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„Second Generation of Polish Migrants in Austria and Language"

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ABSTRACT

The scale and patterns of migration flows have varied greatly over time and between countries. In today's world, culture and linguistic diversity are features that characterize modern societies. We are faced with progressing globalization, and within its growth, attention to issues related to culture, language and social also undergoes significant change. Individual aspects of this trend are different from continent to continent, region to region, ethnicity to ethnicity, and even vary from city to city, but all the places in the world are influenced by the phenomenon called globalization.

After World War II Western European countries have experienced high immigration rates and consequently, growing ratios of foreign-born residents in their populations. Nowadays, most of the European countries can be defined as multicultural and diverse. Countries with one culture and language used by all its residents do not characterize Europe in the 21st century any more.

This thesis will aim to demonstrate the findings of research conducted regarding second-generation Poles living in Austria. The project is based upon surveys of young Poles (22-35 years old) that were raised and completed their education in Austria. The questionnaire covered a wide range of issues. The main focus is on the Polish language proficiency over time within the second generation of migrants. Another aim of research is to investigate how important the language is for children of Polish migrants and how often they use it.

KURZFASSUNG

Im Laufe der Zeit und in Bezug auf die Länder haben sich die Dimensionen und Richtungen der Migrationsströme stark verändert. In der heutigen Welt stellen Kultur und sprachliche Vielfalt Besonderheiten dar, welche die modernen Gesellschaften charakterisieren. Wir sind mit der fortschreitenden Globalisierung konfrontiert und mit ihr, der wachsenden Aufmerksamkeit auf Fragen im Zusammenhang mit Kultur, Sprache und sozialen Veränderungen. Allerdings unterscheiden sich alle Aspekte der Globalisierung von Kontinent zu Kontinent, Region zu Region, Ethnizität zu Ethnizität und variieren sogar von Stadt zu Stadt, aber alle Orte der Welt werden durch das Phänomen der Globalisierung beeinflusst.

Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg haben die westeuropäischen Länder hohe Zuwanderungsraten und damit wachsende Verhältnisse von ausländischen Einwohnern in ihrer Bevölkerung erfahren. Heutzutage können die meisten europäischen Länder als multikulturell und vielfältig beschrieben werden. Länder mit einer Kultur und Sprache, die von all ihren Bewohnern benutzt werden, sind nicht mehr charakteristisch für das Europa im 21. Jahrhundert.

Diese Arbeit soll die Forschungserkenntnisse über die in Österreich lebenden Polen der zweiten Generation veranschaulichen. Mein Projekt basiert auf Umfragen über junge Polen (im Alter zwischen 22 und 35 Jahren), die in Österreich aufgewachsen sind und hier auch ihre Ausbildung abgeschlossen haben. Der Fragebogen umfasste eine Vielzahl von Themen. Der Schwerpunkt liegt auf den polnischen Sprachkenntnissen im Verlauf der Zeit innerhalb der zweiten Generation von Migranten. Ein weiteres Ziel der Forschung ist es, zu untersuchen, wie wichtig die Sprache für Kinder polnischer Migranten ist und wie oft sie diese benutzen.

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1.   Introduction

Since the beginning of mankind, people have migrated for many reasons (to find more secure living environments or to escape famine, social disruption, etc.). However, patterns of migration flows have significantly changed over time. Globalization, new forms of government and development changes build bridges among societies and nations, and accelerate the ongoing process of international migration.

Today, migration is a global phenomenon that not only connects people from different parts of the world but has also shaped the world as we know. Richardson observes that migration has attracted great attention of the social scientists:

'(...) it (migration) has been studied by demographers, and economists, by sociologists and anthropologists, by historians and political scientists and by psychiatrists and psychologists[1].'

During the last decade, temporary migration has become a new phenomenon that is another consequence of globalization. One of the reasons why people decide to move and work abroad is to have a chance to get to know new cultures and broaden their horizons. Every year students take part in various exchange or internship programs and decide to spend a couple of months abroad. Migrants try to integrate with the host society by learning the language of the country or get involved in various social projects of the region.

Homogenous societies, which characterized most European countries 50 years ago, have now become multicultural societies. The most visible consequence of these social and demographic changes in Europe, according to Sassen, is the emergence of global cities (e.g. London, Berlin, Vienna, Paris) that are not only business centers, but from a sociological point of view, places where many mixed cultures co-exist[2]. Benmayor underlines that: *'(...) migration is a basic feature of social life throughout the world today.[3]'*

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[1] *A. Richardson, A Theory and a Method for the Psychological Study of Assimilation, International Migration Review, p. 3.*
[2] *S. Sassen, Die Global City ist ein brutaler Ort.*
[3] *R. Benmayor; A. Skotnes, Migration and Identity, p. 4.*

According to the statistics published in 2015 by the UNFPA immigrant population stood at 3.3 per cent of the total population (244,000,000 people lived outside their country of origin)[4].

Immigration to Europe has a long history, but increased essentially in the late 20th century. Many Western European countries observed high growth of immigration after World War II. Today, European countries, mostly the EU-15[5], have a sizeable immigrant population of both European and non-European origins. It is caused mainly by the economic growth and political stability. According to the European statistics in 2005, the foreign-born population of Europe, including the citizens of EU states and non-EU states, was 8.8 per cent of the total population[6].

On the other hand, migration causes plenty of problems with assimilation and integration in the host societies that not only affects the migrants, but also their children (the second generation of migrants) and grandchildren (the third generation of migrants). Social and economic integration is a very long process and it requires a lot of effort from public institutions in the host countries.

From the sociolinguistic perspective, migration is a very complex process. When people decide to move abroad, they bring to the new society their culture, mother language and try to adapt in their new place of living. Stevenson and Carl state that: '*time, space, and place go hand in hand in their relationships with language*[7]'. It is interesting to investigate how immigrants deal with the pressure to assimilate and to evaluate the role of their mother tongue in the new environment.

Migrants and their children struggle in their everyday life with plenty of problems and difficulties (culture shock, homesickness, and problems with the cultural identity) in the host societies. However, living in two cultures can bring numerous advantages, e.g. understanding several cultures and languages. For decades, scientists have analyzed migrants and their children mostly in the context of integration processes, economic, and racial issues. The role of heritage language in shaping the cultural identity is a relatively new topic in the literature.

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[4] *UNFPA, Migration.*
[5] *The EU-15: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.*
[6] *C. Brettell, Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines, p. 5.*
[7] *P. Stevenson; J. Carl, Language and Social Change in Central Europe: Discourses on Policy, Identity and the German Language, p. 19.*

In 2015, the Polish Embassy in Vienna launched the project called 'Integration durch die Sprache: Muttersprache – Deutsch - Integration' ('Integration through the language: mother tongue - German integration'). The aim of this project was to investigate and present how children of Polish migrants in Austria can deal with two cultures and languages. The statements below come from individuals who took part in this project[8]:

'Moi rodzice przeprowadzili się do Austrii przed moimi narodzinami. Wychowałam się w Wiedniu, ale jestem z Polski. Język polski jest moim ojczystym językiem, a język niemiecki drugim językiem' (Julia, 11 years old)

English translation:

'My parents moved to Austria before I was born. I grew up in Vienna, but I am from Poland. All of my friends from Vienna speak Polish. Polish is my mother tongue and German is the second language.' (Julia, 11 years old)

'Język polski nie jest moim językiem ojczystym, ale językiem mojego ojca. Uczyłam się języka polskiego i niemieckiego równolegle. Czasami mam bardzo duże problemu z polską ortografią i gramatyką, ale nadal ten język jest dla mnie bardzo ważny.' (Ania,10 years old)

English translation:

'Polish is not my mother tongue, but the language of my father. I learnt Polish and German simultaneously. Sometimes I have a lot of problems with Polish grammar and orthography, but still this language is very important for me.' (Ania, 10 years old)

'Z moją mama rozmawiam tylko po polsku. Czasami nie rozumiem wszystkiego, ale staram się uczyć języka polskiego codziennie. To jest język mojej rodziny, moje korzenie.' (Igor, 12 years old)

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[8] *The quotes were taken from the video promoting the project: 'Integration durch die Sprache: Muttersprache -Deutsch - Integration', launched by the Polish Embassy in Vienna, June, 26, 2015.*

English translation:

'With my mother I speak just in Polish. Sometimes I do not understand everything, but I am trying and learn Polish every day. This is the language of my family, my roots.' (Igor, 12 years old)

1.1. Research Objectives

The main purpose of this thesis is to present an overview of the theoretical concepts of bilingualism and biculturalism and compare them with the real life situation of the second generation of migrants in Austria. In order to support this research, a survey was conducted. For the purpose of my thesis, I decided to use the example of second generation Poles as a case study and tested all the theoretical concepts presented in the first part of my thesis. I chose second generation Poles for my analysis because of two reasons. Firstly, I come from Poland and it was easy to make contact with the Polish community in Austria and conduct my research. Moreover, as a Polish native speaker, I had no problems communicating with the Polish organizations in Austria, reviewing the statistics and documents released by the Polish authorities and, finally, collecting data for the thesis. Secondly, I decided to choose Austria for my empirical research, because of very strong migration patterns from Poland to Austria, especially during the time of the Martial Law in Poland between 1981 and 1983.

Today, according to the data presented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, 60,000 Poles live in Austria, of which 20,000 are their children, who are enrolled in public schools and universities mostly in big cities like Vienna, Graz or Salzburg.

The thesis will therefore address the following research question:

   'How do children of Polish immigrants in Austria keep the Polish language alive?'

Combined with the main research question, the following sub-question was formulated. The aim is to investigate the influence of the heritage language on the cultural identity:

4

'What is the relationship between the language of parents and the cultural identity among the second generation of Polish migrants in Austria?'

The empirical part of the thesis investigates the outcomes of the surveys, presents the case study conducted for the purpose of this research, and identifies the relationship between the second generation of migrants in Austria and the Polish language. The final chapter summarizes all the results and answers the research question.

1.2. Research Design

Following this introductory chapter, the research design and methodology, the remainder of this paper is structured as follows: chapter 2 provides an extensive literature review of migration, presents the concept of culture, identity and biculturalism. Chapter 3 describes the structure of society in Austria, Polish migration patterns, and in the last section, Polish migration flows to Austria and characteristics of the Polish community in Austria. Chapter 4 focuses on the link between language and identity, and teaching the Polish language abroad, especially in Austria. Chapters 6 and 7 are the empirical part and they analyze the outcome of the survey conducted for the purpose of this thesis. The last chapter, number 8, summarizes the results of the research and answers the research question. The last chapter concludes this thesis with an outlook for further research.

1.3. Methodology

This thesis contains two main parts: the theoretical part (chapters from 2 to 5) and the empirical research (chapters from 6 to 7). In the last chapter conclusions are drawn in order to summarize findings, connect the theoretical part with the empirical one and present the answer to the main research question:

'How do children of Polish immigrants in Austria keep the Polish language alive?'

After reviewing the literature, I selected various concepts in order to find an answer to the research question. The theoretical part provided the basis for analyzing the empirical part and constructing the survey that was conducted for the purpose of the thesis. After identifying all the concepts, the necessary literature was selected and investigated. The main sources were:

- scientific books
- journals
- data from Polish and Austria statistical offices: Polish Statistics Office (GUS) and Austrian Statistics Office (Statistik Austria)
- documents from international organizations (ILO, UN)
- websites of Polish organizations (Strzecha, Forum Polonii, Wspólnota Polaków w Górnej Austrii) and schools in Austria
- Polish magazines and newspapers in Austria

The theoretical part of the thesis is divided into three subparts. Chapter 3 presents the concepts of: cultural identity, biculturalism, bilingualism and the definition of the second generation of migrants. Chapters 3 and 4 concentrate on the Polish migration patterns to Austria and analyze the history of relations between Austria and Poland. The last chapter of the theoretical part concentrates on the Polish organizations and educational institutions that promote the Polish language and culture in Austria.

The second, empirical part, presents the outcome of the survey conducted among the second generation of Polish migrants in Austria. For the purpose of the empirical part, a survey was created, due to the fact that questionnaires are easy to construct, enable to gather a large amount of information in a short period of time and in the form that is readily processable[9]. This method of collecting data was introduced in order to identify the role of the Polish language among the second generation of migrants in Austria and tests the theoretical concept from the first part of the thesis.

The survey was distributed among the second generation of Poles in Austria. The language of the survey was Polish because the target group were people who can speak

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[9] *Z. Dornyei, Questionnaires in Second Language Research: Construction, Administration and Processing, p. 1.*

and write in Polish. The questionnaire was filled out during the conference of young Poles in Austria 'We are the future' that took place in June 2015 in Vienna[10].

The questionnaire contains 18 questions, divided into three thematic sections in order to collect specific pieces of information. Two different response options were introduced: self-assessment and open questions. The purpose of the first section was to collect the data about the knowledge of Polish by the respondents (self-assessment questions). For the purpose of this part, a rating scale was prepared that requires the respondent to make an evaluation. Rating scales helped to measure the level of knowledge of Polish among the selected respondents. Moreover, one 'true versus false' question was asked in this part of the survey.

The second section measures the usefulness of Polish in everyday life, while the last section collects the data about the importance of Polish among the respondents. Open questions were used that gather specific information about the spheres of respondents' lives where this language is used. What is more, this part of the survey collects the data about the specific sources used by the respondents to learn the language and details of how they keep contact with Polish (clarification questions).

The introduction part of the survey collected the demographic data by asking the respondents about their personal backgrounds. All the respondents who took part in the survey were between 20 and 35 years old, most of them students. Questionnaires were filled out by 12 individuals, who answered all the questions. No data are missing.

Chapter 7 analyzes the results of the survey. This section divided the data collected in the survey into three parts: questions identifying the knowledge of Polish, questions identifying the cultural identity and questions identifying the life spheres where Polish is used. The data were then analyzed by gender. This helped find the answer to the main research question and use the theoretical concepts of bilingualism and biculturalism presented in the first part of the thesis (chapter 3 and chapter 4).

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[10] *Forum Polonii, Wspólnota Polskich Organizacji w Austrii.*

I THEORETICAL PART

2.   World on the Move

In today's globalizing world, it is important to have an ability to cooperate with individuals from different cultures, make intercultural connections, and, most importantly, to build intercultural bridges. Biculturalism and multiculturalism are significant elements of globalization and some of the main features of migration.

Today Europe struggles with one of the biggest migration crises after the end of World War II. Every day, thousands of people risk their lives for a better future. Among the European politicians, migration is not only a major topic, but also one of the most disputed.

The main aim of this thesis is to define and analyze the second generation of migrants. Most of them live parallelly in two cultures: that of their home country and that of their current country of residence. This group can be an interesting target for the researchers in plenty of disciplines.

The purpose of this chapter is:

- to present different theoretical concepts of migration
- to define the first and the second generation of migrants

All of the definitions and concepts presented in this chapter will constitute the basis for the second part of the thesis that analyzes the conducted survey.

2.1. Definitions and classification of migration

'*There is no one definitive theory in migration[11].*'

Population shifts command a great deal of attention among historians and social scientists. From ancient empires to the present, history knows remarkable stories about migration. People decide to migrate for various reasons, but mostly because migration generates hope for a better quality of life. According to Hoerder, migration can be defined as a social process and as a basic condition of human societies[12].

The 20th century brought large scale horizontal movements of populations. One of the main factors of the growing migration is the transformation from Fordism to Post-Fordism economy, based on growing production and consumption[13]. The beginning of the 21st century was the peak period of modern migration and globalization.

Migration (lat. *migratio*) can be classified to different disciplines (e.g. Sociology, Geography, Global History, Anthropology, Cultural Studies), because of its complexity and interdisciplinary character. Castles states that migration is an important element of shaping social transformation and fundamental changes in societies, it is a unique and dynamic phenomenon[14].

The main reason for the wide range of definitions of migration is the fact that each of them is formulated with a different purpose in mind. From the cultural point of view, migration can be defined as:

'*(…) experience that can lead to the development of a specific lifestyle, as a form of a subculture with certain expressive symbols[15].*'

Migration always leads to cultural interactions and exchanges between the host society and migrants. On the one hand, this diversity of cultures increases mental flexibility, tolerance, social and political innovations and is an important economic growth factor, but on the other hand it can lead to conflicts and discrimination.

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[11] *P. Manning, Migration in World History, p. 2.*
[12] *D. Hoerder, Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium, p. 1.*
[13] *D. Hoerder, Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium, p. 79.*
[14] *S. Castles; M. Miller, The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World, p. 145.*
[15] *R. Richter; J. Pflegerl, Living in Migration in Austria, Journal of Comparative Family Studies, p. 517.*

In 1944, during the International Conference on Population and Development, experts found that migration has a great impact on the transfer of skills and contributes to cultural enrichment. In 1948, the right to move was recognized globally with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights. The declaration states in Article 13:

'1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State. (...) 2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country[16].'

In literature, there are various classifications of migration. Table 1 presents the classification of human mobility by Cohen due to the spatial, time, social aspects and the reasons for migration.

spatial aspects	time aspects	social aspects	reasons for migration
international mobility (change of residence within national boundaries)	temporary (for a couple of months, years)	individual migration	voluntary migration (e.g. labor migrants)
internal mobility (change of residence over national boundaries)	permanent (intention of permanent settlement)	massive migration	forced migration (e.g. refugees)

Table 1: Classification of human mobility[17]

Migration can be described and defined from different perspectives. The cross-cultural exchange between migrants, their children and natives is very important and shapes the world of today. Manning argues that without cross-community migration there is far less chance of cross-cultural exchange[18].

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[16] *UN, International Migration Report, p.1.*

[17] *R. Cohen, Theories of Migration, p. 3.*

[18] *P. Manning, Migration in World History, p. 9.*

2.2.   Second generation of migrants

Children and young adults with a foreign background are very often a topic of different debates. On the one hand, children of migrants are defined as those who cannot fully integrate and are more likely to be clustered in disadvantaged schools[19]. Juhasz and Mey investigated the situation of children and teenagers with a foreign background in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Their research reveals that very often children of migrants have a problem with their cultural identity and a problem of how to live and accept two different cultures. Their family background differs from the culture of the country of their residence [20].

On the other hand, children of migrants can also bring benefit for their host societies. They are bicultural from the moment they were born. Brannen underlines that bicultural people deeply internalize more than one cultural profile and are a significant result of the globalization process[21]. One child whose parents moved to Austria before he was born said:

'For me it is evident that I am a mix. I grew up here with other Austrians but also with my parents. This is why I feel like living in two different worlds at the same time [22].'

To build a definition for the second generation of migrants, it is important to start by defining the first generation of migrants. The term first generation refers to those people who decided to migrate from their country of birth to another country. According to the Statistisches Jahrbuch the first generation of migrants is defined as:

'(...) Menschen gehören der sogenannten 'ersten Generation' an, da sie selbst im Ausland geboren worden waren und nach Österreich zugezogen sind [23].'

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[19] OECD, Education at a Glance, p. 94.

[20] A. Juhasz; E. Mey, Die Zweite Generation: Etablierte oder Außenseiter?, Biografien von Jugendlichen ausländlicher Herkunft, p. 11.

[21] M. Brannen; D. Garcia; D. Thomas; Biculturals as Natural Bridges for Intercultural Communication and Collaboration, p. 207.

[22] J. Fennes, Biculturalism and the Second Generation of Migrants in Austria, p. 37.

[23] E. Baldaszti; R. Fuchs; J. Kytir; S. Marik-Lebeck; P. Rumpolt; A. Wisbauer, Statistisches Jahrbuch: Migration und Integration, p. 22.

English translation:

'(...) People belonging to the so-called 'first generation' are those, who were born abroad and moved to Austria.'

