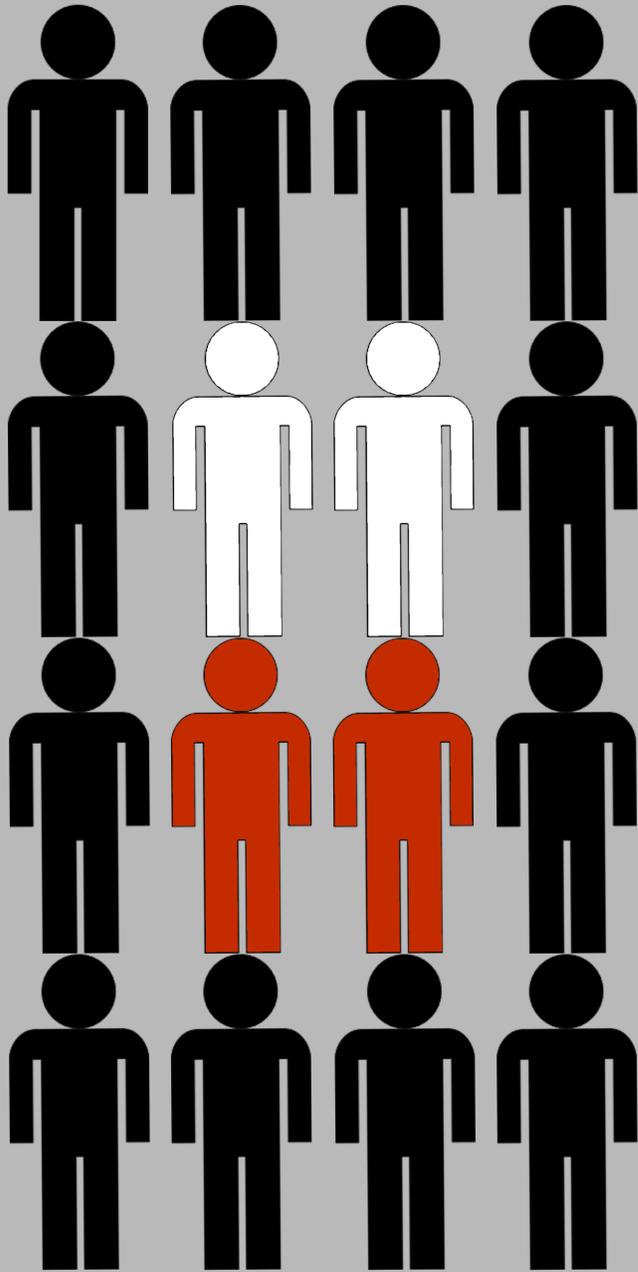


11th Annual Dekaban Lecture
Piaśt Institute and
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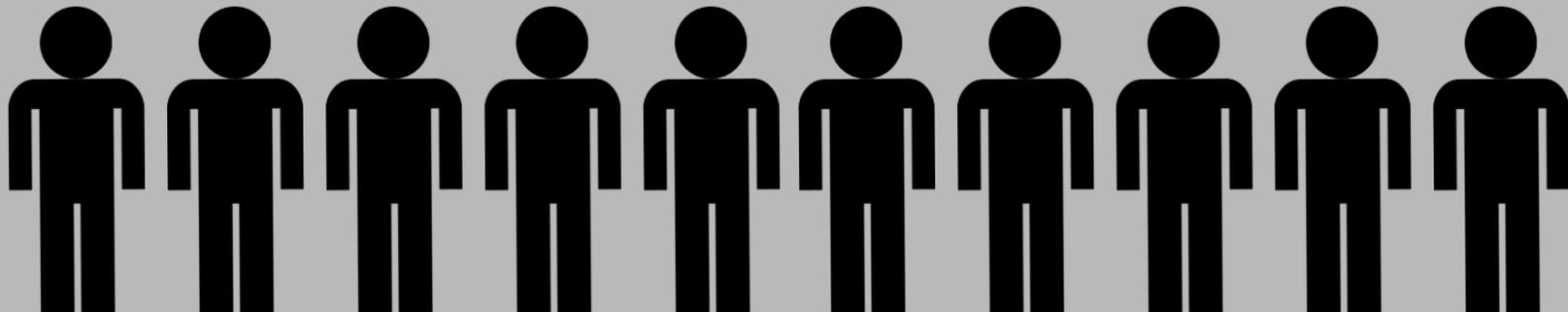


Polonia: Today's Profile
Tomorrow's Promise

Prepared by

Dominik Stecula and Dr. Thaddeus C. Radzilowski

Support for this program is provided by a grant from the Consulate General of the Republic of Poland in Chicago



About the Authors

Dominik Stecula [stecula@piastinstitute.org] is a doctoral student in the Department of Political Science at The University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada and a Director of Research and Data Analysis at the Piast Institute in Hamtramck, Michigan. Dominik's research interests are comparative politics and political behavior, with an emphasis on public opinion formation, political psychology and political communications. Prior to his doctoral studies, Dominik attended McGill University in Montreal where he obtained a Master's Degree in comparative politics.

Dominik presented his academic research at academic conferences in Chicago, Montreal, Quebec City, Vancouver, San Francisco and San Diego and his academic and nonacademic writing has been featured in edited volumes and prominent Polish and Polish American outlets, including *Polityka* and *Nowy Dziennik*. He also co-authored Piast Institute's book *Polish Americans Today*.

Dominik is a recipient of many awards and scholarships, including The University of British Columbia's prestigious 4YF doctoral fellowship and University of Michigan – Dearborn's Chancellor's Medallion, in addition to various research and teaching fellowships at the University of British Columbia and McGill University. Other awards include the William J. Branstron Award for the Outstanding Performance as a Freshman (2004); University of Michigan at Dearborn Humanities Department Intern of the Year (2007); Jan Adolf Gorecki National Scholarship for Polish and Polish American Students (2007, 2008, 2010); American Institute for Polish Culture Harriet Irsay Scholarship (2007, 2008); Friends of Polish Art Frank Filipek Scholarship for Outstanding Polish Students in Michigan (2008); Andrzej Kapiszewski Piast Institute Scholarship (2006); American Council for Polish Culture Skalny National Scholarship (2008). Dominik also served as an honorary committee member of the Young Polonia Foundation's Triada Cultural Events in Warsaw and Vilnius for contributions to preserve Polish language and culture abroad (2009).

