Roman Catholics. One-fifth are Church of England, one-sixth Lutheran and only 5 per cent either Methodist or Presbyterian. Table 5 gives only a general idea of differences in religious affiliation between marriage partners. Table 6 gives the differences in detail.

A glance at the pattern of religious intermarriages evokes some interesting speculations, but in view of the small size of samples involved no real conclusions can be reached; these await more general information based on much larger populations. The question of religion in homes where parents had different faiths did not appear to play a major role in family living. When family difficulties were discussed in the course of the interview, differences in religious affiliation did not seem in any way to be contentious.

It may be added in passing that statements made by respondents regarding their religion were never questioned, they were merely recorded to avoid unnecessary involvement in matters of religion and to preserve rapport. If a respondent answered 'agnostic' to the

Table 6 Differences in religion between marriage partners by ethnic group

Number and ethnic group of families	Religion of	
	Father	Mother
4 German Families	Lutheran Lutheran Roman Catholic Roman Catholic	Roman Catholic No religion Lutheran Lutheran
8 British Families	Agnostic Assembly of God Jewish No religion Roman Catholic Methodist Church of England Church of England	Church of England Church of England Church of England Methodist Church of England Church of England Roman Catholic Presbyterian
9 Australian Families	Roman Catholic Roman Catholic Roman Catholic Roman Catholic Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Lutheran	Church of England Church of England Church of England Presbyterian Roman Catholic Church of England Lutheran Presbyterian Roman Catholic

question: 'What religion are you?', this, too, was noted without any further comment.

With this parental background we can now investigate the children in more detail (Tables 7-9, part of Table 10, 10a, 10b,

Table 7 Type of school attended

Type of school	Boys					Girls				
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Total	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Total
State	10	10	8	9	37	12	9	5	7	33
Private non-Catholic	—	1	3	1	5	1	—	1	—	2
Private Catholic	1	1	2	4	8	1	—	4	6	11
Teachers' Training College	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	2
University	—	1	1	—	2	—	—	—	1	1
Total	11	13	14	14	52	15	9	11	14	49

Table 8 Children's reports on own school work

Scale	Boys				Girls			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.
Excellent	1	2	1	—	2	—	—	—
Good	4	4	10	8	6	1	7	5
In-between	6	7	2	6	7	8	4	9
Poor	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Very poor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	11	13	14	14	15	9	11	14

Tables 11-13). Table 3 showed children who go out to work. Those still at school mostly attend high schools run by the state government.

One Polish girl who attends a business college is included under the heading of private non-Catholic schools.

All children were asked in the interview to evaluate their work at school or at institutions of higher education on a five point scale running from excellent to very poor. These reports were checked with headmasters of the schools which the children attend. Students who attend university or the teachers' training college were asked for their names and details of their courses, and results of their annual examinations were then compared with their estimates of the progress in study. Table 8 presents interviewed children's evaluation of their work at school or other places of learning.

The children seem to have made a very honest attempt in reporting on their work. There were only a very few discrepancies between children's reports and official reports. In seven cases children proved to be too modest in their approach. Some children who said that their work was 'in-between', were classified by their respective headmasters as 'good'. Two leaving students who thought of their work as good only, in fact did excellently. Only three boys had a record at school of being average pupils, while they themselves evaluated their work as good. Students at teachers' training college and at the university also underestimated their performance. When interviewed they were more reluctant than younger children to commit themselves openly and, when pressed, assured the interviewer that their levels of attainment were only mediocre. Their yearly examination results proved they were, in fact, above average

Table 9 Financial assistance to children

Nature of assistance	Boys				Girls			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.
Allowance from university or teachers' college	—	1	1	—	1	—	1	1
Wages from Saturday work	—	—	2	2	—	—	1	2
Money from parents as needed	2	—	—	5	1	4	1	3
Regular pocket money and its estimate of sufficiency								
Quite sufficient	8	11	9	7	13	4	7	6
In-between	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Quite insufficient	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	2
Total	11	13	14	14	15	9	11	14

students. In all, there was 94 per cent agreement between children's reports and reports stemming from official sources.

Children attending school or places of tertiary education are assisted financially from various sources, as shown in Table 9.

Two interesting points emerge from this table, namely that the majority of children receive pocket money from their parents regularly and only a small proportion are given money when they need it for a specific purpose; also that seven British and Australian children do odd jobs on Saturday morning and are thus financially independent of their parents; none of the Polish or German children engage in such activity.

Children who receive pocket money are mostly satisfied with what they get, although boys usually get a dollar a week, while the girls get much less, some of them receiving as little as 20 cents a week. Illustrations of children's attitude to their pocket money are shown in the case of two German boys, one of whom states: 'It is definitely sufficient, I need no more. It used to be a dollar a week, now it has got down to 90 cents as I am not doing as much of the work I am supposed to do. I am getting too old [he is 13 years of age] for things such as cleaning my father's shoes'. The other German boy remarks: 'I am happy with what I get. Mum and dad give me the pocket money, one dollar a week and it is enough, I

save some of it. If I got much more, I would be spoiled to be sure'.

Those children who think that their pocket money is insufficient variously describe the circumstances: 'The money is quite insufficient, I need twice as much', states a Polish boy. A British boy says: 'One dollar a week. It is not sufficient really. I bust it up before two days are over'.

Quite different is the case of those children who are self-sufficient and who earn money to cover their expenses. One British boy poignantly illustrates his financial transactions: 'I get \$2.70 for Saturday morning. I give mother one dollar, but I get it back from her by the end of the week in one form or another'. An Australian boy is not committed to his parents in any way regarding his earnings, and says: 'I go to work on Saturday morning. I get \$3 for that. I keep the lot, it is sufficient for me'.

Students past high school level are also financially independent of their parents; they receive allowances from their respective educational institutions. All felt satisfied with the amounts received.

Children and their parents in the work force

The financial position of children going out to work depends largely on the type of work they do and the amount of money they earn. Since the financial position of all children, working or not working, is a function of their parents' occupation, the jobs that parents perform are also discussed. The occupational classification as worked out for Australia (Broom *et al.*, 1966) is used for grouping subjects into the appropriate eight occupations.

Taking the working boys first, we find that about one-third of all the boys studied go out to work. Half of them occupy jobs in group 5, implying that they work either as full-time craftsmen or are being trained as apprentices in such jobs. Over a quarter of the working boys belong to group 6, being mainly engaged in semi-skilled jobs. The rest of the boys are sprinkled over the clerical occupations and some are doing labourer's jobs.

There is little difference between the boys' occupations, the Polish, German, British, and Australian boys being in similar jobs. Most fathers are craftsmen, and sons follow suit; next come operatives and the ratio of sons to fathers here is almost identical. In one sense there exists intergenerational mobility within the working-class people, as figures in Table 10 indicate. One-tenth of

Table 10 Distribution of interviewed males by occupational group and the specific job performed

Occupational group	Job held	Fathers				Sons			
		Polish	German	British	Aust.	Polish	German	British	Aust.
1. Upper profs. and manag.	Clergy			1					
	Manager	2		1	3				
	Engineer			1	1				
	Naval officer				1				
	Army officer				1				
2. Lower profs., graziers, and sheep farmers	Laboratory assistant	1							
	Librarian			1					
	Wool-classer								1
3. Other farmers, self-employed shop proprietors									
4. Clerical and related workers	Clerk	1	1	1		1		1	1
	Civil servant				2				
	Insurance			2	1				
	Security officer				1				
	Storekeeper				1				
5. *Craftsmen, foremen, members armed forces and police		8	18	9	6	3†	1† 2†	1† 1†	1† 2†
6. *Operatives and process workers, shop assistants, salesmen, drivers		4	3	7	7	2	1	1	1
7. Personal, domestic, other service workers	Cook	1		1		1			
	Gardener	1							
	Window cleaner		1						
8. Miners, farm and rural workers, labourers Total	Labourer	9			1	1		1	
	Lawn cutter			1					
	Store sweeper				25	6	6	5	6
		25	25	25	25	6	6	5	6

* Occupational groups 5 and 6 contained too many 'jobs held' to be included in the main body of the table. Details of jobs in both occupational groups are therefore listed separately.

† Apprentice.

the fathers are labourers, but only very few of their sons take up such jobs. In general terms, it looks as though sons take on the skilled and partly-skilled jobs of their fathers, but are reluctant to enter unskilled labour.

In order of frequency, daughters work as shop assistants, clerks, and factory hands. Polish girls are the only ones who work in factories, and half of all the working Polish girls work in shops. In terms of social mobility the daughters do not generally follow their mothers' occupations and this applies specially to fully-trained mothers, whose daughters, however, may not be old enough to have secured the appropriate qualifications.

Table 10a *Occupational group 5*

Craftsmen and foremen, members of armed forces and police

Jobs held	Fathers				Sons			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.
Carpenter	2	5	2				1	
Technician	1						1	1
Toolmaker	1	1	1					
Fitter	1	1						
Mechanic	1	1	3		1*	1	1*	
Painter	1	2	1					
Foreman	1	1		4				
Blacksmith		1						
Boilermaker		4		1	2*	1*		
Builder		1						
Electrician		1						
Printer			1					
Decorator			1					
Mechanical inspector				1				
Plumber						1*		2*
Total	8	18	9	6	3	3	3	3

* Apprentice.

Table 10b *Occupational group 6*

Operatives and process workers, shop assistants and salesmen, drivers

Jobs held	Fathers				Sons			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.
P.M.G. process worker			1					
Driver	2	2	1	2				
Leather hand	1							
Head shunter	1							
Welder		1						
Wood machinist			1	1				
Spray painter			1					
Service station attendant			1					
Plant operator			1					
Salesman			1		1			1
Cartage contractor				1				
Railway employee				2				
Wood turner				1				
Bus conductor					1			
Factory worker						1		
Glazier							1	
Total	4	3	7	7	2	1	1	1

Included in the above figures are nine self-employed, doing the following jobs:

	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.
Taxi driver	1			
Carpenter		1		
Builder		1		
Painter		2		
Insurance agent			1	1
TV mechanic			1	
Cartage contractor				1

Females in the work force are shown in Table 11.

Table 11 Occupational distribution of interviewed females

Occupational group	Job held	Mothers				Daughters			
		Polish	German	British	Aust.	Polish	German	British	Aust.
1. Upper profs. and manag.									
2. Lower profs., graziers, and sheep farmers	Physio-therapist			1					
	Nursing sister			1	1				
	Teacher				1				
3. Other farmers, self-employed proprietors	Shop proprietors				2				
4. Clerical and related workers	Clerk			3		1	1		2
	Drafting assistant						1		
	Receptionist			1					
	Radio operator			1					
5. Craftsmen, foremen, armed forces and police	Forewoman		1						
6. Operatives and process workers, shop assist. and salesmen	Shop assistant		2	2		4	2	1	2
	Factory hand	3	1			3			
7. Personal, domestic, other service workers	Domestic	5	2	1	1				
	Cook	3			1				
	Barmaid	1							
	Waitress	1	1						
	Cleaner	1			1				
	Nursing aide	1						1	
	Cafeteria work			1					
8. Miners, farm and rural workers, labourers									
9. Home duties only, not working at outside jobs		10	18	14	18				
Total		25	25	25	25	8	4	2	4

Table 12 *Children's satisfaction with job*

Degree of satisfaction	Boys				Girls			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.
Very satisfied	5	4	3	4	7	2	2	3
In-between	1	2	1	2	1	2	—	1
Very dissatisfied	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Total	6	6	5	6	8	4	2	4

Children were asked to express opinions on the degree of satisfaction with their job and the rate of pay. None of the children was unemployed in the 12 months preceding the interview with them. Only three children changed their job during that period of time. Three-quarters of the children seem to be satisfied with their jobs, and the rest are not terribly enthusiastic about the work they do but do not dislike it. There was only one British boy who was very unhappy in his work and he added: 'I want another job badly. I am not too keen to cut lawns all day long, it gets very boring'.

Two children give reasons for their indifferent attitude towards their work. Both children, unrelated to each other, are of German origin—a boy, a bank clerk, and a girl who works behind the counter at Coles. The boy remarks: 'At times I am reasonably satisfied, at others I could chuck it all in. This work in the bank is only a stop-gap. I want to be a teacher, but I failed my leaving last year, so I am doing a few subjects at night school, and once I pass those I will go to the Teachers' Training College'. The girl explained: 'There is not much to do here, I like to be busy all the time, but this only happens on Fridays, so I would like to change my job'.

Table 13 *Children's evaluation of their earnings*

Evaluation of earnings	Boys					Girls				
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Total	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Total
Quite sufficient	4	3	1	3	11	4	3	2	3	12
In-between	1	2	2	—	5	4	1	—	1	6
Quite insufficient	1	1	2	3	7	—	—	—	—	—
Total	6	6	5	6	23	8	4	2	4	18

Contentment with wages earned is not as widespread as the general satisfaction with jobs performed (see Table 13).

Just over half of the children feel that the wages they earn are sufficient for them, while one-quarter feel that they are barely adequate, and the rest consider them quite insufficient. Girls are generally more satisfied with their earnings than boys. One Polish girl, who is happy with her wages, gives details of her budget: 'I get \$18.28 a week as a shop assistant. I pay some income tax out of this. I pay \$5 for board to my mother. I buy my own clothes and bank some money. I am well off'. An Australian girl who works as a clerk for a private firm is less enthusiastic, but still satisfied: 'Everybody wants more, but I am happy with my wage'.

Some boys just complained about their earnings, while others were more explicit in emphasising the discrepancy between wages and the extent of their expenses. So two British boys, one a clerk in Commonwealth Government service and the other a carpenter state: 'I can barely manage', 'I like carpentry, it is a reasonable profession, but the money I get is never enough, I just get by every week'. An Australian boy and a German boy explained more fully: 'The pay I get at present is quite insufficient—I am paying off a new car'. 'No, it is not enough, far from it. Too many expenses, the car, my girl friend and they are expensive'.

Fathers in the work force

An inspection of the occupational distribution of fathers indicates that only a few of the immigrant fathers in the sample are in the highest occupational groups. Such a finding is similar to one on Polish immigrants alone (Johnston, 1965c, 1969a) and to many immigrants of various nationalities living in Australia (Zubrzycki, 1968).

Looking at the Polish immigrants studied here it is of interest to note that those who arrived in the late fifties and early sixties represent a heterogeneous occupational group some of whose members are working in jobs similar to those performed in their country of origin. So all skilled workers have identical jobs here, but those who were clerks in Poland before they came now do labouring jobs because of their restricted knowledge of English. A few of the fathers who were small-scale farmers in post-war Poland have also joined the ranks of unskilled workers. Amongst the late

Table 14 Past and present occupations of Polish university graduates

Pre-migration occupational status	Occupational status in	
	1959	1968
Medical practitioner	radiographer	radiographer
Arts teacher	arts teacher	arts teacher*
Fine Arts degree	miner	miner
Engineer	engineer	engineer
General Arts degree	builder	builder
Lawyer	messenger in solicitor's office	messenger in solicitor's office
Engineer	engineer	engineer
Accountant	accountant	accountant
Accountant	business executive	business executive
Commerce degree	estate agent	estate agent
Physical training degree	labourer	labourer*
Engineer	engineer	engineer
Agriculture degree	business owner	business owner
Total	13	13

* Both of these men died recently and the jobs noted were those at the time of their death.

arrivals are two men with engineering degrees, one of whom works as an engineer and the other runs a taxi business.

It is here appropriate to introduce another group of Polish immigrants who also have university degrees, but who came to Western Australia as Displaced Persons in the early 1950s. Their educational background has permitted some of them to transfer their former occupational skills to Australia. There were thirteen such persons and their past and current occupations are shown in Table 14.

It emerges from Table 14 that out of the thirteen university graduates six have been able to pursue their pre-migration occupations in Western Australia. Engineers are most successful in transferring their skills from one country to another, and accountants seem to be next in line in this respect. People with other degrees do not seem to be as fortunate, because their qualifications may have little application to Australian conditions, as in the case of the lawyer. All but one of the rest of the subjects who are misplaced in their occupational status showed a very restricted knowledge of

English, and for them obtaining jobs commensurate with their academic qualifications may be out of the question.

Taking each case individually, and I know every one of them well, there seems to be little difference in the mode of adjustment to Australia between those who are able to pursue their own careers and those who are not. The graduate with the Fine Arts degree, an accomplished painter, who went through the best training school in pre-war Poland, is a happy individual and family man with a Polish wife and two grown-up children. His house is full of his own paintings and some of the renowned masters', but he is content to work underground as a miner and enjoys the company of others who share with him the perils of the job.

At the same time, however, the physical training lecturer completely failed to adjust to life here, he withdrew from any social contacts despite the gregarious disposition of his Russian wife and his charming teenage son. In addition he kept on changing his labouring jobs and was deeply contemptuous of his fellow workers. In all my work with immigrants I have never come across a more serious case of maladjustment and deep unhappiness.

Contrastingly, it could be expected that those educated men who have been able to follow their own occupation in Australia would be happy here and prepared to adopt the Australian way of living. The case of one engineer in this small sample points in a different direction. He is happily married to a well educated British woman and has one daughter. He spends all his time in the company of Poles and is in fact a leader of one of their associations. Although he likes his job, he dislikes his Australian colleagues and is very critical of their training and their competence as engineers in their field. He openly admits that he is a Pole to the core and feels a deep commitment to Poland, whose culture he is prepared to defend and nurture on Australian soil.

Yet one of the accountants, married to a Polish girl, is extremely happy in Australia and highly assimilated to the way of life here. His business associates are Australians and he hardly ever makes any contact with other Poles. His command of English is very good with a slight trace of accent and he insisted on being interviewed in English because this is the language which he always uses.

From this brief description of a few case studies it is evident that the transfer of occupational skills into the country of immigration

does not necessarily play a significant role in the adjustment and assimilation level of immigrants with a university education. In my view the question of adjustment in a new country depends more on the personality of the immigrant and less on what he does for a living or how well he is educated. Personalities endowed with a zest for living and happy disposition are able to overcome occupational shortcomings. Morose and insecure people need prestigious jobs, to prop them up, especially if they have been trained for them. All the suggestions thus proposed are only tentative and need further exploration with much larger numbers of immigrants and with studies of personalities in depth.

Mothers in the work force

Not much more can be said about the occupational distribution of immigrant married women, except that some of the British and Australian mothers seem to occupy some semi-professional jobs, while German and Polish mothers do not. In this sample more Polish than other mothers are in the work force, as fifteen out of twenty-five mothers go out to work. Next come British women of whom eleven go out to work, but the number for the German and Australian women is only seven. Why this is so cannot be explained here adequately because of the small number of women involved.

Fathers' estimate of their financial position

Family living under all circumstances is greatly affected by the financial position of the head of the family. All fathers were therefore asked to comment on their financial position as they see it (see Table 15).

It seems that most of the German fathers and half of the Polish fathers consider their financial position comfortable. In this respect both differ significantly from British and Australian fathers, of whom only about one-third look at their financial position in the same light. The rest of the British and Australian fathers feel that their financial position is not quite sound, lying somewhere between 'comfortably off' and 'poorly off'. An assessment of this nature seems rather surprising, since some of the British and Australian fathers have much better jobs than the fathers of the other two ethnic groups. Seven of the nine upper professional and managerial jobs are occupied by British and Australian men.

Table 15 Fathers' estimate of financial position

Financial scale	Polish	German	British	Australian	Total
Very comfortably off	2	2	—	—	4
Comfortably off	10	18	9	9	46
In-between	9	4	15	16	44
Poorly off	4	1	1	—	6
Very poorly off	—	—	—	—	—
Total	25	25	25	25	100

Rows 1 and 2, 3 and 4 are combined
 $\chi^2 = 12.96$, $df = 3$, $p < 0.05$

Those of the German fathers most satisfied with their financial position are skilled tradesmen and self-employed. Those Polish immigrants are most satisfied with their financial position who are also skilled workers, and those unskilled workers whose wives go out to work. Financially dissatisfied Poles are labourers with large families where children still attend school. Amongst the British, the most dissatisfied are semi-skilled workers and a few of the highly-skilled. The same pattern prevails amongst the Australian fathers, but all Australian fathers in managerial positions and some in the public service viewed their condition as comfortable.

If the jobs held by fathers and their financial positions are vitally important for children's adjustment and happiness, so are the hours worked by parents and the time they return home from work. Home discipline is lowered when fathers or mothers do shift work or are away from home at weekends working. Table 16 gives information relevant to times worked.

There seems little difference between the Polish, German, and Australian fathers in the time of their return from work. The majority of fathers finish work at the usual time of 5 p.m. Some German fathers, working in the north of Western Australia, are often away from home for six months of the year. One-fifth of the German fathers are away for shorter periods and they are either branch managers or builders constructing houses in country areas. The British fathers are an exception in that in almost all cases they return home at the time usual for workers and seem infrequently to be away from home at night or during weekends. Shift work is

Table 16 Time of fathers' and mothers' return from work

Hours at which parents come from work	Fathers				Mothers			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.
Before 3 p.m.	—	—	—	—	3	3	2	4
After 5 p.m.	14	14	22	13	4	3	6	2
Shift work	5	2	1	5	8	—	3	—
Frequent overtime	5	4	2	4	—	—	—	—
Away at work months at times	1	5	—	2	—	—	—	—
Late at night	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—
Total	25	25	25	25	15	7	11	6

most typical of the Polish and Australian fathers. One-fifth of Polish fathers work overtime, and one father said: 'When I work overtime I make 80 to 90 dollars a week. This means I work all day Saturday and every night of the week till 10 o'clock in the evening'.

Half of the Polish mothers in the work force do shift work, working mostly as cleaners in offices starting work at 6 a.m., returning home at 11 a.m., and returning to work after 5 p.m. to complete the shift at 8 p.m. A few of these mothers living in outer suburbs spend much time travelling backwards and forwards. The few British and Australian mothers who do shift work are nursing sisters or are engaged in cafeteria work for large organisations like hospitals.

The case of the German mothers is of interest, since only a few of them are engaged in full-time employment and they mostly finish work long before 3 p.m., to be at home when children return from school. There were, however, two German mothers who work a single full day a week in shops, and complete their work after 5 p.m. The only German mother who works late at night is a waitress in a night club; she starts work at 7 p.m. and returns home at 12.30 a.m., and her husband takes over the supervision of the children as soon as he comes home from work.



All second generation immigrants, regardless of the country they live in, have a unique position in migration studies because they are exposed daily to cultural influences which come on the one side from their home and on the other from the environment outside. The second generation immigrants selected for this study have to cope with parental pressures pulling them towards the Polish or German culture to which their parents may still strongly adhere. At the same time the Australian world of school or work penetrates assiduously into the children's minds, presenting a new way of life often at odds with that of their parents.

The particular pattern adopted in Australia by the immigrant child in his attempt to adjust to two often opposing cultural influences determines in large measure his present life and his life later as an adult citizen. Progress in school, choice of occupation and success in his actual career, associations with others, leisure activities, relationships with parents and Australians, all hinge on his leaning towards one culture or the other. It is for this reason that the study spends much time in attempting to follow up the children's rate of assimilation, to find how far they have departed from their ethnic culture and moved towards the Australian culture.

To trace the extent of this departure certain specific areas of living were selected which seemed quite different in each culture; namely food, language, social contacts, and leisure. These were examined separately, to delineate change in various stages, and then together to provide an overall assimilation score. This gives a comprehensive picture, so far as these areas are concerned, of the child's advancement in the general assimilation process. At which-

ever level assimilation is being used, it always implies the distinction between external and subjective assimilation.

Throughout, much time and emphasis is given to the mutual relationships between children and parents; parental assimilation, and parental attitudes to children's assimilation, act as a canvas on which the latter paint their own assimilation and their own attitudes. This treatment reveals much about the way parents live, whom they visit, their feelings towards their own culture, and their views on Australia. Furthermore there emerge the dynamics of their children's upbringing, in turn revealing the degree of parental tolerance towards their offsprings' acceptance of the country to which they themselves emigrated. Without this parental background the children's outlook and conduct can be understood only in part; which is why so much detail is given to parental assimilation.

A few remarks are needed regarding the four areas selected for study. Beginning with food it must be stated at the outset that this study is not a treatise on culinary matters, except to note that Australian food is different from the food that European immigrants eat in their countries of origin. No special questions were asked in the interviews as to what immigrants actually eat. I took it for granted as an immigrant that there are certain features in the Australian mode of eating and cooking that are different from the Polish, German, or British way. British housewives in particular remarked that they buy and eat more meat in Australia than they did in the United Kingdom. Practically all females stated that they purchase Australian foods, but they cooked them differently from Australians.

Although the difference between the British and the Australian way of eating is not as wide as between the Australian and Polish or German way, there are discrepancies which make each way quite distinct. If only for the sake of climate, British immigrants eat more salads in Australia than they did in England, and the Australian meat, generally grilled, is appalling to many British immigrants here. Heavy puddings and rich soups are another feature of food preparation in England which is infrequent in Australia. Roast beef and lamb, although typical of the Sunday menu in both countries, is considered by the British housewife in Australia as 'not quite the thing it was back home'. British children, too, often

remarked on the abundance of fancy cakes in Australia and not in England. Practically all British adults understood the questions on food fairly well and answered them with the tacit agreement that the food in their own country differs from Australian food.

No difficulties occurred with Polish or German immigrants. Their food is so vastly different from food here that both groups of immigrants instantly knew what I meant by the relevant questions posed, and they were only too eager to pinpoint these differences in private conversation with me. Some went further and actually made me eat some of their typical dishes to convince me of their opinions. It must be added at this point that many Australians have acquired certain food habits typical of immigrants here, as will be shown shortly, but when we refer to 'Australian food' we mean food which was typical of Australians before the advent of large-scale migration into this country after World War II.

From food we go on to language. Again there was no problem as far as Polish and German immigrants were concerned. The Polish and the German languages are sufficiently different from the Australian language to make further comment on the necessity of assimilation redundant. For the British immigrants, however, the problem is slightly more complicated since they, like Australians, speak English. Despite this, assimilation problems arise for the British immigrants in that they speak a different English from Australians. These differences, as immigrants see them, will become more apparent when external and subjective assimilation in the area of language are discussed.

The area of social contacts is straightforward for all immigrants. The emphasis here is on the frequency of contacts with Australians as against contacts with members of immigrant groups, there being social contacts which involve outings with Australians, spending their leisure time with them, visiting them or being visited by them; in other words they imply personal and social relationships with them.

Leisure activities are not quite as discernible because some of these activities depend on general facilities existing in the community for all, and on the mass media. Immigrants may, for example, watch TV or attend football matches, both of which are typical pastimes for many Australians. Should the immigrants, however, choose to attend special football matches as played by ethnic

groups in Perth, or should they participate frequently in activities specially organised by the same groups, then one would be in a position to measure the extent of their non-assimilative tendencies in the area of leisure.

Included in this section is material concerning the Australian control group: the attitudes and behaviour of 'proper' Australian children and parents with respect to food, language, social contacts, and leisure. The importance of this group emerges more and more clearly as the analysis progresses, not only because it provides a standard against which we can assess the immigrants but also because it shows that British-Australian families are themselves slowly abandoning pre-war 'Australian' standards and are adopting some of the customs and attitudes of post-war settlers.

All this, together with the behaviour and attitudes of parents, especially when related to the four areas of assimilation, goes to make a long chapter. Nevertheless we are here dealing with the core of the assimilation process and any attempt to subdivide it would weaken its coherence and impact.

The four areas

Food. After this introduction we can now examine assimilation in the area of food. In this area, and wherever else possible, we include the Australian group to act as a model to which immigrants are supposed to assimilate.

Special comparisons as they appear under this and following tables apply only to the immigrant children studied and exclude the

Table 17 Children's external assimilation in the area of food and the Australian control group

Score	Sons					Daughters				
	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Aust.
All Australian	0	0	6	6	14	0	0	3	3	12
Half-and-half	7	13	11	31	6	10	9	9	28	6
All ethnic	10	6	2	18	—	13	4	1	18	—
Total	17	19	19	55	20	23	13	13	49	18

Rows 1 and 2 combined
 $\chi^2 = 9.52$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$
 Australian children
 $p > 0.05$

Rows 1 and 2 combined
 $\chi^2 = 8.79$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$

Table 18 Children's subjective assimilation in the area of food and the Australian control group

Score	Sons					Daughters				
	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Aust.
All Australian	1	4	7	12	9	5	3	6	14	9
Half-and-half	2	8	9	19	11	5	4	7	16	9
All ethnic	14	7	3	24	—	13	6	—	19	—
Total	17	19	19	55	20	23	13	13	49	18

Rows 1 and 2 combined
 $\chi^2 = 16.71$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$

Australian children
 $p > 0.05$

Rows 1 and 2 combined
 $\chi^2 = 11.53$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$

Australian children; the 'assimilation' of these indicates to what standards the immigrant children have to assimilate and to show how 'un-Australian' these 'Australian' children are becoming as a result of immigration.

The tests of significance are used to highlight the difference in assimilation between the samples of Polish, German, and British children. Although the Australian children stand quite apart from the immigrant children, within the sample of Australian children we draw comparisons between boys and girls, and the statistical differences between them appear under the table as shown. The picture for subjective assimilation is similar, as Table 18 shows.

Regarding external assimilation it is found that the British boys and girls assimilate much better than the children in the other two ethnic groups, implying that more of them eat typically Australian food. Reports of the Australian children are of interest here, since they show that in one-third of their homes some foreign foods are eaten.

If external assimilation denotes outward behaviour, subjective assimilation implies individual preferences and identification with either ethnic or Australian food (see e.g. questions 19 and 20 in Questionnaire for Immigrant Children, Appendix I). It emerges from the figures in Table 18 that the British boys and girls and also German boys in the samples are subjectively more assimilated, since they more often prefer Australian food to ethnic food.

Comparing the sexes by ethnic origin, it emerges that the Polish

Table 19 *Parents' external assimilation in the area of food*

Score	Fathers				Mothers			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Polish	German	Brit.	Total
All Australian	1	0	2	3	0	1	1	2
Half-and-half	6	16	14	36	9	20	13	42
All ethnic	18	9	9	36	16	4	11	31
Total	25	25	25	75	25	25	25	75

Rows 1 and 2 combined Rows 1 and 2 combined
 $\chi^2 = 7.25, df = 2, p < 0.05$ $\chi^2 = 11.98, df = 2, p < 0.05$

boys and their sisters do not differ significantly in their assimilation in the area of food, nor do boys and girls of the other two groups. Excluding the Polish boys who seem to be the least assimilated children in this area, a discrepancy is noted between the other children's external and subjective assimilation. They seem to be more subjectively than externally assimilated, indicating that at the personal level they tend to identify with Australian food, but cannot help eating the foods provided for them at home. So, for example, German boys might have to eat at home mixed Australian and German food, while they themselves prefer purely Australian food. In this sense, children's external assimilation is controlled by conditions at home, while in subjective assimilation they have a free choice unhindered by others.

A British boy makes this particular point quite clear: 'I prefer Australian food at all times, but my mother is English and she is not a good cook, we only get the stodgy meals cooked the English way. We get no fancy cakes, the Australians have more of a variety of foods'.

Australian children also show a preference for more immigrant food than is provided in their homes, since half of them want to eat such foods. An appreciation of this is shown in the remark of one Australian boy: 'We eat quite a lot of Italian foods. Mum adds garlic, ginger and chillies to our food. I prefer the mixture'. His two sisters, however, who eat the same variety of food, are inclined to eat food which is typically Australian. Another Australian girl states: 'We eat partly migrant foods, and I prefer those, they have more taste'.

From children we go on to parents and show their degree of external and subjective assimilation in Tables 19 and 20.

Table 20 Parents' subjective assimilation in the area of food

Score	Fathers				Mothers			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Polish	German	Brit.	Total
All Australian	1	1	3	5	0	3	0	3
Half-and-half	5	14	8	27	3	12	14	29
All ethnic	19	10	14	43	22	10	11	43
Total	25	25	25	75	25	25	25	75

Rows 1 and 2 combined $\chi^2 = 6.65$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$ Rows 1 and 2 combined $\chi^2 = 13.29$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$

The Polish fathers and mothers are the least assimilated both externally and subjectively. An inspection of figures in both tables clearly indicates, however, that on the whole the immigrants studied tend to stick mostly to their own foods, mixing Australian food into their diet only at times.

To a small number of British fathers and mothers, the problem of food evaluation presented some difficulty, clearly visible in a statement used: 'I don't see any difference between English and Australian food'. Three adults and five children belonged to that group and they received a score of three, the highest score for assimilation in that area. It was thought that such a rating was fully justified, since the persons in question accepted English and Australian foods as identical; hence there was no need to change from one to another and no need to assimilate in any sense as far as food was concerned.

Australian parents in the sample were asked about any possible changes that might have occurred in their diet owing to the influx of immigrants into Western Australia. Their answers are presented in Table 21.

Australian mothers in the sample seem to be eating immigrant food slightly more often than their husbands. In one family, where

Table 21 Australian parents' change in food habits

Change took place	Fathers	Mothers	Total
Yes	9	11	20
No	16	14	30
Total	25	25	50

the male head of the family categorically denied eating any European foods, his wife had this to say: 'Speaking for myself—my tastes have changed. I like their foods and I cook some for the family. I also read a lot of their recipes'. Another Australian woman gave details about the type of foreign foods she eats: 'Oh, I like Italian foods, their sausages and olives'.

The Australian fathers who accepted immigrant food made remarks running on the following lines: 'You can't avoid eating their food, the things are in the shops and we have plenty of migrants for neighbours'. One of the fathers who has not changed his eating habits turned the same argument in the opposite way: 'The variety of foods available is greater, but it is not much more acceptable to me than before'. An Australian mother in the same category stated: 'We stick to old Australian food'.

To be more specific we asked the Australian parents whether any special migrant drinks and foods appear on their table. It was feared that the reported changes in food habits could well have taken place outside the home in places such as cafés and restaurants. Since the main interest of this study focuses on the family, it was thought that such a question would highlight any departure from the typical Australian way of eating at the family level. The nine Australian fathers and the eleven mothers (Table 21) who admitted the adoption of foreign foods also answered in the affirmative to the question posed. Two of the fathers qualified their answers, one mentioning that Italian food is being eaten in his home, and the other named Dutch and Chinese food as being frequently consumed by his family. Two of the Australian mothers also gave details on the new food and one said: 'We drink vodka, eat continental cheese and I cook Vienna schnitzels', and the other explained: 'We often have on the table Polish and Italian sausages'.

It is possible to assume that some Australian females in the sample could have had a genuine interest in European cooking which had little to do with the presence of immigrants in their midst. Their interests could have been stimulated by travel abroad, or intellectual curiosity about foods in other countries. To trace explicitly the influence of migration on food habits we asked a question: 'Have you always been interested [in continental cooking], or have the migrants whom you know, influenced you in this direction?' Only one of the interviewed women concerned was not in-

fluenced by the immigrants' presence here and she remarked: 'I got to like foreign foods when I was on a ship, nothing to do with migrants'.

A quick glance at the tables dealing with external assimilation shows great discrepancies in the evaluation by children and parents both immigrant and Australian of the kind of food eaten in the respective homes. For example only two British boys and only one British girl state that the food in their homes is typically British in nature, while eleven mothers and nine fathers think that it is. By the same token twice as many German fathers as German mothers consider their food typically German, and far more of their children think the same way about it. Australian children too maintain that only in one-third of their homes do foreign foods appear, while nearly half their parents report that such foods are being consumed.

It is quite obvious that both parents and their children are eating the same food at home, yet each member of the family looks at it from his own individual point of view. The obvious discrepancies in evaluation are not conscious distortions of facts, but they are a function of individual differences in perception. In other words, it is not reality that counts, but the individual's interpretation of it. The theme of individual differences in perception is woven throughout the analysis of this material because it accounts for a great deal of disagreement between parents and children in various spheres of family living to be discussed later.

Data on assimilation for this and other areas are available for the small sample of Polish university graduates, enabling one to highlight differences in assimilation of people with varying educational levels. Unfortunately, comparisons can be made only for Polish heads of households, since corresponding information is not available for either the British or German immigrants or for the wives and children of Polish graduates. In the current sample of Polish fathers are two who are engineers with university degrees. They are combined with the original sample of the thirteen graduates, who came to Australia as Displaced Persons.

It is found (Table 22) that the graduates differ significantly from the other Polish males in the kind of food they eat. Exactly one-third of them eat typically Australian food, while only one of the non-graduates eats this sort of food. The differences are nowhere nearly as pronounced for subjective assimilation, where some of

Table 22 External and subjective assimilation of Polish fathers, with and without university degrees, in the area of food

Score	University graduates		Non-university graduates		Total ext.	Total subj.
	Extern.	Subject.	Extern.	Subject.		
All Australian	5	3	1	1	6	4
Half-and-half	7	4	5	3	12	7
All ethnic	3	8	17	19	20	27
Total	15	15	23	23	38	38

the graduates shift their preferences for food in the ethnic direction. It will be shown later that graduates have more frequent contacts with Australians than non-graduates and one might conjecture that the company of Australians may exercise some pressure towards eating Australian food, while Polish food is in fact more desired. It may be added in passing that none of the Polish graduates is married to an Australian spouse, so there would be no exposure to Australian food at home. Other influences in culinary matters could be visualised, since three of the men are married to a German, English, and Russian female respectively, but intracultural ethnic influences are not followed up in this study, which is mainly concerned with the ethnic-Australian dimension.

It is important now to show parental attitudes to their children's assimilation in diet, because such attitudes may determine the children's eating behaviour and thus throw more light on their external assimilation in the area. Parents who want their children to eat Australian foods are designated as having a favourable attitude to their children's assimilation, those who have an unfavourable attitude to their children's assimilation want them to eat all ethnic foods. In-between attitudes are those of parents who wish their children to eat mixed foods, consisting of some Australian foods and some European foods. In Table 23 are listed the kinds of attitudes and the number of parents who have each kind of attitude.

The fathers of Polish, German, and British origin do not differ significantly in their attitudes to their children's assimilation in the area of food; most fathers want their children to eat mixed Australian and European foods, though Polish fathers seem more conservative. Mothers of the three groups differ significantly in their attitudes inasmuch as Polish mothers most frequently want their

Table 23 Parents' attitudes to the assimilation of their children in the area of food

Parents' attitude	Polish		German		British	
	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers
Favourable	3	0	2	3	3	3
In-between	11	9	17	20	17	16
Unfavourable	11	16	6	2	5	6
Total	25	25	25	25	25	25

Rows 1 and 2 combined [in the comparison between fathers]

$\chi^2 = 3.98$, $df = 2$, $p > 0.05$

Rows 1 and 2 combined [in the comparison between mothers]

$\chi^2 = 19.12$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$

children to eat Polish foods, while the German and British mothers want their children to eat both Australian and European foods. Fathers and mothers of Polish origin do not differ significantly in their attitudes, nor do German or British parents. Polish fathers, with and without university degrees, also show no difference. Details of these attitudes are given in Appendix III, where a summary of all other attitudes and all assimilation scores are also to be found under appropriate headings. The way parental attitudes influence children's behaviour and how this affects mutual relationships is shown in Chapter 6.

No information is given on the attitudes of second generation immigrants to their own assimilation in the area of food, or any other area, because their subjective assimilation in each denotes their attitude at the same time. In fact, subjective assimilation is understood in terms of a preference between certain aspects of an ethnic life on one hand and the Australian way of life on the other, and such preferences are synonymous with attitudes.

Language. Although British immigrants do have to make some linguistic adjustments in Australia, these are not of the magnitude or complexity typical of other immigrants and their children. In view of this a separate section is devoted to the British children and their parents, highlighting their own peculiar problems.

Immigrants whose mother tongue is not English live in a confusing world of bilingualism, which adds an extra strain to their

proper functioning in the new country. Children whose homes use a non-English language have constantly to shift expressions of their mental process from one language to the other, the divergent structure of each often making it impossible to achieve perfection in either. Some linguists have given their full attention to the psychological difficulties of the bilingual child. For example, Fishman (1968) has taken bilingual children in Canada and stressed the difficulties of personality adjustment in their ethnic home, when proficiency in the new language has been achieved. In my study, too, some Polish and German children complained about the inability to change after school hours to a language so different from English and voiced the opinion that their school work was suffering because of the intermittent use of two languages.

From the point of view of personal relationships with parents, the bilingual immigrant child often faces an apprehension quite unknown to other children, who hardly ever feel any great responsibility for their parents' linguistic behaviour. The immigrant child often stands guard, becoming anxious about the linguistic performance of his parents when they use English with others. Ashamed of their parents' inability to speak English properly, children are often reluctant to include them in any activities which demand a good command of English, and this in turn may result in a gradual rejection of parents altogether.

For the immigrant parent, the problem is even more complex. Unable to learn English, owing to advanced age, general lack of education or disinclination, some parents withdraw from contacts with English speaking people and, if out of touch with fellow ethnics, may become socially isolated, mentally depressed and in more severe cases mentally ill. Added to the personal disorganisation caused by limited contacts with others, there is a sense of self-deprecation and a deep feeling of lowered self-worth as an adult and parent, especially when having to rely on their children's mediation with the outside world. The parent's changed role, from family leader to ignorant follower, has deep repercussions both for his self-respect and for the respect that he generates in others.

For those with less morose tendencies and in closer proximity to their compatriots the path may be a little easier. Restricted in their contacts with English speaking people, they turn in full force to members of their ethnic group for solace and social intercourse.

Table 24 Use of English and Polish or German by children in the home

Language	Sons			Daughters		
	Polish	German	Total	Polish	German	Total
English only	1	10	11	2	2	4
Half-and-half	9	9	18	12	11	23
Polish only	7	—	7	9	—	9
German only	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	17	19	36	23	13	36

Note: *N* is smaller than 40, so the Fisher test is used as in all such cases.

They thus reinforce their ethnicity and, by doing so, receive punishment from all those who disapprove of unassimilative tendencies.

Apart from personal problems arising from inability to converse in English stands the crucial factor of the ethnic language itself, with its wider implications for many immigrants; wider in the sense that to them their own language represents the core of their national self-identity. For Poles, to be a Pole is to speak Polish. The same applies to immigrants of other nationalities, and for this reason they preserve and nurture and defend their right to speak in their own tongue, accepting all the self-inflicted consequences which come their way.

To many European immigrants, the preservation of their own tongue presents a further significance and challenge. Disagreeing, as they do, with the governments imposed on their former countries, and with policies aiming to extinguish their original cultures, these immigrants feel a purpose of mission entrusted to them as emigrés. They are convinced that it is their utmost duty to cherish and uphold the language of their forefathers as the most valued treasure of their national culture. National identity and national responsibility induce these immigrants to develop only a superficial interest in any other language, including English. Since the English language is a necessary medium of communication they are quite prepared to acquire the rudiments of it, so as to get by, but they treat their superficial knowledge only in a functional sense, refusing to master it as they have mastered their own language.

The interplay of motives governing the linguistic behaviour of immigrants is therefore quite complex. The intricacies of such

Table 25 Use of English and Polish or German by parents in the home

Language	Fathers			Mothers		
	Polish	German	Total	Polish	German	Total
English only	1	1	2	1	1	2
Half-and-half	19	24	43	14	24	38
Polish only	5	—	5	10	—	10
German only	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	25	25	50	25	25	50

Rows 1 and 2 combined Rows 1 and 2 combined
 $\chi^2 = 3.55$, $df = 1$, $p > 0.05$ $\chi^2 = 10.13$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.05$

behaviour amongst the Polish and German immigrant families are shown in Table 24.

The German boys differ significantly from the Polish boys in the frequency with which they use the ethnic language at home. More of them use English alone, while nearly half of the Polish boys use Polish exclusively at home. Although German girls do not use English as persistently as do their brothers, they nonetheless differ from their Polish counterparts because none of them use only the ethnic language at home, while nearly half of the Polish girls use only Polish at home. Polish brothers and sisters do not differ greatly in their linguistic behaviour; very few use English only at home and the majority use English and Polish interchangeably. The majority of the German children also use both German and English at home, none uses just German, but the boys use English alone much more often than the girls. From the point of view of external assimilation, it seems that the German children are more externally assimilated in the area of language than are Polish children.

A preponderance of all children speak two languages at home, reserving the ethnic language for conversation with their parents, and using English with their brothers and sisters. The same linguistic behaviour was noted for those immigrant children in America investigated by Fishman (1966). The German and Polish children studied here were very honest in their reports on language used at home, their answers were verified in the interviews with their parents.

To assess their parents' external assimilation, a more detailed

Table 26 Parents' use of English, Polish, or German at their place of work

Language	Fathers			Mothers		
	Polish	German	Total	Polish	German	Total
English only	13	24	37	7	18	25
Half-and-half	6	1	7	9	7	16
Polish only	6	—	6	9	—	9
German only	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	25	25	50	25	25	50

Rows 2 and 3 combined
 $\chi^2 = 13.57$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.05$

Rows 2 and 3 combined
 $\chi^2 = 8.0$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.05$

approach was used than with the children. Parents were asked not only about the language of conversation at home, but the language used away from it; it being taken for granted that children normally speak only English outside their home.

As can be seen from Table 25, the majority of both German and Polish fathers use two languages at home, but it is worth noting that whereas five Polish fathers use only Polish at home, none of the German fathers uses German only. No German mother speaks only German at home; in this respect they differ greatly from the Polish mothers, nearly half of whom speak nothing else but Polish at home.

When marriage partners are looked at together, it is found that in the German homes the use of language is quite uniform, while in the Polish homes mothers use Polish more often than their husbands. In the homes of Polish university graduates the use of Polish is almost universal, being spoken exclusively in three homes and together with English in eleven homes, whereas there was only one home where English only was spoken. Questions related to language usage at places other than the home were not asked of the graduates.

Table 26 shows that nearly half of the fathers of Polish origin use the Polish language at work, and state they converse in that language continually, justifying their behaviour on the grounds that many Poles work at their places of employment and that there is no need to speak English. They differ in this respect from the German fathers, nearly all of whom speak only English. Of the

Table 27 Parents' use of English, Polish, or German in the casual meeting of countrymen in the street

Language	Fathers			Mothers		
	Polish	German	Total	Polish	German	Total
English only	—	4	4	—	3	3
Half-and-half	4	11	15	1	8	9
Polish only	21	—	21	22	—	22
German only	—	10	10	—	14	14
Total	25	25	50	23	25	48

Rows 1 and 2 combined $\chi^2 = 8.49$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.05$ Rows 1 and 2 combined $\chi^2 = 8.04$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.05$

fifteen working Polish mothers, one-third speak Polish at work, one of them stating: 'The manager at the motel where I am working is Polish. Many women working there are also Polish. The Australians don't like me speaking Polish, but I do just the same. I do as I please. This is not forbidden to speak in your own language, it is not against the law'.

The attitude of other Poles towards speaking their own language in public is somewhat less definite, but many feel quite justified in using it and do so freely.

The German immigrants seem more sensitive, their view being expressed succinctly in the words of one German father: 'Away from home at work, and anywhere else, I speak English always. I believe we should speak the language of the country at work, in the street, on buses and trains'. More decisive is the point of view of one German mother: 'We live in this country and we have to speak the language of this country'.

At the more intimate level of conversation carried out in a particular language, as when meeting compatriots in the street, Poles also differ from Germans (see Table 27).

Polish fathers in nearly all cases speak only Polish to other Poles in the street while less than half of the German fathers speak German. The difference is also significant for the Polish and the German mothers, the former using Polish exclusively. One Polish mother answered to the relevant question: 'Of course I speak to Poles I meet in the street in Polish, we use our own language, you

Table 28 Use of English, Polish, or German by parents while with their compatriots at home

Language	Fathers			Mothers		
	Polish	German	Total	Polish	German	Total
English only	—	1	1	—	—	—
Half-and-half	4	5	9	1	5	6
Polish only	20	—	20	22	—	22
German only	—	19	19	—	20	20
Total	24	25	49	23	25	48

Rows 1 and 2 combined Rows 1 and 2 combined
 $\chi^2 = 0.00$, $df = 1$, $p > 0.05$ $\chi^2 = 1.44$, $df = 1$, $p > 0.05$

would not talk in English to them, would you?' The German mothers who use both languages upon meeting other Germans resort to a pattern described well by one of them: 'In the beginning we start in English, then revert to German when we settle down to a real conversation'. Two mothers married to Poles but German by birth are excluded from the column 'Polish mothers' in Table 27. Although Poles and Germans differ in their behaviour away from home, privately in conversation with other immigrants they display a similar language pattern, as shown in Table 28, indicating that the ethnic language is mostly used.

Excluded are one Polish father who never visits or is visited by anybody and the two non-Polish wives. Despite the fact that German immigrants speak their own language in their own homes, they show consideration for English speaking people who enter their homes; in their presence, be they children or adults, they always use English. One German mother describes her attitude thus: 'When only Germans are in the house, we speak German. I detest when people speak German when Australians are about. I tell the Germans so, too'. This particular mother insisted on being interviewed in English and her answer appears verbatim.

An understanding for the timely usage of English by the German parents is fully justified in view of the attitude that Australians have towards non-English speaking in public. Australians in the sample were asked: 'How do you feel, when you hear migrants speaking in their own language at work or in the street?' Of the

Table 29 *Children's subjective assimilation in the area of language*

Language	Sons			Daughters		
	Polish	German	Total	Polish	German	Total
English only	8	9	17	7	3	10
Half-and-half	3	9	12	3	9	12
Polish only	6	—	6	13	—	13
German only	—	1	1	—	1	1
Total	17	19	36	23	13	36

twenty-five fathers nineteen strongly disapproved of migrants using a language other than English. Their feelings are verbalised in the following comments: 'It makes me annoyed—I feel that they talk behind my back.' 'I am against it as I suspect that the migrants are trying to hide something.' 'I get mad.' 'I regard it as bordering on bad manners.' 'Relations would be smoother all round if English was spoken at all times.'

Only two fathers approved of the foreign tongue being used publicly; one of them explained: 'Basically it has no effect. If I was in a foreign country, I would be speaking in my own language too'. The remaining four fathers were not influenced in any way by the problem.

Australian females have complementary attitudes to their men regarding the usage of the ethnic tongue by immigrants in public, but they seem slightly more tolerant towards the issue than men, since nine of them did not mind the ethnic language. The contents of the females' answers were similar to those of the men as one disapproving female shows: 'I think it is a lack of tact. By doing this they separate themselves from the Australian community and they do a lot of harm to themselves'. A tolerant woman states: 'I don't mind at all. I put myself in their shoes. I have a lot of admiration for those who took the trouble to learn English'.

