

# **Language Maintenance and Shift in the Korean Community in Australia: A Statistical Analysis Based on the Latest Census**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

In this paper, we present our analysis of the latest Australian census data in regard to the language maintenance and shift in the Korean community in Australia. This analysis is a follow-up to our previous research on the Korean community's language shift and maintenance (Shin & Jung, 2016), in which we examined its language shift to English indicated in the 2006 and 2011 Census from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). As a follow-up, we analysed the 2016 census data, collected in late 2016 and released in 2017 by ABS. In line with our previous work, we continued to explore patterns and trends in the language shift to English in the Korean community and attempted to identify some social variations within the community which might have affected its language shift patterns; we also tried to find any changes in the community's language shift between the previous and latest census periods. In this paper, we report the results of our analysis of the latest Australian census data in comparison with our previous study and discuss what these findings imply in terms of the language maintenance of the Korean community. Lastly, we articulate a need for continuous efforts and strategic measures of the community to promote the maintenance of its community/heritage language in the Australia context.

## **RELEVANT LITERATURE**

Language shift and language maintenance are often regarded as the two side of a coin. According to Pauwels (2004, p. 717) language shift refers to change of one's language to the dominant use of another language in everyday life; in contrast, language maintenance can be understood as the use of the heritage language by the speaker, group, or community at least in some domains of life (ibid.). For people who migrate to another country where a language other than that of their country of origin is spoken, speaking the language of the receiving country is essential to survive and settle well into the life in the new country. For that very reason, language shift takes place so commonly in the context of immigration that it is often regarded as "the societal norm" (e.g. Fishman, 2013, p. 466). However, many migrants continue using the language of their home country in some domains of their life such as within their family and in their local ethnolinguistic community. Many of them, being aware of the importance of transmitting values of their culture of origin to their offspring, try to teach the language of their home country to their children who are normally schooled in the dominant language of the host society and as a result speak that language as their primary language.

Interestingly, ethnolinguistic communities in various contexts of immigration have been observed to behave differently from one another in regard to the shift to the dominant language of the host society and the maintenance of their mother tongue or heritage language. For long this has been of great scholarly interest; a large body of research has been accumulated in relevant fields such as sociolinguistics, ethnology or specific regional studies. Previous research on language shift and maintenance in various migrant speech communities in countries of immigration like USA, Canada, Australia, or New Zealand indicates that communities have been different from one another in terms of

the extent of and the rapidity of language shift to the dominant language of the host society (e.g. Clyne, 1991, 2005; Clyne, Kipp, & Hajek, 2008; De Vries, 1994; Holmes, Roberts, Verivaki, & Aipolo, 1993; Karidakis & Arunachalam, 2016; Ryan, 2013; Swidinsky & Swidinsky, 1997).

To account for the underlying reasons for varied levels of language shift and maintenance in different speech communities, researchers have examined a range of factors and variables if they had any relationship with language shift and maintenance in the speech communities. A large number of factors have been found to affect the language shift in different speech communities to a different degree, closely interacting with one another. In previous research, some factors were found to be clearly conducive to language shift as they indicated a correlation with language shift. For instance, a higher rate of language shift in the second generation than in the first generation was widely attested across different ethnolinguistic communities; this inter-generational language shift appeared to be almost universal indeed. Frequently, exogamy, i.e. bi-national/bi-ethnic marriage, was noted to contribute to language shift as children of exogamous couples tended to exhibit higher language shift rates than those of endogamous couples. Some factors and variables were also found to explain the trends and patterns well in the language shift in some speech communities (e.g. the proficiency in the language of the host country or place of residence – urban vs. rural). Many factors, however, were shown that they could not explain the trends in the language shift of a speech community solely on their own; many of them were considered to influence language shift in conjunction with other factors. Moreover, some factors were regarded to be ambivalent if they were shown to have resulted in the reverse patterns in language shift in different speech communities (e.g. gender or level of education).

Despite a great amount of research carried out on language shift and maintenance in various ethnolinguistic communities in the context of immigration, there has been very little scholarly interest in the language shift and maintenance in the Korean community in Australia. Until very recently, only a few figures and brief descriptions could be found in the previous studies on the language shift and maintenance in various migrant speech communities in Australia (e.g. Clyne, 2005, 2011; Clyne & Kipp, 1997; Karidakis & Arunachalam, 2016). In those studies, the Korean community in Australia appeared to have maintained their heritage language comparatively well, being one of the communities with low language shift to English. Nevertheless, the Korean community was not an exception to the universal trend of the inter-generational language shift because the second generation was observed to have adopted English as their home language more often than the first generation. Interestingly, the first generation Korean migrants showed a gender differential in language shift; the first generation female Koreans shifted to English more often than their male counterparts (e.g. Clyne & Kipp, 1997; Karidakis & Arunachalam, 2016). Clyne and Kipp (1997) supposed the higher rate of exogamy in female Koreans than in male Koreans as a possible explanation for the higher percentage of language shift to English found in females. Moreover, the Korean community in Australia tended to better maintain their heritage language in the regions with a large number of Koreans (e.g. Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane) than those with relatively small number of Koreans (Clyne & Kipp, 1997).

