

Translating Cultures, Adapting Lives: The Role of Cultural Translation in the Acculturation of Polish Migrants in the East Midlands

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis represents my own independent work, except where referenced to others. It was conducted in accordance with the regulations of the University of Nottingham.

I further declare that the work in this thesis has not been previously submitted for any other degree.

Abstract

This thesis explores the role of cultural translation in the acculturation and adaptation of Polish migrants in the East Midlands in the United Kingdom. It is a study of cultural interpretation and adaptation set in the migration context of the pre-Brexit United Kingdom. This mixed methods study is unique in that it focuses on migrants' cultural background that underpins their sense of identity and impacts on their understanding of the host culture. Through an exploration of cultural aspects that individuals may find problematic within the UK context, the study challenges the participants' views and offers an opportunity to reflect upon their life decisions.

Polish post-accession (post-2004) migration to the UK has been the largest immigration wave the country has experienced. Therefore, it provides enormous opportunities to explore the inevitable process of acculturation and its elements. The existing literature focuses mostly on the sociology of migration, often overlooking the vast premises of cultures and languages. Hence, using the theory of acculturation, together with Sarah Maitland's (2017) and Nikos Papastergiadis's (2011) stages of cultural translation, this research study explored the role of cultural translation in acculturation processes. The findings indicate that the process of cultural translation is embedded in and impacts on acculturative processes of migrant adaptation in the host cultures.

Establishing that migrants interpret and incorporate cultural elements of their cultures, which will eventually lead to their cultural transformation and emancipation, the thesis affirms that cultural translation can be used as a framework for an analysis of cultural meaning-making in the context of migration and adds to the two existing frameworks. The findings may be of interest to researchers in the fields of migration and acculturation, cross- and intercultural adaptation as well as for policy makers, language education providers and general public. Recommendations are made as to the provision of courses of language and culture that would aid migrants' adaptation in the UK.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis explores the role of *cultural translation* in the acculturation of Polish migrants and their adaptation to the life in the United Kingdom, a relocated life of their choice, set in the migration context of the pre-Brexit European Union. The study *Translating Cultures, Adapting Lives* (TCAL) is unique in that it focuses on Polish migrants' culture that underpins their identity of origin and their comprehension of the host culture in the UK. Through an examination of cultural aspects of individuals' background and a selection of issues that may be problematic within the UK context, the study encouraged the participants to reflect upon their life-changing decision of migration within the cultural context of their origin and destination and gathered experience. This study is an attempt to bridge the gap in migration and acculturation research in that it focuses on the processes that are involved in cultural adaptation, an experience of most migrants. Hence, culture, behaviour, customs, perceptions and ways of meaning making are in the centre of attention in this study, with some exploration of identity/belonging and language issues.

Since the objectives of the TCAL research project were set to explore migrants' perception and interpretation of the host culture to adapt in the destination country, in this thesis and for the purpose of reporting on the TCAL study results, I use the terms *cultural translation*, *interpretation/translation of culture(s)* (TC) or *interpreting/translating culture(s)*.

1.1 Cultural Consequences of Migration: Translation of Cultures (TC) and Acculturation

In their complexity, both terms: *culture* and *migration* reflect the multidimensional configuration of mobility and related processes that have been inseparable elements of human civilisations. With reference to humans, *migration* can be briefly defined as a 'movement of people to a new area or country in order to find work or better living conditions' (Oxford Dictionaries 2015b). Researchers, however, often direct the meaning towards the modern globalized reality by referring to *migration* as either 'international population

movements’ (Castles and Miller 2003: x) or ‘movements of people across borders’ (2), with a further explanation that migration can alter the demographics, economy, social structures and culture of both home and host (destination) countries. It is noteworthy, though, that the definitions of *migration* vary, depending on the institution, i.e. the United Nations (UN), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the European Union (EU) all apply different definitions since they categorize migrants differently. The most often referred to definition of a *migrant* is one provided by the United Nations (UN), in which ‘an international migrant is any person who changes his or her country of usual residence’ while the term usual residence means ‘the country in which the person has a place to live where he or she normally spends the daily period of rest’ (United Nations 1998, p. 17, 2015: 1).

The UN definition differentiates between *short-term* and *long-term migrants* in order to distinguish both categories from *visitors*. A person remaining in a country for a period of up to 12 months is categorized as a visitor. While a person who stays in a country different from a country of their usual residence and for purposes other than recreation for a period of at least 3 months, but not more than 12 months is defined as a short-term migrant. In case of a stay longer than 12 months, migration becomes long-term (United Nations 1998, Thorogood 2005). The EU relies on the definitions provided by the UN (Skaliotis and Thorogood 2008, European Commission 2014), with further additions in an attempt to reflect all national approaches. Thorogood (2005) clarifies that in cases when the information on the actual place of residence was not available, the registered place of residence had to be taken into account. Therefore, for statistical purposes the EU definition of *migrant* encompassed also the term *legal residence*.

By focusing on the issues of citizenship, national identity and nation-state belonging, all the above institutional definitions seem to cater for the labelling and categorization of individuals for policy-making purposes, discarding a range of valuable cultural and social aspects related to identity/ies, ethnicity, language(s), home, belonging, etc. The richness of migration reality, though,

overwhelmingly exceeds the political understanding and theorisation of human mobility; hence, the definitions and categories can barely reflect the abundance of cultural shades and flavours of modern societies. Notwithstanding, the existence and popularity of the concept of *nation state* in modern Europe brings serious implications for the understanding of culture and ethnicity, which rarely neatly fit within nation states borders. This increasingly visible dissonance between ethno-cultural and national boundaries has been further deepened by the right of free movement of the citizens of the European Union, which came into force together with the establishment of the Union on 1 November 1993 (The Treaty of Maastricht) and was later enhanced by the creation of an entirely borderless zone – the Schengen Area (1995). Although the UK is not part of the latter and the fact that exiting the Union may severely disrupt the free movement approach, until now it has fully recognized and exercised the Treaty rights.

Hence, until now UK passport holders have been entitled to live and undertake employment in other EU countries while citizens of other EU member states have had full rights (or full rights with compulsory registration) to settle and work in the UK. Such a legal change to the quality of professional and personal lives of the citizens has clear implications for the economy of the Union and individual member states. More importantly, however, eliminating internal borders has induced significant and not entirely predictable shifts to the lives and lifestyle of individuals and communities and to social trends in the European Union. It has enabled the emergence of transnational spaces that feature *trans*-, *inter*- and *cross-cultural* activities as well as varying degrees of *transculturation* and *translanguaging* on everyday basis. This mixing of cultures, languages and ethnic identities through communication and social interaction, but also through and within transnational families and social circles, often instigate the process of *acculturation*. In this thesis the term *acculturation* is apprehended as a process of cultural change that occurs in response to cultural encounters with the host society whereby ways of being and values are reflected and worked/acted upon in order to adapt to functioning in the new socio-cultural environment. Hence, it is argued that the *translation of cultures* occurs as an inevitable element of the process and results in a blending of values and lifestyle of migrating individuals rather than “shedding [one] culture” (Berry 1992, p. 73) or “deculturation”

(Berry et al. 2007) in order to acquire another culture.

In general, acculturative processes encompass a variety of modes of adaptation to a new environment through behavioural, social, psychological and more generally cultural change. Since they can occur only within the context of and due to intercultural encounters, the process of acculturation will involve among many elements varying degrees of the interpretation of cultures. This does not seem unusual as in their attempts to comprehend the situation and behaviours in the new environment, individuals tend to compare aspects of situations through the lens of patterns they are most familiar with. In this way, they appropriate values and patterns, assuming similarity rather than a difference. The results of such undertakings tend to have limited predictability while behaviours and actions may be easily misinterpreted. Hence, the *translation of cultures* includes elements of negotiation and interpretation of meaning, which ultimately enable *acculturation* to take place.

In order to explore *cultural translation* in acculturation, it is necessary to identify the home and host context of the Polish migrants, on whom this study has focused.

1.2 Research Rationale

It is essential to establish the reasons that led to an idea behind the TCAL project and then to its subsequent realisation. Therefore, the sections below present the reasons for investigating cultural aspects of the post-accession wave of migration from Poland to the UK, the researcher's background, which can shed more light on the origins of the thesis and the research questions, aims and objectives of the study.

1.3 Field of study

This research is a process-oriented (Patton 2002: 159–160) study of acculturation aimed at depicting *cultural interchange* and continuous dialogue in migrants' translated lives. As its field of study, it takes the community of Polish post-EU accession (May 2004) migrants residing in the East Midlands. The theme studied in this field is the process of cultural translation for the

purpose of migrant social adaptation, which encompasses acculturation processes, identity re/construction and belonging, native and target languages, cultural similarities and ethnic disharmonies for individuals in their new existence in the UK. Therefore, relevant samples included opinions, perceptions, narrated experience and reflections of East Midlands Polish recent migrants were collected through a questionnaire, in interviews and through observation. Moreover, further contextual data included government legislation and national statistics (and relevant additional measurement tools) regarding post-accession emigration from Poland and immigration to the United Kingdom, migrant online forums and virtual communities, migrant blogs, media publications, institutional perspective on the issues (collected through interviews) and migrant local activity (collected through interviews and observation).

1.3.1 East Midlands in Focus

The East Midlands region comprises Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire and Rutland. According to The Migration Observatory (2013), the 2011 Census shows resident population in the East Midlands at the level over 4,5 million of whom 9.9% were born outside the UK and of whom 5.3% were non-UK passport holders. Among those born outside the UK, the largest population is of working age (between 20 and 50 years of age) with virtually equal gender distribution. Among non-UK passport holders, as many as 50,740 reported Polish citizenship (Migration Observatory 2013), though the number reflects only those who willingly declared their country of origin and those who were in the East Midlands when Census data was collected. Hence, the number of Polish migrants in the East Midlands can be higher and can also fluctuate.



Figure 1: Map of the East Midlands region

Source: <http://www.picturesofengland.com/mapofengland/east-midlands-map.html>

In terms of migration, the East Midlands is quite a specific region with many ethnicities and nationalities residing in both urban and rural areas. Leicester, for example, is the first city in the UK where migrant numbers are higher than those of the local population while Lincolnshire, apart from London, is the area with highest increase of migrant ratio due to the fact that there are many opportunities to find seasonal work, mainly in agriculture. Boston, in particular, is a town with the most visible growth of migrant population. The Polish community in the East Midlands occupies a high position in the 2011 Census data in that they are the second minority group among non-UK born population and first regarding non-UK passport holders and spoken language other than English (Migration Observatory 2013). The latter is in line with the general Census data, which clearly shows Polish as the second language spoken in England and third in Wales (BBC 2013; Migration Observatory 2013). The 2011 data also suggests that residents born in Poland were rather evenly distributed in the region (Migration Observatory 2013).

Yet, despite a large population of migrants of Poland residing in the East Midlands, there is relatively little research that focuses on the region. It seems that some local bodies, e.g. Derbyshire Constabulary, attempted to collect and publish some information about migrant workers (see Todd and Gazda 2010).

Ironically, the 2011 Census revealed that Derbyshire had the lowest proportion of migrant communities in the East Midlands (Migration Observatory 2013). There seems to have been more media coverage of migrant-related matters and issues (e.g. the Sports Direct Shirebrook case), not to mention frequent visits of the Polish Consul to Boston, an area with reported high ethnic tension levels.

Apart from statistical data, the East Midlands is a region that can be described as a post-industrial one (Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire), with rural areas (Lincolnshire). On the one hand, it seems challenging to find regional identity descriptors that would pin down a 'Midlander'. On the other hand, the cultural, linguistic or geographical specificities of the East Midlands seem to attract relatively little attention while the main focus is on the society and economic impact of policies. It seems that the region promotes its cultural heritage to a limited extent only as, apart from the figure of Robin Hood, other elements of the region's heritage are less known. Many individuals may not associate the East Midlands with literature and Eastwood is seen as a small town rather than the birthplace of DH Lawrence, just as Mansfield may not evoke Jane Austen's novel as an initial association. Similarly, the culinary heritage induces relatively few connotations as many individuals may find it only coincidental that there is a town of Bakewell in the Peak District and you can be served Bakewell tart as a desert. Finally, the linguistic portrait of the region is not particularly popular among linguists either. Nonetheless, the language varieties spoken in Derby or Nottingham deviate from the standard South-Eastern varieties of English that dominate in English language teaching out of the UK.

It can be concluded then that Polish migrants in the East Midlands, just like the region itself, receive little attention from researchers from across the disciplines. Therefore, apart from the practicalities of the TCAL study, the East Midlands seemed an appropriate choice of a niche region for a research study. Although the TCAL project focused on cultural translation and acculturation, some of the collected data can also be a valuable addition to the portrait of Polish migrants in the UK.

1.3.2 Rationale for Exploring Cultural Aspects of Polish Migration

Although the Polish community has had a noticeable presence in the UK since World War II, it was the post-2004, i.e. post-accession, wave of settlers from Poland that has been colloquially named in the media as ‘invaders’ (e.g. see ‘Polish Invasion that’s SAVED my home town’, *Daily Mail*, 25 April 2014 or Wilk 2010). Hence, it seems apparent and unsurprising that the largest migration to the UK and the community of the second spoken language in England and third in Wales raised interest and attention of scholars across disciplines, though, initially sociological research seemed to dominate the area, with less attention devoted to cultural and linguistic aspects of migrants’ lives. Yet, with time scholarly work in other fields of study, such as psychology, sociolinguistics, language teaching or cultural anthropology, has also been published. White (2016) points out in her literature review that in the UK context there is an abundance of studies on Polish migrants, conducted by scholars with and without background in Polish studies, yet in collaboration.

Although White (2016: 13) praises the ‘sense of collaboration in building a composite picture of Polish migration to the UK’, the main scholarly interest has been on migrants’ reasons for relocating to the UK, their ‘sense of belonging’ (Moskal 2014: 279), ways of living, and also their well-being. The extensive body of research conducted on Polish post-2004 migrants encompasses a range of their migration experiences. Yet, it seems to focus mainly on labour issues and ways of organising migrant life to fit within host communities. Many of those studies focused on aspects such as family life (see Ryan et al. 2009a; Erel 2011; White 2017/2011), citizenship (see Erel 2011), civil society (see Garapich 2008), intended length of stay in the UK (see Burrell 2010, Drinkwater and Garapich 2015, Ryan 2015), new patterns of migration for post-accession migrants who do not follow the old émigré traditions of the Polonia (see Garapich 2007), networks and support (see White and Ryan 2008, Sumption 2009, Ryan et al. 2009, Seredyńska-Abou Eid 2011, 2012), relations between the Polonias – the post-war refugees¹ and post-accession migrants (see

¹ Bielewska (2011: 87) refers to Polish post-war refugees as “‘post-war migrants’ born in Poland before the Second World War”, which might be seen as offensive if expressed without quotation marks. This is because the experience of

Galasinska 2010, Bielewska 2011), their experiences within specific professional sectors (see Janta et al. 2011) or school experiences of Scottish migrant children from Poland (see Moskal 2014).

Kathy Burrell (2010) in her article described the state of the research on migration from Central and Eastern Europe as focused on four main themes: staying, returning, working and living. Since then, the research directions have not changed considerably and there seems to be relatively little research of anthropological nature, which would allow to establish differences and potential trigger points for migrants from Poland between the culture(s)² of origin and the host one(s). Although there are a few studies that focus on the reasons of fairly limited socialisation of Polish migrants (see Garapich 2008, Sumption and Somerville 2009, Drinkwater et al. 2009, Bielewska 2011, Kobińska 2016) and their sense of belonging (see Moskal 2014, Parutis 2006), the analysis of those potential causes seems insufficiently thorough to generate a coherent picture of adaptational challenges for Polish migrants in the UK. The studied issues include the claimed poor socialisation (Garapich 2007), incompatibility of professional qualifications and status or type of job (see Sumption and Somerville 2009, Trevena 2013, Moskal 2014), a flexible career approach of Polish graduates (Szewczyk 2013), ability to launch a new business (Vershinina et al. 2011) or low English language proficiency that prevents migrants from “advanc[ing] their position” on the labour market (see Trevena 2013, p. 182) or participate in their children’s school-related matters (Moskal and Sime 2015).

Aleksandra Galasińska, however, strongly advocates the need for investigating cultural mechanisms of social change and their discourse representations that accompany migration projects undertaken by individuals (see Galasińska and Krzyżanowski 2009; Galasińska and Horolets 2012). In the first post-accession years, a few of studies focused on retaining identity (see Burrell 2006, Parutis

expulsion, lost home and homeland, lost family and war atrocities do not belong to the categories of migration or travelling experiences, but are rather part of refugee suffering and gehenna. Many DPs felt trapped as the opportunity to return to Poland often was carried the risk of political oppression under the new system that had been imposed in the post-war era in Poland.. The UK government also encouraged the DPs to migrate elsewhere, e.g. to Australia, Canada or France (see Glazer et al. 2010).

² The plural use of the terms *culture* and *identity* is intentional as each individual often has more than one identity, depending on the role or situation in question, and migrants originate from many regions of Poland and reside in different parts of the East Midlands. Hence, it seems justified to mention their cultures and identities in the plural form.

2006, Rabikowska and Burrell 2009, Rabikowska 2010) and therefore included socio-cultural elements, such as food and cuisine, shops, home decor or entertainment and social life within Polish communities, which can certainly further contextualise the way migrants from Poland live in the UK and aid the understanding of their lifestyle. Yet, those studies link cultural elements with national identity only, ignoring the ethnic elements or regional distinctions. They also tend to refer to Polishness as an apparent construct in that “performance of Polishness in [for example] the food rituals is that movement of identity that forecloses the range of possibilities and pulls migrants into the paradigms of national, gender and moral conventions” (Rabikowska 2010, p. 379). Similarly, Moskal and Sime (2015) in their article about transcultural lives of children in Scotland highlight the importance of language to integrate into the host culture and school environment and see language as a vehicle of culture; yet, *transculturation* seems to be insufficiently explained while examples refer mostly to bi-, not translingual practices. Hence, although the concept of *transculturation* is promised in relation to their study, the researchers tend to focus on inter-cultural behaviours which they situate within a noticeable bifocality of migrants and their ongoing comparison between the cultures of origin and destination. Some later literature, however, focuses on identity issues from the cultural perspective, questioning and positioning “the national” and “us and them” in the context of migration and the socio-cultural background of Polish migrants (Gawlewicz 2015a, 2015b)

Nonetheless, despite such inconsistencies, which can result from the sheer immensity and fluidity of ethno-cultural topics, there have been a few studies that attempted to tackle the cultural mechanisms in migration. With reference to Polishness and the alleged Polish monoculture, Bidzińska (2016) investigates the issue by providing a historical overview of ethnicities and languages in Poland and an analysis of the current situation, including numerous examples of individuals who significantly contribute to the fields of culture, literature, academia, etc. Horolets and Kozłowska’s (2012) study on migrants in Wolverhampton, including examples provided by Aleksandra Galasińska, offers an anthropological analysis of the Polish migrants’ perceptions of the host society.

Yet, there is still an observable need for more studies that would conduct a deeper cultural analysis with elements of anthropology rather than sociology. This deficiency of research into cultural processes of migration, in this case from Poland, is even greater in the Midlands due to the fact that a majority of studies on Polish and other Central and Eastern European migrants focus on areas such as London, Manchester and Scotland (mostly Glasgow). In other parts of Britain, there are either single research projects on small communities, reports from city councils (see Bristol 2007) or media articles about aspects of the community life, such as the Polish police force in Lancashire (Polski Express 2014). Therefore, cultural research with a more anthropological focus is required to bridge the gap in understanding the cultural mechanisms of cultural encounters and acculturation that are embedded in migration processes and constitute a fundamental part of global mobility. In response to the relative scarcity of material about Polish cultural roots published in English, many of the consulted sources are publications in the Polish language. Furthermore, in order to explore the topics of *cultural translation*, *adaptation* and *acculturation*, this study required a multidisciplinary perspective and therefore there was a need for a synthesis of research and writing from such disciplines as critical theory, post-colonial studies (identity, hybridity, biculturalism, home and belonging, adaptation, etc.), psychology (acculturation, cross-cultural issues), sociology (migration, identity, etc.), linguistics (socio-cultural theory, sociolinguistics), pragmatics (translingualism, transculturation), and translation (cultural translation). Some of the issues clearly overlapped some of the disciplines.

1.3.3 Researcher's Background and Origins of the Thesis

As many projects in the fields of culture, socio-cultural studies and sociolinguistics, the idea for this study began with a few personal experiences that raised questions in my head about reasons for witnessed behaviours, actions and linguistic choices. One of the first such encounters was related to the use of the greeting 'Hi', which a friend of the family used instead of 'Bye'. When challenged she explained that 'Hi' means 'Cześć', which has a dual use in Polish and the meaning is generated by context in writing and intonation in speaking (i.e. rising intonation indicates greeting someone, falling – a farewell). The friend was also adamant about her high proficiency in English and has never

corrected her lexical choice. The second example that sparked my curiosity relates to a close friend of mine who ordered a cup of tea in a London café. When she was served tea with milk, she returned to the counter with a complaint that the drink she received was not the one she ordered. My explanation that ‘tea’ could have different meanings and/or standards in different places seemed beyond our capacity, mine to clarify and hers to accept it. Finally, one of the most astounding encounters occurred in Nottingham, just at the beginning of my first summer job in 2005. In Beeston I met two Poles, one of whom did not speak any English and was not intending either to learn the language or return to Poland. He explained that at work everything was translated to Polish, so there was no need to learn English. I just asked a simple question, I thought, namely how it was possible for him to operate in the UK on everyday basis because I could still face some problems despite being fluent in English. His response was brief ‘I have no problems’.

While the first two stories can be explained with the use of translation and intercultural theories, the third one seems more complex and can be related to personality issues and motivation. Yet, it soon became my own experience when I went through all stages of culture shock and then reverse culture shock when I went to Ningbo for a few years. My educational background in English and International Relations could not help in alleviating the stress of everyday activities and relative inability to communicate or understand the written information in town. My summer visits to Nottingham also resulted in witnessing numerous examples of varying interpretations of the local reality and linguistic (mis)translation that led to problematic situations for individuals. My attempts to compare my cultural experience in China to the life of the Polish migrant community in the UK led me to the investigation of matters related to adaptation, acculturation, identity, belonging and the translation of cultures in migrating individuals. My Polish origin, my personal and professional interest in British culture(s) and fluency in both languages allowed me to gain a deeper insight into intercultural matters on the edge of Polish and British cultures

1.3.4 Research Aims and Questions

In order to explore the translation of culture(s) within the process of acculturation that inevitably takes place among Polish migrants in the UK, the

following research questions were set:

1. What are Polish migrants' perceptions of the local cultures in the East Midlands and the UK?

An exploration of migrants' perceptions of the local cultures, set vis-à-vis their social background, education and possibly variables such as age or gender, provides a valuable insight into how the local cultures are understood and whether this corresponds with the intentions and modes of communication of the cultures of migrants' destinations.