So far, analysis has shown the language assimilation of the immigrants in the external sense. It is now time to discuss the children's and parents' subjective assimilation. The relevant questions (see Interview Schedules, Appendix I) were questions 19, 20, 21, 26 for parents, and for children the questions were 24, 25, 26, 33, asking what language they preferred to use at home and whether they wanted to learn to read and write the ethnic language.

Table 30 Parents' subjective assimilation in the area of language

Language	Fathers			Mothers		
	Polish	German	Total	Polish	German	Total
English only	1	2	3	2	7	9
Half-and-half	6	20	26	2	12	14
Polish only	18	—	18	21	—	21
German only	—	3	3	—	6	6
Total	25	25	50	25	25	50

Rows 1 and 2 combined Rows 1 and 2 combined
 $\chi^2 = 16.09, df = 1, p < 0.05$ $\chi^2 = 15.78, df = 1, p < 0.05$

If we take each ethnic language separately it emerges from Table 29 that Polish boys and girls are more frequently inclined to use their own language to the exclusion of English. This contrasts sharply with the German children of whom only two show such inclination. The Polish girls seem to be more anxious than their brothers to retain their ethnic language, but there is no difference amongst the German children in this respect.

Some of the Polish children who identify with the English language and want to speak it at home say: 'I would like to speak English all the time to learn the language better'. 'I would like to speak in English, it would be better for my school work'. 'I prefer to speak Australian, as I speak it so much better, but my parents make me speak Polish'. Well over half of the Polish girls, however, prefer to speak only Polish at home and one of them said: 'Oh, no not English, I want to speak only Polish, if I could, this is our language'. There was only one German boy who wanted to speak German at home, his reason being: 'I have to speak in German now because we are leaving for a holiday to Germany soon, so I must keep my German going'.

The subjective assimilation of parents in the area of language is shown in Table 30.

The Polish parents are obviously less assimilated subjectively as more of them prefer to speak Polish at home, with friends, and at work. Taking the Polish fathers separately, it is found that fathers without university degrees do not differ greatly from Polish graduates in their attitudes towards speaking Polish. This is shown in Table 31.

Table 31 Subjective assimilation of Polish fathers, with and without university degrees, in the area of language

Language	University graduates	Non-university graduates	Total
English only	3	1	4
Half-and-half	2	6	8
Polish only	10	16	26
Total	15	23	38

Note: The 38 fathers are the total of 25 in the sample and 13 others interviewed by the author in a general inquiry on Polish immigrants, the major part of which was published in Johnston (1965b). The author has combined the answers and results of the two surveys.

As far as the Polish males are concerned, it can be stated with some confidence that their educational level has little to do with the way they use Polish to the exclusion of English. The lack of subjective assimilation towards English is amply evident in the expression of one of the university graduates: 'I want to improve my English for the academic interest of it and in order to advance in my career, but for no other reason'.

A number of approaches was used to delineate the attitude of Polish and German parents towards the use by their children of the ethnic and the English languages. One of the questions in this connection reads: 'In which language do you prefer your children to speak to you?'. The relevant data are presented in Table 32.

Polish fathers differ from German fathers by wanting their children to speak to them in the ethnic language; there is the same

Table 32 Parents' preference for children's language use in conversation with them

Language	Fathers			Mothers		
	Polish	German	Total	Polish	German	Total
English only	—	4	4	2	4	6
Half-and-half	5	10	15	1	9	10
Polish only	20	—	20	22	—	22
German only	—	11	11	—	12	12
Total	25	25	50	25	25	50

Rows 1 and 2 combined $\chi^2 = 5.43$, df = 1, $p < 0.05$ Rows 1 and 2 combined $\chi^2 = 7.44$, df = 1, $p < 0.05$

difference between the Polish and German mothers. This means that the German parents are not nearly as keen for their children to speak to them in the ethnic language as are the Polish parents. Differences between attitudes of marriage partners within the same ethnic groups are not extensive. Of the two Polish mothers who want their children to speak to them in English, one wants to acquire a better command of English and thinks she will achieve her goal quicker if speaking English with her children. The other is German by birth but married to a Pole who refuses to allow German to be spoken in his home. Since the mother does not permit her children to use Polish at home, the family finally agreed to use English as the medium of communication.

For some of the German mothers the question posed presented some difficulties, as can be seen in the following statement: 'It is hard to answer. I can't make up my mind whether I want them to speak to me in German or in English. We speak to them in German mostly. At school they speak English and they must know their English before anything else, but at the same time I want them to know their German too. So it is very hard'.

Another German mother, more explicit in her attitude, gives details about the dynamics of her children's bilingualism, which incidentally she favours: 'They speak to us both in English and German. When the conversation is already in progress and it happens to be in English, we continue to talk in that language. Under all other circumstances we speak in German'.

German parents have a variety of reasons for wanting their children to speak to them in German, for example one German father says: 'I think they should speak German at home, so that they don't forget it'. Parents' concern for the retention of the German language was for many the main cause for making their children speak to them in German.

For those German parents who want their children to speak English, the following expressions are relevant: 'The children go to school here so they should speak English at all times'. 'They speak in English to us and that is what they should speak, and we speak in German to them. Mind you not in public'. One German mother, like one of the Polish mothers mentioned, wants her children to speak English to her, so that she too can learn English from them. She says: 'I find it better for them to speak English to me. I can

Table 33 Parents' attitude to their children's use of English at home

Agrees to English being spoken	Fathers			Mothers		
	Polish	German	Total	Polish	German	Total
Yes	16	24	40	13	24	37
No	9	1	10	12	1	13
Total	25	25	50	25	25	50

$$\chi^2 = 6.13, df = 1, p < 0.05 \quad \chi^2 = 12.00, df = 1, p < 0.05$$

then learn it better as they keep on correcting my English all the time, both boys do'.

When immigrant parents want their children to speak the ethnic language at home they have two main considerations in mind. One is a nationalistic concern to keep the foreign language alive as a symbol of their ethnic culture. The other has an educational connotation inherent in the parents' view that the knowledge of another language widens the children's horizons, enriching their experience in gaining insight into the culture of another nation. One Polish father remarks: 'I do insist that my children speak Polish . . . the bilingual training will help them in the future in learning of other languages. It also gives the mind alertness'. Five German parents and three Polish parents stressed this particular value of the ethnic language.

Although many parents are determined that their children speak the ethnic language, they have nothing against their children speaking English as well, because they see the need for their children to achieve a high proficiency in English, as this knowledge will make the children's lives in Australia much easier. Parents' attitudes to the speaking of English at home are shown in Table 33.

Those parents, mostly Poles, who are against the use of English at home are those who at all costs want to preserve the ethnic language for nationalistic reasons; for example one Polish mother says: 'Yes, I do object to English when they speak it in my home. They must speak Polish. This is their language. They need it'. The only German mother who opposes English said almost the same thing in a different way: 'I want her to speak German because we are Germans'. In total the attitudes of German parents towards

English at home are far more tolerant than those of Polish parents, but Polish fathers are slightly more tolerant than their wives.

When the Polish fathers with and without university degrees are compared they differ to a degree as the more highly educated fathers want English to be spoken in their home more often than the other group of fathers (see Appendix III). One university graduate remarked: 'My children speak English only, it is easier for them. They can express themselves better. They would be handicapped speaking Polish. It is for practical reasons better for them, and I want the differences between my children and the Australian children to be diminished'.

Ability to write and read in Polish and German is also important. Here, it emerges that in thirteen of the twenty-five Polish homes all the children are able to write and read in Polish. Children in nine German homes can write and read in German. All except two Polish parents want their children to be able to write and read in Polish and their attitude is described by one father: 'Of course I am keen that my children write and read in Polish. One more language is good and this happens to be their national language. It is very important that they know it'. Polish parents in eight homes assist their children with writing and reading in Polish. In the other homes there is no need for parents' help as the children have already mastered all aspects of the language.

The situation in the German homes is quite different. The general tone of parents' replies indicated that the children are not too keen to learn to read or write in German and parents are lenient and tolerant to such attitudes, exercising little pressure on their children. Where parents do press them, they generally meet with little success, as demonstrated in the answer of one German father: 'They don't want to speak, read or write in German. I try to make them, but have little luck with it'. In five homes children seek parents' assistance with the learning of German, because they take it as a subject at school or university, or as in one family they need the command of German as that family is due to return to Germany to live and the children are fully aware of the necessity to know German properly.

Parents' attitudes to their children's use of the ethnic language are commensurate with their behaviour inasmuch as Polish parents insist far more often on it being used at home than do German parents.

Table 34 Parents' insistence on their children speaking the ethnic language at home

Insists	Fathers			Mothers		
	Polish	German	Total	Polish	German	Total
Yes	9	3	12	11	5	16
No	9	21	30	7	20	27
No need to insist, children speak it voluntarily	7	1	8	7	—	7
Total	25	25	50	25	25	50

$$\chi^2 = 12.30, df = 2, p < 0.05 \quad \chi^2 = 15.51, df = 2, p < 0.05$$

Clearly (Table 34), the German parents insist much less than Polish parents. Polish mothers are even more insistent than their husbands. A few verbatim answers illustrate their point of view: 'Yes, I insist. The Polish language is their own language and their first language and they must know it'. 'They must keep the Polish language alive'.

The answers of Polish fathers who also insist do not differ greatly from those of their wives. One father remarked: 'Of course I insist because the Polish language is their proper language, their very own language. The English language is quite incidental to them. They have to know it. I would like to know it too, it is useful to know it'. 'Yes I am a Pole and they are too'. The same reason was given worded differently: 'I insist that the children speak Polish in the house because parents are Polish and the children should know their language'. The wife remarked in a similar fashion: 'They must not forget their own language. The parents are Poles'.

The parents who do not insist can be divided into three groups. The first is made up of parents who insisted in the past and found the task impossible, as expressed by one father: 'I can't insist any more. The struggle is too hard'. To the second group belong parents who have no need to insist as children voluntarily read, write, and speak Polish at home. The third group consists of parents who do not insist as they are keen for their children to know English as well as possible for reasons previously given.

Permissiveness on the part of the German parents is evident both numerically and in their direct answers. Some mothers said: 'No, I don't insist. I don't believe in it. If they don't want to speak in

German this is all right with us . . .'. 'I don't insist at all. I don't try too hard to make them speak it'. 'I don't make an issue of it'. German fathers are just as tolerant: 'No, I don't insist. Outside the house they can't use German, and English is really their language now and they should concentrate on it'. 'There is not much point in insisting. We don't force our children in this way at all'. 'No, never, absolutely no insistence'. The few German parents who do make their children speak German at home are anxious that their children do not forget the language, which they consider useful.

To reinforce and stimulate the knowledge of a language, different methods can be used besides coercion, though this has been employed in particular by some Polish parents. Availability of literature in the appropriate language at home is one of the positive ways to induce others to take an interest in it. It is for this reason that Polish and German parents were asked if books and newspapers in the ethnic language come into their homes.

It seems that the Polish parents do not indulge in the purchase of new books. Some immigrants, mostly those who arrived recently, have brought books with them from Poland, and these are exchanged between readers. Some families also use a small library attached to the Polish Association in Perth. The names of newspapers read in ten Polish homes are listed. Since both parents in each family agreed completely on the number and kind of newspapers coming into their homes, no division is given separately for fathers and mothers. The list divides reading matter into newspapers and magazines, with the English title of each and the place of publication.

Name of newspaper	English title	Published in
<i>Tygodnik Katolicki</i>	Catholic Weekly	Australia
<i>Wiadomosci Polskie</i>	Polish News	Australia
<i>Narodowiec</i>	National	France
<i>Dziennik Londynski</i>	London Daily	England
Name of magazine	English title	Published in
<i>Przyjaciolka</i>	Girl Friend	Poland
<i>Nasza Rodzina</i>	Our Family	Poland
<i>Kobieta</i>	Woman	Poland
<i>Swiat</i>	World	Poland
<i>Przekroj</i>	Profile	Poland
<i>Jutro Polskie</i>	Polish Tomorrow	London
<i>Nasza Droga</i>	Our Way	Australia

Table 35 Enumeration of Polish families and the newspapers and magazines each family reads

Brief description of family	Name of published matter
Father self-employed, mother works. Both dislike Australia. Only Polish spoken in the home. Two children.	Polish News Profile
Father professional man, mother at home, both pro-Polish. Seven children.	Girl Friend Catholic Weekly
Father labourer, mother at home. Both fail to appreciate Australia. Five children.	Catholic Weekly Polish News Girl Friend
Early arrivals, not identified. Father labourer, mother at home. Only Polish spoken. Five children.	Catholic Weekly National London Daily
Father skilled manual worker, mother at home. Contemptuous of Australia. Three children.	Catholic Weekly Polish News
Neither parent identified with Australia. Father labourer, mother works. Two children.	Girl Friend
Both parents unassimilated subjectively. Father skilled worker, mother works as domestic. Two children, one only slightly pro-Australia.	Polish News Catholic Weekly Woman, Girl Friend World, Profile
Father skilled manual worker, fairly well assimilated, mother factory worker, opposed to Australia. The three children are the same.	Catholic Weekly National London Daily
Father skilled manual worker, happy in Australia. Wife at home, not assimilated. Two children.	Catholic Weekly Polish News
Father highly identifies with Australia. Mother and the eight children do not identify. Late arrivals in Perth.	Polish Tomorrow Our Way Polish News Girl Friend

In Table 35 are listed the ten families who subscribe to Polish newspapers and periodicals.

The newspapers read most frequently are the 'Catholic Weekly' and 'Polish News'. The journal 'Girl Friend', published in Poland, is most popular with Polish women readers, while the other printed material is read by both sexes. To denote the pattern of reading generally, the reply of one father is cited: 'We exchange Polish books amongst friends. In the way of newspapers, we read *Wiadomosci Polskie* and *Przekroj* that comes from Poland'. The way papers are bought is described by one mother: 'We buy the newspapers at Church after Mass on Sunday'. All the families who get *Wiadomosci*

Polskie and the 'Catholic Weekly' use the same place for their purchases.

The remaining families, fifteen in number, who do not get any newspapers or journals, are distributed as follows:

- 1 family gets special books from Poland for adults and children.
- 2 families get books from the Polish library attached to the Polish House.
- 3 families apparently have in their possession plenty of their own Polish books which they and their children read freely.
- 4 families used to buy newspapers and periodicals but do not do so any more.
- 5 families just gave the answer *no* to the question: 'Do Polish newspapers and books come into your home?'.

In the four families who ceased to buy Polish newspapers three fathers are evaluated as subjectively well assimilated and in one of them both parents are considered in the same light. In this family, the wife works as a domestic and the father is a skilled manual worker, and there are three children all quite pro-Australian. The other fathers are also skilled manual workers, two of their wives going out to work. All wives are still very Polish in every respect, but in one family a daughter is married to an Australian. It may well be that in these families the father, identified with Australia, feels no need to read Polish papers and hence none come into his home.

The five families who made no extra comment as to why they do not get Polish newspapers have non-assimilated fathers who are labourers; their wives are also not assimilated and three of them stay at home. In one of those homes the mother is of German origin and this may account for the absence of Polish papers in their house. The rest of the homes, in my estimate, are of a poor educational standing and possibly this is the reason for a lack of interest in reading of any sort except for an occasional book.

Parents were also asked if they make their children read Polish literature. None of the parents apparently exercise any pressure on their children and a high degree of tolerance prevails in this regard. In eight homes which have Polish newspapers, children read freely and voluntarily without any direction on the part of parents. Some parents even complained about their children's over-indulgence in reading. One mother said: 'They read the lot, each child reads every

Table 36 Number of children who read in the Polish language

	Boys	Girls	Total
Yes	9	12	21
No	8	10	18
Total	17	22	39

word of it'. Parents in two homes stated that their children read very little Polish, and in three homes children were unable to read in that language.

A considerable difference is noted in children's reports on the tolerance which parents allege they show in relation to children's reading in the Polish language. Children were asked if parents make them read Polish books and newspapers and fourteen children, seven boys and seven girls, answered in the affirmative.

The disparity between the opinions of some children and their parents about insistence on language use must be explained by differences in personal perception of what actually happens. In some families parents assume that they do not press their children to read Polish, whereas a high proportion of their sons and daughters think the parents do. All members of the family are witnesses to the same factual happenings, but they interpret them individually. Children's perception may be coloured by the degree of involvement in their own assimilation; for example, some children, keen on assimilating, may perceive the slightest attempts by parents to make them read in the ethnic language as an outright interference with their assimilative goals. Hence they see the situation differently from children who want to remain Polish and not to assimilate at all. Parents, too, anchored in the Polish language and keen on it, consider their pressures on children as gentle persuasions so negligible as to be not worth reporting.

Net results of Polish parents' influences on their children's behaviour and the child's own desires are demonstrated in Table 36, which shows the number of children who do in fact read Polish literature.

Over half the boys and girls read in Polish. Some of these children gave details of their behaviour. One girl said: 'I read them any-

how without anybody making me'. And another: 'I read them whenever I can'.

German families on the whole have different reading patterns from Polish families, as is evident from the following table. It is noticeable that newspapers are almost entirely absent from the list.

Name of magazine	English title	Published in
<i>Die Constanze</i>	Constance	Germany
<i>Der Stern</i>	The Star	Germany
<i>Die Illustrierte</i>	The Illustrated	Germany
<i>Die Neue</i>	The New	Germany
<i>Das Beste</i>	The Best	Germany
<i>Die Woche</i>	The Week	Melbourne
Name of newspaper	English title	Published in
<i>Hamburger Tagblatt</i>	The Hamburg Evening Paper	Germany

What each German family reads is shown in Table 37.

A glance at the Polish and German families into whose homes come foreign newspapers and magazines, indicates that German adults read magazines far more frequently than newspapers. It seems also that Polish immigrants read printed matter which carries typically Polish news, either political or religious; the last being evident in the frequency of reading the 'Catholic Weekly'. No such specific trends are discernible amongst the German immigrants. Without a careful content analysis of matter read by both ethnic groups and without a careful study of the Polish and German press in Australia and abroad, conclusions can only be tentative.

Yet it is clear from the tables that the Polish immigrants read on the whole less than do the German parents and it is plausible to suggest that this may be due to the better financial position of the German families, whose heads are mostly skilled workers earning more money than the unskilled Polish fathers (see Table 10, p. 34). The German parents were also better educated than the majority of Poles. If this is the case, then it is not surprising that the former are likely to read more than the latter. There is also the traditional background typical of German immigration to Australia discussed earlier (see pp. 17-20), that points to the strong adherence by German settlers to German literature while living abroad.

Table 37 *Enumeration of German families and the newspapers and magazines each family reads*

Brief description of family	Name of published matter
Father self-employed, mother helps in business. Both identified with Australia. Three children.	Constance
Father skilled worker away from home. Mother not working. Two children. Both identified with Australia.	Constance The Star
Father skilled worker, mother also works. Both well assimilated. Two daughters, one well assimilated, the other less so.	The Star
Father skilled worker, partly identified. Mother at home, not identified. Two children.	The Illustrated
Father unskilled, mother at home. Both partly assimilated. Two children.	The Star
Father a skilled worker, well identified. Mother, not working, is the same. Two children.	The Star The Illustrated
Husband at sea. Mother at home. Both assimilated. Two children.	The New The Star
Father skilled worker only partly identified. Mother works part-time and is only partly subjectively assimilated. One son.	The Best The Week
Father a clerk, assimilated. Mother at home, not assimilated. Two children.	Constance
Father skilled, mother home. Both advanced in assimilation. Three children.	The Star
Father skilled. Mother at home. Both pro-German. Three children.	The Star The Illustrated
Father skilled. Mother at home. Both pro-Australia. Three children.	The Star
Father skilled worker. Mother at home. Both not assimilated. Family returning to Germany. Four children.	The Hamburg Evening Paper
Father skilled worker. Mother at home. Both very pro-German. One child.	The Star The Illustrated
Father self-employed. Mother at home. Both quite well identified with Australia. Three children.	The Star The New

There were ten German families who read no German newspapers or journals divided into:

4 families who have books which they brought with them from Germany and read these;

1 family to whom relations in Germany frequently send books;

1 family who borrows books from other German friends; and

4 families who do not get any German literature at all. In these four families both of the parents were rated as subjectively well

Table 38 Children's reports on parents' insistence on reading in German

Insistence by parents	Boys	Girls	Total
Yes	1	1	2
No	18	12	30
Total	19	13	32

assimilated and this seems the reason for ignoring ethnic literature as shown in the expression of two females who stated: 'I now read English books'. The father in one home holds an executive position in a large firm, the others are all skilled manual workers. Three of the wives go out to work, doing part-time work only. Three of these families have two children each and the remaining family has one son. From the examples of the Polish fathers and the German families cited, it appears that those of the immigrants studied who do not subscribe to ethnic literature have achieved a high rate of assimilation.

The German parents show a high degree of tolerance about children reading German literature, giving them a free hand and exerting no pressure. Many German parents remarked that their children look mostly at the pictures in the German journals lying around the house and that they are quite happy about their children's attitudes. There was only one set of parents who made their teenage daughter read in German, because this particular family is very unsettled in Australia and is likely to return to Germany.

It is interesting to note that there was no discrepancy between parents' and children's answers about insistence on reading German, as shown in Table 38. Apparently the fact that fewer German parents were concerned about it reduced the possibility of parents and children seeing the situation differently. The issue of language is not as controversial in the German families as it is in the Polish families, and those Polish children overburdened with parental insistence on speaking the language may accuse their parents of the same attitude regarding the reading of Polish printed matter.

Despite any lack of compulsion, the German children read in German as shown in Table 39.

Table 39 *Number of children who read in German*

	Boys	Girls	Total
Yes	8	10	18
No	11	3	14
Total	19	13	32

Less than half of the boys read in German, but nearly all their sisters read in that language. One German girl describes her attitude thus: 'My parents don't insist at all. I can read in German and I do read all the German journals like *Der Stern*, *Die Neue* and others'. Another German girl added: 'My grandmother sends me German books from Germany and I do read those and many others'. The boys are somewhat less eager, as seen in the following remarks: 'I read the books my father suggests that I read, it is all right reading them if you have nothing else to do'. 'I look at the German journals and try to read the comics only'.

So far we have stated the number of Polish and German children who read and write in the ethnic language; it is important also to investigate their attitudes towards reading and writing in the two respective languages.

Table 40 *Children's attitudes towards writing and reading in the ethnic language*

	Boys			Girls		
	Polish	German	Total	Polish	German	Total
Keen to write and read						
Yes	3	10	13	5	4	9
No	8	7	15	7	4	11
Able to already	6	2	8	11	5	15
Total	17	19	36	23	13	35

It can be seen from Table 40 that the Polish children show a better mastery of their ethnic language than do the German children, since almost half of them can read and write in Polish, while a much smaller number of German children can claim similar proficiency. The Polish and German girls surpass their brothers of whom the German boys are more keen than the Polish boys to

Table 41 Children's views on their parents' role in making them speak the ethnic language

Parents' insistence	Boys			Girls		
	Polish	German	Total	Polish	German	Total
Father	4	1	5	5	1	6
Mother	6	4	10	2	1	3
Both	2	2	4	4	2	6
Neither	5	12	17	11	9	20
Total	17	19	36	22	13	35

write and read in their respective ethnic languages. In all there were only three Polish boys and two Polish girls unable to read and write in Polish. The figures were reversed for the German children.

Although considerable space has been devoted to the writing and reading of the ethnic language in the immigrant home, it is really the speaking of the language which is crucial in the relationships between parents and their children. In this field, the role of the father is perceived differently from that of the mother and for this reason children were specifically asked which parent exercises greater pressure on them to speak the ethnic language (see Table 41).

Fathers and mothers were also asked if they insisted on their children speaking the ethnic language at home, and their replies were previously presented in Table 34. When individual families are looked at carefully, it is found that answers of parents and of children coincide to a large degree. Children in Polish homes who report that neither parent insists on them speaking Polish describe the operating pattern thus: 'Nobody makes us speak Polish, we just speak it', and 'We speak it as a matter of course'.

In German homes, however, children make it plain that their parents do not insist at all on them speaking German, though some children noted that their parents would like them to speak it if it were possible. The permissive attitude of the German parents is described by one boy: 'Nobody insists, they both want me to keep it, they just remind me gently'. Figures in Table 41 show that mothers slightly more than fathers exercise pressure on their children to speak the ethnic language.

One further step was taken in determining the children's attitude

Table 42 Children's attitudes to the ethnic language spoken at home between parents and their friends

Objects	Boys			Girls		
	Polish	German	Total	Polish	German	Total
Yes	2	—	2	—	—	—
No	14	17	31	22	13	35
Indifferent	1	2	3	—	—	—
Total	17	19	36	22	13	35

towards the ethnic language. They were asked about their reaction to the language when it was spoken in their homes between their parents and their compatriots. The question read: 'Do you personally object when your parents and their friends speak in Polish (German) in the house?'. (See Table 42.)

Little difference occurs between the Polish and German boys or the girls of the two groups, or between the Polish boys and girls, or the German boys and girls. The Polish girls are extremely tolerant and voice their attitudes in the following manner: 'Oh, no, I don't object. This is our language'. 'This is our language and we should speak it'. 'I prefer them to speak in Polish. I don't like English to be spoken at home'. Consideration for others was the reason for another girl's acquiescence: 'My mother does not know any other language except Polish and Russian'.

When German girls state that they do not mind German being spoken between their parents and friends, they hardly ever mention nationalistic reasons, giving instead answers bearing an educational connotation: 'I want them to speak in German so I can learn more German myself.' 'It helps me to learn.' 'No, I don't mind at all, I understand them well.' 'No, I like it, it makes my German better.' German boys gave almost identical answers.

Now that we have discussed the place of the ethnic language in the lives of the immigrant children it is worthwhile exploring how the Australian children look upon the use of that language by their immigrant counterparts. For this purpose we divide the Australian children into those still at school and those in the work force, since different issues are involved at school and at work. There were fourteen girls and fourteen boys still at school and they were invited

to express their opinions on how they felt when immigrant children use a foreign language at school or elsewhere in public. Half of the schoolboys did not mind at all that immigrant children spoke in their own language in the street or at school and one of them said: 'I think this is their business. I don't worry about it'. Only a quarter of the girls showed such a tolerant attitude. The ten working Australian children, six boys and four girls all insisted that immigrants should not use a foreign language in public places.

To go further at the personal level into ideas on foreign language speaking, we asked the Australian children if they ever go into immigrant homes where the foreign language was spoken and, if so, how they feel about having to listen to it. Of the fourteen schoolboys, nine visit immigrant homes and of those three do not seem to mind listening to a foreign language. One of them said: 'I go to a Polish family next door and an Italian family up the road. I don't mind at all the foreign tongue'. The other remarked: 'I go to a German family and they speak German, I don't mind, they are my friends'. Some of the boys who object put their thoughts into words thus: 'I think it is bad when they speak in Italian when I am there. It is rude—really', 'Yes it is pretty confusing. It worries me when they speak in their own language, you just stand around like a fool'.

Ten of the schoolgirls also visit immigrant homes and three of them do not mind the other languages. One of these girls remarked: 'The mother does not speak English, she is Greek and Frieda, my friend, translates for me what she says'. Another girl in the same category explained: 'I go to a German family next door and they all speak German, I don't mind that at all, it is interesting to listen to'. The rest of the girls, seven in number, were slightly annoyed about the matter as shown in the expression of one schoolgirl: 'You can't get into the conversation when they talk to each other and you don't know what to do with yourself'. Yet another said impatiently: 'I do not like them going on with something I can't understand'. To one Australian schoolgirl going into an immigrant home resulted in a rewarding experience for her: 'I always visit my Polish friend and I learned a good deal of Polish from her, so I like listening and talking in the Polish language when I go there'.

The working boys and girls also visit immigrant homes but less frequently than the schoolchildren. Four of the six working boys pay such visits, but only one of them did not mind listening to an

ethnic language, the others were more hostile and one of them said: 'I think it is rude to speak in a foreign language when I am there'. Of the working girls the two who visit immigrant homes objected to a foreign language being spoken in their presence.

Better insight is gained about the attitudes of Australian children towards ethnic languages, using a question which reads: 'Do you think that it is proper for migrants to speak English, when other Australians are about, or should they please themselves the way they speak at all times?' All except four interviewed Australian children thought that immigrants should use English in the presence of Australians. Of the four children who believed otherwise two were schoolboys and two schoolgirls. They agreed that immigrants should be able 'to please themselves' and one boy put the matter succinctly: 'This is a democracy and they should have the right to speak what they like'.

It was thought that contacts with foreign languages might have induced some Australian children to learn them. The answers to the relevant question revealed that the schoolgirls are most keen to learn foreign languages, since ten of them expressed such a desire. Exactly half of the fourteen schoolboys also wanted to learn foreign languages and the same applied to one boy in the work force. The languages mentioned included Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, and German.

A review of the whole section on language covering the Polish, German, and Australian families shows up certain specific trends worth noting. The picture for the Polish homes is reasonably clear. Nearly half of the Polish boys and girls use Polish only at home, while one-fifth of their fathers and nearly half of their mothers do the same. They are mostly homes of Polish families who came to Australia late and where mothers have made little or no attempt to learn English. There were, however, five homes of early arrivals where Polish was used exclusively, because the parents were adamant that English should not be spoken at any time. Parents in both lots of homes carry over their specific language usage to the situation at work, although they know that Australians do not approve of this sort of behaviour; Australian parents frequently condemned this behaviour when interviewed in this study. Not only at work, but also in the street the Polish parents seem to ignore the attitudes of

Australians, since nearly all of them speak Polish when meeting their compatriots casually.

At the subjective level Polish boys are more assimilated than their sisters, as more than half of the girls wish to retain the Polish language. Some of these girls are brought up in homes where English is reasonably well established, and they fear they may forget Polish and this makes them hang on to it tenaciously. Although quite a few of the Polish fathers speak English, eighteen out of twenty-five of them identify strongly with the Polish language and even more Polish mothers do so. There seems to be little difference in subjective assimilation in the area of language between the Polish fathers with and without university degrees, since about the same proportion of fathers in both groups identify with the Polish language and speak it. The usage of Polish and a strong identification with it does not seem to differentiate those graduates who have been able to transfer their educational skills to Australia and those who have not, as persons who still cling to Polish are present in both groups.

Four-fifths of the Polish fathers and nearly all of the Polish mothers want their children to speak Polish to them and one-third of the fathers and nearly half of the mothers object to English being spoken at home. In half of the homes the children are able to read and write in Polish and in those homes the parents help their children with this task. Half of the Polish fathers also insist that the children speak and read Polish, the number of mothers in the same category is slightly higher. So Polish children are quite often made to read the Polish newspapers which come into their homes and these papers are mostly of a religious and nationalistic nature.

If the Polish children and their parents seem to be ethnically bound by their own language, this is not true to the same extent of the German families. In those families none of the parents or children speak German exclusively. Very few of the German working parents speak German at work, and on the whole they speak it less frequently in the street than Polish parents. The German parents seem to have sensed the unfavourable attitude of Australians to foreign language usage in public places and they make a real attempt to comply with the Australians' wishes. However, in the privacy of their homes they use German as freely as the Poles use Polish.

At the level of subjective assimilation only three German fathers and six mothers identified with their own language, but even these

were not as concerned as the Polish parents that their children speak to them in their own language. The German parents are also far more tolerant towards the use of English in their homes, since all of them approve of it. The pressures they exercise on their children to speak, read or write in German are not nearly as strong; despite this the children are keen to learn the language and in nine homes they are able to do so. Many more of the German boys than the girls want to use English exclusively.

Interestingly, in homes where the fathers occupy semi-professional and good skilled manual jobs and where parents are advanced in assimilation, the children feel inclined to retain the German language, because they feel it vanishing from the family scene. The same applied in a few of the Polish homes. The element of age is also involved in some cases, as some children while young resented German but came to appreciate it as they grew older. In contrast, in the homes where parents are not assimilated and where children are somewhat forced to speak German, they resist such pressures and turn to English in full force. There were three such homes.

The attitudes of the Australian children and their parents towards the speaking of foreign languages have already been described on pp. 77-9. A careful perusal of individual Australian family units shows some differences in attitudes between families whose head is a manual or non-manual worker. Amongst the manual workers there were only two out of fourteen families where the tolerance of both parents to ethnic language speaking in public was admitted. In the other twelve families, the fathers were against immigrants using a foreign language, but some of their wives were more sympathetic. Children in these families, when in the work force, have the negative attitudes already mentioned. Schoolboys in those homes do not like to listen to an ethnic language in the street or in the homes of immigrants they visit. Some of the schoolgirls, however, have more favourable attitudes.

Families whose fathers are non-manual workers show greater leniency towards the use of the ethnic language by immigrants in public, since out of eleven such families, there were four in which both parents had a favourable attitude to the problem. It was also in these families that schoolboys and girls wanted to learn foreign languages as a result of their contacts with immigrants.

Although the question of external assimilation does not arise for the British children to the same degree as it does for the German or Polish children, nevertheless they need to adjust, for English as spoken in England and the English spoken in Australia are very different. Australians are only too apt to detect the 'pommy accent' which they consider typical of British immigrants, and British immigrants are only too conscious of the pronunciation and articulation differences in the English used by themselves and their Australian counterparts. It is for this reason that the area of language for the British families is treated within the context of external and subjective assimilation as it was for the Polish and German families. Personal interviews with the British fathers and mothers left me with no doubt that they all spoke with 'a pommy accent', although there were variations between them arising from their regional origins. Since there were no exceptions, all the British parents are taken as being externally not assimilated in the area of language and receive a score of one for it.

From listening to the British children talk, and asking them relevant questions (see Interview Schedule for Immigrant Children, Section 'For English Children Only,' Appendix I) I divided them into certain groups regarding their external assimilation in the area of language. Those children who appeared to speak in the Australian way, and who admitted using Australian slang continually, were classified as being externally assimilated. The others whose language was not typically Australian and who used Australian slang only occasionally received a score between the first group and those who never used slang and still speak with a 'pommy accent'. In relation to subjective assimilation, the rating was assessed on the basis of answers to a leading question: 'Would you rather speak English the way Australians speak it, or the way your parents speak it?'. If a child said that he would rather speak English the way Australians do, he obviously wants to depart from the language typical of the immigrant environment and acquire the mode of speaking customary in the receiving community. Here such a child is assessed as subjectively assimilated in the area of language. The distribution of the British children according to their external and subjective assimilation is shown in Table 43.

Boys are far more externally assimilated than girls in this regard since nearly all of them speak the way Australians do, while only

Table 43 British children's external and subjective assimilation in the area of language

Language	Boys		Girls	
	External	Subjective	External	Subjective
All Australian	16	15	7	8
Half-and-half	3	2	3	4
All ethnic	—	2	3	1
Total	19	19	13	13

half of the girls speak in the same way. In subjective assimilation there is little difference, but the boys nonetheless show a greater identification with Australian English than the girls do, as three-quarters of the former and just over half of the latter prefer to speak Australian only. One of the subjectively assimilated boys remarked: 'I don't want to speak Pom'. Another boy goes through the trouble of telling why his speech is Australian: 'I have an Australian accent. I go on with—"ain't"—"dinkum"—"she will do"—and "all that crush", and I would like to speak like that'. Another boy vividly remembers the embarrassment he suffered on account of his mother's English and decided to speak Australian at all times: 'When we first came here my mother used to pick me up at school and one day she brought me my raincoat as it was raining. All the kids were gathered around and she said to me to put on my mackintosh. They all laughed . . . I felt terrible. I had trouble at school myself for speaking pommy language and now I am more Australian than anybody'.

Girls who prefer to speak the Australian way say more or less the same thing: 'I would not like to speak with an English accent. It sounds odd and it annoys my Australian friends'. Another reason connected with a sense of conformity prompts a second girl to speak Australian: 'I want to speak Australian because I don't like to feel different'.

Some children accommodate their linguistic behaviour between two different cultural milieus and seem to adjust to both quite adequately as shown in the case of a 14-year-old girl: 'It all depends in whose company I am. If with Australians I speak the way Australian children speak, with other adults I speak like mum and dad

Table 44 Frequency of slang as used by the British children

Uses slang	Boys	Girls	Total
Often	13	3	16
Sometimes	5	7	12
Never	1	3	4
Total	19	13	32

do, as I have much more respect for the way they speak. Deep down I like my parents' speech, but I can't afford to differ from other children'. Not only British children, but Australian children too have to face up to similar problems, if they belong to homes where stress is placed on a special way of speaking. These children often accept their parents' guidance and act accordingly, at least at home. Once outside it, they may revert to standards of speaking practised by their peer group and often at odds with their parents' standards. Such cross current forces are evident in the case of one British girl: 'I use quite a few Australian slang words. Generally I would not use them at home. I use them at school where there are Australians, just for the sake of being with it'. Her brother adds: 'With my mates I speak Australian, with adults I speak proper English'. He infers, in fact, that Australian is not quite proper English and when questioned on the matter gave the high amount of slang spoken in Australia as a reason for the inferiority of the Australian language. Both his parents speak with a broad Glasgow accent.

It should not be accepted that all children agreed with this young man's ideas. British parents and their children by no means treated Australian slang as synonymous with the whole of the Australian language. On the contrary, there was a general consensus that the Australian people speak an English which is quite unique to them, and that slang is far from a general occurrence and is used only by a certain class of Australians. Figures in Table 44 confirm the distinction made by respondents, and show that fewer British children speak slang than the Australian language proper.

Many more boys than girls use slang. Only a quarter of the girls use it, but nearly three-quarters of the boys do.

Bearing in mind the distinction made between slang and Aus-

Table 45 Attitudes of British parents to Australian slang

Parents' attitudes to Australian slang	Fathers	Mothers	Total
Favourable	6	2	8
In-between	11	10	21
Unfavourable	8	13	21
Total	25	25	50

Rows 1 and 2 combined
 $\chi^2 = 1.31$, $df = 1$, $p > 0.05$

tralian speech, the British parents were asked about their attitudes to both (Table 45).

The British mothers on the whole are more against Australian slang than are the fathers. One father who does not mind his children using slang says: 'It does not bother me, after all there is plenty of slang in the English language too'. A mother comments: 'I used to object in the beginning, but then again I am a cockney myself, so I can't complain'. A father remarks: 'My daughter does not use slang. She retained the proper way of speaking English. My son went to school here from first grade. He uses Australian slang expressions, and I use them myself. They brush off on you. In fact he pulls me up often on Australian slang'.

This covers Australian slang and the parents' attitude towards it. Their ideas on the general way of speaking by Australians is shown in Table 46.

Table 46 Attitudes of British parents to the Australian way of speaking by their children

Parents' attitudes to the Australian way of speaking	Fathers	Mothers	Total
Favourable	7	5	12
In-between	10	11	21
Unfavourable	8	9	17
Total	25	25	50

$\chi^2 = 0.44$, $df = 2$, $p > 0.05$

Table 47 Parents' attitudes towards their children's use of English as they speak it

Parents' attitudes towards speaking	Fathers	Mothers	Total
To speak Australian	5	1	6
Indifferent	13	13	26
To speak proper English	7	11	18
Total	25	25	50

Rows 1 and 2 combined
 $\chi^2 = 0.78$, $df = 1$, $p > 0.05$

Fathers and mothers do not differ as much in their attitudes towards their children speaking English as do Australians; most of them do not mind it. One mother explains: 'It used to bother me in the beginning, when they came home from school and said "kids" instead of children. We are now catching up with them. We just accept their way of speaking and fall in with them'. The other mothers who do not mind the particular way of speaking say: 'I prefer them to speak the Australian way, I don't want them to be different', and 'When he was smaller and brought some boys home from school in the afternoon to play, he used to ask me to stay in the kitchen and say nothing, because of the way I speak, so I much rather he speaks Australian, it is better that way, he will be less noticed'. A father who approves of his children speaking the Australian way, says laconically: 'When in Rome do what the Romans do'.

After parents had been investigated regarding their attitudes to Australian speech, they were asked also to comment on the desirability of children speaking the kind of English they themselves speak (Table 47).

British fathers show greater tolerance to the use of Australian speech by their children than the mothers. One father makes his point quite clear: 'Well, I think they are fairly rough the Australians, I mean not in a bad sense. In their speech they are much less inhibited—the extrovert type—don't count their words and some are pretty crude. But I'd still rather my son did not speak the way I do. The old school tie type of speech as in the U.K. won't go down with Australians at all. I like him to be able to fit in'. A

mother who disapproves of the Australian way of speaking states sadly: 'I dislike the way Australians speak English'.

Features common to Polish and German children underlie the linguistic behaviour of the British children. In all three ethnic groups the boys seem to use the ethnic language less often than the girls and they also identify with the Australian way of speaking in a much stronger way than do the girls. In some of the assimilated British homes, as is the case with some Polish and German homes, children fear the disappearance of the ethnic language and try to preserve it despite their parents' lack of interest in it.

In the majority of cases, however, children in assimilated homes are encouraged by their parents to use Australian, and conversely are discouraged from doing so in homes where parents are not assimilated. Exceptions are noted in the British as well as in the other ethnic homes, where unassimilated parents permit their children to speak the way Australians speak, because they are concerned about repercussions their children may suffer should they use a language which departs from the Australian mode.

Of all the British fathers studied, manual skilled and unskilled workers seem to be the most frequently assimilated as only two are unassimilated. Both these fathers are against their children using the form of speech used by Australians. In the other homes of the same occupational background there is a much greater tolerance and in some cases real encouragement to use it. Fathers of the non-manual group are equally divided into those who are well assimilated and those who are not, but even in the case of the assimilated fathers half are resentful of their children's Australian speech and do not permit them to use it. All the unassimilated fathers in the same occupational group are adamant against the Australian way of speaking, maintaining that the sort of English they speak is correct and wanting their children to follow suit. Children in those homes, as was the case with some of the German and Polish children, ignore parental pressures and strive for a typically Australian speech.

Similarities also exist between the ethnic groups regarding the ethnic literature that comes into their homes. In the British homes, as in the Polish and German homes, where both parents are assimilated, ethnic literature no longer arrives. An exception is noted for one British family whose father is a professional man

Table 48 List of British families and of newspapers they receive from home

Brief description of family	Name of newspaper
Professional man. Neither parent assimilated. One son.	<i>Croydon Advertiser</i>
Semi-skilled worker, assimilated. Mother works, is not assimilated. Two children.	<i>Daily Mirror</i>
Skilled worker, fairly well assimilated. Mother works, is not assimilated. Two children.	<i>Glasgow Weekly</i>
Father unskilled, assimilated. Mother not assimilated. Two children.	<i>Post</i>
Father unskilled, not assimilated. Mother also not assimilated. One child.	<i>Liverpool Daily Post and Echo</i>
Self-employed. Both not assimilated. Two sons.	<i>Sunday Post</i>
Father unskilled, assimilated. Mother all pro-British, two children.	<i>Weekly News</i>
Clerical worker, assimilated. Mother not assimilated. One son.	<i>Examiner</i>
Skilled worker, assimilated. Mother not assimilated. One son.	<i>Sunday Post</i>
Skilled worker. Mother works. Both only slightly assimilated. One son.	<i>Manchester Guardian</i>
Professional couple, not assimilated. One son.	<i>The Times, Observer</i>
Professional man, assimilated. Mother also assimilated. Two girls.	<i>The Times, Observer, The Times Literary Supplement</i>

and whose job here demands the reading of English papers. However, where the mother in the British home has made little progress in assimilation, she is keen to read newspapers from the home country, as shown in Table 48.

The families who do not receive any newspapers from England are divided into:

- 5 families who just said 'no' to the relevant question.
- 5 who emphasised a temporal sequence, stating that they used to get them but they do not at present. In both of these groups parents show a fairly high degree of assimilation.
- 3 families each of which explained: 'My wife's sister used to send them to us and she moved away from the place where we all lived'. 'Pop used to send them to us, now he stopped, he is not well'. 'No, we don't get them, my father died recently'.

The British parents, like their German counterparts, give their children a free rein in the reading of such literature, but only in

five British homes do they in fact read it. In the remaining seven homes children seem to be uninterested and parents refrain from exercising any pressure. Not only in reading but also in speaking, the British parents resemble the German parents inasmuch as neither is insistent to the same degree as are Polish parents.

Social contacts. The third area of assimilation is that of social contacts. The younger children were asked with whom they played and older children were asked with whom they went out (see Interview Schedule for Immigrant Children, Question 35, Appendix I). Similar questions were asked of the Australian children and in both instances 'social contacts' implied contacts at the level of getting together for games after school or at each other's home, at parties or places of amusement. Table 49 denotes the extent to which the immigrant children have contacts with Australians and shows their external assimilation in that area; it also includes the Australian children who are acting as a yardstick against which the immigrant children are measured.

Table 49 Children's external assimilation in the area of social contacts and the Australian control group

Contacts with	Boys				Girls			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.
Australians only	3	12	8	6	3	6	6	4
Both	14	6	11	14	17	7	7	14
Immigrants only including fellow ethnics	—	1	—	—	3	—	—	—
Total	17	19	19	20	23	13	13	18

Rows 2 and 3 combined Rows 2 and 3 combined
 $\chi^2 = 7.64$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$ $\chi^2 = 6.30$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$

The figures in the table regarding contacts with 'Australians only' show that the German boys have more contacts with Australians than do any other immigrant children. The British boys come next, while the Polish boys have few such contacts and their sisters have even fewer, some mixing only with other Poles. In this respect they differ from the British and German girls, half of whom have only Australians as companions.

Table 50 Children's subjective assimilation in the area of social contacts and the Australian control group

Contacts preferred	Boys				Girls			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.
Australians only	4	10	5	5	1	2	2	4
Both	9	5	13	15	16	11	11	14
Immigrants only including fellow ethnics	4	4	1	—	6	—	—	—
Total	17	19	19	20	23	13	13	18

The Australian children in most cases mix socially with both Australians and immigrants. Of the six boys who mix only with Australians, three are in the work force. None of the working girls have any immigrant contacts. In all, three-quarters of the Australian children mix with immigrants, while German and British boys and girls proportionally mix with immigrants less often. If the Australian children act as a model against which we measure the rate of assimilation of the immigrant children, it would appear that the Polish children are closer in social behaviour to them than the other immigrant children studied. Paradoxical as such a statement may sound, however, in terms of assimilation as understood here, the German and the British children are more assimilated, because they tend to leave their own group and move more towards Australian company.

Table 50, which shows the subjective assimilation of the children, gives a clearer picture; it shows their feelings towards contacts with one or the other group.

The Polish, German, and British boys' scores do not show much variation; the majority of boys want to mix with both Australian and immigrant children of their own and other ethnic groups; however, the German boys seem to be keener than the other boys to have only Australians for friends. Amongst the girls, the Polish girls are unique again, because they are the only ones who want to mix exclusively with non-Australians and emphatically prefer people of their own Polish group to other immigrants.

The Polish girls who seek the company of other Poles gave various reasons for their attitude; one says pertinently: 'It is much

better to be with other Polish kids, you can then talk about your own sport, your own church and in your own language'. A boy who has similar inclinations says: 'I prefer to play with all Polish children as I can learn from them all about Poland'. Other Polish boys are not as determined to mix with Polish children exclusively, but underline the value of non-Australian friends as demonstrated in the following answer: 'I like migrants better, you can get to know them better, they are more sincere with you, not all on the surface'.

The German boys more often than the other immigrant children want to have Australians as friends. One boy remarks: 'I used to play with German boys at one time, then I started to play with Australians, now I like the Australians much better'. Another boy adds: 'I have never mixed with any migrant children, I know only Australians and I will stick to them'. The same tone prevails in another answer: 'I prefer to go out with Australians, I know them so much better'. Of particular interest is the answer of one German boy who shows a completely divergent orientation from some of the more ethnically orientated children: 'I would rather be with Australians because the Germans keep on going back to the past and talk about Germany all the time. This is of no interest to me'.

Children of all three groups, who want both Australians and other immigrant children for companions, generally stress the importance of not discriminating between ethnic origins and underline the individual value of a friend rather than his country of birth. This is well expressed in the words of one British boy who says: 'Nationality doesn't worry me'. A British girl adds: 'I like both Australians and the others. I think of the person, not where they come from'.

The Australian children seem to prefer in three-quarters of the cases to draw their companions from Australians and children of various immigrant groups. There is a clear trend for the Australian boys who work to look for company made up of Australians only, since four of the six boys expressed such a desire. Half of the working girls are similarly inclined. One of the schoolboys who does not approve of immigrant children as companions explained: 'I prefer to be with Australians, I can understand them better'.

At the more intimate level of friendship Australian children in nearly all cases also choose friends not so much on the basis of ethnic background as on the personal qualities of the individual.

Table 51 Parents' external assimilation in the area of social contacts and the Australian control group

Contacts with	Fathers				Mothers			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.
Australians only	1	1	7	12	1	—	6	10
Both	15	23	17	10	7	24	19	12
Immigrants only including fellow ethnics	8	1	1	—	15	1	—	—
Total	24	25	25	22	23	25	25	22

Rows 1 and 2 combined Rows 1 and 2 combined
 $\chi^2 = 11.94$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$ $\chi^2 = 29.98$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$

One Australian girl put this succinctly: 'If they are nice kids and I like them I make friends with them, it does not matter about race or nationality'. Others remarked: 'We become friends if we like the same things and get on well together, it does not matter whether Australian or foreign'; 'I like them for friends, migrants are the same as Australians and sometimes better'.

One of the working boys who has only Australians for friends gives the following reasons for this: 'I have Australians as friends because I grew up with them before the migrants got here'. There were two schoolboys who made a point of selecting their friends amongst immigrants. They said: 'A migrant group is more interesting than a plain Australian group', 'All my friends are English boys, we have a lot in common'.

In analysing the parents' external and subjective assimilation it is found that some trends discernible in their children's social assimilation also apply to them. Parents' external assimilation was tested with Questions 35 and 40 and their subjective assimilation with Questions 36, 39, and 41 (Interview Schedule for Immigrant Parents, Appendix I).

It appears from Table 51 that Polish parents differ from German and British parents because they have more contacts with immigrants than the other parents do. In addition, the Polish parents seem to select for their companions people of their own ethnic background and mothers are more consistent in this than fathers. When British or German parents mix with immigrants, these are

usually people of a varying ethnic background with no special emphasis on German or English people. Figures in the table also show that British parents have more contacts with Australians than do German parents.