Dominik is also the founder of *Nihil Novi* a weblog of Polish American politics, policy and culture. *Nihil Novi* provides a forum for serious thought and deliberation about matters concerning Polish Americans, Poland and the US. It is available at www.nihilnovijournal.org.

Dr. Thaddeus Radzilowski [radzilowski@piastinstitute.org] is the President and co-founder of the Piast Institute, An Institute for Polish and Polish American Affairs. He is President Emeritus of Saint Mary's College in Orchard Lake, Michigan. Radzilowski is a historian who holds a Ph.D. in History from the University of Michigan. During his career he has taught at Madonna University, Heidelberg College and Southwest Minnesota State University in Minnesota. At Southwest Minnesota State he served as Chair of the Department of History, Director of the Regional History Center, Director of Rural Studies and Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs.

He has also been the Special Assistant to the Chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities and NEH's liaison to Ethnic and Community groups in the United States (1981-1982) and the Acting Director of the Immigration History Research Center of the University of Minnesota (1985-1986). In addition, he served as Director (1989-1991) of a two year NEH funded Institute to create materials on local history for inclusion in elementary and secondary school curricula. The results of that Institute, titled *The Heritage of the Prairie* (1994) have been published under his editorship. He was named Professor Emeritus of History at Southwest Minnesota State University in 1997. He is currently a Lecturer in History at the University of Michigan–Dearborn.

Dr. Radzilowski has written extensively on the history of Russia and East Central Europe and migration from East Central Europe with special emphasis on social history and historiography. His work on Eastern Europe has included articles on the ethnic and national groups in the region including a four-part series on the Jewish experience in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth and modern Poland. His monographs include *Feudalism, Revolution and the Meaning of Russian History* (1994) *The Polish Presence in Detroit* (2001). He has written, produced and consulted on a number of radio and television productions and films including two award winning PBS films *Out of Solidarity: Three Polish Families in America* (1986) and *Dealers among Dealers* (1995) with Gaylen Ross. The first was on the adaptation of Solidarity exiles to American life and the second dealt with the different Jewish cultures of New York's Diamond District. He also served as Historical Advisor and Researcher to the A&E Reports program *Swiss Gold* on the assets seized from Holocaust victims on deposit in Swiss banks. The program won an Emmy for Research. He also wrote and narrated an hour long TV special *Our Polish Story* which appeared on the Detroit ABC affiliate and Michigan Public Television.

Dr. Radzilowski served for a decade as a member of the editorial Board of the *Polish Review* and has been a consultant for the Department of Education in the State of New Jersey and a number of municipalities and school districts in Minnesota on ethnicity and pluralism. He has also served as an advisor and consultant to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the U.S. Bureau of the Census. Dr. Radzilowski is the Piast Institute's Director of Research for its projects on ethnic groups and American Pluralism. He also heads the Institute's Census Information Center (CIC). His most recent work is the widely acclaimed, groundbreaking study *Polish Americans Today* (with Dominik Stecula). Between 2005 and 2010, he served as the Co-Chair of the National Polish American Jewish American Council (NPAJAC)

Dr. Radzilowski has lectured widely in Europe, Canada and the United States. In 1991 and 1992 he co-directed a special program on International Business and the new situation in East Central and Central Europe at the Wirtschaft Universitet in Vienna for the Minnesota State University System. He also chaired an International Conference on Migration at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland in 1986. He was invited to deliver the Keynote Address at the Pre-Summit meeting of the Association of Migrant Groups in Germany in Berlin, Germany on July 15, 2009

Dr. Radzilowski has been appointed to a number of commissions and boards including the Ford Foundation's Commission on Ethnicity in American Life. He is the recipient of the Cavalier's Cross of the Polish Order of Merit awarded by the President of Poland (1999) for distinguished contributions to the dissemination of Polish culture in the world. In 2000, he was also named as a corresponding member of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN). He served two terms as President of the Upper Midwest Ethnic Studies Association and one term as President of the Polish American Historical Association. Dr. Radzilowski was named to President William Clinton's advisory transition team on U.S. policy in East and Central Europe (1991). He has been the recipient of numerous awards including Distinguished Faculty Award at Southwest State University and the Mieczyslaw Haiman Medal of the Polish American Historical Association for distinguished contributions to the writing of Polish American history. On July 28, 2012, Dr Radzilowski was awarded the Dr. Joseph Jachimczyk Award for his contributions to the Enhancement of American Polonia by the National Medical and Dental Society at its annual meeting in Traverse City, MI. In 2013, Dr. Radzilowski received the Lech Walesa Media Award presented by the Lech Walesa Institute for his work in inciting interest in Poland and Polish culture around the world.

About the Piast Institute

The Piast Institute was founded in 2003 by Dr. Thaddeus C. Radzilowski, a researcher, historian and university professor, and Ms. Virginia Skrzyniarz, a Polish American community leader and experienced executive who has served and led a variety of not for profit organizations.

The Institute is the only independent research center in North America established to study the Polish experience in North America and Europe. In 2006, it was designated as an official Census Information Center (CIC) by the US Census Bureau. It is one of 56 such centers around the country and the only one with a mission to study and disseminate information on a European ethnic group.

With its staff, board of directors, and network of fellows, the Institute sponsors conferences, seminars, publications, public programs, lectures, surveys, and exhibits that provide timely and accurate information about Poles, Polish Americans, and Poland. The Institute's mission and programming aim to celebrate Polish contributions to American as well as world culture and history and to address and counter inaccurate or defamatory information about Poles, Polish Americans, and Poland. It also has a special interest in pluralism and ethnicity in American life.

Through its Research Center and CIC, the Piast Institute acts as a data source center, helping scholars and community groups develop policy papers and historical, cultural, political, economic, social, and demographic studies on a variety of topics.

The Piast Institute is officially certified by the US Department of Homeland Security as an assistance site to help immigrants with visa, documentation, citizenship, and legal status issues. The Institute's immigration assistance office is staffed by two accredited representatives.

Through its capacity-building programs, it assists other Polish American organizations to improve their capacities to achieve their missions, build their assets, and develop an understanding of the regulatory world in which modern non-profits must operate.

The Piast Institute oversees faculty exchange programs between Universities of Michigan, British Columbia, and Glasgow, and the Agricultural, Economic, and Technological Universities in Warsaw for the Dekaban Foundation.

For more information on the Institute and its work, to help support the Institute through donations or volunteer assistance, and/or to inquire about its research and other services, please contact Ms. Virginia Skrzyniarz at 313.733.4535 or skrzyniarz@piastinstitute.org.