In Austria, West Germany (FRG) and Switzerland a guest worker program ('Gastarbeiter') was introduced in the 1960s and 1970s, which allowed foreigners to come to work temporarily there. The main beneficiaries of this program include immigrants from Turkey, Yugoslavia, Portugal, and Morocco. Most of these migrants decided to settle down and brought their families to their new countries of residence.

According to the Austria Statistik, 181,200 individuals with a mixed background (5 per cent of Austrian population) and 70,100 people with a foreign background (1.9 per cent of Austrian population) lived in Austria in 2011[24].

The second generation of migrants comprises children of first generation migrants born in the host country[25]. However, this definition of second generation migrants is problematic. Juhasz and Mey state that this definition excludes a group of people who migrated with their parents as small children and spent most of their life in the host country[26].

In the Statistisches Jahrbuch, the second generation of migrants is defined as:

'Internationalen Definitionen zufolge umfasst die Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund alle Personen, deren Eltern (beide Elternteile) im Ausland geboren wurden, unabhängig von ihrer Staatsangehörigkeit[27].'

English translation:

'According to international definitions, the population with a migration background includes all individuals whose parents (both parents) were born abroad, irrespective of their nationality.'

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[24] *Eurostat Statistical Books, Migrants in Europe: a Statistical Portrait of the First and Second Generation, p. 122.*

[25] *A. Treibel, Migration in modernen Gesellschaften: soziale Folgen von Einwanderung, Gastarbeit und Flucht, p. 129.*

[26] *A. Juhasz; E. Mey, Die Zweite Generation: Etablierte oder Außenseiter? Biografien von Jugendlichen ausländischer Herkunft, p. 18.*

[27] *E. Baldaszti; R. Fuchs; J. Kytir; S. Marik-Lebeck; P. Rumpolt; A. Wisbauer, Statistisches Jahrbuch: Migration und Integration Statistisches Jahrbuch: Migration und Integration, p. 22.*

Treibel distinguishes the following three categories of the second generation of migrants:

- Children of migrants who do not have the citizenship of the host country
- Children of migrants who have the citizenship of the host country
- Children of migrants who were born as citizens of the host country[28]

Viehböck and Bratic give a more political definition of second generation migrants. According to them, this group can be classified as the foreign adolescents who became natives, but who are still foreigners according to the political understanding[29].

According to the Eurostat statistics from 2008, there were around 6,000,000 native-born individuals (between 15 and 24 years old), who have one parent born abroad and around 4,000,000 who have both parents born abroad. The high rate of the second generation of migrants is observed in Estonia, Latvia, Luxembourg, France. On the other hand, in Hungary, Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal there is a low proportion of second generation migrants[30]. The chart below presents the second generation of migrants in the EU (15-24 years old) by the type of background in the European Union countries.
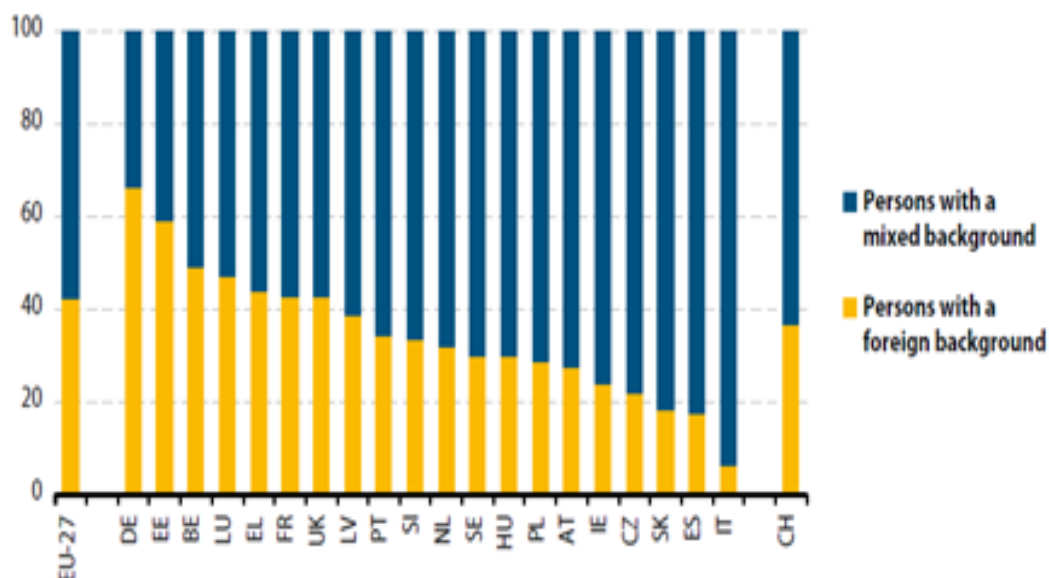
Table 2: The second generation of migrants (15-24 years old) by the type of background in EU (2008)[31]

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[28] *A. Treibel, Migration in modernen Gesellschaften: soziale Folgen von Einwanderung, Gastarbeit und Flucht, p. 129.*

[29] *E. Viehböck; L. Bratic, Die Zweite Generation: Migrantenjugendliche im Deutschsprachigen Raum, p. 192.*

[30] *Eurostat Statistical Books, Migrants in Europe: a Statistical portrait of the First and Second generation, p. 121.*

[31] *Eurostat Statistical Books, Migrants in Europe: a Statistical portrait of the First and Second generation, p. 123.*

For the purpose of the thesis, the following definitions have been used:

1. ***Migrant*** **-** any person who lives temporarily or permanently in the country where she or he was not born

2. ***First generation of migrant*** - any person who has permanently migrated from their country of birth to another country

3. ***Second generation of migrant*** **-** any person who is born in the host country and has at least one of parent who is a migrant

3.   Migration, culture and identity

' Immigrants increasingly have greater difficulty and less interest in identifying with the places to which they migrate[32]. '

One of the visible effects of globalization is an increase in the mobility of people. It leads to cultural diversity and cultural diffusion, which is called by sociologists a *'global culture'*. According to the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, adopted by the UNESCO in 2001, cultural diversity is '*a common heritage of humanity[33]*'. Article 1 of the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity underlines:

'(...) as a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature[34]. '

When people migrate from their country of origin to another, they carry their culture and knowledge with them. From this perspective, migration can be defined as a process of social changes that includes leaving their existing social networks behind and building entirely new ones. Migrants in the host societies have to discover their cultural identity and build their position anew.

The next two sections deal with the notions of culture and the cultural identity in relation to migration and second generation migrants. This is a starting point for a further chapter that analyzes the link between identity and language.

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[32] *J. Friedmann; S. Randeria, Worlds on the Move: Globalization, Migration and Cultural Security, p. 91.*
[33] *UNESCO, Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, p. 4.*
[34] *UNESCO, Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, p. 4.*

3.1. Culture and identity

The word culture is derived from the Latin word '*cultus*' which means '*care*' or become '*cultured*'. In 1936 the Webster dictionary defined culture as: '*the complex of distinctive attainments, beliefs, traditions, etc., constituting the background of racial, religious, or social groups (...)[35].*'

According to this definition culture can be characterized as a way a given group of people lives which plays the role of cement that bonds all individuals together. According to Kidd, culture can be defined as '*a result of collective, combined and interrelated efforts of all its members[36]*'. He distinguishes three elements that characterize culture:

- a common set of norms and values that leads to social changes
- a common set of beliefs, traditions and rituals
- dominant patterns of living (styles of architecture, land use, etc.) [37]

There is a strong link between culture and identity. Culture is an element that shapes a person's identity and the sense of self-awareness. On the other hand, identity represents the perception of ourselves[38]. Marx and Durkheim argue that human beings are manipulated by their culture and their identity is something given by the group rather than created by individuals. Jenks does not agree with this concept, and defines identity as a process of understanding ourselves and the others. Kidd distinguishes three types of identity:

- **Individual identity -** sense of personhood held by each social actor
- **Social identity -** sense of belonging to a group, individuals identifying themselves with other members of a group
- **Cultural identity -** sense of belonging to a specific ethnic, cultural group[39]

To conclude, culture is passed from one generation to another and is one of the elements of socialization. The concepts of culture and identity allow scholars to explain different

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[35] A. Kroeber, C. Kluckhohn, Culture: a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions, p. 33.
[36] W. Kidd, Culture and Identity, p. 17.
[37] W. Kidd, Culture and Identity, p. 18.
[38] W. Kidd, Culture and Identity, p. 45.
[39] W. Kidd, Culture and Identity, p. 26.

behaviors among societies. Increasing globalization leads to the transmission of ideas and values (by media advertising, social portals, etc.) around the world and consequently the creation of global culture. It can be visible, especially in the western countries. However, migrants also have a great impact on shaping the global culture and multicultural societies. The next section analyzes this issue more deeply.

3.2.   Migration, identity and networks

Today, migration opens up global lines of communication. Human mobility across the globe links nations together. The movement of people across borders, all over the world, especially from developing to developed countries, has a great impact on international relations and culture. A great role is played by the electronic media that shrink distances and increase opportunities for cross-cultural sharing. Development of technology enabled intercultural communication between people from different countries and even continents. Today's world can be defined as a 'global village', that was correctly forecasted in 1962 by the Canadian professor McLuhan.

In the 20th and 21st centuries, globalization has changed our world significantly. Today very few contemporary countries (e.g. China, Japan) are constructed with a homogenous population. The diverse range of cultures and identities characterize modern societies. Migration has contributed to the richness and diversity of cultures all over the world, and consequently to the creation of multicultural societies. Merkel states that tolerance, as well as social and economic creativity are very well developed in the multicultural societies. On the other hand, he points out that culturally homogeneous societies are easier to control and manage by governments. In heterogeneous societies very often parallel societies can be distinguished[40].

A multicultural person can be defined as an individual who can successfully hold two or more cultural identities. Adler characterizes this type of a person as very adaptive, and

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[40] W. Merkel, Economy, Culture and Discourse: Social Democracy in a Cosmopolitanism Trap?, Social Europe.

open to change, someone who can easily shift between identities. He underlines that multicultural people can easily trust and cooperate with people from other nations[41].

For the purpose of his research, Sparrow interviewed many individuals with a multicultural background. One of his respondents admitted that:

'I think of myself not as a unified cultural being but as a communion of different cultural beings. Due to the fact that I spent time in different cultural environments, I have developed several cultural identities that diverge and converge according to the need of the moment[42].'

In 1952, two American anthropologist, Kroeber and Kluckhohn, collected 170 definitions of culture in one book 'Culture: a Critical Review of the Concepts and Definitions'. From the migration perspective, one of them is especially interesting:

'(...) culture might be defined as all the activates and non-physiological products of human personalities that are not automatically reflex or instinctive. That in turn means, in biological and physiological parlance, that culture consists of conditioned or learned activates[43].'

This definition presents an interesting approach assuming that culture is not a stable element of personality, but a changing piece of human mind. Migration results in a new dimension of the culture, enriched by migrants and their languages, beliefs, art, law and morals. On the other hand, the European public has questioned the effect of immigration on culture and national identity.

International migrants and their descendants are becoming important political actors and have an influence on shaping the political processes of the country in which they reside. Lucassen and Lucassen point out that certain cross-cultural interactions between the migrants and natives can be distinguished, and they name the following three time dimensions of these[44]:

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[41] *P. Adler, Beyond Cultural Identity: Reflections on Multiculturalism, Everything Mediation.*

[42] *L. M. Sparrow, Beyond Multicultural Man: Complexities of Identity, International Journal of Intercultural Relations p. 190.*

[43] *A. Kroeber; C. Kluckhohn, Culture: a Critical Review of the Concepts and Definitions, p. 48.*

[44] *L. Lucassen; L. Lucassen, Quantifying and Qualifying Cross -Cultural Migrants in Europe Since 1500 a Plea for a Broader View, p. 31.*

1. Interactions between migrants and natives and *vice versa* at the moment of migrants' arrival.
2. Development of interactions during the migration process and the life of the migrant.
3. Development of relations over generations.

Van Hear in one of his articles points out, following Portes and Castles, that migration can cause social changes and shape transformation in both the receiving and the sending societies. People from minority groups adopt the culture and habits of the majority culture. In turn, the majority culture may affiliate some elements of the minority groups. He especially puts emphasis on analyzing the second and the third generation of migrants to analyze the long term effects of migration and cultural changes[45].

Migration can be perceived as a process of social change that includes not only leaving the social networks behind, but also includes experiencing dislocation, alienation and isolation. The main characteristic feature of migrants is that they seek to recreate their own religious, social and cultural networks known from their countries of origin. Immigrants create their own spaces that become an expression of their own identity. Those networks can be defined as interpersonal ties linking friends and community members in their places of origin and destination[46]. They are based on the kinship and friendship relations and provide support for the migrants, but also help the children of migrants have a contact with their parents culture and language. On the other hand, networks also accelerate the migration process. They provide information about the host society, its foreign policy and, importantly, the job market.

Migrants in the host societies, e.g. Poles in Austria or Turks in Germany, develop their own media, schools for their children, where they can learn the language of their parents and ancestors, political institutions, and other services, like cultural institutions, e.g. Polish Institute in Berlin and in Vienna. Social networks play an important role for the children of the migrants and help to develop bicultural or transcultural identities[47]. According to Liebscher and Dailey O'Cain, social networks are important because:

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[45] N. Van Hear, *Theories of Migration and Social Change*, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, p. 1533.

[46] M. Poros, *Migrant Social Networks: Vehicles for Migration, Integration, and Development*, Migration Policy Institute.

[47] S. *Castles, M. Miller, The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, p. 29.

'(…) the idea of community can carry connotations of 'belongingness' and close knit personal ties among people which do not necessarily always fit classrooms, workplaces and other sites where the notion of community of practice has been used[48].'

Putnam distinguishes two important roles of social networks among migrants, namely *bonding* and *bridging*. Bonding (people like us) provides social safety nets to all of the individuals and the group as a whole. Bridging (people unlike us) helps us to communicate with other social groups, share and exchange information. Migrants very often communicate with the social groups from the host societies to build ties with them[49].

To conclude, migration has contributed to the creation of multicultural societies. However, a lot of migrants struggle with the feeling of isolation in the host societies. Individuals who migrate experience loss of their cultural and religious norms that leads to changes in identity and in the concept of self. Social networks help migrants to find their position in the host societies and define their new cultural identity. American studies on the minority groups in the U.S. state that the process of looking for identity in the new cultural context is a long-term process. Moreover, it is a process of shaping and reshaping both collective and individual identities.[50]

3.3. Biculturalism and second generation migrants

The previous chapter defines culture and analyzes the role of the social networks created by migrants that help them to have a contact with their own culture, while their children to get to know better the country of origin of their parents and ancestors.

The term biculturalism literally means two cultures and refers to the situation when people have an ability to effectively navigate in two social groups. It means basically that those two cultures are operative by one person. However, very often they decide to

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[48] *G. Liebscher; J. Dailey O'Cain, Language, Space, and Identity in Migration, p. 14.*

[49] *R.D. Putnam, Bowling Alone: the Collapse and Revival of American Community, p. 23.*

[50] *R. Benmayor; A. Skotnes, Migration and Identity, p. 8.*

identify just with one culture, especially when there is a huge contrast between cultures. It is often difficult to integrate those differences.

Bicultural people can be characterized as those who continue their self-development in both cultures and those who are exposed to two cultural value systems[51]. They have an ability to switch between cultural schemes, norms, and behaviors. Bicultural individuals are not a homogenous group. Padilla defines biculturalism and multiculturalism as demographic characteristics and distinguishes the following categories of bicultural people[52]:

- Immigrants
- Refugees
- Sojourners
- Indigenous people
- Ethnic minorities
- Mixed ethnic minorities
- Second generation of migrants

The main problem is that the host societies have to overcome the integration process. Very often, newcomers fail to assimilate into the mainstream. Bicultural people try to maintain their own identity and keep their traditions and beliefs as a legacy to pass on from one generation to another[53]. In this section, I would like to focus on the last group of bicultural people: the second generation of migrants.

Children of migrants, called the second generation, are an interesting group of bicultural people, because since birth they have lived in a bicultural environments and have an ability to effectively act in two different social groups. Moreover, they may be accepted by both groups. Clement and Noels state that the behavior of the children of migrants may be strongly determined by their heritage when they spend time with their families and by

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[51] J. Ho, *Bicultural Children: What Parents and Teachers Should Know, Childhood Education Journal, p. 37.*

[52] A. Padilla, *Bicultural Social Development, Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, p. 470.*

[53] V. Benet-Martinez; V. Lee; J. Leu, *Biculturalism and Cognitive Complexity: Expertise in Cultural Representations,* Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, *p. 387.*

the host society culture when they are with peers. According to Clement and Noels, this phenomenon is called '*situated identities*'[54].

Children who internalize two cultures struggle to balance their heritage, mainstream cultures and expectations. Ho underlines that bicultural children may very often demonstrate complex and nuanced approaches towards various social situations, and it is the consequences of their origin[55]. Bhabha defines the children of migrants as '*cultural hybrids'*, *global nomads'* or '*cultural chameleons '*[56].

Portes is pessimistic about integration of the children of migrants with the mainstream (the host society). He points out that they are often isolated from the society and live in their community[57]. Among some groups, the second generation of migrants can even experience discrimination because they do not 'fit in' to the basis criteria, e.g. type of dress, language problems[58]. Social policy plays the major role in the process of assimilation of children of migrants in the host society. It is important to organize plenty of possibilities for young people, where they will have contact with local culture and also a chance to present themselves and be accepted by the locals.

To conclude, second generation migrants are usually not so much different from their peers in the host society. However, there are some situations in their lives, when they struggle with some cultural conflicts and they have to look for compromise between the expectations of their heritage norms and the norms of the society where they grew up. However, the new culture does not take anything away from their native heritage, but instead may even be additive and enriching. Having more than one culture and language gives individual more choices on behavior, thoughts and therefore more freedom.

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[54] *R. Clement; K. Noel,. Towards a Situated Approach to Ethnolinguistic Identity: the Effects of Status on Individuals and Groups, Journal of Language and Social Psychology, p. 205.*
[55] *J. Ho, Bicultural Children: What Parents and Children Should Know, Childhood Education Journal, p. 36.*
[56] *H. Bhabha, Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse, Discipleship: A Special Issue on Psychoanalysis, p. 125-133.*
[57] *A. Portes; A. Rivas, The Adaptation of Migrant Children, The Future of Children, p. 219-246.*
[58] *R. Lalonde; B. Giguere, When might the two cultural worlds of second generation biculturals collide?, Journal of International Migration and Integration, p. 59.*

4.   Migration, Poland and Austria

'Migration has been part of human history from the earliest times. However, international migration has grown in volume and significance since 1945 and most particularly since the mid-1980s. Migration ranks as one of the most important factors in global change[59].'

For centuries, Poland and Austria have been connected through cultural and political ties. The first migration flow from Poland to Austria took place in the 18th century, mainly because of the three partitions of Poland between the years 1772 and 1795. It was a difficult period in Polish history, especially for scholars, scientists and artists, who decided to migrate and continue their careers abroad. According to statistics, in 1918 around 3,500,000 Poles lived abroad, mainly in Germany, Austria, France, Great Britain and the U.S[60].

After the end of World War II, Poland was one of the Eastern Block countries and was under the USSR domination. This was a difficult political situation, especially after the introduction of martial law in 1981, which prompted many people to leave Poland and migrate.

In this chapter, I would like to present briefly the migration patterns to Austria and connections between Austria and Poland, especially during the last seventy years. The aim of this chapter is to give an overview about history and position of the Polish community in Austria.

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[59] *S. Castles; M. Miller The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World, p. 79.*
[60] *L. Artner. Quo Vadis Polonia? Die Migration aus Polen und die Polonia in Österreich, p. 48.*

4.1. Global Austria

Austria has a very long and rich tradition of immigration reaching back to the Habsburg Empire. In the 16th century, the position of Austria on the geopolitical map was always dependent upon German or Central European powers. The rise of the Habsburg Empire had strengthened the international position of Austria, which comprised various language groups and people with different cultural and religious backgrounds.