The Polish sample is interesting in another way. It contains three people who have no place in the table, one man and two women none of whom has social contacts at all. The Polish male regretfully admitted in the interview that socially he sees nobody, never visits or is visited by anyone. At work he mixes with Australians and this he cannot avoid. One of the Polish mothers who is socially isolated explains: 'We have few contacts, I have no inclination to mix'. The other mother is in a depressed state, since she has not been able to secure proper contacts with Australians and her Polish acquaintances do not quite come up to her expectations intellectually. She has therefore resigned herself to loneliness aggravated by her husband's absence from home over long periods of time.

Three Australian families declared they did not have any social contacts with outsiders. In two of those families contacts are restricted to members of the family, and in the third the situation is thus described by the wife: 'We don't mix. My husband has been doing shift work all our married life. We never had a chance to make friends. Even our relations are afraid to call on us, in case he is asleep'. These three families are excluded from the table.

In the other Australian families marriage partners have fairly similar contacts; if the husband fails to mix with immigrants, his wife follows in his footsteps. This is not the case, however, for two females who make a point of knowing immigrants. One of them said: 'I am friends with a little Italian woman up the road. It is a private affair'. Half of the fathers mix with immigrants and one of them justified his behaviour on the following grounds: 'I have a sympathetic leaning to immigrants, since they have been coming here. I never go out of my way to avoid them. I accept them more readily than most Australians'. It is interesting to note that half of the Australian manual workers have social contacts with immigrants while only two of the non-manual fathers have such contacts.

At the subjective level the same trend prevails, showing that the manual workers prefer to mix with immigrants more often than the

Table 52 Parents' subjective assimilation in the area of social contacts and the Australian control group

Contacts preferred	Fathers				Mothers			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.
Australians only	3	5	6	11	3	8	6	9
Both	9	17	16	11	1	10	15	13
Immigrants only including fellow ethnics	12	3	3	—	20	7	4	—
Total	24	25	25	22	24	25	25	22

Rows 1 and 2 combined Rows 1 and 2 combined
 $\chi^2 = 14.10, df = 2, p < 0.05$ $\chi^2 = 26.92, df = 2, p < 0.05$

non-manual workers do, and one of them who has social contacts with Australians only would prefer to mix with immigrants, given the opportunity. One Australian in the non-manual occupational category, who mixes with immigrants, states: 'I take them the way I find them. You find a great number of them equal to Australians', and one could sense a hint of condescension in his answer. His wife is far more enthusiastic about immigrants: 'The boys brought them home. My older son has a German for a friend, he is a lovely boy, wonderful manners, and so are his people'. Another wife of a non-manual worker who also has social contacts with immigrants is much less emphatic: 'I mix both with Australians and migrants but prefer Australians because the migrants are hard to follow in conversation. It is a form of laziness I suppose'. In contrast is the attitude of the wife of a manual worker: 'I am interested in their ideas and customs and I was interested in these people right from the start'. It is evident from Table 52 that Australian women are rather more inclined to have contacts with immigrants than are Australian men. This table also shows the feelings of the immigrant parents regarding contacts with their Australian counterparts.

One Polish father and two Polish mothers are excluded from these calculations, as neither of them wishes to mix with other people. The Polish fathers differ to a high degree from the other fathers because half of them prefer their contacts to be with other immigrants to the exclusion of Australians and a few of them specified their compatriots as preferred companions. The Polish

mothers in almost all cases expressed the wish to mix only with other Poles. The German fathers prefer mixed company of Australians and other immigrants, not necessarily Germans, and their wives feel the same way, but two of them are limited to other Germans by a very restricted knowledge of English. British parents also seek mostly mixed Australian and immigrant company. When they talk of immigrants they mean immigrants of various backgrounds, not just British in origin.

Although the general trend for Polish mothers is to stick to their own ethnic group, the table reveals three mothers with opposite tendencies. However, two of these mothers are German by birth and one of them says: 'I prefer Australians to the others and this was so straight from the beginning'. The other German-born wife expressed the same feeling, but added that Poles were unwelcome additions to her circle of acquaintances.

The preference of some Polish fathers and the majority of Polish mothers for Polish social contacts does not necessarily imply dislike of Australians. Seven Poles simply stated that contacts with Australians are impossible for them on account of the language barrier. For others, however, the issue has deeper underlying motives as expressed in the words of one female: 'One's own people are always better'. Her husband, in contrast, approves of Australians, and says: 'I work with them and have friends amongst them. When a person is good it makes no difference what nationality he is'.

Some unassimilated mothers point to some traits in the Australian character which make them see their Polish companions in a better light. One mother explains: 'I prefer to mix with Poles only, we understand each other better. The Australians are two-faced'. The opinion of one of the few Polish fathers who want to mix only with Australians is different: 'They are not two-faced, the Australians I mean, they look for good things in other people, I like them better than Poles'.

Polish fathers who want both Australian and immigrant companions gave answers such as these: 'I feel comfortable with Poles, but I don't try to avoid Australians, I like them. I mix with them at work', and 'I like to have contacts with decent people regardless of nationality. I am not inclined to segregate'. Parents of German and British nationality with similar attitudes gave similar reasons.

A further comparison regarding social contacts is made within

Table 53 External and subjective assimilation of Polish fathers, with and without university degrees, in the area of social contacts

Contacts with	University graduates		Non-university graduates		Total
	Ext.	Subj.	Ext.	Subj.	
Australians only	7	7	1	3	8
Both	4	3	15	8	19
Immigrants only including fellow ethnics	4	5	6	11	10
Total	15	15	22	22	37

the group of Polish fathers to see if any difference exists between them that is related to their educational background.

Figures indicate that the graduates have more contacts with 'Australians only' and that they also identify more with such contacts than do the non-graduate Polish fathers. One of the graduates who ignores such contacts explains: 'I am really indifferent to having contacts with Australians. I prefer Polish or other European contacts because of common interests. I feel an Australian is unable to become such a wholehearted friend as a Pole can'. The same immigrant, married to a Polish girl, is deeply attached to Poland and he makes every endeavour to separate himself from anything Australian.

On the contrary, the three non-university graduates who are subjectively highly assimilated and like Australians have quite opposite views on them. One of the fathers, an unskilled worker who came here twenty years ago, disapproves of Poles and prefers Australians 'because they know how to behave, and Poles don't'. His wife is also fairly well advanced in assimilation as are his children. Another father came here only ten years ago and he is deeply appreciative of conditions in Australia and likes everything about Australians: 'Because of the language I feel easier with Poles but in respect of friendship I prefer Australians'. His wife has made no progress in assimilation, neither have his eight children. He works for an Australian food firm and is impressed with the treatment he gets there. The third father has been able to advance in his work in Australia, he likes Australians as workers and people and he is satisfied with the free and democratic life here. His wife

is ethnically bound and her stay in Australia has in no way changed the mode of living to which she was accustomed back in Poland. The three children disapprove of their mother's behaviour and there is continuous tension in the home because she tries to hold them back from accepting Australian ways of living.

It was hoped to trace back events which led some immigrants to depart from ethnicity and an attempt was made to gain insight into the dynamics of assimilation as it occurs in the areas of food, language, and the currently discussed area of social contacts. To make such a step possible, respondents were asked to cast their minds back into the past and recapitulate sequences and events which led to such a change in behaviour. Relying on a method of research based on memory has unfortunately proved to be quite unsatisfactory in other studies (Andry, 1960) and this one is no exception. The element of time in particular eluded the present respondents, who were generally vague about points in time at which they changed their food habits or stopped mixing with immigrants and started mixing with Australians. Generally speaking subjects were more inclined to recall special incidents of kindness and generosity shown to them by Australians, incidents which were a turning point towards a feeling of full acceptance of the Australian group. One Polish mother described her personal experiences which propelled her in that direction: 'I had a severe car accident and my Australian neighbours came in and cooked and washed for my family all the time I was in hospital. They got my children off to school in the morning for weeks on end. We have about 15 Polish families living around us and not one made any attempt to help. The two Australian women did the lot and even brought flowers and put them into vases to make the house look nice on my return from hospital. I still go for treatment and now one neighbour still comes in and scrubs my kitchen floor for me every week. What would you expect? You can't help appreciating people like that. I feel very strongly for the Australians, I am still a Pole and always will be, but the Australians certainly made the country for me'.

A German mother related: 'So many nice things happened to me in Australia. I started to work four days after we arrived in this country. I could not speak a word of English and I was very unhappy, really unhappy. The Australians stood by and helped me. They gave me a lift to work every day. I could not talk to them,

but you could feel by the smile on their faces that they felt sorry for me and wanted to make it all easier for me. They really welcome you. I was a newcomer and they made the country for me. You don't forget these things easy'. Another German woman states: 'From the start I was with Australians, I worked at a hotel and the proprietress was like a mother to me, she taught me how to speak English and how to serve the customers. She made my life for me in Australia and for my family'. Another German woman explains: 'Soon after we came, about four weeks after we landed we bought a house in this district. It was winter in July and it was very cold. We had no wood for the fire. The Australian lady who lived next door came to me with an armful of dry wood. We could not speak to each other, I know no English. She handed over the wood to me and left. We Germans would never do such a thing for anyone. This stuck in my mind. We women have different problems to face as migrants. We stay at home and little things like that make all the difference. In Germany nobody would even look your way, let alone do something for you. With this Australian woman I am now the best of friends. The first Christmas we were here she and her husband took us into the bush to show us the country. I was so moved by their kindness. It was then that I got to know the true Australians. I am happy here in Australia with the people, but I am homesick [*ich habe Sehnsucht*]. I think migrant women have greater problems than men'. A German father adds his remarks: 'One Australian helped us a lot. He found us a home and gave me a job. He also took me to the Union and did everything for me. He is my personal friend now'.

Other German immigrants were not as lucky, and describe their unpleasant experiences and give some ideas as to where they stand in relation to Australians at present. One woman explains: 'For the first three or four years it was real hell here. The Australians called me a bloody German and made my life very unhappy. I wanted to go back home. My husband went to see our Australian neighbours who made me so miserable and told them to leave me alone. We now have complete peace. . . . My next door neighbour, an Australian woman, used to call me a German bastard and now we are the best of friends. She confides in me and makes me teach her ways of cooking and baking in the German way. I think I prefer Aus-

tralians to others. With the English it is hard to make real friends. The Australians are warmer people'.

Similar experiences are recorded by one more German woman: 'In the beginning it was hate. The Australians hated us. After three years of living here a change came and I began to like Australians better than Germans'.

British immigrants who prefer Australians to British people or other European immigrants have acquired such preferences for two reasons. One which prompted the Polish and German immigrants to change their attitudes, and the other which is inherent in some faults which some British immigrants seem to display in the eyes of others. An example of the first reason reads: 'We were brought out here by Australians. They met us at the boat and have been like parents to us ever since'. The second reason expressed by one immigrant is: 'Yes, I prefer Australians because most people from back home are grizzlers. Instead of making something of themselves they lie back and think of what they missed'. Certain traits in the Australian character appeal to another male British immigrant: 'I think the Australians are more companionable than the English people. I found this when I worked in the bush for years'.

The few British mothers who want no Australian contacts are generally those who have their parents or other relations in Australia and spend their time with them. One British mother, however, has a different motive for ignoring Australians: 'I prefer the British people as I have intellectually more in common with them'. There were five British families who made extensive contacts with Australians through the churches they joined on arrival in Australia and have been made welcome by the congregations and have since appreciated contacts with Australians elsewhere. It seems that the church can play an important part in rendering the adjustment of immigrants more smooth.

In their attitudes to the contacts which their children should have, the Polish parents again differ significantly from other parents, because as many as eleven Polish fathers and mothers want their children to keep company with other Poles, while none of the British or German parents desire that their children draw their friends only from their own ethnic group (see Table 54).

Amongst the Australian parents there was only one father, a manual worker, who did not approve of his child mixing with im-

Table 54 Parents' attitudes to their children's social contacts with others and the Australian control group

Attitudes to children's contacts with	Fathers				Mothers			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.
Australians only	2	5	6	1	3	5	1	—
Both	19	20	19	24	15	20	24	25
Immigrants only including fellow ethnics	4	—	—	—	7	—	—	—
Total	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25

Rows 1 and 2 combined Rows 1 and 2 combined
 $\chi^2 = 8.45, df = 2, p < 0.05$ $\chi^2 = 15.44, df = 2, p < 0.05$

migrants and he said: 'I want her to go out with Aussies'. The rest of the parents were keen for their children to have immigrants for companions and expressed this in the following manner: 'I want them to mix', 'They have got to mix', 'I am glad they mix both with migrant and our own children', 'I think it is good for them to mix, very good'. Other parents were more explicit as can be seen from the statement of one Australian mother, the wife of a manual worker: 'I wouldn't like my children just to stick to Australians'. A father in a different family, also a manual worker, had this to say: 'I make no distinction, if they are good enough to come out here, they are good enough for my children to mix with'. A father in the non-manual group had more or less the same idea but with some reservations: 'I am very much against sorting people. I think also it is good for migrants to keep up their own traditions and customs, but migrant clubs in Perth with exclusive patronage is wrong, it hinders assimilation'. In attitudes to children's contact there was not much difference generally between the Australian manual and non-manual workers. Australian children confirmed that their parents are quite liberal towards the choice of immigrant friends by their offspring.

A high proportion of the Polish fathers with university degrees want their children to have Australians for friends, and in this they differ greatly from the Polish fathers without university degrees, of whom only a negligible proportion wish 'Australians only' for their children's companions (Table 55).

Table 55 Attitudes of Polish fathers with and without university degrees, to their children's social contacts with others

Attitudes to contacts with	University graduates	Non-university graduates	Total
Australians only	6	2	8
Both	8	18	26
Immigrants only including fellow ethnics	1	3	4
Total	15	23	38

The attitude of one of the Polish fathers with a higher education is clearly demonstrated: 'I prefer my children to have contacts with Australian children only. We are here in this country and we have to join the Australian community. I want my children to do that. I am against migrant organisations completely'.

Various means were used to specify in detail parents' ideas about their contact with other people and to dig deeper into the subtle shades of preferences. So parents were asked in whose company they feel more comfortable and more relaxed, Australians or non-Australians.

It is found that significantly more of the German fathers feel happier in the company of Australians than do any other fathers and significantly more Polish fathers feel happier in the company of other Poles than do German fathers in the company of other Germans or British fathers in the company of other British people.

Table 56 Parents' feeling of satisfaction derived from the company of people of other nationalities and the Australian control group

Feels happier and more at ease with	Fathers				Mothers			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.
Australians	2	8	4	13	1	8	5	11
Immigrants generally	1	1	—	1	1	1	1	—
Both	7	13	18	11	3	8	17	14
People of own ethnic background	14	3	3	—	20	8	2	—
Total	24	25	25	25	25	25	25	25

Rows 1 and 2 combined $\chi^2 = 20.94$, $df = 4$, $p < 0.05$ Rows 1 and 2 combined $\chi^2 = 31.94$, $df = 4$, $p < 0.05$

The German females follow the pattern of their husbands and Polish females copy their husbands in appreciating other Poles as the most suitable company for them; they differ in this from the German and British females who together with their husbands feel happy with Australians and immigrants of various origins.

Some of the British women who feel comfortable in the company of Australians stress certain traits in Australians which specially appeal to them. One person remarks: 'I like the Australian way of life. They are easy. English people are more serious minded'. However, one British father who prefers people of his own ethnic background states: 'I feel more at ease with other British people. We can say what we like'.

Polish fathers say the same thing in a different way: 'I am happier with Poles, it is always better amongst your own people'. Another father who also excludes Australians from his circle of friends states: 'We are all Europeans and we have the same customs and the same ways of behaving'. Polish mothers give similar replies but concentrate more specifically on Polish people and one remarks: 'I feel more at ease with Poles, we understand each other better'. Others were somewhat annoyed with the question which to them was self-explanatory: 'It is with Poles that I feel happier, naturally. We don't mix with Australians'.

Of the German fathers who feel happier with Australians, one says: 'I am more relaxed with Australians'. Those German people who feel more relaxed with other Germans note communication as an important reason for their choice: 'I feel more at ease with Germans on account of the German language' and 'It is better with Germans, you can speak your own language'.

To the question: 'Where do you feel happier and more at ease, with other Australians or with migrants?' over half of the Australian fathers stated that they derive greater satisfaction from the company of Australians. There was only one father who preferred immigrants and he said: 'Maybe I am more relaxed with migrants. We have two good Scotch friends and we get on well with them; with Australians it takes much longer to get to them'. The rest of the Australian fathers find the mixed company of Australians and immigrants quite congenial and one of them remarked: 'It makes no difference really, much depends on the person and not where they come from'.

Table 57 Visits paid and received by Polish fathers, Australians and immigrants, per month¹

Visits paid to or received from	Number of visits							Total fathers
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6 and over	
Australians	17	2	1	4	—	1	—	25
Immigrants	4	1	1	5	10	4	—	25

The Australian mothers seem to be more in favour of migrant companions, since well over half of them appreciated being with them. One of these mothers said: 'I like to be with migrants, I like migrants well'. Other mothers in the same group qualified their answers: 'I feel just the same with Australians as with migrants considering the language barrier', 'Once we can communicate, I prefer migrants'. The problem of communication prevents some of the mothers from mixing with immigrants: 'I prefer Australians at all times, you can't get into a conversation with foreigners'.

To see how feelings were translated into practice parents were asked to give numbers and origins of persons whom they had visited or who had visited them during the previous month. This period was imposed to make the question more meaningful to subjects, and to ensure more precise answers; having to count the number of visits in one month, and having to keep in mind the division between ethnic origins, anchored the immigrant in such a way that slow and careful thought was needed and vague and impressionistic answers avoided.

For reasons of clarity each group is taken separately and within each fathers and mothers are treated separately (Table 57).

All but four Polish fathers visited or were visited by immigrants. Half of them had as many as four visits for the month, which means that every week they were in social contact with an immigrant, and these immigrants were nearly always Poles. Contacts with Australians were far less frequent. Four fathers had visited with Australians three times in the month but others visited with Australians once a

¹ Unfortunately the question as worded in the Questionnaire for Immigrant Parents (Question 40, Appendix I) did not discriminate between immigrant visitors generally and compatriots. Although such information would be valuable, it is regrettably not available except in some cases.

Table 58 Visits paid and received by Polish mothers, Australians and immigrants, per month

Visits paid to or received from	Number of visits							Total mothers
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6 and over	
Australians	21	1	—	1	1	—	1	25
Immigrants	5	—	4	4	4	7	1	25

month. In all, seventeen out of the twenty-five fathers had no contacts with Australians outside working hours.

The picture for the Polish mothers is similar, except that their contacts by way of visits with Australians are even less frequent, as shown in Table 58.

The mother who had over six visits from Australians is the woman being looked after by her Australian neighbours, who took care of her household while she underwent treatment in a hospital after a car accident. The woman who had four visits with Australians is the German-born wife of a Pole. In general terms, it may be said that the Polish women keep on visiting each other and their pattern of visiting is slightly different from that of their husbands, as they entertain at home when the men are away at work. In three Polish families no visiting took place, since the families are inclined to keep to themselves and avoid contacts with other people.

The pattern of visiting for the German parents is described in Tables 59 and 60.

Table 59 Visits paid and received by German fathers, Australians and immigrants, per month

Visits paid to or received from	Number of visits							Total fathers
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6 and over	
Australians	13	4	2	1	1	2	2	25
Immigrants	8	2	7	4	2	1	1	25

Figures in Tables 59 and 60 are self-explanatory, indicating that German parents have far more visits with Australians than have Polish parents. Polish fathers have less visits with Australians than have German fathers, and the difference between the Polish and German mothers is much greater. It is also clear that Polish and

Table 60 Visits paid and received by German mothers, Australians and immigrants, per month

Visits paid to or received from	Number of visits							Total mothers
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6 and over	
Australians	11	3	3	2	1	1	4	25
Immigrants	5	4	4	5	6	—	1	25

German males more often visit Australians than do their women-folk. Connections at work afford the males a greater possibility of meeting Australians and some of these contacts continue at the home level after work. There is a trend for the British women to have slightly more contacts with Australians than their husbands have (see Tables 61 and 62). Some of the British women play tennis with Australian women, make friends there and visit them after sport.

Table 61 Visits paid and received by British fathers, Australians and immigrants, per month

Visits paid to or received from	Number of visits							Total fathers
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6 and over	
Australians	6	2	2	5	3	2	5	25
Immigrants	11	1	3	2	2	2	4	25

Table 62 Visits paid and received by British mothers, Australians and immigrants, per month

Visits paid to or received from	Number of visits							Total mothers
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6 and over	
Australians	8	2	2	3	10	—	—	25
Immigrants	14	2	1	2	4	1	1	25

In all, it can be said that British fathers have many more visits with Australians than either Polish or German fathers. British wives resemble their husbands in mixing more with Australians than do the other two groups of parents, the Polish immigrants mixing least and the German immigrants occupying a middle position. The position of the British families is all the more interesting because in five homes neither parent receives or pays any visits to people other than members of families living nearby.

The relevant tables fail to show this because the fathers and mothers appear separately.

Reports by the Australian parents on visiting with other people indicate that in fifteen out of the twenty-five homes no visiting of any sort takes place. In this respect the Australian homes differ somewhat from the immigrant homes, where people come and go all the time. Immigrants in private conversation with me often remarked about the discrepancy on home visiting between themselves and Australians whom they know. Findings here seem to support such reports. In the remaining ten homes where visiting with others takes place, it occurs more frequently in the homes of the non-manual than the manual workers. Owing to the small number of homes involved we can afford to list them individually, showing visits with Australians and immigrants separately and indicating homes in which only females have contacts with immigrants.

Home	Visits with Australians per month	Visits with immigrants per month
1	6	4
2	5	3 (only females)
3	1	4
4	4	4
5	4	4
6	5	2 (only females)
7	7	—
8	12	—
9	only Australians no number given	—
10	only Australians no number given	—

It seems that when Australian families visit other people, visiting takes place more than twice as often with other Australians than with immigrants.

Not only was the frequency of visits counted, their quality was also explored. Seven of the Australian mothers reported that they invite migrant women into their homes for a cup of morning tea or an evening at home. Amongst them were two females who often went into neighbouring immigrant homes for a chat and the same females also attend social gatherings organised by these neighbours.

Table 63 *Ethnic origin of the immigrants' friends and the Australian control group*

Ethnic origin of friends	Fathers				Mothers			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.	Polish	German	Brit.	Aust.
Australians only	1	2	7	14	1	2	7	13
Mixed	7	15	12	5	1	17	15	6
Other immigrants only	14	6	4	—	22	4	3	1
No friends	3	2	2	6	1	2	—	5
Total	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25

Rows 1 and 2, and
3 and 4 combined

$\chi^2 = 11.33$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$

Rows 1 and 2, and
3 and 4 combined

$\chi^2 = 38.05$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$

Although few Australian fathers visit immigrants in the home, half of them meet them after work for a drink in the hotel or go out with them at the weekend to watch or play sport. The working Australian mothers are more reticent, since only one of the four working mothers visits immigrant fellow workers.

In addition to questions on visiting, immigrant and Australian parents were also invited to divide their friends into the categories shown in Table 63. Relevant questions refer to Question 39 in the Interview Schedule for Immigrant Parents and to Question 31 in the Schedule for Australian parents (Appendix I).

The Polish fathers differ very much from the other fathers as the majority of their friends are other immigrants, mostly Poles. British fathers in particular have Australians as friends or mixed Australian-migrant friends of various ethnic backgrounds, with the latter being most typical for German fathers. The Polish mothers differ also from the other mothers, because all but two have only Poles as friends, whereas German and British mothers mix mostly in the company of Australians and immigrants and some British mothers have only Australians for friends. The German and British marriage partners differ only slightly with regard to the background of their friends but Polish females differ very much from their husbands by having practically no Australians for friends at all.

Restricted visiting with other people and the absence of real friends is more typical of the Australian families than of any of the

immigrant samples. As many as six Australian fathers and nearly the same number of mothers have no friends. In both instances marriage partners simply stated: 'No friends, only the family' implying lack of intimate contacts with outsiders. Three-quarters of Australian fathers who possess friends have Australians for friends, while the remainder have Australians and immigrants. One of the fathers who ignores immigrants said: 'I don't like foreigners. They come in, take over the best jobs, they also say they have the qualifications and then can't do the work, and keep good Australian blokes out'. Another father who also has Australians as friends was less critical of immigrants and explained his choice of friends with different reasons: 'Personal friends are usually the oldest friends, so they would be Australians as migrants are a new thing'. Fathers who have immigrants as friends include amongst them Dutch, Yugoslav, British, Greek, and Italian people. The Australian mothers seem to have slightly more immigrants for personal friends than do their husbands. Of interest is one Australian mother who states: 'I have one German and one Greek girl for my real friends and no Australians'.

From the detailed study of parents' social relations much light is thrown on the children's home environment. In the Polish homes fathers have few social contacts outside the Polish ethnic group and their wives have even fewer. The only mother who has Australian friends is the one who is German by birth and refuses to have anything to do with Poles. The German homes, conversely, are places where people of various European origin and Australians come and go. In the homes with no Australian contacts, the emphasis is on German friends because the parents often speak no other language than German, or are so unassimilated that they avoid contacts with Australians. In the two homes which report no friends, there is no case of social isolation; on the contrary in both a lot of visiting takes place, but marriage partners did not consider any of their acquaintances as real friends because the meaning of friendship has a special connotation for them.

The case of the British families is similar to the German one, but here Australians enter in greater numbers and the mothers seem, if anything, to be even more keen on Australians than are the fathers. They experienced a fair amount of friendliness from their sporting associates with whom they play during the daytime and

this influenced them positively towards Australians. If mothers can be taken as the main socialising agents in the children's upbringing, the direction of their influence in the respective homes can be easily deduced.

Leisure activities. We now turn to the last of the assimilation areas, namely leisure. The children's reports on what they did with their leisure appear in full in Table 64. This may at first sight seem unnecessarily cumbersome but does enable us to compare the four different origins, by sex, on every leisure activity.

Table 64 *Children's reports on their leisure activities*

Leisure activities	Boys					Girls				
	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Aust.	Total	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Aust.	Total
Swims	5	2	7	4	18	3	2	8	7	20
Plays soccer, hockey, cricket, rugby	1	4	3	8	16	—	—	—	—	—
Plays Australian football	4	5	2	2	13	—	—	—	—	—
Plays basketball, softball, squash, table tennis	—	1	3	4	8	—	3	4	5	12
Watches TV	6	3	3	4	16	8	3	3	3	17
Listens to radio	1	1	—	1	3	—	—	2	—	2
Listens to records	—	1	1	—	2	—	—	2	2	4
Reads books	6	1	1	1	9	11	3	6	2	22
Goes to pictures	5	—	1	—	6	1	—	—	—	1
Goes to parties	3	2	4	1	10	6	4	1	2	13
Dances	1	2	4	—	7	6	4	1	1	12
Plays chess or cards	2	2	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—
Visits friends	1	2	—	4	7	5	2	2	7	16
Helps father in the garden	2	1	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
Sews, crochets	—	—	—	—	—	5	2	—	—	7
Collects stamps	1	1	—	1	3	1	—	—	1	2
Horse riding	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	4
Goes out with siblings	2	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	1	3
Goes out with girl- or boy-friend	1	2	3	1	7	3	3	1	3	10
Member of club, church or other	—	2	3	1	6	—	—	1	1	2
Surfing, fishing	1	3	2	—	6	1	—	—	—	1
Watching Australian football	2	2	1	1	6	—	—	—	1	1
Total activities	44	37	38	33	152	53	26	32	38	149
Total persons	17	19	19	20	75	23	13	13	18	67

Totals exceed the number of children interviewed because some named more than one leisure activity. Taking the immigrant children first, sport seems the most popular. Football, the most popular of all sports, does not figure prominently in the table because children were given the opportunity to discuss it separately and probably did not want to cover the same ground while talking about leisure in general. The German and British boys participate in sport more often than girls do. Next most popular is reading, the girls reading more than the boys and the Polish children more than the British and German children. It will be shown later that Polish children, and in particular girls, are often not allowed by their parents to stay away from home; thus limited in their choice of activities they may read and sew more.

Parental discipline may also be responsible for the Polish girls' more frequent watching of TV. For all children watching TV takes third place with parties and dancing next, followed by spending time in the company of a friend of the opposite sex. Visiting friends comes next, girls indulging in this more often than boys. Some leisure activities differ by sex such as crocheting and sewing for girls and surfing for boys, although one Polish girl spends practically all her free time on a surfboard at the local beaches.

Sport is the most frequent leisure activity of the Australian boys, as it is for the German and British boys. Watching TV and visiting friends are two other activities in which Australian boys participate but less frequently than sport. Like the British girls, the Australian girls spend most of their time swimming, but visiting friends is just as important to them and next in frequency is sport. On the whole they do not differ much in their use of leisure time from the immigrant girls, except that they read much less.

The way parents spend their leisure is presented in Table 65.

The most typical leisure time activity for all the parents is gardening with the Polish parents heading the list. Much time is spent by the men in repairs around the house and this is the Australian men's most important activity. Reading is a popular pastime for all parents and so is watching TV. The immigrant women, especially the Germans, do much visiting. On the whole it is difficult to pinpoint any other major activity which characterises any one of the four groups. A few of the German immigrants attend the theatre whereas none of the British or Australians do. Playing

Table 65 Parents' reports on their leisure activities

Leisure activities	Fathers					Mothers				
	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Aust.	Total	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Aust.	Total
Works in the garden	11	8	6	7	32	10	4	5	8	27
Works around the house	9	6	8	12	35	—	—	—	—	—
Reads books, newspapers	7	3	4	2	16	6	4	2	4	16
Watches TV	4	3	3	2	12	3	1	3	3	10
Listens to the races	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Goes to the beach	4	2	1	—	7	2	4	4	1	11
Goes for a drive	—	3	2	2	7	2	2	—	—	4
Watches Australian football or soccer	1	2	2	3	8	—	1	1	—	2
Goes to pictures or theatre	1	3	—	—	4	1	4	1	—	6
Listens to records	—	1	2	1	4	1	1	—	—	2
Plays cards	1	2	—	—	3	1	3	—	—	4
Works on car	2	2	—	1	5	—	—	—	—	—
Picnics in the bush	1	1	1	—	3	—	4	1	—	5
Visits friends	—	3	—	1	4	5	9	3	3	20
Goes to the pub for a beer	—	3	1	1	5	—	—	1	—	1
Plays golf, bowls or hockey	—	1	—	1	2	—	2	—	1	3
Goes fishing and boating	—	1	4	2	7	—	—	3	1	4
Collects stamps	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	1
Plays table tennis	—	2	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	1
Plays tennis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	1	6
Works for church or other charitable organisations	1	—	6	3	10	—	—	—	3	3
Sews, knits, fancy work	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	7	6	18
Trade union work	—	—	3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
Country Women's Association	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Plays darts for a club	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Works for school library or canteen	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	6
No leisure	1	—	—	—	1	5	1	—	3	9
Total activities	44	47	44	39	174	36	46	37	41	160
Total persons	25	25	25	25	100	25	25	25	25	100

cards was mentioned by Poles and Germans, but not by the British or the Australians. Conversely, fishing and boating is undertaken by some British and Australian men and women, but rarely by others. Some British women play tennis, while the others, with the exception of one Pole, do not. Some British males participate in Trade Union work and no other men do.

There is, however, a greater resemblance between the Australian and British parents than between them and the other two ethnic groups. This is demonstrated most in the charitable work that the Australians and the British engage in and which the Poles and the Germans do not. Regarding the women, the greatest difference between all of them lies in the fact that the Australian women are the only ones who voluntarily help at school canteens. A special study into leisure, with deeper insight than this study, if undertaken, might reveal clearer patterns of leisure for the Australian and the immigrant parents.

The subjects who have no leisure are either working mothers or men, who complained of long hours of work and limited financial resources. One working mother remarked: 'I have six children and go out to work full time, so I have no time for leisure'.

At first glance, the immigrant children and many of their parents strongly resemble the Australians in their way of spending leisure and from the point of view of outward behaviour they act as Australians, and hence should be considered as externally assimilated. This was the criterion used for assessing external assimilation in such areas as language, where an immigrant was rated as externally assimilated if he had achieved a good command of English and used it to the exclusion of his own ethnic language. In such a case the immigrant had gone through a process of change, leaving ethnicity behind and adopting a mode of conduct typical of the receiving community. When no such change occurs in behaviour, no external assimilation takes place and this can be the case with leisure activities as discussed here. Let us take, for example, a Polish woman who back in Poland spent her time doing fancy work and looking after her garden. She arrives in Australia and continues to do exactly the same things, without ever noticing what Australian women do or how they spend their leisure. Although there may be great similarity between the Polish female immigrant and her Australian counterparts in leisure activities, it could hardly

be assumed that the Polish woman in question has in any way departed from her pre-migration customs; that is, she must be considered as externally not assimilated.

To test the possibility of any change having occurred, we asked subjects to evaluate their leisure activities and to tell us whether they consider them still Polish, German, or British in character, or whether they have become in any way Australian. (See Question 47 in Interview Schedule for Immigrant Parents, Appendix I). If a person who works around the house and reads books informs us that in his opinion his leisure is typically Polish, there is no way out but to classify him as externally not assimilated in that area, because he has not changed his way of spending his free time from the way he used to back in Poland. A verbatim answer of one immigrant illustrates the point clearly: 'I garden and potter around the house, I also read and read. I would say my leisure is typically Polish so far. I spend my free time the Polish way, as I don't know the Australian way as yet'. It was answers like these that gave the basis for dividing subjects into externally assimilated or not assimilated in the area of leisure activities. The same approach was used with the children (see Question 43 of Immigrant Children's Interview Schedule, Appendix I) whose external assimilation in this area is shown in Table 66, which also shows their subjective assimilation, which, as before, implies a personal preference, a feeling of approval.

Although some of the Australian children and some of their parents at times attend parties organised by immigrants, we take it that this occurs only sporadically without a lasting or modifying influence on their leisure as they report it. Therefore in the tables that follow both children and their parents are classified as having 'all Australian' leisure.

The German and British boys differ from the Polish boys because the two first are, in nearly all cases, externally assimilated in the area of leisure, while nearly half of the Polish boys are not. The German and British girls also differ from the Polish girls, less than half of whom are externally assimilated. The differences between the boys and girls of the same ethnic background are not large, except for the German children.

In subjective assimilation the same pattern prevails for boys, since one-third of the Polish boys would like to spend their leisure

Table 66 *Children's external and subjective assimilation in the area of leisure activities*

Score	Boys						Girls					
	Polish		German		British		Polish		German		British	
	Ext.	Sub.	Ext.	Sub.	Ext.	Sub.	Ext.	Sub.	Ext.	Sub.	Ext.	Sub.
All Australian	9	10	16	14	18	18	9	11	8	8	11	11
Half-and-half	5	2	2	4	1	1	9	5	5	5	2	2
All ethnic	3	5	1	1	—	—	5	7	—	—	—	—
Total	17	19	19	19	19	19	23	23	13	13	13	13

Rows 2 and 3 combined

 $\chi^2 = 9.81$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$ $\chi^2 = 6.53$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$

Rows 2 and 3 combined

 $\chi^2 = 7.17$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$ $\chi^2 = 4.74$, $df = 2$, $p > 0.05$

time in the Polish way, while the other boys prefer the Australian way. The Polish girls, however, do not differ to the same extent in subjective assimilation as they did in external assimilation from the other immigrant girls, the majority of whom want Australian type leisure activities, feeling gratified with it. Of the twenty-three Polish girls one-third still cling to their Polish ways, but nearly half are keen to amuse themselves the Australian way, and the rest like to have their feet in both camps, appreciating at times one or the other kind of leisure. It may be added in passing that some of the Polish girls who are forced by their parents to stay at home are the ones who are most keen on Australian leisure.

The Australian children were asked to comment on the way immigrants spend their leisure time and ten of the fourteen schoolboys, and the same number of schoolgirls, believed that immigrants can enrich Australian leisure but also wanted the immigrants to adopt ways typical of Australians. Some of these children voiced an opinion to the effect: 'the migrants can teach us a few things'. The rest of the schoolchildren, eight in number, wanted the immigrants to accept completely Australian ways of utilising their free time. Of the six working boys five wanted Australians and immigrants to learn ways of recreation from each other; the four working girls were adamant that the only good ways of passing leisure time are the Australian ways and that the immigrants should learn them at all times. It is interesting to note in this connection that eight children have been to parties organised by various ethnic groups and they enjoyed them very much. Three of the working boys who attended were particularly impressed with the gay atmosphere at these functions. One of them said: 'We went to a Ukrainian ball with a group of footballers. It was great fun'. The other children remarked: 'I like the dancing, music and their conversation', 'I like the food and the people, they are so much more friendly'.

Since sport is such a vital aspect of Australian children's living, they were asked if immigrant children display the same interest in sport and engage in it as often. All the children, working and non-working, agreed that the immigrant children do, but some of the boys qualified their answers by saying that some of the immigrant boys are inclined to play their own sport like soccer or rugby, rather than Australian rules football.

Table 67 Parents' external and subjective assimilation in the area of leisure activities

Score	Fathers						Mothers					
	Polish		German		British		Polish		German		British	
	Ext.	Sub.	Ext.	Sub.	Ext.	Sub.	Ext.	Sub.	Ext.	Sub.	Ext.	Sub.
All Australian	5	4	15	15	17	15	1	1	7	10	13	14
Half-and-half	4	4	9	7	1	2	4	1	13	8	4	3
All ethnic	15	16	1	3	7	8	15	18	4	6	8	8
Total	24	24	25	25	25	25	20	20	24	25	25	27

Rows 2 and 3 combined

Ext.

$$\chi^2 = 12.41, df = 2, p < 0.05$$

Sub.

$$\chi^2 = 16.12, df = 2, p < 0.05$$

Rows 2 and 3 combined

Ext.

$$\chi^2 = 11.62, df = 2, p < 0.05$$

Sub.

$$\chi^2 = 21.79, df = 2, p < 0.05$$

Note: Excluded from the table are subjects with no leisure (see p. 112).

Like some of their children, the Polish parents also show quite remarkable differences from parents of the other ethnic backgrounds, because they look at their leisure activities in most cases as typically Polish, while the German and British parents regard theirs as completely Australian. In subjective assimilation adult males present a similar pattern to male teenagers, except that Polish fathers are even keener than their sons for their leisure time activities to be Polish and in this differ greatly from the German and British fathers, the majority of whom prefer Australian ways. Polish mothers resemble their husbands as they, too, wish to spend their leisure in their own way, being more familiar with it and appreciating it more.

While most British mothers prefer Australian ways of spending their free time and one-third like typically British ways, German mothers are not as definitely orientated, as nearly half of them want mixed Australian and German or German leisure alone. This is evident from Table 67.

The figures in Table 67 also indicate a disparity between external and subjective assimilation in leisure, with men and Polish women wanting more ethnic leisure than they are getting. It will be shown later that some of these people are critical of Australian leisure, so although they participate in it they still prefer their own. A difference is noted for the German women, however, where a shift occurred towards greater identification with Australian leisure. In the three cases concerned, the females spend their leisure time with other Germans, but also with Australians. Some of their Australian friends have been particularly good in showing them the outback of Western Australia; the German women appreciated this gesture very much, and wish to spend their free time exploring other features of the countryside.

Having compared the parents of the three ethnic groups it now remains to be seen if Polish fathers with different educational backgrounds also differ in the way they look at their leisure and the way they feel about it (Table 68).

It emerges from the table that the graduates differ substantially from the non-graduates both in the kind of leisure they have and the kind they prefer. More graduates follow Australian leisure and more of them identify with it. Yet some graduate fathers tend to shift their allegiance from Australian leisure to their own as ex-

Table 68 External and subjective assimilation of Polish fathers, with and without university degrees, in the area of leisure activities

Score	University graduates		Non-university graduates		Total
	Ext.	Sub.	Ext.	Sub.	
All Australian	7	6	4	3	11
Half-and-half	6	4	3	3	9
All ethnic	2	5	15	16	17
Total	15	—	22	—	37

Note: Excluded from the table is one non-university graduate with no leisure (see p. 112).

pressed in the following statement: 'I don't approve of the Australian way of spending one's free time. On Saturdays the Australians go to the pub or play sport. I don't like this, but sometimes I have to do it'. In trying to reach a conclusion why his leisure is Polish in essence and why he prefers it, another father says: 'On Sundays in Poland people did not do anything. Here they work on Sundays and this is wrong. I don't, so my way must be the Polish way'. One of the few Polish fathers who identifies with Australian leisure thus makes his point: 'It is rather the Australian way, according to local customs. The environment demands that I spend my time the Australian way. I do bet on horses, but I don't go in for the Australian football craze. I think it is all rather silly. In this respect my leisure is not quite Australian'.

British males provide similar answers and add extra comment: 'I take on Australian leisure and everything else Australians do, because of the kindness these people have shown me in the past'. One British father simply describes his leisure and reaffirms that it is typically Australian: 'In the summer we go to the beach and in the evening we go to the pub for a cold beer, and this is the Australian way of living'. Fathers of British origin who are less committed explain: 'Purely accident that I spend my leisure the way Australians do. There is no opportunity for the British sort of life here, no British pubs here. The mere Australian pub does not have the atmosphere. I used to go to the British pub quite often. Never here'. British mothers and fathers in many cases made it clear that climatic conditions in Australia made it imperative for them to change their ways of spending their free time. Others appreciate

Table 69 Parents' preferences for Australian or non-Australian leisure for their children

Preference for Australian or non- Australian leisure	Fathers					Mothers				
	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Total	Aust.	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Total	Aust.
All Australian	12	21	22	55	3	4	21	19	44	—
In-between	10	1	3	14	15	15	3	6	24	18
All ethnic	3	3	—	6	—	6	1	—	7	—
Total	25	25	25	75	18	25	25	25	75	18

Rows 2 and 3 combined $\chi^2 = 12.41$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$ Rows 2 and 3 combined $\chi^2 = 28.48$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$

Note: In seven Australian homes parents expressed no preferences as their children knew nothing about immigrant leisure.

special circumstances available in Australia absent in England. One mother states: 'For one thing I never played tennis in England. There is more opportunity here and I do appreciate this'. Another mother remarks: 'We never had a car in England, we couldn't afford one. Here we have a car and go for drives. We couldn't go swimming in England because of the weather'. Some of the British mothers who disapprove of Australian leisure state: 'I don't like too much sport as they have it in Australia'. Another mother is more explicit: 'On arrival in Australia ten years ago my recreations were already established and I have no desire to change'. The mother in question goes to lectures often and reads extensively, as she did in England before.

When German fathers decide to change their patterns of leisure there is evident a sense of obligation to the receiving community. Two fathers say: 'You live in this country and do what others do'. 'The German way of living is now finished for me. I live in Australia'. A German mother says the same thing: 'One has to adapt to conditions in Australia. We can't do the things we did in Germany. That would be unfair'. Another German father less enthusiastic about Australian leisure explains: 'I brought some ideas from home and learned some new ideas from Australians. The mixture suits me fine'.

It is now necessary to examine the attitudes of parents towards the assimilation of their children.

As before, the Polish fathers show a significant difference from the other fathers in attitude to their children's acceptance of Australian leisure patterns; they are less favourable than the German or the British fathers, nearly all of whom want their children to follow Australian ways. Only half the Polish fathers are so inclined. The Polish mothers are even more adamant against typically Australian leisure and they, too, differ very much from the British and German mothers. The difference in attitudes between Polish marriage partners is rather pronounced ($\chi^2 = 4.51$) but German and British parents seem to be more or less in agreement with each other regarding their children's leisure. It will be shown later that parents' feelings about their children's leisure have an adverse influence on family living in some households.

The Australian parents were also given an opportunity to express their opinions on leisure as pursued by immigrants, and on the necessity for them to accept the Australian way of spending leisure time. Almost half of the fathers were inclined to think that immigrants should assimilate to the Australian way of leisure and made such remarks as: 'I don't think Australians will ever change to soccer so migrants better learn our ways', and 'Migrants should attune themselves to our community'. The rest of the fathers were inclined to think that there should be an interchange of ideas between Australians and immigrants and each should learn from the other the various ways of spending leisure time. There was, however, one father who was original in his approach and he also said: 'We have nothing to teach them. We can learn a lot from them'.

While nearly half the Australian fathers thought that immigrants should adopt Australian ways of leisure, only three Australian mothers had such notions. A typical answer for the rest reads: 'I don't think our ways are any better than theirs'.

The Australian parents were also asked how they feel about their children accepting ways in which immigrants amuse themselves. Parents in seven homes had no preferences and said: 'They don't do it'. Three fathers were against it and they remarked: 'I'd rather they didn't, I am not for it', 'I am not for it much', and 'My children stick to Australian ways'. The wife of the last male was 'for it' and said: 'I quite approve'. None of the females had any strong opposition to their children adopting immigrant ways of leisure and one mother remarked: 'I want them to. We went to a

Table 70 Attitudes of Polish fathers, with and without university degrees, to children's assimilation in the area of leisure

Attitudes to Australian leisure	University graduates	Non-university graduates	Total
Favourable	12	11	23
In-between	2	9	11
Unfavourable	1	3	4
Total	15	23	38

Yugoslav dance the other night and that was marvellous'. An approving Australian father commented: 'It does not worry me. Migrants accept our conditions, we should do likewise'. Another father with the same attitude said: 'It is a privilege that my children should enjoy'.

Comparing the attitudes of the Polish fathers with and without a university education, it is found that the better educated fathers are more favourably disposed towards Australian leisure for their children than are the other fathers. Nearly all of the university graduates want purely Australian leisure for their children. They feel that such leisure for their children is both commendable and necessary.

We have now reached the end of this analysis of assimilation in the four selected areas. Though it has been a long process we are still not yet ready to make a general assessment of assimilation: not only must the four areas be amalgamated but additional matters need examination, particularly attitudes to Australian life and society, wish to stay or to leave for another country, experience of discriminatory behaviour, and so on. To these matters we now turn.

Additional Factors Associated with Assimil- ation, Including the Attitudes of Australians to Immigrants



To investigate the parents' assimilation beyond the four specific areas already dealt with, we asked them a number of special questions with the expectation that answers would give a fuller insight into the way they assimilate and their reasons for doing so; and additionally, how all this may eventually affect the children, stimulating or retarding their assimilation. One of these questions (Question 54 of the Immigrant Parents' Interview Schedules, Appendix I) reads: 'What do you think of the generally held opinion that Australia is a land of opportunity?' It was envisaged that affirmative replies would connote a favourable orientation towards the country and that this in turn would not only strengthen parental desire for identification but also exercise a considerable influence on the children. The figures in Table 71 summarise the answers.

Table 71 Parents' estimate of Australia as a land of opportunity

Australia as a land of opportunity	Fathers				Mothers			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Polish	German	Brit.	Total
Yes	20	23	21	64	20	22	22	64
No	3	1	2	6	1	2	—	3
It could be	2	1	2	5	1	—	3	4
Don't know much about it	—	—	—	—	3	1	—	4
Total	25	25	25	75	25	25	25	75

Obviously the vast majority of the immigrant parents saw Australia as a country with a great potential; many of them considered the mineral resources of Western Australia as the most promising element for the country's future. Full employment and a sound economy were other reasons for optimistic beliefs. Over half of the Polish and British parents emphasised that possibilities for young people were better than for old, thus possibly influencing their sons and daughters to think in the same way. One British father said: 'Plenty of opportunity here for the young. For a bloke like me, who is getting on, there is not much', and another British father added: 'The opportunity is for the young with skills. For men over 40 not so good, if not trained'. German parents, however, saw no such limitations and in contrast to the other parents kept on underlining the spaciousness of the country and the lack of overcrowding.

Amongst those who were not impressed with possibilities in Australia were the few Polish fathers who worried about the political situation in the south-west Pacific and others who believed that Australia could be a land of opportunity only if people worked harder and more efficiently. The government of Western Australia was criticised by the same immigrants for holding back the development of this state. One British father saw limitations in a different sphere: 'The country has enormous opportunities, but they must recognise tradesmen's qualifications. If they don't, the Chinese will'. He implied that the Chinese would be more generous in this respect should they ever take Australia.

Enthusiasm for the country is widespread amongst both the men and women. One Polish father remarked: 'Australia has unlimited horizons. So far she has had to use foreign capital to develop her resources, but when she accumulates her own capital this will be another America, but different. The bringing of migrants here has not the sad and exploitative elements of the American migration, like the Chicago meatworks and other examples in American history. Australia is lucky. Her migration is a painless process, the least painful migration of all, far less of a human tragedy'.

A different aspect was noted by one British father: 'It is a young, underdeveloped, underpopulated country and rich. It is in the centre of a growing part of the world and Australia will play a big role here'. At the more personal level other items came to the fore: 'I did not have half the opportunities in England. We started here

Table 72 Australian parents' views on immigrants as an advantage or disadvantage to Australia

Immigrants have been	Fathers	Mothers	Total
An advantage	21	22	43
A doubtful advantage	3	2	5
A disadvantage	1	1	2
Total	25	25	50

from scratch and we are doing very well'. Two Polish men also compared their living conditions before emigration with those they enjoy in Australia and they said: 'Here it is different. This is a young country. In Poland there was overcrowding and it was very hard to get a decent job. I worked in Poland for 13 years in my trade and I could barely make a living. Prices went up every year and wages were very small. Wages in your pay envelope could buy very little. Sometimes in the winter I had to work a whole week just to buy bread for the family. It was hard to get a job in the cold months so you had smaller wages. Life here is different. I like it here. I live here in Australia like a lord. I can afford lots of things. It makes me feel good. In the beginning it was hard. We stayed with my brother-in-law on a farm. After one month I went to work on the railways as a labourer, it was hard work with pick and shovel. I did not earn much and I knew no English. That was ten years ago. Little by little things have improved. We are well off now'.

Since the immigrants' views on Australia depend in large measure on the attitudes and opinions Australians have about them, we asked the Australian parents a number of relevant questions. One of these questions aimed at eliciting a response which would tell us if immigrants have been an advantage or disadvantage to Australia (Question 44 of Australian Parents' Interview Schedule, Appendix I). The Australian parents' answers are listed in Table 72.