In previous research, detailed analyses and explanations of the language shift and maintenance in the Korean community in Australia had been very limited until our recent inquiry into the community's language shift and maintenance. In our previous study (Shin & Jung, 2016), we analysed the 2006 and 2011 Australian census data to investigate the patterns and trends in language shift to English in the Korean community and to examine factors and variables which might account for the observed patterns and trends. We also compared the 2006 and 2011 data to see whether there was any change in language shift between the two census years. Our analysis showed that language shift increased over generations – also exhibiting differential shift rates by composition of parents – and the shift rate in the first generation was affected by such factors as age, duration of residence in Australia, gender, level of education, occupation and participation in religious activities. Our previous research is important in that it was the first attempt to investigate the language maintenance and shift in the Korean community in Australia and provided detailed analysis on the patterns and changes in language shift in the community.

However, analyses of census data regarding language use will be “helpful in studying the process and dynamics of language shift”, especially when data can be gathered from subsequent censuses and cross-tabulated with various social and demographic variables as Pauwels (2004, p. 722) notes. Thus, in the present study we continued with our inquiry into the language shift and maintenance in the Korean community, analyzing the latest 2016 census data which became recently available.

## RESEARCH METHODS

Following our previous research, we examined the language shift to English in the Korean community in Australia in the current study as it was believed to reflect the community’s language maintenance. To investigate the community’s language shift, we analysed the proportion of people in the community who answered in the Australian censuses that they spoke only English at home. This research method of examining language shift based on the answers to the language-spoken-at-home question in the censuses, had been widely used in previous studies on language shift and maintenance in various migrant speech communities in Australia (e.g. Clyne, 1991, 2005; Karidakis & Arunachalam, 2016). In our previous study (Shin & Jung, 2016) we had adopted this research method to explore the Korean community’s language shift; we employed the same method in the present study. As in our former research, the language shift rate in the first generation was calculated on the basis of the percentage of people born in South Korea who spoke English only at home. For the language shift in the second generation, we used a cross-tabulation of the ancestry ‘Korean’, respondent’s birthplace ‘Australia’, parents’ birthplace ‘overseas’ and language spoken at home ‘English only’<sup>1</sup>. We had employed this cross-tabulation in our previous study to calculate the shift rate in the second generation because the birthplace of parents could not be elicited more than ‘overseas’ or ‘Australia’ from the 2001 Census to the 2011 Census. In the study we report here, we maintained this cross-tabulation for calculating the second generation’s shift rate so that we could compare the shift rates between the census periods with consistency.

In the present study, the 2016 Australian census data served as the basis of our analysis of behaviour regarding the language shift in the Korean community in Australia. The *TableBuilder Basic* (ABS, 2018) facilitated the cross-tabulations for the analysis of the community’s shift to English with various sociodemographic factors and variables such as generation, gender, age, level of education, occupation and religion. We explored: 1) patterns in language shift; 2) social factors and variables which account for such patterns; and 3) changes in language shift between the three censuses – the 2006, 2011 and 2016 Census, in the Korean community in Australia, following our earlier study.

## ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

### General Profile of the Korean community in Australia

The Korean community in Australia continues to expand with the remarkable increase in the number of the Australian population born in South Korea as well as those born in Australia (or elsewhere) with Korean ancestry. According to the Australian censuses, the number of South Korea born (SKB, thereafter) population in Australia rose from 38,900 in 2001 to 52,761 in 2006 to 74,538 in 2011 and to 98,775 in 2016 (32.5% increase from 2011). This made the SKB population become the 12th largest

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<sup>1</sup> In the previous studies on language shift and maintenance in various migrant speech communities in Australia based on census data (e.g. Clyne, 1991; Clyne & Kipp, 1997), the language shift in the second generation was calculated based on birth country of parents.

group of people among the overseas born population in Australia in 2016. Moreover, according to the 2016 Census, there were 123,023 people identifying themselves as being of Korean ancestry (24th among over 120 different ancestries) and 108,999 people speaking Korean at home (12th among frequently spoken Languages Other Than English in Australia).