During the 19th and the 20th century, the Habsburg Empire became one of the most popular destinations for migrants. Especially after October 1955, when the Austrian Government declared that the country will stay permanently neutral. Today, in the biggest Austrian cities like Vienna or Graz, live a large number of Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Serbian or Slovak families[61].

time period	main characteristics
1956	between the 23rd October and 10th November 1956 the Hungarian Revolution against the government of the Hungarian People's Republic took place. After the fall of the upraising, **179,000** Hungarians migrated to Austria.
1968	In 1968 the government of Czechoslovakia was led by Alexander Dubcek, who wanted to democratize the state (this period is called the Prague Spring). After the fall of Dubcek government, **163,000** Czechs and Slovaks decided to leave their country and move to Austria.
1981-1983	On the 13th December 1981, martial law was introduced in Poland by the authoritarian communist government. Between 1981 and 1983, thousands of activists were jailed without charge. In that period, around **150,000** Poles decided to migrate to Austria.

Table 3: Three waves of migration to Austria (1956 - 1983)[62]

During the crisis years of the communist regimes in the Eastern parts of Europe, many people decided to move to Austria. In 1956, after the fall of the Hungarian Revolution,
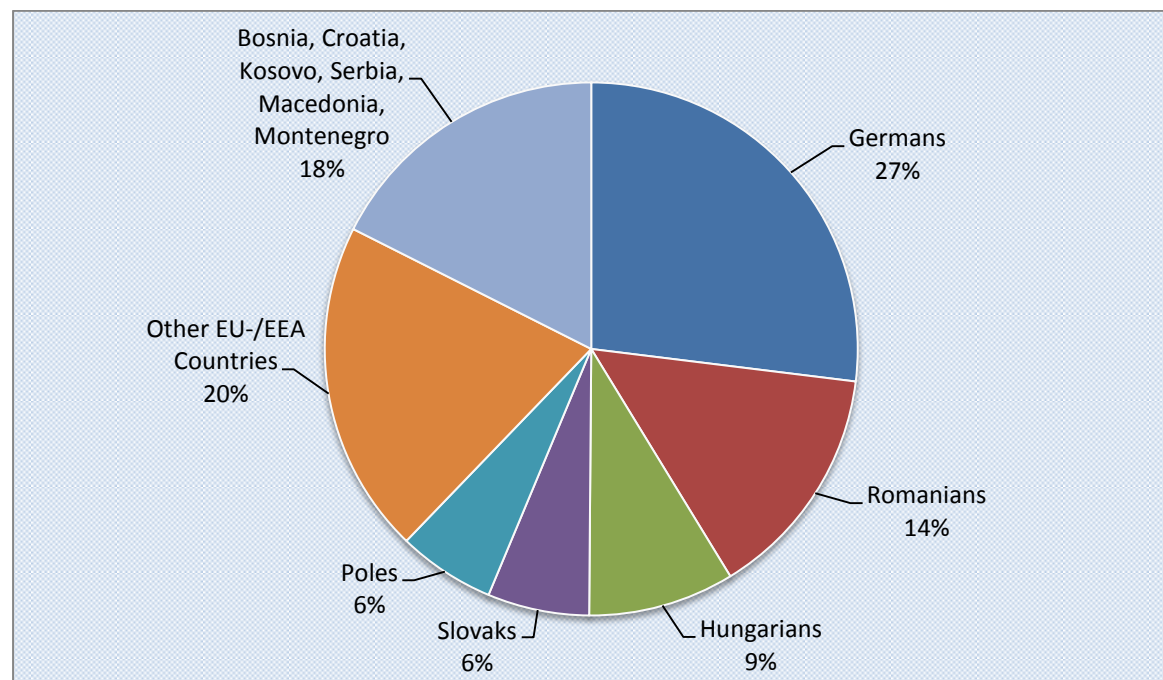
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[61] *G. Bischof; F. Plasser; A. Pelinka; A. Smith, Global Austria: Austria's Place in Europe and the World, p. 120.*

[62] *G. Bischof, F. Plasser, A. Pelinka, A. Smith, Global Austria: Austria's Place in Europe and the World, p. 186.*

more than 170,000 Hungarians decided to migrate to Austria. The next country was Czechoslovakia. After the fall of the Prague Spring, more than 160,000 people decided to leave Czechoslovakia. At the beginning of the 1980s, when the Polish government announced martial law in Poland, around 150,000 Poles decided to come to Austria. Table 3 presents three waves of migrants to Austria in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.

The establishment of the EU has opened a new chapter in the European migration policy. According to the Eurostat Statistics in 2012, approximately 1,700,000 people previously residing in one of the EU Member States migrated to another Member State[63].

In Austria, the restriction approach that dominated from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s has been replaced in 1995, when Austria became a member of the EU, by a more liberal policy. In 2010, 107,785 foreigners decided to move to Austria, 65 per cent of them were EU-citizens (69,692). Chart 1 presents the number of immigrants who moved to Austria in 2010, by citizenship.

Chart 1: Who moved to Austria in 2010? Immigrants by citizenship[64]

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[63] *Eurostat Statistical Books, Migrants in Europe: a Statistical Portrait of the First and Second Generation, p. 60.*

[64] *G. Bischof, F. Plasser, A. Pelinka, A. Smith, Global Austria: Austria's Place in Europe and the World, p. 195.*

According to the Austrian statistics, in 2010 the population of Austria was in total 8,300,000, of which 1,100,000 inhabitants were foreigners. Their children (385,000) represent 4.7 per cent of the society[65]. The highest regional concentration of foreigners is in Vienna (27 per cent) and in the Vorarelberg region (15 per cent).

The contemporary role of Austria in the European area has been overshadowed by its past. Before, it was one of the biggest empires in the 'Old Europe'. Today, it is one of a few republics in Central Europe. However, owing to its standards of 'Western democracy' and stable economic situation Austria attract a lot of migrants.

On the other hand, Austria, like most of the European countries, is struggling with the demographic crisis (demographic aging and low birthrate). One of the solutions to this problem is a more proactive migration policy and finding skilled migrants, who would be more attractive from the economical point of view, especially those from the EU countries.

4.2.   Quo Vadis Polonia?

'Wherever a Pole settles, there a piece of Poland is born. Origin forms a nation, not soil. Soil molds fellow citizen, not countrymen[66].'

History of Poland is characterized largely by emigration. The reasons for those displacements vary, e.g. borders shifts, forced resettlement, political or economic migration[67]. Polish literature, especially from the Romanticism period, is permeated with the ethos of Polish migrants, who decided to leave the country mainly for political or economic reasons[68].

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[65] *G. Bischof; F. Plasser; A. Pelinka; A. Smith, Global Austria: Austria's Place in Europe and the World, p. 192.*

[66] *L. Artner, Quo vadis Polonia? Die Migration aus Polen und die Polonia in Österreich, p. 1.*

[67] *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Polish Diaspora.*

[68] *D. Galasińksi, A. Galasińska, Lost in Communism, Lost in Migration: Narratives of the Post - 1989 Polish Migrant Experience, Journal of Multicultural Discourses, p. 47.*

According to the Polish Foreign Affairs statistics, in 2014 approximately 20,000,000 Poles or people of Polish ancestry lived outside Poland[69]. Communities of Poles or people of Polish origin can be found in the United States (9,336,000), Brazil (1,800,000) France (1,050,000), Canada (900,000), and Argentina (450,000). In December 2014, there were around 60,000 Poles living in Austria.

The first mass migration flows began in the end of the 18th and the 19th century. In that period, three partitions of Poland ended the existence of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and significantly changed the geopolitical map of Europe. The main reason for migration at that time was an unstable economic and political situation, especially after the failure of the two Polish uprisings in November 1830 and January 1863. All of these factors caused massive flows of the political elites and intelligentsia to Western European countries. In the end of the 18th century, around 3,000,000 Poles left their mother land. Most of them moved to Germany, France, and Austria. One third of migrants decided to cross the ocean and move to the United States.

In Polish literature, this movement is called the '*Migration Fiber*' ('gorączka emigracyjna'). From the end of the 18th century until 1918, when Poland regained independence, a major role in Polish political life was played by the political elites outside the country.

The existence of the Polish community was very visible, especially in the United States. In 1878, Władysław Dyniewicz published in Chicago the first Polish newspaper 'Gazeta Polska' ('Polish Newspaper'). Another weekly newspaper called 'Gazeta Polska Katolica' ('Polish Catholic Newspaper') was released also in the US in 1874[70].

The end of World War I was a significant moment in Polish history. The Treaty of Versailles, the most important peace treaty that ended World War I, officially recognized the independence of Poland and renounced 'all rights and title over the territory'. Between 1918 and 1925, around 100,000 Poles came back from the US and 300,000 from the German territory. Poland, as a newly re-born country that did not officially exist for 123 years, had to struggle with numerous economic problems that caused another migration flow. Between 1919 and 1945, approximately 450,000 labor migrants migrated from Poland.

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[69] *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Polish Diaspora.*
[70] *Encyclopedia of Chicago, Poles.*

At that time, South America became a very popular destination among Poles, mainly because of the colonization project that was introduced by the government of the Second Polish Republic. Getting a visa and work permissions was not a complicated procedure. Moreover, special agencies helped individuals to find jobs and settle down in South America. Today, 1,800,000 Poles live in Brazil, 450,000 in Argentina and 10,000 in Chile. Most of them migrated between 1919 and 1945[71].

The end of World War II caused new border changes and shifted Poland's borders westwards. The People's Republic of Poland called those new territories 'regained territories' ('ziemie odzyskane'), because they had been part of Poland during the Piast dynasty (960 – 1370). The map below presents Poland's borders in 1938 (white territory) and after the changes in 1945 ('regained territories' are marked in pink). One of the most significant consequences of those borders shifts was that the German inhabitants who lived in those territories before World War II were expelled. Only a small German minority stayed in Poland (according to the national census in 2011, the German minority consisted of 148,000 people)[72].

Map 1: Poland's borders in 1938 and 1945[73]

[71] L. Artner. Quo vadis Polonia?: Die Migration aus Polen und in die Polonia in Österreich, p. 41-47.
[72] Wikipedia, German Minority in Poland.
[73] Wikipedia , Recovered Territories.

The era that started in 1945 brought the rise of two superpowers: the United States and the Soviet Union (USSR), and thus the beginning of the bipolar world. Poland, like all of the Baltic states, was under the Soviet domination. For Poles, the beginning of the communist era meant increased control of migration and also restrictions related to the issuance of passports. During the communist era, another massive wave of migration was observed, especially to Western European countries.

Massive protests against the Polish government that started in 1956 in Poznań, and finally martial law that was introduced in the 1980s brought another wave of migration that in many cases was the only way to avoid prison, especially for members of Solidarity (NSZZ Solidarność), Polish non-governmental trade union. Between 1981 and 1983, around 40,000 Poles migrated to Germany and Austria.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall that ended the era of the bipolar world and established a new order in Europe, economic reasons were the main factor of Polish migration. The newly reborn Poland had to struggle with many problems, mainly because of the economic transition from the centrally planned to market economy.

In the 1990s, many Poles, especially with secondary education, decided to leave the country and work in Western Europe. Migration was the only way to earn higher wages and thus a better standard of life. Most Poles worked without work permission, especially in the neighboring countries, e.g. Germany and Austria.

Polish accession to the European Union and the Schengen Area in 2004, with one of the advantages being freedom of movement within the EU, brought the newest wave of migration. According to the GUS statistics, since 2004 around 2,000,000 people decided to leave Poland and move abroad mainly to Germany, Great Britain, Austria or Scandinavia (especially to Sweden and Finland)[74].

Migration is an inseparable part of Polish history. Migration in the 20th century involves relocation of whole families, especially during the communist regime. Most migrants who left Poland in the 1980s and early 1990s decided to raise their children abroad. Polish migration after joining the EU is characterized by the young age of migrants (under 34 years old) and it is usually temporary. According to a survey conducted in 2014, most of

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[74] *GUS, Statistics 2002 - 2008.*

the Polish migrants who moved abroad after Poland's accession to the EU would like to come back to Poland[75].

4.3. Polonia in Austria

After regaining independence in November 1918, Poland established diplomatic relations with Austria. After War World II, the Provisional Government of National Unity declared its willingness to establish bilateral relations, and in 1946 Austria agreed to this proposal. Since that time, Austria has been one of Poland's strategic partners. In the CEE region Poland is Austria's third largest trading partner (following Hungary and the Czech Republic) and among all Austrian trading partners, Poland ranks 9th in export and 12th in import[76].

Austria attracts a lot of Polish immigrants. According to the Austrian statistics, 50,271 Poles lived in Austria in December 2014. That gives Poland the 7th place in the migration ranking. In 1996, 'Strzecha', one of the Polish organizations in Austria, applied to the Austrian authorities for the minority status for Poles. After a long investigation, the application was rejected. The main reason was the fact that the Polish migrants in Austria are mostly temporary.

The next two sections (4.3.1 and 4.3.2) describe the history of Polish migration patterns to Austria beginning from the 18th century and the development of the Polish community and institutions in Austria.

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[75] *The Economist,* Poland and the EU: Poland's Emigration Headache.
[76] *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Austria.*

4.3.1 Polish migration to Austria

'Warum reden wir immer über Türken?[77]'

For centuries, Poland and Austria have been connected through cultural and political ties. Already in the 15th century the Habsburg Monarchy kept strong political ties with the Polish Monarchy. The most important year in the Polish-Austrian relations was 1683, when the Polish king Jan III Sobieski came to Vienna with his army (21,000 soldiers) and helped emperor Leopold I to win a battle with the Ottoman Empire.

The period of Polish partitions, especially in the 19th century, brought increasing migration flows. The fall of the two Polish uprisings in 1830 and 1863 further increased migration. According to the statistics, between 1870 and 1918 around 3,500,000 Poles lived abroad, mostly in Austria, Germany, France and the US[78].

At the beginning of the 20th century, there were approximately 30,000 Poles in Austria, most of them lived in Vienna. In 1918, when Poland regained independence, more than half of the Polish migrants decided to come back to Poland.

The end of World War II brought the beginning of the new, bipolar world and a new migration flow to Austria. The peak was at the end of 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, when the foreign debt of Poland was 24.1 billion US Dollars. The consequences included massive demonstrations in Poland, especially at the East Coast of Poland (Gdańsk and Gdynia), where Solidarity, Polish non-governmental trade union (NSZZ Solidarność), was established in the 1980s.

Under the communist regime, Polish migrants usually migrated as political refugees. During the time of martial law in Poland, between 1981 and 1983, around 500,000 Poles decided to leave the country and migrate to Western Europe. According to available data, mostly people from Polish urban centers (e.g. Gdańsk, Warsaw, Opole and Kraków) migrated, while rural areas exhibited far less willingness to migrate[79].

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[77] *J. Fennes, Biculturalism and the Second Generation of Migrants in Austria, p 5.*
[78] *L. Artner, Quo vadis Polonia? Die Migration aus Polen und die Polonia in Österreich, p. 48.*
[79] *D. Czakon, O Imigracji do Integracji po Status Mniejszości Narodowej. Przykład Polaków w Austrii, p. 171.*

In 1981 and 1982, the migration office in Austria registered 33,000 applications from Polish immigrants, who represented 84 per cent of all asylum applications in that period[80]. Austria was not the favorite destination for Polish refugees. According to the GUS data, only 4.3 per cent of all permanent Polish migrants during the 1980s decided to migrate to Austria[81]. Most of migrants chose West Germany (FRG) as their final destination.

The fall of the Iron Curtain in Europe changed the situation for Polish immigrants, who were no longer political refugees. In the new political situation that emerged after 1989, a lot of highly skilled and educated migrants from Poland decided to work and live in Austria. According to Austrian statistics, between 1988 and 1997 around 141,000 Poles moved to Austria (6 per cent of the total foreign population).

In 2004, Poland became a member of the European Union, which resulted in a free movement of labor between Poland and the rest of the EU member states. In May 2011, Austria opened the labor market for Polish citizens. The chart below presents the migration flows from Poland since 2002. Since 2004, around 20,000 Poles decided to move to Austria. According to the official statistics in December 2014, 50,271 Poles lived in Austria. This is two times more than in 2002. In terms of size, they are in the 7th place and in Vienna in the 3rd place in Austria. The most popular destination among immigrants are Vienna, Oberösterreich (Linz) and Niederösterreich (St. Pölten).

[80] *P. Staufer, 38th Congress of the European Regional Science Association, p. 2.*
[81] *P. Staufer, 38th Congress of the European Regional Science Association, p. 2.*
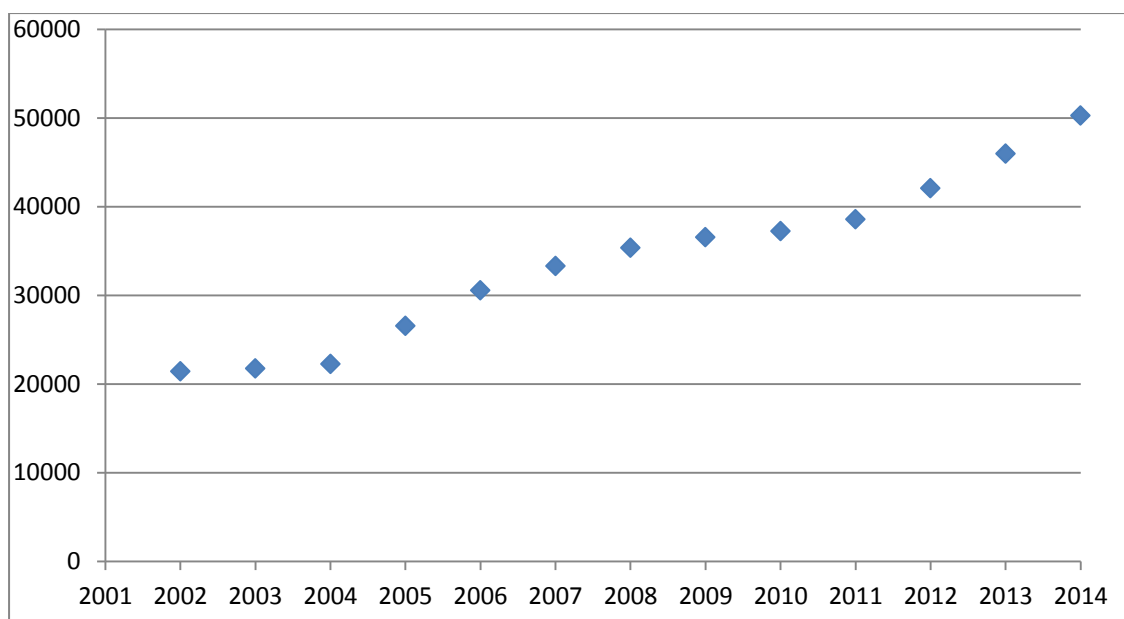
Graph 1: Polish migration to Austria between 2001 and 2014[82]

Poles are not a homogenous migrant group, but heterogeneous and dynamic. Three waves of migration can be distinguished:

1. **Migration during the communist regime -** migrants who migrated to Austria mostly during the time of martial law in Poland and got a refugee status; they are fully integrated and their children are now a very active and visible second generation of migrants

2. **Migration between 1989 and 2011 -** well-educated migrants or highly-qualified workers; they are fully integrated and settled down in Austria; their children are a young generation of the second generation of Poles

3. **Migration after 2011 -** mostly low-skilled workers, who are still not fully integrated in Austria; they decided to move to Austria because of the newly open labor market. According to the statistics from 2013, the number of Poles hired or employed in Austria increased from 18,293 (data from 2011) to 23,953 (data from 2013)[83].