2. To what extent are the perceptions driven by migrants' home culture(s) and how they impact on Polish migrants' adaptation to life in the UK?

A comparison of the home and host cultures, together with some analysis of migrants' interpretations of their cultural experiences offers greater understanding of how migrants make sense of the cultures they experience and of the role their home cultures play in constructing meaning in the destination culture.

3. How does cultural translation as an element of acculturation aid or hinder adaptation?

An exploration of the facilitative or hindering role of cultural translation in acculturation and adaptation processes serves a purpose of establishing how adaptation could be aided and whether such support is required and or necessary from the migrants' perspective

In addressing the questions, I explore the views, perceptions and interpretations of Polish migrants in the East Midlands to gain a deeper understanding of their acculturation and adaptation processes in the British society and the role their social and ethnic background and home culture play in making sense of the new reality in the destination and/or place of settlement of their choice. The set of data for this analysis was collected through mixed methods, using mostly qualitative tools, such as semi-structured interviews and ethnographic observation, including real-life situations and online communities, as well as a quantitative tool – a questionnaire, available online and as a hard copy. Questionnaire and interview participants included individual respondents and institutional participants. The individual respondents were Polish nationals who migrated to the UK (directly or indirectly to the East Midlands) after Poland's

accession to the European Union (1st May 2004). The institutional interviewees included various organisations, social and charity enterprises in the East Midlands as well as state institutions that are involved with migrants' everyday issues. Ethnographic observation of real-life issues was conducted on an ongoing basis, often spontaneously and in various locations. Observation of the online communities was conducted as desktop type of research.

1.4 The Context of the Polish Post-Accession Migration Wave to the United Kingdom

To contextualize the Polish community and their adaptation to life in the UK, it is essential to provide an overview of the post-accession wave of migrants with regard to their ethnic and national context, their diasporic features or lack thereof, the organization of Polish communities, including relations with the community of Polish post-war refugees³, and the provision of English language teaching in Poland. The latter is an important entry aspect as to some degree it can determine the status and potential of Polish migrants in the host country.

The year 2004 brought the expansion of the EU by ten new member states,⁴ many of whom were economically less developed than the existing EU members. Therefore, EU states took an individual approach in allowing access to their labour market for the citizens of the new member states, the new Accession States (A8) countries⁵ in particular. In the UK, citizens of the A8 countries had full access to the labour market; however, for the first seven years (May 2004 – April 2011), the longest possible period of restrictions within the European Union, migrants had to register with the Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) to be allowed to undertake employment. Yet, despite the restrictions, the

³ Polish settlers are not a novelty to Britain and British society. A notable and historically significant wave were the post-war refugees, i.e. Polish deportees from the Soviet Union, who were resettled to the UK with the British Army from British Eastern Africa and the Middle East (Persia and the Palestine), demobilized and/or given status of displaced persons (DPs) (Hoerder 2002, Glazer et al. 2010).

⁴ The European Union membership: 1993 - Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and United Kingdom; 1995 - Austria, Finland and Sweden; 2004 - Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia; 2007 - Bulgaria and Romania; 2012 - Croatia

⁵ A8 (8 Accession) Countries: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia; Cyprus and Malta were excluded from that group due to their historical connections with the UK

post-accession migration from Poland to the UK has become the largest⁶ wave of immigration the country has experienced to date, surpassing the immigration from the Indian subcontinent (Kaczmarczyk and Okólski 2008). Among other indicators, this fact was brought to attention by the latest Census, which showed that the Polish language is the second most spoken language in England and third in Wales (Migration Observatory 2012, Office for National Statistics 2013b, BBC 2013).

1.4.1 The Country of Origin

The United Kingdom, a host country of their own choice, is a place that has a different socio-historical and legal context to their home country. This dissimilar background may translate into a differing path of development of the host society, varying attitudes and a system of values that is discrepant to a certain degree.

In terms of systemic differences, political and legal systems in Poland differ from the ones in the UK. Regarding the state politics, post-accession migrants are most familiar with the system of the Third Republic (from 1989 onwards), a presidential system with a two-house parliament, and the one-party socialist regime (commonly referred to as the communist era) in the times of the People's Republic (1945-1989). Historically, the Polish political system developed from hereditary monarchy in the feudal times, through elected monarchy based on the constitutional Henrician Articles during the Polish-Lithuanian Union/Commonwealth⁷ (1569 – 1791) and through constitutional monarchy with the first constitution passed in Europe, to a republic with a tripartite system of the separation of powers (Garlick 2005, Zamoyski 2009, Stone 2010,

⁶ The exact numbers of migrants have never been assessed in either of the countries. In Poland the main source of information on migrants is BAEL (Badanie Aktywności Ekonomicznej Ludności), an equivalent of the Labour Force Survey (LFS). In the United Kingdom, there are three main sources of migration statistics: the International Passenger Survey (IPS), the National Insurance Number (NINo), and the Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) for A8 nationals. The Office for National Statistics (ONS) in the UK uses the UN definition of a long-term migrant to categorize immigrants.

A detailed analysis of the unreliability of statistical tools for measuring migration from Poland and other A8 countries was presented at the ENQUIRE Conference at the University of Nottingham in June 2010.

⁷ The Polish-Lithuanian Union, also called the Commonwealth of Both Nations or the Republic (*Res Publica* or in Polish *Rzeczpospolita*, *RP* in short) that 'bound citizens to each other' (Calhoun 2011: 312)) of the Polish Kingdom (The Crown) and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania over two centuries (1569 – 1795). More about cultural, linguistic and religious pluralism as well as about everyday life, successes and defeats of the Union can be found in Zamoyski 2009, Butterwick 2011 or Davies 2012.

Butterwick 2011, Davies 2012). Similarly, in terms of the legal system, the migrants in question are accustomed to a codified civil law system, with the Constitution as a supreme legal document. Those differences may be significant for migrants in terms of their civic engagement and their comprehension of a situation and potential solutions that require legal advice or intervention.

Aspects of ethnicity and cultural background, however, seem to be more complex and problematic than systemic issues as instead of factual knowledge and experience they involve and revolve around multifaceted matters of identity, perception and self-perception, opinion, self-esteem, evaluation, stereotypical thinking, etc. In the light of historical changes of the ethnic composition of the home country, it is important to emphasise that many of Polish post-accession migrants were raised and educated in a mostly mono-racial and allegedly mono-ethnic society as in the times of the People's Republic⁸ multiethnicity was seen as a feature of the past. This resulted in decades-long elimination of ethnicity from the official discourse, which was then filled with *Polishness* - a blanket term for any set of values within state boundaries, which was epitomised by policies such as forced settlement of the Roma communities (Barany 2002) and either public denial or overtly expressed aversion towards ethnic, language or religious minorities. Such uniformity was encouraged by the post-war communist governments to maintain control in socio-cultural terms over the gained territories in the West and people who were resettled from the lost territories (Eastern Borderlands) as a consequence of the Yalta agreement (Simms 2013). Therefore, migrants' view on a multicultural and multi-ethnic society may depend on the level of their exposure to other ethnicities and races as part of their travelling experience prior to relocating to the UK.

Nonetheless, in the times of the People's Republic ethnicity was discussed in the context of the atrocities of the Holocaust, which irretrievably changed the ethnic

⁸ Ironically, in the Eastern Bloc, the official discourse revolved around the concept of the brotherhood of nations. Yet, within the discourse of brotherhood, there was a noticeable rivalry in many fields among the nations and national attributes seemed significant elements of promoted national identities. Hobsbawm (2012: 166) mentions that in the Soviet Union policy makers and intellectuals approved a deliberate action to "create ethno-linguistic territorial 'national administrative units', i.e. 'nations' in the modern sense"; however, he seems to ignore the Stalinist policy of forced resettlement across the Soviet Union and the fact that Russian was the dominant and official language across the Soviet republics, which contributed significantly to actual discrimination and inequality across the nations and ethnic groups.

composition and the cultural and architectural landscape of the country. During the Second World War, the Nazi plan of the extermination of the Jewish population was enacted, a result of which was the annihilation of a vast majority of Polish Jews. Until World War II, the Jewish community was a prominent part of the ethnic and cultural composition of Poland and the centuries-long presence of Jews in Central and Eastern Europe in addition to other ethnic groups denotes historical multiculturalism of the region. It is worth noting that the Jewish community of pre-war Warsaw was the second largest one after New York (see Bidzinska 2016). Yet, over centuries there was an observable growth of stereotypical views of the Jewish community⁹ among non-Jewish citizens¹⁰. This had further ramifications during the 1968 expulsion of citizens of Jewish ancestry from Poland¹¹ despite the involvement of many Jews in communist circles from pre-WWII times.

Yet, ethnicities in Poland can be seen in terms of home ethnic groups, often understood through regional differences (e.g. Silesians, Kashubians, Germans, Ukrainians, Lithuanians or Lemko) or other communities with centuries-long presence in Poland (Roma, Tatars or Jews) and more recently established communities of international immigrants (e.g. Vietnamese, Chinese, Arabic, Italian, American, French or British)¹². There is history to ethnic relations in

⁹ It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss in detail the Holocaust, the controversies around the allegations of Polish anti-Semitism, the Polish-Jewish relations, allegations of the Jewish support and involvement in the communist movements in the inter-war period and after World War II and the 1968 expulsion of citizens of Jewish background from Poland. Yet, the history of the Polish Jews and the relationship between the communities is well documented in the recently opened Jewish Museum POLIN in Warsaw (see <https://www.polin.pl/en>).

¹⁰ Stachowiak (2011: 374) emphasises that radical nationalist tendencies in Poland, which he classifies as 'protoracist,' were observed already at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and they were strongly based on the notion of national exceptionalism. It seems that such notions have been revoked in the post-2015 rise of populist and nationalist tendencies in the politics of Poland, but also other countries in and outside the EU. A good example is the name and controversial views and activities of a nationalist, if not fascist, organisation Młodzież Wszechpolska (En: All-Polish Youth).

¹¹ This is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the historical events of 1968 when a massive expulsion of people of Jewish ancestry was orchestrated by the Polish authorities. It is important to mention, though, that during World War II some members of Jewish community converted to Catholicism to avoid extermination and many of those survivors did not necessarily return to practising religion as they used to, especially that just after the war religious beliefs were strongly discouraged by the new regime. Converting from Judaism also occurred before the Holocaust, but was then seen only within the framework of acculturation and assimilation, not as a life-saving necessity (see Polin website and materials, <https://www.polin.pl/en>).

¹² Yet, this seems to be a rather superficial division of immigrants that might serve the authorities for classification purposes. Historically, there were close relations with, for example France or Italy, and there are many cultural elements that reminisce that, e.g. the national anthem that refers to Italy or paintings of the Italian artists, Canaletto, whose work was used for the reconstruction of the Old Town in Warsaw after World War II. On the other hand, migrants from East Asia settled in Poland only recently as the previous cohort were the Mongols (Jingis Han), whose descendants living in

every country and Polish migrants are more likely to be well-versed in Central and Eastern European subtleties of ethno-cultural relations as British people are in relations between the countries of the UK and with relation to non-European UK ethnic minorities. It needs to be stated, however, that the population of Poland is still predominantly white¹³, with a small community of East and South-East Asians.

Closely related to ethnicity is faith and religion. Poland is perceived as a predominantly Roman Catholic country, despite her constitutional secularism and a centuries-long tradition of religious tolerance for minorities. For centuries, however, Catholicism was seen as a distinctive feature that differentiated Poland from Evangelical and Lutheran neighbours (Davies 2001). Furthermore, as Davies (1981, p. 225) points out, ‘the Roman Catholic Church embodies the most ancient and the most exalted ideals of traditional Polish life across the centuries’ due to the level of moral support it offered to the nation under Partitions, during WW II and in the times of the People’s Republic (Fitzgerald 2008), including the prominent figure of Pope John Paul II (Cardinal Karol Wojtyła) who provided much appreciated moral support for the Polish society in the challenging times of the 1980s oppression and shortages as well as beyond the systemic transformation of 1989. Therefore, religion has been a constructive element for the identities of many individuals in Poland despite numerous examples in history when the Church failed the community and ignored social and political injustice¹⁴ for the sake of ecclesiastical interests and greed

the East of Poland (mostly Białostoczczyzna – Białystok Land) form the largest Muslim community. There are many such examples, though it is interesting to observe how limiting and inaccurate can a politicised categorisation of migrants be.

¹³ In terms of races, Poland has historically had a predominantly white population; however, there are a few examples of prominent Africans as well, e.g. John Godson, a Member of Parliament in the years 2010-2015 (see <https://afropeans.com/john-abraham-godson>), Mamadou Diouf, a veterinarian, a musician and a representative of the Committee for the African Community in Poland (see <https://afropeans.com/mamadou-diouf>) or August Agbola O’Brown, the only soldier of African (Nigerian) descent during Warsaw Uprising of 1944 (see Warsaw Rising Museum 2018 and Osiński 2010).

¹⁴ Historically, religion was very much a political issue both in Poland, as it was in other European countries. Reformation in Poland was more related to political than spiritual issues and it failed due to a greater significance of legal and constitutional matters to the nobility (the *szlachta*), regardless of their faith (Zamoyski 2009), who invested their efforts in curbing the privileges of the clergy to no avail (Butterwick 2011). The success of the first constitution in Europe, The 3rd May Constitution (1791), was short lived, only to be followed by the demise of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth due to the partition of the territories among three neighbouring empires.

(Butterwick 2011).

From the historical perspective, the Roman Catholic community in Poland was rising steadily until WW II when most significant demographic, ethnic and national changes occurred. To exemplify the role of religion in the Polish history, Davies (1981, pp. 224–225) cites statistics after Korzon who presented evidence that Roman Catholics constituted 54% of the population in Poland in 1791 (before the Partitions), 65% in 1931, and 96.6% in 1946, which gave the Church an unprecedented monopoly of faith. Recent data still resemble the post-war statistics in that Roman Catholicism was declared by 95.7% of people in 2000, 95.6% in 2005 and 94.4%, over 33 million people, in 2014. The lowest percentage of Catholics (81.1%) has been reported in the Archdiocese of Białystok (in the North-East) where the largest Tatar community lives. Other religious and faith communities count from a few hundred to a few thousand members. The 2011 Census indicated that 95.95% of respondents declared Roman Catholicism, 2.64% asserted no faith and 1.41% indicated other faith (GUS 2015b, 2016: 23, 33).

Finally, the modern Polish society, from which the post-accession migrants originate, is proud of its history of resilience and struggle against oppression (the partitions, two World Wars and the socialist-communist regime of the post-war period), of which a great epitome among others is the Solidarity (*Solidarność*) movement and its iconic leader and first post-1989 president Lech Wałęsa. Yet, historical disturbances induced economic instability, out migration and the development of specific features in people, such as resourcefulness, resilience or humbling oneself, with elements of low self-esteem or self-worth among individuals¹⁵. Hence, it is worth considering whether joining the European Union by Poland in 2004 changed the pattern and perception of migration, transforming former diasporic notions into the concept of expatriates who earn their living out of their home country.

¹⁵ The Polish society has undergone revolutionary changes in the last two centuries, from the rule of the nobility (the *szlachta*) through the times of a one-party system, often referred to as a communist regime, to membership in the European Union.

1.4.2 Diaspora or Expatriates¹⁶

Within migrating communities and migration studies, the notion of *diaspora* describes some of migrant groups, depending on the conditions of their emigration and status in the receiving country. The traditional connotation of the term *diaspora* reflects a displaced ethnic group. According to Cohen (1996), historically it was used with relation to the Jewish community and a few other ethnic groups that migrated; however, as Cohen (1996) emphasizes, it is the Jewish diaspora that added negativity to the meaning of the term through connecting it to catastrophic origins, suffering, homesickness and search for the opportunity to return to the given land. Nonetheless, originally the term was used by Greeks in ancient times to describe individuals and communities migrating due to poor economic conditions or a life-threatening conflict in their homeland, though the meaning had rather positive connotations as it referred to individuals' resourcefulness and successful management of their life situation. More recently, however, *diaspora* was used to describe suffering ethnic groups who had to flee their homes; hence, it was inevitably connected with negative feelings of displacement, homesickness, and uprooting. The latter understanding was applied to many communities in Europe, especially in the 20th century, during which the continent faced conflicts and atrocities at an unprecedented scale. In many parts of Europe the situation changed when migration movements increased in the 1990s due to the systemic change in Central and Eastern Europe, end of the Cold War, the creation of the area of free movement of people, capital, and services and the enlargement of the European Union in 2004, 2007 and 2012. Clifford (1997, p. 247) notes that the 'overlap of border and diaspora experiences in the late twentieth century everyday life suggests the difficulty of maintaining exclusivist paradigms' as localizing cultures in a globalised world can bring confusion to the attempts of determining single and isolated cultures.

When Poland became a full member of the EU on 1st May 2004, its citizens gained access to the British market in terms of residence and employment. The

¹⁶ Parts of this subsection formed part of a paper given at the Inter-Disciplinary Conference: *Diasporas 5* in June 2012 and was subsequently published in the post-conference e-book: Seredyńska-Abou Eid (2013) 'Cultural Adaptation and Translation as Motivation for Researching the Polish Diaspora in the United Kingdom' in R. Seredyńska-Abou Eid (ed) *Diasporic Choices*. Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press. Available at: <http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/publishing/product/diasporic-choices> (see Appendix 10).

condition of registering prior to undertaking any employment was not seen by migrants as an obstacle. After a seven-year period of mandatory registration, this condition had to be automatically lifted by British authorities in 2011. This contributed to an observable change in migration patterns in Europe and altered or even disabled the meaning of the term *diaspora* in the EU context. It certainly became questionable whether EU migrants should be considered as diasporic communities at all as in borderless Europe they have the right to move across the Union despite being their national allegiance. Nonetheless, it is important to establish to what extent Polish migrants fit within diasporic descriptors.

The traditional meaning of the term *diaspora* is entirely applicable to previous (pre-2004) waves of migration due to strong exile connotations. In the past, those individuals, who left the country, emigrated for good and had very little chance of return to their previous life in Poland. Such a situation brought consequences of at least two kinds, i.e. (1) out migration was not really measured and (2) there was enhanced nostalgia, guilt and feelings of victimhood among emigrating Poles who often referred to their home country as ‘a home never to return to’. The latter was strongly related to the concept of *martyrdom* that has permeated the Polish cultures and view of the world from the end of the 18th century, at least, and is still present in the attitudes of older generations. In addition, together with emigrating Poles, there were large groups of Polish Jews who also either migrated to the USA or Western Europe or were expelled in 1968. Therefore, the traditional understanding of diasporic communities as victims who suffered from oppression and had to abandon their country fitted well with Polish migrant communities before 2004. Hence, it is highly arguable that the term *diaspora* is applicable to post-accession migrants as well.

After Poland joined the European Union, the situation changed in terms of the freedom of decision and movement. Migrants gained the right to move freely while limitations were restricted only to migrants’ personal life and individual decisions. Unlike in 1990 when Polish citizens required destination and transit visas, post-accession migrants were given full rights of free movement. Therefore, in terms of mobility and decision making, Polish migrants seem to have shifted their perception from the self-portrait of victims to being active

citizens who take opportunities and tackle challenges. A narrow view on migration triggers may suggest that a migrant who has an economic motivation is still a victim as they have to abandon their family to earn the living away from home; however, an open-minded approach presents EU migrants with a myriad of opportunities and benefits that stem out from borderless Europe and the freedom of movement.

On the other hand, because modern diasporas are much more focused on the creation of home away from home, migration projects can be classified as diasporic. Tsagarousianou (2004: 58) supports this view by saying that “[d]iasporic identity can often draw much more on the experience of migrancy and settlement, of ‘making’ one’s home than on a fixation to a ‘homeland’”. Brah (1996, p. 192) explains that “‘home’ is a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination”, however, it is also “a lived experience of a locality”. In this sense, Polish migrants can be seen as a diasporic community. On the other hand, Tsagarousianou (2004: 59) emphasizes that

not all dispersed populations can automatically and uncritically be identified as diasporas because they share a common ethnic ancestry and identity. It is their readiness and willingness to engage themselves with the building of a transnational imagination and connections that constitutes the ‘threshold’ from ethnic to diasporic identification.

Many migrants, in the EU and elsewhere, have numerous opportunities to deal with homesickness, which can certainly be affected by their economic situation, background, family situation or be impossible in cases of human trafficking. Yet, for many UK migrants from Poland, frequent visits to their home country, Polish real-life and online communities, and the use of technology, such as voice or video communicators, and the availability of cheap telephone calls can significantly contribute to the alleviation of the feeling of detachment or displacement. Since “the decision to migrate is itself an act of agency” (Cook et al. 2010, p. 56), it is debatable whether Polish post-2004 migrants in the UK constitute a diaspora or perhaps they should rather be seen as expatriates in the British meaning¹⁷ or sojourners, regardless of the fact that they fit within many

¹⁷ The ‘British meaning’ refers here to individuals who leave their country of residence or home country for job-related purposes. Paradoxically, *ex patria* means out of the home country. Yet, in British English, the term expatriate is associated with individuals from Western, often English-speaking, countries who go abroad to take well-paid posts.

categories of diasporic descriptors.

1.4.3 The Polonias

The two settlement waves of Polish post-war displaced persons (DPs) and post-accession immigrants¹⁸ (the *Polonia* - people of Polish residing out of Poland for various reasons, including exile) exhibit both similarities and differences. Although from a historical point of view such a comparison may seem unfounded, a cultural perspective allows for reflective analysis of a national or regional culture within a similar context, but in different eras, which in turn can refer to *experience* or a *lived culture* (Gupta and Ferguson 1997, Gray 2003). A longitudinal examination reveals that there were serious socio-economic and political differences in the settlement of DPs in the late 1940s and Polish EU migrants in the early 2000s. The first distinctive feature is legal status and the labelling of new comers. While post-war refugees were legally classified as aliens, which emphasised their allegiance to another state (European Commission 2014), the EU wave exercises Treaty rights in that they are classified as migrants who resettled from another member state and therefore lack of political motives (Galasińska 2010) and retain full rights of residence in the UK (International Organization for Migration 2008, European Commission 2014). With reference to the latter, Polish EU migration is perceived as ‘European emancipation’ (Wątróbski 2006) while other scholars (see Lopez-Rodriguez 2010: 340 or Galasińska and Horolets 2012) refer to it rather as ‘a quest for normalcy’. Furthermore, while post-war refugees had to come to terms with the new reality of ostracism after they had experienced expulsion, atrocities of the war, and personal tragedies, the post-accession migrants had the liberty to choose emigration within economically developed and peaceful Europe. In terms of linguistic competence and education, the Polish DPs lacked English and qualifications recognized in the UK. Although many of them had academic degrees or completed education to at least baccalaureate (matriculation) level,

They often have a more luxurious life style than average individuals in the home country. It is noteworthy that expatriates are not referred to as migrants although they share relatively many features with those who come to work in their home country. The difference, however, may be attributed to the level of wealth and origin of individuals, but motives and outcome remain by principle the same, i.e. go abroad to secure a better paid job than in the home country.