The fathers who saw immigrants as an advantage to Australia gave various reasons to prove their point: 'The immigrants have been an advantage without doubt. First the quality of tradesmanship is important. We could not have trained sufficient of our own men to do the work. We needed the skill. I find the migrants have equal skill to our best tradesmen, we learned from them different

application of skills and a different way of doing things. We found their way better, their skill is broader and different'. His wife was not so sure and said: 'They are excellent workers, but one thing bothers me is whether they might bring in too many for the jobs available and then there would be trouble'. The full merit of migration was, however, stressed by another female: 'They must be an advantage. They are willing to work, Australians are lazy. Migrants also bring in music and culture to us. An Australian will always work when his back is against the wall. In our affluent society he does not have to work as hard, but the migrant does all the time'. Different reasons were apparent in the answer of an Australian man, who said: 'They have been an advantage on account of the labour shortage, we need a larger labour force and a much larger population. They give you also a wider outlook on life, you learn this from them'.

Two more favourable answers are quoted for their originality: 'They have been a decided advantage, even the Italians are good, industrious people, a lot have done good to the community', 'We could have made a greater advantage of them, some have been wrongly placed in jobs, like a Polish lawyer who was doing manual work for me, this was a crime'.

Doubts about the immigrants' contributions were expressed in the following manner by one married couple, the husband saying: 'In a sense they have been an advantage, as long as they don't take over the country, we must also wait and see how things are with housing and jobs', and his wife added: 'I think they have done the country a lot of good, but they should not push the Australians out of a job'. Another husband stated: 'There are advantages and disadvantages in the migrants coming here—housing has got dear because of them coming in large numbers'. His wife commented: 'Some sort of an advantage, Australians should have preference in everything'. The male who disapproves of migrants said: 'They have been a disadvantage—they have control over the jobs, run the show. I am against them definitely'. The wife is not as hostile but also looked critically at the immigrants' contribution: 'This works both ways, they have been a disadvantage because of housing. We can't house our own people. They have been an advantage—doing the work Australians won't do like domestic work in hospitals. Migrants do any dirty work'.

All except five fathers and four mothers wanted more immigrants to come to Western Australia. Some of the Australian parents were not specific about the ethnic background of intending immigrants; others stipulated Italians, Spaniards, Poles, Swedes, also the Dutch, Irish, and English as a welcome addition to the present population. The Australian parents who had reservations about a greater influx of immigrants were concerned mostly about the shortage of housing; as one Australian mother put it: 'We can't let any more migrants in, until our young married people get their houses'. In view of the preponderance of favourable opinions by Australians about immigrants as an advantage to Australia, it can be expected that immigrant children will enjoy a receptive atmosphere in the community.

The wish to stay in Australia

The appreciation of Australia as a country of immigration shown by immigrant parents can well be connected with their desire to live here permanently. To investigate this wish we asked the immigrants: 'Apart from possible holidays abroad would you like to spend the rest of your life in Australia?' This question was addressed both to parents and their children, but the parents' answers are given first because they usually decide family movement over which young children in particular have little control.

Table 73 Parents' wish to stay in Australia

Wish to stay	Fathers				Mothers			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Polish	German	Brit.	Total
Yes	17	22	20	59	9	18	17	44
No	6	2	1	9	13	6	4	23
Undecided	2	1	4	7	3	1	4	8
Total	25	25	25	75	25	25	25	75

Rows 2 and 3 combined $\chi^2 = 3.02$, $df = 2$, $p > 0.05$ Rows 2 and 3 combined $\chi^2 = 8.03$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$

The figures in Table 73 indicate that a quarter of the Polish fathers do not wish to stay in Australia permanently and that the number for the German and the British fathers is much smaller. However, almost one-fifth of the British fathers are undecided on

Table 74 Polish fathers with and without university degrees and their wish to stay permanently in Australia

Wish to stay	University graduates	Non-university graduates	Total
Yes	8	17	25
No	6	4	10
Undecided	1	2	3
Total	15	23	38

the issue and so are their wives. The Polish mothers differ vastly from the other mothers, half of them wanting to leave Australia to return to Poland permanently. It can also be noted that six of the German mothers but only two of the fathers would like to go back to their home country.

In general terms it can be said that a wish to stay permanently in Australia is a reasonable index of identification with the country. Some Polish fathers, however, do not identify with Australia and yet want to stay, suggesting that some immigrants find certain geographical, economic and political advantages in Australia which outweigh the various socio-cultural disadvantages, and are prepared to accept the compromise and live here. This point is taken up by Price (1963) who emphasises that some southern European immigrants in Australia fail to adjust to Australian social customs but adapt well to environmental factors such as climatic conditions, wages, and working conditions.

A comparison between the Polish university and non-university graduates shows that there is statistically no significant difference between the two groups regarding the wish to stay in Australia, but at the same time it is clear that more of the non-graduates are happier about staying than are the graduates.

The six graduates who want to leave Australia, not necessarily to return to Poland but to emigrate elsewhere, are men who have not assimilated well, have not been able to use their occupational skills in Australia, and are professionally frustrated. They believe that in some other country they would be able to make better use of their training. To them, Australia offers very little in the way of cultural amenities and they complain of the drab and uninspiring way of life here.

The seventeen non-graduates who wish to stay consist of some men who have come to Australia in the last ten years. Two of these are subjectively highly assimilated and one of them said: 'It is no use thinking about living in Poland. I stay here'. Another later arrival, not as strongly identified with Australia, wishes to stay here because of the climate and for this reason he refuses to leave the country. One more late arrival, only slightly assimilated, found a job which suits him well. He has also been able to secure a spacious home which is far beyond his expectations and far superior to the living conditions which he had to endure in Poland. The remaining males came to Australia soon after World War II, and six of them are highly assimilated and hence want to continue living here. The rest are people who do not like Australia, but are prepared to stay either because of the present political situation in Poland, their concern for their children's future or a general distaste for moving about.

Some male verbatim answers illustrate the different attitudes: 'I will stay here, this is my country', 'I have no alternative, I must stay here, I am afraid to go back', 'I have to stay here; I am rooted for good; it would be no use dragging the children back to Poland, they know nothing about it'. The wife of the last man added: 'Yes, I will stay here; one has to think of the children; Poland will be like a strange country to them'. Fathers undecided about their stay explained: 'I would like to collect my old age Australian pension and go back to Poland to live, if I could', 'I would not wish to be buried here, so in the meantime I am staying on'. An undecided mother has a real dilemma, she said: 'I am not sure what to do. It is better for us here financially, but I love my own country'. This particular woman is the perfect example of an immigrant who has adjusted to the economic conditions in Australia, but failed to identify with this country otherwise.

It is popularly believed that British families are very unsettled in Australia; the daily press reinforces this belief with remarks of 'whingeing Poms' who come to Australia only to return to England as quickly as possible. The evidence provided by this research does not support such judgment, the figures in Table 73 suggesting the contrary. One British father wants to go back to England because he is incurably ill and wishes to see his relatives before it is too late.

British mothers are often accused of being the main cause of family maladjustment to Australia, their ties with their parents back home being responsible for their own unhappiness which then spills over to other members of the family. Table 73 shows that only four British mothers want to return to England. Another four are undecided, but feel that after a trip back home they will settle permanently in Australia. Amongst all the British families there was only one where the parents were decidedly unhappy about the country and wanted to leave it. Parents in that particular family claim to belong to the upper stratum of the English class structure and are finding it repugnant that Australians and others fail to give them proper acknowledgment. The family is due to return to England shortly, despite the fact that their teenage son is deeply rooted here.

The undecided British families do not have much against the country and made very few complaints about it. One of the undecided fathers remarks: 'I like the climate. I am not decided, I have never been homesick, but I have never been settled'. A clear absence of dissatisfaction with Australia is also evident in the following statement of yet another British immigrant: 'This is difficult to answer. We are going back for a trip shortly. Home ties are very strong in a person. I will never give away my nationality and I always will have a strong love for my country. So we must go back to see how I feel, and that could have a big effect on my stay here'.

The German males seem more keen than any other group of immigrants to stay in Australia, one of them explained: 'I have just come back from Germany to see my brother. I was there for a month and did not like it very much. I was glad to be back in Australia and stay here for good'. One of the few German fathers who wishes to return to Germany remarked: 'No, I am going back to Germany. I think I am better off over there. While the children are still young it will be easier for me to bring them up over there than in Australia. You can't earn enough from wages in Australia from an ordinary job to support a family. Also homesickness. In Germany, too, you don't have to pay for school books for children when they are at high school. You do here. Also you have to be lucky here to get an apprenticeship for a lad. You can get one, maybe, if you have the Junior. You need nothing like that in Germany'. There

Table 75 Children's wish to stay in Australia

Wish to stay	Boys				Girls			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Polish	German	Brit.	Total
Yes	14	15	18	47	15	7	11	33
No	2	1	—	3	3	2	1	6
Undecided	1	3	1	5	5	4	1	10
Total	17	19	19	55	23	13	13	49

Rows 2 and 3 combined
 $\chi^2 = 2.10$, $df = 2$, $p > 0.05$

Rows 2 and 3 combined
 $\chi^2 = 2.89$, $df = 2$, $p > 0.05$

were more German mothers than fathers who wanted to return home and one of them said: 'No, I would not like to live here'.

Only a very small proportion of children intend to live elsewhere, showing that their inclinations are more or less commensurate with those of their parents (Table 75).

Many of the children expressed a deep desire to travel, but in the long run wished to make their lives here. For some of the children, especially the youngest, the question was really premature. They were unable to focus on the far distant future and the vague time perspective made it impossible for them to decide on the spot.

As shown, the desire to stay in a country is intertwined with a number of reasons some of which may be climatic, occupational, or financial, yet it may have nothing to do with such conditions; it may be the result of deep attachment to the country of birth which remains strong even when conditions are adverse. To get at this feeling, immigrant parents were asked: 'Where do you feel you now belong, more to Australia or Poland (Germany, Britain)?' (Question 61 of Interview Schedule for Immigrant Parents, Appendix I). Answers to this question are recorded in Table 76.

The German and British fathers differ significantly from the Polish fathers because nearly all of them feel themselves as belonging more to Australia, or to both countries, while most Polish fathers feel they belong more to Poland. The Polish mothers, true to their pattern of general non-assimilation, show the least feeling of belonging to Australia and in this respect they differ from the British and German mothers. In feeling that they belong more to Australia, marriage partners within each ethnic group do not differ

Table 76 Parents' reports on their feeling of belonging more to Australia or to the country of their origin

Belongs more to	Fathers				Mothers			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Polish	German	Brit.	Total
Australia	8	20	12	40	5	15	14	34
Country of origin	14	3	7	24	20	7	9	36
Both	1	2	6	9	—	1	2	3
Undecided	2	—	—	2	—	2	—	2
Total	25	25	25	75	25	25	25	75

Rows 3 and 4 combined $\chi^2 = 15.71$, $df = 4$, $p < 0.05$ Rows 3 and 4 combined $\chi^2 = 16.32$, $df = 4$, $p < 0.05$

greatly. Of the thirteen Polish fathers with university degrees, five of them feel they belong more to Australia, one of them feels that Poland is the country to which he belongs, while the rest feel they belong to Poland and Australia simultaneously; as one graduate put it: 'These loyalties don't clash'.

The Polish mothers who have their hearts in Poland are very sure of their standing. One of them said: 'We have Australian nationality, but I feel I am a Pole. I took Australian nationality for the security of my family, otherwise I belong to Poland'.

A German father also used naturalisation to prove his point, but for divergent reasons: 'I now belong to Australia, and Australia is our fatherland. We are naturalised and that means that we belong here for good'. More of the German fathers showed feelings of belonging to Australia than did other fathers.

The number of British mothers and the number of German mothers who feel a deep affinity with Australia is almost the same, the answers of both groups showing striking similarity; one example is the British mother who said: 'I belong to Australia, definitely, I have never been homesick'.

So, contrary to press opinion and much public expectation, over half of the British mothers feel they belong more to Australia than Great Britain. However, one-third of the British women feel they belong more to their home country, as expressed in the words of one Scot: 'I belong to Scotland. I don't belong here, although I try very hard'.

British fathers who feel they belong to Australia made their positions quite clear. One father remarked: 'I belong to Australia. The only tie I have with England is my father who is 81 years of age'. Of the others some say: 'I am still English' or 'I suppose I am really a bloody Pom'.

Two interesting features emerge from the answers to the question on belonging to a country. One of them is that adults, like their children, can achieve a dual identification with two lands concurrently. One British father described his feelings succinctly: 'I would say I belong to England. When sport is on I would always support the team from the old country. Only as far as sport is concerned, otherwise I am Australian'.

The second feature, of more theoretical value, is that adult immigrants too can suffer from culture conflict, which some reserve for second generation immigrants only. Although the number of such immigrants here is rather small, it nonetheless supports the notion put forward in the theoretical framework of this study, that oscillation between cultural identities leads to culture conflict and that both first and second generation immigrants may be victims. The verbatim answer of one Polish father suggests this: 'I don't know at present where I belong, Australia or Poland, I am torn between the two'. Two German mothers have the same problem, one of them saying: 'I still don't know where I belong'. Previous research (Johnston, 1965b) made it abundantly clear that a high statistical correlation exists between parents' own subjective assimilation and their attitudes to their children's assimilation. It can be predicted, therefore, that parents who psychologically identify with Australia will instil the same notions in their children. The opposite is likely to operate for parents who do not.

Experience of prejudice

Feelings of belonging to a country may often be a function of experience in it. Some say that immigrants will develop positive or negative feelings towards an immigration country according to the degree of prejudice and discrimination they have suffered there. All parents participating in this study were therefore asked to comment on any discrimination they endured during their stay in Australia. Their answers are presented in Table 77.

Table 77 *Experienced discrimination as reported by immigrant parents*

Experienced discrimination	Fathers				Mothers			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Polish	German	Brit.	Total
Yes	6	12	3	21	6	12	1	19
No	19	13	22	54	19	13	24	56
Total	25	25	25	75	25	25	25	75

It is obvious that almost half the German fathers and mothers feel that they have suffered discrimination from Australians, compared with just over one-fifth of the Poles and only a few of the British.

Some parents in the twelve German families who were discriminated against had this to say about their experiences: *Father*: 'They hated me at work. I made a good effort to get ahead and they objected and were jealous'. *Mother*: 'Oh yes, when I mentioned I was German, they brushed me straight off. When my son was in the scouts the older boys called him a Nazi, and he did not understand it. I talked to the scoutmaster and he was very sorry, but my son never went back'. *Father*: 'There were many such cases and very hurtful, but one wants to forget such unpleasant things'. *Mother*: 'Right in the beginning. They called me names—German bastard at work, the waitresses did it, I still get it now, but I don't mind, I am hardened to it'. *Father*: 'Yes in the beginning, it is a long time ago, they did not want to have anything to do with us. They used to pick the flowers from the garden and throw them at our windows. They called me a Hun, that was terrible'. *Mother*: 'Yes, they called me a bloody German and the woman across the road did not allow her children to play with my children, when they were young, because we were Germans, she told me that'. *Father*: 'Yes, I had bad experiences when I was unemployed at one time, I could see preferences for a job were given to Australians or the English. I was discriminated against as a German. I felt very strongly about this'. *Mother*: 'In the beginning they made very clear that they did not want us, they just ignored you all the time'. The mother in one family assumes that Germans are especially prejudice prone and seek to confirm their anticipations: 'Well, yes. I was told that Germans are not liked in Australia. We Germans must expect that, or maybe we are looking for it and want to have it, there is probably

nothing in it'. Her husband confirms his wife's thought: 'I was treated badly by the Australians because I was a post-war German and secondly I could not speak any English'.

The rest of the marriage partners just simply indicated that they were discriminated against without giving details. Some further instances of discrimination are cited later, when individual case studies of families are discussed.

It is of interest to note that Polish fathers with university degrees record incidents of discrimination against them much more often than those without. Well over half the graduates complained about being prejudiced against and they feel that discrimination occurs most frequently at work. The victims of prejudice gave no reasons as to why they suffered such treatment, they merely described the situation: 'I have personally experienced it at work. Prejudice exists amongst professional people particularly so'. 'I struck this only when trying to secure suitable employment early during my stay in this country. They would not look at your European qualifications and did not trust them either. This did make a profound impression on me and it did create some reservations towards Australians on my part'. 'I experienced prejudice from co-workers and the boss too, they made you feel you are an outsider'. 'Yes when I tried for a job and there were many applicants. They accepted an Australian although I had better qualifications'. 'This can be observed at work, they have a domineering attitude to foreigners, I have experienced that and am experiencing it now and also observe it with others'. 'Yes I have experienced prejudice from private firms, I would not say I experienced it socially, but professionally yes. When I applied for a position on several occasions in spite of a Diploma in Accountancy, my application was rejected without even an interview, my Polish surname gave the game away. It made me feel very bitter. I have to keep contacts with Australians on account of my business, but psychologically I don't feel very much at home with them'.

The rest of the subjects did not elaborate on their experience of this prejudice, but merely stated that it did happen at work. Two of the university graduates omitted the work situation altogether and instead explained: 'I remember at Southern Cross to be refused a room at a hotel the proprietor of which said: "We have no room for migrants and Aborigines"'. It made me feel bitter naturally, it

does not improve your feeling of belonging to the country. It makes you feel it is not your place—your home. I resented it and although I have still contacts with Australians, I do not seek them'. 'I met with real hostility, that was in the street on two occasions. I rather not talk about it, it was only because they noticed my foreign accent. I feel bitter about Australians and that was the reason why I returned to the Polish community for a while and took part in its life. But somehow it gave me nothing, it did not satisfy me, I felt all their activities were a waste of time. I then went back to be with Australians, but felt bitter and disillusioned as I try to give the best of myself to these people and they rejected me. All this hostility comes from uneducated Australians, the educated Australian is different'. This last quotation illuminates the dynamics of the immigrant's behaviour when faced with ill-treatment from members of the receiving community. It shows the deep psychological impact it has on his personality and how he regresses in the assimilation process by returning to his own ethnic group in an attempt to renew his ethnicity and to find a new allegiance. For some such immigrants the progress in assimilation may be blocked forever; in the present case it had only a temporary effect, but it alienated this person from Australians and left an indelible mark on his whole orientation towards the country. My personal experiences of prejudice in Australia indicate that such matters are frequently talked about in the immigrant home and that children in those homes are often on guard not to disclose too freely the birthplace of their parents.

Australian parents too were asked a question about unfriendliness: 'Could you recall any unpleasant incident that you personally experienced with immigrants?' (Question 49 in Interview Schedule for Australian Parents, Appendix I). Three fathers, all non-manual workers, made these statements: 'The Dutch are very arrogant', 'An English family who lived next door gave us some trouble, the children were badly behaved and this caused friction'; his wife confirmed her husband's statement. The third father stated: 'We had some poor migrant neighbours, they could not control their children'. In all, seven Australian women had poor experiences with some migrants and some of them said: 'A few are not particularly clean, the Italians I mean, and it is hard to live next door to them'. 'Yes, we had a fight and I gave them as good as they gave me'. 'I got on well with them over the years, a few clashes with the Dutch'.

'The woman next door had some drunken parties and neglected her children'. 'Oh well, the little ones at school had a bust up with some Italian children. I stepped in and then their parents came here, there was some argument about it, but it all blew over'. 'Yes, with one Scotch family, they were hard to please'.

Unfortunate experiences with others often lead to dislike and prejudice against them. To determine the amount of prejudice Australians have against immigrants, we asked them directly if in their opinion the newcomers should have the same chances for jobs as Australians (Question 47). Seven of the twenty-five Australian fathers answered in the negative and a typical answer read: 'No, I reckon Australians should have preference in getting jobs, after all it is their country'. A more unusual way of expressing prejudice is noted for one father: 'If a migrant has superior qualifications, he should get the job. If equal qualifications, the Australian should get it'. Of all the Australian mothers only two were prejudiced against jobs for migrants, the rest were for equality of opportunity and one was particularly adamant stating: 'Naturally the migrants should have the same chances. We lost a lot of talent by making university graduates from other countries do manual work'. An unprejudiced father stated: 'If you are going to bring them here and make good citizens of them, you can't create a second class citizen club by making differences'. If 21 per cent of Australian fathers discriminate occupationally against immigrants, it could be predicted that in the role of employers they might reject immigrant children as workers. This is only a hypothetical situation, but it does indicate a possibility.

Parents' opinions about the Australian people

Feelings towards a country, as well as thoughts about it, are involved in predisposing a person towards a new environment. If immigrants have positive opinions about an indigenous population, they are more likely to like it, feel comfortable with it and appreciate the country run by those people. It is for this reason that the immigrant parents were asked to say what they like about Australian people and what they dislike about them. They were also invited to express opinions on the quality of the Australian culture. Likes and dislikes about the Australian people, as seen by the immigrant people, are shown in Tables 78 and 79.

Table 78 Characteristics of Australians appreciated by immigrant parents

Characteristics appreciated	Fathers				Mothers				Total
	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	
Kind and good	9	2	2	13	5	3	4	12	25
Helpful	2	8	2	12	5	5	7	17	29
Friendly	2	3	3	8	3	5	1	9	17
Good neighbours	1	1	—	2	3	1	—	4	6
Honest	2	—	1	3	1	—	1	2	5
Cheerful and easy going	6	12	13	31	2	7	9	18	49
No class distinction	—	4	1	5	—	—	1	1	6
Straightforward	2	1	5	8	—	—	1	1	9
Mind their own business	2	4	5	11	—	2	3	5	16
No answer	3	1	1	5	5	3	1	9	14
Total	29	36	33	98	24	26	28	78	176
Total persons	25	25	25	75	25	25	25	75	150

It is worth noting that the Poles, both fathers and mothers, and the German mothers, made no mention of 'the lack of class distinction' in the Australian community; and 'straightforwardness' which was mentioned by eight men was mentioned by only one woman (a Briton).

The quality most often mentioned in the table was 'cheerful and easy going'. This got the highest score from German fathers, British fathers, German mothers, and British mothers. The Polish fathers were most impressed by the 'kindness' of the Australian people. Perhaps the considerable number of 'no answers' given by the Polish people is due to the fact that they mix with Australians very little and hence do not have the opportunity to discover their various characteristics. On the other hand British fathers and mothers and German fathers, all of whom mix a great deal with Australians, enumerate more qualities and mention them more often.

The category of 'no answer' in Table 79 also refers to subjects who have little or no contact with Australians and are not in a position to express an opinion. It seems that the German and British fathers found least fault with Australians, as indicated by the 'nothing at all disliked' category. The fathers and mothers of all

Table 79 Characteristics of Australians disliked by immigrant parents

Characteristics deprecated	Fathers				Mothers				Total
	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	
Dislike of newcomers	6	1	—	7	—	—	2	2	9
Drink too much	2	4	5	11	3	8	1	12	23
Neglect children	—	—	—	—	4	2	—	6	6
Poor treatment of women	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	3	3
Conceited	1	1	2	4	1	—	—	1	5
Horse betting	1	2	—	3	1	—	—	1	4
Poor working habits	—	2	1	3	—	—	—	—	3
Too much freedom allowed children	1	2	—	3	1	1	—	2	5
Untidy	—	2	2	4	1	2	1	4	8
Jealous of migrants	1	2	—	3	1	2	—	3	6
Rough	—	—	3	3	1	—	4	5	8
Lazy	1	2	—	3	—	2	2	4	7
Never keep their word	—	2	—	2	—	2	—	2	4
Australian women have loud, shrieking voices	—	—	4	4	—	—	3	3	7
Total	13	20	17	50	13	20	15	48	98
Nothing at all disliked	9	15	15	39	7	8	9	24	63
No answer	3	—	—	3	5	2	1	8	11
Total	25	35	32	92	25	30	25	80	172
Total persons	25	25	25	75	25	25	25	75	150

the three ethnic groups frequently complained about Australians' excessive drinking habits, the German females voicing this criticism more than the others. Some of the Polish women reproached the Australians for the neglect of children and so did two German mothers, while none of the males mentioned this feature. Other characteristics such as 'roughness' and 'Australian women have loud and shrieking voices' were noticed only by some of the British immigrants. Similarly, only the German parents noticed that Australians do not keep their word, after making promises for appointments or business transactions, whereas this trait eluded the other parents. Tables 78 and 79 indicate that more immigrants see virtues

Table 80 Opinions of the Polish university graduates about the Australian people

Features appreciated		Features deprecated	
Friendly and easy going	15	Dislike of foreigners	7
Straightforward	5	Too much drinking and betting	5
Helpful	5	Lack of interest in political and cultural issues	5
Hospitable	3	Poor working habits	3
Democratic living	2	Inadequate care of children	3
Sport loving	1	Too boastful about own country	2
No answer	—	Nothing disliked	—
		No answer	—
Total	31		25
Total persons	15		15

rather than faults in the Australian people, since Australian traits evoking dislike are relatively few as evidenced by the number of parents who stressed that there is nothing they deprecate in the Australian people.

More importantly, the Polish parents, who on the whole register a low level of assimilation, were also reluctant to point out too many negative aspects in the Australian character. The only major fault they found was the negative attitude of Australians to newcomers and this was reported by the men who had suffered discrimination. The others, although they do not identify with Australia, have a deep appreciation of the economic opportunities this country offers them and they are hesitant to show ungratefulness to a people who in the words of one immigrant 'provide their bread and butter'. The German and the British fathers, on the other hand, needed no excuse for their positive evaluation of the Australian character, since nearly all of these fathers strongly identify with Australia and judge her people approvingly.

The university graduates too expressed their opinions on the Australian people (see Table 80).

The graduates also mentioned positive features more frequently than negative ones. Amongst the positive features appear some noticed by the Polish fathers without degrees, but they seem to be underlined more strongly by the graduates. For example, the items 'straightforward', 'friendly' and 'helpful', appear with greater fre-

quency for the graduates than for the others. The last item has struck a special chord with graduates, as noted in such expressions as: 'They would help you in any circumstances, even if you don't ask'.

The item 'hospitable' is not once mentioned by the fathers without degrees and this may be explained on the grounds that they hardly enter Australian homes and so have no chance of noticing this particular characteristic. The graduates were also more concerned than the other fathers about the excess of drinking and betting in the Australian community, but equally concerned about the Australians' dislike of newcomers.

Inadequate care of children, poor working habits, and a boastfulness about one's own country did not occur in the list of Australian faults for the fathers without degrees, nor did the item, which is mentioned by one-third of the graduates, referring to the lack of interest on the part of Australians in political and cultural issues. This last item may be absent from the thought of people who themselves may be uninterested in such matters owing to their poor educational background.

In this sense, forms of expressions were also different. Non-graduates mostly gave short answers, giving one or two adjectives for description, while the graduates used a fuller and richer approach in their answers, as shown in one comment: 'I don't like their mediocre standards expressed in the saying "near enough is good enough". Their work is slap-dash and their ideas full of provincialism, no interest of any kind in wider issues of a political and a cultural nature and this constant feeling that Australia is the best country in the world. This is ignorant conceit'. It may be added in passing that this comment comes from a highly assimilated graduate who was just as full of praise for Australians as he was critical of them, and the same combination of criticism and praise was used by those graduates who failed to assimilate. Parents with varying notions about the Australian character are likely to inculcate them in their children, whose own opinions about the Australian people may well be coloured by parental predispositions.

Using a different context we asked the Australian parents to express their own views on the immigrants. One of the questions asked of Australian fathers was what they think of immigrants as workers (Question 8). Their views by age on the quality of immigrant co-workers are presented in Table 81.

Table 81 Australian fathers' views by age on immigrants as workers

Immigrants as workers are	Young (50 and under)	Old (51 and over)	Total
Very good	8	3	11
In-between	8	2	10
Very poor	2	—	2
Total	18	5	23

Note: Two fathers gave no comment because they do not work with immigrants.

There is no difference in any real sense between the two age groups of fathers. Such expressions as 'wonderful workers' and 'better workers than Australians are' were typical of those who thought highly of immigrant workers. Those fathers who did not hold immigrant workers in high regard used such descriptions as: 'They are all right except the Dutch', or 'Works well only if he likes his superior'. The fathers who passed a definitely unfavourable opinion expressed their thoughts in the following fashion: 'Lazy devils' and 'I don't think much of them'.

There was only one father who expressed a preference for immigrants as co-workers; six of the fathers wanted to work with Australians exclusively and the remaining sixteen did not mind one way or the other. The fathers who were disinclined to work with immigrants also tended to accuse the immigrants of sticking together at work and of not mixing sufficiently with other Australian workers.

Of the Australian working mothers only four come in contact with immigrants. One of them, a nursing sister working with Polish and British women, thinks they are good workers but prefers Polish women to others. Of the English women she said: 'I think they are the "whinge-iest", most dissatisfied lot of people I ever met. They are all saving to go home and I am a bit tired of them. I think living in hostels did that. They all live in a crowd and have hate sessions on Australia. They should not be permitted to stay in the hostel for any length of time. Some of them stay up to two years and this is much too long and it costs the ratepayer too much money. Quite a few of the English should not have been let into the country. One in particular I know of, is a severe mental case. I get sick of the Poms quite frankly, they get here for a few dollars and travel the world for nothing. This is the dream of many Australians

Table 82 Australian parents' attitudes to immigrants as neighbours

Attitudes to immigrants as neighbours	Fathers	Mothers
Approve	6	6
Indifferent	9	12
Disapprove	4	1
Total	19	19

to have a trip abroad and some of us never get a chance and here we give these chances away to the Poms. Anyway we get the wrong Poms in, the intelligent and educated are determined to stick it out in Australia, they prepare themselves mentally to adjust. The other lot is just not good enough. I also have two Polish women on the kitchen staff and they are excellent and so appreciative of the freedom here. They are a bit touchy; you have to pat them on the back all the time, but they are good really. I help them both with letter writing and with officials in Government Offices. I like them both, they do fit in'.

Only one of the working women really displays a favourable attitude to the immigrants she meets at work. She thinks of them as good workers who mix freely with the Australians at work and she continues having contacts with them after work. She is also the only person who does not mind working with immigrants, while the other three females stipulated a preference for co-workers to be Australians rather than foreigners. Australian men's and women's attitudes to immigrants as co-workers is important to the immigrant children as future members of the work force: all the more that Australian working youth shows similar attitudes to their immigrant counterparts as do their parents.

From work we take the Australian parents closer to home by asking if they have immigrants as neighbours and what they think of them as such (see Questions 23 and 25 in the Australian Parents' Interview Schedule, Appendix I). In nineteen cases the Australian families lived close to immigrants, of whom two were British families, the others being Poles, Greeks, Italians, and Yugoslavs. The Australian parents' ideas on immigrants as neighbours are shown in Table 82.

Table 83 Australian parents' comparisons between their own and the immigrants' family life

Immigrants' family life is	Fathers	Mothers	Total
Better	2	8	10
The same	7	9	16
Worse	—	—	—
Don't know	16	8	24
Total	25	25	50

Almost one-fifth of the fathers are not happy with immigrants as neighbours and a slightly higher proportion is not only in favour of them, but prefers them to Australians, and half of the fathers do not mind one way or the other. Those who approve used such sentences to express their feelings as: 'They are very good neighbours', or 'They are quite pleasant, they mind their own business'. Those who disapproved of the immigrants simply said that they would rather have Australians as neighbours.

The only female who disliked immigrants as neighbours said: 'I would rather have Australians living next door, we don't see eye to eye with the migrants'. The proportion of women who prefer immigrants to Australians as neighbours is the same as for the men and one of those women makes an interesting point: 'Yes, definitely I like them better as neighbours. Australia needs migrants and their children are our greatest asset'. These descriptions of attitudes of Australian parents to immigrants as neighbours will reflect in large measure the immigrant children's standing in the community.

While on the topic of neighbours the Australian parents were also invited to express their opinions on the kind of family life the immigrants lead and to compare it with Australian family living (see Question 50 of Australian Parents' Interview Schedule, Appendix I). Parents' answers are presented in Table 83.

A large number of fathers were not in a position to express an opinion on the subject usually saying: 'I have never been to their homes so don't know much about it'. Only one-third of the mothers found themselves in the same position and gave similar reasons in their answers. It seems that more mothers than fathers think that the way of immigrant family living is superior to the Australian way.

Table 84 Australian parents' views on immigrants' lawful behaviour

Immigrants are	Fathers	Mothers	Total
As law abiding as Australians	21	19	40
More criminally inclined than Australians	1	—	1
No answer	3	6	9
Total	25	25	50

Some of the expressions used by mothers to describe the better life read as follows: 'I think that migrant parents feel a greater sense of responsibility for their children than Australians do', 'There seems to be a stronger bond. We don't have the family unity they have', 'Their family life is much closer knit. Parents keep on caring for their children and older people', 'Some lead a better life. Family closely knit, sometimes too closely knit, dad waving the whip', 'They lead a better family life, lots of Australians drink too much'.

One of the fathers could not quite decide at first, but his thoughts clearly indicate a belief in the superiority of the immigrant family life: 'Oh, about the same. Migrants are very attached to the family. I give them that. They seem to be more closely knit than Australian families'.

Since press reports in Western Australia tend to give rather full and often exaggerated coverage to court sessions involving immigrants, the Australian parents were asked: 'Do you think that migrants are as law abiding as Australians are, or are they more criminally inclined?' (Question 56). Their answers are presented in Table 84.

The parents who were able to answer this question thought in practically all cases that the immigrants were just as law abiding as were Australians. Their comments support the view that the local press amplifies immigrants' involvement in crime: 'I don't think they are criminally more inclined. You notice more migrants' names in the papers, more than Smith or Jones', 'In my opinion they are the same as the Australians, but from the newspapers you get the view that this is not so'. The only father who had a different opinion explains: 'I think they are more inclined to break the law'.

Finally, we asked the Australian parents a general question get-

ting at whether they like immigrants as people. Only three fathers disliked immigrants as people and two of them said: 'Certain nationalities I don't like, not too good with the English', 'No, I don't like the English and I have them as neighbours, worse luck'. There was only one Australian woman who was not keen on immigrants and she too complained about the British people.

Parents' view on Australian Culture

To return to the immigrant parents, they were invited to express their opinions on one last item regarding Australians, namely their Culture. The immigrants understood under Culture: achievements in the fine arts; a general intellectual curiosity for the acquisition of knowledge; a tradition in architecture both church and secular; music and entertainment.¹ As the question was worded, each person had to draw a comparison between his original Culture and the Australian Culture and to add whether he or she thought one was superior or equal in value.

Table 85 Parents' comparison between the Australian and their own Culture

Comparison	Fathers				Mothers			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Polish	German	Brit.	Total
Ethnic Culture higher	20	21	19	60	21	20	23	64
Australian Culture higher	1	2	—	3	—	—	—	—
Both on the same level, but different in kind	2	—	6	8	—	4	2	6
No answer	2	2	—	4	4	1	—	5
Total	25	25	25	75	25	25	25	75

Of the total of 150 parents, 124 agreed that the Culture of the country of their origin is higher than the Australian Culture. Some of the British fathers and German mothers depart from the usual pattern, inasmuch as they believed that the Australian Culture is on

¹ The present author defines culture after Murphy (1952a: 47) who says: '... culture means the body of habits, attitudes and values which are held more or less persistently by a group of people and are inculcated in their children'. The more restricted meaning given it by those interviewed—Arts etc.—is distinguished from the Murphy usage by using a capital letter.

the same level as their own. One British father makes his point: 'It depends on the definition of culture. There are no opportunities for music here, or the finer arts. Poor newspapers. Against this the Australian Culture is for everybody. There are a few good writers here. Also individual Australians are apt to use the library more than in England. There the upper class buys its own books. The working class don't borrow books, as they think the service is not for them. Here a working man reads a lot and intelligently. This is quite humbling. So Culture here is wider spread'. The four German women who put the Australian Culture on the same level as their own simply said that a comparison is impossible since the Cultures involved are vastly different, therefore one could not grade them.

One of the two German fathers who sees the Australian Culture as higher than the German Culture thinks this way because: 'It is open to all, and not just to a few, as it was in Germany'.

When a Polish immigrant is faced with the issues involved in the two Cultures he thinks of two separate dimensions. One father says: 'Here is a higher standard of living--cars, washing machines. Education and the arts in Poland were much higher'. Nearly all immigrants who evaluated the Australian Culture as lower than their own did so on the grounds that the Australian Culture is so much younger and still at the threshold of a development, which they think will be hastened by a greater influx of immigrants. The few immigrants who gave no answer to the question were those who know little about the issues involved because they hardly move out of their ethnic group to find out. Over half the Polish university graduates also thought that Polish Culture was higher than Australian. All those asserting their original Culture was higher than Australian added that the gap was wide indeed.

This chapter has contained much more information about parents than children. Nevertheless, it is clear that parental views on Australia as a land of Cultural inferiority but economic and social opportunity, of occasional prejudice and discrimination but of much friendliness, are in one way or another having some influence on their children's assimilation. The net result of these and other forces are discussed in Chapter 6.



Having analysed the assimilation rate in the four separate areas of food, language, social contacts, and leisure, and having asked specific questions to dig deeper into the extent to which the subjects interviewed identified with Australia, we are now ready to assess their overall assimilation rate. For external assimilation the scores obtained in each of the above mentioned areas acted as a foundation on which to allot an overall score. The two judges who did the rating (see p. 12) had given a score for external assimilation in each area, and when attempting to assign an overall score, they looked at each of these scores and gave an overall score on the basis of these and any other relevant information available. So, for example, in assessing a German boy's overall external assimilation they took into consideration such extra items as his ability to write and read in German, his interest in reading German newspapers or magazines, his attendance at the German weekend school and so on. In other words the judges tried to form a general picture of the progress of each child and each parent in outward assimilation. For the Australian children and their parents the process was reversed. Here we attempted to show to what degree they have departed from typically Australian ways, let us say of eating Australian foods, or spending their leisure time in the Australian way. By doing this we tried to establish a measure against which the immigrants could be assessed.

In assessing the immigrant parents' subjective assimilation we followed a similar pattern as for external assimilation, but here the procedure was more involved. We had to analyse carefully all the answers to a multitude of special questions, dealing with immigrants' views on Australia, its people, its culture, their own

feelings of belonging to this country, the wish to stay in it and experiences of discrimination which were likely to colour their whole attitude to Australia.

Some of these questions were also asked of the immigrant children, but one special question was of greatest relevance here, reading: 'Do you feel yourself to be more Australian than Polish (German, British) now?' (See Question 52 of Immigrant Children's Interview Schedule, Appendix I). The scores for subjective assimilation in the individual areas were naturally included in assigning an overall score.

The Australian parents too were tested with special questions to gauge how strongly they identify with immigrants. If, for example, a father stated that he mixed exclusively with Australians, but would prefer immigrants for company, that particular father was taken as being 'subjectively' assimilated. In addition his approval of immigrants as neighbours, his favourable opinion of immigrants as workers with equal rights as Australians for jobs, his ideas that immigrants have been an advantage to Australia, that more should come into the country and that Australians should adopt some of their ways of living in food or leisure, were all used as criteria for allotting a high score on 'subjective assimilation'.

The Australian children were classified into the same category when they said that they liked immigrant children, thought of them as being good pupils at school, mixed with them and appreciated their company in preference to Australians, were tolerant of the use of the ethnic language, visited immigrants in their homes, attended their functions, appreciated their ways of living and considered them as contributing to and enriching life in Australia.

With this introduction we are ready to show the overall external and subjective assimilation of the children and of parents studied. The relevant scores are presented in Tables 86 and 87.

Taking the Australian children first we find that only a few of the girls and even fewer of the boys have remained unaffected by immigrant influences. Only three of the boys and four of the girls have failed to change their food habits or ways of spending their leisure time. The girls, all in the work force, insist on having Australians as companions and seldom mix with immigrants. None of the Australian children or their parents received a score in Table 86 for 'all ethnic'; this is not surprising, for only rarely does an

Table 86 *Children's overall external assimilation*

Score	Boys					Girls				
	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Total	Aust.	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Total	Aust.
All Australian*	1	9	12	22	3	—	2	6	8	4
Half-and-half	13	10	7	30	17	18	11	7	36	14
All ethnic*	3	—	—	3	—	5	—	—	5	—
Total	17	19	19	55	20	23	13	13	49	18

Rows 2 and 3 combined Rows 2 and 3 combined
 $\chi^2 = 12.92$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$ $\chi^2 = 12.96$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$

* For Australian children 'all Australian' means that there has been very little adoption of immigrant attitudes and customs or making many contacts with immigrant families; 'all ethnic' refers to a child who has become so involved with Polish, German, or British families and their ways that he or she has become largely identified with that particular ethnic culture as it appears in Perth.

Table 87 *Children's overall subjective assimilation*

Score	Boys					Girls				
	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Total	Aust.	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Total	Aust.
All Australian*	3	12	14	29	3	5	4	4	13	4
Half-and-half	8	7	4	19	13	9	8	9	26	11
All ethnic*	6	—	1	7	4	9	1	—	10	3
Total	17	19	19	55	20	23	13	13	49	18

Rows 2 and 3 combined Rows 2 and 3 combined
 $\chi^2 = 12.57$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$ $\chi^2 = 0.51$, $df = 2$, $p > 0.05$

* See note to Table 86.

Australian become so completely drawn into an immigrant community, and so completely identified with it, that it is appropriate to classify him or her as 'all ethnic' in terms of external assimilation.

At the subjective level, however, it is quite possible for those Australians who strongly identify with immigrants to become 'all ethnic' inwardly. Some of the Australian children, four boys and three girls, have shifted from the 'half-and-half' category of being partly immigrant and partly Australian externally, to become fully 'ethnic' (immigrant) subjectively. The case of one 15-year-old schoolboy makes the transition clear. He eats mixed Australian and immigrant foods at home, but prefers the continental foods.

He also has mixed company consisting of immigrant and Australian children, yet his best friends are immigrants. For leisure he watches Australian football but is really more interested in rugby and plays that often. His opinions of the immigrant children are very favourable. He thinks they are good students, hard working and diligent. At school he mixes with them and plays sports with them at or after school. He likes the immigrant children better than the Australians because they are 'more interesting' and is not in the least perturbed if they speak in their own language at school or in the street and shows the same tolerance towards adult immigrants speaking a foreign language in public. Contacts with immigrants have led him to learn foreign languages, two of which he is taking at school. He feels that the immigrant children play just as much sport as Australian children and suggests that the latter should become more interested in the sport played by immigrants. This appreciation of immigrant ways of living is demonstrated in his attendance at immigrants' parties and constant visits at their homes, and his suggestion that Australians could well adopt some of the ways of amusement of the local immigrants.

His sister is also a case of a shift towards a high subjective assimilation with immigrants; she expressed points of view almost identical with those of her brother. The children have parents who show most favourable attitudes to immigrants and the same kind of identification with them; they too have made a similar shift from partly external assimilation to full subjective assimilation with immigrants. In another family which has an only son the same pattern prevails. In both the father is a skilled worker, the mother does not go out to work. Both sets of parents are Protestants and between 31 and 40 years of age. The remaining children with the same views generally belong to families where the mother at least is pro-migrant orientated.

Of the children who show no difference between external and subjective assimilation four of the girls and two of the boys are working. These children are disinclined to adopt any of the immigrant ways in any of the areas mentioned and hold negative opinions about immigrants, believing mostly in the superiority of the Australian way of life and that immigrants should adopt it.

It is of interest that these children belong to families where parents also hold the same view and there seems to be throughout

the Australian families a fairly close correlation between the attitudes of parents and of the children regarding the adoption of immigrant ways of living. There are some exceptions to this rule, since some parents with negative views on immigrants have children with favourable views and a high identification with them, and vice versa. This will become more apparent when the Australian parents are discussed regarding their external and subjective assimilation.

Looking at the immigrant children's external assimilation, it emerges that in this sample the Polish boys and the Polish girls resemble the Australian children more than they resemble the other immigrant children. Many of the Polish and the Australian children fall into the category which designates a sort of external assimilation, which is in between a score named 'all Australian' and 'all ethnic'. In this respect the Polish children differ greatly from the German and British boys, half or more of whom get an 'all Australian' score for external assimilation. Half of the British girls also receive the same score, but the majority of the German girls come closer to the Polish and the Australian children in this respect.

Three of the Polish boys and five of the Polish girls have made practically no progress in external assimilation. They are children who belong to families whose mode of living is typically ethnic, demonstrating itself in social contacts almost exclusively with other Poles, in leisure activities restricted to those organised by the Polish community and in speaking only Polish in the home. It is not surprising, therefore, that these children register a low level of external assimilation, as this is almost imposed on them by the home environment. Two boys in another home of the same variety rebelled against this strict ethnicity and compensated by a strong identification with Australians. This accounts for the shift and disparity in numbers for external and subjective assimilation in the table. Another shift occurred for three boys but in a different direction namely from a partly Australian outlook towards an all ethnic outlook. One of those boys also belongs to a completely unassimilated family, but has little chance to mix with Polish children where he lives. He uses English at home with his brother and belongs to both Polish and Australian clubs. Yet he feels that he is completely Polish at heart and says: 'I want to live in Australia as a Pole'. The other two boys go out to work so are more

or less forced to assimilate externally, but they feel that their contacts with Australians and occasional participation in their entertainment are only incidental; deep down they are nothing else but true Poles.

The same applies to the four Polish working girls who were 'half-and-half' in terms of external assimilation but 'all ethnic' in subjective assimilation. However, five Polish girls moved the other way, from 'half-and-half' in external assimilation to 'all Australian' in subjective assimilation. These girls are members of three separate homes, where either the mother or the father is not assimilated and the girls want to break away from ethnicity by subjectively assimilating.

The British boys and the German children do not seem to register such shifts up and down as are displayed by the Polish children. The trend for them is to move towards an 'all Australian' category. This is not quite so for the British girls two of whom were externally fully assimilated, but shifted their allegiance to the 'half Australian and half British' subjective category. These two girls behave outwardly like Australians, speaking their slang and indulging in their leisure ways, eating their foods and mixing with them. Close probing revealed, however, that they are more appreciative of the British than the Australian way of living. The same reason prompted one British boy to return at the subjective level to his own ethnic group. The mothers of the two British boys who moved up in subjective assimilation are not well assimilated, so the boys are forced to maintain some British customs at home though they are themselves subjectively well assimilated.

Constraints at home with mothers who do not speak English, or who run a typically German home prevented three German boys from being externally assimilated, but these boys were subjectively well assimilated. Two German girls follow the same pattern externally, but one who mixes with Australian children and participates in some of their leisure inwardly maintains her ethnicity, saying: 'The way I do things are both German and Australian, but I want to be German, I am proud of being German and I will never change'. Both her parents are also little assimilated.

From the children we go on to the parents.

A comparison between the external assimilation of the Australian parents and their children shows that more children are

Table 88 Parents' overall external assimilation

Score	Fathers					Mothers				
	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Total	Aust.	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Total	Aust.
All Australian	—	2	11	13	10	—	—	4	4	9
Half-and-half	13	22	10	45	15	9	23	20	52	16
All ethnic	12	1	4	17	—	16	2	1	19	—
Total	25	25	25	75	25	25	25	25	75	25

Rows 1 and 2 combined Rows 1 and 2 combined
 $\chi^2 = 14.76$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$ $\chi^2 = 29.75$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$

Table 89 Parents' overall subjective assimilation

Score	Fathers					Mothers				
	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Total	Aust.	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Total	Aust.
All Australian	4	17	11	32	9	—	9	5	14	8
Half-and-half	6	5	9	20	13	3	10	16	29	11
All ethnic	15	3	5	23	3	22	6	4	32	6
Total	25	25	25	75	25	25	25	25	75	25

Rows 1 and 2 combined Rows 1 and 2 combined
 $\chi^2 = 20.02$, $df = 4$, $p < 0.05$ $\chi^2 = 35.72$, $df = 4$, $p < 0.05$

inclined to adopt ways of immigrant living than are their parents, and that the fathers are slightly less prepared to do so than are the mothers. The mothers also show greater identification with immigrants than the fathers but, generally speaking, marriage partners are in agreement with each other in both respects. This is demonstrated by the fact that in three Australian families both mother and father receive the highest score for external assimilation and also the highest score for subjective assimilation. There were also seven families where the fathers failed in any sense to adopt ways typical of immigrants and failed to identify with them; of the wives five behaved in exactly the same way as their husbands, but the remaining two resembled their husbands externally only. In the remaining fifteen Australian families, all the fathers have departed in some way from old Australian values and customs, and so have thirteen wives; the other two wives show the same degree of external assimilation as their husbands but are subjectively more pro-immigrant.

In the seven families who are against immigrants, we find that the men have in no way changed their food habits and refuse to do so, that they object strongly to immigrants using their own language in public, that they never mix with immigrants and think that immigrants should change their leisure to the Australian way. Their friends are Australians and they never visit or are visited by immigrants. These men also refuse permission for their children to adopt immigrant ways of living, they do not believe that immigrants should have the same rights for jobs as Australians and would not like to see more immigrants come into Western Australia.

Not all the men in the group under discussion evaluate immigrants in such a negative light, some think that immigrants have been a reasonable advantage to Australia and consider them as fairly good workers. They did, however, express opinions which clearly indicated that they should be grouped as antagonistic to immigrants. For example, in answer to the question as to whether more immigrants should come into the country one non-manual worker said: 'I am of the opinion that I would like our teenagers to smarten themselves up. They are being educated in this State and going to the Eastern States to earn a living. We have to use migrants' brains to replace them. I think the Australians should take up the senior positions in the country before we give them to the migrants'. His wife shared her husband's views, but their son and daughter showed reasonable sympathy and understanding for immigrants.

Statements by some females also expressed animosity and suspicion of immigrants. The wife of a manager thus reports on her contacts with immigrants: 'My friends are Australians and I keep contact only with them, although on both sides of us are migrant families. I don't go into their homes and I am not over keen for them to come into my home. I chat with my Polish neighbour over the fence or when we are both gardening. I think that is sufficient; sometimes you get too close and I don't trust them. I also don't think that Italians should stick together as they do. The activities of the Mafia may be still going on in this country. I am also against the unscrupulous exploitation of these Italian migrants who are being sponsored by their rich families here. The weaker and poorer suffer; this is against Australian fair play'. Her husband is just as

critical of the immigrants, but their two sons have opposite attitudes.

Half of the men in this group are manual workers. They are mostly between 41 and 50 years of age and mostly Protestants, but in four families one partner is Roman Catholic and the other Protestant. The females are in the 41-50-years age group and five of them go out to work, two doing non-manual and three manual work.