About Dekaban Liddle Foundation

Anatole Dekaban was born in Poland in 1914. After completion of gymnasium studies in Warsaw, he matriculated at the University of Warsaw Medical School in 1935. He completed his studies in 1939 and belatedly received his MD in 1944. During the German occupation of his native land, he was active as a doctor in the Anti-Nazi resistance and took part in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944. After the war he began his medical practice in neurology and neuroscience in his native city, however, his involvement in the democratic resistance during the war brought him to the attention of the Communist authorities. He fled Poland in 1947.

He continued his neurological studies in Canada and took a Ph.D. at McGill University in 1952. He also studied at Columbia University and the Institute of Neurology in London. In London he met and married Pamela Liddle. He held an appointment in neurology at the University of British Columbia from 1952-1955. He moved to National Institute of Health (NIH) at Bethesda Maryland and remained there until his retirement. He rose to be Chief of Clinical Investigation in Developmental and Metabolic Neurology at the NIH National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Strokes. After his retirement to Whidbey Island, Washington in 1980, he continued to consult at the University of Washington Medical School and the Children's Orthopedic Hospital in Seattle.

Dr. Dekaban was the author of two important texts on pediatric neurology and a monograph on the early development of the human brain. He also published over 120 scientific publications in medical journals or as book chapters. He is widely regarded as one of the founders of pediatric neurology. Dr. Dekaban died in the spring of 2001 at the age of 86.

Pamela Liddle Dekaban was born in London, England in August 1924. She received her elementary and secondary education in London. During the Second World War she served in the British Armed Forces. After the war she returned to her education. She completed the King George Hospital Training School for Nurses in 1949 having achieved the class gold medal for being the first in her class. She graduated with a specialty in medical and surgical nursing. She continued to work at St. George's Hospital after her graduation and there met her future husband. They were married on September 1, 1952. She migrated with her husband to Canada. With her medical background she assisted her husband during his career in the presentation and editing of his publications. She was also an expert and accomplished gardener and a skilled artisan with abilities in several areas including stained glass work. She was also a full partner in the philanthropic work that Dr. Dekaban initiated in Poland. Pamela Liddle Dekaban died on May 19, 2003.

Pamela and Anatole Dekaban had two children: Dr. Gregory (born 1954), married to Linda with two sons, Robin and Mark, and Joanna (born 1956), married to Michael.

During their visits to Poland after Dr. Dekaban's retirement, the Dekabans recognized that the difficulties of his beloved Poland could only be solved by improving the quality of Polish science and education. They decided mutually to devote their philanthropy to those ends. During the period of food shortages in the early eighties they funded exchanges to improve agriculture. After the fall of Communism their gift addressed the economic demands of a new market economy and later when Poland entered the global market they focused their philanthropy on the need to upgrade Polish technology and engineering.

The gifts of Pamela and Anatole Dekaban to Poland and its people will bear fruit for generations to come. Practical and far seeing, the foundations they established are designed to create the independent, democratic, and prosperous Poland that had been the hope that had once propelled Anatole Dekaban into the desperate struggle for his country's honor, freedom and future more than half a century ago.

Acknowledgements

A version of this lecture has been presented at the Annual Meeting of the Polish American Historical Association in Washington, DC in January of 2014. Financial support for the Dekaban lecture was provided by a grant from the Consulate General of the Republic of Poland in Chicago. The 2013 survey of Polish Americans would not be possible without the help of the Department of Political Science at the University of British Columbia, and particularly Prof. Fred Cutler. We would also like to thank Dr. Karen Majewska, Dr. Jason Booza and Dr. David Jackson for a useful feedback.

Introduction and Methodology

According to the United States Census Bureau, there are approximately 10,000,000 people who self-identify as being Polish by ancestry. This is a significant group of people who are willing to publicly acknowledge being Polish American. It numbers about 3% of the population of the country. Unfortunately, as important as that figure is, it cannot tell us about the intensity of that identification, or how it plays out in the daily lives of those who say they are Polish Americans, as that community is rather diverse. For example, about 5% of Polish Americans are foreign born and about half of those are US citizens. The dynamics of the community are therefore complicated.

There are no significant population studies or surveys that provide information of any kind on the attitudes and opinions of Polish Americans. Most of the surveys we have are of those ethnic groups or conglomerations of ethnic groups such as “Hispanics” who are covered as “protected classes” under US Civil Rights laws and regulations. The surveys done by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) of the University of Chicago, which did sample ancestry groups, had ceased to do so by the 1980’s. By the end of the 20th century, the national election exit polls also dropped questions about ancestry. Although the US Census continues to ask about ancestry, the question which was only added to the National Census in 1980, albeit on the so-called “long form” (a one out of six sample) was moved to the rolling three-year American Community Survey (ACS) in 2004. The ACS is based on a 1 out of 19 sample. While the ACS does provide useful information on Poles and other “ancestry” groups (largely people belonging to European and Middle Eastern groups who fall under the default racial category of “White”) it is not as extensive as that available on “Racial” or “Ethnic” groups (there is only one ethnic group –“Hispanic”- known to the US Census).

We thus have limited ways of getting information about the Polish Americans in the United States. No national polling company uses ancestry as a survey variable. The exit polling in national elections dropped the ancestry category by 2000 and the NORC the major research center which used ancestry in its national surveys no longer does so. At this point, an attempt to design and implement a statistically valid survey of the national Polish American communities is beyond our resources. We have chosen, therefore, to survey those Polish Americans who have a strong commitment to a Polish identity in the US, who can be mobilized to support Polish American and Polish causes and who are interested in and keep abreast of issues that concern Polonia as well as Poland. The respondents to our two major national surveys are people who are the leaders and activists at the grassroots level. We feel that this is this group upon whom the present and future of Polonia depends. To reach this group we relied on what is called “snowballing sampling.” Those who participated were reached through press releases and other communications of the Piast Institute, information from other Polish institutions, and via media, forums and list serves, and personal contacts with colleagues. It is not an ideal methodology but the results of our 2010 and 2013 surveys and an earlier 2009 more limited survey (900 respondents) we did in conjunction with a study of the 2008 election have shown in a number of significant areas a remarkable consistency of responses that we feel we can

speak with some surety about Polish Americans and their opinions. By no means, however, is such methodological approach unusual. As a matter of fact, a growing number of works in the academic fields of political science, sociology and other social sciences. The rise of the convenience sampling is an understandable extension of the prominence of the Internet, and it allows researchers to closely examine populations that were previously difficult to reach. The limitation of this approach is a serious one, however, as the statistical leverage that is present in analysis on random samples is not available with this approach. In other words, one cannot use this data to run explanatory models, as the underlying assumption of that methodology is rooted in the randomness of the sample. Most of the analysis, therefore, has to be limited to basic descriptive statistics and any generalizations should be taken with a grain of salt.