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[82] *Statistik Austria, Austria Statistik des Bevölkerungsstandes.*

[83] *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Atlas Polskiej Obecności za Granicą, p. 40.*

4.3.2 Polish organizations in Austria

'Każdy człowiek żyjący poza granicami swojej ojczyzny wnosi cenny wkład w nową przestrzeń w postaci własnej historii, tradycji, czy języka[84].' (Radosław Sikorski, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland)
'Every person living abroad brings into the new space a valuable contribution, his own history, tradition, and language.'

According to Breton, organizations can be called 'collective phenomena,' because they are part of the collective experience, beliefs and problems[85]. They are formed in order to meet the demand for services, social support or cultural expression. Penninx notes the importance of migrants' organizations in the host societies:

> *'(...) organizations of immigrants are the expression of mobilized resources and ambitions[86].'*

1859	The first issue of the 'Postęp' magazine was published.
1864	The first Polish organization, Ognisko, was founded.
1884	The first Polish primary school was opened.
1897	The first Polish church was opened in Rennweg.
1907	The second Polish church was opened in Kahlenberg, it exist until today with the monastery.
1908	One building at Boerhaavegasse Street became the official headquarter of all Polish organizations in Austria. Since 1986, it is the headquarter of the Polish Academy of Science (PAN, Wissenschaftliches Zentrum der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften) in Vienna and since 1991 also the seat of the Polish organization 'Forum Polonii' ('Forum der Polen').

Table 4: Polish Institutions in the 19th and early 20th centuries in Austria[87]

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[84] *Forum Polonii, Wspólnota Polskich Organizacji w Austrii.*
[85] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Atlas Polskiej Obeności za Granicą, p. 1.
[86] *R. Penninx, Integration: The Role of Communities, Institutions, and the State, Migration Policy.*
[87] *Forum Polonii, Wspólnota Polskich Organizacji w Austrii, Historia Polonii w Austrii.*

In the 19th century, the first Polish organizations, namely a school and a church, were opened in Austria. The Polish community was very active in order to keep Polish culture alive in the most difficult time for Polish history - the partitions of Poland. Table 4 presents the development of Polish organizations and institutions in Austria in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The end of World War I brought Poland independence, and most Polish migrants in Austria decided to come back to their home country. The Polish organizations survived, but were not as active as in the 19th century. Since 1980, a growing activity of the Polish community in Austria can be observed, especially in Vienna and Linz.

Currently, 50 Polish organizations, clubs, associations and groups are registered in all federal states of Austria (chart 2).
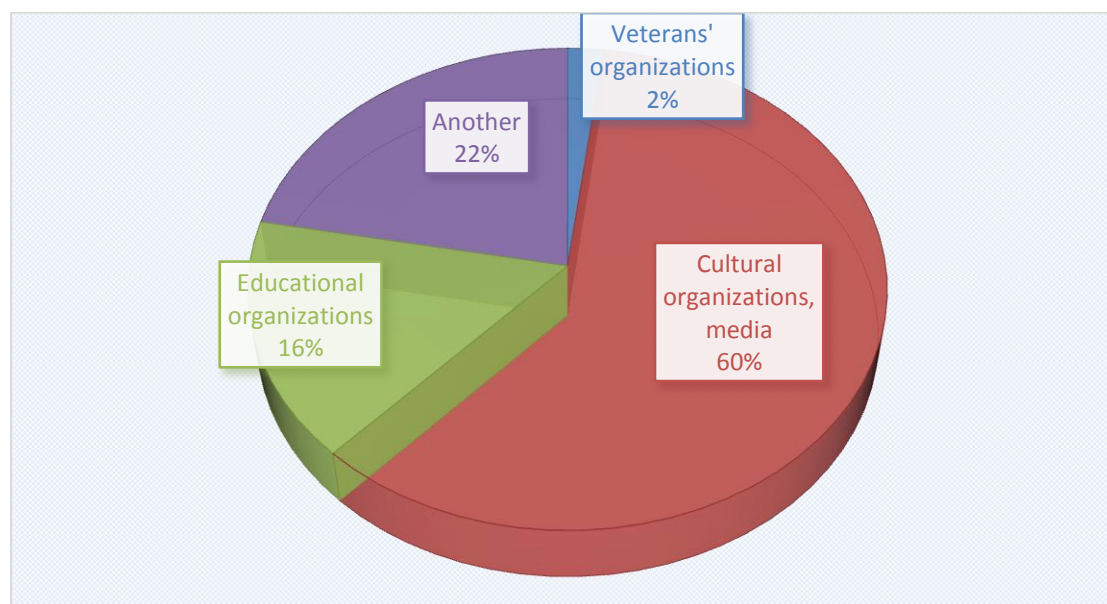
Chart 2: Polish organizations in Austria (2015)[88]

All of them cooperate to try to promote Polish culture and also strengthen the position of Poles in the Austrian society. Activities of all these organizations are coordinated by 'Forum Polonii' ('Forum der Polen'), with its headquarters in Vienna. 'Forum Polonii' was founded in 1981, and since 1990 it has been actively supporting all kinds of cultural events and initiatives. The most important event is called the 'Polish Days', which take place every year in September, and last year were organized for the 25th time. During this

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[88] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Atlas Polskiej Obecności za Granicą, p. 41.

week, plenty of workshops, exhibitions and concerts that promote the cultural heritage of Poland are organized.

Moreover, the Polish community is also visible in the media. The 'Polonika' magazine has been published since 1995. In 2008, the first Polish radio in Linz (Polnisches Radio OÖ) was opened. Every Sunday, there is a broadcast about the Polish language and culture. The main target group is the children of migrants. Producers encourage them to learn the language and help them to discover Polish culture.

In March 2015, 'Forum Polonii' decided to connect all second generation migrants in Austria and engage them more in the cultural activities. In June 2015, a conference was organized for the children of Polish emigrants called 'Jesteśmy przyszłością' ('We are the future'). During these two days, by participating in different panels, participants had a chance to discuss cultural identity, heritage, and the role of the language in their life, as well as the promotion of Poland abroad. The picture below presents the panel discussion titled 'Political Activity in Austria', that was conducted by Ewa Dziedzic, who immigrated with her parents to Austria when she was 9 years old. Currently she is a member of the Green Party in Vienna.

Photo 1: 'We are the future' conference, June 26 2015, panel discussion: Polish political activity in Austria[89]

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[89] *Forum Polonii Wspólnota Polskich Organizacji w Austrii, Conference ' We are the future', June, 26, 2015.*

Cultural organizations play an important role in the society. Giddens underlines that local community organizations build networks between migrants and shape their cultural identity[90]. Cultural organizations are very important for the second generation of migrants, who very often feel lost and alienated in the host society. Being a part of their parents' community helps them to discover the culture and the language of their ancestors.

Since the 19th century, Polish community has been very active in Austria and created a lot of organizations in order to connect Poles in Austria. Second generation migrants in Austria are also members of different Polish organizations which aim to connect children of Polish migrants from different parts of Austria. In 2014, the Austrian-Polish Professional Association was founded by four students whose parents come from Poland. It is a platform for young Poles, where they can share their experiences about the Austrian labor market and meet other Poles who live and work in Austria[91]. The organization is very active and it cooperates with the Polish Embassy in Vienna and other Polish organizations in Austria. They organize regular cultural events, career fairs, workshops. Members of the Austrian-Polish Professional Association are not only the children of Polish migrants, but also the young Poles who decided to move to Austria. The association helps them to integrate with the Austrian society and introduce them the work opportunities in Austria.

To conclude, the Polish community in Austria is quite visible and well-integrated. Poles developed their social networks in Austria very efficiently and, most importantly, also included in them also the second generation of Polish migrants. Some of them even decided to expand social networks in Austria and connect more young Poles.

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[90] *A. Giddens, Sociology, p. 71.*
[91] *Austrian – Polish - Professionals.*

5.   Second generation of migrants and language

'Sprache wird in modernen Gesellschaften von denen zu vereinnahmen versucht, die politische, ökonomische, kulturelle Autorität besitzen.[92] '

Nowadays, the rapid growth of the immigrant population in Europe is one of the most important issues faced by the European societies. European governments and the EU organs try to find the best way to integrate immigrants and their children in the host societies.

The heritage language plays an important role for the offspring of migrants and helps them to have contact with the culture of their ancestors. Most migrants decide to raise their children bilingually. Bilingualism brings a lot of benefits, although it is a very difficult process to teach children two languages at the same time.

The aim of this chapter is to find a link between the language and cultural identity and to define the concepts of bilingualism and language spaces.

The last two subchapters describe the issues related to teaching the Polish language abroad, especially in Austria.

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[92] *K.-B. Boeckmann; K.-M Brunner; M. Egger; G. Gombos; M. Juric; D. Larcher, Zweisprachigkeit und Identität, p. 9.*

5.1. Language and identity

'There are no facts only interpretations.' (Nietzsche)[93]

This chapter describes the relations between migration and identity that creates the sense of security and belonging among migrants. According to Chambers, identity has a very complex nature that contains elements such as culture, history, tradition and language[94].

Since the ancient times, scientists and philosophers have been looking for a link between language and identity. Aristotle was one of the philosophers who tried to find the answer to a basic linguistic question: '*why, if mental experience is the same for all, do different languages exist?*'. The Epicureans explained that people started to build boundaries in order to show differences between nations. According to the monolingual theory, one language (lat. lingua franca) should be created to be responsible for communication throughout the whole world. Opponents of this theory argue that language is not just responsible for communication[95]. Joseph distinguishes two principal functions of language[96]:

- **Instrument of communication -** a medium of self-expression that abstracts the world of experience into words and helps to communicate with other human beings
- **Instrument of representation -** one of the elements that constructs personality and helps to present one's identity

A common language can be an excellent vehicle to express the character of a social group and build common social ties. Social mobility causes language to play a very important role as an instrument of communication and integration of migrants in the new country. Three stages of immigrant integration with the new environment can be distinguished:

- **Assimilation -** migrants accept the new culture, the language of the host country and start to have contact with the host country culture;

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[93] *Quora Website.*
[94] *I. Chambers, Migrancy, Culture, Identity, p. 24.*
[95] *S. Gajda, Promocja języka I kultury polskiej a procesy uniwersalizacji i nacjonalizacji kulturowo-językowej w świecie, p. 15.*
[96] *J. E. Joseph, Language, and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious, p. 15.*

- **Integration -** migrants accept the new situation, learn a new language and try to integrate with the society, e.g. people at work, other children at school;
- **Limitation -** migrants stay in their community and use their mother tongue in their private lives.

It has been demonstrated that language can constitute an important marker of social identity and can determine one's belonging in the community. The boundaries of the linguistic identity are flexible, people may choose to leave their original community and move to another or even be a part of two groups. A good example here are those migrants who live in two different language spaces. In their professional life, they use the language of the host country, but in private life they use their mother tongue and build a subculture in the host society. However, Williams demonstrates in his research on bilingualism among the Portuguese community in California that the knowledge of Portuguese language among the second generation immigrants was very low, and only 8 per cent of his respondents could speak it fluently. The rest of the respondents rejected the importance of the Portuguese language in shaping their identity[97].

The situation of the children of migrants who are bilingual is very complex. Since they were born, their lives have been proceeding in two different language spaces, and so they have two identities. On the one hand, it brings a lot of linguistic and educational advantages. On the other hand, living in two cultures generates the question about identity: 'Where do I belong?'. However, in most of the cases of the second generation migrants, they can very easily adapt in the host society and also become members of their parents' community. Here, they may discover their origins and another dimension of their identity through the language of their parents.

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[97] *F.G. Williams, Portuguese Bilingualism among Azoreans in California, Hispania, p. 724 - 730.*

5.2. Bilingualism

In literature, there are numerous definitions and views on bilingualism, mainly because bilingualism has been occupying the attention of linguists, sociologists and psychologists for decades. At the beginning of the 20th century, scholars argued that bilingualism leads to failure or mental confusion[98]. Grosjean assumes that children who grew up bilingually do not have a real mother tongue, and as a consequence they do not learn any of two languages correctly and have problems with their identity[99].

After 1962, more studies into the effects of bilingualism and cognitive ability proved that bilingual people have higher scores in a variety of intelligence tests. Bilingualism can be defined as the ability to use two languages, e.g. different languages being used at home and in the larger society. Portes and Schauffler define bilingual people as :*'(…) those who could communicate competently in two languages*[100].*'* This group includes people who learnt two languages in the first three years of life (e.g. the second generation of migrants) and also people who learnt the second language later in their life (e.g. immigrants). However, Kielhöfer and Jonekeit state that the people who learn two languages in the first three years have full access to both cultures and, as a consequence, have two identities[101].

The process of children learning two languages at the same time is very complex and requires a lot of patience. Children of migrants growing up in the sociocultural contexts, where other language than their heritage language is dominant, experience a faster process of home language loss and become monolingual. Dąbrowska, professor of Polish Literature and Culture at the University of Bochum in Germany, states that it is very difficult for bilingual people to shift from one language code to another. She admits that a lot of her students who have Polish origins struggle with Polish grammar and the feeling of guilt that they cannot use the language of their origin as fluently as other Poles[102].

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[98] *B. Wald, Bilingualism, Annual Review of Anthropology p. 301.*
[99] *F. Grosjean, Bilingualismus und Bikulturalismus. Versuch einer Definition. 174.*
[100] *A. Portes, R. Schauffler, Language and the second generation: Bilingualism Yesterday and Today, International Migration Review, p. 643.*
[101] *B.Kielhöfer; S. Jonekeit, Zweisprachige Kindererziehung, p. 9-10.*
[102] *A. Dąbrowska, Jak wrócić do pierwszego języka ojczystego, p. 82.*

DeCapua and Wintergerst underline that parents play a very important role in the process of teaching children two languages. For the purpose of their research, they interviewed parents of bilingual children. One of the mothers admitted that:

'Bilingualism doesn't just happen. You have to work at it all the time. It's pretty easy when the kids are young and you're with them all the time, but when you're not number one in their life, other influences start coming into play[103].'

In Western European countries (e.g. Germany, France), in the 1970s a program was introduced for teaching heritage languages to children of migrants at public schools. It was caused by the growing numbers of contract workers in Europe. The main aim of those courses was to give children an opportunity to easily come back to their countries of origins. Once it became clear that they may not return, a discussion started about the importance of teaching heritage languages among migrants. Ruiz claims that teaching children the language of their origin is not important and has *'low (…) societal values [104]'*. Similar opinions could be found among European politicians. In 2007, Hessen's Prime Minister in Germany Robert Koch admitted that:

'If someone stays in Germany for good, his homeland must be Germany. And it is in the language of the homeland that one starts to bring his children up[105].'

According to European statistics, the percentage of bilingual children aged 15 is estimated at approximately 15 per cent, the highest percentage is in Belgium, 34 per cent, and the lowest in Ireland, 1 per cent[106]. In 2002, during the European Barcelona Council the EU leaders underlined the importance of languages and stated that every child should know at least two languages. The EU declared to promote the idea of diversity and significance of teaching the heritage language to the children of migrants.

In today's globalized world, people often try to discover their roots and identity. Language plays an important role in shaping our world view. Speaking two languages brings a lot of practical benefits, such as improving cognitive skills.

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[103] *A. DeCapua, A. Wintergerst, Second Generation Language Maintenance and Identity: a Case Study, Bilingual Research Journal, p. 12.*
[104] *R. Ruiz, Bilingualism and bilingual Education in the United States, p. 71.*
[105] *H. Pulaczewska, Polish-German Bilingualism at School. A Polish Perspective, Linguistik Online p. 72.*
[106] *H. Pulaczewska, Polish-German Bilingualism at School. A Polish Perspective, Linguistik Online p. 72.*

5.3. Polish language abroad

Promotion of the Polish language and culture abroad is one of the aims of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Poland. History has proven plenty of times that intercultural dialogue and cultural diversity are the key elements for building bridges between nations and societies.

The number of Polish speakers can be estimated at more than 45,000,000 people. Around 38,000,000 live in Poland and the remaining 7,000,000 reside abroad[107]. The biggest Polish communities are in the USA, Germany, Great Britain, and Austria. According to European Statistics, 8.5 per cent of the European population speaks Polish. From the demographic perspective, Polish is the fifth most spoken language in the European Union and the second biggest Slavic language[108].

The history of teaching the Polish language abroad is linked with the history of emigration that for centuries has characterized the Polish nation. Polish schools help the children of migrants find their own identity and link with their country of origin. In the curriculum, there are not only Polish language classes, but also history and culture classes.

The first Polish school abroad was opened in 1842 in France, later in England in 1854 and in the USA in 1858. Until 1973, all of the Polish educational institutions abroad were coordinated and controlled by the embassies. In 1973, the Minister of Education established a Polish organization called ORPEG (the Centre for the Development of Polish Education Abroad) that controls and supports the learning of Polish language among the Polish children who live abroad.

ORPEG, together with the experts from the Ministry of Education, develop educational programs for all age groups that encourage young people to have contact with the Polish language and culture. Moreover, ORPEG prepares Polish textbooks, provides materials

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[107] *Ministry of Science and Higher Education Republic of Poland, Język Polski za Granicą.*
[108] *A. Pawłowski, Język Polski w Unii Europejskiej: Szanse i Zagrożenia, Poradnik Językowy, p. 14.*

for teachers and tries to provide the same level of education as in Poland. Different forms of schools and centers offering Polish can be distinguished[109]:

- **Consultation points -** run by ORPEG; 67 consultation points at the diplomatic missions of the Republic of Poland in 36 countries, with 586 teachers. In 2016, 17,000 students began learning Polish at consultation points
- **Community schools -** run by Polish educational organizations, parents associations and Polish parishes. 402 community schools with 31 thousand of pupils have been registered by ORPEG
- **Polish sections in schools abroad -** special Polish sections are opened in schools that can have three different forms:
  a. Teaching of subjects in Polish in grades I-IV or V-IX (e.g. in Lithuania, in the Czech Republic)
  b. Teaching of Polish and other subjects is done in the framework of bilingual sections (e.g. France, Russia, Latvia)
  c. Teaching the Polish language as extra classes (e.g. Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Austria)
- **European schools -** special schools that offer European education within the EU Member States. Two of them, in Luxembourg and Brussels, have Polish sections with approximately 380 pupils who are the children of Polish officials
- **Assigned teachers -** ORPEG assigns teachers to teach history, geography and the Polish language. They mainly work in the countries where Poles have been exiled in the past.
- **Distance learning -** in 2010 ORPEG created a special e-platform that gives individuals a chance to learn Polish online and free of charge. The aim of this project is to encourage children to study Polish even if they do not have access to Polish schools.

Chart no. 3 presents the data from 2012 on the total number of schools and educational centers that teach Polish in particular countries.