At the opposite end stand three families who are extremely favourable towards immigrants. Marriage partners said that they prefer Europeans for neighbours to Australians, the men meet with immigrants after work and their wives invite immigrant women in their homes and go to their homes for parties and for a chat. They frequently expressed such opinions as: 'Italians are good people, they always give you a helping hand, mind their own business; they progress and I admire them for it'; or 'Migrants are my friends, I like them as people and workers'; also 'I am happy about my children mixing with migrant children, I want them to make friends amongst migrants. We had some wonderful neighbours, they were Greeks and I am sorry they now moved away'. None of the females in these families go out to work, their husbands are all manual workers, both marriage partners are between 31 and 40 years of age, and all are Protestants.

Between the two groups of Australian parents just described are the fifteen families who have changed externally and also subjectively but to a lesser degree than the three families who are all pro-migrant. Changes in food are not as frequent, there is also intolerance towards a foreign language being spoken in public, but an understanding which was shown by one of the fathers: 'I might be jumping the gun here. As workers they are expected to do as well as others right from the beginning. You must make some allowances for them to adjust to new conditions, they are new arrivals. If you do that they respond very well after. It does not worry me to have them as co-workers'. His wife stated that she feels just as happy with immigrants as with Australians and visits with both as frequently. She also thought that Australians should learn some ways of leisure from immigrants and wants her son to mix with them. He is, however, aloof and would rather have nothing to do with them.

There was a middle of the road attitude to immigrants woven through this group of people, some having no contacts with immigrants at all but appreciating the contributions they have made to Australia. As explained by one female: 'The migrants have been an advantage to the enrichment of the whole country economically; German people are hard working and very thorough and perhaps Australians are no good at this'. The whole group is almost evenly divided into manual and non-manual workers, into Protestants and Catholics, and their age is generally between 41 to 50 years. Two of the mothers go out to work.

Comparing the immigrant parents with each other in external assimilation, the Polish parents differ significantly from the German and British parents, since half of the Polish fathers and more than half of the Polish mothers belong to the category 'all ethnic', indicating that they have made very little progress in external assimilation. The German fathers seem to be the only ones who predominate in the 'all Australian' category as only half of the British fathers reach that level. The German and British females occupy a middle position, in nearly all cases being partly externally assimilated.

In subjective assimilation the Polish parents also differ significantly from the other parents; as many as fifteen Polish fathers and twenty-two Polish mothers desire to live within their own culture, and hence are subjectively little assimilated. The figures concerning the German parents show that they are more subjectively assimilated than are the British parents. Only sixteen British parents are well assimilated against twenty-six German parents. The figures also show that the male immigrants assimilate subjectively more frequently than do the females.

Only two of the German fathers receive the highest score for external assimilation, but seventeen of them get the same score for subjective assimilation. This means that well over half of the German fathers show some impetus to leave their ethnic values and groups and become Australians.

One of those fathers has even changed his German name to an Australian one and feels that he fully belongs to this country, describing it thus: 'It is a great land, give it time and let there be peace, it will grow and grow'. The fathers who changed in the

direction described are men between 30 and 50 years of age, mostly skilled workers of both the Protestant and Catholic faiths.

The two men who fail to identify with Australia are both skilled workers, one of whom is dissatisfied with conditions in Australia and intends to take his family back to Germany. He is a Protestant aged between 41 and 50. His wife has also dropped back in her subjective assimilation, but their children quite like Australia and would like to stay here. It can only be speculated as to whether the planned return to Germany has something to do with a lesser identification with Australia, or whether the lowering of identification precipitated the wish to leave Australia. The cause and effect relationships could well work both ways. The other male is also a skilled worker, a Protestant between 31 and 40 years of age. He mixes with Australians, uses German only at home and participates in some Australian leisure activities but generally speaking leans more towards Germany than Australia and identifies more with it. His wife shares his outlook as does his young schoolgirl daughter.

The only man who scores low in both external and subjective assimilation is between 31 and 40 years of age, a skilled worker, a Protestant, and a leader of the German community in Perth. His wife also engages actively in the work of the local German ethnic group and refuses to have anything to do with Australians. Their only daughter differs from her parents, especially in subjective assimilation, wanting to live the life her Australian schoolfriends do.

Nine German mothers register a shift from lower external to higher subjective assimilation. They are mostly women in the group 31 to 40 years of age, some going out to work, and nearly all feel a deep attachment to Australia coupled with a rejection of ethnicity. As one of them put it: 'I would rather be with Australians, I don't like straight migrant gatherings'. Another woman in that group has recently taken a trip back to Germany and returned to Australia convinced that this is 'the best country in the world'. The children of these women mostly show a similar pattern of orientation, but some, particularly the girls, seem to depart from it.

The four German women who were in the 'half-and-half' category for a reasonable level of external assimilation but in the lowest level of subjective assimilation include one who has been to

Australia before, did not like it, returned recently and still is unable to generate any admiration for the country. Two more women have subjectively unassimilated husbands and they too make no attempt to change their way of life. Finally, there is one wife who remains contemptuous of Australia despite her husband's fast progress in assimilation; he is a non-manual worker, while the husbands of the other three females are manual workers.

The scores for external and subjective assimilation for British immigrants reveal only one male who moves from a higher score on external assimilation into a very low score on subjective assimilation. He is a professional person, an avowed agnostic, aged between 51 and 60, and dislikes the Australians because: 'The Australians have a negative attitude to their country and to other people. Every man is for himself. Blow you Jack, I am all right'. He feels that there is prejudice in Australia against immigrants and states: 'In my firm, newcomers are rejected mainly because they are not Australian'. The tone of his answers certainly indicated a sort of patronising attitude to everything he found in Australia and a disapproval of the way of life here. His wife is reasonably assimilated and his son is 'all Australian'.

The British fathers who achieve the highest scores on external and subjective assimilation are mostly men in their mid-forties, skilled workers, Protestant. Some of them have readily accepted the Australian way of life because of the assistance and care they have been given by the churches, of which they became members soon after arrival in Australia. The same reason is responsible for one of the British female's shift to a higher level of subjective assimilation. Yet three British women lowered their score in this aspect as they still feel that their ties are very strong with the home country. One of them finds it almost impossible to settle down in Australia. They are all wives of skilled workers.

Lastly come the Polish parents; here four fathers are in the 'all Australian' category for subjective assimilation, but none for external assimilation. Three of these four fathers are skilled workers, one an unskilled worker, all being between 41 and 50. As with all the other Polish immigrants in the sample they are Roman Catholics. Because their wives are somewhat less assimilated, these men are unable to reach a high level of external assimilation; they have to speak Polish at home and are not in a position to mix much

Table 90 Overall external and subjective assimilation of Polish fathers with and without university degrees

Score	University graduates		Non-university graduates		Total
	External	Subjective	External	Subjective	
All Australian	11	4	—	4	11
Half-and-half	1	3	12	6	13
All ethnic	3	8	11	13	14
Total	15	15	23	23	38

with Australians. The three Polish fathers who, in terms of subjective assimilation, moved downwards are those who really do not appreciate Australia much, and one of them is busily engaged in activities of the Polish ethnic group. They are of the same age, religion, and occupational level as the other men.

Figures for the Polish mothers indicate that six of them have moved from the category 'half-and-half' for external assimilation to the category 'all ethnic' for subjective assimilation. Some of these women go out to work and hence have contacts with Australians and have to use English as a means of communication with them. However, in the privacy of their homes they remain typically Polish.

The comparison for overall external and subjective assimilation between the Polish university graduates and non-graduates is shown in Table 90.

It emerges that the graduates differ vastly from the non-graduates in external assimilation, since over two-thirds of them are fully externally assimilated, but none of the non-graduates belong to this category. In subjective assimilation the difference is not nearly as pronounced, but it is nonetheless quite substantial, as nearly one-third of the graduates and only one-sixth of the non-graduates get the highest score on subjective assimilation. It must be noted, however, that the graduates show quite a radical shift from high scores in external assimilation to low scores in subjective assimilation with some reaching the lowest level in this area. This means that some Polish graduates only outwardly resemble Australians, but at the subjective level refuse to identify with them. There were at least five such persons and they stand in vivid contrast to the German males.

Who are those five men? Two of them are qualified accountants who pursue their profession in Australia. In their homes only Polish is spoken and Polish customs prevail in food, leisure, and the observance of Polish religious and national days. Both men have contacts with Australians, but prefer at all times the company of other immigrants and of Poles, with whom they visit frequently. One of the men explained: 'I feel happy amongst Poles and people of other nationalities due to the difference in the sphere of interests'; he does not mind his children mixing with Australian children and their playing sport, but adds: 'I feel, though, that my children should carry a marked attachment to Poland'. The other graduate said almost the same thing: 'I am still very Polish and want my children to be Polish too'. The two men are well satisfied with their financial position and have no complaints about their standard of living in Australia. One of their wives is Polish, the other Ukrainian; neither of the wives goes out to work.

The other three men who shifted from high external to very low subjective assimilation are persons who are displaced occupationally in Australia. One of them, a medical doctor with a Polish wife, is a radiologist in a hospital and is very dissatisfied with his job. The other is a lawyer by training and a messenger in a barrister's office. He is married to a German woman. The third man has an Arts degree and is a builder at present. His wife is English and in their home only English is spoken. She also has relatives who are Australians and through the family they meet other Australians quite frequently. Because of this, their leisure is also Australian in character. However, the immigrant in question reads Polish and would like to use that language continually; he also disapproves of Australian company and is against the way Australians spend their free time. He emphasises his standing by adding: 'I am a Pole and would die a Pole'. He does not mind his children growing up as Australians but states: 'This is good for them for practical reasons'.

The lawyer with the German wife also approves of his children's assimilation, but for different reasons: 'This is their country and they know no other; what is more they are probably ashamed of the country that my wife and I come from. My eldest son in particular resents me for being a foreigner and is critical, very critical of my broken English, so let him be an Australian'. His children mix

with Australian children about whom he has a very poor opinion, stating: 'I have never seen such unruly children—casual without any respect for older people'. All the comments about Australia he made were highly unfavourable, despite the fact that at home they eat Australian foods . . . 'only because the climate demands that'. The family leads an isolated sort of life and conveys a sense of detachment from and disinterest in anything Australian.

Since the medical man is married to a Pole, his home is more Polish in character than the home of the lawyer. Here Polish is spoken much more frequently and the food and leisure are Polish in nature. Apart from contacts at work, the doctor mixes with few people and his wife also leads a socially isolated life, as she does not go out to work. Nor do the wives of the rest of the men in this group.

Two men have shifted from the highest score of external assimilation to the middle score of subjective assimilation. These were two engineers, one of whom is married to a Scotchwoman and the other to a Pole; both wives go out to work. In food, social contacts, and leisure both men resemble Australians, but identify with them less subjectively because of their critical attitudes to Australian sport, the lack of cultural amenities here and 'the lack of depth of feeling in Australians'. One simply said: 'I consider myself half European'.

Amongst the graduates are another two types of people, namely those who are both subjectively and externally well assimilated, and those who are neither. To the first group belong a teacher, a miner, a business man, and an engineer; all are married to Polish women, one of whom goes out to work. Of the externally and subjectively unassimilated Poles two have come to Australia in the last ten years, while the graduates in this and all other groups are earlier arrivals. One of the unassimilated men, a late arrival, was an engineer in Poland and is doing the same job here. The others are occupationally misplaced; their wives are all Polish except one who is a Russian; two of the wives are working. The two late arrivals are between 41 and 50 years of age; the rest of the graduates are between 51 and 60 years of age.

Attention is now focused on the attitudes which parents have to their children's assimilation in the general sense, whereas the analysis of parents' attitudes before related to individual areas only.

Table 91 Parents' attitudes to their children's overall assimilation and the Australian control group

Attitudes to children's assimilation to the Australian way of life	Fathers					Mothers				
	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Total	Aust.	Pol.	Ger.	Brit.	Total	Aust.
Favourable	9	18	20	47	17	2	19	22	43	18
In-between	9	5	3	17	—	13	4	3	20	—
Unfavourable	7	2	2	11	5	10	2	—	12	4
No answer	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	3
Total	25	25	25	75	25	25	25	25	75	25

Rows 2 and 3 combined Rows 2 and 3 combined
 $\chi^2 = 11.76$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$ $\chi^2 = 38.05$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$

No distinction is made here between external and subjective assimilation, because parents were quite unable to distinguish between nuances of the two kinds of assimilation; to them, as to many others, assimilation implies a change from one way of life to another without distinction between 'outward' and 'inward' aspects of the process.

Ratings given to parents for their attitudes to their children's overall assimilation were based on ratings received for attitudes to assimilation in individual areas, but extra questions were included to probe deeper into these attitudes.

Taking the Australian parents first the extra question asked was: 'Do you mind your children bringing into your home migrant friends and ways of living typical of immigrant families?' (Question 36, Australian Parents' Interview Schedule, Appendix I). The combined scores for the Australian parents, as shown in Table 91, indicate that the vast majority of the Australian fathers and mothers approve of their children's adoption of aspects of living typical of immigrants. The parents who have unfavourable attitudes to this issue are divided into two, one section containing parents not in a position to answer the relevant question, because no immigrants come into their homes and they have little to do with them elsewhere. The parents in the other section were mainly against their children mixing with immigrant children and certainly did not want them to be brought into their homes. Such answers as 'I do really object to them coming in' were not rare.

In contrast, the Australian mothers and fathers favouring an interchange of ideas on modes of living voiced opinions such as: 'I would encourage them to come in', or 'I don't mind at all, this may enrich my children's life', also 'I am quite happy for them to come in, my children might have a chance to meet some very fine people'.

A close inspection of the individual Australian families makes it patently clear that those Australian parents who have negative attitudes to their children's 'assimilation' of immigrant ways, refuse to accept such ways themselves and are contemptuous of them. This high correlation between one's own non-changing tendencies and one's inclinations to instil them in one's children also pertains to a high degree to the immigrant parents. This is demonstrated again in the case of the German fathers by the fact that the number of subjectively well assimilated people is almost identical with the number who have most favourable attitudes to their children's assimilation.

It must be noted, however, that this is not necessarily so with the other immigrant parents, many of whom fail themselves to assimilate and yet are keen for their children to do so. An outstanding example are the Polish mothers who in almost all cases stay put, without making any progress in subjective assimilation, but who are usually not against their children's adoption of the Australian way of life. The difference in attitudes for the other immigrant parents is less apparent but nonetheless exists.

Motivation is responsible for the difference in attitudes between one's own and one's children's assimilation. While Polish or British mothers readily approve of their children's assimilation, they really do not like it happening. They give their consent, however, because this is in the children's interest; as one mother puts it: 'I am a Pole and that will never change, but it is no use keeping my children to stay that way, that would be unfair, they will suffer for it. They are young and to them it matters, here they will earn their living and make their homes. It would be useless for them to be different, it will be harder for them. I want to spare my children so I want them to live like Australians do'. Despite concern for the children's welfare some parents are more adamant against children's assimilation than others. Polish fathers, for example, differ significantly in this respect from the British and German fathers, and the Polish

Table 92 Attitudes of Polish fathers, with and without university degrees, to their children's overall assimilation

Attitudes to children's assimilation to the Australian way of life	University graduates	Non-university graduates	Total
Favourable	8	9	17
In-between	3	9	12
Unfavourable	4	5	9
Total	15	23	38

mothers differ from the other immigrant mothers; they also differ from their husbands whose attitudes to children's assimilation is far more favourable than their own. No such differences occur between marriage partners in the German or British families.

Comparison between Polish university and non-university graduates shows that the graduates also have a more favourable attitude to their children's assimilation than to their own and the reasons underlying the disparity are partly the same as for the other immigrant parents (Table 92).

Graduates show a slightly higher desire for their children to assimilate than do non-graduates, since half of the former and less than half of the latter show favourable attitudes, and the number of those who are against assimilation for their children is almost the same in both groups.

Further evidence of an expedient approach to children's assimilation can be seen in the answers to the question which reads: 'Do you approve of your children's complete assimilation to the Australian way of life?' Six of the graduates approved, five were against it, and the rest, four in number, were unsure in their minds about it, or wanted their children to have a bicultural orientation. The last approach is expressed as follows: 'I would like them to take from the Australian culture what is the best in it and yet at the same time to contribute to the Australian nation what is best in our tradition and culture'. Amongst those who agreed to a full assimilation for their children such answers as: 'I would want him to remain a Pole inwardly', were not uncommon.

The distribution of answers to the same question for the other immigrant parents is shown in Table 93.

Table 93 *Parents' wishes for their children to grow up as Australians*

Wants children to grow up as Australians	Fathers				Mothers			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Polish	German	Brit.	Total
Yes	10	20	20	50	4	19	22	45
No	6	2	3	11	11	2	1	14
Indifferent	5	2	2	9	8	1	2	11
Both Australian and other	2	1	—	3	2	3	—	5
Total	23	25	25	73	25	25	25	75

Note: Two Polish fathers gave an unclassifiable answer, merely stating that their children at no time assimilate.

Well under half of the Polish parents want their children to grow up as Australians, compared with some four-fifths of the German and British parents.

British and German fathers revealed that they had thought deeply on the matter, long before emigrating to Australia. One British father said: 'If I did not want them to become Australians, I would not have brought them out here. I thought about this before'. Another British father adds: 'We were prepared for this'. A German father says almost the same thing: 'I am for it. I want my children to grow up as Australians, conditions warrant this. I completely approve of my children's assimilation to the Australian way of life, otherwise I would not be here'.

It can be argued on the basis of these answers that intending migrants develop a certain frame of reference before emigration regarding various problems of life in the immigration country. One of the problems they certainly ponder over is the question of their children's assimilation. For British and German immigrants this seems to be of great importance; once they have taken the decision to emigrate they also accept that their children will assimilate to the new culture. To them this is inevitable, beneficial to the children, and a proper gesture towards the adopted country.

However, little doubt exists in the minds of some Polish parents whose predisposition to children's assimilation runs in the opposite direction. Inculcated with ideas of preserving Polonism wherever they go, they *a priori* convince themselves that their children will not be allowed to assimilate. Support for this argument is evident

in such answers as: 'They don't assimilate and they will not assimilate. They will never be Australians', or 'They are Poles and always will be', 'I want and always wanted my children to be Poles forever'.

When the British parents disapprove of their children's assimilation they give quite different reasons, devoid of any national connotations. Many British fathers, for example, dislike intensely 'the coarse way of speaking by Australian women' and this prompts them to slow down their children's assimilation, particularly if there are daughters in the family.

Indifference and resignation characterise the attitudes of some parents regardless of origin. They feel powerless and are compelled to approve their children's assimilation because it seems inescapable and beyond their control, as shown in the answer of one Polish father: 'It is hard to say. This is unavoidable, so I must approve of their assimilation. I have no choice, how can I stop them'. Resignation is also shown in the comment made by one Polish mother: 'I can do little about it. I have to agree to this. It is inevitable'. British and German parents who feel the same way give similar answers.

There were some parents for whom their children's assimilation was not a question of alternatives; they did not take up the extreme position of letting their children assimilate or not assimilate. On the contrary they wanted their children to keep their allegiance in two camps, as demonstrated in the answer of one German father: 'I don't approve of them becoming Australians, not completely. I want them to know our ways of living too'. A German mother says: 'I would like them to be both Australian and German because there are so many precious things in the German way of life'. A Polish father explains: 'I have nothing against them becoming Australians, but I want them to preserve their Polishness'.

Complementary to a question asked of the Australian parents was a question put to immigrant parents reading: 'Do you mind your children bringing into your home Australian friends and ways of living typical of Australians?' (Question 31, Immigrant Parents' Interview Schedule, Appendix I). It may be recalled (p. 163) that the Australian parents were quite prepared to open their doors to their children's immigrant friends. Some underlined the sheer necessity of such action, because to them the present immigrant

Table 94 Parents' attitudes towards children bringing into their homes Australian friends and ways of living typical of Australians

Objects	Fathers				Mothers			
	Polish	German	Brit.	Total	Polish	German	Brit.	Total
Yes	5	1	2	8	6	1	—	7
No	20	24	21	65	19	24	23	66
Indifferent	—	—	2	2	—	—	2	2
Total	25	25	25	75	25	25	25	75

children are the Australians of tomorrow and as such are part of the community in which their own children will take their place as fully grown citizens side by side with the others.

Considerations of the same nature underlie answers of many of the immigrant parents, but some showed real enthusiasm for Australians to enter their homes. A remark of one German mother demonstrates this: 'My children have no other friends than Australians. We welcome them with open arms, they come here and teach us how the Australians live in their homes, and this we want'. The comment of one British father runs in a similar way: 'I don't mind at all, on the contrary I encourage it, we always look forward to having Australians in our home'.

Less committed are the Polish parents, as shown in Table 94; one-fifth of them object to their children bringing into their homes Australian friends and Australian ways of living. However, such an attitude is not necessarily a demonstration of hostility on the part of some parents, but rather a preoccupation with the preservation and nurturing of their own culture. Many instances have been quoted on the unassimilative tendencies of the Polish parents, mothers in particular, but this has often little to do with animosity towards Australians, as will be demonstrated in the later analysis of other aspects of their assimilation.

Looking back at the children's overall subjective assimilation (Table 87), it is found that second generation immigrants of Polish, British and German nationalities fall into three distinct groups. To the first group belong children who are completely identified with Australia, to the second belong children who fail to assimilate and identify with their own ethnic group, and to the third belong

children who identify with both the Australian culture and the culture of their parents.

Examples of the last type are demonstrated by two girls, one of Polish and the other of German origin. The Polish girl states: 'I am half-and-half and that does not strike me as difficult. I live one life at home and the other at the teachers' training college, where I am a student. I lead two lives and I am completely different in either place. I am a different person in each setting and this does not worry me in the least. I manage quite well. I think I have more friends that way'.

The German girl also made her situation quite clear: 'I want to be half-and-half. It is good being two at once. I feel I have something that most Australian girls don't have and I am happy about being both German and Australian'.

Such dual identification by second generation immigrants was also discovered in other studies. So Kerckhoff (1959) found that the Indian children whom he studied in Wisconsin identified with the white American culture and their own Indian culture simultaneously. Also Lambert (1967) came across this particular type of child in his research on second generation immigrants of various origins in Canada, so did Johnston (1969a), dealing with a single ethnic group only in Western Australia.

The distribution of children into three distinct categories has an added advantage, since it indicates that none of the second generation immigrants studied failed to achieve a secure culture identity, and none of them therefore suffered from the psychological imbalance referred to in this study as 'culture conflict' (see pp. 4-6).

Types of immigrant families and their mode of living

A careful perusal of the material clearly indicates the possibility of grouping all the immigrant families into four distinct types. It may be recalled (see Chapter 2) that all the families studied formed nuclear families consisting of two parents and their children. There was one Polish family with a grandfather who joined his son a few years ago, but he lived separately, coming into the house only for his meals. The criterion for typing the families was based on the rate of the parents' overall subjective assimilation, as parents rather than children set the tone for family living; if they remain un-

assimilated the household remains ethnic, despite the rapid assimilation of their children.

Taking the score on overall subjective assimilation for the father and the mother separately in each family, a pattern evolved showing four distinct groups of families who for the present purpose are called:

1. Advanced families
2. Progressing families
3. Conservative families
4. Mixed families

Advanced families are those where both parents have made a real advance in overall subjective assimilation (that is they receive the highest score of 3 on the scale adopted here) and have not much further to go to complete assimilation. Progressing families are those where parents are still progressing towards assimilation, but have not come as far as those in advanced households; these receive a score of 2 for their subjective assimilation. The conservative families are families where both parents are subjectively very little assimilated, on the whole opposing identification with Australia; they receive a score of one for overall subjective assimilation. To these three types we add the mixed families of a threefold variety: families where one partner is advanced and the other progressing; families where one is advanced and the other conservative; families where one is progressing and the other is conservative. In these mixed families parents can be one step apart from each other, advanced-progressing or progressing-conservative, or they can be two steps apart, advanced-conservative; here one parent is highly subjectively assimilated and the other is assimilated very little. It can be predicted that the mode of life in each of these mixed families will be different, as will the mode of life in the purely advanced families, purely progressive and purely conservative families. In all, there are six types of families and their occurrence amongst the Polish and German and British families is shown in Table 95.

When attention is focused on the first three types of families, leaving the 'mixed' families for the moment, it becomes quite clear that the Polish families predominate in the group opposed to assimilation, whereas German families are the most numerous in

Table 95 Types of Polish, German, and British families

Types of families	Ethnic background			Total
	Polish	German	British	
Advanced	—	7	4	11
Progressing	2	2	5	9
Conservative	13	3	1	17
Advanced-progressing	1	10	8	19
Advanced-conservative	4	2	—	6
Progressing-conservative	5	1	7	13
Total	25	25	25	75

the group called 'advanced families', while the British families belong to the 'advanced' and, even more, to the 'progressing' type.

Looking now at 'mixed' families, it appears that there are no British homes with one well assimilated and one little assimilated parent; that is the British parents do not diverge much from each other.

German families, already predominating in the 'advanced' group, are also predominant in the 'advanced-progressing' group; that is the group where both parents register positive assimilation, though one is more advanced than the other. In all, the German families seem the most stable from the assimilation point of view, with parents synchronising their rate of assimilation more closely than in either of the other two ethnic groups. This contrasts strikingly with the mixed Polish families; here there are four households with parents with the widest possible difference in assimilation, and five households where one parent is conservative and the other progressing.

It is important when assessing 'mixed' homes to understand the contribution of each parent; hence the following:

Mixed Families Type I Advanced-Progressing

- Polish* 1 family where mother is advanced and father progressing.
- German* 10 families in 8 of which fathers are advanced and mothers progressing and 2 homes with the reverse.
- British* 8 families in 7 of which fathers are advanced and mothers progressing and 1 home with the reverse.

Mixed Families Type II Advanced-Conservative

- Polish* 4 families in all of which fathers are advanced and mothers are opposed to assimilation.
- German* 2 families, both fathers are advanced and both mothers opposed.
- British* None.

Mixed Families Type III Progressing-Conservative

- Polish* 5 families, in 4 of which fathers are progressive and mothers are opposed to assimilation, and 1 home with the reverse.
- German* 1 family where the father is progressing and the mother is opposed.
- British* 7 families where 3 fathers are progressing and the mothers are opposed, and in 4 homes the opposite is the case.

In practically all households the husbands achieve a higher rate of assimilation than their wives, except for the British families in progressing-conservative homes where fathers and mothers receive almost the same assimilation scores.

The full picture of what happens in each of these various kinds of family is best appreciated through the eyes and words of each member of the family.

German Families Case Study of an Advanced Family, arrived 1958

Father: Aged 41-50, Lutheran, carpenter.

Mother: Aged 41-50, Lutheran, part-time shop assistant.

Son: Aged 18, Lutheran, university student.

Father: At home I eat half German and half Australian food and it took me about 2 or 3 years to get used to the Australian food. I prefer to eat both kinds of food and as for the children I leave this to them, whatever they like best. They don't eat enough and this is the quarrel we have. They are a bit fussy in food. They are spoilt—this is a better word. The big one was always a poor eater. The arguments we have are not regarding German or Australian food, but food in general.

Away from home I speak in English only. When I meet other Germans, this depends, you get stuck with difficulties in English

so you use German and you continue in it for the rest of the conversation. When other Germans come into my home we speak mostly in German, when only Germans are about. The children speak in English only between themselves. I would appreciate if they would speak in German to me, but since they don't want to be different from other kids, they just skip it. I am keen, however, that they should learn how to read and write in German and I personally help them with this. Lots of German magazines come into my home, but the children are not made to read them and they hardly look at them. I don't insist that they speak German at home and we don't argue about this any more, as it is no use. My children have never gone to the German weekend school.

I don't object that they bring into my home their Australian friends, I am glad of this. My home is both German and Australian, I would say. We are talking in German at home. We have German records. The music is all German, but the children have modern records up to date. I keep contacts with Germans and with Australians, I would say two-thirds Germans and one-third Australians. Which do I prefer? At times I am glad to see Germans. Their way of entertainment also suits me well, but then I also like to be with Australians. We go away with Australians for holidays together, as they know so much about the country and I want to learn more about Australia. In a sense I prefer Australians, they are more open-minded and my real friends, the ones I meet often, are one German couple and one Australian couple. I saw both of them eight times each last month. I am more relaxed with Australians. My children mix mostly with Australians and with others and that is O.K. with me. I have never had any bother about their company and I don't mind with whom they mix as long as it is normal, decent company.

For leisure I have little time. I go to work on Saturdays. I work in the garden, I muck around with the kids, play table tennis, see my friends and go to a good show. I like both ways of entertainment, the Australian and the German way. I go to the Rhine-Donau Club and this is the German character of my leisure, if we join in with Australians the leisure is then Australian in character. As for preference, I prefer the German way really. I want to be honest about this. I am happy, however, that my children spend their leisure the Australian way and play lots of Australian sport, because at sport you meet people and make friends. Since the kids

are going to be here it is important to make friends and sport helps there, especially if they are successful in it.

Of the Australians I think that they are helpful to newcomers, it does not matter to them that you are a foreigner. There is also no class distinction here and you can talk to a millionaire the same way as you talk to your mate. What I don't like in Australians is the same what I don't like in other people. I think Australia has a great future, I would say at least for the next few generations. This country is not developed yet and there are quite a few opportunities here.

I also think that German culture is higher than the Australian culture, but the difference between the two is getting narrower every day. Actually the culture in Australia is from Europe, England mostly. Now that they are starting entertainment here and are bringing music into the country the culture is growing at a fast rate. I have no intention of leaving Australia and I want my children to grow up as Australians. I am not fussy whom they marry, I don't mind about this at all. I think I belong more to Australia and I have never suffered any prejudice here of any kind. I was also fortunate enough not to have to ask for any help from any organisations in the community as my children have never given me any real trouble and I was always earning a living without any trouble.

Mother: I work part-time one day a week on Friday, serving in a shop and return on that day at six o'clock in the evening. The house I live in is big enough for us, my sons each have a room for himself. My husband and I share our responsibilities, but in buying items for the household I talk it over with him and the final say is left to me really. I bring up the children mostly as he is away a lot from home, and for punishing children I am not much for this. My oldest son got a hiding from his dad only once. I eat both foods, German food is too rich and I don't cook a lot of German meals. I really like both kinds of food, the best from each.

Away from home I speak both in German and in English—it depends on the people. If I know a person very well and I meet them in the street we might speak in German. At home in mixed company we always speak in English and German with Germans alone. The children speak in English and I don't mind that very much, I don't really feel I ought to interfere too much and per-

sonally I don't mind in what language they speak. Despite this I would like them very much to know how to write and read in German, but I never help unasked, I feel if they want me to, I am always ready. The older boy he is now asking me to correct his German for him, he is taking German at the university. We have plenty of German books and magazines, but my children are never made to read them and I don't insist at all on them speaking German, I don't try too hard to make them speak it. I want my children to bring their Australian friends into the home and I want them to grow up as Australians, as we are going to stay here for good. My home is not typically German, but the way of living, like meals is still more to the German side, but apart from the two of us speaking German and some of the meals we eat—it is an Australian home.

We have Australian and German friends. Well, I must say that the Australian friends I like very much, I also like the German friends as we all mix together. I started to like Australians when we first came here to live and the neighbours came in and helped. My neighbour's grandmother was German and she herself was like a mother to me. That was in the beginning. Then I started to work and met more Australians and liked them all the more. I have been with my Australian friends four times last month and four times with my German friends. I play golf with Australians and cards at night and we go for holidays together. All the people I know I feel happy with whether they are Germans or Australians. My children mix with all Australians and I don't interfere in that. We never have any arguments regarding company or girl-friends and in the paying of board I don't take any money off him. He is with the Education Department and gets a scholarship. I don't ask for any board. If I did ask he would pay. He wouldn't like it, but he would do it for me. On the choice of job after leaving school we never had any arguments. He wanted to be a high school teacher and we let him.

For leisure I play golf, cards, and go to shows. My leisure is really half and half as I also go dancing to the German Club, but the Australian way of leisure suits me, it is much easier and less formal. Yes, I do approve that my children spend their leisure the way Australians do and play lots of sport. My elder son plays basketball and tennis for the university. The Australians I like very

much they are free and easy, no class distinction and that is what I like. The only thing I don't like about them is that a few are too easy going, but then you find that anywhere. Definitely I agree that the country has a great future. They do a lot for the education of children, it is also a large country not crowded and whoever wants to work there is always work. In Australia they have music and literature, but they do not have the tradition to fall back on. Some Europeans think that if an artist does not come from Europe he is no good. I think this is wrong, an Australian artist can be just as good. On the question of belonging, there is no doubt in my mind, I belong to Australia.

Son: I think that my work at the university is good. I get a scholarship and that is quite sufficient for my expenses. At home there is no quarrelling between parents and between us brothers there is as much as there is in any other home. My mother brings up the children. Mother also spends the household money. Dad is just contented to earn the money and leave the rest to my mother. If I have any special problems that I can't solve myself I go to my mother and not to my dad. On the whole I don't turn to my parents often. You will find that children of migrant parents keep on growing up as Australians and cannot seek too much help from their parents, as they don't know much about the Australian life. Basically the children may not have too much confidence in their parents because they have not grown up in the environment. So the children more or less lead a separate life from their migrant parents. I never had any problems at school, my life is rather smooth. For Australian youth the matter is much simpler since their parents have gone through the same experiences here in their younger days. Migrant children cannot rely on their parents for this, so they more or less attempt to solve their problems on their own and become separated from their parents. Particularly when I was younger and I did not want to be different from the other boys, I felt that having migrant parents was in a way a handicap. My mother is more of the boss in the family and I turn to her more, but not very much. I am interested in Australian rules football, so a few times I have taken my father along to get him interested in the game. My mother is a good cook, experiments a lot and we eat all kinds of food. I like both kinds of food—Australian and any other. At home I speak in English only and when I was younger I wanted to forget my German,

which I knew well, now I regret it. I never objected when my parents and their friends spoke in German at home. Now I am doing a unit of German at the university I try to catch every word my parents say. Neither my mother or my father insist that I speak German at home, but my mother sometimes suggests that I should speak it. Sometimes I read the German magazines lying around the place, but not often. When I do read them I quite enjoy doing so.

My friends are mixed Australian and others and I pick them according to the individual and not nationality. My parents never interfere in the matter and I never mixed with anybody who has been in trouble with the police. I mostly visit my Australian girlfriend, but not so often now as I am too busy, I read, play sport, football and basketball. I would say that my leisure is completely Australian in character and I prefer it that way. When my parents take me to German parties I go sometimes, but I don't enjoy them because there are older people and no people of my age. I don't think for a moment that my parents object to me growing up as an Australian, they mix with Australians themselves and don't bother me. I think they themselves are gradually becoming Australians. There are certain things I resent in my parents. My mother for example tends to put too much emphasis on material things in life. With my father he does not seem to have any understanding for my problems. He is a carpenter and has not much respect for and even resents people with an education. He got on fairly well without an education and sees not much use for it. Possibly there are also traces of jealousy in this.

I would not say that I feel to be completely Australian, but I am more Australian than German. The problem of choosing between the Australian and German way of life has never occurred to me really. I have been here to school for many years. I grew up as an Australian boy. The only difference was that I had migrant parents. There was really never any decision to be made, I am an Australian.

German Families **Case Study of a Progressing Family, arrived 1958**

Father: Aged 41-50, Catholic, boilermaker.

Mother: Aged 31-40, Catholic, part-time domestic.

Son: Aged 19, Catholic, bank clerk.

Father: (in translation) At home we eat proper European food and I prefer German food at all times. My son is an Australian now so he prefers Australian food, and my wife cooks for him what he wants. Away from home I speak only in English. When I meet other Germans in the street we obviously speak German but mix in many English words. At home with other German friends we speak in German. My son speaks in English at home. I don't mind that, and I cannot afford to mind, he will live here for good. I would like it better if he spoke in German to me but he talks in English only. My son is not interested any more in German so I let it go. We are trying to keep the mother tongue alive, but it is very hard. We have a number of German journals coming into the house and in the beginning we had daily newspapers coming from Germany, but they ceased coming in the last few years. My son looks only at the pictures, and we do not force him to read or to speak German at home. He has never attended the German weekend school and we encourage him to bring his Australian friends home. He has an Australian friend, a fine boy from across the road. My home is mixed, but more so German than Australian and I made it so. We keep contacts with Australians but mostly with Europeans who speak German. Nationality makes no difference to me, but one leans more towards people of one's own nationality. I like Australians, my Australian neighbours are a good lot of people. Although we are often with Australians and I like them, we still prefer European company. We went once to an Australian dance and it was so strange—the customs I mean. My personal friends are migrants. Last month we visited and were visited by migrants four times, but never saw any Australians. We have little to do with Australians. They don't visit us and we don't see them. We are not too much in their company. My son mixes with various nationalities of young people, Australians included. We try to explain to him the necessity of decent company. He has a German girl-friend—one of our own. He pays for his board at home and so he should. He wanted to go to the Teachers' Training College but failed his leaving, and he now goes to night school and will try for the Teachers' College again.

My free time I spend in the garden, I watch Australian rules football. I go to the pub, I quite like Australian beer. My leisure is rather Australian in kind. I approve of Australian ways and we

should live the way they do. It took me five years to settle down in this country and at one stage I was going back to Germany, but we decided to stay and now I am glad. I encourage my son to live the way Australians do and play Australian sport. At school he played Australian football, tennis and squash, also cricket. I too like sport, why not?

The Australians are pleasant people and friendly at work and as neighbours. There is nothing I really dislike in them. It is a good country specially for the next generation, they have the minerals here and plenty of them. Our culture is obviously higher, it is much older, but I don't think the difference is so vast between the German and the Australian culture, but there is a difference just the same. Oh, yes I want to live here, but to go for a holiday and come here for good. I approve of my son's complete assimilation, anyway this is already so—he is an Australian. I don't mind whom he marries, that is his worry. I feel that I am an Australian, too, although in the beginning I felt that Australians were prejudiced against me. Some Australians are jealous that we have a house. They drink and bet on horses and say how can we have a home in the short time we have been here. Some have been nasty about it.

Mother: I do a bit of part-time work a few hours a week and am home before lunch. My home is big enough for us. We share everything between us and make decisions together on house furnishings, family outings and the upbringing of our son. He does not need any punishment, so neither of us has to do it. I like mixed food and got to like Australian food soon after arriving here. I like both kinds of food, Australian and German. My son eats what he likes and I often cook special Australian dishes for him.

When outside the house I speak English and on meeting other Germans in the street I speak German, but we speak it very quietly so that nobody can hear that we speak in a foreign language. When they come to our place we speak in German too. My son speaks in English, but I am keen for him to be able to write and read in German because the more languages you know the better it is for you. I don't help him with this at all. We have German journals coming into the house and the boy likes reading them. We don't insist that he speaks German, but we would like him to. My home is just all mixed up. Your life is not German and not really Australian and the home is the same. For friends we have people of

mixed nationalities, but I prefer Germans really. We had no Australians here during the last month, but we had four visits from Germans, and I feel happier with migrants at any time. We never had any trouble with our son regarding his friends and they are all mixed—Australians and others. He pays his board as he works in the bank and earns money. He badly wants to be a teacher, but failed his leaving and is now trying again at night school to get it. I read, garden and watch TV. I would say that my leisure is half Australian and half German, it is not Australian really because I don't play bowls or tennis. I like my son though to spend his leisure the Australian way and to play as much sport as he can.

I like the Australian people because they take life much easier than the foreigners do, they don't worry too much about everything. For the young people I think Australia is a land of opportunity. I don't know much about cultures, but I think the German culture is better and the difference between the two is very wide. I approve of my son's assimilation completely and I don't care who he will marry. We will stay in Australia for good although at work people were nasty to me when we first came to this country.

Son: I am a bank clerk and attend night school, I failed my Leaving last year and I am doing three subjects now. I don't think I will get them. The money I earn is really not good enough, too many expenses. I have a car and my girl-friend and they are expensive. Am I satisfied with my job? This is a hard one, at times I am, at other times not so. My home is a peaceful place. Parents hardly ever quarrel, the usual stuff, I get on well with my mother. My parents are equal-minded and nobody is the boss, they share everything in all they do. To my father I talk about sport, the car, and I often argue with him. He is more traditional and I am more radical. I suppose his upbringing in Germany has something to do with it. He was the oldest and had more responsibilities in the family, he also had it much harder than me and he gives in to me and this may not be too good for me. He is a good father and I know this. When I was younger he very frequently took me to sport and it is due to him that I play the many sports that I play. He took me to all the ovals, often at his own inconvenience, but he is interested in sport and still is a member of the East Perth Football Club. I too play Australian rules football. When we first came out we both

went to soccer, but the game was too brawling so now we stick to Australian football.

I eat all Australian food and like Australian food with a few German dishes. My mother is good in this respect and does her best for me, but she is inquisitive and asks too many questions. I don't tell her too much, although I am close to her. I see much more of her and she also is around more often than dad. I get things off my chest with her and by the time father gets home from work everything is quiet again. At home I speak in English, but I really want to speak both. I always felt ashamed of speaking German but lately I am finding an extra language an asset. I am more than keen to learn the language now and not ashamed of it any more. I never went to the German weekend school and this is a pity too. My parents don't insist that I speak German. Sometimes I wish they did. Now I do. I read some of the German journals that my mother gets and I am interested in this.

For friends I have mixed company and this is rather funny. For a year now I have become more aware of being a German. Before I wanted to be a pure Australian and I was jealous of Australians. I wanted badly to be like them as I suffered a lot at school for being a German, the kids gave me hell. The teachers were just as bad and because of this I had many, many fights. Now I feel more and more with the migrants. My free time I spend looking after my car, play football, play snooker, I got a bug on this lately. I do all the things that young people do, so my way of leisure must be Australian, but I really like both ways, the German too. My parents don't quite approve of me playing snooker. We get together with a few chaps and one of them is staying with us. His parents are abroad. We often play till 2 or 3 in the morning and dad does not like this, but I still do it. I go with my parents to the Rhine-Donau Club. They used to have a dancing club there and now it is getting all too snobbish and posh. Too many people now go there and they are after your money now and nothing else. There is nothing I resent in my parents and here I am thinking very carefully. On the question what I feel to be, I must be quite honest. I was ashamed of not being an Australian. I couldn't help it, but now I try to get the best of both worlds. I have grown up as an Australian, but lately I feel much towards the Germans. I was ashamed of it, now I seem to be all for it.

*German Families Case Study of a Conservative Family, arrived 1957**Father:* Aged 41-50, Lutheran, carpenter.*Mother:* Aged 31-40, Lutheran, not working.*Daughter:* Aged 14, Lutheran, still at school.

Father: The question of food is not important to me as I eat all kinds of food both Australian and German. As for the children I would like them to eat some German food because it is good for them. When not at home I always speak English and when we Germans meet in the street, we speak mixed a bit of English and a bit of German and the same applies when they come to our home or we go to theirs. All my children speak English, and this I don't mind at all even when they speak to me, that is all right with me. I want them, however, to read and to write in German because we are going back home and also it is good to know another language, but I don't help with this, nothing in the way of instruction. Some newspapers come from Germany to us and we also buy some journals in Australia, printed in German. The children are not made to read them and I don't particularly insist that they speak our language, and I never sent any of them to the German weekend school. They bring their Australian boys and girls here and this is O.K. with us too. We are now packing up to go back to Germany and you could say for the mess that the house is in, that it is an Australian home. My contacts with other people are mostly with Poles, Ukrainians and Australians, but I never think of the nationality of people. My personal and close friends are Germans we knew back home and who live in our suburb. We had only two Australians visiting us in the last month and four German couples.

My children mix with Australian and English children and I prefer mixed company for them as long as the company is good. We told our son not to go around with one Dutch boy who was in trouble with the police. My daughter who is 17 is married to an Australian. We did not mind the nationality but she was too young to marry, and this caused a great deal of unhappiness in the family.

For leisure I watch TV, play records and fix up the house. I would say I approve of the Australian way of spending leisure, it is good to play bowls, golf or to practise rifle shooting. I do approve of my children taking Australian sport and spending their leisure as the Australians do. The Australians are easy going and for this I

like them, and I think that the country has plenty of opportunity to offer but only for some people. I don't intend to stay, we are going back to Germany, the government provides much better social services there. I am really not much concerned about my children's assimilation here as they will have to assimilate to the German way of life very soon. I belong with my heart to Germany and this is probably the reason for going back.

At one stage I was unemployed and the Child Welfare Department assisted us financially. It was then that I realised how much better off I would be in Germany, if that happened to me again.

Mother: I don't go out to work, my husband was working up north for long stretches of time and I stay at home and look after the family and take care of the house. I like mixed foods and I feed the children the same way. When not at home I speak both German and English, the same when I meet my countryfolk in the street. The children speak English and I tried to make them speak German, but they always come back to the English, but I would like them very much to be able to read and write in German. I don't insist any more that they speak German as the English is quite easy for me now. We have mixed company, but I prefer the Germans, to be honest, they know our ways, so my friends are Germans only. I feel quite happy with Australians, I mix well anywhere, but still it is not the same as your own people.

Now that we are going home I do a lot of visiting. At other times I knit, watch TV and read. It is so different in Germany. There we go out at night into the heart of the city and window shop. They change the windows every week and each time there is something new to look at and you also meet all friends there. Here it is too far to go into town and when you get there there is nothing much to see. I wanted my children to become Australians, but now want them to be Germans because this is where they are going to live. I quite like the Australian people, they are friendly, easy going, everyone calls each other by their christian name. I don't like this that they drink too much.

Australia could be a land of opportunity, if Australians pulled their socks up. They are still in their beauty sleep, they have not woken up yet. Everything here is so poor, no museums, no theatre, nothing much in the way of culture. It is different in Germany altogether, and I want to live there as I have been very homesick.

Somehow I think that I will miss the Australian weather and the open spaces. I might come back . . . who knows. I belong to Germany, no doubt about that, even when the Australians called me a 'Nazi' time and time again. That makes no difference to my feelings.

Daughter: I do reasonably well at school. My parents give me pocket money every week and this is quite sufficient for me. There is a lot of quarrelling in the house between my parents and us kids too. Father is the boss in the family. I talk to him about chores in the house. He also tells me to wear longer dresses as he does not approve of mini-skirts. I like them and wear them. He also does not like me coming home late at night and my mother does not like me to have boy-friends. My parents don't go to sport and they take us to relatives for visits and I find this very boring. We eat at home both kinds of food, Australian and German, but I like Australian food and over this I have trouble with my mother. At home I speak English, but I don't mind that friends of my parents speak in German when they visit us, because all this helps me to speak German better and I want to know how to speak, write and read it, if I can. My parents never forced me to speak German, but they always tell us to. They also never make us read German newspapers, but I look at them sometimes.

I mix with Australian boys and girls, but don't mind migrant children and my parents do not interfere in my choice of friends, but they don't like me coming home late. They also worry because before I had a girl-friend who stole from a store and she went to court, she is still at school and I still like her, she is nice. For leisure I go to dances, pictures, play basketball. All this is quite Australian and I only know the Australian way of enjoying yourself. Now we are going back to Germany I am quite pleased about this, as I want to see it. It is also good for my parents because they are still very much German, more so than Australian. I don't resent this in them and there is nothing else that I don't like in them. I feel more Australian than German and I don't mind in which country I live.

German Families **Case Study of an Advanced-Progressing Family,
arrived 1957**

Father: Aged 51-60, Catholic, foreman in factory (advanced).

Mother: Aged 41-50, Catholic, not working (progressing).

Son: Aged 16, Catholic, still at school.

Father: At home we eat mixed food and I like continental foods and my children want to eat it sometimes too. I speak English at work, but in the street with other Germans we speak in German, we start off in English, but you finish up in German or they would think that you are a snob. When other Germans come to see us, we also speak in German. My son speaks English in the house and I mind this a bit because the knowledge of a few languages is good, and he does have a chance to learn German here. Personally I would like him to speak in German to me and would want him to be able to write and read it, but I don't help with it, and don't make him read the German journals that we get, nor do I insist that he speaks the language. My son is a proper Australian and all his friends are Australians and I approve of his friends and of the Australian way of life for my son.

Our home is typically Australian in every way and we mix with Australians and I prefer it that way, because with them you know where you are. I took to them straight away from the time I started working with them, but we also have migrant friends, and I feel quite happy in the company of both. In my free time I tend to the repairs of the house, my wife always finds something for me to do. I would say that my leisure is typically Australian and so it should be—I live here. I thoroughly approve of my son's sport and all other ways of Australian living. I like the Australian people, they are natural and this is their greatest asset. The only thing I dislike in them is that they don't like New Australians.

The country is a good place to live in and the potentials here are great for any man with ambition and initiative. I think the culture here is higher than in Germany—you don't find a man here who can't read or write, table manners and hygiene are also better here. Castles are very nice, we have plenty of them in Germany, but what about a daily bath for the people? I am staying in Australia for good, I have no intention of going back to Europe. I am glad that my son is completely assimilated into the Australian way of living, this is his life, he will live here and of this I am glad. As for his future wife, I am not concerned, marriage is a personal matter, he can please himself. I am happy here, I have never suffered any discrimination from Australians and I feel I belong to Australia.

Mother: I don't go out to work, there is no need and we have a big home here and there is always plenty to do. I would say that my

home is really bossed by me, as my husband is getting old and not very interested, so I push him a bit. In the beginning I did not like the Australian food and it took me about four years to get used to it. Now we eat mixed German and Australian food and we all like it that way. I mostly speak English when away from home, but when I meet other Germans in the street, we speak in German, it comes naturally, and we mix in English words. When our German friends come to visit us or we go to them, we speak in German. My son speaks in English at home and my husband and I speak in German. I don't mind that my son speaks in English, but I would like him to be able to speak German. It would be very nice if he could write it too, so he could write to his grandmother in Germany. My brother was a prisoner of war in England and married an English girl. They have a son and he speaks no German. When they go to Germany, their son cannot speak to his grandmother and this is bad. We get some magazines from Germany and I used to buy German books, not any more, I now read English books. My son only looks at the German print and that's all. His friends are all Australians, all nice boys and I know their parents. My home is typically Australian—carpets, furniture, china.