Among those identified with Korean ancestry (123,023) in Australia in 2016, 77.8% (95,668) was born in South Korea while 18.7% (23,061) was born in Australia. As to the year of arrival, more than half of SKB population arrived in Australia after 2005. Only a small percentage (5.6%) of the SKB people in Australia reported to have arrived before 1986. Of the SKB population in Australia, 53.1% of people were female while 46.9% were male. In terms of the age distribution, more than half of the SKB population in Australia was aged between 20 and 39. The proportion of the presumable working age population (aged 15-64) in the SKB population was notably higher (87.9%) than that in the total Australian population (65.6%). Thus, the Korean community in Australia appeared presumably young, compared with other ethnolinguistic communities. Among those born in South Korea, 38.7% of them were Australian citizens. This figure appeared relatively low compared with the rate of citizenship obtainment in the total overseas born populations which was 59.2%. The relatively low rate of citizenship attainment in the SKB population might be due to the recent inflow of young people on skilled migration, tertiary education or the Working Holiday Maker program. The major religious affiliations amongst the SKB were Catholic (17,366), Presbyterian and Reformed (19,201) and Uniting Church (7,505). In contrast, the number of people affiliated with Buddhism was relatively small (3,559) despite the fact that it is a major religious affiliation in South Korea.

### **Language Shift in the Korean community in Australia**

In the literature, the Korean community in Australia was amongst the ethnolinguistic communities in Australia with a relatively low shift rate to English. This made us believe that the Korean community had maintained its heritage language well in comparison with other migrant ethnolinguistic communities in Australia. Our analysis of the 2016 Census regarding the Korean community's language shift does not show any drastic change in shift rates when compared with our previous analysis of the 2006 and 2011 Census, as well as with figures shown in other previous Australian studies. This ensures that the Korean community in Australia has been maintaining its heritage language well, relative to other communities in Australia with a high shift rate. Nevertheless, a detailed analysis of the 2016 Census and its comparison with the 2006 and 2011 Census reveal interesting patterns and trends in the language shift of the community as presented below.

### **Language Shift by Generation**

Our analysis of the last three census data (2006, 2011 and 2016) shows that the first-generation Koreans succeeded in maintaining their mother tongue well at home as their shift to English appeared low, as shown in Table 1 below. In fact, the language shift rate of the South Korea born (SKB) population, i.e. first generation Korean migrants in Australia continually decreased over the last three census periods: from 10.4% in 2006 to 9.3% in 2011 and further to 8.7% in 2016. As pointed out in our previous research, such decrease in language shift to English in the first generation could be an indication of improvement in language maintenance among the first generation Koreans. However, we also cautioned against the possibility that such decrease could be a short-term reflection of the large number of new arrivals from Korea between the census periods.

In contrast to the decrease in language shift observed among the first generation Koreans, the shift rate in the second generation increased slightly but continually over the past 10 years (2006-2016). As in our previous research, the trend of inter-generational language shift was also manifest in the 2016

Census, with the second generation displaying a higher percentage of language shift (22.7%) than the first generation and with the third and third plus generation exhibiting an even higher percentage (71.4%). As observed in our previous analysis of the 2006 and 2011 Census, the differential in language shift by composition of parents was also evident in the 2016 data; the second generation Koreans with both parents born overseas (presumably in Korea) appeared to have adopted English as their home language much less frequently (with a shift rate of 17.2%) than those with only one overseas-born parent (52% and 67.2%). This consistently observed pattern indicates that children of endogamous families tend to maintain their heritage language better than those of exogamous families. Among the second generation Koreans with only one of the parents born overseas (i.e. of an exogamous family), those with an overseas-born father (67.2%) showed a higher shift rate than those with an overseas-born mother (52%), consistent with the result of our previous analysis. This finding of the language shift differential in exogamous families seems to support the claim that a heritage language is better maintained when the mother is the source of the heritage language acquisition for the children at home than when the father is the source (e.g. Clyne & Kipp, 1997).