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[109] ORPEG, *Schools Around the World.*
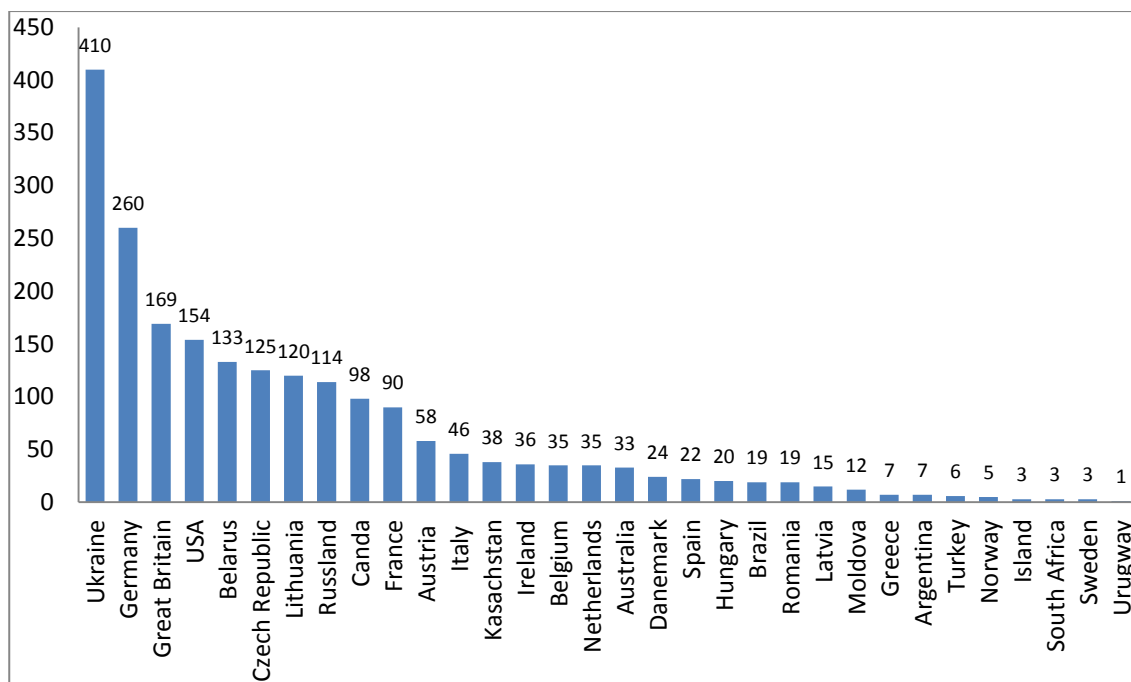
Chart 3: Total number of schools and educational centers where the Polish language is taught in particular countries[110]

Today, Polish is popular among the children of migrants. Firstly, since the beginning of the 1990s, it has been the economic reasons, not political, that caused a lot of Poles to migrate. Most of the migrants have regular contact with their families in Poland and visit them from time to time. During the communist regime, most of migrants had a status of refugees and escaped from the communist regime. They wanted to settle down in the new countries and do not have any connections with Poland. Secondly, since the collapse of the communist regime in 1989, Poland experienced incredible changes and has an important place in Europe. In the last twenty years, Poland opened 14 Special Economic Zones that accelerated development and attracted a lot of new investors, primarily from Germany and Scandinavia[111]. Teaching children Polish opens up new vistas for their prosperity and possibility to study or live in Poland in the future.

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[110] *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Atlas Polskiej Obecności za Granicą, p. 14.*
[111] *PALiLZ.*

5.4.   Teaching Polish language in Austria

The previous chapter investigated the Polish migration patterns to Austria and characteristics of the Polish community. The biggest migration flows took place in the 19th and the 20th centuries, when mostly political reasons played the major role.

At present, seven minority languages are recognized in Austria. Six of them are officially recognized by the Ethnic Groups Act (Volksgruppengesetz)[112]. The seventh language is the Austrian Sign Language (Österreichische Gebärdensprache) used by the Austrian Deaf Community (around 9,000 speakers).

Unfortunately, the Polish language is not in this group, because Poles are not an officially recognized national minority in Austria. In 1997, the oldest Polish organization in Austria, 'Strzecha,' applied for the status of a national minority, but the application was rejected by the Austrian authorities. The reason was a negative expertise prepared by prof. Reiterer, which state that not all the conditions were fulfilled. In 2012, representatives of the Polish community in Austria applied once again for the status of a national minority and once again received a negative decision. Presently, the following groups enjoy the status of national minorities in Austria: Slovenes in Carinthia, Croats in Burgenland, Hungarians in Burgenland and Vienna, Roma and Sinti, Czechs and Slovaks in Vienna.

In 2001, Statistik Austria published the report about all languages in Austria and their numbers of speakers. The table below presents all languages of national minorities in Austria and the number of speakers, as divided into Austrian nationals and individuals of other nationalities. The last column presents the number of Polish speakers in Austria in 2001. According to the data, around 31,000 Polish speakers lived in Austria in 2001 (today this number reaches 55,000), and 12,699 of them had the Austrian citizenship. Compared to other nationalities who have a national minority status, the Polish language was the second after Hungarian in 2001.

[112] *Bundesgesetz vom 7.7.1976 über die Rechtsstellungen von Volksgruppen in Österreich.*

Language	%	Total	Austrian citizenship	Other Citizenship
Hungarian	0,5	40.583	25.884	14.699
Slovenian	0,31	25.855	17.953	6.902
Croatian	0,24	19.412	19.374	38
Czech	0,22	17.742	11.035	6.707
Slovak	0,13	10.234	3.343	6.891
Romanian	0,08	6.273	3.348	1.925
Polish	0,38	30.598	12.699	17.899

Table 5: Minority languages and Polish in Austria (2001)[113]

Since 1990, there have been two possibilities for teaching the Polish language in Austria:

Teaching Polish language at public schools - in 1990, the Austrian government decided to give an opportunity for the children of migrants to learn their heritage languages in public schools. The Polish embassy and community submitted the application for adding the Polish language to the list of foreign languages that can be taught in Austrian public schools. In the first three years the possibility of learning the Polish language (as an extra subject) existed just in one school (Volksschule) in the 16th district in Vienna. In 2007, the Ministry of Education added the Polish language to the list of foreign languages. Since that year, children and youth have had an opportunity to learn Polish in all types of schools (Volksschule, Mittelschule) as an extra subject without grade, in high schools (Gymnasium) as a second foreign language, and also to choose this language at the high-school exit exam (in Austria called Matura). The only condition for teaching the Polish language at public schools is a group of 12-14 students. Currently in Austria, children have a possibility to choose the Polish language as a foreign language in 36 public schools. Chart 4 presents in which regions of Austria the Polish language is taught.

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[113] M. Moser. Slavic Languages in Migration, p. 246 - 247.
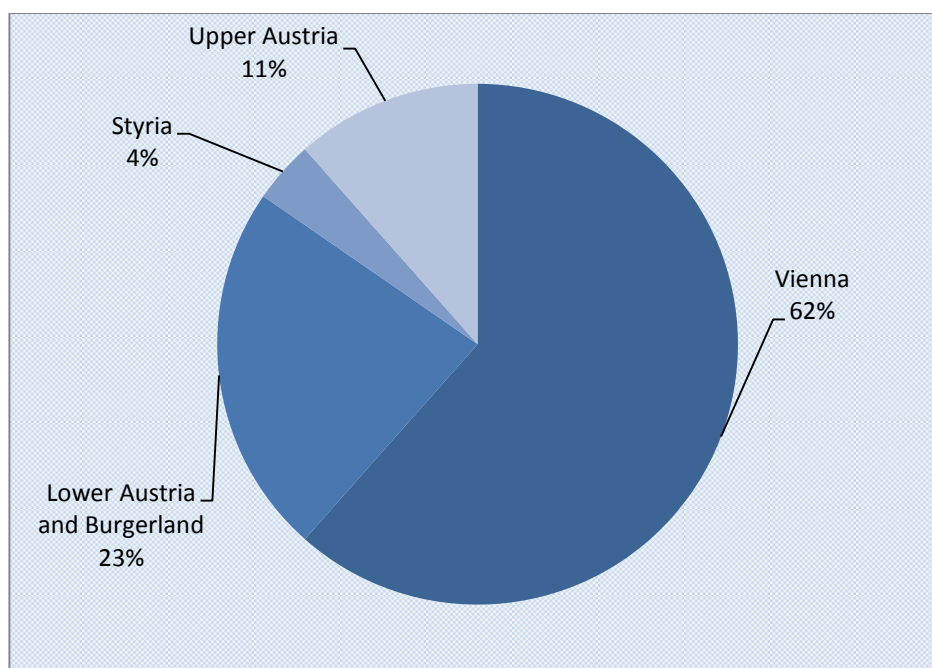
Chart 4: Regions of Austria where the Polish language is taught as a foreign language[114]

In 2015, the Austrian Ministry of Education published statistics that stated that out of 6100 Polish students, just 851 decided to take Polish as a foreign language at school (14 per cent). Most of the students chose Italian, French or Spanish.

- **Teaching the Polish language at Polish schools -** the second possibility to teach the Polish language in Austria is at Polish schools. Currently in Austria, there are two Polish schools, both located in Vienna. The first school was opened in 1977 by the Polish Embassy in Vienna. At the beginning, it was only a primary school for children between 7 and 14 years old. In 1999, the Polish government transformed this school into three schools: primary school (szkoła podstawowa), middle school (gimnazjum) and high school (liceum). The classes take place once per week and they do not exempt students from the obligation to attend public schools in Austria. The students are the children of Polish delegates in Vienna, and after 1996 also the children of Polish migrants who live in Austria. In 2016, the school had 450 students. The second Polish school and the first Polish kindergartens were founded in 2012 by the Polish Cultural and Educational Association in Austria (Polnischer Bildungs- und Kulturverein in Österreich). In 2016, 90 students were enrolled who attended the weekly (Saturday or Sunday) classes. In Carinthia and Tyrol region, two 'Sunday

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[114] *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Atlas Polskiej Obecności za Granicą, p. 40.*

schools' offer children an opportunity to learn their heritage language every Sunday after mass.

Polish language is also visible at the Austrian Universities in Vienna, Salzburg, Innsbruck, Klagenfurt am Wörthersee and Graz. In all these universities, students have an opportunity to study the Polish language as Bachelor or Master studies or take Polish as a foreign language and learn it as an additional subject, e.g. in Vienna, three Universities have the Polish language in their educational offer: University of Vienna, Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU) and University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences (BOKU). Chart 5 presents the number of public and private schools, as well as universities where Polish is taught in Austria.
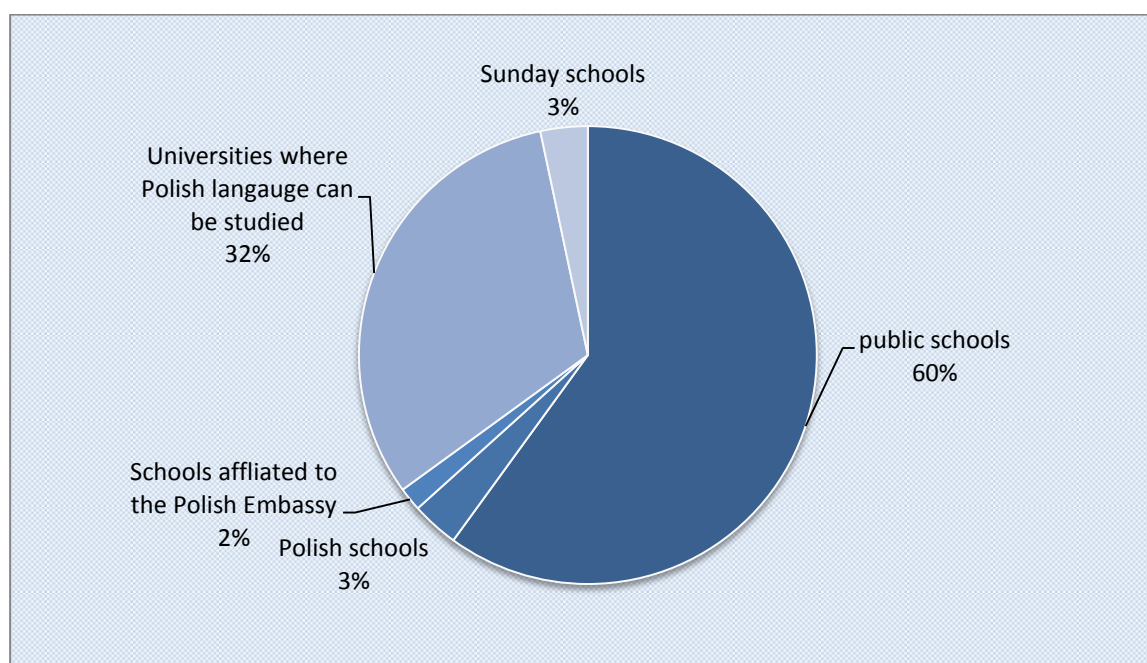
Chart 5: Types of institutions where the Polish language is taught in Austria in 2012 (%)[115]

Children of Polish migrants in Austria, especially those who live in big cities (Vienna, Graz, Innsbruck) have a lot of possibilities to learn Polish. In the last 20 years, the Polish community in Austria received a lot of support from the Austrian government and managed to run a lot of educational projects amount children of Polish migrants. The Polish Ministry of Education also supports Polish schools in Austria and together with ORPEG prepares the curriculum for Polish students abroad.

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[115] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Atlas Polskiej Obecności za Granicą, p. 41.

II Empirical Analysis

6.   Survey analysis

The empirical part of the thesis deals with real-life situations of the second generation of Poles in Austria. A survey has been conducted in order to find the answer to the main research question:

'How do children of Polish immigrants in Austria keep the Polish language alive?'

The theoretical part investigated the problem of identity among the migrants, especially the second generation of migrants and the role of the heritage language in their life. The purpose of the survey was to identify the role of Polish in their daily communication and reveal how it shapes the cultural identity of second generation migrants in Austria.

Research was conducted during the conference of young Poles in Austria '*We are the future*' that took part on the 26th and 27th of June 2015 in Vienna. It was organized by the Forum Polonii ('Forum der Polen'), the biggest Polish organization in Austria, established in 1991 in Vienna by Mieczysław Ledochowski. The main aim of this organization is to represent Polish culture among the Austrian society by organizing various cultural events (e.g. every year in September the Polish Days are held in Vienna) and attempting to connect Poles who live in Austria. The conference 'We are the future' took place for the first time in June 2015 in order to connect young Poles in Austria and encourage them to take active part in the promotion of Poland and also to represent the Polish community in Austria. There were around 50 people at the conference. Most of the participants were the children of Polish migrants (the second generation of migrants). However, first generation migrants, mostly people who studied and decided to settle down in Austria, took part in it as well.

During the second day of the conference, on Saturday, I distributed my survey among the participants. The language of the questionnaire was Polish. The conference was in Polish and I assumed that all of the participants would be at least able to read Polish. The survey contained 18 questions and took approximately 15-20 minutes. Additionally, at the

beginning of the questionnaire, demographic questions were added. The target group included second generation Poles who had spent all or most of their lives in Austria.

6.1. Characteristics of questionnaire

'The essential point is that good research cannot be built on poorly collected data[116].'

Asking questions to respondents through questionnaires (surveys, scales, indexes/indicators, polls) is one of the most widely used instruments to collect information across social science disciplines. As a research method, questionnaires were introduced by Austrian sociologist Paul Lazarsfeld in the 1940s. He examined the effects of the radio on the political opinion formation in the United States[117]. Brown defines surveys as:

'Written instruments that present respondents a series of questions or statements to which they are to react either by writing out their answers or selecting from among existing answers[118].'

Questionnaires can be defined as systems of collecting information in different fields, e.g. sociology, demography, business, psychology or economics. They produce information, describe or compare opinions, values, behavior based on respondents' answers. Questionnaires are popular among researchers because they are easy to construct, versatile and allow to gather a large amount of data in a relatively short amount of time.

Good questionnaires have to maximize the relationship between the answer of the respondent and the purpose of research. According to Flink, surveys should fulfill the following six conditions[119]:

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[116] *Z. Dornyei, Questionnaires in Second Language Research:* Construction, Administration and Processing, *p. 1.*

[117] A. *Bhattacherjee, Social Science Research: Principles, Methods, and Practices, p. 73.*

[118] *J.D. Brown, Using Surveys in Language Programs, p.6.*

[119] *A. Flink, How to Design Surveys, p. 4.*

- **Specific, measurable objectives** - respondents can easily agree on the purpose of the questionnaire

- **Sound research design -** way of arranging the environment where a survey takes place; it helps to get a cross-sectional portrait of opinions at a relatively short time

- **Sound choice of population or sample -** in order to collect the most 'representative' sample, the survey should be conducted by choosing respondents in an unbiased method (random choice); it should be a good portrait of the investigated group

- **Reliability and validity -** reliability is the degree to which an assessment tool produces solid and coherent data; validity refers to how well the survey is used by the researcher, measures what is supposed to be measured and gives a solid base for finding an answer to a research question

- **Appropriate analysis -** way of analyzing data collected through the questionnaire. The choice of method depends on the aims of the survey (description, comparison, correlation, prediction) and the size of the sample.

Table 6 presents the main features of the survey used for the purpose of this thesis:

	Survey title: 'Process of learning the Polish language abroad'
Purpose	*analyzing the process of learning the Polish language abroad, using Polish in daily communication and influence on cultural identity*
Respondents	*second generation Poles (20-35 years old) , born in Austria or emigrated to Austria with their parents in early childhood*
Survey	*Questionnaires were filled out by the participants of the conference 'We are the future' (Vienna, 26th-27th of June 2015)*
Timing	*15-20 minutes*
Resources	*Questionnaires were distributed in Polish, and later translated into English for the purpose of the thesis*
Privacy	*All respondents are anonymous*

Table 6: Characteristics of the survey titled 'Process of learning the Polish language abroad'

6.2. Profile of survey respondents

Scientists do not cease to debate about the sufficient size of a sample: '*How big a sample is large enough?'.* The size of a sample defines the number of individuals that need to be surveyed to get reliable and valid findings. In literature, there is no clear answer about how big a sample is enough to provide reliable data. Hatch and Lazaraton state that a good sample should include 30 or more respondents. On the other hand, Hatch and Lazarton also emphasize that this is not an absolute rule. Smaller samples can be reliable, when they are analyzed and collected correctly[120].

In the survey used for the purpose of the thesis, the target group were young people of 20-35 years old. According to literature and collected data, Polish has been taught in Austrian schools since 1990. I wanted to investigate how many of my respondents learnt Polish in Austrian public schools, in Polish schools or at home from their families. The statistics presented in the previous chapter show that just 14 per cent of the second generation Polish migrants in Austria choose Polish as a foreign language at school. The next section analyzes the data about learning the Polish language.

For the purpose of this thesis, 12 surveys were filled out by respondents. As an inexperienced researcher, I decided to analyze a small sample in order to avoid errors and unreliable results. This can cause certain limitations in this research that are discussed in the final chapter of the thesis.

Half of the respondents were female and half were male More than half of the respondents have both parents from Poland. Parents of 11 respondents migrated to Austria during the communist regime in Poland. The parents of only 1 respondent moved to Austria in the 1990s, during the economic transformation of Poland. The two charts below (5 and 6) present the percentage of gender distribution and of the origin of respondents' parents.

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[120] E. Hatch, A. Lazarton, *The Research Manual: Design and Statistics for Applied Linguistics* p. 75.
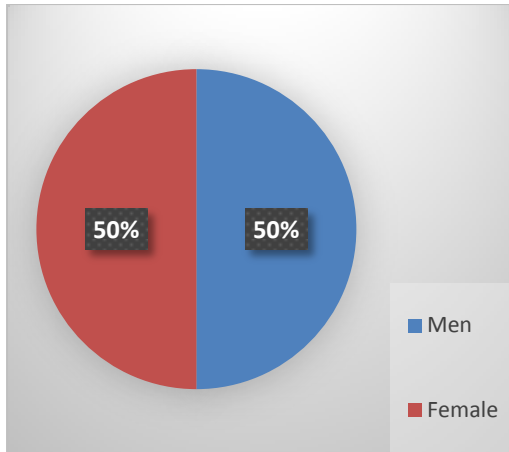
Chart 6: Gender distribution   *Chart 7: Parents' origin*
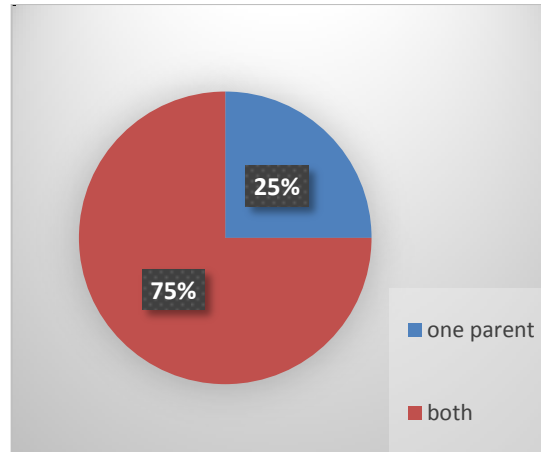
How long have you lived in Austria? (Question no.1)		
Answers	Women	Men
a. Entire life	**5**	**3**
b. Five years or more	0	1
c. Less than five years	1	0
d. Ten years or more	0	2

Table 7: How long the respondents have lived in Austria

In the first question, the respondents were asked how long they have lived in Austria and had four possible answers (Table 7). All of the respondents currently live in Vienna   (4 work, 8 study). Seven participants are from Vienna and four moved to Vienna in the last 5 years (from Eisenstadt, St. Pölten, Neusiedl, and Linz). One of the respondents moved to Austria from Budapest in the last 5 years.