The underlying theoretical assumption of the study, as well as the other work done by the Piast Institute, is that Polish America – Polonia -- is a modern American ethnic group with strong and abiding Polish roots and a long and distinctive American experience. It was founded in the US almost 160 years ago and it has continued to evolve in response to new immigrants and challenges from Europe as well as to an ever-changing American environment which Polonia in itself has played a significant role in shaping. It also has its own internal dynamics. Polonia was and continues to be a new creation.

Demographics

The online survey was answered by 1344 people who self-identify as Polish American. These people came from 47 different states, which is comparable to our previous surveys. However, just as was the case with the previous study, the bulk of the respondents came from a handful of states. 60% of all respondents came from the top five states (which are, in order, Michigan, Illinois, New York, Virginia and New Jersey). 77% of all respondents came from the top ten states, which are, in addition to the previously mentioned states: California, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Connecticut and Ohio. None of these should be surprising, as the census data indicates that these are the states with the largest Polish American populations.

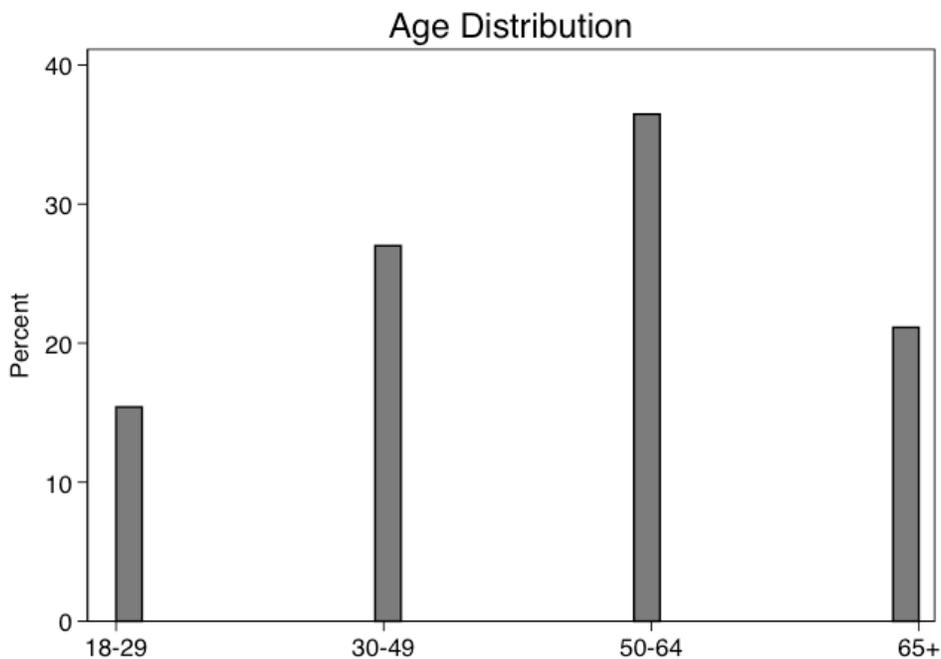
In terms of variations, this year's survey yielded a much more substantial response from California and Connecticut-both major Polonia centers - than did the 2010 survey.

The survey indicates that most Polish Americans live in urban and suburban areas, with only 20% of the respondents indicating living in small towns or rural areas.

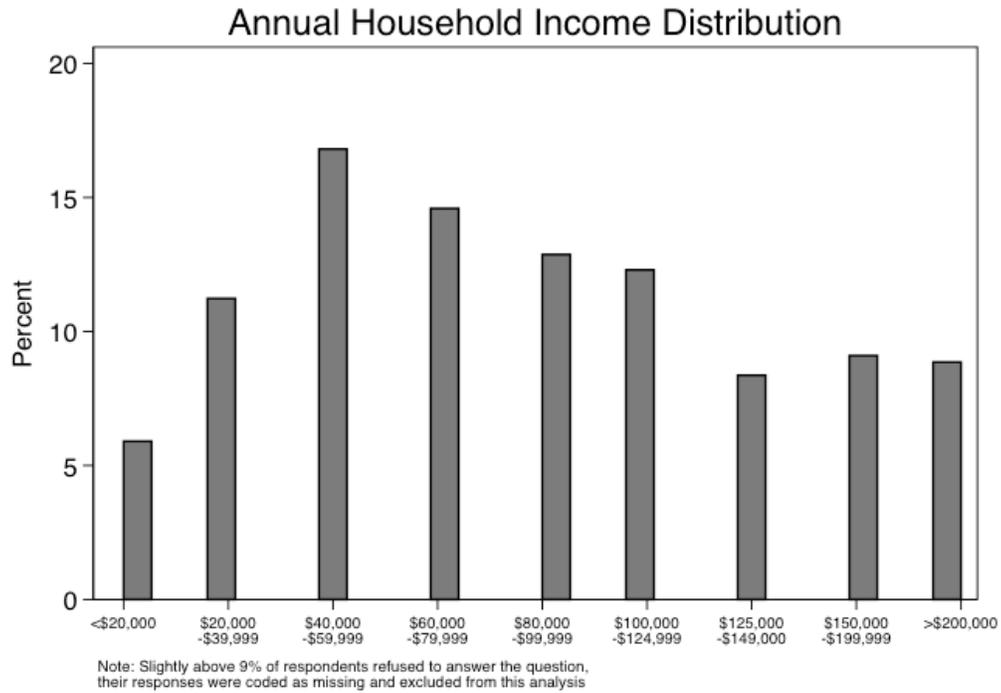
The breakdown of all respondents indicates that 54% are women and 46% are men. 57% of respondents are married. Majority of respondents were born in the United States (70%), but a substantial 26% were born in Poland. The rest indicated another country as their place of birth. Overwhelming majority are US citizens (95%). Most respondents have also lived in the United States their whole lives (69%) and only 2% have been in the US for less than 10 years.

It is worth noting that in the previous survey 35% of the respondents were born in Poland or another foreign country. This year's survey thus shows a greater participation of American-born respondents.