**Table 1 Language shift by generation (2006, 2011 and 2016)**

Generation	Parents' birthplace	2006			2011			2016		
		Total persons	English only	Shift rate (%)	Total persons	English only	Shift rate (%)	Total persons	English only	Shift rate (%)
<b>First generation</b>	Not applicable	52,763	5,469	10.4	74,538	6,948	9.3	98,775	8,594	8.7
<b>Second generation</b> *	Both parents born overseas	7,007	1,015	14.5	11,769	1,794	15.2	19,322	3,318	17.2
	Only mother born overseas	703	350	<b>49.8</b>	1,454	789	<b>54.3</b>	2646	1,376	<b>52.0</b>
	Only father born overseas	182	152	<b>83.5</b>	356	274	<b>77.0</b>	661	444	<b>67.2</b>
	<b>Second generation (aggregate d)</b>	7,892	1,517	<b>19.2</b>	13,579	2,857	<b>21.0</b>	22,629	5,138	<b>22.7</b>
<b>Third and Third-plus generation</b> *	Both parents born in Australia	116	75	<b>64.7</b>	220	134	<b>60.9</b>	402	287	<b>71.4</b>

(Source: ABS, 2018, Table Builder Basic, Canberra); \* Persons responded with ancestry 'Korean' and birthplace 'Australia'

### Language shift by age in the first generation

Our further analysis of the 2016 Census for the language shift of the first generation in the Korean community in Australia reveals that shift differentials by age were also apparent in the 2016 data as Table 2 below shows. Overall, in the first generation, young people appeared to have adopted English as their home language more often than older people; the age groups of age 35 or over kept their

language shift rate well below 10% while those below 35 years old displayed varied rates with no obvious pattern, ranging from 6-17%.

In the age groups of people of age 35 or over, the language shift tended to decrease with age. On the other hand, the shift rate in the age groups below 35 years old did not show any clear tendency of increase or decrease by age. According to Pauwels (2004), it is normally considered that a heritage language is better maintained among preschool children than among school-aged children. It is widely known that children who arrive in the host country early in childhood or are born in the host country rapidly shift to the language of the host country especially with the entry into the mainstream school system. Our analysis of the 2016 Census seems to correspond with such expectation as the 0-4-year-old group exhibited a lower shift rate than the school-age groups. Regarding language shift, it is generally assumed that people who arrive in the receiving country in their adolescence (generally, secondary school years) are less likely to switch to English completely<sup>2</sup>. On the contrary, in adolescence the centre of children's life moves away from the family to friends and school in general; this may accelerate the decrease in their heritage language use or complete shift to English. Moreover, it seems reasonable to assume that people are more likely to switch to English completely at home, when they leave their parents' home to start their independent life or establish their own family. Nevertheless, the shift rates observed in the age groups below 35 years old are difficult to interpret based on these assumptions. The language shift rate of a particular age group should be interpreted carefully, taking many factors into consideration such as general life cycle, the proportion and characteristics of new arrivals in the age group as well as the shift rate of the group to which they belonged in the previous census. We hope that we will be able to provide more sound analyses and explanations on the language shift by age in young people when more successive census data are accumulated.

Worthwhile to mention is a continuous decrease in language shift in the preschool group (age 0-4) over the period of the three censuses (2006-2016). This continuous decrease in the preschool group in the past 10 years can be interpreted as a positive change in language maintenance at home among younger and more recently arrived parents. Studies on heritage speakers of Korean conducted in North America report anecdotally that recent arrivals tend to be more conscious of the importance of heritage language maintenance in their children and better informed of possible advantages in bilingualism. The decrease in language shift in the preschool group over the past 10 years observed in the recent Australian censuses may be an indication of a positive change in attitude towards heritage language maintenance among Korean diaspora, anecdotally observed elsewhere. The decline in the proportion of children switching to English at home might be also due to the increase in the accessibility to the facilities such as playgroups and childcare services using the Korean language as the medium of communication and education, aimed to serve families with the Korean background in the community.

**Table 2 Language shift by age in the first generation (2006, 2011 and 2016)**

Age	2006			2011			2016		
	Total persons SKB	English only	Shift rate (%)	Total persons SKB	English only	Shift rate (%)	Total persons SKB	English only	Shift rate
0-4	1,012	384	<b>37.9</b>	1,109	160	<b>14.4</b>	1,057	65	<b>6.1</b>

<sup>2</sup> It is because the language of their home country is likely to have been already established firmly as their first and primary language by the time they arrive in the new country. Thus, they are more resistant to English to take over their first language or at least the take-over of English takes longer to occur among them than among those who arrived in the host country early in childhood or were born in the host country.