6.3. Construction of questions

It is very important to properly title a survey. According to Dornyei, it helps respondents to identify the domain of investigation, provides initial orientation and activates various

content schemata[121]. I decided to name the survey 'Process of learning the Polish language abroad', because the aim of this research was to collect data about learning Polish in Austria and about the usefulness of Polish abroad.

The survey contains 18 questions that are divided into three sections:

- **Questions 2-6 and 10-12 -** measure the language knowledge and explore the learning process
- **Questions 7-9 and 13-17 –** analyze the life spheres and situations when the language is used
- **Question 18 -** examines the meaning of the language in respondents' lives

All the questions are short and written in simple sentences. This helped to avoid misunderstandings and missing data. Converse and Presser state that the language of a survey should be clear and direct, without any abbreviations, proverbs, jargon, colloquialisms[122]. All the questions have been answered by the respondents, no data are missing.

The introduction part and question 1 collected demographic data from the respondents: age, gender, place of residence, position (student or employee) and how long they have lived in Austria. The introduction part is preceded by a short general description (also called an 'opening greeting'):

'The following questionnaire contains 18 questions (open and closed). Its purpose is to gather information about the knowledge of Polish and its use in everyday life by young Poles who grew up in Austria. Any information obtained from the survey is anonymous and will be used for academic purposes (master thesis).'

The purpose of the general description was to give the respondent an impression about the importance of the study, provide information about the types of questions, request honest answers and, finally, promise confidentiality.

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[121] *Z. Dornyei, Questionnaires in Second Language Research: Construction, Administration and Processing p. 25.*
[122] *J.M. Converse; S. Presser, Survey Questions: Handcrafting the Standardized Questionnaire, p. 10.*

6.3.1 Questions measuring the language knowledge

'(…) short questions are good questions[123].'

The first part of the survey examined the level of knowledge of the Polish language among the respondents and collected data about places where they learnt Polish in Austria. Questions 2-5 and 10 are closed questions (respondents are required to choose one answer). The respondents were provided with ready-made response options and had to choose the appropriate slot by circling the answer. The main advantage of closed-ended questions is that they are straightforward and leave no room for subjectivity.

In the cases of questions 2-5, rating scales have been used. Dornyei points out that the biggest advantage of rating scales is that they can be used for evaluating almost everything and it is easy to process them[124]. Oppenheim argues that rating scales used in surveys should be meaningful and interesting for the respondents[125].

The main purpose of questions 2-5 was to measure how well the respondents can: write, speak, understand and read Polish. Table 8 presents the scale that has been used in the survey.

How good do write/speak/read and understand Polish?			
A. Basic level	B. Not well	C. Well	D. Very good

Table 8: Rating scale (questions 2-5)

Question 10 is a closed question in order to collect data about where the respondents learnt Polish. Three answer options are available:

- at home,
- at school,
- in another place, e.g. during holidays in Poland (respondent had to specify that place).

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[123] J. D. Brown, *Using Surveys in Language Programs*, p. 45.
[124] Z. Dornyei, *Questionnaires in Second Language Research: Construction, Administration and Processing*, p. 36.
[125] A.N. Oppenheim, *Questionnaire Design, interviewing, and Attitude Measurement*, p. 179.

Questions 6 and 11 measure the process of language learning among the respondents. For the purpose of these questions, open-type answers were used. Open-ended questions are characterized by a blank space that the respondent has to fill. The purpose of open questions is to collect concrete pieces of information, e.g. facts about the past activities. For the purpose of questions 6 and 11, questions that required a short answer were asked that collected data about the schools and years of attendance where the respondents learnt Polish. Question no. 6 collected data about the languages that the respondents can speak.

Question 12 is a conditional question and the respondents had to answer it if the answer in question no.11 was negative (respondent did not learn Polish at school). Question no. 12 was a 'Yes/No' question, in order to collect data if the respondents would like to learn Polish as a foreign language in their schools. I decided to choose this question after reviewing literature and statistics provided by the Statistik Austria about teaching the Polish language at Austrian public schools. According to them, only 797 children of Polish migrants decided to choose Polish as a foreign language in 2014[126].

6.3.2 Questions identifying the situations and life spheres where the Polish language is used

The second category of questions that were used in the survey are those that collect data about the situations and life spheres where the respondents use the Polish language (questions: 7-9 and 13-17).

In Questions 7 and 13, 'Yes/No' answer was requested. These questions collect data if the respondents use Polish at home and while communicating with their friends and colleagues.

Questions 8 and 14 are conditional, which means that he respondents had to answer them if the answer 'yes' was given in questions 7 and 13. For the purpose of questions 8 and 14, a rating scale was used in order to measure how often the respondents use Polish.

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[126] K. Kainacher, *W Naszym Domu Mówimy po Polsku, Polonika.*

Rating scale (questions: 8 and 14)			
A. Seldom	B. From time to time	C. Often	D. Always

Table 9: Rating scale, questions 8 and 14

Question 9 is an question that requires a short answer and collects information about which language the respondents use in daily communication with their families. Questions 15 and 16 collected information if the respondents read Polish books, newspapers and watched Polish movies, programs. In the case of 'yes', the respondents needed to specify how often and to describe the kind of books, movies etc.

The last question from this section, number 17, required the respondents to state the spheres of their life where they use Polish. This is an open question that requires a short answer.

6.3.3. Questions identifying the cultural identity

For the purpose of collecting data about the cultural identity and the meaning of the Polish language in the last question, the respondents were asked: **'What does the Polish language mean to you?'**.

This is an open question (blank space to be filled by the respondent). I decided to use this form, because I could not predict the range of possible answers, unlike in other questions used in the survey. Moreover, I thought that a request for an open answer would be most suitable to collect data about the cultural identity and the meaning of the Polish language for the respondents.

Open-ended questions give respondents a freedom of expression and allow to expand the scope of answers. The most important advantage of open-ended questions is an unlimited

range of answers that help to better understand a respondent's point of view. On the other hand, open-ended questions have certain disadvantages. Dornyei points out the following two[127]:

- They can take a lot of time (take up 'respondent availability time'), and as a consequence they restrict the range of topics the questionnaire can have
- They are more difficult to code than closed questions; it is difficult to process them and analyze data

I decided to use just one open-ended question for the purpose of my research. Firstly, it may cause difficulties with coding the data. Secondly, I wanted to avoid a situation, quite common in the case of too many open-ended questions, when the respondents decide to leave out some questions or reply just in a few words because of the lack of time. The survey was conducted during the coffee break at the conference, and the respondents had approximately 20 minutes to answer all questions.

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[127] *Z. Dornyei, Questionnaires in Second Language Research: Construction, Administration and Processing, p. 47.*

7.   Results

This chapter is divided into three sections that analyze the answers to each of the categories of questions presented and described in the previous chapter. To give a better overview, I decided to divide the answers into female and male answers.

7.1.   Knowledge of the Polish language

This section analyzes the respondents' answers to questions 2-6 and 10–12, namely those identifying the knowledge of Polish and meant to collect information on where the respondents learnt the language. The purpose of those questions was to measure the knowledge of Polish among the respondents. The sample presented in this section provides the basis for the answer to the research question presented in the first chapter of my thesis:

'How do children of Polish immigrants in Austria keep the Polish language alive?'

7.1.1 Female Respondents

Questions 2-6 collected data about the knowledge of Polish. The ranking type of answers was employed in these questions. The four charts below present the data collected from female respondents in questions 2-6.

Speaking
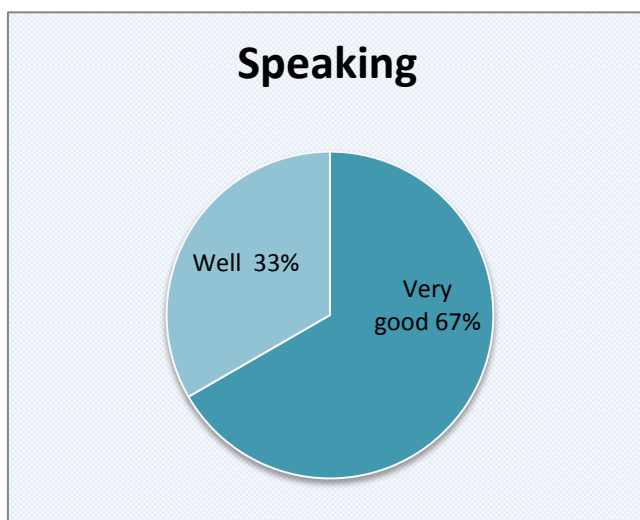
Well 33%

Very good 67%

Chart 8 presents data on how good the female respondents think to speak Polish. All the surveyed respondents chose two types of answers: 'well' (33 per cent) or 'very good' (67 per cent). 'Basic level' and 'not well' answers were not encircled.

Chart 8: Speaking Polish (female responses)

Chart 9 presents data on how well the female respondents can understand Polish. All of the respondents chose two types of answers: 'well' (17 per cent) or 'very good' (83 per cent). 'Basic level' and 'not well' answers were not encircled.

Chart 9: Understanding Polish (female responses)

Understanding

Well 17%

Very good 83%

Reading

Basic level 17%

Not well 17%

Well 50%
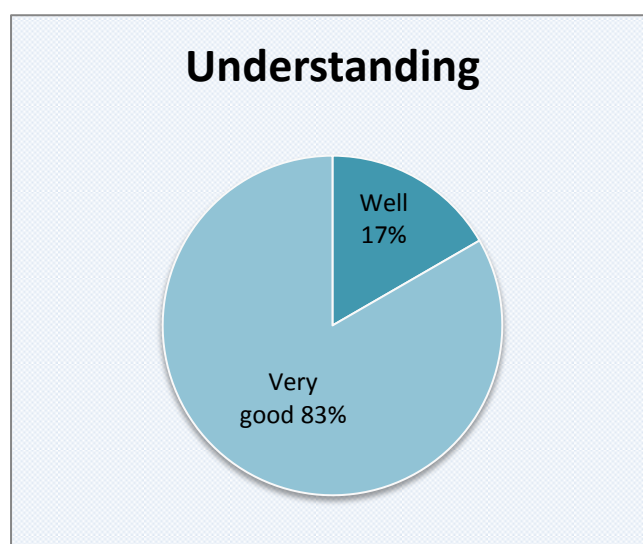
Very good 16%

Chart 10 presents reading skills of the respondents. 50 per cent of them chose 'well', 17 per cent 'very good', 17 per cent 'not well' and 16 per cent basic level.

Chart 10: Reading skills (female responses)

Writing

Not well 33%

Very good 50%
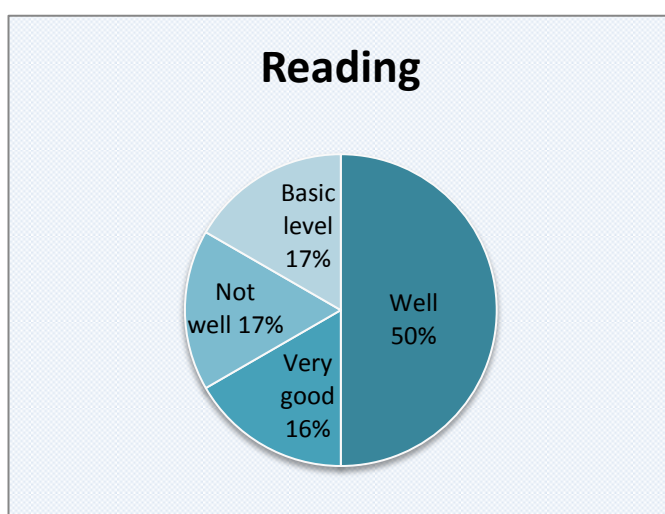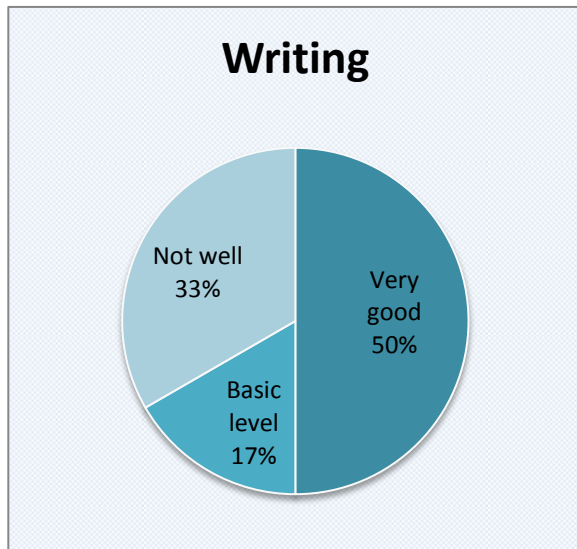
Basic level 17%

Chart 11 presents writing skills of the female respondents. 50 per cent of the respondents replied 'very good', 17 per cent 'basic level' and 33 per cent 'not well'.

Chart 11: Writing skills (female responses)

The data presented in the charts show that most of the female respondents do not have any problems with speaking and understanding Polish. The biggest problem they have is with reading and writing in Polish (17 per cent identified their skills as basic).

67 per cent of the respondents were taught Polish just at home from their parents. Only 33 per cent of the respondents took Polish classes. One of the respondents attended for one year the school at the Polish Embassy in Vienna when she was 10 years old. The second took a two-year Polish course at the private language school in Vienna (BFI Polnisch fűr Muttersprachler) at the age of 25.

Where did you learn Polish?

at school 33%

at home 67%
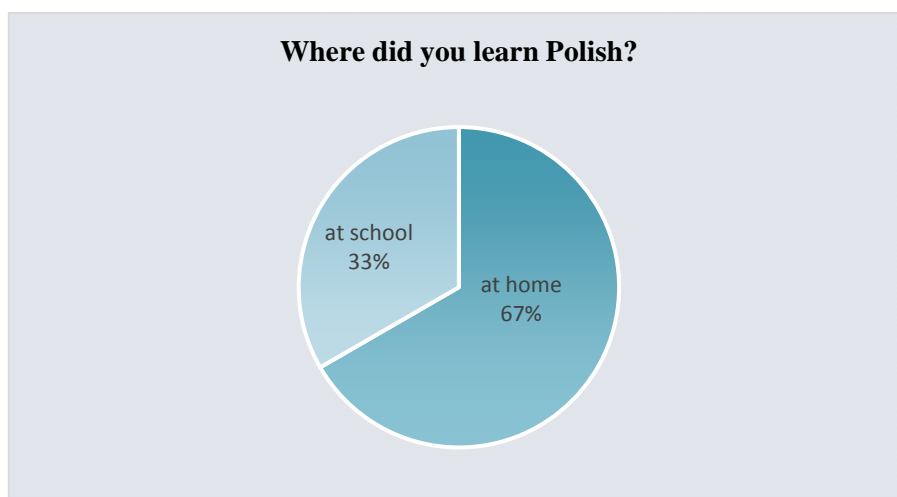
Chart 12: Where did you learn Polish? (female answers)

In question 11, the respondents were asked if they would like to learn Polish as a foreign language at school. All of them gave a positive answer (i.e. circled the answer 'Yes'). Unfortunately, their schools did not have Polish classes in their educational offer.

The last question from this section examined how many languages the respondents knew. All of the respondents knew at least three: German, English and Polish. However, 67 per cent can speak one more language apart from these (chart 13), with the most popular fourth language among the female respondents being Italian.
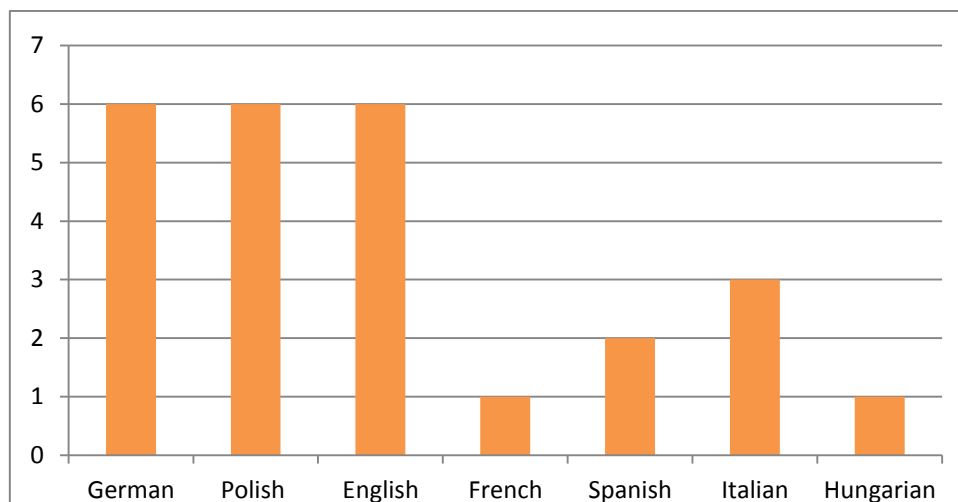
Chart 13: Question no. 6: How many languages do you know? (Female answers)

To conclude, the data collected about the knowledge of Polish language presents that all of the respondents use Polish in their private life. More than 50 per cent learnt the language at home from their parents or during holidays in Poland. What is interesting is that 67 per cent did not continue learning the language at Polish schools in Austria in order to improve their writing and reading skills. They preferred to invest their time in learning other foreign languages (English, French, Spanish, Italian or Hungarian). However, 100 per cent of female respondents would like to have a chance to choose Polish as a foreign language at school.

7.1.2. Male respondents

Male respondents' answers present some differences when compared to the female respondents' answers. Firstly, 83 per cent of the male respondents stated that they can speak Polish very well, which is 15 per cent more than in the case of the female respondents. The four charts below present their answers to questions 2 to 5 (speaking, understanding, writing and reading Polish).
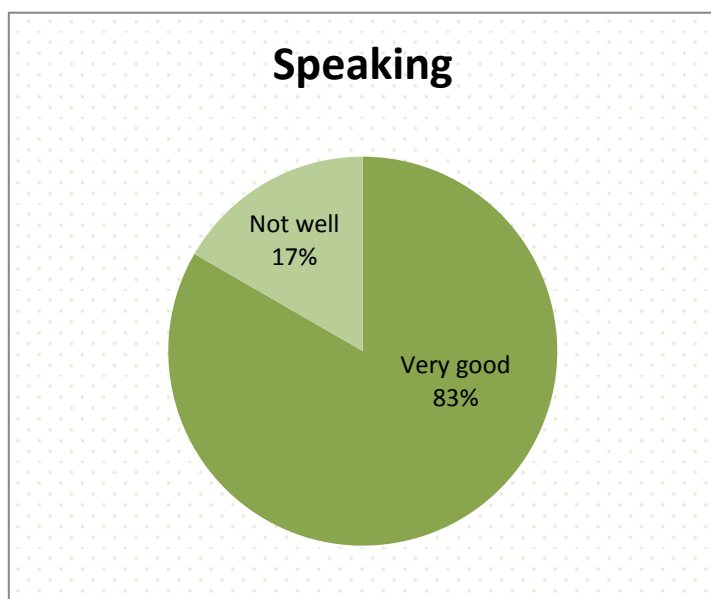
Speaking

Chart 14 presents data about the speaking skills of the male respondents. Two answers were circled: 'very good' (83 per cent) and 'not well' (17 per cent). The answers: 'well' and 'basic level' were not circled.