We mix with both Germans, other immigrants and Australians. I like the Australians quite well, they have been very helpful to me in the beginning. Our friends are all mixed and they visit us often. I feel happier with Germans, with them you can speak your own language. We mostly play cards and go visiting and my leisure is both German and Australian because we know both lots of people and I enjoy life in both ways. My son—I want him to be an Australian and this he is already. The Australians are friendly, they make no difference between nationalities, not like in Europe where the different nationalities hate each other. The Australians are a bit lazy, but the country is good, it has everything, it has improved lately, it has great possibilities. But the Australian culture is much inferior to the German culture and the gap between the two cultures is rather wide. I want to stay here but to visit Germany just once. When we came here we had nothing. We also had nothing when we lived in Germany. Here we have everything we want. I think for this I belong to Australia, but still miss Germany. (The mother in the family receives a score of two for her subjective assimilation and that makes her the progressing partner in the home described.)

Son: I get on well at school and also well at home. My parents give me all I need and the home is peaceful, my parents never quarrel and I don't get into trouble much. They are both equal in power at home, but mum spends all the money my father earns. I think mother is really the boss. To both of them I talk about schoolwork and with father I go to sport events, he used to take me a lot when I was little and now we both go together as grown up people. I like both soccer and Australian rules football, the first I watch, the second I play.

We eat at home mixed foods, but I prefer Australian food. At home I speak English and my parents speak German and I wish to speak in English and nothing else, but I would not mind learning German now, before I refused to listen to it. Neither mother or father make me read the German books or the papers they read and they don't insist that I speak German. At the books I glance. I mix with Australians only, I have never been out with migrant children. All my parents want is for me to mix with good company.

I go to dances, ice skating, and I also belong to a youth club run by our church and I have lots of fun there. I would say my leisure is typically Australian, but I do like going to German parties and enjoy them. My parents are gradually becoming Australians and I am pleased about this, and there is nothing really that I resent in them. I have made up my mind early in the piece to be Australian and I will finish up being one. I would go to Germany and Europe, but live here after that.

***German Families* Case Study of an Advanced-Conservative Family, arrived 1958**

Father: Aged 41-50, Lutheran, clerk (advanced).

Mother: Aged 31-40, Lutheran, not working (conservative).

Daughter: Aged 18 years, Lutheran, clerk.

Father: We got used to the Australian foods in the last few years and we all like it. At work I have to speak English as I work for a purely Australian firm. When I meet other Germans in town, I am very happy to speak English to them, but we speak German privately at home. The children speak both languages and I am glad of this, and I don't mind in which language they speak to me personally. The writing and the reading in German I am concerned about as

far as my children go. It can't do them any harm to have an extra language and my wife does help them with the language all the time. I don't make them speak German and we don't have any arguments about it. I don't mind my children's Australian friends, but I do mind some of their manners. As for the home we don't want to have a typically Australian home. We want it to be nice, modern and homely and this happens to be more German than Australian.

We mix mainly with Germans, but we would like more Australian friends, if this was at all possible. We want more contacts with Australians, but this is hard to get. So we mix with Germans instead. The word 'friend' is a difficult one. They use it here in a broader sense. I am used to a specific meaning, in my opinion it implies much more than it does to Australians, so we have friends amongst Germans. We only saw one Australian in the last few weeks and three lots of German people. I feel happy here and in Germany I felt all right too. It makes no difference. My children are also easy about this and they have Australian children and migrants for friends. They never gave us any trouble. My daughter was lucky to get into the government and she likes her job, and adjusted quickly from life at school to adult life.

In the summer we go mainly to the beach. My wife and I play first grade table tennis in an Australian club. I read, we go for drives. This is a different country, so completely different from Germany, so it deserves a different approach and the Australian way of spending leisure is necessary. Mainly I oppose sport for my children, they are both girls and they become too muscular because of sport. I like the Australians, for a start they are pretty helpful. I feel they are not as jealous as the Germans. They couldn't care less who you are. What is more the Australians are already adjusting to the European style of living, and are not as backward as they were ten years ago. I think they are a bit unreliable. When they say I see you tomorrow, it could be any time. The country is definitely a land of opportunity, I would say. I am an example. I was not qualified for the job I have and I do accounting work. This could not happen in Germany. Here they did not ask many questions. They just said 'can you do it?', I did it and they were satisfied.

On the question of culture I think it is hard to compare as Australia is a new country. An older country like Germany must have a

higher culture and the German culture is more unified. The Australians have yet to build their culture. I think the gap between the two cultures appears much wider than it really is. In Germany we have operas and theatres, but you can't have them here, there is not the population to keep these going financially. I feel Australians are very interested in culture. We have met many cultured Australians. We will decidedly stay in Australia for good. Here there is no middle class, there is only a lower class and a higher class and we can't get into the higher class. We somehow have no chance of mixing with the higher class. To that class I would not mind my children assimilating. So to your question of approving to my children's assimilation, I must say that I am undecided.

Mother: We have a nice home here which is rather German as we have a completely different approach to family life than Australians. We eat half-and-half German and Australian food, but I personally prefer the German food at any time. Depending on the people I meet, I speak German or English. We speak German in our home to others when they come here and the children speak in both languages. I don't care any more in which language they speak to me, but I am very keen for them to know the German language in every way. I think it is important to have a command of many languages, it is an advantage for the future. The older one always could write and read in German and she kept it up. The little one—I tried to make her read letters from Germany or German story books. She was not keen. Then she met a little German boy in the street here who could not speak a word of English. So she was forced to learn German from him, as she was not at school and had nobody else to play with. She learned the German language in one month and I am happy about this. The children never went to the German school here, they know already what they teach them there.

We have mixed company, but I prefer non-Australians, I like the English or Germans, they have a bit more culture in them. Our friends are also mixed and some Australians are in it. We belong to the Australian Table Tennis Association, we play sport too. I love gardening, I loved it in Berlin too, but you could not do it there as much. Yet I would say that my leisure is really German. The Australian husbands golf and fish and they go one way and their wives the other. We all stick together—the whole family. In

the Australian family everyone goes their own way. Men play darts and women go to their own clubs.

I like the Australian people, they are helpful and I never felt being different, being German, they always accepted us, never any trouble. Australians are interested to meet people from other countries. I think the country has a great future, but with opportunities only for some. Look at me, my father was a dentist in Germany and I was his nurse. I want to do something here, but they want me to sell in a shop, this is a bit below what I am used to and I am now 40 years old. This coming down is pretty hard for many migrants.

I also don't think that Australia has a culture as yet, it will have to form one. I will most probably stay in Australia, but would really like to live in another country. I would also like my future son-in-law to come from the continent, but I would probably have no say in the matter. I don't mind my children's assimilation, but I feel that I am very much a German to the core.

Daughter: I am a drafting assistant in a government office and I earn enough to have a car and still save money. My job is good and satisfying. Our home is nice and we hardly ever quarrel. I think both parents are the bosses in the family and I don't talk to either of them a great deal about anything. I would say that the food we eat is rather German and I certainly prefer German food to any other.

At home I speak German and I prefer to speak it to keep it up, because all day I speak English. I am able to write and read in German easily and I also read books and newspapers my parents get and I enjoy reading the lot. I don't have many friends, but they are mostly Australians and I really don't mind as long as people are nice. After work I play table tennis, go roller skating and dancing. I spend my time half the Australian and half the German way, but I like life here, there is more freedom here. In Germany we lived in flats all the time and there wasn't even a garden for the children to play in. In Germany I could never have a car of my own and here I have one. I prefer German parties to Australian parties, as their behaviour is nicer than at Australian places. My parents are still very German, but I don't mind that very much as I am still very German myself, but becoming more Australian because of my friends and the work I do. At present I would like to live in Australia as I don't know what it is like in other countries.

German Families **Case Study of a Progressing-Conservative Family,
arrived 1957**

Father: Aged 31-40, Lutheran, bulldozer driver (progressing).

Mother: Aged 31-40, Lutheran, not working (conservative).

Son: Aged 14, Lutheran, still at school.

Father: We often have arguments at home about food because the older one wants to eat only Australian food. In the winter we have German meals because it is so much more nourishing.

At work I speak in English alone. With other Germans I speak German when there are no others about. The German we speak is now all a mixture with many English words and expressions in it. The children speak between themselves in English and this now makes no difference to me. Yes, I am keen that they speak and write in German, but it is no use with the little one. The older now takes German at high school and is able to write and read it. There is absolutely no insistence that they use the German language, but the older one reads anything in German that is lying around. I don't mind that they bring the Australian way of life into the house and for friends it also does not matter what nationality they are. The house itself we live in is a second rate Australian home with a leaking roof. The furniture is also second hand Australian furniture, we brought nothing with us.

We mix with Australians and Germans and it is better that way. I like both Australians and migrants, they are both good. I have no friends, I have only acquaintances. My younger son's godparents are Australians so we see a lot of them, otherwise we visit and entertain Germans. My children too have mixed company.

For leisure I work in the garden and do odd jobs around the house. Well, we live here and you can't enjoy yourself any other way. If my children want to grow as Australians this is all right with me. I quite like Australians, there are good and bad in any nation.

Australia is not the country of golden opportunity as it used to be. When we first came here in 1957 it was much better then. We came back in 1960 and I can see a great change for the worse. Look at us, I earn 49 dollars a week and the rent for this half broken down house is 14 dollars a week. How can I keep my family on what is left? Before we earned enough. The wages stay the same but the

house to buy is much dearer and so are the rents. There is something wrong, this is a big land and so are the people in it and a man can't make a living. You must not complain to the landlord about repairs, or he will ask you to leave and he will get another tenant in no time and with more money. So you must stay and take it. If the housing situation is not going to improve we might go back to Germany again.

No, the culture here is much lower, the country is still untamed, in Europe everything is cultivated. I think we still stay in Australia for the time being. We are still Germans, but I want the boys to grow up as Australians. You asked where I belong to Australia or Germany. This is 50-50. When we came out for the second time, we intended to be naturalised, now I am putting it off because of the present conditions of living. I dare not get sick, this is absolutely out of the question. I must go to work whatever, or my family would starve. In Germany the unemployment benefits are 90 per cent of your wage, here they are much lower. I feel much less secure in Australia. You may wonder why we came back to Australia. Well, in Germany everything is very tense and nervous. Every person is mad keen to make more and more money to be able to live up to the Joneses. It is much better for the children in Australia. There is not that competition and striving.

Mother: The house we live in is not large enough for us, we need another bedroom. We eat Australian and German foods and the boys they demand the first. I prefer German foods at all times. With our Australian friends we speak English and with our German friends—German. The children speak in English only, but I would like them, the little one most so, to speak and learn more German. I want them both to know it because we will take them back to see my parents in Germany.

Our home is typically German, we didn't change our way of life at all. You can see for yourself we have German embroidery on the walls and other bits and pieces. We mix with German and Australians, but I prefer the Germans at any time. We don't have many people coming here and last month came three German families and no Australians. I feel happier and more at ease with the Germans. The children have Australian children for friends and that I don't mind. We play cards, go to the bush for picnics and my leisure is really half Australian and half German. I like my sons to

play sport and live like Australians do. I don't like to have very close relationships with Australians, but they are helpful people, but talk too much and are not very discreet. The country was once full of opportunities, but not any more. The homes are too dear and the rents and food very expensive. I would not want my son just to marry anybody, no English, no Italian, no Aborigine. I feel that I belong to Germany and probably always will do.

Son: I am doing well at school and the pocket money I get is quite sufficient. We don't have too much quarrelling at home except on food matters. To my parents I talk about the boys at school and my homework. Both are the bosses at home. My father does not take me to sport or football, we usually go to see friends. I like Australian rules football, but I don't like to play it, I play rugby. The food at home is half German and half Australian, but I don't like certain German dishes and we have arguments about this. I speak English and German at home, but would like to speak English only. At school I learn German, but my mother makes me speak it at home all the time.

I have mostly English and Australian friends and I like them mixed. I play rugby with them, go to the cinema and ride my bike in the street. In Germany you go more for walks, but I spend my time the way other Australian boys do. I also like the German parties very much, as we all talk German there, the food is better, the people bring news of other migrants and all this is interesting. My parents are getting more and more like Australians and I like my parents and there is nothing that I have against them. I think that I am half Australian and half German.

Now that the case studies of the German families have been described, some pertinent thoughts come to one's mind. Of interest here is the return of the young German bank clerk to the ethnic group after a long period of rejection in his earlier youth. A sense of sadness is evident in the statement of another young man, who somehow feels handicapped because his parents are not Australian and are therefore unable to assist him with problems facing young people in the Australian community. He did not deprecate his parents for this but felt an acute loss of support when he needed it most. Such psychological problems facing second generation immigrants usually escape researchers because they do not anticipate

them and hence hardly try to uncover them. Verbatim reports of immigrants have special advantage in that they throw light on issues quite obscure to the unacquainted.

Comparisons drawn by the subjects between Australia and Germany are also illuminating especially in respect of hygiene facilities such as a daily bath which is appreciated by some more than the ancient castles in Germany. In another sense conditions in Australia regarding social service provisions are considered by some German immigrants as inadequate and quite inferior to the ones operating in Germany.

Of value was also the appraisal by one father of the social structure in Australia which to him covers only two major classes. His inability to gain admission to the 'higher' class might induce some Australians to think again about their so called 'classless society'.

British families

In many ways the British families studied were similar to the German—over two-thirds being in the advanced or progressing stages and over half having father and mother at different stages of assimilation. Such a pattern clearly indicates that the closeness between the British and Australian culture does not necessarily make it easier for British families to assimilate to Australian ways, and in some respects the German families have found it easier. The cases that follow illustrate these and other trends.

British Families Case Study of an Advanced Family, arrived 1959

Father: Aged 41-50, Catholic, printer.

Mother: Aged 31-40, Catholic, typist—full time.

Daughter: Aged 14, Catholic, still at school.

Father: I eat all Australian food and started eating it soon after I arrived in this country. I like Australian steaks and everything else the Australians are eating. As for language I don't like my children to speak the broad Australian slang. I would like them to speak English, but the Australian accent in general, apart from slang, does not worry me. I encourage my children to bring their Australian friends into my home and all ways of Australian living. My home is conventional Australian, we follow in everything the Australian

pattern. All my contacts are 100 per cent Australian and I prefer Australians to anybody else.

After we had been here for two years I suggested that we all return home. My wife and kiddies had tears in their eyes, as they did not want to leave Australia. I then decided to make a go of it here and I am very glad I did. It was the family who insisted that we stay in Australia and that gave me the real push to become an Australian. All my friends are Australians and they visited us four times during the last four weeks. No migrants came into the house. I feel happier with Australians than with any other nationality of people. My children mix with Australian children only. My oldest daughter married an Australian and I was glad it was not an Italian. For leisure I go to the R.S.L. club and I also belong to my trade club and watch TV. I would say that my leisure is typically Australian and I prefer the Australian way, as Australians are sport minded and I am keen on sport myself. This is the reason why I am so glad that my children have such wonderful chances to play sport in this country.

I like the Australian people because of their easy way of living, there is no snobbishness about it, they are also pretty decent people, you can rely on them. However, I think the majority of Australians are a bit rough. I would agree that the country is a land of opportunity because it is young and it is fast expanding and financially not in debt. They must go forward, they can't go back. Migration makes the country cosmopolitan and I like it that way, but the Australian culture is much lower than the English culture and the gap between the two is rather wide. I have made up my mind to stay in Australia for ever and I want my children to assimilate to the Australian way of life. My sister and mother are still in England, so emotionally I am still tied to England, if they were out here I would have no ties with England at all, because I belong to Australia really.

Mother: I am a typist clerk and work full time, returning home at 10 minutes after 5 p.m. I tend to eat foods from different countries, the ones I used to eat in England. I don't mind at all that my children speak the way Australians do, but if they pronounce words wrongly I clamp down on them. My home is just an ordinary Australian home, the way we live and the friends we and our children have. I like people generally, but really prefer Australians to others,

as I settled down in Australia immediately I came. I feel most relaxed with Australians more than with people of any other nationality.

I have little free time as I work, I generally knit or watch a bit of TV. My way of spending my free time is typically Australian as we have barbecues and go often to the beach in the hot weather. I think the Australian way of life is the best, as the climate is so perfect, you don't stay indoors as you do in England. I like my children playing sport and having the kind of leisure the Australian children have.

The Australians are easy going people, but some are the rough diamond type, but even so I think they are O.K. The country has ample opportunity for the younger generation in particular and it offers more scope for them than in England. I would say that the English culture is definitely higher in every respect, but this does not worry me. I like it here and I am going to stay in Australia as I am an Australian now and belong here.

Daughter: I attend a Catholic Convent and I like my school. The pocket money I get weekly is quite enough for me. My parents never fight, we children don't either. Both my parents share responsibilities at home. I am not terribly interested in football, but my father takes us to watch Australian rules football. In food we eat what we are given and I would say it is mostly Australian food. I am free to choose my own friends, my parents don't interfere. For leisure I watch TV, go to the beach and watch football. We don't go to parties where there are only British people. I think that I am an Australian, but personally I like to keep the British ways too. A lot of children at school call me 'pommy', but I am proud of this. I know that I am in-between and I want to stay that way, it makes you just that much different from the others, not so much one of the crowd.

British Families Case Study of a Progressing Family, arrived 1959

Father: Aged 41-50, Baptist, bus driver.

Mother: Aged 41-50, Baptist, not working.

Son: Aged 14, Baptist, still at school.

Father: I work on shifts as a bus driver. At home my wife cooks all sorts of food, but I am all for the proper English food. It makes no

difference to me what the children eat as long as they eat. We have a bit of strife over the language they use, as I don't like them to use bad language and Australians use a lot of that. My home is rather English as we brought our records, furniture and pictures from the old home in England. Our associates are mixed and I make no preferences between nationalities and my friends are both English and Australian. Three lots of Australians and two lots of 'Poms' visited us in the last month. My children also have mixed friends. My biggest outing is fishing, I used to do a lot of it in England too. I approve of my boys playing sport and on the spending their free time as Australians seem to. I think it takes a while to get to know the Australians, but when you do get to know them and then you find they are good people. There are many things I don't like about the Australians—their drinking habits, also they are quite uninterested in civic affairs here, they don't care what is going on around them, they always leave it to the government. Yet Australia is a good country in many ways specially for children—outdoor living and they get their chances for jobs. The British culture is much superior to the Australian culture and it will take a long time to bridge the differences.

I think I will stay in Australia and I don't mind whom my sons will marry as long as the partners are not Catholics. I don't like their religion of fear. They kept people in ignorance in order to bleed them, to get as much money out of them as they can. Otherwise I don't care, as my boys are proper Australians and probably will marry Australian girls.

Mother: My home is too small for us, actually my son of 14 years of age sleeps with my daughter aged eight in one room. We eat both Australian and English foods, and we eat much more meat than before. It took me about five years to get used to the Australian foods, but still I like some proper English dishes.

I won't say that I am happy about their language. There are some words Australians say I don't like my children using and we have arguments about it. The word 'bastard' is used in Australia much too often. They also say 'Oh, Christ'. This word should not be used at all. Normal slang words I don't mind that much. The ones I mentioned I object to. The older sons are careless with their language and their father won't tolerate it. I like mixed company, but fitted into the Australian way of life from the beginning, we

made up our minds to like it and we did. This is the only way to settle in. I feel the same with people of all nationalities.

I have no trouble with the boys paying their board, they pay well. We had a lot of worry with one of the boys at school a long time ago. He was 16 when we came to Australia and was good material for study and the headmaster here in Australia gave him an examination. He did well in all subjects up to the leaving standard, but he could not pass in Australian history, so they put him down with the 13 year olds, he was then six feet two inches tall. He refused and did not want to go on with schooling. He is now doing well as a manager of a firm.

My husband and I go fishing and this is our best relaxation and all our leisure is typically Australian, as we go to the races and sometimes to the trots. I think it is wonderful to see our children play as much sport all the year round. I do appreciate this. I like the Australian people, they call a spade a spade and they are mostly honest, as honest as you find people anywhere. I don't like the way they speak. Some of them are too loud, the women in particular. Australia is a good land for the youngsters. Art, tradition, museums are better in England than here, but in spite of this I want my children to live here and become Australians and I want them to marry Australians, as for myself I think that with my heart I belong to Wales still.

Son: I get a dollar a week pocket money and that is O.K. Our home is not too bad it is quiet. My parents get on pretty well together and consult each other on all matters. My dad does not like football, but my older brothers take me and I am only interested in Australian rules football. We eat mixed foods, but I am for English food as we had it before we came to Australia. I mix with all Australian children at school and after, but my parents don't agree about my mates, they don't let me play with undesirable types because I once had a friend who was a delinquent, and I dropped him after that.

For leisure I go to footy, play footy and play with the kids. I play the Australian way especially footy and cricket. I don't like going to British parties. I reckon they are a bore. There are all Poms there, nobody to talk to, there are no kids, only old people. I would describe my parents still as very English. They still like their soccer and rugby. I think my dad has a big temper especially when he

starts on his politics with my oldest brother. I am completely Australian and this is what I want to be. For sure I want to live here and later in life I might go overseas.

The case study of an opposed family cannot be related, since among the British immigrants there is only one such family of this type; and this particular family cannot be quoted verbatim because both parents occupy prominent positions in the community and their verbatim answers may reveal their identity to the local people. For the sake of preserving their anonymity, they are omitted with a note that both parents are contemptuous of anything Australian and display an attitude and ideas similar to those immigrants of the Polish and German background who are also opposed to assimilation.

British Families **Case Study of an Advanced-Progressing Family, arrived 1960**

Father: Aged 41-50, Methodist, salesman (advanced).

Mother: Aged 41-50, Church of England, not working (progressing).

Son: Aged 16, Methodist, still at school.

Father: We started eating some Australian foods and particularly salads about two years after we came here. This was so because of the climate and personally I prefer this food in the summer, but in the winter I like some of the English foods. I don't mind my children speaking the way Australians do. We are very fortunate with our children. All their friends are Australian and all of them come here and they are highly desirable types. We live as Australians do but not in every way. We don't live that much out of doors. All our contacts come through the church and we know only Australians and our real friends are Australians. We are in a circle of friends at church and they all happen to be Australians. My daughter married an Australian she met at our church, and my son mixes with Australians and I am happy about this as they are a good crowd.

I am engaged in many church activities and this takes a lot of my free time, I also watch TV and I am an amateur radio fan. I would say my leisure is typically Australian. I like the Australian people, I think they are terrific. The only thing I dislike about

them is that they misuse the English language. They mispronounce words. On the question of culture I have to think carefully. I feel a lot of the English culture is traditional, but really there is no Australian culture as yet, but it wouldn't be inferior, if anything volatile. I am quite happy to live in Australia for the rest of my life and I am happy that my children have grown up to be Australians. I feel I am an Australian now and no more an Englishman.

Mother: We both share all the responsibility in the home financially and otherwise. I cook only English foods and I prefer this type of food. My home is partly Australian, but I feel more relaxed with Australians as we know so many of them through the church, but it is nice to get down with the British too. I am a keen stamp collector, I also knit and garden. My leisure has changed since I came to Australia. I don't go for walks as often as I used to in England, as it is too hot in Australia for that. I find the Australian people very kind, but a bit conceited at times. I don't believe that there are real opportunities here except for the young childless couples. I certainly don't believe in the slogan that the streets are paved with gold. You have to work here jolly hard. I don't think the culture difference between Australia and England is very wide. More people are coming here and bringing their culture with them. I approve of my children's assimilation, but I myself would rather live in England than here.

Son: I only have one sister and she is now married, even when she was at home we never used to fight, my parents don't argue either. I think my dad is the boss in the family, but mum also has her say. My father does not take me to football, but I am enthusiastic about Australian rules football. For food I prefer English dishes. I rather speak the way Australians do, using words like 'guy' and 'kids', but my mother corrects me.

I choose my own friends, but my parents give their opinion on them and all my friends are Australians. I play golf, I also play the guitar in a band and go ice-skating. My parents object to me staying out late and we always argue on what they consider 'late' and what I consider 'late'. We also argue about going to church, as the church does not do anything for me. I think my parents are still very English, my mother more than my father. I resent in my father that he tries to be a proper Australian when my brother-in-law is about, he puts it on too much. When I first came to Australia, I was six

years old and I was terrified to speak because the kids used to laugh at my English, so I decided that I was going to be an Australian and do all they do, so now I am an Australian and I speak like them too.

After this family should follow an example of an advanced-conservative family, but there is no such family amongst the British immigrants.

British Families **Case Study of a Progressing-Conservative Family, arrived 1959**

Father: Aged 51-60, Jewish, factory worker (progressing).

Mother: Aged 41-50, Church of England, part-time shop assistant (conservative).

Son: Aged 16, Church of England, still at school.

Father: We now and before had a lot of trouble on language, as the children insist on speaking the broad Australian and I want them to speak English properly. I also object to the type of boy my son mixes with. My home is half-and-half, the things in it are Australian, but the life we lead is British. We have no friends really as our own family is here. We do not entertain very much, we can't afford it. At the moment I work with the Scouts and that is my main relaxation. I am a Scout Master and I am also interested in the Trade Union. I did exactly the same in England.

My boy is not interested in sport, he is also a scout. I don't like Australian boys leaving school too early and weaning my son away from school to a dead-end job. One of them went up north and came back with an expensive new car, so my son wants to do the same.

The Australians are a good lot of people, the only thing I dislike about them is the men with the keg on their own at a party and the women also with a keg separated from the men. There is plenty of opportunity in Australia for the young. For a bloke like me, who is getting on, there is not much. I think the English culture is superior by far. The only appreciation they have here is of sport, local sport and a great apathy to everything else.

I intend to live in Australia permanently and want my children

to assimilate. I think I would stick up for Australia if need be, then I would stick up for England too so I belong to both really.

Mother: I work in a shop two or three times a week. My home has enough rooms, but they are very small. All State Housing Commission Homes are the same here. I eat only English food and do not like any of the Australian foods. My home is also typically English because of the cooking, the good table manners, politeness and respect for the older people, all these are lacking in Australian homes. We have mixed company, but I prefer migrants of all types, we have more sympathy for them than for the Australians who never understand migrants and their problems. For leisure I knit and sew, garden and go to old time English dancing. I don't play sport and I don't like pubs.

I like the Australian people, they are very friendly, hospitable people. They are helpful, frank and generous. What I don't like are their drinking habits, especially women using bad language, their manners are also bad. The question on culture is cruel. England's culture is superior. There is no art or music here. I would like to go back to London and live there and when it comes to cricket I think of England all the time. I can do little about my children's assimilation; is this not inevitable?

Son: I only get one dollar a week pocket money and this is not enough. There is little quarrelling in my family, and parents agree between themselves on what decisions to take in various matters. I prefer soccer to Australian rules football. I also prefer English food to Australian food. For friends I have Australians and migrant boys, but I really prefer the English. Yet I feel that I am half Australian and half English and I know there are lots of kids like that. We just don't worry about it.

At some points British immigrants raise quite different objections to Australia than do the Germans. For example here and in other families the British men seem to be disturbed by the Australian women's harsh voices, a fact which escapes the German men. We also did not find in any of the German families a complaint relating to the disinterest shown by Australians in civic affairs and yet it is voiced by British parents elsewhere and in the current parent case studies. A certain degree of pride in being British characterises quite a few of the people, a pride that is somewhat ingrained with

a superiority absent in the answers of the other immigrants. Although some Polish immigrants also feel proud of being Poles this in no way implies that Australians are inferior to them.

Polish families and their mode of migration

It is now time to describe case studies of the six types of Polish families, but before we do a few words must be said about the ways in which the Polish immigrants came to Australia, as their method of migration has a direct bearing on their financial position and hence on their mode of living. It may be recalled that the twenty-five Polish families who acted as subjects of this study consist of two groups of immigrants, ten arriving in Australia some twenty years ago, and the other fifteen arriving ten or less than ten years ago. The early arrivals came to Australia under the auspices of the International Refugee Organisation and the Australian Government paid for their transportation. The only obligation these immigrants had towards Australia was to work for two years under contract in jobs specified by the authorities.

The late arrivals, however, coming as they did from behind the Iron Curtain, had to pay their own fares to Australia and be sponsored by friends, relatives, or the Catholic Migration Office before entering the country. Practically every family in this group had money advanced to them by their sponsors and they are still paying back in monthly instalments the debt incurred.

For the families involved, the financial commitments are a big drain on their earnings and they differ vastly in their standard of living from those Poles who have been here longer and who had a greater chance of establishing themselves in this country. The homes of the late arrivals are inferior, poorer and dilapidated. They generally live in rented homes in the slum areas close to the heart of the city and their homes have an aura of deprivation. In this respect they differ vastly from the early Polish arrivals the interior of whose homes demonstrates a state of financial well-being, characterised by modern pieces of furniture and an abundance of modern home gadgets. No special information was collected on the problem of home ownership, but it emerged from private conversations with the group who arrived first that nearly all of them have already paid for their homes.

None of the Polish families, either early or late arrivals, occupy

Table 96 Overcrowding in Polish, German, British, and Australian homes

Homes by ethnic origin	Overcrowding		Total
	Yes	No	
Polish—early arrivals	2	8	10
Polish—late arrivals	5	10	15
German	—	25	25
British	2	23	25
Australian	5	20	25
Total	14	86	100

homes run by the State Housing Commission, while three of the German and five of the British families studied occupied such homes. Having limited financial resources and having to pay high rents for accommodation, the late arrived Polish families are at a great disadvantage as regards housing and they seem to suffer from overcrowding in their homes more than the other Poles, or the British and German immigrants.

Overcrowding is defined in this context in terms of the number of children per sleeping unit and a home was described as overcrowded when more than two adults shared one bedroom. Two children under the age of ten count as one adult. Table 96 shows homes which are and are not overcrowded according to the ethnic background of subjects.

It appears that most overcrowding occurs in Polish homes and in those families which experience financial difficulties. Interestingly, too, one-fifth of the Australian families interviewed suffer from unsuitable housing conditions.

Although some homes have been classified as overcrowded according to the accepted definition, people who live in them do not see them as such. One Polish mother, a late arrival in Australia, considered her home roomy and comfortable and referred to it as a 'palace' in comparison with housing conditions she had to endure in communist Poland. The personal evaluation of the state of one's home obviously depends on private experiences and comparisons drawn from them. In this particular home two teenage daughters and their 20-year-old sister shared one small bedroom. The lounge, simply furnished, contained a shrine similar to shrines in small

Table 97 Authority in the studied homes

Authority in the homes	Polish	German	British	Australian	Total
Father's	3	3	—	2	8
Mother's	7	3	2	2	14
Shared authority	15	19	23	21	78
Total	25	25	25	25	100

Catholic Churches and it was there that the mother and her children worshipped twice a day.

Peculiar financial and housing conditions have a special impact on the balance of authority in the home. It emerges from Table 97 that in all homes, including Australian, the authority in the home regarding the upbringing of the children, family outings or home discipline is generally shared by the joint efforts of the marriage partners.

The seven mothers in the Polish group who have sole authority in the home are late arrivals and their homes are poor and overcrowded. It is in these homes that the role of the mother acquires extra significance, forcing her to take over the reins of family living.

In the immigrant homes mothers and children expressed their views on the quality of authority in the home. (See Question 7 of the Immigrant Mothers' Schedule and Questions 12 and 15 in the Immigrant Children's Schedule, Appendix I.) The fathers were not asked their opinions on the subject, lest they were petulant about having their authority questioned, an authority which allegedly is always in their hands. Since views on authority in the home were congruous for those who expressed them, it is unnecessary to give their answers separately. The evidence suggests that only in very few homes do immigrant fathers have exclusive authority and there is an obvious convergence between the immigrant and the Australian homes. We can now continue with case histories of some Polish homes.

Polish Families Case Study of an Advanced Family

None is available.

Polish Families Case Study of a Progressing Family, arrived 1960*Father:* Aged 41-50, Catholic, carpenter.*Mother:* Aged 41-50, Catholic, domestic.*Daughter:* Aged 18, Catholic, still at school.*Son:* Aged 14, Catholic, still at school.

Father: (in translation) The food we eat at home is typically Polish and I know no other food so this is the only kind I really like. My children eat Polish food and they have no choice in the matter. At work I speak in English, at home all the time I speak in Polish. My children speak in English, it is easier for them that way, and I have nothing against this. To me, however, they always speak in Polish. I would want my three children to be able to read and write in Polish, but the oldest one only is able to, the others don't try and there is little I can do about it now. I try and help them, but they are really not interested. I insist on them speaking Polish because the Polish language is their national language. We have no newspapers coming into the house at present, we used to in the past. The children never went to the Polish weekend school. I don't mind in the least that my children bring their Australian friends into the house. I am pleased with this. The home itself is Polish as Poles live in it and it can't be anything else.

We mix with migrants only, and it is better with migrants as we all know that Australia is not our country, our real country, and this is the thing we have in common. On the whole we have very few friends and nobody comes here to visit us. I feel much happier with migrants because of the language and for other reasons. We are all Europeans and we have the same customs and the same way of behaving. My children have mixed company and I don't mind that at all; they all still go to school.

I work mostly in the garden and watch TV. The way of living is really typically Polish and this is the way I like, as I was taught that way. My children don't go out a great deal, but I like them to play sport as much as they can. I like the Australian people, they are helpful and will do anything for you, our neighbours are really excellent. There is not one thing that I don't like in the Australians. There are good opportunities for making a good living here on very good wages. Although the culture of Australia may be lower than the Polish culture, for the people as a whole the culture

is more accessible, while in Poland it was always for the rich and the noble. I think we will stay in Australia for good, as I feel that I belong here, more than anywhere else. My children are growing up as Australians and this I am in favour of. The Australians have been good to us and I never suffered any prejudice nor did the family. You can't complain.

Mother: (in translation) I have a full-time job as a domestic in a hospital and I return home every day at 5 p.m. at night. My home is big enough for us and my husband always adds to it. We eat only Polish food and my children like it too. I only speak English at work, otherwise I speak Polish, when I meet Poles in the street or at any other time. The children speak English to each other, but to me they speak Polish and they have to because it is their language and I always correct them when they make mistakes. The home is typically Polish because of the language and customs. One only has to look at our back garden and one would know this. It has vegetables and fruit trees not just shrubs for decoration. It is more like a small property outside a Polish town.

We mix very little and the few friends we have are Poles. I like Australians also. We have been to an Australian party last week and it was very pleasant. I like their parties. I also approve of my children's Australian friends. I have little free time, as I work all day and have my housework to do after work. So I look at TV and read a bit. It is different from the Australian way, as my Australian neighbours run around playing sport and I don't do that. Then they come in and we chat; I like the Australian people, they are hospitable and always want to help you. Oh, yes, I agree the country is full of opportunities and has a great future in many respects. I think the Polish culture is higher, but then the Australian culture and the country are young, give them a chance. I feel that I belong to Australia and I want my children to grow up as Australians.

Daughter: I am still at school doing my leaving. I get a dollar a week pocket money and that is sufficient for me. I would say that there is the average amount of quarrelling between us children and between the parents. I don't have a great deal to say to my parents, but we get on well together just the same. My parents don't take us anywhere as we have no car. We eat Polish food and I like it better than any other food. I speak half Polish and half English at

home, but would prefer to speak only English, as it is easier for me and we are also surrounded by Australians. I can read and write in Polish and I lived in Poland until 1960. My parents don't have any real worries about my Polish. I am free to choose my own friends and they are made up of Australians and migrants both boys and girls. I watch TV, read books, go to parties and pictures. We are all naturalised, but I think that my parents are still very Polish, but I am an Australian and of this I am sure.

Son: I think both my parents are the bosses in our family. I talk to my father about fixing up my bike and to my mother about clothes, school work and so on. I have no major problems, I am a happy guy. They never take me anywhere and I go by myself to club parties, as I play soccer for the Polish Club Cracovia. I speak both languages at home, but want to speak English because I speak English better and I don't think that reading or speaking in Polish is really necessary. My mother is the one who makes a fuss about it. I mix with all sorts and I like mixed company. In the summer I go to the beach and in the winter I play soccer. I spend my free time the Australian way, to be in the Polish football team has nothing to do with it. English and Australians also belong to the team. My parents don't mind that I am an Australian, they are going that way themselves. I was born in Poland, but now I am an Australian. I would like to travel, but really to live here.

Polish Families **Case Study of a Conservative Family, arrived 1951**

Father: Aged 41-50, Catholic, labourer.

Mother: Aged 41-50, Catholic, not working.

Daughter: Aged 13, born in Australia, Catholic, still at school.

Father: (in translation) My home is typically Polish, it stands on Australian soil, but that is nothing, it is a typically Polish home. What makes it so, well the church pictures on every wall, a cross above every door of the house, the language we use and all the Polish customs. We eat Polish food and I personally would not eat any other food, no matter how good. I want my children to eat the same.

At work I speak English. With Poles in the street I speak Polish and when they come to my house we speak in Polish only. My children speak at home in both languages. To me I want them to

speak in Polish, but they speak in English too. Naturally I am keen for my children to speak, read and write in Polish. I do help them with this. The Polish weekend school takes place in my garage, a total of 18 children attend and my two girls go too. The children get Polish books from the Polish school and read them eagerly. We sometimes buy the Polish paper *Wiadomosci Polskie*. Yes, I do insist that they speak Polish and they know that they have to speak it. The Polish language will be useful to them wherever they are. I also insist so that the Polish language will be kept alive forever. I have nothing against the speaking of English, but they must know their own language first, which is the Polish language. Both of my daughters and my son speak, write and read in Polish very well.

I have nothing against my children bringing into my home Australian children, but in fact they don't, they don't mix with them. I have mixed company and make no distinction between nationalities. I also like Australians. I mixed with them right from the start, when I could not speak a word of English, but somehow we talked to each other okay. My children have mixed company at school and let them keep that way. I never had any trouble with them regarding company. My son has no girl-friend and he earns very good money. To us he pays nothing, I let him save his money and keep it in the bank for the future.

I spend my free time the Polish way. I work in the garden, but on the whole have little time. I am indifferent to the fact that my children play at school Australian sport, their other leisure is Polish. I have nothing against the Australian people, I like them, they are friendly, but they don't like us migrants. They are also lazy, they only wait for the foreigners to do all the hard work for them. They are poor workers and I would sack the lot in my factory if I had a chance. We are going to live here for good, and I can't stop my children from becoming Australians, they were born here and they can't remain Poles in the same sense as I am. I am a Pole and nothing can change that, all my thoughts are directed there. *Mother:* (in translation) I cook both Polish and Australian food. When the children grew up they demanded Australian food, so I had to prepare it, but I don't eat any of it. Away from home I speak both English and Polish. To Poles I meet I always speak in Polish. The children don't speak much English among themselves. To their father they are forced to speak in Polish and when he is

about, they must never use English. I want them to speak Polish at all times. They go to the Polish school and I help them with the Polish language a lot. I insist that they speak Polish and we often have arguments about this, when they forget.

My children have no Australian friends, they don't bring any home either. I don't know what they do at school or who they mix with there. I don't let them go anywhere out of the house, here I know what they are up to, so I don't let them out. I did not let my son go out until he was 18, and he is now 21 and that is why he is a good boy—no trouble. My home is typically Polish and I don't want to change it into an Australian home. I mix with Poles only and never see any Australians. Polish people have been in my home five times in the last month on a sort of neighbourly basis. You know people go to work nowadays and in particular the Polish women, so they don't come here very often. No Australians come into my home. I feel best with Poles, of course, they are our own people. I can't help that my children mix with Australian children. They teach these ways in high schools here to be friendly and to play with others. I can't help that, but I'd rather they stood alone without the Australians.

I have little leisure. I sew and don't go anywhere, my way of life is Polish very much so, I only know one way. The Australian women play sport and this is strange and silly to me. Unfortunately my children also play sport as Australians do, but there is nothing else for them to do, they can't play the Polish way, when they go to the Australian school. Australian parents are too free and easy with their children, not like back in Poland, where discipline was strict. I like the Australian people, however, they are very kind and I have had them for neighbours for about 12 years and they are very good to me. The thing that I have against them is that they are not interested in their children's education and they should be, as this country will develop fast and it will need a lot of educated people. But I am really not interested in Australia as I want to live in Poland and I want my children to remain Polish in every sense of the word. I tell my son to choose a Polish girl for a wife, but he will not listen to me. I belong with my heart to Poland, that we live here is nothing. My heart and thoughts are with Poland. I went there for a holiday two years ago and I live with my glorious memories of it now. I am resigned to my fate that I have to stay

in Australia. (In all there were three persons who went back to their home country for a holiday. Their experiences have now been described.)

Daughter: I talk to my father about school only. With my mother I talk about jobs around the house, about school, friends and everything. My father does not take us anywhere except to other Polish people's places and this is all. We get some Australian foods at home, but I prefer Polish food. On food we have no arguments at home. I speak Polish at home and like it that way, I also can write and read in Polish, I also attend the Polish school and find this quite interesting. My father is the one who forces us to speak Polish all the time and on this there is sometimes a lot of bother, when my sister and I speak English to each other. My parents don't allow that, not at home, at home we must speak Polish. Sometimes this is hard, when you have spoken English all day at school, you forget and this is not a crime, but my parents think it is. I have to be very careful and so does my sister or we get into serious trouble.

I have mixed friends at school, but I don't see much of them after. I stay at home mostly and read, do a bit of sewing, watch TV, listen to the radio and help mother out with the housework. I am also interested in photography, so I do some of the things Australian girls do and some of it is Polish. My parents are still very much Polish and I am the same, but also half Australian. I have to be both, you can't help that, living in a Polish home and attending an Australian school.

Polish Families **Case Study of an Advanced-Progressing Family, arrived 1950**

Father: Aged 41-50, Catholic, labourer (advanced).

Mother: Aged 41-50, Catholic, domestic on shift work (progressing).

Daughter: Aged 17, born in Australia, Catholic, still at school.

Father: (in translation) We eat all Australian food, and I like Australian food. The children of course eat in the Australian way. At work I speak in English and Polish. In the street to Poles I also speak the same, when Poles come to us we speak in Polish. All the three children speak in English and it is better for them to speak in English at home. Those children who speak Polish at home have

great difficulty with their English at school. I am not very keen for my children to learn how to read and write in Polish, Australia is their country, and I approve and want them to live the Australian way in every possible way. The home in which we live is both Polish and Australian as we eat Australian food and mix with Australians, but we keep certain Polish customs. I have contacts with migrants and Australians and really like it that way, but I prefer Australians as they are better mannered. You are happy with Poles only when they drink. In my free time I work around the house, as there is always something to do. I don't spend my time in the typically Australian way, but it is not Polish either. I want my children to be Australians as I like everything about Australia, it is a rich country, it has everything and there is plenty of work. I feel I belong here for good and want to live and bring up my children here.

Mother: (in translation) I work as a ward maid in a hospital doing shift work. In buying items for the house or the bringing up the children we decide together. I cook Polish and Australian food and it took me about ten years to get used to the Australian food, and personally I prefer Polish food, but I can't make my children eat it. At work I speak both English and Polish. With other Poles I always speak in Polish. The children speak English and to me they speak in both and that is all right with me. It would be good if they could write and read in Polish but you can't do it. My friends are Poles and they visited us four times last month. My children mix mostly with Australian children, so they should. I don't have much leisure, I work in the house and go to town sometimes. My children spend their free time the Australian way and I am quite in favour of this, as they are all educated here. One thing I don't like about Australians is that the parents let their children leave school at the age of 14 and they don't bother about them after that. The children are left to themselves and that is why youth here is so demoralised.

The country as such is a good place to live in, but the culture is not very high and its level should rise in the near future. My children want to become full Australians and it is impossible to stop them anyway this is their own country, I too feel that I belong to Australia fully as the Australians have done me no harm.

Daughter: We don't quarrel in the house either my parents or the

children. I confide in my mother a lot, I tell her about my friends, school and the clothes I should wear. I think my father rules the house and I would not say that he is terribly interested in giving us a good time. We never go anywhere much. I eat the food cooked at home and that is partly Polish and partly Australian and I like the mixed food. At home I speak English and I want to speak it, but I don't mind when my parents speak in Polish to each other or when other Poles come here and speak Polish too. I am not at all interested to learn to read and to write in Polish I can see no purpose in this. I can't read any of the Polish papers and nobody makes me and nobody insists that I use the Polish language at home or otherwise.

For friends I have migrants and Australians and that makes it interesting. My parents let me choose my own friends at all times. I watch quite a bit of TV. I also go dancing and swimming and play sport. I do as all Australian boys and girls do, so my leisure must be typically Australian, as I was born in Australia. I never go to Polish parties although my parents get invited, but we are not interested to mix with Poles. Despite this I think that my parents are still very Polish. I feel completely Australian and would not like to be anything else.

Polish Families **Case Study of an Advanced-Conservative Family, arrived 1950**

Father: Aged 41-50, Catholic, foreman in factory (advanced).

Mother: Aged 41-50, Catholic, not working (conservative).

Son: Aged 16, born in Australia, Catholic, apprentice.

Father: (in translation) We started eating Australian food when the children started going to high school. I personally prefer both foods. At work I speak English as I am a foreman and have Australian workers under me. With Poles in the street I speak Polish, at home I speak Polish with other Poles and with my family. The children speak in English and that I don't mind, why should I, they will make much better progress at school if they speak English alone. They can't explain things to me properly in Polish so I want them to speak English to me, all the more that English is more widely used. I don't want them to learn how to write or read in Polish for that reason. We have no Polish newspapers coming into the

house and so nobody reads any. All my children went to the Polish weekend school and my youngest son still goes. I like my children to bring into my home Australian friends and ways of living typical of Australians, but our home is partly Polish and partly Australian, I built it myself.

I mix with Australians and I prefer Australians, I can say anything to an Australian, but would have to be careful with a Pole. When we first came to Australia and lived in rented rooms, the Australians were very good to us. They took us to meet their relations and all of them were pleasant to us. For real friends I have Poles and they visited us four times last month and the Australians three times. I feel equally happy with Australians as with Poles. My children have mixed company and I like them to mix with Australians. My daughter married an Australian.

I work around in the house also in the garden and watch TV. I would say my way of spending my time is completely Australian and the Australian way is easier and more pleasant to me. I approve of my children playing Australian sport and spending their leisure the way Australians do. I appreciate in the Australians most their happy attitude to life. There is nothing I don't like in them. Australia is a good country, here we own our own home. My children are being educated and while training they get paid for it. You can get ahead much more here than in any other country. The Polish culture is much higher in respect of music and paintings. The Australians have a much longer way to go, they are just now learning. I want to live in Australia, about this I am quite sure. I want my children to be Australian, they have it good here. I feel that I belong to Australia without any reservations.

Mother: (in translation) I don't go to work. We eat at home mixed Australian and Polish food and I now like it that way. I would like my children to eat Polish food, but they refuse. I mostly speak in Polish even when I am away from home. The children speak in English and it is no use minding that, it is now too late to try to do anything about it. I try to help them, but they don't care. I want them to speak Polish. They can always learn English, there is plenty of scope for that. It is a real advantage to speak both languages. The home is really both, but more Polish the way we live and things we do. I only mix with Poles and no others and all my friends are Poles, and they visited me seven times in the last four

weeks. My children mix with both. For leisure I go into town and to my Polish neighbours for a chat. I know the Polish way better and I amuse myself that way. I am indifferent towards my children's leisure, they can do what they like, but often I get annoyed, when I see how easily they spend their money. It breaks my heart. I had to save and count every penny, when they were small, and the going was tough. In this respect the children copy the Australians and I don't like it. You want to save your money for a rainy day.

I like Australians, they are good people, better than the ones back home. Life is better here too. I had meat once a week back home. I was very poor and here I live in luxury in comparison. I know very little about the country here and its opportunities and also know very little about the cultures, so I can't comment, I only went to school for 3 years. I want to live here. I came from Russia and there is nothing to go back there for. I have to approve of my children's assimilation, but I too would like to assimilate, as I have been here for so many years, but have not tried very hard to do so.

Son: I am an apprentice and I like my job very much, but the money could be better. In my home there was enough quarrelling about my sister marrying an Australian. I don't talk to my mother much, and little to my father except about cars and my job. I follow Australian rules football. I eat both Australian and Polish food and like both very much. At home I speak Polish and English, but would like to speak only in English, but mother does not understand any other language except Polish and Russian so I must speak Polish to her. I went to the Polish weekend school, but I did not like it, it was boring and I always wanted to play sport instead. I am keen on car racing and Polish and Australian boys join in and so does my older brother. I like the Australian way of living and so I seldom go to Polish parties and do not meet many Poles at all. My parents don't mind that I am growing up as an Australian, although my mother is still very European, but my father is more of an Australian. I am really half a Pole and half an Australian, you can't really help being both and I think I will stay that way.

Polish Families **Case Study of a Progressing-Conservative Family, arrived 1959**

Father: Aged 41-50, Catholic, fitter (progressing).

Mother: Aged 41-50, Catholic, domestic on shift work (conservative).

Daughter: Aged 13, Catholic, still at school.

Father: (in translation) We started eating Australian food when my wife started working, it was quicker to prepare and now we can afford to eat Australian foods as this is better food than Polish food, but my children now refuse to eat Polish food altogether and over this we have arguments at home. At work I speak in English only, I have to. With some Poles in the street I speak Polish, with others, who pretend that they are not Poles any more, I speak in English. The children speak in English between themselves, to their mother they speak in Polish as she does not understand any English. To me they speak mostly in English but it would be better if they spoke to me in Polish, as I understand it so much better. I have been in Australia for 10 years and still don't understand English that well and I never will. A few Polish books and newspapers come into my home, but I read mostly English mechanical books as I need them for my work. I don't insist that the children speak Polish at home. That would not be right. When I first came to Australia, the teacher called me in and told me that my children will never learn English properly, if we kept on talking Polish at home. It is no use insisting, they can't use Polish at school. My doors are open to everybody and I don't mind Australians coming here, but my wife does. Where we live no Poles are around and so we mix with Australians and I try to live the way they do. I mix with them and with migrants too. I like to mix with those who are decent people, but it is easier for me with Poles because of the language. Some three Australians came to see me last month and only one Pole. I feel really happier with the Australians, but the language is the problem. Only one of my daughters earns a living. She was a good pupil and the teacher found her a job. She pays only four dollars a week for board, because I still want to help her, so I don't take too much from her.

In my free time I study mechanical books, so that my work will be easier. I am always learning about mechanics. I don't quite approve of the way the Australians spend their free time. On Saturday afternoon they go to the bar or play sport. I don't like that. I don't mind the children mixing with Australians. The Aus-

tralian people are good, kind people. On the problem of cultures I have little to say. I like it here and I am going to stay here. It is no use going back to Poland. Living conditions are no good there for the workers. In regard to hospitals and medical care it is much better here. I want my children to be Australians, but they must not forget their Polishness. I feel sometimes that the Australians treat you as something inferior, but nevertheless I like it here and I feel that I am half Australian and half Polish.