¹⁸ A comparative study of the two waves of Polish immigration to the UK was presented at the conference Migration and Intercultural Identities in Relation to Border Regions (19th and 20th Centuries) organised by the Centre for the History of Intercultural Relations at the University of Leuven, Kortrijk Campus, Belgium, 27-29 May 2010.

they were unable to undertake employment in line with their qualifications and ‘only menial jobs [...] were for offer’ (Glazer et al. 2010: 506). This experience has not entirely been shared by post-2004 migrants, whose qualifications should have equivalence in other EU countries (European Commission 2016) and who are likely to have a certain level of English language proficiency (see section 1.2.4); yet, many still choose to work below their qualifications and in low-paid jobs (Sumption and Somerville 2009).

With regard to the new *Polonia*, in the context of free movement of people in the EU while migration has become a choice rather than a necessity, the Polish community seems to be organized around networks, both pre- and post-migration ones (White and Ryan 2008, Ryan et al. 2009b) as well as online communities (Siara 2009, Galasińska and Horolets 2012, Seredyńska-Abou Eid 2011, 2012). The Polish language is an important element of belonging; however, it is also perceived as a barrier to integration (White 2011). Nonetheless, the provision of Polish education seems to be vibrant and is supported by the Polish authorities (Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej 2016). In terms of religion, the Polish Church still gathers a large Polish community; however, the new *Polonia* do not seem to attend Sunday Mass conscientiously either due to work commitments (Temple 2010, Bielewska 2012), personal choice of attending non-Polish churches (see Bates 2006 or Judah 2016) or non-religious participation in the community. In addition, post-2004 migrants have developed a large provision of grocery stores, which sell food and other products imported from Poland, and various services such as hair salons, car maintenance garages, restaurants, discos, etc. (Rabikowska and Burrell 2009, Bielewska 2012).

1.4.4 The Language they Come with: The Provision of the English Language within the System of Education in Poland

In order to contextualize English language skills of post-accession migrants and, consequently, their familiarity with British culture, it is important to establish the provision of English language teaching in Poland. The English language has been taught in post-WWII Poland with varying intensity, though from a historical perspective, it can be concluded that in modern Poland English has

been taught to the greatest extent. This is confirmed by recent educational research conducted within the EU (see EURYDICE network and Eurostat (2012)). The main turn into English as the first foreign language in primary and secondary education occurred as a result of the political and systemic changes of 1989. However, it needs to be noted that Russian, which was compulsory before 1989, was not disregarded or banned. Instead, foreign languages achieved an equal status, which appeared to be a more fluid change. Pupils were given choice in terms of learning foreign languages, which resulted in enormous changes to the provision of language education and teacher training as English¹⁹ became the first choice for a vast majority of students while Russian was neglected for about a decade (see an interview with Rozalia Skiba, an author of new course books for Russian, in Wątróbski (2005)).

In terms of pupils learning English, currently over 90% (93.7% in 2012) of them learn English as a foreign language. In addition, in 2009 only 0.6% of students spoke at home a language different from the language of instruction (Eurostat 2012), which is another exemplification of Polish relative monolingualism and alleged monoculture. According to European data, in Poland the first foreign language is introduced as compulsory at the age of 7 (primary education) while education in the second foreign language starts for students of 13 years of age (lower-secondary education²⁰) (Eurostat 2012). It is noteworthy, though, that from September 2017, pre-primary education will include compulsory foreign language education as well (Dziennik Ustaw 2014). Furthermore, foreign languages are included in the matriculation (baccalaureate) exams (equivalent to A-Level) at two levels: basic and advanced, both written and oral and the

¹⁹ In order to accommodate the demand for English language, English Teacher Training colleges, university and non-university ones, were established in 1990. They provided three-year undergraduate and vocational education. The system worked until 2012 when changes to teacher training were launched and teacher colleges were closed or restructured (CNKJOiEE 2012). Many non-university colleges turned into vocational higher education institutions, i.e. państwowa wyższa szkoła zawodowa (e.g. in Płock, Gorzów Wielkopolski, Nowy Sącz, etc.), which continuously provide teacher education and language certification. Those who remained launched bilingual education to meet the new requirements of teaching and learning two foreign languages in secondary education (CNKJOiEE 2012). Nonetheless, the provision of language teacher training resulted in educating thousands of English language teachers for all levels of education in Poland while many Russian teachers had to retrain or retire (Bykowska 2003, Czapiga 2013). According to Prof. Halina Stasiak, before the political turn of 1989, there were about 20 thousand well trained Russian teachers, which equalled the demand for teachers of western languages after 1989 (Bykowska 2003). Hence, the gap was filled by an extensive language teacher programme.

²⁰ The 1999 reform of the educational system restituted the division of primary and secondary education into three levels, i.e. primary (7-12 yrs), lower- (13-15yrs) and upper secondary (16-19 yrs). The system was superseded by the latest reform of 2017, which re-established the school system with eight-year primary and four/five-year secondary education.

afore-mentioned Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) is applied across all levels of education. The first incarnation of written matriculation in English occurred in 1992. In addition, since 1993, many Polish schools have participated in the International Baccalaureate (IB) programmes that offer content education in English (International Baccalaureate 2016).

The current situation of foreign language education in Poland, including the provision of private language tuition and certification, indicates that the younger generation of Polish migrants should have a relatively high language proficiency while those born before the early 1970s could struggle with the linguistic aspect of migration.

Taking all of the above social, historical and cultural aspects into account, when exploring migration-related issues, it is important to have the knowledge not only of the sheer size of a specific group of migrants, but also of other aspects of their lives in the host culture as well as their context of origin. Although economic reasons for migration are the most often quoted triggers of mobility in academic discourse and in the media, in order to understand social and community relations as well as design effective social policy at the local and national level, it is crucial to explore migrants' cultural baggage, social capital, attitudes and perspectives.

1.5 Thesis Structure

This thesis is organised in seven chapters while the findings and discussion are structured thematically. An inductive approach has been applied to the study. Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework for the research study and explores the main concepts related to the issues of culture, identity and inter-cultural communication. Although an overview of philosophical traditions is provided, this chapter emphasises that current notions of identity are dominated by the poststructuralist view on power relations and their imbalance.

Chapter 3 outlines the theory regarding research and the methodology of the study. The TCAL study is a mixed methods research project, whose results were analysed interpretatively. Elements of discourse, narrative and semiotic types of

analysis were used extensively in the study and are evidenced in the findings and discussion.

Chapter 4 presents the findings of the study, with focus on identity in the UK context, the perceived notions of Polishness and the significance of language as a community unifying element. Chapter 5 focuses on the finding related to the processes of migrant acculturation while Chapter 6 explores the elements of cultural translation and the role of meaning making, interpretation and potential subsequent adaptation of migrants. The findings chapters (4-6) are organised in a reverse order of the themes in the theory chapter (chapter 2) as it feels important to establish the respondents' perspective on their cultural and national identity before moving on to their acculturation and elements of cultural translation.

The final chapter, 7, presents research-based conclusions, implications for further study and policy implications.

This research study and its results will be of interest to an academic audience as a contribution to the debate on migration, migrant acculturation and its integral processes of cultural translation. The findings may be of interest to sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists. Furthermore, they may be informative for policy makers and interesting for the general public.

Chapter 2: Theorising Cultural Translation and Acculturation

The question with which we are concerned, indeed, is not to discover whether or not a society can derive benefit from the way of life of its neighbours, but whether, and if so to what extent, it can succeed in understanding or even in knowing them.

Claude Levi-Strauss

This chapter outlines concepts and theories underpinning the current research study *Translating Cultures, Adapting Lives*, which resides within cultural studies and critical theory, but has interdisciplinary applications. The main concepts explored in this chapter reflect linear as well as non-sequential modes of meaning. The former concern structuralist views on culture, semiotics or semiology and linguistics where structure, its synchronicity and relations between its elements are in focus. In contrast, the non-linear interpretations refer to identity, sense of belonging, inter-, cross- and transculturation where boundaries are relative and interconnectedness predominates. Since the concept of the *translation of cultures* is fluid and not necessarily confined in a succinct definition, an inductive approach to presenting relevant theories and perspectives seems to be well-suited to achieve an understanding of cultural interpretation as an embedded element of acculturation. Therefore, the main sections of this chapter focus on the following six concepts that underpin the *Translating Cultures, Adapting Lives* study: *culture, identity, intercultural communication, acculturation and interpretation/translation of cultures*.

2.1 Conceptualising Cultural Translation

The concept of *Translating Cultures* (TC) has been debated across disciplines, from translation studies (i.e. *cultural translation*) to anthropology, to postcolonial and cultural studies as well as migration studies. Although the term itself has been in operation since the 1950s (Asad 1992; Conway 2012a), it has been relatively under-researched. Historically, academic interest in the concept has gone through periods of initially greater and then diminished attention among scholars. More recently, perhaps due to increased mobility in the world,

processes such as *transculturation* or *translanguaging* and the idea of *translating cultures* have increasingly attracted scholarly interest. Yet, although *cultural translation* has been observed in cultural encounters in migration and tackled in postcolonial as well as translation studies, it has received considerably less attention in migration studies and in research on *acculturation* and *cultural adaptation*²¹. Therefore, in the literature of the relevant fields, there is a range of perspectives on the concept, but fewer attempts to define the notion. Furthermore, the term *cultural translation* (CT) is common in modern day cultural and translation studies, but is also frequently observed across other disciplines (Buden and Nowotny 2009). Yet, while Maitland (2017, p. 11), citing the American University of Paris²², reiterates the claim made by the Modern Language Association that “cultural translation is ‘the most important concept in cultural theory today’”, Wagner (2010) makes the point that the term has been overused in many disciplines and has therefore become only “an analytic tool”, without any clarity as for the use and applicability of the tool.

Kyle Conway (2012a: 21) describes *cultural translation* as “a concept with competing definitions”, depending whether it is discussed and explored within anthropology and ethnography or cultural and postcolonial studies. The former fields focus on explaining to a community the perspective and interpretation of the world typical of members of another community. In cultural studies however, attention is turned to the elements of negotiation that inadvertently occur when individuals migrate between communities and their cultural patterns of behaviour, perception and thinking are challenged and values contested. Conway further emphasises that the notion of displacement is also pertinent to the perspective of cultural studies. Yet, he does not attempt to provide an approximate definition of the concept. Instead, he refers to it as “an idea – or, rather, a frequently messy collection of ideas” (Conway 2012b, p. 264).

Similarly, Buden and Nowotny (2009, p. 198) avoid a more structured definition

²¹ For the distinction between the terms acculturation and cultural adaptation, see section 2.2.

²² The American University of Paris is one of few, if not the only, institution that offers Master’s studies (MA) in cultural translation (Maitland 2017: 11).

of the concept of *cultural translation*. Instead, they problematise it in the context of the ‘plurality of specific canons’ of multiculturalism, ‘identitarian politics’ of nation states and a deconstructionist approach that emphasises cultural construction as the main outcome of cultural activity. Furthermore, they note that cultural translation and foreign texts were already perceived as “a sort of added value that refines the language of a translator” by Wilhelm von Humboldt in his theory of translation (19th c.) and Johann von Herder in his studies on German literature in the 18th century. Hence, although in the English-speaking world the term was coined by Homi Bhabha (1994) in his seminal work *The Location of Culture*, the phenomenon itself was observed much earlier as it is one of the characteristics of human encounters, interaction and communication. Nonetheless, attempts at delineating the features of *cultural translation* seem fairly recent and focus on cultural and linguistic aspects of (inter)cultural encounters.

In her exploration of the *cultural translation* concept through perspectives and disciplines, though with a translation studies twist, Sarah Maitland (2017, p. 17, original emphasis) establishes that for individuals “as bearers of culture, [...], cultural translation is something that we [they] simply *do*”. Nikos Papastergiadis (2011) holds a similar perspective in his exploration of the concept with reference to migration contexts and cosmopolitanism. He refers partly to Ulrich Beck and his cosmopolitan perspective on cultural encounters as ‘expanding the realm of social relations’ (Papastergiadis 2011: 1). Maitland (2017), however, draws on Anthony Pym (2009) who explains that the non-linguistic form of cultural translation does not have either a clearly defined source or a very specific target audience of the act of translation. Maitland (2017, p. 17) also reiterates after Conway (2012b) that *cultural translation* can be viewed either as “a form of rewriting”, an anthropological view on a cultural community, or as “a form of ‘transposition’”, in which cultures, individuals, artefacts and texts are relocated and situated in new contexts. The latter reflects and is entirely applicable to a wealth of migration-related situations, contexts and communities.

In order to pinpoint the specificity of *cultural translation*, Maitland (2017, p. 53) defines it as

a gesture of interpretation – of contested understandings of the objects of human expression that suffuse the practice of everyday life in the social sphere and the attendant gestures of thoughtful reflection and analysis this entails.

Although Maitland's (2017, p. 10) emphasises that her exploration of *cultural translation* is "the first attempt to locate [it] at the heart of human communication", with an aim of reaching beyond linguistic translation, other scholars that preceded her work already connected cultural translation practices, patterns and "the process by which communication occurs across boundaries" (Papastergiadis 2007/2000, p. 124) as well as frames that include the implicit and explicit aspects of communication (Katan 2004). Nonetheless, Maitland's perspective is in line with Pym's (2007, p. 4) view that the term *translation* is increasingly used in "its widest possible sense" with reference to all forms of communication and Nikos Papastergiadis's (2007/2000, p. 124) take on "the concept of translation as a metaphor for understanding how the foreign and the familiar are interrelated in every form of cultural production". Maitland (2017, p. 10, original emphasis) stresses her critical approach to *cultural translation* and her understanding of it as a process that

is concerned as much with interpreting the objects of the world as 'source texts' with which we each can and should engage as it is with the communication of this interpretation towards an eventual audience.

This perspective follows Papastergiadis's (2007/2000, p. 139) take on the concept, which he sees as an ongoing process that can lead to "new interpretations [that] can also disperse and multiply". In his later paper, Papastergiadis (2011, p. 2, own emphasis) further specifies a complex sequence within the process of cultural translation that is initiated by 'an original moment of encounter': '*interpretation, selection, assemblage and reconfiguration*'.

Maitland (2017), however, identifies five stages of cultural translation, with interpretation being an early step, as it is for Papastergiadis:

- (1) Interpretation,
- (2) Distanciation,
- (3) Incorporation,
- (4) Transformation,
- (5) Emancipation.

The first stage, *interpretation* of a “‘plurivocal’ text” (p. 10) ultimately relates to human understanding where symbols and language are expressions of intention in a hermeneutic²³ sense and leads to “meaningfully oriented behaviour” (p. 47). It is noteworthy that for Maitland (2017) interpretation is an element and a stage of cultural translation, not just an equivalent or synonymous term denoting the transfer of meaning. In other words, for cultural translation, interpretation is only the beginning of the process.

The second stage is *distanciation*, which from Maitland’s (2017, p. 10) perspective is “an act of reading across a distance of time and space”. This effectively means reducing prior knowledge by applying semantic autonomy and reflection to interpretation as “meaning is not an essential substance that is immediately available” (p. 77). The distance that separates the reader (in their current situation) and text reception from the time and circumstances of the text’s production is realised at this stage of the process.

The third stage, *incorporation*, reflects situating “the text within the sociocultural context of the translator” (Maitland, 2017, p.10) through a process of appropriation, understood as a process of making own meaning, and by making sense of the text through “the denotative, connotative, illative, intentional [and] associative range of significations which are implicit in the original [...] but which the native auditor or reader has an immediate understanding of” (Steiner 1998, p. 261). This step is reminiscent of Wierzbicka’s (2002) concept of *cultural scripts* (further explored in section 2.3.2.2)

The fourth stage is *transformation* when “the transformation of meaning for a purpose” occurs, reworking the original and creating a new meaning. This is what Steiner (1998: 134) sees as an ‘imitative re-enactment’ that can lead to new potentially valid meanings, which in turn is similar to Papastergiadis’s

23 Although, hermeneutics and semiotics of culture seem to be the developments in the direction of isolating the translation of cultures as an individual category within cultural studies, it needs to be emphasised that cultural aspects have been incorporated into and studied in other disciplines such as sociology (i.e. cultural sociology), geography (i.e. cultural geography) or psychology (i.e. cultural psychology).

(2007/2000) ‘new interpretations’.

The last stage in the process of *cultural translation* identified by Maitland (2017) is *emancipation*, towards which the whole process leads. This final stage that can be seen as an outcome includes the translator’s self-improvement and enhanced criticality. Both are needed in “the terrain of difference” (p. 149) to aid individuals in building their knowledge and awareness of their place in the world.

Since ‘learning to live a new mode of life is not the same as learning *about* another mode of life’ (Asad 1992: 159, added emphasis), the *translation* and *interpretation of cultures* is not only related to linguistic translation, but it must also consider socio-cultural elements that become prominent in comparing and contrasting cultures (Clifford and Marcus 1986). Hence, interpretation is context- and time-dependent, which evokes Heidegger’s concept of *Da-sein* - the being explained as ‘always-being-my-own-being’, which requires a personal pronoun to be meaningful (Heidegger 1953/1998, p. 40) and ‘being-in-the-world,’ which explicates the relation of beings in space “with regard to their location in that space” (50).

To add to the complexity of TC and the diverse perspectives on the concept, Harish Trivedi (2007) accentuates the distinction between *translating culture(s)* (TC) and *cultural translation* (CT) as one of the main issues around the topic. The first concept encompasses the interpretation of culture(s) and its/their elements. The second term, however, refers to the cultural turn in translation studies, as observed by Susan Bassnett (1998a), that was initially aimed at progressing translation beyond the frame of a linguistic mechanical tool. Furthermore, Pratt (2010, p. 95) notes that the CT concept operates on contradictory terms in that “in naming itself it preserves the distances/distinctions it works to overcome”. Therefore, for Mary Pratt, as for Susan Bassnett, the translation paradigm is too rigid to capture the intricacies and subjectivity of cultural encounters.

This alleged rigidity of translation can be mitigated by the perspective adopted in postcolonial studies, which relates *cultural translation* to a range of processes

of cultural and linguistic blending and issues of identity and belonging as an aftermath of colonial times and rule; yet, as Papastergiadis (2007/2000) observes, cultural patterns of the times of globalisation differ from binary colonial patterns of how to approach cultural differences. Hence, the concept of *cultural translation* is a reminiscence of the afore-mentioned writings of Talal Asad and Homi Bhabha. Asad (1992) emphasises that, in its function, *cultural translation* seems to reflect the tasks of social anthropology that aim to establish a methodology for the translation of the cultural language. The latter echoes Edward T. Hall's (1959/1990, p. 25) reference to *culture* as the silent language that "controls behaviour in deep and persisting ways". In his analysis of Gellner's theory of social concepts, Asad (1992) further emphasises the interpretive method of comprehending cultures, which is contextual but can be excessive in nature. He observes that languages include not only discourse but also intentions and connotations; therefore, they carry more information than surface established definitions and meanings of words. Hence, the theory of interpreting actions in order to communicate successfully in a different cultural context, i.e. the theory of *translating cultures* is applicable to *inter-* and *cross-cultural* encounters that occur in migration and lead to the creation of *transcultural spaces*, the contact zones between cultures (Tomas 1996, Pratt 2008) where meanings are often negotiated, mediated and appropriated (Clifford 2003) and which

can sometimes be produced by representational dislocations or incomplete transformations in "systemically" based circuits of representation that have been deployed or that operate interculturally'

(Tomas 1996, p. 1).

Papastergiadis (2007/2000, p. 139), for whom transformation is an ongoing process, explains translation by analogy to a journey, which indeed is closely related to migration:

A translation never arrives at its destination port, it is forever conscious of its place of departure and unable to rest in any abstraction of its own destination. Never quite there, the translation continues to reinscribe itself in the process of journeying. These temporary reinscriptions, which are forms in the contestation between departure and arrival, are the signs with which diasporic communities enunciate themselves.

The concept of *translating cultures* is, therefore, related to theoretical

conceptualisations of *culture* and *identity/ies* as well as *cultural competence* in inter- and cross-cultural encounters. The phenomenon of the *translation of cultures* also reflects Michel Foucault's (2002) conviction that comprehension of matters and objects is a two-way process, in which individuals think about particular qualities of objects while their perspective is determined by the manner they were made to think about the object. Hence, in the context of migration, meanings are carried across; however, mediation and negotiation of meaning occur, together with elaboration as well as simplification of concepts and language choices (Tymoczko 2010, 2014).

Furthermore, Williams (1960 cited in Baldwin, E. et al. 2004, p. 31) also emphasises the significance of the processes of *cultural translation* and *interpretation* in the context of *cultural adaptation* in migration as he perceives patterns in meaning and relationships between those patterns as crucial for conscientious cultural analysis for they can expose "unexpected identities and [...] reveal discontinuities". This view is also shared by Berry (2009, p. 365) who stresses that in order to understand the interaction between cultural groups, "[i]t is essential to understand [the] pre-contact qualities of the groups that are now attempting to live together following migration".

Berry's observation resonates with Brislin's (2000, p. 4) assertion that the concept of *culture* becomes more intricate in the context of analysing cultural change as 'people's selections among cultural elements and individual differences are added'. By accentuating that assumptions, values and ideals are the 'invisible elements' that 'are not immediately obvious, [...] are stored in people's minds and consequently are hard for outsiders to see', Brislin (2000, p. 5) is also in agreement with Edward T. Hall (1966, p. 177) in that the cultural dimension of encounters is 'hidden from view' and 'determines how [an individual] perceives the world', that 'it is impossible for [an individual] to divest himself of his own culture' and that the 'natural act of thinking is greatly modified by culture' (Hall 1989/1976, p. 9).

Hence, cultural differences are further related to modes of thinking and interpreting, which can vary between cultures or systems. Paul Ricoeur's theory

of interpretation (as derived from hermeneutics²⁴) is another attempt to embrace the issue of *translating cultures* and the survival element of migrated lives. For Ricoeur (1976), *interpretation* (or *TC*) occurs whenever there is a gap. The ability to appropriately or correctly interpret signals and behaviours exposes the individual's lack of familiarity. Although this relates to Bhabha's (1994, p. 325) epistemological difference and indicates a beginning of a process (Maitland 2017), it also progresses towards hermeneutic guesswork and Lacan's concept of *incomplete Other*, according to which, in the Other there will always be a signifier missing. Therefore, Ricoeur (1976, p. 87) distinguishes between "surface [or] naïve" and "critical [or] depth" interpretation in order to explicate how understanding contributes to the internalized dialogue of an individual, which ultimately represents *interpretation*. The depth interpretation, compared by Ricoeur to depth semantics, is directly related to the essence of meaning and reference.