Chart 14: Speaking Polish (male responses)

Chart 15 presents data on how well the male respondents can understand Polish. 67 per cent of the respondents chose 'very good', 16 per cent 'well' and 17 per cent 'not well'. The answer 'basic level' was not chosen by any respondent.

Chart 15: Understanding Polish (male responses)

Understanding
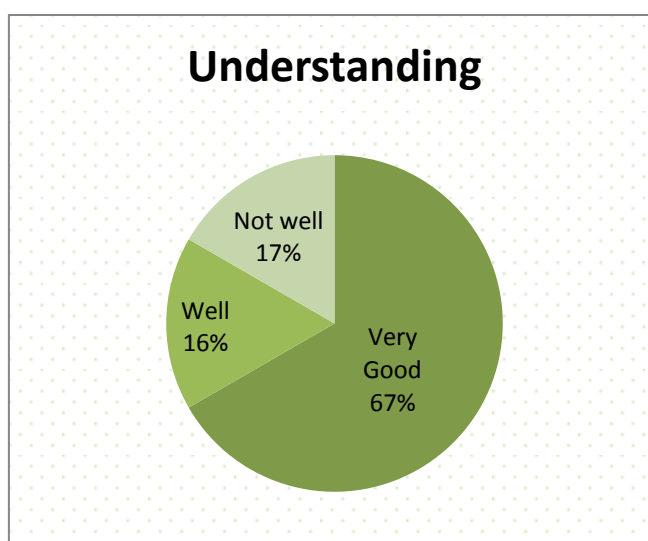
Chart 16 shows data on the reading skills of the male respondents. Half of the respondents circled 'very good', 33 per cent 'well' and 17 per cent 'not well'. The answer 'basic level' was not chosen.

Chart 16:Reading (male responses)

Reading

Not well 17%

Very good 50%

Well 33%

Writing

Very good 16%

Not well 17%

Well 67%
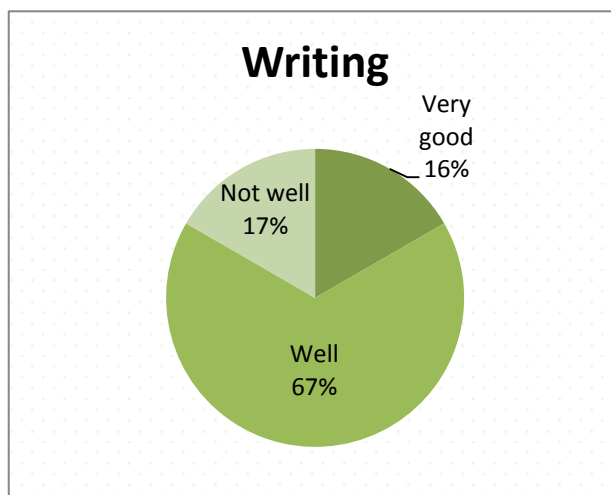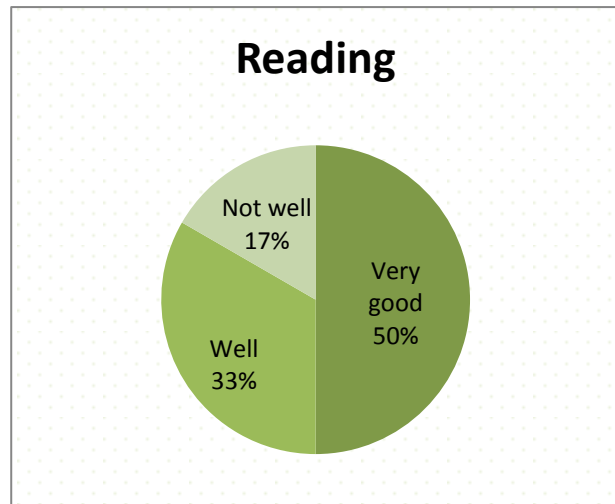
Chart 17 presents writing skills of the male respondents. 67 per cent of the respondents have 'well' writing skills, 16 per cent 'very good' and 17 per cent 'not well'. The answer 'basic level' was not chosen.

Chart 17: Writing (male responses)

The data presented in the charts shows that 67 per cent of the male respondents can understand Polish very well, and more than 30 per cent struggle with some difficulties and are not able to understand everything. In the case of reading skills, 83 per cent of the male respondents do not have any or have only small problems and 17 per cent cannot read very wells. The female respondents gave similar answers. Almost 70 per cent do not have any or experience just small difficulties. Writing skills on a 'well' level were declared by 67 per cent of the male respondents (17 per cent more than in the case of female responses).

Question 10 collected data about the place where the respondents learnt Polish. 50 per cent of the respondents learnt Polish just at home or during the holidays in Poland. The other half of the respondents learnt the language at school. One of the respondents

attended the Polish school in Vienna and two others had Polish as a foreign language at school in Vienna and Eisenstadt (chart 18). All of the respondents who could not choose Polish at school would like to have a chance to learn Polish at school (answer 'yes' to question 12).
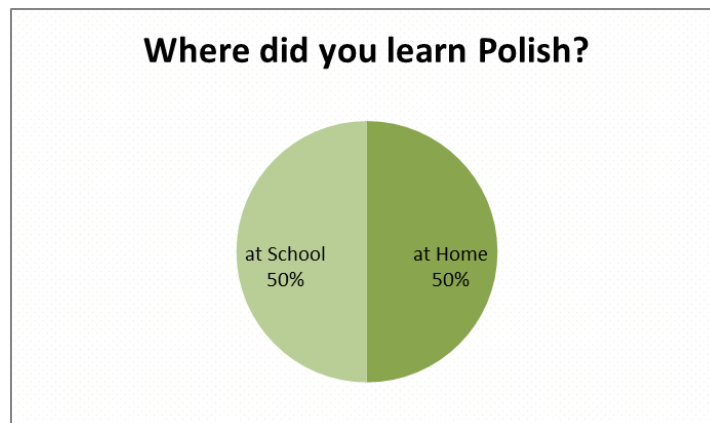
Chart 18: Where did you learn Polish (male responses)

The last question from this section collected data about language skills. All of the male respondents can speak Polish, German and English, the same as in the case of the female respondents. However, 67 per cent of them can speak one more additional language (Spanish, Italian or French). One respondent knows two more additional languages (Spanish and French) and only one of the respondents can speak Italian, French and Spanish. The most popular languages are Spanish and French among the male respondents.
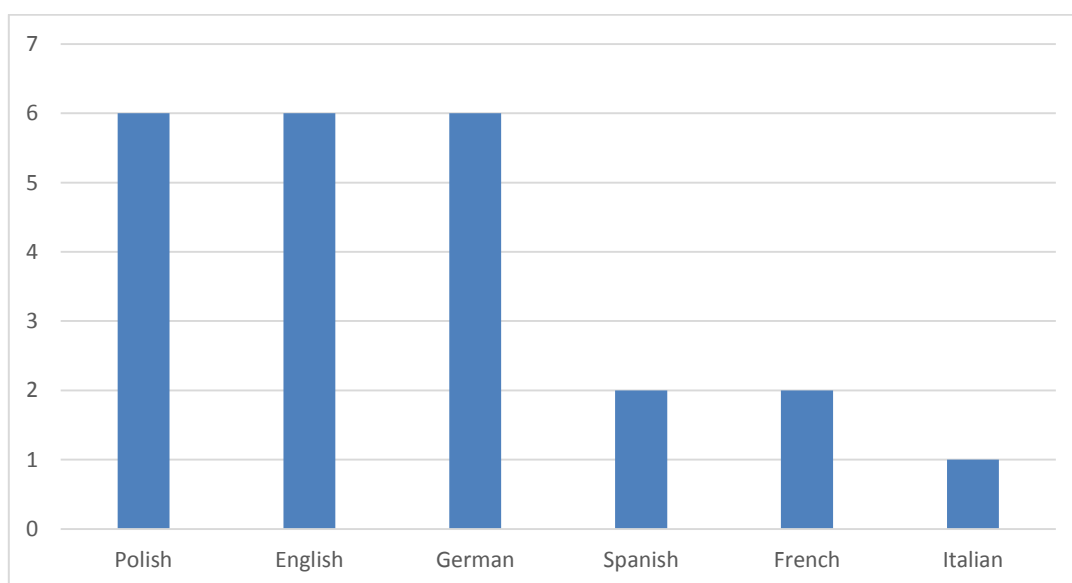
Chart 19: Question no. 6: How many languages do you know? (male answers)

Overall, the data collected in this section presented that most of the respondents do not have any problems with speaking and understanding Polish. More difficulties appeared in the case of writing and reading skills. It is caused by the fact that, like in the case of the female answers, half of the male respondents learnt Polish at home and use the language just for communication with their families and friends. Like the female respondents, the male respondents like to learn foreign languages and most of them know four languages.

7.2. Life spheres

This section summarizes the data collected in questions 7-9 and 13-17. For the purpose of this part, the respondents were asked which language they use for communication with their families, friends and how often they use Polish. The last questions from this section collected data about watching Polish movies, Polish television and reading Polish books by the respondents.

7.2.1. Female respondents

All the female respondents declared that in their home at least one member of the family uses Polish on a daily basis. Question 8 investigated how often the respondents use the Polish language at home (chart 20).

How often do you use Polish at home?

From time to time 17%

Often 33%
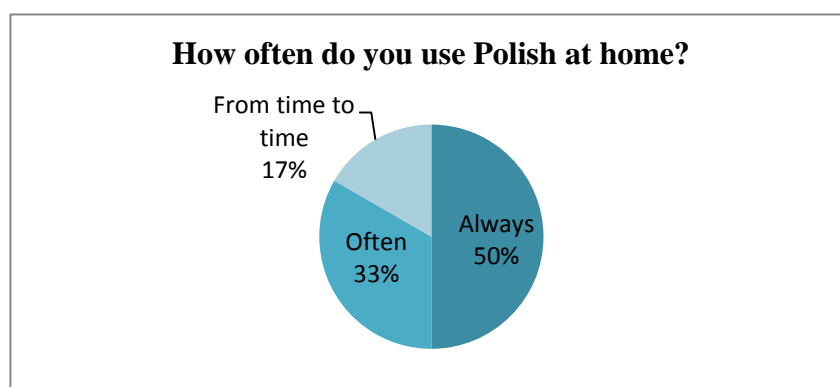
Always 50%

Chart 20: How often do you use Polish at home? (female answers)

50 per cent of the respondents always use Polish at home because both of their parents are from Poland. The other half of the respondents use German or Polish for the purpose of their daily communication with their parents and siblings. It is caused by the fact that 34 percent of the female respondents have one parent from Poland and 17 percent have both parents from Poland, but they prefer to use German at home.

The respondents were also asked if they use Polish when communicating with their friends. All of the respondents have friends in Austria who can speak Polish, however they do not communicate with them very often in Polish (chart 18).

How often do you speak Polish with your friends?

Always
17%

Often
16%

From time to
time
67%
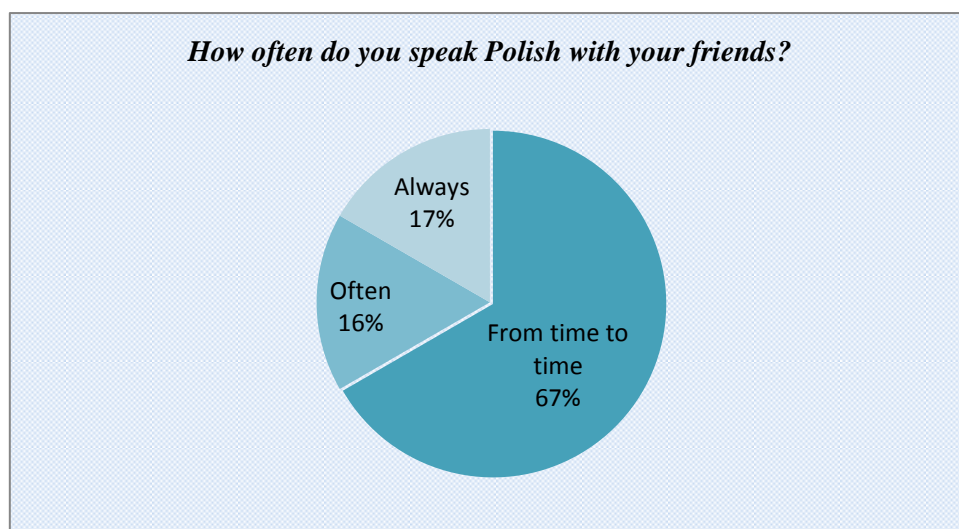
Chart 21: How often do you speak Polish with your friends? (female answers)

Questions 15 and 16 collected data from the respondents about watching Polish films and reading books, magazines etc. Only 17 percent of them declared that they read Polish newspapers and Polish websites at least once per week or per month. The rest of the respondents (67 percent) do not read any books, magazines, newspapers in Polish.

In the case of Polish films or TV programs, more than half of the respondents watch them at least once per month (charts: 22 and 23).
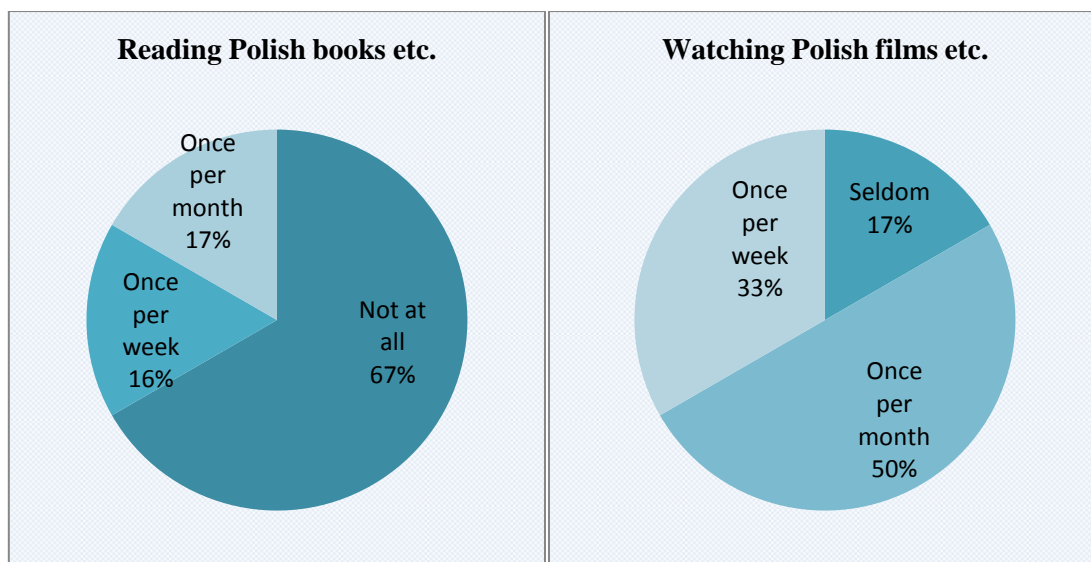
Chart 22: Reading Polish books (female answers)   Chart 23: Watching Polish films (female answers)

After reviewing all of the data collected in this section, the conclusion arises that most of the female respondents use Polish just in the private sphere of their lives. Half of the respondents always use Polish when communicating with their parents, and one third with their friends. Two of the respondents are among the founders of the Austrian- Polish Professionals association, that was founded in 2014. The aim of the association is to share experiences about the Austrian labor market and provide an opportunity to speak Polish with other members.

Most of the respondents do not read Polish books and press, which is also one of the main reasons why 50 per cent of the female respondents struggle with Polish grammar and have problems with writing. The respondents watch Polish movies more often than they read in Polish.

7.2.2. Male respondents

According to the data collected in the survey, more than 80 per cent of the male respondents declared that at least one of their parents or siblings uses Polish at home. 17 per cent replied that nobody uses Polish at home and all of the family members use

German for daily communication. Chart 21 presents how often the respondents use Polish at home.

How often do you use Polish at home?

- often 17%
- from time to time 17%
- always 50%
- seldom 16%
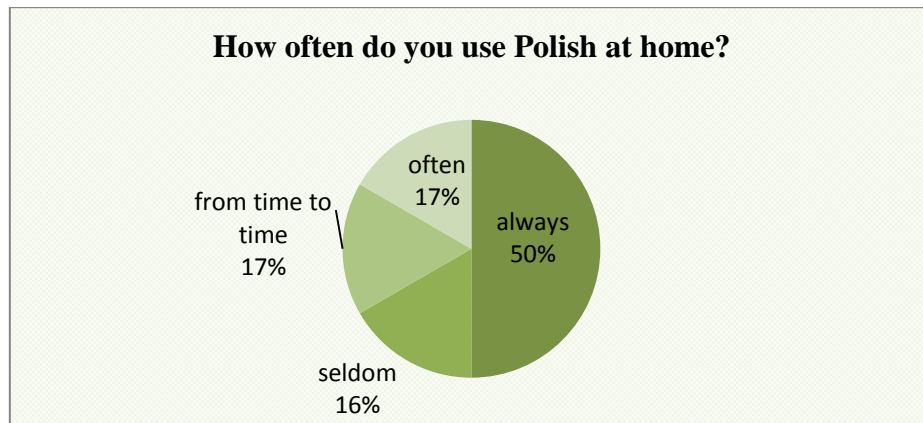
Chart 24: How often do you use Polish at home? (male answers)

Half of the male respondents, the same ratio as in the case of the female respondents, use just Polish at home (they have both parents from Poland). 33 percent use it very often or from time to time, and 17 percent never use Polish at home (one parent from Poland).

All of the male respondents have friends in Austria with whom they can communicate in Polish (chart 22). What is interesting is that 60 per cent of the respondents use Polish all the time or often with their friends. Only 40 per cent prefer to communicate in German and from time to time or seldom use Polish.

How often do you speak Polish with your friends?

- 20% Seldom
- Always 20%
- From time to time 20%
- Often 40%
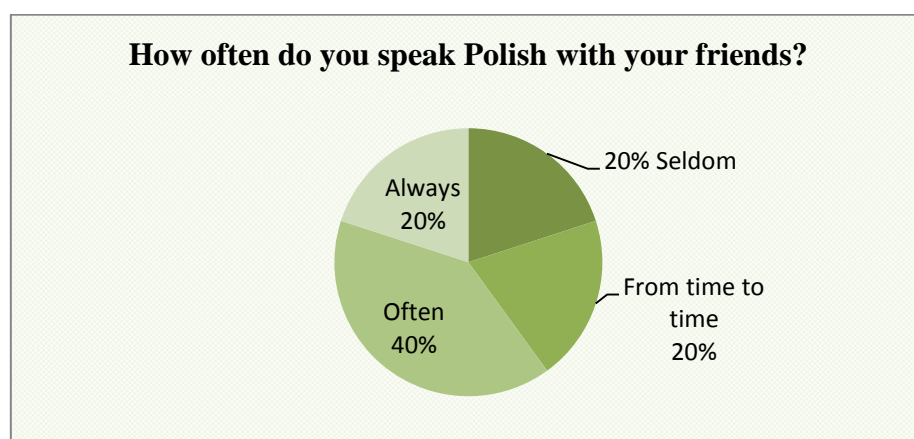
Chart 25: How often do you speak Polish with your friends? (male answers)

The last two questions of this section analyzed how often the respondents read and watch Polish books and films. The male answers are different than those from women. More

than 80 per cent of the respondents read Polish newspapers (on the Internet) and Polish books (chart 26). 67 per cent of the respondents do not watch any Polish films and TV programs and the rest do it very rarely (chart 26).