Mother: (in translation) I work in the hospital washing dishes and do four shifts a day. My three girls have one bedroom, they are all grown up. In the house I decide on everything. I only like Polish food but the girls often cook for themselves real Australian dishes. They don't like the food I cook. On this we have trouble in the family. I can only speak Polish and not a word of English, so at work I don't speak at all I just wash the dishes. We have grandparents in Poland and I would like my children to speak, write and read in Polish, but only the oldest one can, the others refuse to learn it. I brought some Polish books from Poland with me, and I try to teach them, but they don't want to learn. I don't have to insist on them speaking in Polish, they have to speak it to me, because I speak no English. My home is typically Polish, I pray in Polish, my children pray with me and as long as I live I must be a Pole. The only thing that is Australian, is my oldest daughter's boy-friend and I can't help that. I keep contacts more with Polish people as I can't talk English. I feel happy with Poles. The girls have Australian friends only and I don't mind that, when they are good.

I have a garden, some hens. I do the housework and I pray a lot. All that I do is Polish and it will be so to my death. The children are in this country and I can't help that they are growing up as Australians and I don't like their short skirts and the makeup they use. They say I am too old fashioned and over this we fight. I like the Australian people, they are friendly and helpful and sometimes they are better than our own people, what I don't like about the 'Australians is that they do a lot of work on Sunday. For the children in Australia there is much more opportunity in every way. I don't know anything about the Polish culture or the Australian culture. I want to live here, I am sorry that my daughter is going out with an Australian, I would prefer a Polish man for every one

of my daughters. I belong to Poland fully and always will do. When we lived in the bush the Australian children used to hit me and call me names. That upset me very much. Now we have peace living in the city.

Daughter: I am the youngest in the family and we sisters fight sometimes. I talk to my father about my school work and boy-friends, he never wants me to have any and my mother is the same. Our parents never take us anywhere, we go by ourselves. I am not interested in football and at home we eat mixed Polish and Australian food, but I like only Australian food. I speak English to my father and sisters, but to my mother I speak in Polish. My mother is the one who makes us speak Polish even to each other. I am free to choose my own friends. Sometimes I go out with them, but my mother does not like it, so I stay at home and listen to the radio, collect stamps, play basketball and listen to records. I don't want to spend my time the Polish way, the way my mother does, that is silly, she wants me to study all the time or do the housework, and that is not much pleasure. I also don't like the Polish parties as I can't understand the people. Both parents are still very Polish, but my father less so. I feel completely Australian and often feel ashamed of the way my parents talk and act, it makes me feel unhappy. I want to stay in Australia for good and to travel later.

The mode of living in the various types of homes

Perfect relationships between parents and children can generally be conceived as those where there is, on the one hand, goodwill and generous mutual assistance and, on the other, a practice of resolving differences without strain or friction. In the present study we are dealing with two types of friction. The first arises from differences between immigrant parents and children on assimilation issues, here called culture tensions. The second arises from difficulties that most parents and children have regardless of assimilation, and are called general tensions.

To assess the prevalence and importance of culture and general tensions in the homes, we sought information from the head of the family, the mother, and every interviewed child. Since answers of parents and children on tension were almost identical, they may be presented in a composite table (see Table 98).

Table 98 Number of homes with and without tension

Total homes Type	Culture										General									
	Polish					German					British					Total				
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Yes	No	Total
11 Advanced	—	—	1	6	—	4	1	10	—	—	4	3	2	2	6	5				
9 Progressing	—	2	—	2	3	2	3	6	1	1	—	2	1	4	2	7				
17 Conservative	6	7	2	1	—	1	8	9	6	7	1	2	—	1	7	10				
19 Adv.-Prog.	—	1	2	8	2	6	4	15	—	1	—	10	3	5	3	16				
6 Adv.-Cons.	2	2	—	2	—	—	2	4	1	3	1	1	—	—	2	4				
13 Prog.-Cons.	2	3	—	1	6	1	8	5	—	5	—	1	2	5	2	11				
75 Total	10	15	5	20	11	14	26	49	8	17	6	19	8	17	22	53	13			

What do these figures mean? Taking culture tensions first, twice as many Polish and British homes are involved as German homes. It is also clear that tensions between parents and children on cultural issues occur most frequently in homes where one or both parents are opposed to assimilation. This is to be expected, since the general tendency for children is to assimilate and they therefore encounter difficulties with parents who are trying to preserve ethnic customs. Although the number of Polish children with very high assimilation scores is relatively small, nonetheless the disparity between their own and their parents' assimilation is wide enough for them to take a stand against their parents' non-assimilative tendencies. The parents and children argue most about the ethnic food, then language, where parents insist on the ethnic language when children prefer to use English. The British homes are troubled by children speaking Australian slang. In only two homes did parents disapprove of Australian leisure for children and in only one home did Polish parents object to their children's Australian companions.

Turning now to general tension we include Australian families for comparison purposes. Figures in Table 98 show that this particular kind of tension is most frequent in Australian homes. It occurs in only one-third of the Polish and British homes and least of all in the German homes. Despite this uneven distribution there are certain contentious issues typical for all families. One of them relates to children wanting to leave school in order to get jobs to earn money. Tension between parents and children on this particular issue existed in four Polish, three German, three British, and three Australian homes. In all of these homes the boys especially were anxious to leave school to become financially independent. One German mother states her case: 'My younger son wants to leave school and get a job. He sees his brother earning big money and he wants the same. He is also going around with Australian boys and they too cause their parents worry by wanting hard cash. None of them are interested in learning much. We tried to keep him at school. We talked and argued about it, but it is no good'.

In two isolated cases parents object to the boy-girl-friend relationship, claiming that their children are too young. This happened in one Polish home, involving a schoolboy and his Australian girl-friend. It was not a case of discriminating against their son's com-

panion, but a deep concern on the parents' part about their son's scholastic progress. The Australian parents in the second home simply disapproved of their 16-year-old daughter's semi-permanent relationship with a member of the opposite sex. In addition, bad company, evaluated as such by parents, caused discord in one Polish, one German, one Australian, and two British families. Staying out late at night, spending too much money, demands by children for better food were also points of disagreement.

Food is most controversial in British homes where problems arise mostly regarding the quantity and quality of food and not about English or Australian food.

There was very little discord between parents and children regarding the payment of board by youngsters earning a wage. Two factors were responsible for this. Firstly, in the Polish and German homes the situation hardly arose because payment for board is the exception rather than the rule. Secondly, in the British and Australian homes, there is a tacit agreement between parents and working children that some payment must be made for the food and shelter provided. Both parties keep to their contract and no quarrelling results.

In one British home, however, changes in original agreements caused a fair amount of unhappiness. When the mother increased payments for board owing to rising costs of food a crisis arose as described by the father: 'There was plenty of fighting over the money they had to pay in the last few weeks. They thought we over-charged them, so the three of them left home and live in a flat in town and fend for themselves'.

Where relationships are amicable regarding this issue, they are based on a principle explained by one Australian mother: 'They pay one-third of their wage and that is set. They sure get well treated for one-third of their wage'. Deep disapproval of such procedures is expressed by one Polish father: 'I take nothing from them. I am not an Australian to take money from my children'.

Not only actual but also potential frictions were investigated. It was envisaged, for example, that immigrant parents faced with the prospects of their children marrying Australians might oppose such unions and provoke hostility in the home. Australian parents also have to consider possibilities of having immigrants as their sons- or daughters-in-law. To evaluate parents' future reactions to such

Table 99 Parents' preferences for their children to marry Australians or members of their own ethnic group

Preference for	Polish		German		British		Australian		Total
	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	
Own ethnic group	9	14	1	3	—	1	—	—	28
Does not mind one way or the other	16	11	24	21	24	23	21	24	164
Australians	—	—	—	1	1	1	4	1	8
Total	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	200

eventualities we asked them if they would mind their children marrying outside their own group. (See Question 60 of the Immigrant Parents' Interview Schedule and Question 48 of the Australian Parents' Interview Schedule, Appendix I.)

It seems the Polish parents, and particularly the Polish mothers, are most anxious that their sons and daughters marry Poles rather than Australians. As mentioned before, such desires have little to do with the Polish parents' animosity towards Australians, but with their determination to keep the Polish group intact. Support for this view is expressed in the words of one Polish father who said: 'I would prefer Poles for my children's marriage partners. It would be better for us to remain without foreign influences'.

More precisely, some Polish parents actively engage in glorifying their own group to make it more attractive to their children. One mother explained: 'I would very much like my future son-in-law or daughter-in-law to be a Pole, but I really have no final say in the matter. I am continually impressing on my children the heroic deeds of the Polish nation and let them make up their minds and see who is more worthy to be married to, a Pole or an Australian'. It may be added in passing that in two Polish families two of their daughters married Australian boys. Such a situation could never arise in the home of an unassimilated father who states: 'My son has to marry a Polish girl. It has to be. An Australian girl marries seven times and gets divorced just as often'.

Two German girls also married Australians, but the German parents display a far more tolerant attitude to their children marrying Australians than do the Polish parents. The few German parents with opposite inclinations are themselves reluctant to

assimilate, and are disinclined to permit any intrusion from Australians into their ethnically bound homes. Nearly all German parents have a liberal attitude towards the choice of marriage partners by their children, being concerned mostly with the personal qualities of their future sons- or daughters-in-law, rather than with their ethnic background. The same applies to those other parents who are not emphatic about the preservation of their own ethnic group. There was one highly assimilated German mother, who went further than that and expressed a direct preference for her young son to marry an Australian girl.

With the British parents the case is very similar. Practically all the British parents are open-minded about the background of their children's marriage partners, and two are so pro-Australian that they want to acquire Australians as new members of their family. There was, however, one British mother who was not half as enthusiastic and she said: 'Deep down I would prefer them to marry somebody English'. Her daughter is already married to an Australian and she has a son still going to school. In another British home three sons married Australian girls. In two more homes a daughter in one and a son in the other married Australians.

Characteristically positive attitudes to intermarriage prevail in the 'advanced' and 'progressing' homes and they apply to those parents in other homes who are themselves assimilated. There were, however, many unassimilated parents who reluctantly consented to mixed marriages either on the grounds of inevitability or their lack of control over the situation.

Looking at Australian parents we find that they are quite in agreement with their children marrying immigrants. There were only four fathers and one mother who objected to such unions and these Australian parents are in general prejudiced against immigrants.

So far we have talked about relationships between parents and children and how they vary in the different types of homes. The atmosphere in any home is determined, however, by other relationships as well, such as those between parents themselves and between the children themselves. To get at these last two relationships we asked the immigrant and the Australian children to comment on them (see Question 11 of the Immigrant Children's Interview Schedule, Appendix I).

Table 100 Names of institutions and families who sought help from them

Name of institution	Polish	German	British	Australian	Total
The Child Welfare Department	1	3	1	1	6
The Catholic Welfare Association	2	—	1	—	3
The Child Guidance Clinic	1	—	2	1	4
The Good Neighbour Council	2	1	1	—	4
Total	6	4	5	2	17

The Australian children, both boys and girls, stated in half of the cases that the amount of quarrelling between their parents is about the same as in other families they know well. The same applied to quarrelling between brothers and sisters at home. The other half of the Australian children considered quarrelling to be less than in average homes.

From reports of the immigrant children one gets the impression that parents in all homes, regardless of type, live fairly amicably, but in homes where both or one parent are little assimilated children tend to quarrel with each other much more often than in homes with well assimilated parents.

Families with one or two unassimilated parents, we find, sometimes belong to the category designated as 'problem families'. In the theoretical introduction to this study (see p. 7) we defined 'problem families' as families which sought assistance from welfare agencies in Perth, because they were unable to cope with problems of everyday living. We then listed a number of institutions which offer help to such people. (See Question 63 of the Immigrant Parents' Interview Schedule, Appendix I.) Although some of these families were at the time of interview quite resilient, it was thought that an investigation in retrospect might shed more light on the dynamics of their family living over a span of time.

Twelve of the seventeen 'problem families' belonged to the type 'conservative' or 'progressing-conservative'. Since there are thirty such homes (see Table 95), it means that nearly half of these homes consist of families who inadequately cope with everyday problems

and have to rely on outside assistance. The number of 'problem families' amongst all the other specified types of homes is five out of seventy which is just over 7 per cent. It would seem, on the basis of our limited material, that homes with unassimilated parents are a greater burden to the community than homes with assimilated parents.

All the six Polish 'problem families' are of the 'conservative' type, with the exception of one where the father is 'progressing' and the mother is 'conservative'. Help was sought by this family from the Good Neighbour Council on account of aged parents, who had difficulty in obtaining an old age pension through official channels. The young people applied for help because they were financially incapable of supporting their parents any longer.

The same sort of assistance was required in another Polish home, the mother of which states: 'The Good Neighbour Council did not help. We were seeking a pension for my old mother. They said my brother-in-law brought her out and he is responsible for her. My mother has been here for only two years and we came ten years ago. I want my mother to come and live with us, but I have seven people to feed and can't afford to keep my mother for nothing, so we asked for help but didn't get it. I run this home and take care of everything but it is pretty tough going with little money'.

Two other families, late arrivals, are struggling hard to make ends meet. Both of these families are under agreement with the Catholic Welfare Association to make regular weekly repayments of money borrowed for fares from Poland to Australia.

In the case of one family the Child Guidance Clinic had to step in some years ago to take over a severely delinquent boy, who was eventually sent to a reformatory. The Child Welfare Department usually gives financial assistance to families with children whose fathers are unemployed or too ill to work. The last Polish family received such assistance in the late fifties when the father was out of work.

The British are the next largest group of 'problem families'. Here the picture is slightly different from the Polish homes. Of the five British homes in question, two belong to the type called 'advanced-progressing' and the third is an 'advanced' home. This last home is of particular interest, since it faces difficulties which have nothing to do with migration or assimilation; their youngest

son is a backward child and is under constant surveillance by the Child Guidance Clinic.

The same institution has also been instrumental in helping with the severe difficulties in another British home, where a son and a daughter committed serious crimes. The parents of these children expressed gratitude to that institution and the local church people for help in dire circumstances. The father of the family added these words to explain the situation: 'All this was happening a few years ago, and it was the assistance I got from the Australian people there and then, that made me accept this country without reservations'.

The third family of this group turned to the Catholic Welfare Association because of financial circumstances, to quote the father: 'I was off sick for seven weeks with no money coming in. The Social Services pension does not keep body and soul together, and this needs overhauling in Australia—very much so'.

There were two more British 'problem families', but these belonged to the 'progressive-conservative' type. In one of them the father is 'progressive' and the mother 'conservative', in the other the opposite applies. The father in the first home turned to the Good Neighbour Council for help with payment for accommodation and his appeal was turned down. The Child Welfare Department was involved with the second home, where the young son stole goods at a private school at which he was a pupil.

Turning now to the German families, we find that the four 'problem families' consist of two belonging to the 'advanced-progressing' type. Here was a case of a sick mother who was unable to pay a large hospital bill. She made unsuccessful approaches for assistance to the Good Neighbour Council, and eventually took the following action: 'I asked a German minister who is now in charge of a Methodist Church in Melbourne. He collected the money from his congregation and paid my hospital bill'. Although the Good Neighbour Council assists immigrants with many other matters, the families cited were real welfare cases.

Help from the Child Welfare Department was received by the second family of the same assimilative type. Severe kidney trouble kept the father away from work and to alleviate the children's hardship, money was sent to the home for several weeks.

The last two German 'problem families' consist of one which

is of the 'conservative' type and the other of the 'progressing-conservative' type. Both families received financial assistance from the Child Welfare Department while the fathers were temporarily unemployed.

An identical situation arose in the case of one Australian family. In this instance the mother suffered from nervous disability and her three young children were being looked after by the Child Guidance Clinic. The Australian families are, according to our definition of 'problem families', numerically the smallest when compared with the immigrant families studied.

Many children in 'conservative' homes resent their parents' lack of assimilation and the home conditions that result from it. As there are more Polish than German or British 'conservative' homes, it is not surprising to find many Polish children in this position. As many as eighteen of them directly stated their disapproval expressed by some in this manner: 'I resent my father's broken English, he does not want to learn and it is not possible to help him. He lives in Australia, but his heart and soul are still in Poland and he wants to go back there'. Another Polish boy remarked: 'I dislike them both because they always argue with each other about us growing away from their Polish customs'.

Mothers in particular come in for a lot of criticism, as can be seen from the answer of one teenage girl: 'Mother can't understand us very well and she does not try. We tell her this is not Poland and we can't be brought up in Australia the way she was brought up in Poland ages ago. She thinks it is silly and too modern to go to the pictures, talk to a boy or visit friends. This causes a great deal of unhappiness to us girls, so we stick together and fight mum. She also makes us pray every day with her and this takes a lot of time. I also have nothing to wear and I feel ashamed when I go out, which is not often, as Mum does not like it. My mother does not realise any of this and I am really angry'.

Five of the German children resent their parents also but for slightly different reasons. Two boys complained that their fathers drink too much and others were annoyed that their mothers made them speak German. Only two British children resented their parents, one disliked his father's Yorkshire accent and the other disapproved of his father who overplays the role of a 'dinkum Aussie'.

Table 101 Type of football followed by the Polish, German, and British boys and girls

Type of football	Polish		German		British		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Australian rules	9	5	12	2	12	6	46
Soccer	5	5	5	—	2	—	17
Not interested in football	3	13	2	11	5	7	41
Total	17	23	19	13	19	13	104

Not only immigrant children, but Australian children too, readily admit their parents' shortcomings. Australian girls in particular are critical of their parents, since five of them made this quite clear in the following statements: 'I resent my parents because they are too strict'; 'They are old fashioned and don't understand the younger generation'; 'Dad has too much to drink and mum is always irritable'; 'My dad has a quick temper'; 'What I resent in my father most is that he is prejudiced against black people, any black people'.

Two Australian boys who also resent their parents gave quite different reasons for their attitudes: 'My mother left school in sixth grade and my father is the same. I feel out of place with them'; 'I resent this in them that they have not reached the educational standard I have'.

Mutual relationships between parents and children in the 'conservative' homes and homes where at least one parent is not assimilated seem to be generally poor and little communication takes place between family members. If in the other homes of the 'advanced' type sons and their fathers go out together to football, this is not so in the poorly assimilated homes. In none of them did the fathers participate in any of the sporting activities that their sons engaged in and this particularly applied to football which is so important to the immigrant boys, as revealed in Table 101.

Their interests are, however, not shared by their fathers, as shown in the statement of one Polish boy whose father is little assimilated: 'I play rugby and my father only picks me up after the game'. A German boy of advanced parents says in contrast: 'My father takes me frequently to soccer and Australian football and

Table 102 Children's attitude to attendance at ethnic parties and functions

Attitude	Polish			German		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Favourable	11	13	24	4	4	8
Indifferent	3	4	7	3	4	7
Unfavourable	2	1	3	6	—	6
Does not attend	1	5	6	6	5	11
Total	17	23	40	19	13	32

we go any time I want to go'. The same applied to the British boys with their fathers.

To Australian boys the question of fathers' assimilation obviously does not apply, but they also suffer from a sense of neglect, as far as their fathers' participation in their football activities is concerned. In five cases the boys reported weekly outings with their fathers to football matches but some of the boys who attend alone complained about their fathers' absence.

Australian children's interest in football is quite renowned, particularly in Western Australia, but it appears that boys not only follow or play Australian rules football but are also keen to watch rugby and soccer as played by immigrant teams. In all, seven of the Australian boys displayed a keen interest in football played in the non-Australian way.

If ethnically bound parents show little enthusiasm for their children's football activities, they further aggravate the home front by taking their children to functions and places which are typical of their ethnic group. Some Polish children with a low level of assimilation do not mind such outings, partly because their parents do not take them anywhere else, and partly because they appreciate the environment. German children, however, are not as favourably disposed, as is evident from Table 102. British children are omitted because the problem applied to only three children, one of whom liked going and the other two who did not approve of such entertainment.

Closely associated with the activities of the ethnic group is the weekend ethnic school, there being some for both Polish and

Table 103 *Children's attendance at the ethnic school*

Attendance at school	Polish			German		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Attends now	—	2	2	1	—	1
Did in the past	7	10	17	3	2	5
Never attended	10	11	21	15	11	26
Total	17	23	40	19	13	32

German immigrants in Perth. Children's attendance is shown in Table 103.

Children's past and present attendance at the ethnic school mirrors the parents' own degree of assimilation. The parents who remain little assimilated make their children go to the ethnic school, while those who are well assimilated never send them there; this applies to both Polish and German parents. The relatively poor attendance by children at present is due to the fact that many children are too old to attend and that some of the Polish schools have closed down.

The pressure exercised by parents on their children to go to the ethnic school often produced contrary effects, as reflected in the children's lack of commitment and interest in the activities of such schools.

Table 104 *Children with experience of the ethnic school and their attitude to it*

Attitude	Polish			German		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Favourable	4	5	9	—	—	—
Indifferent	1	2	3	2	1	3
Unfavourable	2	5	7	2	1	3
Total	7	12	19	4	2	6

It is quite possible that some of the friction between parents and children emanates from parental insistence that their children attend, even when the children are not keen to go.



We now come to that aspect of children's behaviour which has an anti-social connotation and is termed here delinquency. We have previously discussed the method to be used here for the study of delinquency (see pp. 6-7) and have explained the advantages of the 'general population' method. It is now opportune to elucidate its necessity. There is in Western Australia a dearth of reliable statistics giving delinquency by ethnic origin, and it is impossible to get information on the number of Polish or German children who are classified as delinquents. Delinquents in Western Australia are listed in alphabetical order by their names, and their files are kept by the Child Welfare Department in Perth.

Because of this there was no alternative but to resort to the method described, and to execute it we checked the names of all the children participating in the study against the alphabetical lists of delinquents kept by the Child Welfare Department to ensure whether they were delinquent or not. The task was formidable, but it was worth the effort, as it gave official confirmation of answers received from children and their parents. In other words the material collected on delinquency in this study is based on three separate and independent sources all of which fully complement each other.

There is one more drawback to the study of delinquency here which must be mentioned. Only one year, namely 1967, was taken as the testing period, and the shortcomings of such an approach are quite obvious, since it tells us nothing about the children's delinquent behaviour in its historical perspective.

Ideally, every child's name should have been followed up in the records of the local Child Welfare Department to see if his name

appears in such records, noting the age of the child, the nature of his crime, and the time at which it occurred. Then the children whose names were not on the register could be safely classified as non-delinquents, and for others there would be a comprehensive account of delinquency throughout their life until the time of the commencement of this study. Unfortunately such an approach was beyond the boundaries of this study for two main reasons. First, and most important, full information about delinquents in Western Australia is not available at the official level, especially for years much earlier than 1967. Secondly, it would have been quite impossible within the scope of this study to deal with such a vast amount of work, even if access to official information were possible. Such an attempt would be proper in a study strictly devoted to delinquency; this study makes no such claim. Instead, it is only a modest attempt to glance at one of the many aspects of children's life. The year 1967 was therefore chosen as an illustrative device rather than an exhaustive presentation of the children's delinquent behaviour.

Each parent and each child in every family was asked to report on every incident of delinquency as it occurred during 1967, which was selected for comparative purposes to see which ethnic origin of children contributed most to delinquency. Answers of all subjects proved to be fully trustworthy. Any delinquent behaviour prior to 1967 was also recorded, in order to shed more light on any additional maladjustment of families and the repercussions of past delinquency on present living.

Apart from recording the number of possible delinquents for each sample of children for the year 1967, the survey also examined certain characteristics related to delinquency. Such an approach to the study of delinquency is called the multiple factor theory.

There are other theories of delinquency, notably the 'differential association' theory of crime put forward by Sutherland (1947). According to Sutherland, crime is the result of environment. To eliminate crime, all that is needed is a change in the environment, so as to give the delinquent 'different associations' with positive norms as contrasting with the negative social norms they experience in their original milieu. Cressey (1954: 29), who also adheres to this principle, thus summarises the theory: 'The differential association

theory . . . holds in essence, that criminality is learned in interaction with others in a process of communication'.

A serious attack on the theory is made by S. Glueck (1956: 97) who blames its inventors for the dismissal 'of obvious differences in the somatic, temperamental and characterological make-up of individuals subjected to a superficially similar environment'. He then goes on to specify personality factors of delinquents, describing them temperamentally as restlessly energetic, impulsive, extrovert, and destructive. In attitude they are hostile, defiant, resentful, stubborn, and non-submissive to authority. Psychologically they tend to the direct, to the concrete rather than to the symbolic. Socio-culturally they belong to homes of little understanding and affection, and of no moral fibre. Glueck rejects the one factor sociological theory and concludes: 'Thus the enigmatic question of whether one factor or another "causes" delinquency is shown to be an unsound one . . . If the total weight of pressures to anti-social behaviour exceeds the total strength of inhibitory forces, the person commits a crime' (p. 105). To Glueck, all behaviour is conditioned by both biological and socio-cultural influences.

Very much in vogue at present is the sub-cultural theory of delinquency, which was developed in full by Cohen (1955) from ideas previously expressed by Thrasher (1937) and Whyte (1949). Cohen insists that working-class youth in America suffers from a deep sense of frustration because it cannot cope with the achievement orientated values of its middle-class counterpart. Working-class youth therefore leaves the field of competition and striving, typical of the normal society, and forms its own sub-culture. This sub-culture is a delinquent sub-culture, where theft is committed not for the value of the stolen goods, but for the status it gives the thief in the eyes of his comrades. Vandalism is a way of defying the dominant culture of the middle classes, which instil the values of success at school and at home. The delinquent sub-culture develops its own standards of behaviour and it gives its members a feeling of belonging and self-esteem. Some British criminologists also subscribe to the theory (Ferguson, 1952; Mays, 1952).

Controversial views on the same theory are expressed by other British criminologists. Downes (1966) is sceptical of previous findings reached both in England and in America. He contends that the scene in England is quite different as far as working-class youth of

Britain is concerned. In his study he found no gangs amongst them in the sense described by American scholars. Admittedly, working-class boys do commit crimes in England, but do not continue with them for long. The youth studied does not at all concern itself with problems of self-failure or status frustration. On the contrary, it seems to conform to the solidly established working-class values and identify with them.

Of special interest is a comment made by Elkind (1967), who does not propose a theory of delinquency, but treats the social factors of it, as they apply to some faulty attitudes of parents in their relationships with children. This author maintains that for some children delinquency is a direct manifestation of a long-standing emotional disturbance, caused by parents' demands for academic and athletic achievement. Parents insist on too much homework and many of them compel their children to adhere to middle-class norms for the sake of preserving their own position in the community. Boys then sabotage their parents by stealing cars and girls by getting pregnant. The author states that parents are blind to their own faults and persecute children for their bad deeds. He summarises his ideas in stating: 'the pathology exists in parents, the symptoms appear in the children' (p. 83).

Burt (1945: 4), like Glueck (1956), shifts the emphasis from outside factors back to the young offender. He says: 'A crime is not a detached or separable fact, self-contained and self-subsisting. It is only a symptom. It is a mental symptom with a mental origin'. The author is fully aware of outside variables contributing to delinquency and calls for a thorough investigation of these in stating: 'The investigator must survey the child's whole social setting . . . the home in which he is living, the companions with whom he plays, the opportunities and temptations that beset him, the efficiency of the restraint that should hold him back, the success or failure of the superintendency that his parents are able to bestow' (p. 7). After enumerating a legion of other factors which cause delinquency, he finally concludes with a remark pointing to each individual who may contravene the law: 'It is the personal reaction to a given situation that makes a man a criminal, not the situation itself. It is not bad surroundings alone that create delinquency, but the working of these bad surroundings on the thought and feelings of a susceptible mind' (p. 188).

This summary of theories and special thoughts on delinquency has necessarily to be scanty. They were discussed as a background only to justify the choice of the multiple factor theory as the most appropriate for the material at hand. The study of sub-cultures or of personality factors could well form the subject matter of a separate investigation, while some factors which may cause delinquency are available in the material gathered on the various aspects of the children's daily living.

A vast array of factors alleged to cause delinquency is listed under the multiple factor theory. Only some of them are studied here. To make them more amenable for analysis they are divided into two major groups. The first contains those specifically applicable to immigrant children. The second covers those associated with delinquency at large. The first group are further divided into two sub-sections, one which applies to children as second generation immigrants, and the other which points to the relationship between delinquency and general matters of migration. The following sections set out these factors *seriatim*, together with a summary of the arguments of those putting them forward as causes of delinquency, and with a word on the extent to which the findings of this survey in Perth confirm or deny these arguments.

Delinquency factors associated with the status of being a second generation immigrant. Under this heading come two factors. Eisenstadt (1951) found one in his study of delinquent immigrant children in Israel when he showed empirically that 50 per cent of his delinquent children came from homes where both parents or the father alone failed to identify with the host culture. He remarks: 'those parents who identify themselves with the social system and its values tend to transfer this identification to their children and to orient the children towards the new environment and its social demands. Even if they themselves cannot effectively teach the children the new skills and roles, they do not hinder, and may even encourage, such acquisition' (p. 41); positive attitudes of parents to the new country spill over to children's attitudes of respect for its social institutions and its code of law. In the Perth study under review there were seventeen homes where both parents were classified as conservative, that is, showing little progress in assimilation, and five homes where the fathers alone were conservative. None of the children from these

homes committed a delinquent act during 1967 though three children from two such homes were reported by their families to have committed delinquent acts in earlier years.

The second factor includes the home climate. Numerous students of delinquency stress tensions prevailing in the home as contributing to delinquency (Andry, 1960; Burt, 1945; Elkind, 1967; Lewis, 1954; Mays, 1952). More appreciably, delinquency arises where the tension in the home is of a cultural nature (Cohen, 1955; Smith, 1939; Stonequist, 1937). In the present study there were twenty-six homes with cultural tension and thirty-five homes with general tension, but there was no case of delinquency in any of these homes in 1967.

Causes of culture tensions in the immigrant home are discussed cogently by Nye (1958). He thinks that such tensions can develop because of parents who disapprove of their children's assimilation to the host culture. Children too can be responsible for such tensions, when they have advanced in assimilation to such a degree that they reject their parents for their ethnicity. In general terms, ignoring migrant homes, Nye provides empirical evidence to show that during adolescence juvenile behaviour is more closely related to the attitudes of the child towards the parents than of the parent towards the child. 'The child who definitely rejects the parent may indulge in delinquent behaviour with deliberate intent to injure the parent' (p. 71). Though the Perth study revealed tension between the generations there were no cases of delinquency resulting therefrom.

Delinquency variables associated with migration in general. Again there are only two variables under this rubric. Eisenstadt (1951) and Shoham *et al.* (1966) established empirically that many immigrant Israeli children who became delinquent had parents who had suffered discrimination from the host community. Many cases of discrimination were found in our survey, forty in all, but none of the children committed delinquent acts in the test year. Shoham also found that many children turned to delinquency where parents perceived a vast difference between their original culture and the Israeli culture. Of the 150 immigrant parents interviewed in Perth, 124 perceived the Australian Culture as inferior to their own; as there were no cases of delinquency in these homes in 1967 we can safely say that amongst this group there is no strong association

between the parents' inferior evaluation of the host Culture and delinquency on the part of their children.

Factors commonly related to delinquency without special reference to migration. 1. Most students of delinquency consider poverty as a major cause. Burt (1945) found a correlation of 0.67 between poverty and delinquency, and others (Liddell, 1967; Mays, 1952) emphasise its importance. Lander (1954), however, using a factor analysis method found no association between the two. Four of the homes in the Perth study may be classified as places of poverty, but no delinquency occurred in them.

2. Many authors consider that the low income of young people and their unstable pattern of employment force them into delinquency. In a more severe form unemployment as such is directly responsible. Burt (1945), Fleisher (1966), Shoham *et al.* (1966), Wallis and Maliphant (1967), all found a high correlation between delinquency and unemployment. In our survey seven of the forty-one working children declared that their earnings were insufficient but none of them became delinquent.

3. Overcrowding may also be a cause of delinquency. Burt (1945) considers a home to be overcrowded when more than two adults occupy one room. Two children under the age of 10 count as one adult. Burt found a correlation of 0.77 between overcrowding and delinquency for every borough in London. He further elaborates on the condition of overcrowding and analyses its impact on family living. In overcrowded homes he found early preoccupation with sexual topics and sexual malpractices between members of the same family. The close living together generated quarrels, and fathers and their sons went out of the home to ease their nerves. Having no room to play, the younger children went out into the street, which offers a chance for misdemeanours.

Yet, in another study conducted by Chapin (1951), overcrowding did not add to delinquency and the author suggests that this is not of great importance, since a high proportion of delinquency is found in spacious homes with plenty of finance. He admits that his findings are not unequivocal because other studies proved that improvement in the poor housing situation led to a reduction of delinquency.

In the Perth survey we encountered fourteen cases of overcrowd-

ing and in one of them a 17-year-old Australian was convicted in 1967 for stealing money left for the milkman by neighbours.

4. Cohen (1955) based his whole theory of the delinquent subculture on children's belonging to working-class people. He and others (Douglas *et al.*, 1966) found that working-class people produce the highest incidence of delinquency in the population. In our survey, almost all the parents whom we studied, being skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled workers, belong to the working class, but their children committed no delinquent acts in the test year, though four had earlier.

5. Andry (1960) made a special attempt to investigate the importance of poor father-authority in the home because he became impatient with the constant emphasis on the mother's role in delinquent studies. In well matched groups of delinquents and non-delinquents he found that fathers of delinquent boys are not the chief authority in the home. In the Perth survey we had fourteen homes in which the mothers instead of the fathers held the greatest power in the family, but in none of these homes were there any delinquents.

6. The father's status in the home has been studied from all angles by Andry (1960) who was specially interested in the son-father relationship as a factor in delinquency. Careful analysis showed that more boys became delinquents when their fathers are away from home a great deal. In addition, it showed that delinquent boys deeply felt the need for more contacts with their fathers. Apparently such contacts are crucial in boys' development; the author states: 'The child's life experience determines how far he develops the kind of character which enables him to function relatively smoothly in the matrix of society around him . . .' (p. 65). Experiences referred to imply a warm relationship with parents. In our survey there were thirty-seven fathers frequently absent from home owing to shift work, long hours of overtime, or work commitments which took them to distant places for months at a time. None of the sons committed delinquent acts in 1967.

7. Nye (1958) in America and Andry (1960) in England both agree that the more fathers take an interest in the boys' leisure pursuits the less are the children likely to become delinquents. Nye concludes: 'Frequency of attending ball games with father is negatively related to delinquent behaviour . . .' (p. 105). Andry found that

amongst his delinquents the father shared fewer hobbies and fewer outings with them than did the fathers in the matched non-delinquent group. In our survey there were twenty-three homes where boys asserted that their fathers took little interest in their sport and leisure; in no case has this been associated with delinquent behaviour by the sons.

8. Much has been said about the relationship between parents' rejection of their children and delinquency. Nye (1958), however, expresses an original idea, when he takes up the question of children rejecting their parents. According to him, this too leads to delinquency. In the Perth survey there were thirty children who rejected their parents for various reasons, but not one was a delinquent in the test year.

9. Some observers assert that the system of mothers going out to work breeds delinquency. Evidence on this is not quite conclusive. While Nye (1958) maintains that working mothers do not contribute to the delinquency of their children, others (Glueck, S. and Glueck, E., 1952, 1962, 1965) quote contradictory data. Andry (1960: 43) carefully tested the hypothesis on mother's work and delinquency and concluded: 'Thus the oft blamed factor for delinquency, that mothers are out working, is not here confirmed'. Our survey found likewise, as 40 of the 100 mothers interviewed go out to work yet not one of their children committed a delinquent act in the test year.

10. The adherents of the differential association theory of delinquency explained above (p. 231) blame poor company for most delinquency (Cressey, 1964). Glueck, S. and Glueck, E. (1952) do not share this opinion, but consider the company of other delinquents as situational only, inasmuch as it triggers off the criminal act, but does not cause it. Craig and Budd (1967) found that youngsters who commit the first crime in the company of others are likely to do so again and finish up as criminals, while those who commit solitary crimes are less likely to become permanent criminals. They conclude that the company of other delinquents increases the delinquent behaviour of the individual in the group. Hewitt and Jenkins (1946), using correlation statistics, also found that delinquency goes with bad company. In the Perth survey 47 of the 142 children had at one time or another had associations with delinquents.

11. Burt (1945) put special emphasis on the relationship between poor school progress and delinquency. He maintains that children who are unable to do arithmetic or are bad at other subjects may become the laughing stock of their classmates. To compensate, they vent their grievances in cheating, running away, bullying, and delinquency. A study which Liddell (1967) carried out on English rural children confirms Burt's findings. The children in Liddell's study stayed away from school and indulged in other delinquent behaviour, when school work became too hard and they could not cope with it. This factor does not apply in our survey as no child had a poor school record.

12. The child's sex plays its own part in delinquency. Morris (1965) found, in England, that boys are five to ten times as likely as girls to become delinquents, and they also commit different types of crime. About 50 per cent of male delinquents are thieves, compared with only 10 per cent of girl delinquents. On the other hand 50 per cent of delinquent girls are convicted of sex offences, but only 25 per cent of delinquent boys.

Cloward (1959) provides more detail on crime by sex. In the American society there is apparently a greater tolerance for male delinquency than for female delinquency. Hence, greater delinquency emerges amongst males. Girls, on the whole, feel more ashamed of their delinquent acts and are less likely to admit them than boys, who generally boast about their crimes. The difference in attitudes to delinquency between boys and girls leads to the formation of a male delinquent sub-culture, which is absent for females in America.

In the Perth survey, of the four children who were discovered to have earlier committed delinquent acts three were boys and one was a girl.

13. Students of delinquency maintain that the child's position in the family is related to delinquency. Middle children in the family are more prone to delinquency than the oldest or the youngest child (Lees and Newson, 1954; Nye, 1958). Our Perth survey contained fifty-three middle children but not one had become delinquent.

14. Physical deformity is also a factor contributing to delinquency. Burt (1945) and Maberly (1950) stress the importance of this, Maberly extending the idea further and stating:

There is a very considerable group of delinquents whose main problem is one of marked deviation from the average, whether constitutionally or environmentally determined . . . The dullard who is subjected to a daily bout of public humiliation owing to his academic incapacity, and in particular if he is prevented by additional physical handicaps from compensating by success in other fields of activity, is more likely to resort to illegitimate means of gaining social esteem amongst his contemporaries when legitimate ones are closed to him (p. 125).

The author adds further: 'Society is organised to meet the needs of the average and not the unusual' (p. 127). Delinquency in those children is an attempt to compensate for inferiority and inadequacy, or comes from a desire to gain popularity with others by acting tough and defying authority. This does not have much application to the Perth study as there was only one child concerned, a German girl with an abnormal lip; she was a happy and law-abiding youngster.

There are other factors sometimes associated with delinquency, notably separation from mother early in life, few educational and occupational opportunities, low intelligence, greater affection shown to the child in early life by the mother than by the father, alcoholism in the father, temperamental instability and negative concept of self. These have not been discussed here, either because they are complex in nature and require a special approach or else, like low intelligence, require special tests beyond the scope of this study. In view of the relatively high level of performance at school, however, it is unlikely that low intelligence would have been relevant to the Perth children studied.

There is one more factor important in any study of delinquency—broken homes—as it has been found repeatedly that homes broken by divorce or parents' separation tend to generate delinquency. It has been impossible to investigate this aspect of delinquency because only intact families were selected for examination.

Similarly, it was impossible to examine any connection between delinquency and unemployment as none of the children interviewed were unemployed at the time; nor had they been during the previous twelve months.

All in all it may be said that the children in the survey present a gratifying picture of law-abiding people. In the testing period for

1967 there was only one delinquent amongst them. An estimated rate of crime per 100 children between 13-19 years of age in the metropolitan area of Perth is about 5.1 (see Johnston, 1969a). The rate here is obviously much lower. Giving credence to parents' testimony of information on delinquency for earlier years, we find two more families with delinquents, one with a delinquent boy and the other with a delinquent boy and girl. In both were found unassimilated parents. It has also been established that of the seventeen factors usually assumed, singly or together, to cause delinquency only three were associated with the delinquent behaviour of the children involved. They were overcrowding in the home, the lack of assimilation on parents' part, and the sex of the child.

The other factors, although present in my group of children, played no part in provoking delinquency. It would seem, therefore, either that the sample is too small and that another or larger sample may have revealed more cases of delinquency, or else that there are, in these immigrant groups, forces counteracting those making for delinquency. Many plausible explanations may be offered for this state of affairs and, while caution must be exercised against becoming too speculative, it is worth dwelling for a moment on one or two of them.

It is best to start the conjectures with each group separately. With respect to the Australian and the British families the samples taken in this study are very small in relation to the total of Australian and British families in Perth. Although the Polish and German families represent a considerably higher proportion of all German and Polish families in Perth, their numbers too are small in the absolute sense. In other words the limited number of delinquents found in the sample of 100 families investigated may well be due to the size of the sample and the way in which it was chosen.

Apart from this there are certain sociological issues of importance. It is quite feasible that the numbers of immigrant children in Perth, and their concentration in specific geographic pockets, are too slight to produce the kind of second generation groups and well entrenched sub-cultures that are likely to breed and encourage delinquency. British and German families are spread over a wide range of suburbs in Perth and it would seem that there are no 'ghettos' of such immigrants in the city. With the Poles the situation is slightly different as they tend to live in close proximity to

each other. Here, however, another factor enters: that this closeness has helped develop a Polish community that not only sets its face against delinquency but exerts considerable influence to prevent it.

In that community there are a few elders who are deeply engrossed in ethnic activities and command a power to stress the best virtues in the Polish nation. The young people in that community are taught to act as models of perfect behaviour, to be admired and copied by the Australian youth in the district. Under such circumstances it is unlikely that Polish immigrant children will behave in a way which will violate their own code of conduct or that of the society at large. I witnessed personally the situation of two young Polish girls whose mothers were deeply upset because their daughters 'had to get married', having become pregnant beforehand. The Polish community, although shocked by the fact, came to the parents' aid and quietly assisted in getting the two girls married to the men responsible, who were not Poles, and later accepted the married couples into their midst. With such sanctions and group cohesiveness, and with no large and dissatisfied second generation in revolt against their parents and the community, the chances of widespread delinquency are remote.

In addition, the Catholic Church, under the auspices of the two Polish priests, exercises its own inconspicuous influence. Keeping its worshippers apart from other Catholics in the community, it aids in making the Poles of Perth a distinct and visible group. As such it is important that it not be weakened by antisocial behaviour by its members, over whom the church keeps a watchful eye. Since the church and its flock are determined to nurture the Polish traditions in Australia, they use various means to achieve their goals, many of which are in the form of social gatherings, sporting activities, and religious functions. The young participate in these to a greater or lesser extent, but when they do they, in the words of one priest, 'are kept off the streets and can't get into trouble'. These, of course, are my own impressions after working amongst the Polish families of Perth for some years. It would be valuable to have them tested by a detailed sociological study of the Polish community and its organisations.

In the German families other factors seem to be in operation. I sensed a feeling of deep gratitude on the part of the German parents for being allowed to come to Australia in view of the Third Reich's

performance during World War II; they were fully aware of the deep resentment Australians and others felt towards them and they were silently resigned to being despised and rejected. When Australia opened its doors to them after the war they were gratified and ashamed at the same time. To compensate for both they consciously or subconsciously decided to make good citizens and, in the process of trying to prove their worth, exercise strict but unobtrusive control over their children, stressing the benefits they enjoy in this country and the responsibilities they have towards it. A deep felt obligation to Australia, a desire to forget what has happened before, a sturdy attempt to succeed and a sense of mission to wipe out past mistakes, help make the German families peaceful, diligent, hard working, and committed to a course of building for themselves and their children a country better than the one from which they came. Again, the absence of an organised second generation sub-culture, in revolt against parental views, means that children are much more likely to heed these views and behave in a respectable manner.

Similar considerations apply to British children, though less strongly. Here, it was plain that many British families had discussed their plans for emigrating to Australia with representatives of their churches; a fact which cropped up in the course of conversation with those subjects. It also became clear that many of these immigrants had been recommended for care and assistance to parallel churches in Australia, that church leaders and their congregations in Australia have then taken over the new arrivals and smoothed over the first shocks of settlement. I was told this by many of the British fathers and mothers interviewed, and they named friends and relations outside this survey who had received similar help. If this is the case, the churches to some degree take over the role of protectors, and also of teachers and guides on methods of best obeying the law. Since, from observation and hearsay, the British families' attendance at church functions is a family affair, the children are likely to be socialised into the same patterns of behaviour as their parents. Although some of the British children have in interviews expressed dislike for church activities, they nonetheless attend together with their parents; this, and the various youth activities of the churches, may well have an inhibiting effect on law breaking.

There are three other factors here. First, school-age children, too young to take jobs and find their own accommodation, seem to

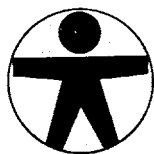
accept the fact that the family has its uses and that while they are at home it is both right and expedient that they maintain reasonable unity and accept reasonable parental authority. It is this which, with filial affection, helps children control their feelings of resentment at parental pressure to maintain ethnic customs, language, and schooling, or their feelings of shame at their parents' background and accent when parents meet Australian schoolfriends. With no organised anti-parental teenage group to harness and direct these feelings into anti-social, anti-familial channels, such feelings of affection, expediency, and order seem able to control deviant outbreaks.

Second, the evidence presented earlier, both in the sections on leisure, language, and social contacts and in the case histories, shows that the parents themselves are not bound together into a tightly-knit older generation, inflexibly bent on opposing their children at every step. Even conservative parents have given way on many issues and, while maintaining ethnic customs and values themselves, rarely impose them by force on their children. Small numbers and absence of large solid ethnic communities is probably a factor here, as it is in the absence of an organised second generation sub-culture.

Third, a modern industrial town such as Perth tends to act against minority groups, unless very large and concentrated. High mobility, mixing at work, modern mass media, all combine to erode and weaken minority group culture. The evidence of the case histories shows that many parents realise this, that they know their children will be drawn into modern Australian culture no matter how much they, the parents, try to act against it. Many have clearly decided that it is not worth fighting their children too hard on cultural issues and that it is more important to maintain the bonds of family affection and tolerance. This attitude, too, helps children maintain orderly behaviour, even when upset by parental attitudes and characteristics. Tensions are undoubtedly there but often resolve themselves in compromise before reaching the stage of open rebellion.

Regardless of all these possible factors there still remains the crucial issue of the individual child. As Burt (1945) aptly puts it, it is always the personality of the individual that determines whether a crime will be committed or not. Sound personalities are able to withstand any obstacles, but the slightest provocation will trigger

off a delinquent act in the poorly adjusted and pathological child. It is therefore probable that the children in this study were strong and well adjusted enough to withstand poverty, tensions at home, mothers going to work, and other vicissitudes of their lives, with only very few becoming delinquents. This may reflect the efforts of immigration officials to eliminate potential trouble-makers or weaklings in the selection process, or the fact that those wanting to settle in Australia were mainly well adjusted families and persons. Whatever the reasons, Perth has undoubtedly been very lucky.



To start with the children's major activities, nearly one-third of them go out to work, while the rest attend state run high schools and a few Catholic private schools. There were only five children receiving a tertiary education, of whom two went to the teachers' training colleges and three to the local university. At both levels the children seem to be doing well academically, according to their own and official reports.

Occupationally the children present an unvaried picture; half the boys working in skilled manual jobs or being trained for such, a quarter occupying semi-skilled positions, a few in labouring or clerical jobs. In this respect the boys' occupational distribution resembles that of their fathers with one slight difference, that the immigrant boys have less tendency than their fathers to enter unskilled occupations.

Girls work as shop assistants, clerks, and factory hands, in that order of frequency. They here follow in their mothers' footsteps, except that they tend to avoid the domestic work which some of the mothers pursue. The Polish mothers of the sample go out to work most frequently with the British mothers second; the German and Australian mothers mostly stay at home (see p. 36).

Nearly all children are satisfied with their jobs but are less happy with their earnings. Their fathers in nearly half of the cases seem to be well satisfied with their financial position and only a very few complained about it. It would seem therefore that the economic position of the families is reasonably sound and that cases of real poverty are the exception rather than the rule.

Since assimilation is one of the major issues facing second generation immigrants a large part of this study is devoted to it. It forms

the central core from which spring such vital problems as parent-child relationships and more importantly it determines the whole home atmosphere, the nature of which is in turn conditioned by the rate of assimilation of the children's parents.

To investigate the assimilation rate of immigrant families we selected some areas for study, which formed the foundation on which to build an overall assimilation score. Assimilation was defined in terms of external and subjective assimilation, the first implying the degree of outward resemblance to Australians in such areas as food, language, social contacts, and leisure; the second implying a psychological identification with Australians in these areas. In addition, subjective assimilation was further tapped with extra questions aiming at exploring identification with Australians in greater depth. Illustrative of such questions was one which asked subjects about their personal feelings of belonging more to Australia or to the country of their own or their parents' origin.

In food, the British children show the highest degree of external assimilation. It is of interest to note that Australian children also report changes in food habits from a 'typical' Australian diet to one which includes 'foreign foods'; one-third of the Australian children come in this category. At the subjective level the British children again show the highest scores in wanting to eat Australian food, but are here joined by the German boys; most of these last wish to eat Australian food but are obviously not getting as much as they want in their homes; hence the discrepancy between their external and subjective assimilation.

Of all parents the Polish parents seem to be externally and subjectively least assimilated in the area of food, insisting on eating their own national dishes more often than do the German or the British parents. There is a tendency, however, for all immigrant parents to stick mostly to their traditional mode of eating. By way of contrast, Australian parents report in even greater numbers than their children that they are consuming at home varieties of food and drink quite new to them, due to the influence of the immigrants in the community. Disparity in reports between the Australian parents and their children in this instance should not be looked upon as a distortion of fact, but as the function of individual perception. This factor has been emphasised over and over again in the main body of the study.

An extra group of people was introduced in this study to offer comparisons between adult immigrants of a varying degree of education. This group comprised thirteen Polish males who possessed university degrees and they, together with two Polish graduate men in the main sample, are throughout the study matched with Polish males without such an educational background. A difference is noted in external assimilation in food: the graduates are shown to be far more externally assimilated than the non-graduates. In subjective assimilation, however, the difference disappears almost completely since the graduates, like their non-graduate counterparts, prefer to eat their own Polish food; a fact which further demonstrates the unwillingness on immigrants' part to depart from ethnic ways of eating.