Ricoeur's perspective also evokes the Freudian transfer of meaning in the interpretation of images and dreams, which can never be accurately described in any language, but reflects hidden thoughts. Therefore, it can be assumed that in migration, the interplay of the native and host cultures will be significant for the individuals' process of adaptation while the translation of cultural elements will lead to the construction of a new, evolved identity and 'a new configuration', in Stuart Hall's (Akomfrah 2013) terms. Since 'every new configuration involves old elements and requires a change of perspective' (Akomfrah 2013), the *translation of cultures* involves a confrontation and contestation of novel cultural elements and prior cultural knowledge, with an aim of understanding new situations, values and points of reference. Yet, this may often involve patterns present in the cultural setting an individual is more familiar with, which depicts potential deep internalization of cultural codes and configurations (*gestalt*). It is therefore challenging, if not impossible, to assess the extent to which the interpretation of culture(s) is an approximation or appropriation, as defined by Sanders (2006, p. 28) as the 'wholesale rethinking of the terms of the original'. Yet, to be seen as cultural translation, the act of interpreting by an

²⁴ In modern English, the words *hermeneutics* and *translation* derive from Greek (*hermēneuein*) and Latin (*translatus*), though both denote *interpretation* and *transfer*.

individual must exhibit engagement ‘in a contemplative work of understanding’ addressed towards a specific object or substance (Maitland 2017, p. 53).

A further point in situating the *interpretation of culture(s)* within the realm of migrant adaptation is related to the ways of understanding the codes of practice of the host society, including the system of values, observed behaviour and attitudes. Claude Levi-Strauss

the question with which we are concerned, indeed, is not to discover whether or not a society can derive benefit from the way of life of its neighbours, but whether, and if so to what extent, it can succeed in understanding or even in knowing them.

(Levi-Strauss 1971/1996, p. 31)

Edward T. Hall (1989a, p. 3) also emphasises that in terms of encounters between cultures, ‘it is impossible to cooperate [...] unless we know each other’s ways of thinking’ and sees the answer to the question of how to live together in ‘evolving new alternatives, new possibilities, new dimensions’ rather than in ‘curbing human activities’. Decades later, these words have proven accurate, particularly in relation to intra-EU migration. In addition, ‘[t]he newness of migrant’ Bhabha (1994, p. 325), is an epistemological difference and can hence be compared to Walter Benjamin’s foreignness of language and the staging of cultural difference through the performative function of translation (Bhabha 1994).

Chambers (1994, p. 85-86), however, takes another angle to explain the intricacies of the *interpretation of cultures*. He refers to Bhabha’s ‘doubling of modernity’ to explain that not everything is the same even within a perceived single national²⁵ culture as

[w]e may share the languages of representation, but your history, your experience, cannot be simply exchanged for mine [as] each is marked in different ways; they contain elements (linguistic, religious, cultural historical) that are impossible to translate into the transparency of a common sense. In ensuing the dialogue of difference, our sense of each other is displaced, both of us emerge modified.

²⁵ The concept of national cultures has been widely disputed. In this thesis it is discussed in section 2.5.

The issue of difference is also discussed by Hall, E.T. (1976/1989, p. 63) who in his cultural analysis coins a term *cultural logic* that ‘works at a lower level, more basic level in the brain, a part of the brain that synthesizes but does not verbalize.’ Hence, as Hall explains, the response may not be easily understood if the recipient of the message does not have sufficient background knowledge or context familiarity to interpret the message as intended by the sender. Asad (1992, p.159), on the other hand, refers to “the business of identifying unconscious meaning in the task of “cultural translation”” and compares it to the work of a psychoanalyst rather than a linguist, which indicates that an individual’s interpretation, which can also be seen as representation, of a cultural element becomes a construct itself. This in turn falls into Derrida’s rereading of Benjamin and the concept of *afterlife* of constructs that imminently appears through the process of translation, as Susan Bassnett (1998b, p. 25) observes. The latter, however, can lead to a further debate of *cultural hybridity* (Bhabha) or *cultural valence* (Kłoskowska) as opposed to *cultural growth or evolution* of migrating individuals who are exposed to more than one cultural system. Maitland (2017, p. 27-8, original emphasis) argues that cultural translation is everyday practice of individuals in a globalised world brimming with difference as it is “an attempt to encapsulate that which we do not know within terms that we do”.

Owing to the complexity of intercultural encounters that include the *translation of culture(s)*, the following subsections shift the focus to the conceptualisations of *culture* and the concept and theorisation of *acculturation* in the context of migration and cultures in contact.

2.2 Conceptualising and Theorising *Culture(s)*

The concept of *culture* is complex and present in many academic disciplines as well as to multiple spheres of human existence. As has been alluded to in the section above about cultural translation, the concept of culture is complex. Therefore, in this section first an overview of the definitions of culture is presented, to be followed by a review of theories formulated in philosophy, critical theory and cultural studies.

2.2.1 Defining Culture

The word *culture* in English has Anglo-French and Latin roots. It originates from Latin *colere*, though in Middle English it was rather a borrowing from French, i.e. *culture* that was absorbed by the English language. In both cases, though, the meaning of the term was related to ‘cultivating land;’ however, around the 16th century the meaning was extended to more abstract constructs, such as *cultivation of the mind* or *manners* (Oxford Dictionaries 2015a). Hence, the term *culture* is used not only in Science, but also in Humanities and Social Sciences. Nonetheless, Hayes points out that in its scientific and human meanings, *culture* relates to ‘organism, purpose and process’ (Hayes 2002, p. 20).

One of the early definitions of the concept was presented by E. B. Tylor in 1871; however, according to Hall (1990) these definitions were imprecise. Later definitions of *culture*, owing to its multidimensionality, interdisciplinarity and multidiscursiveness, range from relatively simple to all-encompassing ones. The simpler definitions relate to the term *culture* rather than the whole concept while broader characterisations attempt to communicate the more complex denotations of existential nature. At the less complex extreme, Oxford Dictionaries (2015) provide general definitions of *culture*, such as (1) ‘[t]he arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively’, (2) ‘[t]he ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society’ or (3) ‘[t]he attitudes and behaviour characteristic of a particular social group’. In cultural studies, however, scholars tend to focus on the elements that construe deeper layers of meaning in order to reflect the processes that continually and infrequently occur in human interpersonal and social relations.

In scholarly terms, the various modern definitions of culture refer to structure (e.g. patterns or systems), beliefs, symbols, functions and purposefulness, processes and dynamism, or are critical, i.e. relate to power relations. Those characterisations seem to be shared by researchers from many academic communities. Whiten et al. (2012, p. 4) point out that the concepts of *tradition* and *learning from others* are often incorporated into or related to *culture*. It needs to be noted that in their comprehensive study, Baldwin, J.R. et al. (2012) present and discuss 313 attempts to defining culture that exist in scholarly work

across disciplines to date. They categorise those definitions into six groups: ‘(1) enumerative, (2) historical, (3) normative, (4) psychological, (5) structural and (6) genetic’ (Baldwin, J.R. et al. 2012, p. 8). Baldwin, J.R.’s et al. definitions also frequently include elements of tradition, learning, shared behavioural patterns, knowledge and experience, as it is for Whiten et al.

From the structural and systemic perspective, Geertz (1973, p. 89) sees *culture* as “[a]n historically transmitted pattern of meaning embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms” while Gudykunst and Kim (2003, p. 17) emphasise that the term ‘is reserved to refer to the systems of knowledge used by relatively large numbers of people’, i.e. national or ethnic groups. From the functional point of view, however, *culture* is neither ‘a force, nor a causal agent, but a context in which people live’ (Geertz 1973, p. 14) and

apart from its primary function of active adaptation to the environment, [it] has another, derivative, but no less important, function as an exact material and spiritual environment which mediates and reflects the human collectives (Tokarev, 1973 cited in Baldwin, J.R. et al 2012: 218).

The latter seems to be intersected with Hall’s (1990/1959) assumption of culture as communication, which relies on the premise that ‘[a]ny culture is primarily a system of creating, sending, storing and processing information’ (Hall and Hall 1987, p. 3).

Similarly, the notion of storing and processing information is also observable in Clifford’s (1986, p. 18) postmodern perspective when he argues that

[c]ulture, and our views of “it”, are produced historically, and reactively contested. There is no whole picture that can be “filled in,” since the perception and filling of a gap lead to the awareness of other gaps.

Therefore *culture* should be approached as an element that can be “contested, temporal, and emergent” (Clifford 1986, p. 19) and as an ultimate value that can be applied to individuals as well as serve as “a way of talking about collective identities” (Kuper 1999, p. 3).

Among many definitions of the concept, a possibly most comprehensive, though enumerative, characterisation of *culture* is presented by Larry Samovar and Richard Porter. It includes a list of predefined features that encompass the

attributes and peculiarities explicated also by other scholars and can be applicable to both individual and group migration contexts. Namely, *culture* is

[t]he deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving.

(Samovar and Porter 2003, p. 8)

Brislin (2000, p. 4) asserts that '[c]ulture refers to shared values and concepts among people who most often speak the same language and live in proximity to each other'. He emphasises that this psychological definition becomes more intricate in the context of analysing cultural change as 'people's selections among cultural elements and individual differences are added'. From the evolutionist point of view, *culture* can be defined as 'the ideas, skills, attitudes, and norms that people acquire by teaching, imitation, and/or other kinds of learning from other people' (Richerson and Christiansen 2013, p. 3). Nonetheless, regardless of the applied lens or angle, *culture* possesses a set of pertinent features. Samovar and Porter (2003) elicit five main characteristics of *culture* while Brislin (2012) focuses on as many as twelve essential features of the concept.

Table 1 presents a comparison and overlap of the elements of the two sets of *cultural* attributes. While Samovar and Porter (2003) are less specific in their choice of features and limit the number of cultural attributes to five, Brislin (2012) identifies twelve main characteristics of *culture*. When compared, there is a significant overlap between the two lists. Although the omnipresence of *culture* is highlighted by Samovar and Porter, for Brislin the ubiquity of *culture* seems to be an evident component that underpins all the discussed elements; however, the discrepancy between the two views on the attributes of culture depicts such cultural features as flexibility, changeability and diachronicity.

Geert Hofstede (2001), however, for the purposes of his study of first organizational and then also national cultures, defines culture as 'the collective mental programming of the human mind which distinguishes one group of people from another [and] influences patterns of thinking which are reflected in

the meaning people attach to various aspects of life and which become crystallized in the institutions of a society.’ The above three sources, however, seem to corroborate Edward T. Hall’s (1989a) view on the main characteristics of culture.

Table 1: Attributes of Culture Table 1: Attributes of Culture

Attributes of Culture	
According to Samovar and Porter (1997: 10-11)	According to Brislin (2012: 84-87 and 2000)
symbolic	consists of ideals, values and assumptions
	shown to be person-made part of the environment
transmitted from generation to generation	transmitted from generation to generation
learnt/not innate	learnt through experience
	not discussed , but taken for granted
	influences behaviour
ethnocentric	cultural influence is exposed in interaction with others
	from very different backgrounds
	brings emotional response to violation of one’s cultural assumptions
	gives guidance to behaviour in a series of scripts
	varies in different dimensions
	enables and aids ‘ filling in the blanks ’ for familiar behaviours
subject to change	does not change quickly

For the purpose of this thesis, an overview of relevant definitions of *culture* has been presented in this section; however, the definition by Samovar and Porter (2003) seems to be the one that is most comprehensive and inclusive of a wide variety of aspects that can be easily related to migrated lives while Hofstede’s definition exhibits high relevance to the main focus of the study, i.e. cultural translation for adaptation. Since migration of individuals prompts questions of identity, communication, perception, and adaptation, *culture* falls precisely on the intersection of those elements and becomes a multilayered and multidimensional subjective matter.

2.2.2 Cultural Meaning Making

Having presented a spectrum of definitions of *culture*, this section focuses on a brief overview of intellectual, philosophical and cognitive approaches to *cultural meaning* and its conceptualisations in modern and post-modern times, with a particular reference to the context of migration and acculturation. Although, as mentioned, the concept of *culture* has been dominated by the poststructuralist scholarly discourse, oriented at exploring *identity* and power relations within and among communities, the schools of thought that undertook the task of theorizing culture often drew upon linguistic and language-related theories. This depicts the interrelation and interdependence of *culture* and *language* in the process of meaning construction.

In order to address a broad range of culture-related elements, various intellectual approaches have been applied and theories devised. The latter are often related to social structures, systems and methods of communication, patterns of meaning and their correspondence to the perception and expression of the surrounding world. All of those elements are interconnected and their reciprocity contributes to the complexity of human socio-cultural existence.

In terms of intellectual and theoretical approaches to explaining how culture and meaning are constructed, disciplines such as anthropology or sociology attempted to embrace the concept of culture, though from different perspectives and for distinct purposes, by drawing from philosophy and critical theory. The latter serves as philosophy and a method of influencing the socio-political-cultural sphere by critiquing modernity. It is noteworthy that with regard to intellectual approaches to *culture*, varying traditions (also referred to as schools of thought) and paradigms of analysis have been developed on the Euro-American intellectual axis. The most prominent ones include structuralism, semiotics or semiology, functionalism, evolutionism, relativism, poststructuralism, postmodernism, second (Ulrich Beck) or liquid (Zygmunt Bauman) modernity and postcolonialism. In addition, theorists that contributed to the field of cultural studies were also gathered in a number of intellectual and research circles, such as the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research (Institut für Sozialforschung – IfS) – the founding body of the Critical theory; the Centre for

Contemporary Cultural studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham – the starting point for Cultural studies; the Bakhtin circle – contemporaries of structuralists, yet the predecessors of Poststructuralism; the North American tradition of Cultural Anthropology; and the Tartu School of Semiotics – a centre for semiotic analysis of cultures with a focus on Slavic cultures and languages. Each of these traditions and schools has contributed to the present day Euro-American conceptualisations of culture, hence they will be briefly discussed in this section to demonstrate the relevance of their concepts to the research project *Translating Cultures, Adapting Lives*.

In order to situate the relevance of critical theory for cultural analysis, it is essential to explicate its purpose. Among the attempts of defining the critical approach in approaching and analysing *culture*, a prominent explanation was rendered by Max Horkheimer (1937/2002) who maintained that in an effort of achieving ‘a state of affairs in which there will be no exploitation or oppression’ (241) and ‘society without injustice’ (p. 221), critical theory sheds ‘critical light on present-day society [...] under the hope of radically improving human existence’ (p. 233). Therefore, ‘[i]ts goal is man’s emancipation from slavery’ (p. 246) as it

has the dialectal function of measuring every historical stage in the light not only of isolated data and concepts but of its primary and total content, and of being concerned that this content be vitally operative.

(Horkheimer 1937/2002), p.251).

This seems parallel to the notion of contextualising culture in socio-historical terms. For Marcuse (1989, p. 58) as well, “the critical theory of society was constantly involved in philosophical as well as social issues and controversies [as] it began as a critique of that consciousness [i.e. philosophy]”.

Dialectics are also Kevin Avruch’s (2016, p. 99) view on culture as the root of potential conflicts. He perceives the characteristics and roles of mediation in the process of conflict resolution as facilitative, evaluative, transformative, narrative, insights or mediation-arbitration. The latter is of lesser significance in the socio-cultural context as arbitration may not be an element relevant to cultural encounters in migration contexts. Yet, mediation is pertinent to cultural

contacts and through a negotiation and appropriation lens is therefore directly related to the notion of *translating cultures*.

A critical method of enquiry is relevant to the TCAL study in that the conducted research project was oriented at how migrants construct their reality in the host culture to address the question of how to improve or enhance the experience for both migrant and local communities. Hence, the critical theory approach provides the means for a critical evaluation of cultural aspects of migrants' lived experience. It needs to be emphasized, though, that although Marxist theories and Gramsci's concept of *hegemony* underlie much of the theory of both fields, i.e. critical theory and cultural studies, it seems that the category of cultural hegemony is not pertinent to the migration context within the European Union as there is no inherent conflict understood as cultural oppression, dominance or other form of cultural imperialism. Hence, the selection of conceptualisations of culture for the theoretical framework of the TCAL study excludes hegemony as a concept of limited suitability in this specific case.

The multitude of approaches and schools of thought in the exploration of the concept of *culture* is directly related to its ubiquity, pervasiveness and, as Avruch (2016, p.13) puts it, its "heterogenous nature". Therefore, embracing the notion of *culture*, requires inter-disciplinarity and intersectionality as it is felt that single self-contained disciplines can provide somewhat constricted view of the concept. Therefore, within cultural studies and critical theory, a cluster of linear and non-linear approaches has been developed in order to redefine and reassess the notions of *meaning*, *identity*, *communication* and *power*. The linear route refers to systems and structural elements of the cultural environment that can have a clearly identifiable sequential path, i.e. language(s) or social structure, whereas the non-linear modes involve cross-referencing, interrelatedness and shifting or blurred boundaries. Hence, *culture* is treated either as a derivative of structure (structuralism and functionalism) or as multiple interpretations of the surrounding world that are related to particular socio-political and socio-economic contexts (postmodernism, poststructuralism, postcolonialism and relativism). Therefore, the latter approaches tackle multi-dimensional and often interconnected issues of *ideology*, *subjectivity*, *otherness*,

representation, race, gender, textuality, time and space.

From the structuralist perspective, *culture* is a system of codes while meaning can be produced by encoding messages and then reproducing them in social realms. This approach exhibits affinity with the Hegelian concept of phenomenology and logic understood as the grammar of thinking (Hegel 2010). Yet, the theory that initiated the structuralist view on culture was Ferdinand de Saussure's study of *semiology* and, concurrently developed in America, C. S. Peirce's philosophical system, *semiotics* (Baldwin, E. et al. 2004). Semiology hence is 'a science that studies the life of signs [...] and] show[s] what constitutes [them], what laws govern signs' (Saussure 1974 cited in Easthope and McGowan 2005, p. 3). For Saussure, language as a system of signs was the main focus of analysis, not culture, because the meaning of signs is concealed within cultural traditions and practices of a given language. Since '[w]ithout language, thought is a vague, uncharted nebula' (Saussure 2005, p. 2), ideas are assigned with *value* and denote certain meanings. Hence in the proposed theory of *signification*, Saussure argues that a sign comprises of two elements: a *signified* – a concept or idea and a *signifier* – the material representation of the concept (Baldwin, E. et al. 2004; O'Shaughnessy and Stadler 2010). The two are vertically mutually dependent as counterparts of a self-contained unit (*signification*) and horizontally related to other signs (*value*) as '[l]anguage is a system of interdependent terms in which the value of each term results solely from the simultaneous presence of the others' (Saussure 2005, p. 7). A further point raised by Saussure (2005) focused on binarism, which markedly influenced the structuralist approach to *culture* and was further developed by Lotman et al. (1975, p. 3) for whom the concept of culture is 'inseparably linked with the opposition of its "non-culture"' with all the implications it has for the culture-related concepts of *identity*, *belonging* and *space*.

Notwithstanding the popularity of Saussure's theory, his contemporaries from the Bakhtin Circle, a group of Russian linguists who in later years conducted research in the United States, not the Soviet Union, critiqued abstract objectivism, a term they used for the theories proposed by the Geneva School of F. Saussure. The main criticism regarded the rationalist rigidity of the view that

language could be seen as an ‘objective fact external to and interdependent of any consciousness [...], represented as a system of self-identical, immutable norms’ (Voloshinov 1929/1994: 31). Conversely, they postulated that the fact that words are loaded with meaning originating from either behaviour or ideology means that the interlocutor can respond only to words that are engaging in social and ideological terms. Voloshinov (1929/1994, p. 33) clarifies that

the task of understanding does not basically amount to recognizing the form used, but rather to understanding it in a particular, concrete context [...] to understanding its novelty and not to recognizing its identity.

Hence, by linking textuality to social factors, the theorists from the Bakhtin circle established the significance of context for the comprehension of any utterance, which preceded poststructuralist theories that dominate current discourse of *culture* and *identity*. Contextualising utterances also relates to the role context plays in cross-cultural encounters and the notions of migrant’s prior knowledge and social context emphasised by researchers in the field of cross-cultural psychology (see section 2.4).

Notwithstanding, Saussure’s assertions of interdependence of signs and Voloshinov and Bakhtin’s context theory are also supported by scholars from the Tartu School of Semiotics who maintained that ‘[n]one of the sign systems possesses a mechanism which would enable it to function culturally in isolation’ (Lotman et al. 1975, p. 3); therefore, with reference to Slavic languages, they built the theory of the semiotics of culture that addresses functional connections between sign systems. For Lotman et al. (1975, pp. 19, 21) *culture* ‘may be regarded as a hierarchy of particular semiotic systems’, though they emphasise that “a single isolated semiotic system, however perfectly it may be organized, cannot constitute a culture”. Therefore, by proposing an analogy between *the collective* and *an individual*, they advocate that culture ‘may be understood [...] as a certain collective mechanism for the storage and processing of information’. Such an interpretation of the concept of *culture* leads Lotman et al. (1975) to further explicate that in semiotic terms *culture* and *memory* operate in the same manner, though at different levels, which correlates *culture* with the concepts of *cultural identity* and, for some philosophers and scholars (for example Leszek Kołakowski or Ruth Wodak), also *national identity* (as discussed in section

2.5.1.3).

Those functional links emphasized by Yuri Lotman hold similarities to the functionalist approach common within the tradition of American Cultural Anthropology and can be best summarized by Bronisław Malinowski's (1944/1979, p. 67) plea that culture 'must be understood as a means to an end, that is, instrumentally or functionally' despite the fact that culture 'includes also some elements which apparently remain tangible, inaccessible to direct observation, and where neither form nor function is very evident (p. 69). In general, *culture*, for Malinowski (1944/1979, p. 36), is 'a vast apparatus, partly material, partly spiritual, by which man is able to cope with concrete, specific problems that face him'. Furthermore, by putting emphasis on the issue of an individual's active involvement in reconfiguring their environment, Malinowski seemed to have opposed Durkheim's view that individuals are passive followers of the traditions of their community (Thompson et al. 1990).