5-9	2,149	407	<b>18.9</b>	2,493	471	<b>18.9</b>	2,230	270	<b>12.1</b>
10-14	3,467	439	<b>12.7</b>	3,631	467	<b>12.9</b>	3,372	587	<b>17.4</b>
15-19	4,645	805	<b>17.3</b>	4,983	538	<b>10.8</b>	4,774	595	<b>12.5</b>
20-24	6,973	1,218	<b>17.5</b>	7,864	1,116	<b>14.2</b>	10,134	998	<b>9.8</b>
25-29	6,740	711	<b>10.5</b>	10,787	1,649	<b>15.3</b>	13,557	1,630	<b>12.0</b>
30-34	5,744	495	8.6	10,283	905	8.8	14,857	1,888	12.7
35-39	5,312	350	6.6	8,445	526	6.2	12,709	897	7.1
40-44	4,484	203	4.5	7,315	392	5.4	10,045	574	5.7
45-49	4,157	166	4.0	5,123	260	5.1	8,043	458	5.7
50-54	2,639	111	4.2	4,384	180	4.1	5,309	241	4.5
55-59	1,697	60	3.5	2,742	113	4.1	4,516	182	4.0
60-64	1,362	39	2.9	1,791	56	3.1	2,888	88	3.0
65-69	1,025	31	3.0	1,398	34	2.4	1,909	47	2.5
70-74	666	30	4.5	1,039	35	3.4	1,475	22	1.5
75-79	355	8	2.3	615	29	4.7	983	29	3.0
80-84	198	6	3.0	318	13	4.1	570	21	3.7
85-89	92	3	3.3	152	4	2.6	230	8	3.5
90-94	28	3	10.7	51	0	0.0	99	0	0.0
95-99	12	0	0.0	10	0	0.0	29	0	0.0
100 +	6	0	0.0	5	0	0.0	3	0	0.0
Total	52,763	5,469	10.4	74,538	6,948	9.3	98,775	8,594	8.7

(Source: ABS, 2018, Table Builder Basic, Canberra)

### Language shift by gender in the first generation

In our previous research and those of others (e.g. Clyne & Kipp, 1997; Karidakis & Arunachalam, 2016), the first generation Koreans exhibited a differential by gender in language shift: Korean women displayed a higher percentage of language shift than Korean men. This trend of a higher shift rate in females than in males continued through to the 2016 Census as Table 3 below shows: in 2016 female Koreans had a language shift rate of 9.5% while male Koreans had 7.8%. As mentioned in the review of relevant literature, this language shift differential between genders in the first generation was considered to be due to the higher rate of exogamous marriages in females than in males in the Korean community in Australia (Korean women in Australia seem to find a partner belonging to a different ethnolinguistic group more often than Korean men do). In exogamous families, English is more likely to be the language of communication between family members; this may lead a first generation Korean partnered with a person speaking English (or possibly another LOTE) to adopt English as his/her home language. On the assumption that exogamy contributes to language shift, the higher percentage of exogamy in females than in males should be one of the underlying reasons for the higher language shift found in female Koreans.

**Table 3 Language shift by gender in the first generation (2006, 2011 and 2016)**

	2006	2011	2016
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Gender	Total persons	English only	Shift rate (%)	Total persons	English only	Shift rate (%)	Total persons	English only	Shift rate (%)
Male	24,020	2,171	9.0	34,384	2,788	8.1	46,334	3,600	7.8
Female	28,743	3,298	11.5	40,154	4,160	10.4	52,441	4,998	9.5
Total	52,763	5,469	10.4	74,538	6,948	9.3	98,775	8,594	8.7

(Source: ABS, 2018, TableBuilder Basic, Canberra)

However, as observed in our previous research, the shift differential by gender shows a reverse pattern in the age groups below 25 years old in the 2016 Census. As Table 4 below shows, from infants through to the mid-twenties, the complete shift to English at home occurred more frequently in males than in females, indicating that the heritage language was better maintained in females than in males among young Koreans.

The tendency of higher language shift in males than in females observed among young people (people younger than 20 years old in 2011 and people younger than 25 years old in 2016) are difficult to explain because the gender difference in heritage language maintenance in children and adolescents has been rarely studied in-depth. In our previous study, we suggested a possibility that females in their childhood and adolescence might keep a closer relationship with their family members, especially with their parents; that they might be less reluctant to the use of the heritage language in the home domain; or that they might have more positive attitude towards their linguistic and cultural heritage. This might have resulted in lower language shift in females than in males among young Koreans. On the other hand, the higher language shift rates found in female Koreans in the older age groups especially above 34 years old can be interpreted as a result of the higher exogamy rate among female Koreans than among male Koreans. However, the higher shift rates in females of 25-34 years old in 2016 (who were 20-29 in 2011) are rather difficult to explain solely based on the gender differential in exogamy.