The age distribution of the respondents is skewed towards older people, with the youngest respondents being 18 (by survey definition, as it was open to voting age adults) while the oldest being 88. Mean age is 50.4 years while median age is 53.5. This indicates that older members of the community remain active in Polonia and are technologically savvy. However, still over 15% of respondents were below 30 years old. A plurality of respondents are between the ages of 50 and 64 and over 21% are 65 or older.

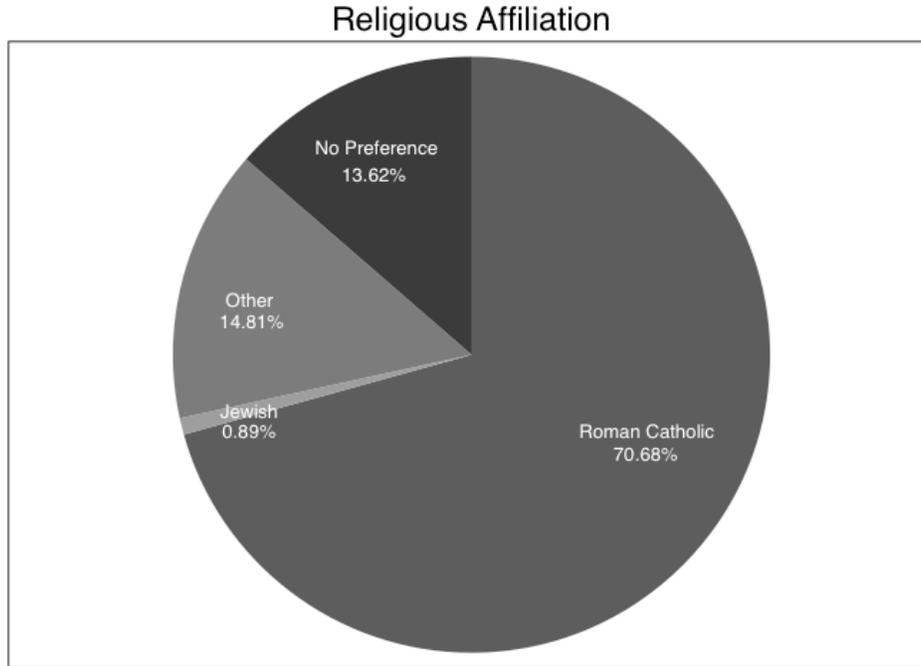


The income distribution indicates that majority of Polonia seems to be well within the confines of the middle class, although that is obviously a somewhat ambiguous of a category. 8% of the respondents report incomes of \$200,000 dollars or more per year, while close to 10% refused to answer the question.



Religious Affiliation

In terms of religious affiliation, majority of Polish Americans indicated Roman Catholic faith (71%). Close to 15% of respondents indicate affiliation with a different Christian religion, such as Polish National Catholic Church, Protestant Church, etc. Less than 1% are Jewish but close to 14% indicate no religious preference. That number is slightly higher than from the previous survey and indicates that this group of people is a considerable group within Polonia.



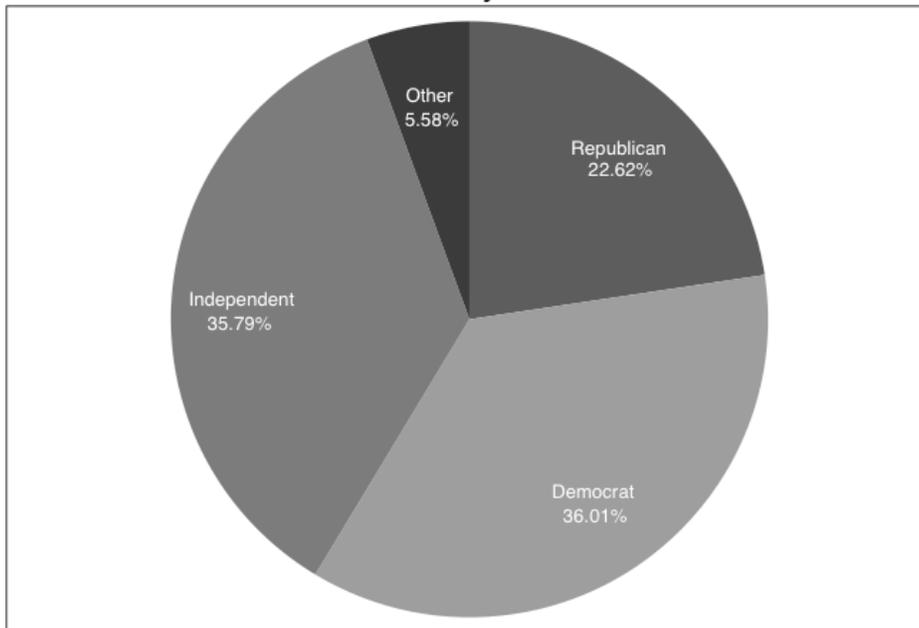
Politics, Participation and Ideology

Ideologically, a plurality of Polonia is conservative (38.5%), although compared to the last study, this group shrank from 44%. 37% of Polonia is liberal while about a fourth indicates being in the political center. On the extreme ends of the political spectrum, almost 6% of respondents indicate being very conservative, while a comparable 7% indicate being very liberal.

Ideology (3 Point Scale)	No.	%
Conservative	518	38.5
Moderate/Centrist	330	24.6
Liberal	496	36.9
<i>Total</i>	<i>1344</i>	<i>100</i>

In terms of party affiliation, a plurality of respondents indicates affiliation with the Democratic Party (36%, which is almost identical to the last survey's result). Almost 36% of the respondents, however, indicate that they are independent. 23% of Polish Americans indicate affiliation with the Republican Party (which is slightly less than last study indicated) and almost 6% indicate other party affiliation.

Political Party Affiliation



Examination of the vote choice in the last election reveals that 92.5% of Polish Americans are registered voters. Political science literature is usually reluctant about self-reported turnout numbers, as people tend to report voting even though they have not actually voted. As a result, that number is probably inflated, although we don't know by how much. Among self-reported registered voters, 5% did not vote in the last election. The majority of those who took part in the election voted for President Barack Obama, 40% preferred Mitt Romney and 6.7% voted for third parties candidates. Compared to the national election results, Polish Americans preferred Obama slightly more than voters nationally (53.1% compared to 51.1%), Romney significantly less than voters nationally (40% compared to 47.2%) and third party candidates significantly more than the national electorate (6.7% compared to 1.7%). A much higher preference for third party candidates by Polish American voters than the electorate at large has been a characteristic for more than a third of a century as recorded by surveys and exit polls, exemplified by an astounding 13% vote of the Polish American community for John Anderson in 1980.