Despite practical facets of culture, the dominant issues in cultural analysis predating the emergence of cultural studies as a discipline were form and structure. Claude Levi-Strauss also used an analogy of structure, in this case grammar, to explain that culture comprises established patterns and to understand cultural information all individuals have decoding means in the form of deep grammar or the unconscious, though the latter differs from Freud's unconscious (Murray 2004, p. 433, Badcock 2015, p. 87). For Jacques Lacan, the unconscious is also related to structure, language in particular, as it reflects those processes that surpass conscious thought and can interfere with language, causing its malfunction. Hence, in Seminar XI, Lacan refers to the unconscious as an 'impediment' or 'failure', as a gap in the symbolic order that epitomizes the subject (Homer 2005, p. 68). 'The unconscious is that part of concrete discourse qua transindividual, which is not at the subject's disposal in reestablishing the continuity of his conscious discourse' (Lacan 2006, p. 215). Therefore, Lacan's *unconscious* as language is subjected to the rules of the signifier and constitutes 'the Other's discourse' (Lacan 2006, p. 219), which together with Carl Gustav Jung's concept of the *collective unconscious* may significantly contribute to the understanding of the processes of the formation

of *cultural identity* in the context of migration (see section 2.5.1.3); however, it is in opposition to Gregory Bateson's perspective (1972b, p. 139), in which the 'algorithms of the heart, [...], of the unconscious' are 'coded and organised entirely differently from the algorithms of language' as they are 'doubly inaccessible' and organised 'in terms of *primary process*' [original emphasis]. Yet, Pym (2007: 2) observes that 'our subjectivity, both conscious and unconscious, comes into being only through linguistic exchanges', though Chomsky (Osiatynski 1984, p. 96) maintains that 'there is a kind of non-linguistic thought going on which we are trying to represent in language, and we know that sometimes we fail'. Both of those views reflect the bonding feature of language for a community (see section 2.3.4)

Nonetheless, the structuralist approach to cultural analysis, adopted by Saussure and later Roland Barthes, aimed to elucidate the relation between signs and their meanings. In his focus on the narrative, Barthes identified a number of codes that facilitate a reader's understanding of the meaning of a text: (1) the *hermeneutic* code – regulates the enigma, (2) the *semic* code – discloses the characters and their personalities, (3) the *symbolic* code – depicts symbols, (4) the *proairetic* code – refers to the sequence of actions and events and (5) the *cultural (referential)* code – discloses references to science, art and knowledge (Novak 1997). Those codes can also be employed for the purpose of the analysis and interpretation of cultures that occur in migration as they may emphasise different layers of confusion that can potentially arise in attempts of constructing meaning of the host culture. Furthermore, Barthes's (1973/2002: 62) *signified* 'has a hermeneutic value' and comprises two types: (1) *denotative*, which is the 'meaning [...] mingled with truth' and (2) *connotative*, 'an insufficient half truth' that 'has a qualifying value'. Therefore, in intercultural terms a full comprehension of meaning that is complex and multi-layered requires not only decoding, but also some substance and/or a mechanism that will allow to fill the gaps that inevitably occur due to socio-cultural discrepancies.

Michel Foucault also perceived *culture* as a system with elements that can be explored. He emphasized a mutual influence between culture and structure; however, his perspective on culture was dominated rather by the analysis of

discourse, knowledge and power. When analysing the culture of the self in Hellenic and Roman times, Foucault (1982/2005, p. 179) defined *culture* as “a hierarchical organization of values that is accessible to everyone but which at the same time gives rise to a mechanism of selection and exclusion”. *Hierarchy*, therefore, seems to have apparent connotations with *structure* while *selection* and *exclusion* relate to *identity*, *interpretation* and *context*.

In the poststructuralist view on *culture*, however, the structuralist understanding of existing patterns, structures and binary oppositions is too rigid; therefore, *culture* should be considered as a network of interrelated *meanings* that are context-dependent and subject to change. Hence, poststructuralist theorists such as Jacques Derrida, emphasized that it is not the cultural form, but the *representation* of culture and multiple realities that needs to be studied to gain possibly most comprehensive understanding of culture. Hence, in an attempt to comprehend the meaning of a cultural text, *deconstruction* needs to be applied as the gaps and inconsistencies will reveal the level of *subjectivity* of the studied text (Baldwin, E. et al. 2004, O’Shaughnessy and Stadler 2010).

The term *deconstruction* was introduced by Jacques Derrida who maintained that in order to understand a system and its governing hierarchy, first the very core of the system needs to be identified. Only then can the elements and their relations be understood.

The movements of deconstruction do not destroy structures from the outside. They are not possible and effective, nor can they take accurate aim, except by inhabiting those structures. Inhabiting them in a certain way, because one always inhabits, and all the more when one does not suspect it. Operating necessarily from the inside, borrowing all the strategic and economic resources of subversion from the old structure, borrowing them structurally, that is to say without being able to isolate their elements and atoms, the enterprise of deconstruction always in a certain way falls prey to its own work.

Derrida (1976, p. 24)

Furthermore, the *context*, which according to Derrida is never exclusively contemporary, is vital for greater comprehension of the system (Sharman 2004, p. 87). This is also in line with the theory of cultural translation, as established in section 2.1, and with the theory of inter- and cross-cultural contacts, including *acculturation* and cultural adaptation (see section 2.3). Moreover, Derrida’s concept of *différance*, ‘an economic concept designating the production of

differing/deferring' (Derrida 1976, p. 23), and its application to language is a further development of Saussure's theory of *meaning* being derived from the interaction of two opposing terms and Bakhtin and Voloshinov's theory of understanding a particular *context*. For Derrida, *meaning* is also differential; however, it is not based on binary oppositions as it can be acquired from an infinite number of expressions, not just two (Sharman 2004, p. 88–89). Unlike Saussure, Derrida insists that *meaning* goes beyond the signifier and, therefore, may not be easily located as each signified (or concept) can become a signifier or, as Derrida (1976, p. 23) puts it, 'the difference between signified and signifier is nothing'. This can be best exemplified by dictionary entries that lead to a further investigation of terms included in the definition itself. Furthermore, Derrida's concept of *meaning* seems to be also related to Ludwig Wittgenstein's and Richard Rorty's view that *meanings* can be vague as they are products of contingent situations, hence, are not intrinsic (Cavallaro 2001, p. 11–12, Biletzki and Matar 2014).

Therefore, establishing *meaning* seems to be a contextualized chain reaction to exposure to concepts, which Derrida (1976, p. 7) refers to as a "'signifier of the signifier" [that] describes [...] the movement of language'. He further explains that '[t]here is not a single signified that escapes [...] the play of signifying references that constitute language' (Derrida 1976, p. 7) and reiterates that 'fundamentally nothing escapes the movement of the signifier' (pp. 22–23). Due to its broad sense, such a view seems to be the epitome of a poststructuralist approach to language and *culture* as the sense of existence is not, according to Derrida (1976, p. 23) "a transcendental or trans-epochal signified (even if it was always dissimulated within the epoch) but already, in a truly unheard of sense, a determined signifying trace" (Derrida 1976, p. 23). This leads Derrida to a further claim that in an endeavour to understand a concept, individuals first attempt to construct a provisional *meaning* of the notion before gaining a deeper grasp of it (Sharman 2004, p. 87–90), which is highly applicable to conceptualisations and translation of culture(s) in an inter-cultural setting that is inherent to migration.

Another approach to *culture* related to the significance of *context* for the grasp

of meaning is relativism. As opposed to structuralists who advocate rigid structures as a basis of cultural analysis, relativists propound that values and truth are relative and context-dependent; hence, *cultural* relativists postulate that human behaviour and mindset reflect the socio-cultural background of individuals and should be considered in any cultural analysis. Therefore, *culture* ‘does not imply normlessness for oneself or for one’s society [but] it call[s] for one to suspend judgement when dealing with groups or societies different from one’s own’ (Hofstede 2001, p. 15). This in turn does not oppose poststructuralist views and the theory of *deconstruction*. *Relativism*, however, was initially what Grote (1900, p. 183) called ‘nationalism’ and disapprovingly referred to as ‘giving a mere logical puzzle as a supposed wholesome humbling of the intellect’ or a ‘masquerade’ that ‘render[s] clear thought impossible’ (228). Wilhelm Krug (1938 quoted in Baghrarian and Carter 2015) also explicated that ‘the assumption that everything which we experience and think (the self, the idea of reason, truth, morality, religion etc.) is only something relative, and therefore has no essential endurance and no universal validity’. Despite the criticism, *relativism* in philosophy has been extensively influenced by Friedrich Nietzsche’s thesis of interpretation and adjustment of the surrounding world for the needs and ideals of individuals for “there is only a perspective seeing, only a perspective knowing” (Nietzsche 1886/1998 III, p.12). This correlates with Maitland’s (2017, p. 53) stages of cultural translation in that interpretation, the first stage, involves ‘contemplative work of understanding’. Hence, a relativist approach to *culture*, as Boski (2009, p. 580) emphasises, can prevent individuals from the pitfalls of ethnocentrism.

Yet another approach to the exploration of *cultural* meaning making is related to the theories of evolution. Although Charles Darwin’s theory of the survival of the fittest features in nature has been mainly applied in biosciences, parallel interpretations can be drawn in the fields of *culture* and spiritual life of humans. The term *evolution* has positive connotations of growth, development and improvement; however, the atrocities of the 20th century proved that those positive association can be manipulated in order to justify unethical and inhumane actions. Nonetheless, despite the blame on Darwinism for the rise of

racist and discriminatory theories and practices²⁶ (Caudill 1997), the theories of *cultural* evolutionism regained scholarly interest from the 1960s onwards. In their study on cultural transmission and evolution, Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman (1981, p. 7) employed the term *cultural* with reference to “traits that are learnt by any process of nongenetic transmission, whether by imprinting, conditioning, observation, imitation or as a result of direct teaching”.

Furthermore, the evolutionist and relativist theories of socio-cultural construction, modification and accumulation by individuals imply that *culture* is a cumulative element that can be seen in the category of capital and investment. Pierre Bourdieu’s sociological theory of *social* and *cultural capital* and James Coleman’s and Robert Putnam’s construction of *social capital*, which are all pertinent to the study of translating cultures as an element of adaptation in the context of migration, provide background theory for this view. While for Bourdieu capital, whether social or cultural, is related to individuals and serves as a currency used by them to pursue status and regulate power relations within their group, Coleman and Putnam situate social capital within social organization and accentuate the value of social networks for the development of individuals. Bourdieu (1984, p. 122) defines social capital as ‘a capital of social connections, honourability and respectability’, with an emphasis on the fact that both cultural and social capital are ‘aggregate of the actual or potential resources [...] linked to[...] a durable network’, so are a cumulative product of labour (Bourdieu 1986, p. 249). Coleman (1994, p. 300), however, explains that what constitutes social capital is ‘the set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community social organisations and that are useful for the cognitive and social development.’ These resources vary among individuals and help establish obligations, trust and reciprocity. The last two features are also accentuated by Putnam (2000, p. 19) in his definition of social capital as ‘connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them.’

Field (2008) emphasizes that while the *cultural* element has positively

²⁶ The atrocities committed by the Third Reich and theories of, for example, Joseph Tenenbaum in *Race and Reich: The Story of an Epoch* (Caudill 1997).

contributed to the theory of *social capital*, a detailed exploration of issues of *intimacy* and *trust* within social sciences reflects concerns regarding everyday interaction and personal relationships in communities. The latter issue of *trust* is particularly important for the concept of *translating culture* and the TCAL study as it becomes significant for migrants' construction of life and everyday issues in the host culture. At the same time the issue of *trust* or lack thereof in migrants reveals the need for contextualizing those entrants within particular elements of their cultural, social and linguistic background. Although *trust* as a social issue was explored academically in the 1990s, it is highly relevant to the post-accession Polish migration wave as society of the end of the 20th century either shaped or contributed to the *cultural identity* and capital of the studied migrant community and therefore had an impact on the adaptation and acculturation of Polish migrants in the host culture in the UK.

2.3 *Acculturation: The Concept and its Theorisation*

Crossing borders and entering boundaries of different cultures instantly puts individuals in the situation where the surrounding may no longer be taken for granted and therefore some adjustment may be required. This is best reflected in the concept of *acculturation*. The term itself denotes social, behavioural and psychological changes induced by cross-cultural encounters, which are apparent in the context of migration and often lead to *cultural adaptation* of individuals or groups of people to the chosen or target social group. Although the phenomenon has been observed throughout human history, one of the early definitions of the term *acculturation* was provided by Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton and Melville Herskovits (1936, p. 149) as a concept that

comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.

In line with Redfield et al.'s (1936) conceptualisation, though predating it, was William Isaac Thomas and Florian Znaniecki's (1918) classification, description and analysis of behavioural patterns and attitudes observed among Polish migrants to the United States towards the end of the 19th century. Their seminal study *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* was one of the most

comprehensive anthropological studies tackling the issues of cultural adaptation of migrating individuals. Yet, the terminology, typology and categorisation related to adaptive processes developed in later research across disciplines such as cultural studies, psychology, sociology and linguistics (or language studies), with John W. Berry's (1980) bidimensional model of psychological *acculturation* being one of the best developed theories in the field. Berry's approach to acculturation reached beyond earlier unidimensional and assimilationist, models of acculturation that were based on assumptions of changing cultural identity and viewed the process of cultural adaptation merely as "second culture acquisition" (Rudmin cited in Berry 2009: 368). At the same time, this bidimensional model enabled the development of other frameworks and approaches that can capture the rapidly changing field of cultural encounters in the context of migration (see section 2.3.2).

2.3.1 John W. Berry's Model of Psychological Acculturation

John W. Berry (2005: 698) defines *acculturation* as a 'dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members' and reflects varieties of adaptation in cultural encounters. Berry's *acculturation framework*, in his early work (see Berry 1980) and in later conceptualisations (see Berry 2001, 2005 and 2009), is a bidimensional model in that it emphasises the need to consider migrants' heritage culture or culture of origin and the newly entered culture. It is therefore based on questions related to (1) the retention of culture (cultural identity), labelled in his later work as 'cultural maintenance' (Berry 1997: 9 and 2001, p. 617) and (2) the relations with the host (dominant) cultural group, later referred to as 'contact and the resultant participation' (Berry 1997, p. 9 and 2001, p. 617). An individual's careful deliberation over or personal preference regarding the maintenance of heritage values and acceptance of newly encountered principles, in addition to a range of socio-cultural experiences in the community of settlement, can lead to the adoption of one of four possible intercultural strategies: *integration*, *assimilation*, *separation* (or segregation) or *marginalisation* (see Fig. 2). Brislin (2000, p. 8) emphasises that 'cultural values cannot be introduced quickly' as it is usually a longer process for individuals to

become accustomed to a new value and ‘to consider it as part of their culture’.

		Issue 1: Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's [cultural] identity and characteristics?	
		YES	NO
Issue 2: Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with larger society?	YES	<i>Integration</i>	<i>Assimilation</i>
	NO	<i>Separation / Segregation</i>	<i>Marginalisation</i>

Figure 2: Acculturation strategies (Berry 1997, p. 10)

The strategies take the perspective of the non-dominant group (Berry 1997), in this case migrants' settling into a new socio-cultural environment. When individuals prefer to maintain their cultural identity and interact with the host society and/or also absorb their characteristics, their strategy is defined as *integration*. In cases when they interact with the dominant cultural group and engross their values, while submerging or entirely resigning from the values of their culture of origin, they adopt the *assimilation* acculturative strategy. A case in point here is Redfield's et al. (1936) distinction between *acculturation* and *assimilation*, with an emphasis on the latter being a stage of the process of *acculturation*; yet, Berry does not seem to stress this element excessively. The remaining two strategies can be adopted when either there is a strong will to maintain the culture of origin, with minimal interaction with the host society, leading to *separation*, or when the culture of origin is neglected for various reasons, with also only minimal contact with the host society, resulting in *marginalisation*. It is noteworthy that *segregation* is observed when *separation* is enforced on or is expected of cultural groups. Similarly, *marginalisation* often occurs as a result of imposed or forced *assimilation*, in addition to *segregation* (Berry 1997).

The significance of Berry's bidimensional model is related to the proposed acculturation strategies that are not only based on individual's experiences, but

also somewhat determine the relationship between migrants and their host society. Therefore, when evaluating cultural encounters, with an attempt to comprehend the relationship(s) between the cultural groups in question, elements such as behaviour(s), attitudes and underpinning systems of values, beliefs and customs must be considered. As emphasised by Berry (2009, p. 365),

[m]igrants bring cultural and psychological qualities with them to the new society; and the new society also has a variety of such qualities. The compatibility (or incompatibility) in religion, values, attitudes, personality (etc.) between the two cultural communities in contact needs to be examined as a basis for understanding the acculturation process that is set in motion. It is also important to understand the nature of their contact relationships.

It can be therefore assumed that building a rapport between cultural groups can be seen as an iterative process under which the cultural groups can acquire cultural elements from each other. However, the outcome of a cultural encounter depends on a range of factors and acculturative strategies deployed by individuals.

Although the *acculturation* model proposed by Berry initially focused on migrants' attitudes (Berry 2009: 36), in later studies Berry included features related to behaviour or identity to reflect a 'more comprehensive concept of acculturation strategies' (Berry 2009: 366). He argues that in cultural encounters, *adaptation* occurs on at least two levels: (1) cultural and (2) psychological and leads to adopting one of the above-mentioned acculturative strategies (Berry 2009). Figure 3 presents the flow of cultural and psychological components of the proposed *acculturation framework* (Berry 2009: 365). It is evident that contact and interaction between two or more cultures can lead to psychological *acculturation* directly or through a range of cultural changes. Ultimately, in migration contexts the process can lead to *adaptation* of individuals at psychological as well as socio-cultural levels. It is noteworthy though that while for Redfield et al. (1936), *acculturation* is an element of *cultural change*, for Berry (2005 and 2009) these are *cultural changes* that result in *acculturation*.

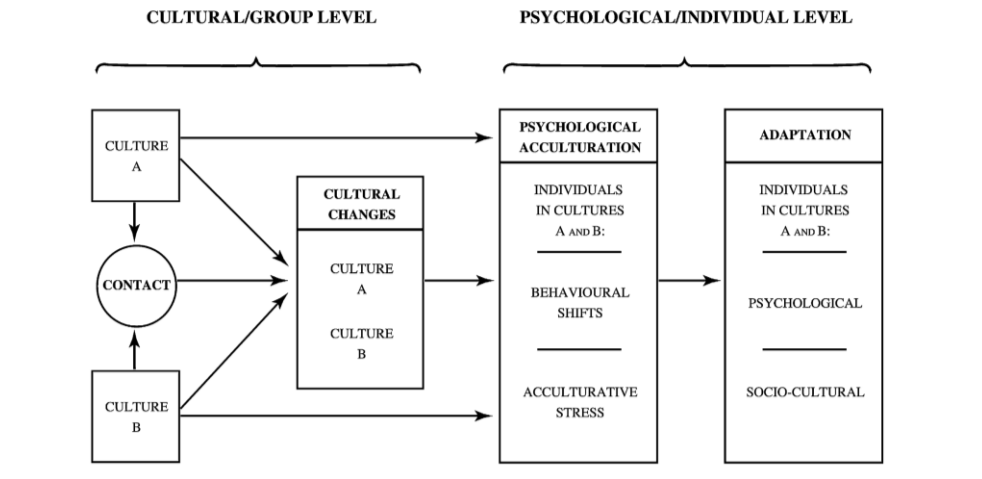


Figure 3: Berry's cultural and psychological acculturation framework (Berry 2005, p. 703 and 2009, p. 365)

In order to explicate his *acculturation framework* and explain a range of factors that influence the process of individuals' acculturation and their selection of an acculturative strategy, Berry (1997, p. 15) presents a set of '*situational variables*' and '*person variables*' that affect individuals experiencing or undergoing *acculturation*. Fig. 4 presents Berry's (1997, p. 15) sets of variables that are crucial for acculturation research studies. Those sculpting factors can be observed at different levels and from various perspectives: (1) group and individual and (2) within migrants' society of origin as well as the one of settlement.

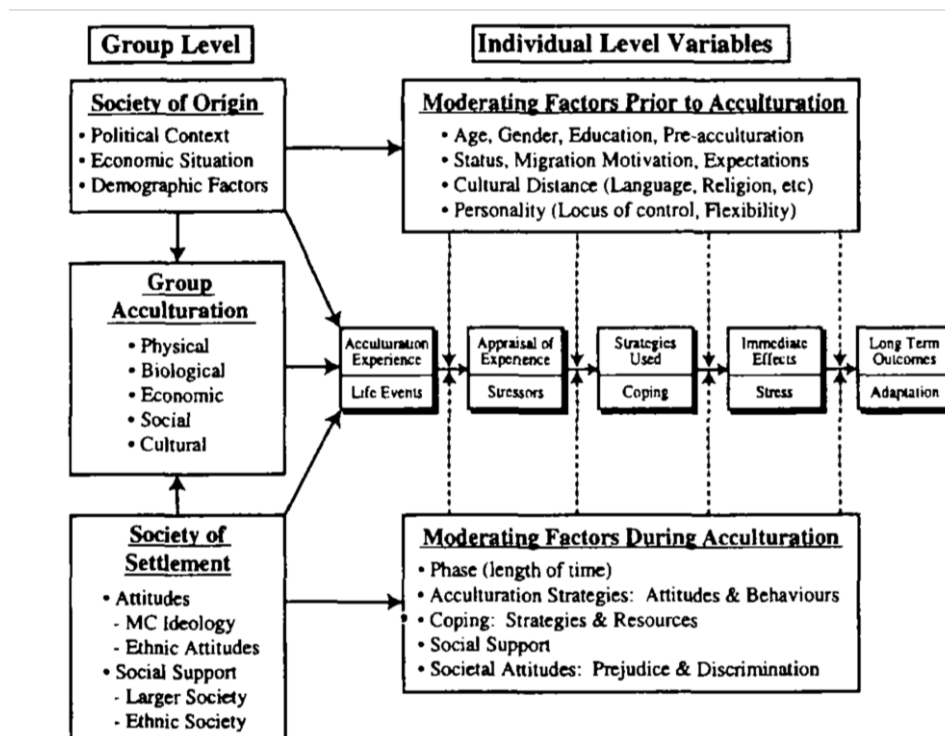


Figure 4: Berry's framework for acculturation research (Berry 1997, p.15)

It is evident from Berry's framework for acculturation research that the context of the culture of origin, including socio-political, economic, demographic and socio-cultural aspects, is as important as the conditions in the culture of settlement or host society. Of high significance are also factors that can have a moderating effect on the whole process of *acculturation* of migrating individuals. In the context of origin, these include elements such as age, gender, education in a broader sense, social and economic status, migration motivation and expectations, personality, language, or religion. These elements are complemented by factors in the host society, including length of the acculturation process, attitudes of migrating individuals and the host society, coping strategies, and available resources and support. Hence, it is apparent that acculturation is a complex and multi-level process that leads to an adoption of various strategies of adaptation and can have a range of acculturative outcomes.