In the case of the female respondents, more than 60 per cent do not read any books and newspapers in Polish. 67 per cent do not watch any films and programs and the rest do it very rarely (chart 27). Half of the female respondents watch Polish films and TV series once per month.

Reading Polish books etc.

Once per month 17%
Not at all 16%
Once per week 67%

Watching Polish films etc.

Seldom 33%
Not at all 67%
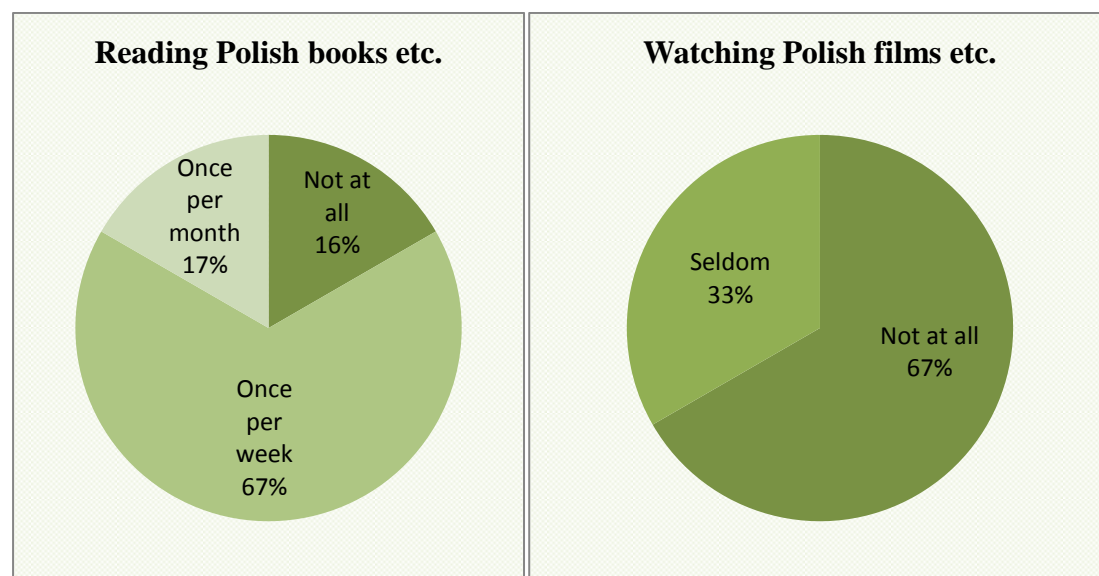
Chart 26: Reading Polish books (male answers)   *Chart 27: Watching Polish films (male answers)*

To conclude, all of the male respondents use Polish mainly to communicate with their families and peers (as do female respondents). 17 per cent of those surveyed use Polish at work as well (German-Polish translations). What is interesting is that 67 per cent of the respondents read Polish books and newspapers very often. This is in contrast to the female respondents (67 per cent of them do not read anything in the Polish language). The data analyzed in the previous section showed that the male respondents have better writing skills than the females surveyed.

7.3.   Cultural identity: 'What does the Polish language mean to you ?'

The last question of the survey collected data from the respondents about the meaning of the Polish language in their lives and the role of this language. It was the only open question included in the survey. The following two sections (7.3.1 and 7.3.2) presents the results.

7.3.1. Female respondents

All of the female respondents admitted that thanks to the Polish language they are able to communicate with their families in Poland and that it is very important in shaping their cultural identity.

A 26-year-ld respondent underlined that thanks to the Polish language she could learn more about her roots and Polish culture. Without language skills, it would be impossible:

'I cannot imagine not being able to communicate with my grandmother or grandfather. When I was small, I had a lot of problems with Polish grammar and pronunciation, but I decided to improve my skills thanks to my family in Poland. I spent every summer with them and I saw how important it was for them that I could speak Polish. My grandfather always told me that I should not forget where I come from. Thanks to the Polish language, I can better understand my roots and Polish culture. I can better understand myself.'

A 22-year-old respondent admitted that she is proud to be able to speak Polish and likes to use this language:

'I grew up with Polish but I am not native. I am proud to be able to speak Polish because it is often necessary (e.g., when I was on the trip in Cracow with my class, I was the only person who could speak Polish. I talked to the people and had to order food and drinks in the restaurant).'

A 27-year-old respondent whose mother comes from Austria and father comes from Poland acknowledged that the Polish language created a special tie between her and her father. She always speaks with her father Polish and it is very important for her:

'At my home, we speak German, because my mother is from Austria and cannot speak Polish. I speak with my father Polish when we are alone. It is very important for me to use this language. It helps me to discover my roots and my identity. I cannot imagine not being able to speak the language of my ancestors.'

The oldest of the respondents, 35 years old, who moved out from Poland when she was 6 years old, described that the Polish language will be always special for her and she is proud of that:

'When I was 6 years old, my parents decided to move out from Poland and try a new life abroad. That time was a communist regime in Poland and life was very difficult. When we arrived in Vienna in 1986, everything seemed to be better here. I learnt German very fast and I did not want to speak Polish. I wanted to forget it. When I was 12 years old my parents sent me to Poland for the holidays. I lived with my grandmother for 2 months. That time, I realized that I come from Poland, here are my roots and I cannot forget about it. When I came back to Vienna, I decided to take Polish classes at a Polish school. I tried to read Polish books and watch Polish films. I am proud that I am able to speak Polish. I live in Austria, here is my family, but my motherland is Poland. I have a child, he is just 5 years old, but I already started to teach him Polish.'

To sum up, all of the respondents admitted that the Polish language helped them to have contact with their families and friends in Poland. They try to keep the Polish language alive and use it as often as possible. For the youngest respondents (20-26 years old) who were born in Austria it was very difficult to learn Polish, but thanks to their parents and grandparents with whom they spend their holidays they learnt it and understood how important it is to know the Polish language. This language helped them to have contact with Polish culture, better understand their roots and helped to shape their cultural identity.

7.3.2. Male respondents

All of the male respondents admitted that the Polish language helps them to contact with their families and plays an important role in their lives.

A 26-year-old respondent underlined that the Polish language is his mother tongue:

'When I start thinking about what it means to me, the Polish language, the first thought is: mother tongue. I was born in Austria, here I finished school, university, got my first job. In Austria I have a lot of friends, my wife comes from here, but I am not Austrian. At home, my parents always spoke Polish, every Sunday we watched Polish movies and cooked Polish dinner (rosół i kotlet schabowy). I was always proud that I am from Poland and at school, when teachers asked me where I am from, my answer was: I am Polish. I live between two cultures: Austrian and Polish, but the second one will always be the most important for me.'

Another respondent, 33 years old, underlined that Polish helped him to have access to another culture other than Austrian:

'I arrived to Austria with my mother when I was 3 years old. She taught me the Polish language. I remember when I was a child, she would read to me Polish books every evening before I went to sleep. Thanks to the Polish language I have access to Polish culture. When I travel to Poland, I do not feel like a tourist or foreigner. It feels like my second home. I can talk to people; go to the cinema, theater. I can understand everything. This is the best of being bilingual and living in two different countries: access to two different cultures.'

One of the respondents, aged 25, admitted that the Polish language is the language of his ancestors, but also the language that he can use at work:

'I was born abroad, in Paris. When I was 4 years old, my parents moved to Austria. We never spoke Polish, but every summer I visited my grandmother in Belgium and could speak Polish with her. She gave me my first Polish book, I also watched my first Polish cartoon ('Miś Uszatek') with her. After high school, I decided to study German – Polish – French translation at the University of Vienna. Thanks to these studies, I could learn a lot about Polish literature. Today I work as a translator. Polish is the language that I use at

my daily work. When I speak Polish, I remember the holidays with my grandmother. Polish is not my mother tongue, nor a foreign language, it is something in between.'

Overall, all of the male respondents underlined how important the Polish language is for them, some need it at work, others for communicating with their families. It plays an important role for all of them. Being bicultural helped them to get to know two cultures, Polish and Austrian.

7.4. Summary

The empirical study presented in the second part of the thesis produces several interesting conclusions.

All of the respondents (male and female) are able to speak and understand Polish very well or well. According to the data collected, they learnt Polish at home or during holidays in Poland. However, most of the respondents have problems with writing and reading. This is caused by the fact that 60 per cent of the respondents learnt Polish only at home and did not take private lessons or attend one of the Polish schools in Austria. The data presented in the empirical part show that all of the respondents like to learn foreign languages and know at least three (Polish, German and English). Among the female respondents, the Italian language is the most popular, and among the male respondents – French.

All of the respondents use Polish in the communication with at least one member of their family. 50 per cent always use Polish at home. All the respondents try to have contact with the Polish community in Vienna in order to have an opportunity to use Polish. Two of the respondents founded the Polish-Austrian Association, to connect all the young Poles from Vienna.

In the survey, I collected data about reading Polish books and watching Polish movies by the respondents. What is interesting is that 80 per cent of female respondents watch Polish films or TV programs at least once per week, but more than half of them do not

read any books or newspapers in Polish. The male respondents very seldom watch Polish movies, but 80 per cent read Polish books or newspapers (mostly on the Internet) at least once per month.

The last question collected data about the meaning of the Polish language. Older respondents (27-33 years old) underlined that Polish was always used in their homes and they cannot imagine communication with their families in another language. For them, Polish culture plays a very important role and was an integral part of their childhood (Polish cartoons, books etc.).

In conclusion, most of the survey findings are similar to the results that are found in scientific literature, as presented in the first part of the thesis.

7.5.   Limitations

Due to the limited scope of this thesis, there are obvious constraints concerning time and access to the second generation of migrants in Austria to perform research. Other access-related factors account for further limitations of this research.

Firstly, the sample size (12 respondents) is small and represents just a small part of the second generation of Polish migrants in Austria. The questionnaire was distributed among the participants of the conference 'We are the future' that took place in Vienna in June 2015. This means that only the participants at the conference filled out the survey. The decision to conduct the survey during the conference was due to the fact that the main target group of this event was supposed to be a second generation of migrants in Austria.

Secondly, most of the respondents currently live in Vienna. More than 50 per cent completed their education in Vienna. For this reason, it was difficult to collect data about opportunities to learn Polish in other parts of Austria.

Thirdly, the survey was distributed during the coffee break. Because of that, 30 per cent of the respondents did not give exhaustive answers to the last question. The last limitation was the language proficiency among the selected respondents, as the survey was

distributed in Polish and one third of the respondents remarked that their reading and writing skills are not very good. It was also reflected in the last question and in the fact that one of the respondent decided to fill out the survey in German.

8.   Conclusions

In this final chapter, conclusions are drawn in order to answer the research questions presented in the introduction part of my thesis. They are answered on the basis of the empirical data collected through the survey. For this reason, we will take a look again at the main research question:

'How do children of Polish immigrants in Austria keep the Polish language alive?'

And the sub-question:

'What is the relationship between the language of parents and cultural identity among the second generation of Polish migrants in Austria?'

In the first part of my thesis, I presented two concepts: biculturalism and bilingualism. The increasing cross-border and cross-continental movements of people characterize the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. In today's globalized world people decide to move from one country to another and raise their children there. Biculturalism and bilingualism are very common phenomena. Children of migrants usually live in two cultures: at home with their parents and at school with their peers. Most of them are bilingual and are able to live in two cultures: the country of their origin and the host country, where their parents decided to migrate and live. Children of migrants very often learn the language of their parents in order to be able to communicate with the members of their families. For most of the second generation of migrants, the language of their parents plays a very important role in shaping their cultural identity. However, it is worth mentioning that parents also play a very important role in this process and are the first teachers for their children.

Polish migration to Austria has very long tradition and it dates back to the 18th century. Today in Austria, there are many Polish organizations, mostly in big cities like Vienna, Graz or Linz. What is more, Polish is taught as a foreign language in public Austrian schools. Children of Polish migrants have plenty of opportunities to learn Polish and to have contact with Polish culture and history. The data presented in the theoretical part shows that most of the children of Polish migrants decide to learn another foreign

language at school, because they attend Polish weekend schools or learn the language from their parents.

In the second part of my thesis, I analyzed the outcome of the survey conducted for the purpose of my research. After analyzing the data, I was able to find the answer to my main research question. Firstly, all of the respondents speak Polish and try to use this language in their daily life. 90 per cent of the respondents speak Polish with their families and try to improve their Polish skills. For 50 per cent of the respondents, Polish is their mother tongue and they are proud that they come from Poland. They stress that Polish culture dominates in their lives more than Austrian culture. The second half of the respondents admitted that their mother tongue is German, but the Polish language plays a very important role in their lives and they very often use this language. They like the fact that they are bicultural and have easy access to two different cultures. They make use both of the cultures, depending on the situation. All of the respondents try to have contact with the Polish community in Austria and have friends who can also speak Polish.

After reviewing the answers to the last question of the survey, it is quite visible that for all the respondents the Polish language is part of their heritage, a very important element that helps them to have contact with Polish culture. All of the respondents are proud that they have Polish roots and can speak the language and try to use Polish as often as it is possible. 30 per cent admitted that they had a lot of difficulties while learning the language, but the fact that their parents come from Poland motivated them. Another source of impact on the respondents came from grandparents, who convinced them how important the Polish language is.

Overall, it can be concluded that biculturalism and bilingualism need further research to analyze more deeply the role of the heritage language and the second generation of migrants. In literature, most of research has been done with the sample of the first generation of migrants. The second or even the third generations of migrants should also be the subject of research in order to analyze differences in relation to the first generation of migrants. This thesis provides the outcome of relatively small research of the second generation of migrants and the impact of the heritage language on their lives.

9.   Appendix

9.1.   Survey (Polish Version)

'Proces uczenia się języka polskiego za granicą'

Poniższa ankiety zawiera 18 pytań (otwartych i zamkniętych), jej celem jest zdobycie informacji o znajomości języka polskiego i jego użytkowaniu w życiu codzienny przez młodych Polaków, którzy wychowali się w Austrii. Wszelkie informacje uzyskane z ankiety są anonimowe i będą użyte do celów naukowych (pracy magisterskiej).

Wiek

Płeć

W jakim rejonie (landzie) Austrii mieszkasz?

(jeżeli się przeprowadziłeś/-aś w ciągu ostatnich 5 lat to proszę to uwzględnić)

1. Jak długo mieszkasz w Austrii?
    A. Całe życie   C. Krócej niż pięć lat
    B. Pięć lat lub dłużej   D. Dziesięć lat lub dłużej

2. Jak dobrze mówisz po polsku:
    A. W stopniu podstawowym   C. Dobrze
    B. Średnio   D. Bardzo dobrze/płynnie

3. Jak dobrze rozumiesz język polski:
    A. W stopniu podstawowym   C. Dobrze
    B. Średnio   D. Bardzo dobrze/płynnie

4. Jak dobrze czytasz po polsku:
    A. W stopniu podstawowym   C. Dobrze
    B. Średnio   D. Bardzo dobrze/płynnie

5. Jak dobrze piszesz po polsku:
    A. W stopniu podstawowym   C. Dobrze
    B. Średnio   D. Bardzo dobrze/płynnie

6. Iloma językami obcymi posługujesz się ? (proszę wymienić)

7. Czy ktoś w twoim domu mówi w języku polskim?

    Tak   Nie

8. Jak często te osoby posługują się językiem polskim? (proszę odpowiedzieć na pytanie jeżeli w pytaniu nr. 8 udzieliłeś/-aś pozytywnej odpowiedzi)
   A. Rzadko
   B. Od czasu do czasu
   C. Często
   D. Zawsze

9. W jakim języku rozmawiasz ze swoim rodzicami?

10. Gdzie nauczyłeś/-aś się języka polskiego?
   A. W szkole
   B. Inne miejsce:
   C. W domu

11. Czy uczyłeś/-aś się języka polskiego w szkole jako języka obcego lub uczęszczałeś/-aś do polskiej szkoły? (jeżeli tak to w jakim rodzaju szkoły, mieście i ile lat)

12. Jeżeli mógłbyś/-aś wybrać jakiego języka obcego chcesz się uczyć w szkole, czy byłby to język polski? (proszę udzielić odpowiedzi w przypadku gdy w poprzednim pytaniu twoja odpowiedź była negatywna)

13. Czy zdarza Ci się używać języka polskiego w rozmowie z twoimi rówieśnikami?

14. Jeżeli tak to jak często posługujesz się językiem polskim?
   A. Rzadko
   B. Często
   C. Od czasu do czasu
   D. Zawsze

15. Czy czytasz książki, gazety etc. w języku polskim? (Jeżeli tak, to jak często)

16. Czy oglądasz polskie programy/telewizję/filmy etc.? (Jeżeli tak, to jak często)

17. W jakiej sferze swojego życia używasz najczęściej języka polskiego? Dlaczego?

18. Co znaczy dla Ciebie język polski?

9.2.   Survey (English Version)

'Process of learning the Polish language abroad'

The following questionnaire contains 18 questions (open and closed), its purpose is to gather information about the knowledge of Polish and its use in everyday life by young Poles who grew up in Austria. Any information obtained from the survey is anonymous and will be used for academic purposes (master thesis).

How old are you?

Sex

Where do you live? (city)

(If you moved in the last 5 year please indicate it)

1. How long have you lived in Austria?

    A. Entire life   **C.** Less than five years

    B. Five years or more   **D.** Ten years or more

2. How well do you speak Polish?

    A. Basic level   **C.** Well

    B. Not well   **D.** Very good

3. How well do you understand Polish?

    A. Basic level   **C.** Well

    B. Not well   **D.** Very good

4. How well do you read in Polish?

    A. Basic level   **C.** Well

    B. Not well   **D.** Very good

5. How well do you write in Polish?

    A. Basic level   **C.** Well

    B. Not well   **D.** Very good

6. How many languages do you know? (Please name them)

7. Does anyone in your home speak Polish?

    Yes   No

8. (If yes) how often do they speak Polish?

    A. Seldom   **C.** Often

    B. From time to time   **D.** Always

9. When you talk to your parents which language do you most often use?

10. Where did you learn Polish?

    A. School   **C.** Home

    B. other place:

11. Did you learn Polish at school or did you attend a Polish school in Austria? (If yes, please indicate what kind of school, how long and where)

12. If you could choose which language to learn at school as a foreign language, would it be Polish? (Please, answer this question if you gave a negative answer in question no. 11)

13. When talking to your friends, do you use Polish?

   Yes   No

14. If yes, how often do you speak Polish?

   A. Seldom   **C.** Often

   B. From time to time   **D.** Always

15. Do you read Polish books/newspapers/magazines etc.? (If yes, how often)

16. Do you watch Polish television/movies etc.? (If yes, how often)

17. In which area of your life do you use Polish? And why?

18. What does the Polish language mean to you?

10. Abbreviations

BOKU - University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences in Vienna

EU – European Union

FRG – Federal Republic Germany

GUS – Główny Urząd Statystyczny (Central Statistical Office)

ILO – International Labour Organization

OECD - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

ORPEG – Ośrodek Rozwoju Polskie Edukacji za Granicą (The Centre for the Development of Polish Education Abroad)

PALiLZ - Polska Agencja Informacji i Inwestycji Zagranicznych (Polish Investment and Trade Agency)

UN – United Nations

USA – United States of America

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNFPA – United Nations Population Fund

USSR - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WU - Vienna University of Economics and Business

10.   List of Tables

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13.   List of Figures

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