Vote choice in 2012	No.	%
Didn't Vote	63	5.1
B. Obama	627	50.4
M. Romney	473	38.1
3rd Party Candidate	80	6.4
<i>Total</i>	<i>1243</i>	<i>100</i>

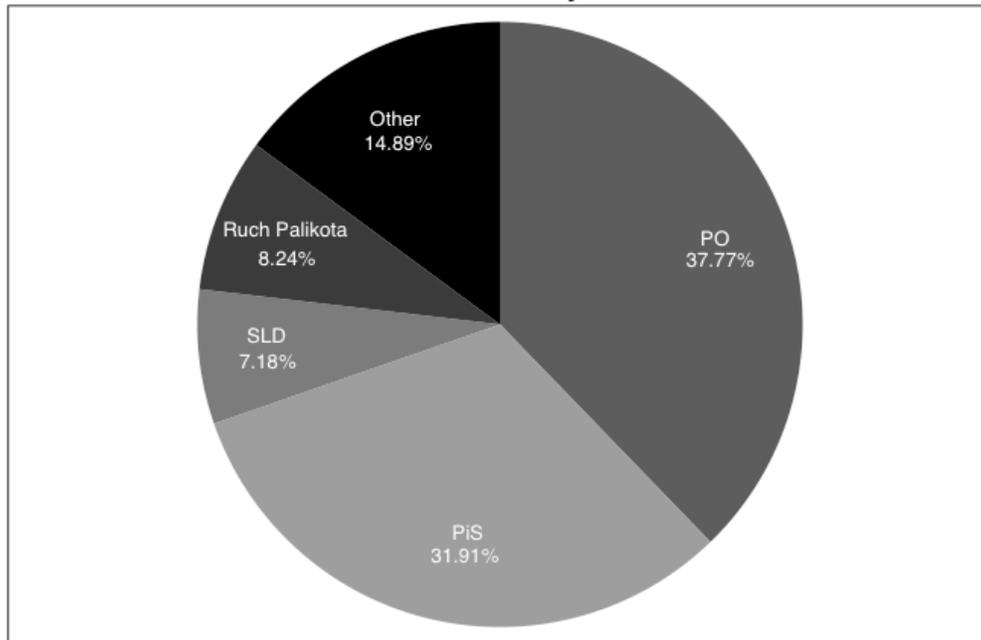
Respondents were also asked specifically: “Regardless of which candidate did you vote for or preferred in this past election, which presidential candidate do you believe was better suited to deal with Polish-American issues?” Results indicate that people were not thrilled with either of the major party candidates and 21% indicated that other (unspecified) candidates were better suited to deal with Polish-American issues. Despite his attempts to reach Polonia, Mitt Romney’s efforts to cater the community appear to have fallen flat.

Better suited for Polish American Issues	No.	%
B. Obama	577	42.9
M. Romney	486	36.2
Other Candidate	281	20.9
<i>Total</i>	<i>1344</i>	<i>100</i>

The survey also asked about other political participation of Polish Americans. The results indicate that Poles are not very involved in the political process. Majority (68%) did not participate in the political process in any way outside of voting. 21% participated by donating money to a political party, candidate or a PAC. 7% both donated and volunteered, while 3% only volunteered for a campaign.

This year’s survey also introduced questions about Polish politics in addition to the battery of questions about American politics. Initial analysis reveals that over 10% of the respondents voted in Polish elections in the last decade. When asked about specific party affiliation with a Polish political party, a substantial majority of respondents (72%) revealed a lack of interest in Polish politics and hence no party affiliation. Once the people who lack enough interest to develop a partisan affiliation are removed from the analysis, 38% identify with Platforma Obywatelska (PO) and 32% with Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS).

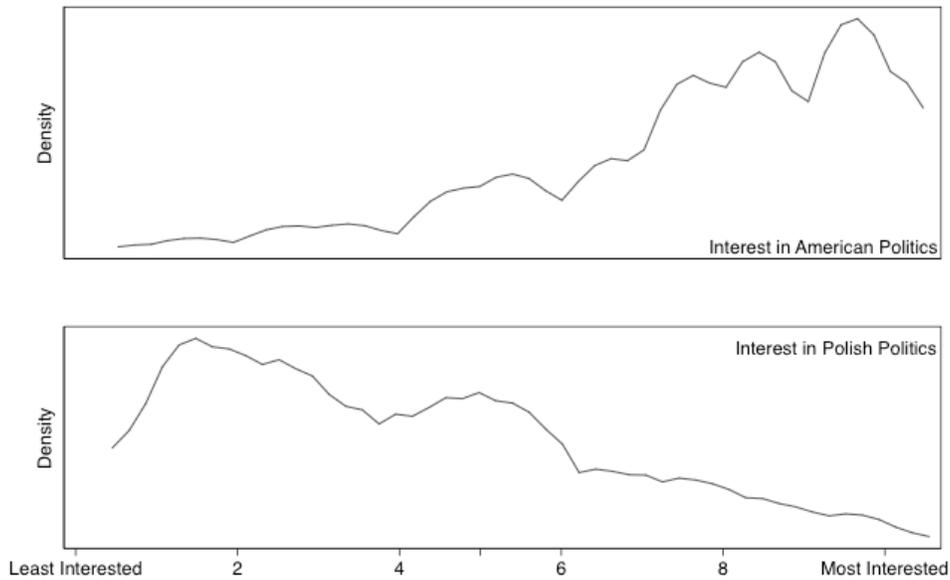
Polish Political Party Affiliation



Don't knows removed from the analysis

The high percentage of respondents indicating a lack of interest in Polish politics is consistent across questions. When asked directly about interest in politics, on a 1 to 10 scale, with 1 being least interested while 10 being most interested, most people indicated great interest in American politics but very few seem interested in Polish politics. The direct comparison of the distribution of both variables are almost mirror opposites of each other, as the graph below indicates.

Interest in Politics



Issues

There were a variety of specific issue questions that were asked on the survey which are not analyzed here. However, the respondents were also asked to examine a list of important issues and rank them in order of importance to them personally.