Attitudes of parents to the assimilation of their children in the area of food show that most fathers of immigrant families want their children to consume a mixture of ethnic and Australian foods, the exception being the Polish fathers, who are more conservative. The Polish mothers also are more predisposed for their children to eat ethnic dishes than are the German or the British mothers. The attitudes of Polish fathers with and without university degrees do not differ greatly here.

The assimilation rate of the immigrant children in the area of language has been studied in some detail, because the question of language is of such vital importance in the whole assimilation process. Only the main points are related here, the German and Polish families being treated separately from the British families. It is found that the Polish children use the ethnic language far more persistently at home than do the German children, and the German boys use it less frequently than their sisters. The Polish and German parents also differ in this respect, as none of the German parents speak only the ethnic language at home, while five Polish fathers do so and so do nearly half of the Polish mothers. In three of the university graduates' homes Polish is used exclusively. At work and in other public places the Polish parents also use their own language far more often than do the German parents. The latter are sensitively conscious that Australians do not approve of a foreign language being used publicly and so try to speak English away from home and thus avoid annoying Australian listeners. The German parents correctly sensed the Australians' attitudes since nineteen of

the Australian fathers and sixteen of the Australian mothers openly admitted, when questioned, that they disapprove of immigrants speaking in a foreign tongue at work or in the street. The Australian schoolchildren were slightly more tolerant here as only just over half were against using a foreign language in public. Those of the Australian children who go out to work all believed that immigrants should converse in English at all times.

In identification with one language or another the German children undoubtedly identify less with the German language than do the Polish children with the Polish language, since only two German children want to use it exclusively, while the corresponding number for the Polish children is nineteen of a total of forty. The Polish girls in particular seem more anxious in this respect than are their brothers.

Like their children the Polish parents in four-fifths of the cases also prefer to use their own language to the exclusion of English, while the same proportion of German parents are prepared to speak both German and English. Polish university graduates in two-thirds of cases want to speak Polish only. Twenty of the Polish fathers and twenty-two of the Polish mothers want their children to speak to them in Polish, while only eleven of the German fathers and twelve of the German mothers insist on German.

For the British children the question of external and subjective assimilation in language may not be as acute as it is for the Polish or German children; they nonetheless have to become accustomed to a way of speaking English which is quite different from that used in the British Isles. It is found that nearly all the boys have learned to speak the way Australians do and three-quarters of them strongly identify with that mode of speaking. Half of the girls follow in their brothers' footsteps and slightly more than that approve of the Australian way of speaking. Some children and particularly the girls seem to accommodate their linguistic behaviour to the situation. When at school or elsewhere with Australian people they speak as Australians do; at home, however, they revert to their parents' way of speaking, because deep down they appreciate it more. They follow the Australian pattern when needed, as they do not want to differ from the others and do not want to be noticed as different. British parents in one-fourth of cases approve of their children's Australian speech for the same reasons. However, one-third of the

British parents are against their children speaking English as used by Australians.

In social contacts the German boys show the highest incidence of mixing with Australians, the British boys next while the Polish boys and their sisters have the least social contacts with Australians. The German and the British girls in half of the cases have purely Australian contacts. The Australian children in three-quarters of the cases have contacts with immigrant children, but this does not apply to the Australian working girls, all of whom select only Australians for their companions.

When subjective assimilation in social contacts is considered there is a visible shift for the Polish boys, only four of whom want purely immigrant contacts and in this respect they do not differ statistically from the German or British boys; yet numerically the German boys seem to identify more strongly with Australians than do the other boys. Amongst the girls the Polish females are the only ones who in one-quarter of the cases prefer other Poles for company, while nearly all the German and British girls prefer the mixed company of immigrants of various backgrounds and of Australians.

Polish fathers most frequently want to mix with other Poles or other immigrants and in fact do so, but those with university degrees behave quite differently, mixing mostly with Australians. British fathers more than any other fathers mix exclusively with Australians and prefer it that way. Although only one of the German fathers has such contacts, five of them want them. The vast majority of Polish mothers have contacts with other Poles only and nearly all of them prefer this. Over half of the Australian mothers and fathers mix with immigrants and some of the females are particularly keen on such contacts.

The Australian parents in practically all cases are happy that their children should mix with immigrant children; most immigrant parents want, for their children, mixed company of immigrants and Australians. The exception are four Polish fathers and seven Polish mothers who insist that their children have the company of other immigrants, including fellow ethnics. Only one of the Polish graduates wanted such contacts for his children.

Leisure activities of an Australian character are more typical of the German and British boys and girls than of the Polish boys and girls. However, in subjective assimilation the Polish girls come up

to the other girls, most of whom want Australian leisure. The cases of some of these girls have been noted before in connection with the overprotective attitude of their mothers, who do not allow them out of the house.

The Polish parents more than any other parents indulge in non-Australian leisure activities and even more of them seek that kind of leisure. This stands in vivid contrast to the German mothers, for example, some of whom participate in ethnic leisure but are deeply attracted to the Australian way of life. Three-fifths of the German fathers have Australian leisure and the same proportion prefer it, while seventeen out of the twenty-five British fathers have Australian leisure, yet only fifteen of them identify with it. Nearly half of the Polish graduates pursue Australian leisure, but one-third prefer the ethnic way of spending it. In general terms, however, the graduates are far more pro-Australian in leisure than are the non-graduates.

Polish parents' attitudes to children's leisure are different from the rest of the immigrant parents. The latter in nearly all cases approve of their children's adoption of Australian leisure, while less than half of the Polish fathers do so and the number for the Polish mothers is only four out of twenty-five. The Polish graduates resemble the German and British fathers in their attitudes to their children's leisure rather than the other Poles.

On the basis of scores received in individual areas and on additional information regarding the children's outward behaviour we allotted an overall score on external assimilation. A similar procedure was adopted for the assigning of an overall score for subjective assimilation, but here we used specific questions the answers to which gave deeper insight into the children's identification with Australia.

Hence following the pattern of non-assimilation in individual areas the Polish children also receive the lowest scores for their overall external assimilation in comparison with the other immigrant children. In subjective assimilation the Polish boys differ significantly from the other boys, being less subjectively assimilated. Although the difference in overall subjective assimilation for the Polish girls is not significant in comparison with the other immigrant girls, yet half of them strongly identify with the Polish group in preference to the Australian group.

Polish mothers and fathers are far less externally and subjectively assimilated in the sense of overall assimilation than any other parents and in addition the mothers show a degree of assimilation which is far below that of their husbands. For example, twenty-two of the Polish mothers refuse to identify with Australia while the corresponding number of Polish fathers is fifteen. The German parents, however, show the highest degree of identification with Australia, though the British parents surpass them in external assimilation. In contrast with the other Polish parents, the graduates seem to be much better assimilated externally to the Australian way of life. In overall subjective assimilation the difference between the two groups is not as wide, but wide enough to accentuate the non-graduates' lack of overall subjective assimilation.

More Polish parents than any other parents have unfavourable attitudes to their children's assimilation; however, half of the Polish graduates show a favourable attitude. Reversing the argument and looking into the attitudes of the Australian parents towards their children's acceptance of some immigrants' ways of living, it is found that only five of the Australian fathers and four of the mothers were against such acceptance.

The families of the immigrant families were divided on the basis of the parents' assimilation into four major types called advanced families, progressing families, conservative families, and mixed families (see Chapter 6).

If we take the advanced, progressing, and conservative families first, we find that Germans predominate in the first group, British in the second, and Polish in the third. Amongst the mixed families of the advanced-conservative category there are no British, four Polish and two German families. There is only one Polish home in the advanced-progressing category, compared with ten German and eight British. Seven of the British families belong to the progressing-conservative type, five of the Polish, but only one of the German. In all, it can be said that the German families seem to be the most stable from the assimilation point of view, with parents coming closer to each other in assimilation than in Polish or British families.

It is found that the mode of living in these various types of families is also different. Where one or both parents oppose assimilation the frequency of tensions between parents and children regarding cultural issues is much higher than in homes where both

parents are assimilated. In these homes children and parents argue most about ethnic foods and the ethnic language, where children want to depart from both and parents refuse. In the British homes of this kind there is friction regarding Australian slang, which children insist on using against their parents' wishes. Not only cultural tension but also general tension about matters of everyday living, without any assimilation connotation, are also more frequent in the homes with one or two unassimilated parents. This particular tension occurs in one-third of the Polish and British homes but less often in the German homes. For comparative purposes it may be added that general tensions between parents and children occur most frequently in the Australian homes, where half of the homes register them.

Arguments about general matters in all the homes are most often centered around children wishing to leave school in order to get well paid jobs. Other points of disagreement are staying out late at night and having steady boy- or girl-friends, or having friends of whom the parents disapprove. Interestingly enough, the British homes contain tension regarding the quality of food consumed, where children demand better foods than their parents provide. Reports by children also indicate that quarrelling between brothers and sisters at home is more prevalent in the homes with one or both parents unassimilated.

It is in this group that we find most of the families which in the long run become 'problem families', defined here as families which seek welfare assistance from community institutions because they are unable to cope with problems of everyday living. Another feature of such families, and especially those of the conservative type, is the resentment that some children feel towards their parents for their lack of assimilation. Since half the Polish families are conservative it is here that as many as eighteen children show contempt for their parents for their inability to speak English or for their adherence to ethnic customs. Five of the German boys also resent their parents, but only two of them for the parents' attempt to preserve the ethnic language. Two British children also complained about their parents, but one of them disliked his father for pretending to be too Australian, and the other for his father's way of speaking in a non-Australian manner. Australian children too criticise their parents and five of the girls expressed their annoyance about their parents

being too strict and old fashioned, or for certain personality traits which they disliked. Such negative attitudes in the case of the Australian children have naturally little to do with questions of assimilation or ethnicity, as shown in two more cases of boys who seem to resent their parents for the simple reason that they are less educated than themselves.

The conservative type of family, or a family where one parent is not well assimilated, not only show strained relationships between parents and children but also little voluntary activity by parents and children together. Fathers and sons in particular seldom go out for sporting activities, an occurrence typical of homes with assimilated parents where fathers go with their sons to football matches or participate in other leisure activities.

Ethnically bound parents further alienate some of their children because they attend functions organised by their own immigrant group and try to induce their children to do the same. Some of the immigrant children resent this, and also resist being sent to the ethnic weekend schools to learn the ethnic language and the history and geography of their parents' original country. On account of the parents' unacceptable behaviour, the children further withdraw from close contacts with them.

Drawing together the strands of the whole study we can describe the immigrant children as a well balanced and reasonably contented group. They fit well into the Australian environment and are liked by the Australian children, who treat them on the basis of personal characteristics, disregarding their ethnic origin.

The differences in assimilation between the Polish, German, and British children have already been described. It seems that German children, and particularly the boys, are likely to have least trouble in taking their place in the Australian society of the future. Their enthusiasm for the Australian way of living is likely to increase their popularity with Australians and thus create a congenial atmosphere for personal advancement.

Not quite the same can be said about the British children who somehow do not show the same zealous acceptance of Australian living; their acceptance is in some way tarnished with a sense of superiority, not quite allowing them to condescend to the Australian level. This was more typical of the girls than the boys.

It appears that the Polish children are in the worst situation re-

garding future living in Australia. Many of them are still deeply rooted in Polonism, while others who try to break away from it encounter family tensions which are likely to have enduring repercussions. In other words nearly all the Polish children are at a disadvantage in comparison with others, and in personal talks they appeared more unsure of themselves and far less outgoing than the other children; they were shy, but at the same time deeply grateful that someone has taken a real interest in them.

As the findings stand they can be compared in some respects with results of others who also studied second generation immigrants. Unfortunately, research here is rather scanty, and Duncan (1933) long ago remarked with regret on the paucity of relevant literature; very little has been written since except for studies undertaken by scholars such as Child (1943) and Rieger (1953). Rieger studied young immigrants in Israel and Child explored the mode of assimilation of adult second generation Italian immigrants in the United States.

Adult Polish immigrant children were studied by Schermerhorn (1949) who emphasises the fast rate of assimilation of second generation Poles in the United States as compared with the slow progress in assimilation made by their parents. Swastek (1944) confirms these results for the United States, while Makowski (1951) reached the same conclusions regarding second generation Polish immigrants in Canada. Although the same was found by Johnston (1969a) in Western Australia, the last author evaluated the assimilation rate of Polish second generation immigrants as relatively low.

The area of language seems to be of special interest to all researchers in this field. Duncan (1933) states that in the United States many immigrant children of various ethnic backgrounds refuse to use the language of their parents and because of this suffer extreme tensions with them. Davie (1947) found the same in research conducted in the same country. Similar tensions exist in some immigrant families in Australia, as these Perth samples of Polish and British children have shown. Parents want their children to know the ethnic tongue either for nationalistic or educational reasons, the last being highlighted by Duncan (1933: 697): 'many parents see the advantage of knowing two or more languages, and encourage their children to learn and retain the foreign language . . . Other immigrants send their children to the foreign-language churches and

Sunday-schools, hoping thereby that their children will learn and maintain the language of their ancestors. Some parents try to force their children to learn and speak their native language'. Similar behaviour and similar attitudes of immigrant parents were disclosed in this study both in reference to ethnic school attendance, covering the Polish and German parents, and insistence on ethnic language usage which was most typical of the Polish parents.

However, this does not apply to all, as noted by Duncan (1933: 697): 'Some immigrants think that the use of a foreign language in the home handicaps their children in learning English'. Such attitudes were also demonstrated in this study by some of the Polish and German parents, either assimilated or not assimilated (see pp. 66-8). Where there is less tolerance towards English in the home, immigrant children in this study accommodated their language usage accordingly, as do the immigrant children in the United States described by Warner and Srole (1945: 137): 'The parent uses English only in those relations that demand it, and then hesitantly. The child, in turn uses the ethnic language only in those relations that demand it, namely with his parents'. Such cases of dual language usage by the children in this study were highlighted in the discussion on the nature of language communication within the immigrant home (see p. 56).

Yet some immigrant children reject outright their parents' original language and, when they do, simultaneously reject their parents for inability to speak English properly. This was demonstrated by some Polish children (see p. 226). Duncan too discovered this in America: 'Scores of young people have revealed their humiliation because of the poor English of their parents' (p. 698) and this feeling acquired such strength in some cases that it forced the children in question to abandon their parents altogether. This point Smith (1939: 296) takes up in general terms stating: 'The child [in America] feels a loss of status . . . by virtue of his attachment to an immigrant home. . . . This may lead to a wholesale rejection of everything foreign, even of his own parents in many instances'.

Not only do some immigrant children feel shamed by their parents' limited knowledge of English, but they resent them for using their ethnic tongue in the presence of English speaking people. Some Polish children in this study expressed such feelings freely and Duncan (1933: 699) referring to the immigrant children in

America explains: 'Many second generation people have spoken of their embarrassment when they invited their . . . friends to their homes, only to have their parents begin talking to each other in a language their friends could not understand'. The Australian friends of some children in this study were also highly embarrassed. That such embarrassment was justified was fully supported by the feeling of confusion and frustration reported by those young Australians in the control group who ventured into homes where immigrant parents behaved in this way.

Although the prevailing tendency amongst the second generation immigrants is to shed the ethnic language as quickly as possible, there were many immigrant children in this study, and in the research carried out by Duncan (1933), who were anxious to learn the ethnic language as a key to the doors to the culture of another nation. To others, knowing the ethnic language is of great assistance at university level and it is here that some German children in this study sought assistance from their parents. To many more the ethnic language presents some deep intrinsic value; this they feel they must retain in the face of its gradual disappearance from the home because parents have reached a high level of assimilation and no longer care for its preservation. In view of the cases just cited it appears that some conclusions are suspect, such as those of Fishman (1966) that all immigrant children have a deep seated contempt for their parents' language.

Apart from language there are other basic similarities between this and other studies carried out on second generation immigrants. It may be recalled that in this study, the children fell into three distinct types: children who completely identify with the Australian way of life; children who remain almost completely within the ethnic group; and children who identify with both the ethnic and the Australian way of life, choosing from each what suits their personality needs. Duncan (1933: 693) uses much the same grouping, stating: 'Many succumb rapidly to Americanisation, while a few withdraw into their colony and remain strangers in the land of their birth. Many oscillate between the two worlds, concealing many things from their parents by using one set of behaviour patterns in their home and another outside'. An example of this type of immigrant child is the Polish girl, a student teacher, described earlier (see p. 168).

The findings of this study concerning diet also match those of studies carried out elsewhere. Child (1943) found in his research on second generation immigrants of Italian origin in the United States that many of them, even if highly assimilated, still persist in having Italian meals, both in their own homes and when eating out. Many of the immigrant children here disclose the same tendencies. The preservation of ethnic food habits is still stronger amongst first generation immigrants, who are on the whole very reluctant to change their food habits. Kosa (1957) found that a sample of Hungarian immigrants, whose average length of residence in Canada was 24 years, still consumed mostly national dishes. Studies carried out by Craig (1954) in Australia and by Lysenko (1947) in Canada confirm these results. Reynolds (1935: 233) had this to say about British immigrants who came to Canada: 'Certain food habits . . . are retained almost indefinitely; the immigrant who can afford to do so will continue to purchase Old Country foods after twenty years or more in this country'. Such habits persist for immigrants with a varying degree of education and assimilation as shown in this study, for example, the Polish university graduates generally keep up a traditional way of eating.

At this point it is worth mentioning that otherwise the Polish graduates exhibit greater propensities to assimilate than their less educated compatriots. The higher rate of assimilation amongst the better educated immigrants is also emphasised by Duncan (1933) and Kent (1953) regarding immigrants in the United States and by Richmond (1967) in connection with British immigrants who settled in Canada.

Other findings here also complement those of studies in other countries. For example, Kosa (1957) established that in the Hungarian families which he studied in Canada the wives took over the reins of the home and carried the main authority in it, despite the fact that in Hungary families are, according to the same author, patriarchal in structure. We have found in this study that some of the Polish females, particularly those who came to Australia in the last ten years or so, have acquired the same status in their homes as the Hungarian women in Canada.

Kosa (1957: 55) also found that his Hungarian families led a peaceful existence without any great turbulence existing between the parents and their children. He states: 'Our sample was charac-

terised by a conspicuous lack of conflict between the two generations. Parents and children were related by mutual understanding and affection'. Many of the German families studied here fall into the same category and so do those Polish and British families where parents are well assimilated.

The same author also points out that Hungarian parents are rather strict with the upbringing of their daughters, who are usually not allowed to go out and participate in typically Canadian leisure. He adds: 'It seems that in certain ethnic groups the family system lacks the elasticity which is needed to reconcile the two opposing sets of values' (p. 55). The same kind of statement could well apply to some of the Polish families, where the mothers keep a watchful eye on their daughters, shielding them from the pleasures of the outside world. The daughters, deprived of this privilege, clamour for the 'forbidden fruit', and want the restrictions lifted so that they can enjoy themselves in the way their Australian counterparts do.

Another point is also common, namely the inclination on the part of Hungarian youth in Canada and youth in this study to leave school to get jobs. Their parents showed reluctance to grant permission for such action because they saw merit in a continuing education, which they personally valued. Numerous instances of British boys were cited here, showing deep cleavages with parents over the issue.

Special attention is paid by some scholars to the high incidence of delinquency amongst the second generation immigrants in the United States. Schermerhorn (1949) and Smith (1939) claim that slums generate delinquency and, since the immigrants generally live in the deprived suburbs of the big American cities, they are very delinquency prone. Schermerhorn adds to this that girls in particular resent living in poor areas, become attracted to life in the heart of the city, which makes the home uninteresting, and so seek new and often illicit experiences. The material on delinquency in this study is far too fragmentary to allow any real comparison with the findings just quoted except for a short note to the effect that many children in this study also lived in the semi-slum areas of Perth, but showed no tendency to break the law.

One last item of comparative value is inherent in the findings by Kent (1953), who also studied German families in the United

States. He found that the German children were in almost all cases fully assimilated to the American way of life. In our study, too, the German children show the same pattern, particularly the boys, who surpass the other immigrant children in their strong identification with Australia.

A great deal has been said in this study about assimilation, both of the immigrant parents and their children. This concept of assimilation has been fully explored and the theme of external and subjective assimilation, introduced at the conceptual level, finds its confirmation at the empirical level inasmuch as there are numerous cases of immigrants who are assimilated in one respect but not in another. This separation of the two aspects of assimilation is a useful device because it clearly necessitates viewing assimilation not only from an 'outward' level, noting, for example, how well an immigrant speaks the English language, or how often he mixes with Australians, but also from a 'covert' vantage point, aiming at discovering his psychological identification with Australians and with their mode of living. It has been established statistically in another study (Johnston, 1965b) that the coefficient of correlation between external and subjective assimilation may be as low as 0.46. Such a low correlation coefficient aptly demonstrates that assimilation has two separate dimensions which are by no means closely related.

Having discussed assimilation in detail, a vital question is still to be answered, namely, what is it that immigrants have to assimilate to? Findings on Australian parents and their children show that assimilation is a two-way process in the sense that immigrants assimilate to Australian standards and that Australians adopt some of the ways of living typical of immigrants, accepting them as friends, copying their food habits, and participating in their leisure activities. In other words the immigrants in this study are assimilating to a greater or less degree to a way of living which is not 'purely' Australian (here using 'Australian' in the sense of what was common before World War II) but to a mixture of immigrant and Australian ways, though clearly most of the immigrant families have been changing more than have the Australian families.

It should be noted that in terms of a temporal sequence Australians have been exposed to the influences of large-scale immigration since the end of World War II, that is for more than twenty-five years, but the immigrants studied have been in Australia only for

ten years or so. This means that Australians have had some time to get acquainted with post-war immigrant ways of doing things; the learning process for the immigrant families studied is shorter. Whichever way we look at the process a considerable change has been taking place in both peoples, but the present study is reporting this change at the point of time at which the interviews were carried out. Should another study be carried out later, it could well show further changes in both groups, changes leading to a closer convergence in external and subjective assimilation, so making Australians and immigrants not only look and behave alike but also possess common ideas, values, and norms.

In sum, assimilation is a process in which the indigenous and the immigrant community are undergoing a profound change, so much so that new immigrants coming to the country are likely to be assimilating to Australian standards different from those of their forerunners. It is in this sense too, that the newcomers joining their ethnic group on arrival are often amazed at the change that has occurred in their compatriots since emigration, a change which some of them consider as almost bordering on a lack of patriotism towards the country of origin. Some of these newcomers accept the situation and allow themselves to be socialised into the new ethos, but others may consider this as a betrayal and may withdraw into a small isolated ethnic group determined never to make any advances on the road to assimilation. One such small group of immigrants was found in this study amongst the recently arrived Polish immigrants.

A vital role in bringing about the change in assimilation, as it occurs in the receiving community on one hand and the newcomers on the other, is being played by the children of both groups. Immigrant children have the easiest access to the ethos of the Australian culture through attendance at school, participation in Australian sport, and friendships with Australian boys and girls who take them into their homes and show them the way Australians live. Being young, impressionable and having no language barrier in communication, these immigrant children are a fertile ground for the adoption of new ways of living; these they then try to transplant into their own home environment.

In the same way the Australian children act as a bridge in narrowing the gulf between their own and the immigrant families.

Some Australian schoolgirls in particular seem to be appreciating various aspects of immigrant family living; their favourable opinions and attitudes to immigrants are likely to spill over into their own homes, exercising unwittingly an influence on their brothers and sisters, and even on their parents.

For some of the immigrant children, however, the task of disseminating knowledge about the Australians' way of life and obvious inclinations to adopt them may be fraught with great difficulties. It is in this context that we talked about culture tensions, which arise because of parents' determination not only to resist assimilation themselves but to make their children do the same. Other immigrant children, exposed to Australian ways of living at school, at work, or in neighbours' homes, may be confronted with problems of a different nature, namely, problems of confusion and indecision on the respective merits of their parents' culture and the Australian culture; this leads them to 'culture conflict', that is, a conflict within the individual who is uncertain in his choice of psychologically identifying with one or the other culture. Although there were no cases of culture conflict in the samples of children studied, they were present in the case of some immigrant parents, indicating that the process of assimilation can be paved with major difficulties which come not only from the new environment but also from the personality of the immigrant himself.

Incidents of culture tension and culture conflict are likely to arise more frequently in families belonging to the conservative or the mixed type, where one or both of the parents are unassimilated. It is in these families also that frictions of other sorts are found, and where mutual relationships abound with a lack of respect and often contempt.

Considering the four ethnic groups separately one feels that, apart from the aspect of assimilation, there is also a difference in the dynamics of each group. Indeed, one may at times doubt whether any of the Polish families in the non-assimilative group will ever change their status, whether—even if some Polish male immigrants move further towards assimilation—any change will occur amongst those Polish women who were adamant about retaining their 'Polishness'. Similarly, one may sometimes doubt whether those who have moved ahead a little on the path to assimilation are likely to ever change much in the future.

Perhaps this is over-pessimistic. The process of assimilation rarely stops completely and it would be reasonable to expect that some British marriage partners in the advanced-progressing type will move forward in assimilation, ceasing to be a mixed family and becoming an advanced one. So also with the German families. They are already, numerically, the most advanced in assimilation and there is every indication that the more assimilated partner will stimulate the other towards greater assimilation, thus measurably changing their future pattern. Such interdependent influence in assimilation matters between marriage partners was less noticeable in the Polish homes, where mothers nearly always took their own initiative to assimilate or not to assimilate. Contrastingly, in the German homes the whole approach was a family matter, deeply involving the children also. The few German families of the conservative type will probably remain stationary in their assimilation; some may even regress to justify their reasons for leaving Australia, as a few contemplate doing. All this, however, will require a second survey of the same families at a later date.

This, then, brings us to the end of this survey of certain second generation children in Perth and of the parental and environmental forces at work upon them. The numbers interviewed are too few to form the basis of firm generalisations about all second generation persons in Perth, let alone in Australia. Nevertheless, examination of a small number has advantages, notably in enabling one to probe at depth into family relationships, into attitudes and wishes, into details of social contacts, leisure, and friendship. The relationships, attitudes, and values so revealed are complex but absorbing. One of the most interesting features is that we are in Perth quite clearly dealing with a situation very different from those studied earlier by so many American scholars when surveying the vast ethnic concentrations of the American new world; concentrations wherein adult immigrants were enabled to maintain a strong ethnic existence and where children could develop a pronounced second generation sub-culture intermediate between the cultures of parents and host society. Hence the much used phrase, the 'bridge generation'. Such situations may indeed be developing in the Greek and Italian concentrations now forming in Sydney and Melbourne. In Perth, however, especially with the Germans, Poles, and British, things are much less concentrated and most immigrant families—both parents

and children—have numerous relationships with Australians. So much so that the second generation is much less noticeably a 'bridge' than in America. Some parents surveyed, indeed, are quite obviously assimilating almost as rapidly as their children, at any rate subjectively, and are very happy that their children should be becoming so 'Australian'. Maybe the willingness of some Australian families to adopt a few immigrant customs, and to make at least a few immigrant friends or acquaintances, is helping the process.

The nature of this process has been set out in the analysis and tables of preceding chapters. But the best insight to it, certainly the most vivid, comes from the biographical sketches, the short life histories, of Chapter 6. There the immigrants and their children speak for themselves: there they state quite clearly what living in the process means in terms of human tensions and friendships. We may analyse and tabulate to our hearts' content, but in the last resort it is the human experience of those undergoing the not always easy, though often very exciting, process of assimilation, that matters most.

Appendixes

Appendix I *Interview Schedules*

NOTE: For the sake of brevity only two Interview Schedules are reported in full. They are the Interview Schedule for Immigrant Fathers and the Interview Schedule for Immigrant Children. The first acts as a base for Interview Schedules with all adults and the second with Australian children.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR IMMIGRANT FATHERS

Interview No:

Date:

- 1 How many children have you? 1...2...3...4...5...6...and over
- 2 Are they all boys, girls or mixed? Boys (in years):
- 3 How old are they? Girls (in years):
- 4 What is your occupation?
(report as said)
(if manual worker, specify: skilled
unskilled)
- 5 What is the name of the firm which employs you?
- 6 Does your work take you often away from home at night or weekends?
- 7 Would you say that you are very comfortably off
financially: comfortably off
in-between
poorly off
very poorly off?

Food

- 8 What kind of food do you eat at home? all Polish (German, English) food
about half Polish (German, English)
and half Australian food
all Australian food

(if applicable)

- 9 Do you remember how long after your arrival in Australia that you started to eat Australian foods?
- 10 Very often you have to eat the all Polish (German, English) food
kind of food that is cooked for about half-and-half
you, but what kind of food do you all Australian food
really prefer?
- 11 Would you prefer your children to eat Polish (German, English) or Australian food?

For All Immigrants

- 31 Do you mind your children bringing into your home Australian friends and ways of living typical of Australians?
- 32 Would you say that your home is typically Polish (German, British)?
- 33 What are the main features that make it so?
- 34 If your home is similar to any other Australian home, could you say in which respects?

Social Contacts

- 35 For all the contacts you have with other people would you say that all your contacts are with: Australians only
half-and-half
no Australians at all
- 36 With whom do you really prefer to have contacts? Australians only
half-and-half
no Australians at all

(if applicable)

- 37 Do you remember the time when you first started to appreciate contacts with Australians in preference to contacts with other immigrants?
- 38 What in particular made you change your mind?
- 39 What nationality are your friends? Australians only
half-and-half
only other immigrants
- 40 How many times have you visited or been visited by Australians last month? And your immigrant friends for the same period of time?
- 41 Where do you feel happier and more at ease, with other immigrants or Australians?
- 42 What nationality are your children's companions?
- 43 Do you personally prefer your children to have contacts with: All Australian children
half-and-half
all Polish (German, British) children?
- 44 Do you have arguments with your children regarding: the company they keep
the nationality of a steady boy-friend or girl-friend
the amount of money they pay for their upkeep
the choice of jobs after leaving school?
- (ask each separately and record answers for each)
- 45 How severe are these arguments? slight
moderate
severe

(record items of tension mentioned and score each accordingly)

Leisure Activities

- 46 How do you spend your leisure time?
- 47 Would you say that your leisure activities are rather Australian or Polish (German, British) in character? completely Australian
half-and-half
all Polish (German, British)
- 48 Could you state reasons for participating in one kind or the other?

(if applicable)

- 49 Could you recall the time or the event that made you change your ways of spending your leisure hours?
- 50 How do you feel about your children participating in Australian sport and generally spending their leisure time the way Australians do?

thoroughly approve
indifferent
disapprove
- 51 Do you have arguments with them about the way they spend their leisure time?
- 52 How severe are these arguments?

slight
moderate
severe
- 53 What do you think of the Australian people as a whole?

What do you like about them?
What don't you like about them?
- 54 What do you think of the generally held opinion that Australia is a land of opportunity?
- 55 How in your opinion does the culture of your own country compare with the Australian culture?

on the same level but just different
is the culture of your own country superior
- Are they both:

is the Australian culture superior?

- 56 Would you say that the gap between the Australian culture and the culture of your own country is very wide or not so?
- 57 Apart from possible holidays abroad would you like to spend the rest of your life in Australia?
- 58 (If not) Where would you like to live?
- 59 Do you approve of your children's complete assimilation to the Australian way of life?

thoroughly approve
indifferent
disapprove
- 60 What national origin would you want your future son- or daughter-in-law to be, Polish (German, British) or Australian?
- 61 Where do you feel you now belong more, to Australia or Poland (Germany, Britain)?
- 62 Could you recall any incident since you arrived in Australia, when you felt that Australians really rejected you? (Prompt if necessary for places of rejection: work, neighbours, places of amusement.)
- 63 Have you been advised at any time, or sought assistance from any of the following organisations?

the Good Neighbour Council
the Child Welfare Department
Alcoholics Anonymous
the Apex Club
the Catholic Welfare Association
the Child Guidance Clinic
the Citizens' Advice Bureau
or any other organisation
- 64 What were your family circumstances which made you turn to an institution?
- 65 Many children nowadays are a lot of worry to their parents. Have any of your children been that to you? If so, have they ever been in trouble with the school authorities, the police, or any other authority?
- 66 Which of your children and how old is he now?
- 67 Did that happen last year—in 1967, or before?

- 68 Would you mind telling me how 31-40
old you are? Are you between 41-50
51-60
61 and over
- 69 What religion are you?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR AUSTRALIAN FATHERS

(Questions 1-5 are the same as for Immigrant Fathers)

- 6 Are there any immigrants at your place of work?

(if applicable)

- 7 Do you happen to know what country they came from?
8 What do you think of them as workers?
9 Would you rather have Australians working next to you, or don't you mind one way or another?
10 Do the immigrants stick together or do they mix with other Australians?
11 What do you think of immigrants as people?
12 Do you meet any of them out- for a drink in the hotel after work
side work playing or watching sport
in your own home?

(Questions 13 and 14 are the same as 6 and 7 in Interview Schedule for Immigrant Fathers)

- 15 Who do you think has the final a. buying items for the household
say in your home, your wife or b. clothes for the family
you in matters such as: c. family outings
d. the upbringing of children
- 16 Who punishes your children, your wife or you?

Food

- 17 Do you think that your food habits have changed much since immigrants started to arrive in Western Australia?
18 Do any special immigrant foods or drinks appear on your table?
19 If you changed at all, do you recall the time when you first started to eat immigrant foods?

(Questions 20 and 21 are the same as 12 and 13 in Interview Schedule for Immigrant Fathers)

Attitudes to Immigrants

- 22 How do you feel when you hear immigrants speaking in their own language at work or in the street?
23 Do you have any immigrants as neighbours?
24 Do they speak English or in a foreign tongue at home? Outside in the garden?
25 Do you approve or not of having immigrants next door, or would you rather have Australians as neighbours?
26 How do you feel, when children of non-English speaking immigrants come into your home?

Social Contacts

- (Questions 27 and 28 are the same as 35 and 36 in Interview Schedule for Immigrant Fathers)
- 29 Do you remember the time when you first started to appreciate contacts with immigrants?
 - 30 What in particular prompted you to have these contacts?
(Question 31 is the same as 39 in Interview Schedule for Immigrant Fathers)
 - 32 For all the visits you paid or received in the last month, were they mostly from Australians or some immigrants too?
 - 33 Where do you feel happier and more at ease, with other Australians or with immigrants?
(Questions 34 and 35 are the same as 42 and 43 in Interview Schedule for Immigrant Fathers)
 - 36 Do you mind your children bringing into your home immigrant friends and ways of living typical of immigrant families?
(Questions 37 and 38 are the same as 44 and 45 in Interview Schedule for Immigrant Fathers)

Leisure Activities

- 39 What do you do in your spare time?
- 40 Do you feel that immigrants should learn our ways of amusement, or should Australians and immigrants learn from each other ways of spending leisure time?
- 41 How do you feel about your children accepting some of the ways in which immigrants amuse themselves?
(Questions 42 and 43 are the same as 51 and 52 in Interview Schedule for Immigrant Fathers)
- 44 Do you think that immigrants have been an advantage to Australia or a disadvantage?
- 45 Would you like more of them to come into this State?
- 46 Have you any particular nationality in mind?
- 47 Do you think that it is proper for immigrants to have the same chances for jobs as Australians have, or not?
- 48 Would you mind one way or another if your son or daughter married an immigrant?
- 49 Could you recall any unpleasant incident that you personally experienced with immigrants?
- 50 Would you say that immigrants lead a better family life than Australians do, or the reverse?
(Questions 51-55 are the same as 63-67 in Interview Schedule for Immigrant Fathers)
- 56 Do you think that immigrants are as law-abiding citizens as Australians are, or are they more criminally inclined?
(Questions 57 and 58 are the same as 68 and 69 in Interview Schedule for Immigrant Fathers)
- 59 How long have you been living in this suburb?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR IMMIGRANT MOTHERS

- 1 Are you at present, or have you been working up to the last few weeks?
(For mothers who work)

- 2 At what time do you come home after work?
- 3 What kind of work do you do?
- 4 Would you say that your home is roomy enough for your family?
- 5 Do more than two adults share a bedroom in your house?
- 6 How many children under ten share one bedroom?
- 7 Who do you think has the final say in your home:
 - a. in buying items for the household
 - b. clothes for the family
 - c. the upbringing of the children
 - d. family outings
 - e. who punishes your children mostly, does your husband or do you?

(From now on the Interview Schedule for Immigrant Mothers is exactly the same as for Immigrant Fathers)

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR AUSTRALIAN MOTHERS

(Questions 1-8 are the same as those in the Interview Schedule for Immigrant Mothers)

(For working Australian mothers Questions 9-15 are the same as Questions 6-12 in the Interview Schedule for Australian Fathers)

- 16 Do you meet any of the im- for a meal in a restaurant
migrant co-workers outside work? a film in the evening
in your own home
- 17 Do you think that your food habits have changed much since immigrants started to arrive in Western Australia?
Are you interested in the continental way of cooking?
Have you always been, or have the immigrants whom you know influenced you in this direction?
(From Question 18 onwards the Interview Schedule for Australian Mothers is exactly the same as for Australian Fathers)

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

Date:

Interview No:

- 1 How old are you?
- 2 Are you still at school?
- 3 What school do you attend?
- 4 Would you say that your work excellent
at school is: good
in-between
poor
very poor
(check statement with official school records)
- 5 (If left school)
What work do you do?
(report as said)
(if manual worker, specify: skilled
unskilled)
- 6 What is the name of the firm which employs you?
- 7 Do you think that the amount of quite sufficient
money you are earning is suffi- in-between
cient for your expenses? (Do you quite insufficient

- think that the amount of pocket money you get is sufficient for your expenses?)
- 8 Are you satisfied with your job? very satisfied
 in-between
 very dissatisfied
 - 9 Have you been unemployed in the last 12 months?
 - 10 Are you the oldest, the youngest or the middle one in your family?
(Note any physical deformity of child)
 - 11 Do you think that there is more between your parents
quarrelling in your home than in between children in the house
other families you know?
 - 12 Which one of your parents has the final say in your home in matters of
bringing up of the children, or the spending of the household's money? Is
it your father or your mother?
 - 13 What do you talk to your father about?
 - 14 What do you talk to your mother about?
 - 15 Who do you think is really the boss in your family? Is it your father or
your mother?
 - 16 Does your father often take you frequently
to outings such as football games occasionally
or any other activities? hardly ever
 - 17 What kind of football do you follow—Australian rules or soccer as played
in European countries?
 - 18 Which of the two do you prefer?

Food

- 19 What kind of food do you eat at all Polish (German, British) food
home? about half-and-half
 all Australian food
- 20 Very often you have to eat the kind of food that is cooked for you, but
what kind of food do you really prefer?
- 21 Do you have any arguments with with your mother
your parents about the foreign your father
foods they make you eat and the
Australian foods you like to eat?
- 22 How severe are these arguments slight
would you say? moderate
 severe

Language

(only for Polish and German children)

- 23 What language do you speak at only English
home? half-and-half
 only Polish (German)
- 24 What language do you really only English
prefer to speak at home? half-and-half
 only Polish (German)
- 25 Do you personally object when your parents and their friends speak in
Polish (German) in the house?
- 26 Are you keen to learn how to write and read Polish (German)?

- 27 Do you attend the Polish (German) weekend school?
 28 Do you find that going there is of much use to you, or would you rather spend your time on something else?
 29 Is it your father or your mother who mostly insists that you speak and study Polish (German) in the house?
 30 Do they make you read Polish (German) newspapers and books?
 31 Do you read them?
 32 What are they?
 33 Do you resent having to do it, and do you quarrel with your parents about it?
 34 How severe are these arguments slight
 with father? moderate
 severe

and with mother?

(for English children only)

- Do you use any Australian slang words?
 Would you rather speak English the way Australians speak it, or rather the way your parents speak it?
 Do you have any arguments with your parents regarding the matter of speaking?
 How severe are there arguments slight
 with father? moderate
 severe

and with your mother?

Social Contacts

- 35 With whom do you mostly play? all Australian children
 (for young children) half-and-half
 With whom do you mostly go only immigrant children
 out together? (for older children)
 36 With whom do you prefer to play all Australian children
 (go out together)? mixed Australian and immigrant child-
 ren
 only immigrant children
 37 Do your parents make you mix with any particular lot of children, or are you free to choose your own friends?
 38 Who are your real friends? Are all Australian
 they mixed
 all immigrants

(as applicable)

- 39 What makes you choose one or the other or both?
 40 Do you have any arguments with your parents regarding the nationality of your friends?
 41 How severe are these arguments? slight
 moderate
 severe
 42 Have you ever mixed with children who have been in trouble with the police?

Leisure Activities

- 43 How do you spend your leisure time?
- 44 Would you say that you are quite Australian
spending it in a way which is half-and-half
not Australian at all
- 45 Which do you really prefer, the Australian way or the immigrant way?
- 46 Do you have any arguments with with your father
your parents about this? mother
- 47 How severe are these arguments? slight
moderate
severe
- 48 How do you feel when your parents take you to Polish (German, British)
parties?
- 49 Do you have any arguments with your mother or father on account of your
desire to become an Australian?
- 50 Would you describe your parents as still very much Polish (German, British)
or would you say they are becoming more and more like Australians?
- 51 When you think about it very carefully, could you point to anything in
your parents' conduct which you somehow resent?
- 52 Do you feel yourself to be more completely Australian
Australian than Polish (German, half-and-half
British) now? completely Polish (German, British)
- 53 Were you at any time greatly confused and uncertain about the choice
between the so called Australian way of life and the way of life typical of
your parents?
- 54 Are you at present quite decided upon your choice?
- 55 Apart from possible holidays abroad would you like to spend the rest of
your life in Australia?
- 56 Many young people today seem to have quite a bit of trouble with the
authorities. Have you ever had any bother with the school authorities or
the police?
- 57 Was this last year, in 1967 or before?
- 58 What do you think makes you get into trouble? Tell me more about it.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR AUSTRALIAN CHILDREN

Date:

Interview No:

(Questions 1-6 are the same as in the Interview Schedule for Immigrant Children)

- 7 (For children at school and at work)
Are there any immigrant children at your school?
Are there any immigrants at your place of work?
- 8 Do you know from which country they came?
- 9 What do you think of the immigrant children as students?
What do you think of the immigrants as workers?
- 10 Do the immigrant children stick together at school, or do they mix with the
Australian pupils?
Do the immigrant workers stick together, or do they mix with other
Australians?
- 11 Do you like the immigrant children as much as Australians, or not?
Do you like the immigrant workers as much as Australians, or not?

- 12 Do you mix with the immigrant children after school for play or sport?
(Questions 13-22 are the same as 7-16 in Interview Schedule for Immigrant Children)
- 23 Are you at all interested in football not played according to Australian rules?
- 24 Have you ever attended football games as played by the various migrant groups in this State?

Food

- 25 Would you say that the food you eat at home is typically Australian food, or has it also a mixture of some immigrant foods?
- 26 Which sort do you really prefer, only Australian food, or mixed foods?
(Questions 27 and 28 are the same as 21 and 22 in Interview Schedule for Immigrant Children)

Language

- 29 How do you feel when immigrants speak in their own language at school, at work or in the street?
- 30 Do you ever go into immigrant homes where a foreign language is spoken?
- 31 If so, does this worry you a great deal?
- 32 Do you think that it is proper for immigrants to speak English, when other Australians are about, or should they please themselves the way they speak at all times?
- 33 Have your contacts with immigrants made you want to learn some foreign languages, or do you think that English is good enough for you?
- 34 Some parents and children often argue about ways of speaking even in English. Do you have any quarrels with your parents about this?
- 35 How severe are these arguments?
(Questions 36-43 are the same as 35-42 in Immigrant Children's Interview Schedule)

Leisure Activities

- 44 What do you do in your leisure time?
- 45 Do you ever attend dances and parties organised by immigrants?
- 46 If so, what attracts you to them?
- 47 Do you think that immigrants can teach Australians a few things about spending one's leisure, or should immigrants learn from us how to go about it?
- 48 Do you feel that immigrant children and youth are just as interested in sport as Australians?
- 49 Should they be more interested in it and play more of it?
- 50 Do you have any arguments with your parents on account of the way you spend your free time? What in particular don't they like you doing?
- 51 How severe are these arguments? slight
 moderate
 severe

(Question 52 is the same as 51 in the Schedule for Immigrant Children;
Questions 53-55 are the same as 56-58 in that Schedule)

Appendix II *Immigration**Table 105 Polish, German, and British immigrants to Western Australia in the years 1949-60*

Year	Polish	German	British
1949	1,925	58	8,035
1950	5,913	108	6,585
1951	22	183	5,150
1952	42	175	5,987
1953	19	841	4,463
1954	4	668	4,366
1955	14	208	4,801
1956	13	128	4,400
1957	27	103	4,293
1958	51	119	5,314
1959	64	157	4,559
1960	66	344	4,730

Appendix III Assimilation

Table 106 Immigrant children's external and subjective assimilation

	Polish				German				British			
	Boys (n = 17)		Girls (n = 23)		Boys (n = 19)		Girls (n = 13)		Boys (n = 19)		Girls (n = 13)	
	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1
Food												
External	7	10	—	10	13	—	13	6	—	9	4	6
Subjective	1	2	14	5	5	13	4	8	7	3	4	6
Language												
External	1	9	7	2	12	9	10	9	—	2	11	—
Subjective	8	3	6	7	3	13	9	1	3	9	1	15
Social contacts												
External	3	14	—	3	17	3	12	6	1	6	7	—
Subjective	4	9	4	1	16	6	10	5	4	2	11	—
Leisure												
External	9	5	3	9	9	5	16	2	1	8	5	—
Subjective	10	2	5	11	5	7	14	4	1	8	5	—
Overall												
External	1	13	3	—	18	5	9	10	—	2	11	—
Subjective	3	8	6	5	9	9	12	7	—	4	8	1

Table 107 *Immigrant parents' external and subjective assimilation*

		Polish		German		British	
		Fathers (n = 25)	Mothers (n = 25)	Fathers (n = 25)	Mothers (n = 25)	Fathers (n = 25)	Mothers (n = 25)
Food	External Subjective	3 2 1 3 2 1 3 2 1 3 2 1 3 2 1					
		1 6 18 — 9 16 —	1 5 19 — 3 22 1 14 10 3 2 1 3 2 1	16 9 1 20 4 2 14 9 1 13 11			
Language	At home	1 19 5 1 14 10 1 24 —		1 24 — 1 24 —			
	At work	13 6 6 7 9 9 24 1 — 18 7 —		1 — 18 7 —			
	In the street	— 4 21 — 1 22 4 11 10 3 8 14 —		— 25 — — 25 —			
	With friends at home	— 4 20 — 1 22 1 5 19 — 5 20 —		— 25 — — 25 —			
Social contacts	External	1 15 8 1 7 15 1 23 1 — 24 1 7 17 1 6 19 —		1 23 1 — 24 1 7 17 1 6 19 —			
	Subjective	3 9 12 3 1 20 5 17 3 8 10 7 6 16 3 6 15 4		3 8 10 7 6 16 3 6 15 4			
Leisure	External	5 4 15 1 4 15 15 9 1 7 13 4 17 1 7 13 4 8		1 7 13 4 17 1 7 13 4 17 1 7 13 4 8			
	Subjective	4 4 16 1 1 18 15 7 3 10 8 6 15 2 8 14 3 8		3 10 8 6 15 2 8 14 3 8			
Overall	External	— 13 12 — 9 16 2 22 1 — 23 2 11 10 4 4 20 1		— 23 2 11 10 4 4 20 1			
	Subjective	4 6 15 — 3 22 17 5 3 9 10 6 11 9 5 5 16 4		5 3 9 10 6 11 9 5 5 16 4			

Note: Where figures do not add up to 25, subjects have no friends, social contacts or leisure, as noted in the text.

Table 109 External and subjective assimilation of Polish university and non-university graduates and their attitudes to their children's assimilation

		Graduates (n = 15)			Non-graduates (n = 23)		
		3	2	1	3	2	1
Food	External	5	7	3	1	5	17
	Subjective	3	4	8	1	3	19
Language	External	1	11	3	1	19	3*
	Subjective	3	2	10	1	6	16
Social contacts	External	7	4	4	1	15	6†
	Subjective	7	3	5	3	8	11
Leisure	External	7	6	2	4	3	15‡
	Subjective	6	4	5	3	3	16
Overall	External	11	1	3	—	12	11
	Subjective	4	3	8	4	6	13
<i>Attitudes to Food</i>		2	9	4	3	11	9
English spoken by children at home		Yes 10 No 5			Yes 14 No 9		
Social contacts		6	8	1	2	18	3
Leisure		12	2	1	11	9	3
Overall assimilation		8	3	4	9	9	5

* At home only.

† One has no social contacts.

‡ One has no leisure.

able 110 *External and subjective assimilation of Australian children and their parents and Australian parents' attitudes to their children's assimilation*

		Boys (n = 20)			Girls (n = 18)			Fathers (n = 25)			Mothers (n = 25)		
		3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1
Food	External	14	6	—	12	6	—	16	9	—	14	11	—
	Subjective	9	11	—	9	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Language	External	20	—	—	18	—	—	25	—	—	25	—	—
	Subjective	20	—	—	18	—	—	25	—	—	25	—	—
Social contacts	External	6	14	—	4	14	—	12	10*	—	10	12*	—
	Subjective	5	15	—	4	14	—	11	11*	—	9	13*	—
Leisure	External	20	—	—	18	—	—	25	—	—	25	—	—
	Subjective												
Overall assimilation	External	3	17	—	4	14	—	10	15	—	9	16	—
	Subjective	3	13	4	4	11	3	9	13	3	8	11	6
<i>Parents' Attitudes to</i>													
Social contacts													
Leisure													
Overall													

* Three families have no social contacts.

† In seven families parents expressed no preferences. See Table 69.

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Note: This list includes sources cited in the text and a selection of the most relevant works on the subject.

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Book designed by ANU Architecture/Design Unit
Text set in 10/12 Baskerville
and printed on 85 gsm Burnie English Finish
by John Sands Pty. Ltd. Halstead Press Division



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Printed in Australia
Jacket designed by ANU
Architecture/Design Section



The series *Immigrants in Australia* is the result of a project sponsored by the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia. Already published are:

Jean I. Martin, *Community and Identity: Refugee Groups in Adelaide*

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