**Table 4 Language shift by gender and age in the first generation (2006, 2011 and 2016)**

Age (years)	2011						2016					
	Number of Persons		English only		Shift rate (%)		Number of persons		English only		Shift rate (%)	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
0-4	496	614	65	98	13.10	<b>15.96</b>	509	546	29	36	5.7	<b>6.6</b>
5-9	1,086	1,408	153	322	14.09	<b>22.80</b>	1,029	1,200	101	164	9.8	<b>13.7</b>
10-14	1,710	1,922	177	294	10.35	<b>15.30</b>	1,527	1,842	198	393	13.0	<b>21.3</b>
15-19	2,335	2,650	243	300	10.41	<b>11.28</b>	2,334	2,437	241	349	10.3	<b>14.3</b>
20-24	4,221	3,646	708	405	<b>16.77</b>	11.13	5,030	5,109	420	569	8.3	<b>11.1</b>
25-29	5,741	5,040	1,079	564	<b>18.79</b>	11.21	6,516	7,038	930	697	<b>14.3</b>	9.9
30-34	5,933	4,352	627	278	<b>10.57</b>	6.39	8,230	6,618	1,303	585	<b>15.8</b>	8.8
35-39	4,893	3,548	372	154	<b>7.60</b>	4.31	7,227	5,484	645	253	<b>8.9</b>	4.6
40-44	4,222	3,092	259	133	<b>6.13</b>	4.33	5,809	4,236	382	189	<b>6.6</b>	4.5
45-49	2,922	2,205	177	83	<b>6.06</b>	3.76	4,560	3,477	309	146	<b>6.8</b>	4.2
50-54	2,346	2,040	128	47	<b>5.46</b>	2.35	2,921	2,386	162	82	<b>5.5</b>	3.4
55-59	1,470	1,270	75	37	<b>5.10</b>	2.91	2,393	2,124	129	55	<b>5.4</b>	2.6
60-64	968	823	41	16	<b>4.24</b>	1.82	1,584	1,302	65	24	<b>4.1</b>	1.8
65-69	693	701	20	17	<b>2.89</b>	2.56	1,047	864	36	12	<b>3.4</b>	1.4
70-74	500	540	18	19	3.60	3.70	730	741	21	10	<b>2.9</b>	1.3



75-79	313	303	15	16	4.79	5.92	468	510	17	14	<b>3.6</b>	2.7
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(Source: ABS, 2018, TableBuilder Basic, Canberra)

### Language shift by level of education in the first generation

Our analysis of the 2016 Census indicates that in the Korean community language shift occurs differently by the level of education. In their study of language shift in various migrant groups in Australia based on the 2011 Australian Census, Karidakis and Arunachalam (2016) observed that university education was associated with the lower likelihood of language shift in some migrant communities. The Korean community was one of the examples; it showed a decreasing tendency in language shift by the level of education: the shift rate among those with a tertiary degree (bachelor or above) was 8.9%; that among those with a diploma or certificate was 10.4%; and that among those without any formal qualifications (secondary school or less) was 15.2%. Our analysis of the 2011 Census on the first generation Koreans' language shift by level of education in more details revealed that among those with a tertiary degree the people with a Graduate Diploma or Graduate Certificate displayed a much higher shift rate than those with a Bachelor or Postgraduate degree. Moreover, among those with a Diploma or Certificate, people with a Certificate showed a slightly higher shift rate. We carefully interpreted this finding as a lower likelihood of language shift in people with more academic-oriented qualifications than in those with vocational education or training-focused education. As shown in Table 5 below, our analysis of the 2016 Census consists with such pattern observed in our previous study, only with a slight change in figures. However, underlying reasons for such pattern are still unclear.

**Table 5 Language shift by level of education in the first generation (2011 and 2016)**

Qualification	2011			2016			2011/16
	Total persons SKB	English only	Shift rate (%)	Total persons SKB	English only	Shift rate (%)	Shift comparison
PG	4,526	415	9.2	6,734	624	9.3	0.1
Grad. Dip. & Grad. Cert.	636	110	<b>17.3</b>	1,174	207	<b>17.6</b>	0.3
Bachelor	20,106	1,720	8.6	28,324	2,341	8.3	-0.3
Adv. Dip. & Dip.	6,856	561	8.2	10,780	841	7.8	-0.4
Certificate	4,010	569	<b>14.2</b>	5,419	588	<b>10.9</b>	-3.3
not stated	2,939	222	7.6	2,211	181	8.2	0.6
inadequately described	1,055	86	8.2	3,322	261	7.9	-0.3
Total	40,128	3,683	9.2	57,964	5,043	8.7	-0.5

(Source: ABS, 2018, TableBuilder Basic, Canberra)

### Language shift by occupation in the first generation

In our previous analysis of the 2011 Census, we observed some relations between language shift and occupations: in 2011 language shift occurred most highly among clerical and administrative workers (20.1%), followed by sales workers (15.8%), professionals (14%) and service workers (13.2%). A similar trend was observed in the 2016 Census with the highest shift found among clerical and administrative workers (15.1%) followed by professionals (13.2%), sales workers (12.5%) and service workers (11.9%) as shown in Table 6 below. In our previous study, we speculated that a high level of proficiency in English required for certain occupations (e.g. professionals, service workers, administrative workers, sales workers) could have led those in such occupations more frequently to

language shift to English than those in other occupations. On the other hand, we did not totally disregard the possibility that a higher proportion of people with certain demographic characteristics in particular occupations might have resulted in language shift differentials by profession. To provide a more convincing account for the differential by occupation, we would need further information on the proportion of new employees as well as new arrivals from Korea in each occupational group.