Issue	% Indicating it as MOST important	% Indicating it as LEAST important
Balancing the federal budget	43	3
Gun ownership reforms	24	12
Climate change	12	31
Visa waiver for Poland	8	29
Unemployment/Jobs	6	18
Immigration reform	8	7

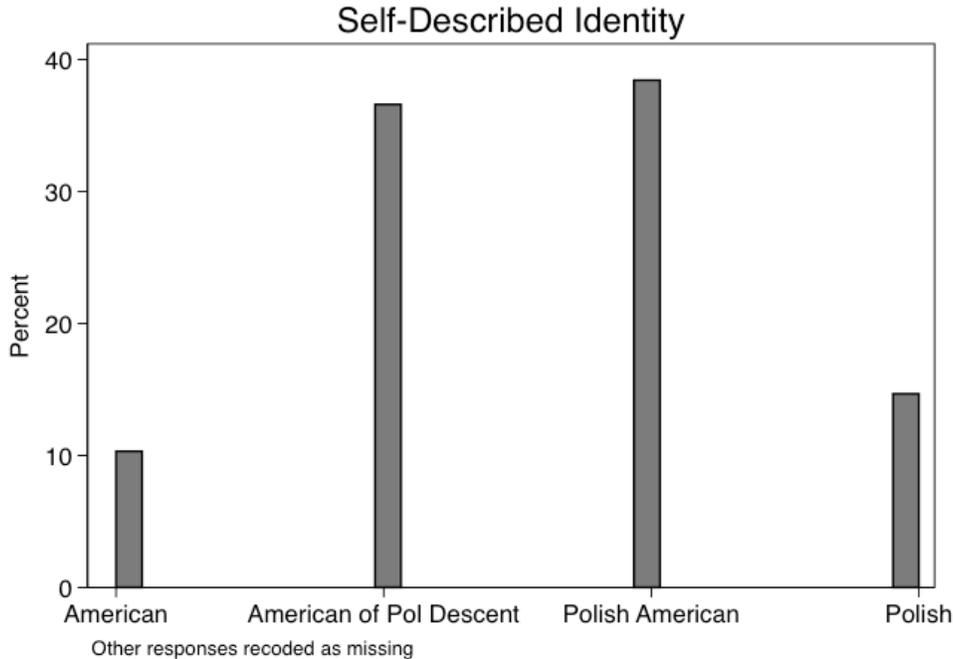
The analysis indicates that respondents are primarily concerned with major issues facing the United States. When given a choice between these issues and including Poland in the visa waiver, only 8% ranked it as their priority issue. 29% listed the issue as their least important personal issue. Only climate change was deemed less important with 31% of respondents indicating this specific issue as their least important problem.

When examining issues in the context of the Poland-US relations specifically, the visa waiver for Poland is clearly the most important issue, although surprisingly only a plurality of the respondents pointed to this issue (and not an expected majority).

MIP in Poland - US Relations	No.	%
The Visa Waiver for Polish citizens	469	34.9
The so-called Missile shield placement in Poland	139	10.3
Military and Intelligence Cooperation	161	12
Economic cooperation	380	28.3
Cultural and educational exchanges	163	12.1
Other	32	2.4
<i>Total</i>	<i>1344</i>	<i>100</i>

Polish American Experience

A majority of respondents identify as Polish Americans or Americans of Polish descent. 14% say they are Polish and about 10% identify only as American.

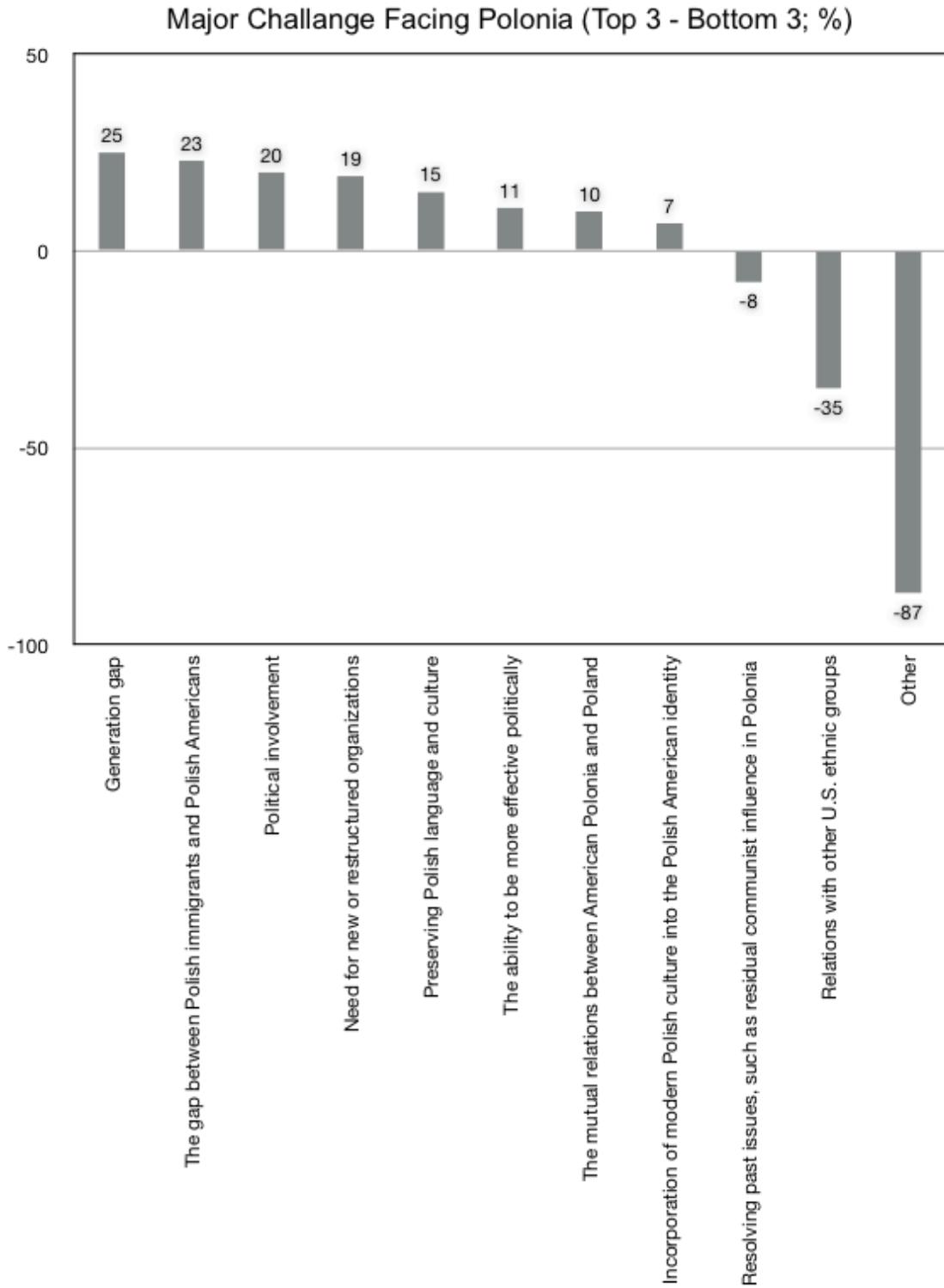


Slightly above 44% of respondents reveal no membership in any Polish American organization. Social and cultural organizations are most popular, with 31% indicating membership in an organization of this type. Least popular are sports organizations, with only 3% of respondents indicating membership. Only 6% of respondents indicate membership in a political Polonia organization.