Finally, all the elements need to be viewed also in relation to *acculturative stress*, which is Berry's (1997, p. 13) term for *culture shock* or Gullahorn and Gullahorn's (1963, p. 38) 'phase of adjustment' that reflects the 'psychological impact of the distortion or absence of familiar cues'. Therefore, Berry's framework includes stress factors as well as pressure and/or anxiety as

immediate or side effects of *acculturation* and life events that can determine acculturation experiences and the choice of strategies used by individuals in a variety of situations in their new environment.

2.3.2 Other Models of Cultural Adaptation and Acculturation

2.3.2.1 Early Models of Cultural Adaptation

Before J. W. Berry designed the *acculturation framework*, studies on *acculturation* and *cultural adaptation* also included analyses and interpretation of potential stages of the process of adjustment to a new/host culture. Yet, none of the models focused specifically on or included elements of the *translation* and *interpretation of cultures* as part of the adaptive and acculturative processes. Acculturation frameworks that were designed on the basis of Berry's bidimensional model have been oriented on multiple dimensions, interactivity and relativity of the process of *acculturation*; however, the theories and unidimensional models that preceded Berry's framework but also had a lasting impact on the field of *acculturation* and inter- and cross-cultural *adaptation* include Sverre Lysgaard's U-Curve model of cultural adjustment (Black and Mendenhall 1991) and John T. Gullahorn and Jeanne E. Gullahorn's W-Curve of intercultural sojourning, which was developed as an extension to the U-Curve hypothesis. Both models explored cultural *adaptation* on the basis of reported behaviour of migrants or sojourners.

A seminal study of international students' adaptation stages in the United States was conducted by Sverre Lysgaard in 1955. The results were reflected in the U-curve of cultural adjustment (see Fig. 5) which presented four main stages of the process of adjustment, i.e. honeymoon (euphoria), culture shock (confrontation, confusion, rejection), adjustment (accepting new norms) and mastery (biculturalism), expressed on a seven point scale of adjustment and spread over 49-month time frame (Black and Mendenhall 1991). As can be seen from Fig. 5, Lysgaard observed that the process of cultural adaptation involves a range of emotions, attitudes and responses related to cultural encounters in that arrival in a new culture can be a very positive experience at the beginning, which can then relatively quickly change into a stage of confusion (called by Lysgaard *culture shock*) when values and principles of the destination culture are confronted with

those of the culture of origin.

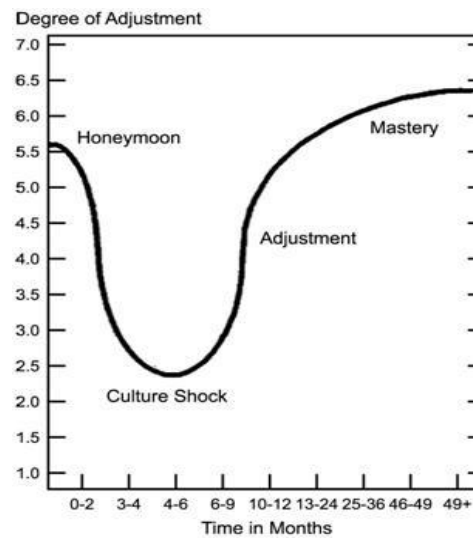


Figure 5: Lysgaard's U-Curve of Cultural Adjustment

Source: adapted from Black and Mendenhall (1991, p. 227)

After the initial downward progress in cultural adjustment and the lowest point at the time of about four-to six months after arrival, individuals can start a steady recovery, along their continuing familiarisation with the destination culture. A higher level of adjustment can be observed after at least two years after arrival in the new culture.

Lysgaard's U-Curve was also particularised by Peter Adler who, apart from a more in-depth analysis of the four stages of cultural adjustment, focused on defining and exploring *culture shock* in particular. For Adler (1975, p. 13),

[c]ulture shock is primarily a set of emotional reactions to the loss of perceptual reinforcements from one's own culture, to new cultural stimuli which have little or no meaning and to the misunderstanding of new and diverse experiences.

He also emphasises that this stage of cultural adaptation can be marked by negative emotions and "feelings of helplessness; irritability; and fears of being cheated, contaminated, injured, or disregarded" (Adler 1975, p. 13).

In the early 1960s, John T. Gullahorn and Jeanne E. Gullahorn developed the U-Curve into a W-Curve (see Fig 6), emphasising an equal importance of a *reverse culture shock* and readjustment upon the return to home culture (Spitzberg and Changnon 2009), though without providing any precise time frame. It can be

seen, however, that upon return to the culture of origin, re-acculturation can be as lengthy a process as the preceding adjustment to the destination culture. Gullahorn and Gullahorn's (1963) study included American lecturers and students who attempted to adjust to the culture(s) in France and then readjust to their home culture(s) in the United States.

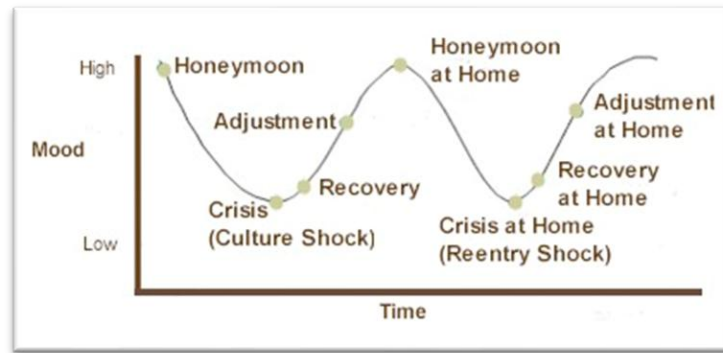


Figure 6: *The W-Curve of Intercultural Sojourning* (Gullahorn & Gullahorn's model
Source: adapted from www.mythsdreamssymbols.com

Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963, p. 34) define acculturation as a 'process of adult socialization occurring under the conditions where previous socialization offers varying degrees of facilitation and interference in the new learning context'. They further expound that socio-cultural expectations and value orientations play a complementary role in evaluating behaviour in an interaction. When they are not fulfilled, cultural gaps occur. Those can be frequently observed when 'an individual moves from one social system to another' (ibid) and attempts to adjust. The initial inability to read subtle cues in a situation of cultural contact can be related to an application a different cultural and linguistic framework on the interaction in question. Bennett et al. (1958, cited in Gullahorn and Gullahorn 1963, p. 37), on the example of status forms included in linguistic structures in Japanese as opposed to more egalitarian address forms in English, referred to such situations of cues misinterpretation as "status-cue confusion"²⁷. This could also be related to cultural (mis)interpretation. Furthermore, Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) emphasise that upon return to the culture of

²⁷ A humorous epitome of such disturbed complementariness of roles and status-cue confusion can be David Lodge's novel *Changing Places: A Tale of Two Campuses* (1975), though it refers to differences in cultural expectations between the United States and the United Kingdom.

origin, the experience is not so much traumatic due to relatively high familiarity with the home system of values. It can however trigger irritation and frustration over home practices, even though the latter did not seem to pose any controversy before individuals' acculturation to the destination culture. Hence, the influence of acculturation experiences on home readjustment and a resultant review of the system of values can be observed. Yet, Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) postulated a more detailed description and instancing of dimensions of cultural values as well as a development of methods to measure them in comparative cultural studies.

On the other hand, the models that drew on Berry's framework, developed in late 1990s and in the 21st century, investigated the four acculturative strategies, explored other dimensions of cultural adaptation or formulated alternative theories that could be more suited for the increased mobility, interconnectedness and intercultural contact of individuals in the modern world. The proposed and explored models and theories range from the Acculturation Gap - Distress Model (Szapocznik and Kurtines 1993) that proposes biculturalism enhancing training to improve intra-family interaction patterns and Birman's (1994) Differentiated Model of Acculturation that identifies several types of biculturalism, through the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) by Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault and Senéchal (1997), the Multidimensional Individual Difference Acculturation (MIDA) model (Safdar, Calvez, and Lewis, 2012; Safdar, Lay and Struthers, 2003; Safdar, Struthers and van Oudenhoven, 2009; and Berger et al. 2019), the Concordance Model of Acculturation (Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker and Obdržálek, 2000), the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (Navas et al., 2005), the Cultural Model of Acculturation (Boski 2009, pp. 548-550) the Tridimensional Acculturation Model (Ferguson, Bornstein and Pottinger 2012), the theory of basic values (Schwartz 1992 and 2012), to Kramer's (2012) alternative to acculturation. The various acculturation models could be grouped according to different criteria. For example, they could be classified as two- or three-dimensional representations of acculturative approaches. The different models can also be explored through the lens of focus and orientation, such as biculturalism and acquiring biculturality, values or acculturation variables. It is noteworthy, though, that despite various orientations of the models, there is

relatively little focus on gender differences in acculturation processes.

2.3.2.2 Acculturation Models Focused on Reaching Biculturality

A number of acculturation models are oriented at achieving biculturality by migrating individuals, though each of them has a slightly different focus, from individuals to migrant families.

The Acculturation Gap-Distress Model

The Acculturation Gap - Distress Model developed by José Szapocznik and William M. Kurtines in the early 1990s as a broadening of the concept of *contextualism*, tackles the ‘notion of individual within family within culturally diverse context’ (Szapocznik and Kurtines 1993, p. 400) to explore the concept of *embeddedness* and the impact diverse cultures can have on the acculturation processes of different members and generations of the same family. It assumes that differences in acculturation approaches among different members and generations of the same family lead to intergenerational and intercultural conflicts in migrant families as ‘different cultural alliances’ (Szapocznik and Kurtines 1993, p. 403) are developed. While expressing their hope that in the 21st century ‘cultural diversity will be respected, and perhaps even cherished and nurtured’ (Szapocznik and Kurtines 1993, p. 406), the scholars further propose an intervention in the form of the Bicultural Effectiveness Training (BET) (404), which is oriented at modifying family interaction patterns by aiding the development of competences to manage intra-family cultural differences that affect migrant family relations and adaptation in the host society. The proposed training consists of twelve therapy sessions, in which the conflict is reframed and new interactional patterns between generations develop and support all members of the family in better understanding of both cultures. Szapocznik and Kurtines (1993, p. 404) assert that biculturalism in migrant families can be achieved by developing ‘cross alliances between generations and cultures’.

A Differentiated Model of Acculturation

Dina Birman’s (1994) three-dimensional Differentiated Model of Acculturation stems from the idea of diversity and proposes an extended typology of

biculturalism from the perspective of identity and behavioural *acculturation*. Fourteen types of biculturalism arise from this acculturation framework. Three strategies in this model (*assimilation*, *separation* and *marginality*) resemble Berry's model and they seem to be simultaneously applicable to both elements: identity and behaviour. Similarly, *blended biculturalism*, which in this model is used instead of Berry's integration, occurs concurrently for both dimensions and refers to individuals who are 'likely to have synthesised, or "fused," the two [cultures]' (Birman 1994, p. 278). The remaining three frequent types of *biculturalism* consist of mixed styles. *Instrumental biculturalism* may represent marginality in terms of identity and belonging and *biculturalism* in terms of behaviour. Hence, individuals who adopt this strategy can often be seen as members of either of the cultures due to their "chameleonlike fashion" (Birman 1994: 278) of their behaviour, but their torn sense of identity and belonging can marginalise them. *Integrated biculturals* have a strong sense of identification with their culture of origin and they "may speak English with an accent but without embarrassment" (Birman 1994, p. 279); yet, their behaviour conforms to the cultural codes of both cultures. Lastly, the style of *identity exploration* is often observed in individuals who engage in the majority or destination culture, but at the same time they explore their roots and the culture of their ancestors, in which they may struggle to participate behaviourally despite their affiliation with that culture.

The Cultural Model of Acculturation

Paweł Boski's (2009, p. 548-550) Cultural Model of Acculturation (CMA), also referred to as 'acquiring biculturality', differs from Berry's in that individuals are tested against their acculturation level by a specialist; therefore, their perceived level of acculturation is a result of an assessment exercise and extends beyond self-reported adaptation. To achieve its goals, this model identifies two objective levels of culture (symbolic and axiological) and languages (first - L1 and second - L2) that play a major role in acquiring the target culture. The CMA model focuses on measuring cultural competences of individuals who in the migration context become bicultural through processes of *culturation* and *socialisation*. Therefore, the four acculturation strategies proposed by Berry

become redundant in this model.

In order to explain the elements that play a vital role in migrants' acculturation, Boski distinguishes between *symbolic identity*, in which ethnic and national symbols become important markers of belonging, and *axiological identity*, which is related to values and everyday practices realised through and within *social axioms*. These are understood as 'general beliefs' and 'basic premises that people endorse and use to guide their behaviour in daily living' (Bond et al. 2004, p. 552) and are conceptually related to *cultural scripts*, a term coined by Anna Wierzbicka (2002, p. 401). She defines them as 'representations of cultural norms that are widely held in a society and that are reflected in language' and by using an analogy to a term coined by a Russian semanticist Jurij Apresjan ('a naïve picture of the world'), she asserted that they present 'naïve axiology' (Apresjan 1974 cited in Wierzbicka 2002, p. 402). The adjective 'naïve', however, refers to individuals' entire familiarity with the norms, up to the point that they are assumed and not questioned.

As for the CMA model, Boski (2009, p. 549) also refers to culture acquisition by emphasising that the two types of identity use different transmission channels. While *symbolic identity* is shaped in the process of intentional learning and through exposure to the public discourse of a country, which after Kłoskowska (2001), Boski calls it a process of *culturation* (similar also to Edward T. Hall's *enculturation*), *axiological identity* is transmitted and acquired through *socialisation* processes. While *culturation* is associated with formal education and instructional settings, *socialisation* occurs through incidental learning.

Finally, in Boski's (2009, p. 550) CMA model, the transmission and acquisition of culture are related to cultural distance at all levels. While cultural proximity may result in conflicts at the symbolic level and linguistic and/or axiological similarity, cultural distance can bring the reverse, i.e. certain symbolic neutrality, with linguistic challenges and axiological conflicts.

2.3.2.3 Acculturation Models Oriented at Attitudes and Psychosocial Factors

There are also models of acculturation that are oriented at attitudes, individual

differences and psycho-social factors that have an impact on cultural adaptation.

The Multidimensional Individual Difference Acculturation Model (MIDA)

The MIDA model of acculturation explores migrants' inclinations and psychosocial factors that influence their *acculturation*. It is oriented at exploring the distinctive support roles of the Ingroup (a migrant's ethnic community) and the Outgroup (the larger society). The MIDA framework includes core acculturation factors organised under three main categories: (1) Psychosocial Resources, including internal factors such as 'personal Resilience, Self-perceived Cultural Competence' and 'social support from the larger society [Outgroup]'; (2) Co-national Connectedness, 'consisting of Ethnic Identity, Family Allocentrism, and perceived Ingroup Social Support' and (3) Hassles – 'chronic irritants' that can be either specific to *acculturation* processes or to general daily life (Safdar et al. 2012, p. 201, original capitalisation). The model predicts four possible *acculturation* attitudes, which are based on Berry's four acculturation strategies. It has been used for Iranian migrants in Canada (Safdar et al. 2003), the United States, the United Kingdom and in the Netherlands and later for groups of Russian and Indian migrants in Canada (Safdar et al. 2012). Although the MIDA model has effectively emphasised individual and group factors that impact on migrants' *acculturation* processes, some further development of the measurement of *acculturation* attitudes is recommended by the authors.

The Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM)

The Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) proposed by Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, and Senéchal (1997) focuses on acculturation orientations between migrant and host groups and aims to explore the process of acculturation from the perspective of relations and interaction between the communities in multicultural settings. It combines migrant and host community acculturation orientations into one framework, which can have a potentially supportive effect on policy making. The model measures acculturation orientations, using immigrant acculturation scale (IAS), which is an altered version of Berry's scale, and a host community acculturation scale (HCAS). The various combinations of

attitudes of migrants and hosts can range from ‘consensual’, through ‘problematic’, to ‘conflictual’ orientations (Bourhis et al. 1997, p. 382).

2.3.3 Other Terms and Concepts Pertinent to *Acculturation*

In addition to those terms, in the literature of the subject there exist other terms such as *enculturation* and *deculturation*, which are not just opposites as the use of prefixes would suggest. Edward T. Hall (1989b, p. 229) defined *enculturation* as ‘a process of learning culture,’ which ‘[links] individuals to their primary cultural contexts’ (Berry et al. 2007, p. 349) and which should not be confused with *acculturation* – a process involving a whole group or, as Berry et al. (2007, p. 349) define it, ‘a process that individuals undergo in response to a changing cultural context’ that can result in observable changes in behaviour. These ideas can be extended by relating to *enculturation* as a process of acquiring first culture while to *acculturation* as occurring with reference to second and other cultures. This evokes an analogy of first (native) and second or other languages; hence, references to *native* vs. *target*, *home* vs. *host* culture or culture of *origin* vs. *destination* or *settlement* are used in this thesis.

Nonetheless, a further affiliation of terms is observable with regard to *deculturation*, which for Daniel Kunene (1968, p. 19) who coined this term was a neologism describing the dominance of one culture and its denial of the right of existence towards the other culture. He also emphasised that ‘[d]eculturation is a necessary precedent to the process of acculturation [...] unless a cultural vacuum is to be presumed’. This is also related to Berry’s (1992, 1997) concept of ‘culture shedding’ and ‘unlearning’.

Hence, *cultural adaptation* is a process of socio-cultural adjustment of migrants to the new environment (Berry 1997), in which a set of individual variables plays an important role. With reference to collectivist vs. individualist approaches (Bhawuk and Brislin 1992), Triandis (1995) characterises individuals within cultures as either *idiocentric*, emphasising the unique aspect of the self, or *allocentric*, having a strong sense of connectedness with other members of the community. Markus and Kitayama (1991) proposed a similar categorisation by referring to similar two types of individuals as *independent* and *interdependent*

selves. Stevens et al. (2004) also stress the psychological elements of the *acculturation* processes, as they emphasise migrants' emotional ties with both cultures, the target one and the home one; hence, the element of transcendence plays a role in acculturation, which (Kim 2001, p. 197) places within Erikson's concept of *self-actualising people* and Ricoeur's *transcendental ego*.

2.3.4 The role of language in cultural adaptation and transition

As discussed, language is a complex element of human communication and a basic means of conveying verbal messages, with children and adults learning foreign languages in hope of communicating elsewhere in the world (see section 1.4.4). The significance of language can be easily noticed in the context of migration as communication can be challenging once individuals are out of their comfort zone and a familiar cultural and linguistic environment, which can be observed in the lives of first and second generation migrants around the world. Noam Chomsky summarises the cementing feature of language for a community by saying that

[a] language is not just words. I mean it's a culture and a tradition. It's a unification of a community, a whole history that creates what a community is. It's all embodied in a language.

(Independent Lens 2011, 50'55'')

Similarly, Malouf quoted in Besemeres and Wierzbicka (2008, p. xvii) explicitly states that language 'is also a machine for thinking, for feeling' while

what can be felt and thought in one language – the sensibility it embodies, the range of phenomena it can take in, the activities of mind as well as the objects and sensations it can deal with – is different, both in quality and kind, from one language to the next.

Malouf's conceptualisation is also a reminiscence of Pavlenko's (2006) concept of differing emotional expression across languages. Malouf (quoted in Besemeres and Wierzbicka 2008, p. xvii) further defines language as 'the history and experience of the men and women who, in their complex dealings with the world, made it'. This noticeably differs from linguistic theories due to the focus of the definition on human individual and group experience, but may be related to the integrative type of motivation (Gardner 1985) that is a driving force for migrants to acquire the language of the destination in order to adapt. Regarding

Polish migration in particular, there is a broad account of the importance of languages, both native and target ones, for migrating individuals, e.g. Besemeres (2008), White and Ryan (2008), Temple and Koterba (2009) or White (2011).

2.3.5 The role of social networking and online communities in cultural adaptation and transition²⁸

Networking is an important element of community life as it can provide individuals with support and security required for stability and progress in life. Although the idea of migrants being able to find ways to return to or reconnect with their roots within the context of the host culture may seem to be only of sentimental value, it can be a motivating factor in the construction of new networks of friends who are of similar background and can be trusted in the new context of a host culture. Currently societies experience a rapid growth of online communities due to technological development and increasing internet accessibility. While at the turn of the century, there was a heated debate whether the term *community*, understood as a group of people who remain in physical proximity and share a sense of belonging, beliefs and values, could be applicable to the virtual world (see Etzioni 2004, for example), currently the terms *online* or *virtual community* are in common use. The latter of the terms was popularised by Howard Rheingold (2000) in the last years of the 20th century. It seems that due to technological advancement, virtual reality can comply even with such classic features of *community* as physical proximity through enabled audio-video elements. Therefore, the less tangible elements such as a sense of belonging or shared interests and values seem to be the more cohesive aspects of *communities*.

Furthermore, social networks as communal elements are an essential feature of migration despite the fact that online communities offer virtual relations and

²⁸ This subsection together with an analysis of Polish online communities was presented at conferences and published in English: (1) 'The Role of Online Communities in Social Networking among Polish Migrants in the United Kingdom' in Mousoutzanis, A. and Riha, D. (2010) *New Media and the Politics of Online Communities*, e-book available at <http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/publishing/product/new-media-and-the-politics-of-online-communities/>; (2) 'The Role of Online Communities for Polish Migrants in the United Kingdom' in Isański, J. and Luczys, P. (eds.) (2011) *Selling One's Favourite Piano to Emigrate: Mobility patterns in Central Europe at the beginning of the 21st Century*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars and in Polish: 'Polskie społeczności wirtualne w Wlk. Brytanii po 2004 roku (transl. Post-2004 Polish Online Communities in the UK)' in Kaczmarczyk, P. and Lesińska, M. (eds.) (2012) *Krajobrazy Migracyjne Polski* [transl. Migration Landscapes of Poland]. Warsaw: Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami.

practical support while virtual trust that can alter social contacts in unpredictable ways has not yet been fully measured. Hence, networks do not only provide support, but often determine migrants' decisions to change their place of residence (Sumption 2009). Kuo and Tsai (1986) claim that in a destination country a distant relative or an unrelated person, who comes from the same country or region, can become a reliable companion. Often migrants refer to compatriots rather than the host society to gain necessary knowledge or information. The reason for this could be that an individual of the same origin, someone who speaks the same language and exhibits understanding of migrants' home culture, is perceived as a valuable and trustworthy source of support in the new environment.

Social acceptance, migrants' adaptability and language are some of the most important factors that contribute to a higher level of acculturation and migrants' more rapid adaptation in the host culture. At the same time, mental and physical well-being is crucial for migrants to be able to survive in a different environment. Therefore, networking (i.e. establishing social bonds) is vital for the reduction of stress and individuals' insecurity connected with entering a new society. Sumption (2009) argues that social networks are crucial for the job market since many jobs, especially those low-paid ones, are often obtained informally, i.e. through personal contacts and connections. White and Ryan (2008) also explain that networks have a dual role in communities: they assist shaping a community and migrant settlement and enable short-term migrants return to their home country.