**Table 6 Language shift by occupation in the first generation (2011 and 2016)**

Occupation	2011			2016			2011/16
	Total persons	English only	Shift rate (%)	Total persons	English only	Shift rate (%)	Shift comparison
Managers	4,367	376	8.6	6,248	556	8.9	0.3
Professionals	7,938	1,112	<b>14.0</b>	11,476	1,516	<b>13.2</b>	-0.8
Technicians and Trades Workers	6,411	416	6.5	11,436	652	5.7	-0.8
Community and Personal Service Workers	3,554	469	<b>13.2</b>	6,714	799	<b>11.9</b>	-1.3
Clerical and Administrative Workers	2,726	549	<b>20.1</b>	3,899	590	<b>15.1</b>	-5.0
Sales Workers	2,489	394	<b>15.8</b>	3,431	428	<b>12.5</b>	-3.3
Machinery Operators and Drivers	770	48	6.2	1,179	91	7.7	1.5
Labourers	5,980	329	5.5	8,645	509	5.9	0.4
Inadequately described	401	47	11.7	526	43	8.2	-3.5
Not stated	593	43	7.3	587	53	9.0	1.8
Not applicable	39,309	3,165	8.1	44,646	3,361	7.5	-0.6
Total	74,538	6,948	9.3	98,775	8,594	8.7	-0.6

(Source: ABS, 2018, TableBuilder Basic, Canberra)

### Language shift by religion in the first generation

In our previous analysis of the 2011 Census, lower shift rates were observed among Christians and Buddhists than among those with other religions or with no religion. This differential by religion was understood as an association between the participation in religious activities with a large number of Korean participants and a lower likelihood of language shift to English. This pattern was also manifest in our analysis of the 2016 Census: Christians showed a shift rate of 6.6% and Buddhists 7.8% and those without religion 11.5% in 2016 as Table 7 below shows.

**Table 7 Language shift by religion in the first generation (2011 and 2016)**

Religion	2011			2016			2011/16
	Total persons SKB	English only	Shift rate (%)	Total persons SKB	English only	Shift rate (%)	Shift comparison
Buddhism	4,155	323	<b>7.8</b>	3,559	279	<b>7.8</b>	0.0
Christianity	50,031	3,831	<b>7.7</b>	55,261	3,647	<b>6.6</b>	-1.1

Hinduism	13	0	0.0	24	8	33.3	33.3
Islam	63	18	28.6	60	15	25.0	-3.6
Judaism	11	10	90.9	17	11	64.7	-26.2
Other Religions	55	12	21.8	44	7	15.9	-5.9
No Religion	18,130	2,378	<b>13.1</b>	37,111	4,276	<b>11.5</b>	-1.6
Inadequately stated	229	61	26.6	243	33	13.6	-13.0
Not stated	1,851	315	17.0	2,461	321	13.0	-4.0
Total	74,538	6,948	9.3	98,780	8,597	8.7	-0.6

(Source: ABS, 2018 TableBuilder Basic, Canberra)

Following our previous research, we conducted a further analysis on language shift among Christians by denominations and verified the previously observed pattern of low language shift among those affiliated with particular denominations with a strong presence of Korean participation as shown in Table 8 below. For instance, among those who identified themselves as Presbyterian (2.9% in 2011 and 2016) or Uniting Church-goers (5.9% in 2011 and 5.5% in 2016) the language shift rates appeared much lower than those belonging to other denominations. The shift rate among Catholics (9.0% in 2011; 8.1% in 2016) stayed at a similar level with that of the entire Korean migrant population; that among Anglican Church-goers was much higher (30.1% in 2011; 23.3% in 2016). This language shift differential by Christian denominations clearly indicates a relationship between a strong presence of Korean participants in certain denominations and the low language shift among their members. However, the observed differential by Christian denominations does not necessarily infer a causal relationship between an affiliation with such denominations (with a high rate of Korean participation) and language maintenance. This is because there is also a possibility that people who better maintain their heritage language at home are more likely to attend a local Korean church than going to an Australian church of the same denomination. Nevertheless, it should not be underestimated that local Korean churches play a significant role in the maintenance of the heritage language and culture among Korean immigrants as they do serve as “a key site of ethnic identity affirmation and an important point of social contact with other Koreans” in Australia (Han & Han, 2010, p. 31).