The 2013 results show a considerable variation from the Piast 2010 in which only 24% of respondents said they belonged to no Polish American organization. In that same survey 39% indicated they belonged to a social or cultural organization as opposed to the 2013 results which showed only 31% identifying as members of such groups. On the other hand, more than twice as many respondents said they held membership in a Polish American political organization in 2013 as in 2010.

Somewhat surprisingly, majority of the respondents get their news from Internet sources. This trend is consistent with general American population patterns, but the fact that it was revealed in an internet based survey casts doubt on its generalizability. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the number of people who said their main news source was the internet was almost 20 points higher in 2013 than in 2010. The age distribution of the sample indicates that the respondents are not mainly young people accustomed to the Internet, but also elderly foreign-born people, who did not grow up with the Internet. Furthermore, a question about social media

usage also supports the thesis that Polish Americans are generally technologically savvy, with 78% of respondents indicating social media usage.



While a direct comparison with the results of the 2010 survey on this question with the current survey is not possible because of a different methodology and a slight change in the challenges presented, it can be said that, in general, the results are relatively the same in terms of ranking. The one notable variation is the significantly higher ranking given to the issue of “Closing the Generation Gap” in 2013 as opposed to the 2010 survey.

Core Polish American Values	% indicating a given value as one of their five choices
Honor	46
Importance of family	82
Social justice	22
Sense of community	43
High value of status recognition inside of the community	9
Catholic faith	57
Uniqueness of Polish culture and Historical experience	65
Commitment to freedom	50
Tenacity	29
Ethnic pride	53
Other	3

The same top 5 core values surfaced in 2013 as in 2010. The only variation is that “The importance of the Polish Historical Experience” and “The Catholic Faith” exchanged places on the 2013 survey. The latter formerly number 2 in the ranks slipped to number 3 while the former moved up one ranking to number 2. The importance of family remained solidly the number 1 core value in both surveys.

The following is a new question which did not appear in 2010. We asked the respondents to identify the events or people in the “Polish American Experience” that were most salient for them as Polish Americans. The respondents preferred general aspects of their history and self-image such as work ethic, community building, heritage preservation and success in American over more specific historical accomplishments which seemed to have faded somewhat from the collective memory. The responses also recorded the continuing importance of Pulaski and Kosciuszko to Polish American identity.

Key aspects, people or events that shape the Polish American Experience (choice of 5)	% indicating a given aspect as one of their five choices
Making the immigration journey to America.	46
Building of over 1,000 Polish churches and 800 Parochial schools.	36
Creating communities which shaped the culture of American neighborhoods.	54
Being a major force in establishing the largest CIO Labor Unions.	16
Serving in America's Wars, in particular the highest service per capita in World War II.	46
The high educational and professional attainments of 3 rd and 4 th generations Polish Americans.	54
Polonia's role in the Resurrection of Poland in 1918 and the support of Polish aspirations for freedom and independence during the cold war.	36
Preservation of Polish heritage and culture in U.S. for over 150 years.	64
Role in building the American Industrial System.	21
The Polish work ethic.	63
Polish Commitment to home ownership.	16
Thaddeus Kosciuszko & Casimir Pulaski and their contr. to US Independence.	47

Source of Pride, Values and Identity (choice of 5)	% indicating a given aspect as one of their five choices
Thousand-year history of Poland and its identity with the Catholic Church over the centuries.	36
The 400 year Polish – Lithuanian Union and Commonwealth with its traditions of rights, local assemblies and national parliament (Sejm), elective kingship and religious toleration.	15
The unusual religious and ethnic diversity of the peoples of Commonwealth that came together to create the Modern Polish Nation.	22
May 3, 1791 Constitution – The second in the World after the U.S. Constitution and the first in Europe.	39
The long Defense of Europe from invasion from the East culminating in Sobieski’s Victory at Vienna over the Turks in 1683.	19
The Polish struggle for independence during the Partitions. (Insurrections of 1830, 1846, 1848, 1863).	25
The Role of Poles in fighting for freedom in other lands (“For your freedom and ours”).	29
Polish Independence in 1918 and the Second Republic.	12
The Warsaw Uprising 1944 and underground struggle against Nazism.	47
Poland’s role in World War II (Monte Cassino, Poles in RAF, battle of Falaise Gap etc.)	39
Poland’s struggle against Communism.	51
The Solidarity Movement	49

John Paul II.	48
Modern Post Communist Poland.	15
Polish Culture, Art and Literature.	44

This question asked the respondents to identify those events or persons in Polish history, which have the most meaning for them or with which they strongly identify. This is a new question that did not appear in 2010. The ones that resonated most strongly, not surprisingly, were those of most recent memory and which placed Poland on the world stage. The one exception was the general identification with Polish Culture. Clearly many Polish Americans, whatever the extent of their knowledge of Polish Culture and/or its contributions to World Culture, feel it is something to be proud of and to identify with.

Conclusion

The full results of the 2013 survey with a more extensive analysis of the data will be published later on in 2014 in a book form. This paper represents a preliminary reconnaissance of the data, drawing comparisons with the previous surveys conducted by the Piast Institute, and highlighting some of the newer questions asked. Overall, it aims to paint a picture of modern Polonia that is impossible to assess with the Census data. The bigger questions, such as whether there is such a thing as one Polonia, although pressing, is beyond the scope of this preliminary paper. These bigger questions will be given their due diligence in the upcoming book.

Design and format by Dominik Stecula



11633 Joseph Campau
Hamtramck, Michigan 48212

313.733.4535

info@piastinstitute.org

www.piastinstitute.org

[@piastinstitute](#)

facebook.com/piast.institute

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