Online social networking occurs with the use of electronic resources and the internet. Computer mediated communication seems to be an important way of collecting and sharing information among migrants in the modern world. O'Murchu, Breslin and Decker (2004, p. 1) define web portals as 'electronic gateways or entrances that provide numerous links to other sites and information that is needed'. For social networks, it is crucial that those websites serve a group of people (a community) who are willing to interact with each other, share a focus and interests, and often speak the same language. Many researchers, including Preece (2001), Kavanaugh (2002), Szpunar (2004), also mention three

main elements, i.e. purpose, people, and policies (including language), that shape and influence the character and level of sociability of a particular community.

Kavanaugh (2002, p. 17) agrees with the purposefulness of networking by saying that '[p]eople generate and cultivate networks, trust and norms of mutuality [...] to meet human needs for companionship and individual as well as collective aid'. Those social groups grow private and professional life. Computer-assisted networks can strengthen already existing groups or can contribute to the establishment of new communities. The latter seems to be more common among young people for whom online contacts are adventurous. Kavanaugh (2002) further states that social networks help to build two kinds of trust among members: *thin trust* – less personal, based on indirect social relations, and *thick trust* – triggered by intensive contacts among members. Furthermore, when trust is extended on distant and less known people, it may become an abstract concept, which will affect the process of adaptation in the context of migration.

2.4 The Intercultural Communication Paradigm

The assumption that culture(s) exist(s) and can be compared in order to build communication bridges presupposes the actuality of cultural differences and the need for a certain level of sensitivity to them. Therefore, studies in the field of *intercultural communication (IC)* refer to contacts between or among cultures (cultural types and dimensions) and ways of transmitting and conveying verbal and non-verbal messages across cultural systems that may exhibit various levels of similarity (communication). Since the issue is complex and multi-layered, it should not be reduced to an assumption that the greater the cultural differences, the less it is possible to communicate successfully. The study of *intercultural communication* is a set of theories that explain multiple possibilities for effective *inter-*, *cross-* and *transcultural communication*, with an emphasis on modes of communication, the multiplicity of meaning and interpretation, language and discourse and their ramifications, such as acculturation or cultural adaptation, culture shock, acculturative stress, ethnocentrism, stereotypical representation, lenses of perception, instilled modes of interpretation, etc. The multi-

layeredness of *intercultural communication* together with the multiplicity of meaning and *identity* form a basis for the TCAL research study that was aimed at determining the role of cultural translation in cultural adaptation.

The rise of interest in intercultural interaction was observable in disciplines such as anthropology, psychology, sociology, business studies and linguistics in the 1970s onwards. While the first attempts to categorise relations between cultures were driven by success in business or diplomatic contacts, the turn of the centuries brought a significant rise in the mobility of individuals around the world and intensified cultural and linguistic exchanges within Europe. Nevertheless, the terminology within the *IC* field is far from unified and semantically consistent (Spencer-Oatey and Franklin 2009). Therefore, in this thesis I rely on the following terms: *intercultural* rather than *cross-cultural*²⁹ *communication*, *IC competence*, *trans-cultural communication* and *transculturation*, with the latter two as referents of the practical application of *IC* knowledge and mirrors of *IC competence*.

With regard to classifying cultural systems for the purpose of establishing potential areas of conflict or misunderstanding between cultures, several classifications are prominent in research and business practice to date, though two typologies seem to be seminal for the field of *intercultural relations*. First, Edward T. Hall's (1989/1976) continuum of *cultures*, from low- to high-context ones, where cultures of nations are situated on a scale depending of their level of explicitness or implicitness of messages conveyed within their culture and the varying degree of the role of the context for communicating information. The second notable categorisation includes the six dimensions of *culture* designed by Geert Hofstede to explore initially the corporate cultures of IBM in various parts of the world. Both attempts of organising global cultural features have a lasting effect on the field of *IC* in that the terminology of cultural differences they proposed has been used across disciplines; however, it needs to be noted

²⁹ In terms of prefixes for the adjective *cultural*, four are used most frequently, i.e. *inter-*, *cross-*, *multi-*, and *trans-*, though they tend to differ in meaning. While *multi-* refers to a greater number, the meaning of the other three prefixes can be confusing at times. *Inter-* refers to relations between cultures and can be included within the *cross-* category, which may involve more cultures. *Trans-* refers to changes within a culture due to influences from another culture. This prefix is also used to describe linguistic processes occurring in Europe, i.e. translanguaging.

that, as Jandt (2016) asserts explicitly, in modern times the consequences of the creation of the nation-state are observable in the formation of *national identity* that has superseded other types of identity used previously as socio-cultural determinants and has triggered the concept of *national culture*. Nonetheless, it needs to be emphasised that the classifications of world cultures, whether with reference to ethnicity or nations, are a distinct manifestation of *cultural relativity*.

In his categorisation of culture(s), Edward T. Hall (1989/1976: 16) puts “emphasis on the nonverbal, unstated realm of culture”. In other words, he focused on how people express themselves, how they move, think, solve problems and how they are organised in order to explicate that those elements have an enormous influence on the points where cultures collide. Therefore, Edward T. Hall’s study was oriented at time, context and proxemics or personal space (see Table 2) as those elements are crucial to social structures and relations across countries and may unequivocally trigger misunderstanding in intercultural situations. Context as a functional aspect, however, was seen by Hall as the very element that is immensely complex and affects patterns of thinking and self-awareness for

[c]losely related to the high-low context continuum is the degree to which one is aware of the selective screen that one places between himself and the outside world. As one moves from the low to the high side of the scale, awareness of the selective process increases. Therefore, what one pays attention to, context, are all functionally related.

Hall, E. T. (1976/1989, p. 86)

Table 2: Hall's Classification of Cultures

Characteristics	Reference	Cultural Impact
Time	solutions to the use of time and space	organisation hierarchy in society & at workplace
monochronic (M-time)	schedules segmentation promptness	Originates from northern-European tradition - time is linear and segmented - time is like a road extending to the future - time and space are tangible and measurable concepts - fails to recognise individual members ('humanness') - segmentation may lead to failure in recognising context
vs.		
polychronic (P-time)	simultaneity of events multiplicity of involvement emphasis on people's involvement and task completion	Observed in the Middle East and Latin America - scheduling activities is seen as a tyrannical violation of individuality - simultaneous interaction with several people - heavily reliant on head men in solving problems - centralisation of power
Context(ing)	the underlying structure of culture (106) and a mechanism for correcting distortions and omissions in information (117)	understanding messages
high context	deep involvement emphasis on belonging enveloping intimacy in private emphasis on self-control, distance and hiding feelings in public greater distinction btwn insiders and outsiders	- oriented at developing close relationships - great dependence on tradition - group orientation - lower specificity of verbal expression - collective responsibility
vs.		
low context	institutionalisation ceremoniality explicitness of expression	- oriented at achieving set goals - individual orientation - greater specificity of verbal messages - responsibility diffused throughout the system
Personal Space (Proxemics)	Mobile territory (or a bubble) around individuals	building and classifying relationships btwn people
		- reflects type of relationships btwn people - defines conversational vs. intimate distance

Source: Hall, E. T. (1976/1989a, pp. 19–24, 107–128, 1983/1989b)

Apart from E. T. Hall's classification of cultures, there are other models that were designed mainly to support the world of business in international relations. Hence, unsurprisingly they are essentialist in their approach as their main aim is to propose an easy-to-apply framework of classifying human modes of living and communication. The models are presented in Appendix 1 and briefly described below. Yet, it is noteworthy that each of the models heavily relies the national approach to cultures, with a minimum effort to identify ethnicities and regionalisms within the named nations.

Richard D. Lewis' Model of Cultural Types, which applies a triangle of approaches on national cultures (see Appendix 1). The modes of response are presented as spectra of features (triangle edges) diverging from each of the main LMR approaches (vertices of the triangle): (1) linear-active, (2) multi-active and (3) reactive in order to form a triangular space. The plane of the triangle holds all the cultural types that do not neatly fit into the extremes identified by the edges, which means they can be applicable to a majority of individuals of mixed national and ethnic background. The three main features are also represented by three main colours that correspond with attitudes and approaches, i.e. blue – calm and calculating; red – emotional and passionate; and yellow – harmonious and amiable. Although it seems that this typology can be seen as effective, the main criticism is that it appears to be stereotypical in its view of national cultures and does not abstain from national profiling.

As for Lewis, also for Hofstede (2001, p. 83), the determining factor for most behaviours is the *national culture*. Although his study, predating Lewis' typology, was initially conducted on a single corporation, thus involving only a single example of corporate culture across the world, his further work shifted into more socially generalisable elements, to which he applied an umbrella term of *national culture*. It seems that the complex and culturally controversial term *national* was used by Hofstede with reference to citizenship or dominant groups that occupy the space within designated boundaries of modern states, though the latter should not be taken as unchangeable elements of socio-political realms. Nevertheless, one of the most frequently referred to categorisations of cultural differences, Hofstede's dimensions of culture, was aimed at specifying those

distinctions that were "rooted in basic problem[s] with which all societies have to cope, but on which their answers vary" (Hofstede 2001, p. 29).

Fons Trompenaars (1995/1993) constructed another set of seven cultural dimensions (see Appendix 1), which is often compared to Hofstede's dimensions in terms of the binary oppositions and to Hall's typology with regard to references to time, space and context. For Trompenaars, *culture* consists of three layers: (1) basic assumptions, which are the implicit aspects, (2) norms and values and (3) artefacts and products, which are the explicit element and 'distinguishes itself from others by specific solutions it chooses to certain problems' (Trompenaars 1995/1993, p. 8). The interpretation of meaning also differs between national cultures, i.e. what can be seen as constructive feedback in some cultures, in others will be understood as admitting failure. Such a view, though management-oriented, is directly relevant to the notion of cultural translation. Although the seven dimensions are supported with numerous practical examples in order to suit the rigidity of the business world, Trompenaars (1995/1993)³⁰ does not specify how to measure people's preferences. Instead, his work includes extensive evidence of responses to particular issues/question in different, mostly European, countries, which makes it a clear reference to the concept of *national culture*, on a 0-100 scale. Yet, the national approach seems inconsistent as Latin American, Arabic or Scandinavian countries are approached as cultural monoliths for some dimensions while for others individual countries are emphasised. Hence, such cultural maps can contribute to the perseverance of stereotypes.

The purpose of researching *intercultural* relations for business is to improve the efficiency and outcome of international commercial contacts. By analogy, it can be argued that *intercultural contacts* and *communication* in the context of migration hold high significance for communities. Hence, a further stage that would allow migrants to function in the host culture before they reach full adaptation is the acquisition of *intercultural communication* skills and abilities,

³⁰ It needs to be noted that Trompenaars' research, similarly to Hofstede's, was conducted and aimed at the managerial sector of organisations and business enterprises; therefore, in this thesis there will be only limited references to Trompenaars' and Hofstede's findings regarding Poland and the United Kingdom.

labelled in the theory of the field as *intercultural competence* (IC). According to Hofstede (2001), intercultural skills can be taught, though it needs to be noted that the pace and outcome of the learning process depend on individual features, predispositions and *habitus*. The latter, though, resembles Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* understood as an integral part of a person that constitutes cognition and becomes the basis for all their activities and actions. Hence, the accumulation of cultural knowledge, including the *habitus*, forms the immaterial type of *cultural capital* an individual possesses (Bourdieu 1986) while an individual's affective orientation towards IC and their motivation to "approach or to avoid a given intercultural context" play a role as well (Neuliep 2012: 30).

Neuliep's (2012: 24–28) Contextual Model of IC is another capacity of the intercultural paradigm that is directly related to Hofstede's (2001) six Dimensions of Culture and associated with Edward T. Hall's (1989/1976) theory of Low- and High-Context Cultures and is based on the assumption that all communication is contextual while information must be contextualised in order to be meaningful. Hence, within the sociorelational context, which belongs to the environmental context, there is an observable interplay of verbal and non-verbal messages conveyed by individuals from different perceptual contexts, i.e. individual characteristics. Furthermore, the environmental circle is included within the microcultural context, which in turn belongs to a greater cultural circle. The latter is a multi-layered and complex setting that determines the actions, behaviour and attitudes of individuals.

In addition, another communication theory, deriving from media studies, was the Encoding/Decoding Theory developed by Stuart Hall in the 1970s that was aimed at explaining how mass media, television in particular, convey meanings. For Stuart Hall, the key element in transmitting messages are the encoding and decoding processes that sanction communication. Even though his theory was aimed at media, its relevance to the field of IC is without any doubt for

[t]he codes of encoding and decoding may not be perfectly symmetrical. The degrees of symmetry – that is, the degrees of "understanding" and "misunderstanding" in the communicative exchange – depend on the degrees of symmetry/asymmetry (relations of equivalence) between the positions of the "personifications", encoder-producer and decoder-receiver.

The above quotation explicitly shows that messages are encoded and decoded within cultures, whether professional or national ones. Hence, the two communicators, i.e. the source for Berlo or producer for Stuart Hall or *sender* and the *receiver*, need to share a *code* (in other words *signifying practices*) and a channel of communication. The greater asymmetry between the codes and the more distortions occur during communicating, the less successful the process is. In addition, the context is likely to condition the degree of similarity between codes (Hall, S. 1993) as this is not the linguistic code, but ‘the context [that] carries varying proportions of the meaning [and without it,] the code is incomplete since it encompasses only part of the message’ (Hall, E. T. 1976/1989: 86). Although Stuart Hall’s theory was criticised for being underdeveloped as decoding could not simply be a mirror reflection of encoding (Wren-Lewis 1983), its high significance for the theory of cultural translation (see section 2.5) cannot be denied as the divergence of codes can trigger mis/interpretation of the cultural context in migration. Fig. 7 presents an overview of a simple encoding/decoding model that forms a constitutive basis for communication.

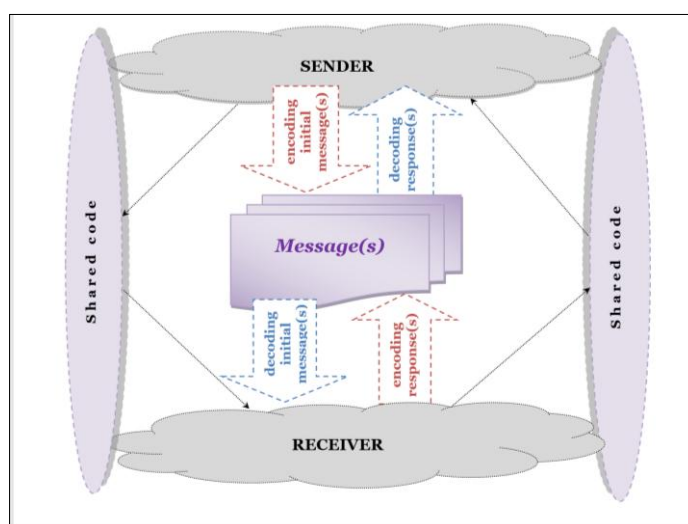


Figure 7: Information encoding and decoding

Although national categorisations of cultures can frequently be superficial and limiting, the above presented models of cultural differences, but also some other

ones, have been created and serve as sources of information on national cultures, first and foremost, in business; secondly in foreign language teaching; thirdly, in migration (i.e. for expat/migrant life) and travelling (i.e. for tourists and travellers); fourthly, in international education; and finally in health services. Other disciplines, professions and uses are much less significant, though they may yet be awaiting the discovery of the *intercultural* world. Although IC leads to mindfulness, the road to intercultural success, i.e. achieving *intercultural competence* understood as a capability to operate between cultures (Marsella 2008) due to applying a certain “set of cognitive, affective and behavioural skills” (Bennett 2008: 97), can be baffling and deceptive due to barriers to communication. Jandt (2016) specifies six categories of obstacles that can impede successful transmission or exchange of information at an intercultural and/or international level. Those include: (1) anxiety, (2) assuming similarity instead of difference, (3) ethnocentrism, (4) stereotypes and prejudice, (5) language and (6) non-verbal communication. The first two classes are related to *culture shock* - a state of confusion or disorientation experienced after initial exposure to a new/host culture. They reflect the experienced stress and emotional turmoil upon entering a new culture while ethnocentrism, stereotyping and prejudice refer to attitudes, viewpoint and mind set. The last two categories, language and non-verbal expression, are directly related to means of articulation. These aspects of barriers are further discussed in section 2.4 as they are important not only for communication, but for cultural adaptation as well.

Furthermore, *interculturalism* in the complex European (and EU) context is referred to more frequently as *pluriculturalism* and *plurilingualism*; hence CEFR (Council of Europe 2001, p. 68) defines *plurilingual* and *pluricultural competence* as ‘the ability to use language for the purpose of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures.’ Therefore, inter-/cultural competence requires some experience and training in order to achieve the goal of social harmony through openness to and successful communication with the Other and to subsequently dilute the concept of *otherness* by incorporating the Other into Us, without the

need of or demand for cultural assimilation. James Neuliep (2012, p. 29) emphasizes that competent communicators achieve the efficiency of communication through appropriate contextualization and adaptation of messages; therefore, in order to prevent the violation of rules and norms, they need to be motivated, knowledgeable and skilled.

2.5 Other elements significant for *acculturation* and *cultural translation*

2.5.1 Identity/ies

The concept of *identity/ies* is inherent to *culture* and socio-cultural forms. Its significance rises in the context of migration due to the intricate and multi-layered nature of *identity* and in relation to the issue of subjectivity and the concept of *otherness* (*the Other*) while post-structuralist and post-modernist approaches allow for dialectical analysis of this complex and dynamically constructed concept. It is important to mention that there are essentialist and non-essentialist approaches to *identity* and *culture*. The former views appear reductionist and ‘otherise’, as discussed in section 2.2. From the non-essentialist perspective, however, “culture is a movable concept used by different people at different times to suit purposes of identity, politics and science” (Holliday 2000, p. 38). The following review of the concept of identity aims to present conceptualisations of identity, including essentialist and non-essentialist argumentation as the ‘national’ perspective surfaced as a significant view in the TCAL study; yet, the non-essentialist approach transcends in the findings chapters that follow.

2.5.1.1 Defining Identity

In the simplest terms, *identity* signifies who one is; however, such simplicity is only illusionary for *identity* is context-dependent and encompasses belonging. It can therefore be referred to in the plural form: identities. The aspect of belonging differentiates *identity/ies* from *culture*; however, the two are related in a complex and overlapping manner and persist in individuals in unique blends (see section 2.2.2). As discussed, the identity of an individual and their sense of

belonging can be influenced by an array of either more abstract or tangible and physical elements such as ethnicity, traditions, language, system of values, religion, beliefs, ideology, politics, sexual orientation, race, nationality, climate, geography, landscape, etc. Castells (2004, p. 6) defines *identity* as “the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural attributes, that is given priority over other sources of meaning”. Hence if *identity* is perceived as a source of meaning that is constructed for and by individuals and communities, then it is a relational concept as the process of construction occurs through and within social and cultural interaction. Furthermore, due to its complexity, the concept of *identity* allows for multiple identities within each individual and a community, dependent on prescribed or expected roles, status and individual idiosyncrasies.

The intricacy and complexity of the concept of *identity*, with particular reference to culture, migration and inter-cultural relations, was deeply explored by the scholars from the CCCS. For Stuart Hall (2000, p. 19), *identity*

refer[s] to the meeting point, the point of suture, between, on the one hand, the discourses and practices which attempt to ‘interpellate’, speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes, which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be ‘spoken.’

By using the plural form of the noun, i.e. *identities*, he further explains that those are the “points of temporary attachment” (Hall 2000, p. 19) that are constructed and reconfigured, hence, are representations that undergo articulation. Therefore, *identification* as a process and a phenomenon can be viewed as a ‘subjective construction of self-knowledge and feeling of the self’ Kłoskowska (2001, p. 101), which is in line with the post-structuralist perspective, i.e. open to continual recontextualisation, remotivation, restructuring and re/creation, and the postmodernist discourse of dialectical relationships.

2.5.1.2 Identity Construction

Identity is always constructed in a conversation between who we are and the political ideology around. [...] You are partly who they see you.

Stuart Hall

In the context of migration in contemporary Europe, *identity* and its construction

is often related to cross-border and transnational phenomena, which makes it entirely applicable to the TCAL research project focused on Polish migrants in the UK. Chambers' (1994, p. 17) analogy of the African Americans' experience of exile when '[o]ne foot is here and the other always elsewhere, straddling both sides of the border' entirely reflects the situation of migrants within the EU, with a remark that borders are simultaneously factual and imaginary. This 'border condition', as Chambers (1994, p. 17) calls it after Arturo Islas, recalls Bhabha's concept of *hybridity* (see section 2.1) is equivalent to Stuart Hall's (2000, p. 19) representation in that it is a blend of notions and is 'always constructed across a "lack", across a division [and] from the place of the Other'. For Chambers (1994) and Ganguly (1992) representation is posited on the notorious interplay of *us* and *them*. As observed by Chambers (1994: 86), at the turn of the centuries the world moved from "the politics of margins to the politics of difference".

The afore-mentioned dichotomy is known as the concept of *otherness*, explored by other theorists as well, and is observable in various modern classifications of *identity*. Jenkins (2003) explains that to define *us*, one needs to split off *they* first as only by contrasting *us* and *them* can the process of *identity* formation take place. It seems that categorisation is inevitable although individuals rarely neatly fit into prescribed categories; thus, Hall's multiple identities may occur. It is noteworthy though that in today's Europe, due to trans-national, trans-cultural and trans-language processes occurring on a frequent basis, the term *multiple identities* can be proficiently superseded by *polyidentity*, which again brings strong connotations with Bhabha's concept of *cultural hybridity* (see section 2.1) or simply by using the noun in its plural form, i.e. *identities*.

In order to explain *identity construction* from another perspective, Jenkins (2003) refers to the individual-collective continuum (which is also applicable to the *cultural* typology of identity) in that he distinguishes between two types of *identity*, namely *external* – involving social relationships and *internal* – a self-image that is signaled to the group. The process of identity formation itself involves categorization, which is the influence of the external (others) on the internal (self). This can only strengthen the *identity* of an existing group through the processes of resistance and reaction. Therefore, classification and

categorization may effectively contribute to the formation of group identity, which Fligstein (2009, p. 127) identifies as *collective identity*, a socially-constructed sense of togetherness for “a group of people [who] accept a fundamental and consequential similarity that causes them to feel solidarity amongst themselves”. He further reiterates that any form of collective identity emerges from *conscious* as well as *unconscious* meanings and relies on ‘the construction of an “Other”’, which seems to be a key element for migrant communities.