**Table 8 Language shift by Christian denominations in the first generation (2011 and 2016)**

Denomination	2011			2016			2011/16
	Total persons SKB	English only	Shift rate (%)	Total persons SKB	English only	Shift rate (%)	Shift Comparison
Christian, nfd	2,312	222	9.6	3,262	258	7.9	-1.7
Anglican	2,100	633	<b>30.1</b>	2,073	483	<b>23.3</b>	-6.8
Baptist	2,541	235	<b>9.3</b>	2,983	223	<b>7.5</b>	-1.8
Brethren	33	4	12.1	33	0	0.0	-12.1
Catholic	16,712	1501	<b>9.0</b>	17,366	1,411	<b>8.1</b>	-0.9
Churches of Christ	147	19	12.9	157	16	10.2	-2.7
Jehovah's Witnesses	464	29	6.3	485	29	6.0	-0.3
Latter-day Saints	95	12	12.6	82	9	11.0	-1.6
Lutheran	133	49	36.8	54	31	57.4	20.6
Oriental Orthodox	4	0	0.0	3	0	0.0	0.0

Assyrian Apostolic	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0.0
Eastern Orthodox	40	21	52.5	60	28	46.7	-5.8
Presbyterian and Reformed	16,112	471	<b>2.9</b>	19,201	565	<b>2.9</b>	0.0
Salvation Army	82	12	14.6	56	12	21.4	6.8
Seventh-day Adventist	275	32	11.6	336	26	7.7	-3.9
Uniting Church	7,531	443	<b>5.9</b>	7,505	410	<b>5.5</b>	-0.4
Pentecostal	1,198	117	9.8	1,169	117	10.0	0.2
Other Protestant	211	24	11.4	386	28	7.3	-4.1
Other Christian	40	8	20.0	49	6	12.2	-7.8

(Source: ABS, 2018, TableBuilder Basic, Canberra)

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the study reported here, we analysed the 2016 Australian census data to continue our inquiry into the language shift and maintenance of the Korean Community in Australia. In line with our previous analysis of the 2006 and 2011 Census (Shin & Jung, 2016), we examined to what extent a language shift occurred in the Korean community by various social factors and variables such as generation, age, gender, education, occupation and religion. According to our analysis, there has been no radical change in the language shift in the Korean community in Australia between the past three census periods (2006-2016) overall. In our analysis, we observed that the Korean community continued to exhibit the previous patterns and trends in the extent of language shift by different variables as follows: the inter-generational language shift, i.e. the increase in language shift by generation; higher language shift rates among young Koreans than older Koreans; a higher percentage of language shift in females than in males – but a reverse pattern in age groups younger than 35 years old; a tendency of lower shift rates found among those with university education and higher shift rates found among those with the educational qualifications more focused on vocational trainings; more likelihood of shift to English among those in occupations requiring a high English proficiency; as well as lower shift rates observed among those affiliated with the religions/denominations with a strong presence of Korean immigrants.

Without any radical changes observed in language shift in our previous and current analysis, we can support the claim that the Korean community in Australia has been maintaining its heritage language well compared with other migrant speech communities in Australia. However, we should bring the attention of the Korean community in Australia itself as well as that of our readers to the continuous increase in language shift observed in the second generation over the period of the three censuses. As the history of Korean immigration to Australia progresses, it seems almost impossible to stop the inter-generational language shift that has already happened in the community. Nevertheless, the community should continue with its efforts in encouraging heritage language maintenance and facilitating heritage language education in the second and upcoming generations of Korean immigrants in the community. One of the effective and successful ways to reverse the inter-generational language shift and promote heritage language acquisition and education will be to increase the level of awareness of the importance of heritage language maintenance within the community. In that respect, the continuous decrease in language shift observed in the preschool group over the past 10 years can be regarded as a positive change towards heritage language maintenance in the community, although its long-term effect can only be seen when more consecutive census data gets accumulated. Despite some shortcomings of using data from census surveys, we believe that our analysis of census data has provided an overview of the language shift of the Korean community in Australia as well as some insights into the trends and patterns by social variables in the language shift. We hope that our findings enable the Korean community in Australia better understand its own language shift and continue with its effort to maintain Korean as its

community/heritage language. We also hope that our investigation furthers more research projects in the future regarding the language shift and maintenance in Korean diaspora not only in Australia but also in other regions and countries.

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