Hence, another corresponding element of *identity* construction is the *subconscious*, a subject well explored in psychoanalysis by Sigmund Freud and Carl Gustav Jung and approached by philosophers such as Michel Foucault and Claude Levi-Strauss; however, cultural theorists from the Tartu School maintain that the ‘[s]ubconscious is not a discovery, but a creation of the twentieth century’ (Lotman et al. 1975, p. 5). Nonetheless, while for Freud the true motives of actions of individuals are hidden in the *subconscious*, Jung explores the *collective unconscious*, which is a structural element of *national* and *cultural identity* discussed in the subsequent section.

2.5.1.3 Identity Categorisation

In the context of migration, diaspora and community, *identity* often refers to cultural, ethnic, social, or national character. Yet, it is usually an identity of a group while the meaning of the term applies to its collective aspects rather than individual ones. There are also different approaches to identity: essentialist, which as for this study, two categories of *identity* seem to be significant: *national* and *cultural*, which are the two types of identity that play a major role for intra-European and intra-EU migration. Although these two categories intertwine in academic literature, culturality seems to be separate from nationality. Furthermore, despite clear connections between the terms *cultural* and *ethnic*, Leerssen (2006) and Eriksen (2009) emphasise the strength of the national element in the European thought and anthropology; hence, *national identity* is a more frequent term with reference to the migration of Europeans in Europe (and within the EU) than *ethnic identity*, which seems to be more associated with postcolonial traditions. This can also be related to different ways the concepts

of *ethnicity*, *culture*, *race* and *nationality* are constructed in different parts of the world. While in Europe there is a strong emphasis on *nationality* and nationhood, as an aftermath of the late eighteenth century revolutions and the socio-political turmoil of the twentieth century, in the United States *race* and *ethnicity* seem to be the identifying elements for individuals (Birman 1994). This is also in line with Anderson's (2006, p. 7) perception of national as an 'imagined community' because it is a 'horizontal comradeship' with 'finite boundaries'.

Although the definition of *national identity* may appear to be rather simplistic if it is understood as a politicised 'subjective or internalized sense of belonging to a nation' (Huddy and Khatib 2007, p. 63), from the cultural and philosophical point of view, the typology of *national identity* includes more than just a single aspect of belonging to a nation or citizenship. Gregory Bateson (1973)³¹, whose criticism of a national character of groups was induced by various scholarly and political attempts to evoke national modalities in the times of rising nationalism or the establishment of national socialism in the 1930s Germany, doubts that any regularity, pattern or uniformity is plausible within groups of people assigned to a particular nation. Similarly, Hall, S. (1996: 613) also emphasises that individuals can identify with nations; yet, the concept of 'national culture is a discourse – a way of constructing meanings which influences and organises both our actions and our conception of ourselves'.

Conversely, the complexity of *national identity* may be a construct, with an established set of peculiar features, which can be constraining as it approaches identity in a reductive manner. A common perspective, essentialist though, is one presented by Leszek Kołakowski (cited in Wodak et al. 2009) who insists that citizenship is not and cannot be the only national affiliation for individuals. There are four other elements that contribute to the construction of *national identity*: (1) a national spirit, defined as a set of collective cultural forms and behaviours shared by a group of people and existent in their minds; (2) the historical memory of a group, either true or only legendary; (3) anticipation and

³¹ The pre-WW II rise of nationalism resulted in a debate within anthropological circles resulted in research into culture, nation and identity, e.g. Ruth Benedict's (1934) book *Patterns of Culture* or a volume edited by Bateson (1973) *Morale and National Character*.

future orientation, indispensable to the survival strategy of a collective entity and (4) a national body in the form of national territories and landscapes and a nameable beginning identified as a founding event. Similarly, Hall, S. (1996, p. 613, original emphasis) asserts that

national cultural identities are constructed around meanings about ‘the nation’ with which [individuals] can identify; these are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and images which are constructed of it.

Furthermore, *national identity* can also have a civic dimension, which is understood as a holistic practice of engagement with others and complex intellectual and ethical development (Knefelkamp 2008), realized differently in various communities, depending on their system of values and socio-historical conditions.

On the other hand, Edward T. Hall (1976/1989, p. 239) emphasised that ‘people are in and remain in the grip of the cultural type of identification’, which becomes explicit in many kinds of work context where ‘neither [of the people] can make the other’s system work’. Hence, *cultural identity* has been distinguished in the discourse of cultural studies. Hall, S. (2006) marks two types thereof. The first kind is *stable*, associated with *race* and *ethnicity* and understood as a shared history of individuals while the other type of identity seems to be *changeable*, full of contradictions and affiliated with similarities and differences. It seems that the features of the stable subcategory resemble what has been categorized by other theorists as *national identity* while the changeable subcategory of identity relates more to representation and the concept of *otherness*, as discussed in section 2.2. The element of changeability is also observable in Kłoskowska’s (2012, p. 112, English edition 2001) concept of *cultural valence*, which she relates to the adoption by an individual of a portion of the *national culture*, but in a way that serves the individual’s goals and objectives, with an emphasis of maintaining their dignity, self-esteem and sense of belonging.

2.5.2 Home and Belonging

Home is another issue that is crucial for identifying and understanding a migrating individual. The term *home* has multiple meanings. In the context of

migration, it is associated, first of all, with a place where an individual comes from. For

[h]ome is here, not a particular place that one simply inhabits, but more than one place: there are too many homes to allow place to secure the roots or routes of one's destination. It is not simply that the subject does not belong anywhere. The journey between homes provides the subject with the contours of a space and belonging, but a space that expresses the very logic of an interval, the passing through the subject between apparently fixed moments of departure and arrival.

Ahmed (2000: 76)

Secondly, by *home* migrants themselves may understand this to be all the cultural ties they form with other members of their community within the host culture. Their affiliation with a place seems to be emotional and symbolic while relationships with other people contribute to the atmosphere and experiences individuals associate with that place.

Bateson (1972b, p. 139) explains that the mind, the *unconscious* that equals the primary process, as discussed in sections 2.2.2 and 2.5.1.2, operates in terms of relationships. Therefore, objects and persons are secondary to relationships that either occur between them or are created by the brain, which proves, according to Bateson, the metaphoric element of the primary process. Such an explanation of the role of relationships in perception indicates that, first of all, a change in conditions or in a particular situation triggers the formation of ties through a set of memories and associations. Secondly, mobility and change contribute to cumulative experiences of an individual (Rapport and Dawson 1998). Consequently, a migrant might use the term *home* to describe the place they feel more attached to. While the relationships with the place of settlement may take the form of emotional bonds or symbolic affiliations, the latter would rather refer to a set of cultural norms, behaviours, and standards. Researchers vary in determining whether attachment to a place increases with age (Sampson 1988, Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001) or is related to the length of time of residence (Hummon 1992).

Rybczynski (1987, p. 217) states that “[d]omestic dwelling is a fundamental human need that is deeply rooted in us, and that must be satisfied”. He further suggests that comfort is a cultural idea that has been present in societies for centuries. Its affiliation with the concept of *home* started when home was

assigned the meaning of *domesticity*. It seems, therefore, that the feeling of place-rootedness and stability may play a major role in migrants' emotional and physical well-being regardless of whether *home* is a physical space, often a building, or an abstract concept.

Emotions and sentiments as well as habits and routines that are human characteristics may lead to assumptions that individuals might either have emotional ties with a place or might become familiar with a place where they had spent an amount of time. Consequently, in both cases the place they feel attached to might be called *home*. Burrell (2006: 72) argues that these are "domestic rituals" and objects that make *home* particularly important for *national identity*. She further explains that "[h]ousehold artefacts can preserve a physical link between old and new lives, providing a tangible reminder of national identity and national history" (Burrell 2006, p. 73).

2.5.3 Cultural hybridity vs. cultural evolution of an individual

The concept of *hybridity* is widely recognised and utilised in modern academia. Although Homi Bhabha, a cultural theorist, created the concept to explain cultural intricacies related to migration within the post-colonial world, the term has been generally used with reference to the lived experience of migrants, indiscriminately of the cultural proximity of their culture of origin and destination. Therefore, although migration triggers and patterns within the European Union can differ, sometimes significantly, from those observed between colonial powers and their dominions, there is an evident lack of accurate terminology to name the individuals who experience the polyculture and linguistic plurality of modern Europe. Furthermore, Burke (2009: 101) emphasises the fact that 'these European Amphibians' have attracted relatively less academic and research attention than multi-ethnic communities in Asia or the Americas. The European case of multi-ethnicity could also be compared to Freud's *mixtum compositum* as when an individual is a cultural composite, an alteration to their cultural sensitivity and comprehension of another culture is initially subjected to cultural translation (or transference in Freud's terms) in that they interpret the newly encountered world along the lines of the system of values that is strongly ingrained in their minds.

Hofstede et al. (2010), Lyotard (1989) and other researchers and theoreticians maintain that first-generation migrants always experience similar challenges related to everyday life, work place, public offices or schools while they attempt their interaction with the local community and learn many modes of local practices; however, the most challenging seems to be the confrontation of values. Hofstede et al. (2010, p. 397) describe first generation migrants as ‘marginal people between two worlds [who] alternate daily between one and the other,’ which sits well with Bhabha's (1994, p. 321) ‘migrant culture of the “in-between”’. Yet, this view seems to be hardly applicable to the modern European context where migrants are not necessarily marginalised, can have a complex ethnic, cultural and linguistic background and do not have to alternate between the worlds due to the open borders and availability of communication technologies and accessible travel opportunities. Therefore, hybridity in the European meaning resembles an enriching and empowering conglomerate of values, experiences, modes of perception and multitude of ideas that derive from the same roots in Antiquity and can benefit both the migrants and the host communities. Krygier (1997) cited in Besemeres and Wierzbicka (2008, p. xviii–xix) indicates that

[h]ybrids have a specific resource available to them: a range of values, experiences, traditions, which are different from others that circulate in their heads and in the heads of those with whom they mix. That can be enriching both to them and those who meet with them. Moreover, where these components are psychologically salient – where they have meaning and significance for the hybrids themselves – they are not merely options from which to choose, like goods in a shop, or a background of exotic food, strong coffee or stronger spirits. They enter into people's lives and souls. [...]

On the one hand, this can open windows for them into other, often very different and complex, cultures which complete outsiders find harder to penetrate. On the other hand, it offers to hybrids a vantage point, a perspective, and a quite peculiar place to stand. That metaphorical space is simultaneously inside and outside the cultures in which they are raised, in which they live, of which they are parts and which are parts of them.

The concept and interpretation of hybridity seems to be partly confirmed in the idea of substitution. Clifford Geertz (1973, p. 62) contests the view that the evolution of culture is without any influence on the growth of the mind and evokes anthropological interpretation and metaphors to demonstrate that an individual can relinquish one or more elements in order to develop another one, which could allow them to better function in their surrounding. Cavalli-Sforza

and Feldman (1981, p. 13), however, emphasise the possibility of cultural substitution, either of an ‘old [trait]’ or ‘in lieu of nothing’ in case of absence of a particular trait. This is inherently related to the notion of continuity and discontinuity of *culture* as a phenomenon and a process, though the biological terms of *selection*, *reproduction* and *mutation* are seen as necessary aspects/stages of the process of cultural transmission (Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman 1981).

Recent research and intellectual developments regarding the theory of *cultural evolution* concentrate on the aspects of transition and moderation of features within a certain time frame that result from the ongoing processes that accompany social trends, including migration. Richerson and Christiansen (2013: 3) specify that ‘cultural evolution is fundamentally just the change of culture over time,’ where culture includes an inheritance system that resembles Darwin’s theory of transmitting useful features, as mentioned above. Whiten et al. (2012) and earlier studies by Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman (1981) also highlight cumulative cultural capacity, which could demonstrate how acquiring and applying cultural achievements spans over generations and how cultural borrowing contributes to transition. It can be assumed, therefore, that existing socio-cultural forms in any social group are a direct result of an accumulation of efforts and developments of the group and that they transform that group and their cultural forms, which can only be possible due to the element of *retention* and ability to *reconfigure* that are present within any cultural system. Hence, sociocultural evolution is associated not only with the entire human history, but also with ‘specifically linear and progressive patterns’ that develop over time (Trigger 1998, p. 9), which emphasises the diachronicity of culture. Furthermore, the view that changes occur within cultures when ‘a visionary or a courageous group seeks to alter the status quo’ (Macklin 1999, p. 21), which implies only the revolutionary method for cultural change, seems to be seriously contested by evolutionists.

Therefore, *hybrids* in Krygier’s understanding are not passive descendants of their cultural and linguistic heritage as they translate themselves and experience their whole lives as translated existence (Besemeres and Wierzbicka 2008,

p. xix) while the new identity or the new self is achieved in an evolutionary manner. This process invokes Hegel's concept of *Aufhebung* as old/previous identities can be superseded or, more precisely, *aufgehoben*.³² The process of replacing identities is unique for every individual as it also involves raising them to a higher, possibly more developed, level. Furthermore, Ricoeur (1976, p. 87–88) in his theory of interpretation emphasises that for comprehension to be effective, it is important to move 'from [es]sence to reference: from what it says to what it talks about'. This explanation of text interpretation can by analogy be applied to the *interpretation of cultures* and *identity* transformation in migration as 'showing is at the same time creating a new mode of being'.

2.5.4 The *Trans*- elements

Increased mobility and cultural encounters along globalisation processes have prompted research into phenomena that extend beyond relations labelled as *inter*- or *cross*-, such as intercultural, cross-cultural, international, inter-lingual, etc. In the times of blurred boundaries in many areas of life, the *trans*- elements have gained the attention of scholars. These include at least the following three aspects of everyday life and communication for many individuals: *transnationalism*, *transculturation* and *translanguaging*. Since they are directly related to the concepts of *cultural translation* and *acculturation*, a brief overview of each of them is provided.

Transnationalism is a concept and term that refers to "sustained linkages and ongoing exchanges among non-state actors based across national borders" (Vertovec 2009, p. 5-6). This includes everyday practices as well as mindsets that reflect 'individual's awareness of de-centred attachments'. Transnational practices can be found in transnational companies that have a global reach as well as in migration projects of individuals. It is also in a causal relation with *transculturation* and *translanguaging*. The former refers to practices across cultures, which can also be described as hybrid practices, though some scholars (Trigo 2000) argue that *transculturation* is not identical with *hybridization* and

³² *supersede* seems to be a close equivalent to *aufheben* in the context of identity; however, *sublate* and *lift* are also used in translations of Hegel.

should not be regarded obsolete in the context of transnational practices.

The concept of *translanguaging* is the newest of the three in terms of research activity and pertains to language practices that involve meandering among named languages, hence using individuals' linguistic resources, to comprehend and generate meaning (Li 2018). The term was created by adding the prefix *trans-* to *linguaging*, a concept coined by Merrill Swain in the mid-1980s and then developed by A.L. Becker and other scholars into a new approach to language. For Becker (1988) language is not merely a code, a system of rules, a phenomenon or a fact, but it is a whole experience of the open-ended processes of communication and interaction, with infinite outcomes. Hence, *linguaging* is a process that "shapes and is shaped by context" (Garcia and Li 2014, p. 8). Becker (1995: 185), whose research focused on the Javanese language, exemplifies the connection between language and its context with a term from Javanese, 'jarwa dhosok, taking old language (jarwa) and pushing (dhosok) it into new contexts'. Similarly, Swain (2006, p. 96) perceives *linguaging* as 'action - a dynamic, never-ending process of using language to make meaning', simply doing a language.

Since language is an integral component of communication, interaction and construction of meaning, *linguaging* for Canagarajah (2007, p. 94) is 'a social process [that is] constantly reconstructed in sensitivity to environmental factors'. Li (2018: 16) emphasises the cognitive aspect of *linguaging*, which he regards as 'a process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language' and as a process of negotiating and producing meaningful output. This also resembles the process of generating meaning through *cultural translation* in that an individual's resource is employed to approach a new situation in a new context.

Canagarajah (2011, p. 401) defines *translanguaging* as

the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system.

Hence *translanguaging* refers to

fluid practices that go between and beyond socially constructed language and

educational systems, structures and practices to engage diverse students' multiple meaning-making systems and subjectivities

(Garcia and Li 2014, p. 3).

Those fluid practices, a reminiscence of Bauman's liquid modernity, involve using an individual's idiolect, that is their linguistic repertoire and "thinking beyond the boundaries of named languages and language varieties including the geography-, social class-, age-, or gender-based varieties" (Li 2018, p. 19). *Translanguaging* also takes bilingualism as a norm Mazak (2017, p. 6); yet it differs from *code-switching*, which implies the existence of boundaries and resonates with the discourse of named languages.

Translanguaging is a fairly new approach to languages and language pedagogy; yet, similarly to *cultural translation*, it is something individuals simply do. It is not a new occurrence, though it has been classified as language influence on another language or 'foreign influences'. The new perspective, however, emphasises the element of transformation for individuals who through languaging and translanguaging continually undergo the process of inventing and reinventing the(ir) world. The high level of creativity translanguaging involves makes it a trully transformative practice (Mazak 2017).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has engaged in the argument that cultural translation can be understood as a process of interpreting cultural meaning and making sense of new encounters in the context of migration, a process which can be directly related to acculturation and cultural adaptation and can also be seen as an element thereof. The theoretical underpinnings of the three terms involve conceptualisations of culture and comprehension of inter- and cross-cultural contacts. While in critical theory and cultural studies culture has been approached from many perspectives, from structuralist to post-modernist, attempts of practical application of the conceptualisations of culture often involve categorising culture in national terms, though this differs in different parts of the world. Yet, regardless of the national perspective, the process of meaning making is an embedded element of adaptation, which involves prior

knowledge that cannot be neatly categorised within national boundaries and which has a transformative effect on individuals under acculturation.

The following chapters focus on the methodology, presentation, analysis and discussion of the findings of the TCAL study in the context of Polish migrants in the East Midlands.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter outlines the research theory and methodology underpinning this study *Translating Cultures, Adapting Lives (TCAL)*. It begins with an overview of approaches to interdisciplinary research to situate this study at the intersection of cultural studies, critical theory and migration research, with focus on the theory of acculturation in order to explore the role of cultural translation in migrant adaptation processes. Further, it focuses on the field of study and the specificity of the context of this research project to progress in the subsequent section to a detailed explanation of the data collection methods used in the TCAL study, including the justification of the use of the adopted online research tools. This chapter also provides an account of data analysis methods applied in the scrutiny, evaluation and interpretation of the results accrued in this study.

3.1. Research Traditions, Orientation and Philosophy

Inter- and cross-disciplinarity are the main features of the research traditions, orientation and philosophy relevant to this research study. Furthermore, since the study can be conveniently located at the interface of critical theory, cultural studies, diaspora and migration research and translation studies, this section will draw upon the main traditions and philosophy pertinent to those disciplines.

Within cultural studies, theories presented within the Birmingham School as well as the Frankfurt School require an integrative methodological approach as the focus of cultural research is built on notions of culture, people, social contexts, communication, texts, audiences and creation. Hence, as Saukko (2008, p. 457) observes, the unique feature of cultural studies is

the way in which it combines a hermeneutic focus on lived realities, (post)structuralist critical analysis of discourses that mediate our experiences and realities, and a contextualist/realist investigation of historical, social, and political structures of power.

In addition, the transforming role of criticality in cultural and social research cannot be neglected. Kincheloe and McLaren (2008, p. 407) highlight the evolutionary character of critical theory by asserting that “criticality and the research it supports [...] are always encountering new ways [...] to provide more

evocative and compelling insight”. In this way, social exclusion, marginalised themes and ignored concepts can be uncovered. *Cultural translation* is one such topic. It is still under-researched and is virtually non-existent in research in the field of migration. Thus, postmodernist, poststructuralist and postcolonial critique seems valuable for deeper understanding of human experiences of exposure to different cultures and systems of values at the levels of individual and community. In addition, the developmental nature of criticality as an element of analysis bestows much desired objectivity on the unit of study.

One of the major traditions in qualitative research is *phenomenology*, which inquires about the core of a phenomenon. This will differ among disciplines in terms of the unit of study: individual or group one. This research tradition is based on Husserl’s (1913/1962 cited in Patton 2002, p. 105) philosophical supposition that ‘we can only know what we experience.’ Hence, for Husserl, at the centre of any study lies the *lived experience*. Therefore, intentionality is central to the idea of phenomenological description. In this way, experience, perception, evaluation and consciousness of time, space and surrounding reality are of high significance to critical, cultural and migration research. For the *lived experience*, researchers need to conduct in-depth interviews with individuals who have first-hand experience of the phenomenon in question (Patton 2002), so reflection and reflexivity become one of the main modes of obtaining reliable data. Nonetheless, Van Mannen (1990 cited in Patton 2002) points out that phenomenological reflection is retrospective and recollective as it refers to an experience that has already been lived through. Roth (2000: 96) further observes that what seems to be often lost in social research is the detail of everyday life-world.

Phenomenology is a philosophical tradition that takes as its starting point the phenomena of everyday experiences and seeks to clarify these in a rigorous way by careful observation and description. Therefore, definitive descriptions and filtered portrayal of structures of experience and the essence of experience, as Patton (2002) puts it, are the core of phenomenological research. In addition, some scholars also perceive *heuristics*, which is the narrowing element of the research framework in that it incorporates the researcher’s personal experience

with the studied phenomenon, as a form of phenomenological inquiry; however, Douglas and Moustakas (1985 cited in Patton 2002) emphasise four ways in which heuristic research seems to be in opposition to a phenomenological analytical approach: heuristic connectedness, significance of an individual, creative synthesis and visibility of participants. Patton (2002, p. 109), nonetheless, contends that “heuristic research epitomizes the phenomenological emphasis on meanings and knowing through personal experience”. Therefore, it can be assumed that the phenomenological approach, including heuristics, is rather akin to the ethnographic tradition and is therefore relevant to the TCAL study in that the study is oriented at capturing *cultural translation*, a concealed element of migrant adaptation to life in a destination culture.

Another interpretive approach to research in cultural and social studies is *constructivism*, *social constructivism* in particular. It refers to constructing knowledge about reality rather than creating reality itself. The main constructivist concepts include: (1) truth as a matter of consensus, (2) facts within value frameworks, (3) imputed causes and effects, (4) contextualized phenomena and (5) data that represent another construction to be analysed. Thus, *deconstruction* has become the main constructivist tool that incorporates critical analysis for the purpose of bringing critical assumptions into light despite “true reality” being questionable as “reality can be elusive and truth can be difficult to determine” (Patton 2002, p. 91). Therefore, as Patton (2002, p. 91 original emphasis) points out, the search for truth has taken the ‘*correspondence perspective*’ that allows researchers to connect and verify patterns observed in the “real world”.

As for interpretation, *hermeneutics* is also significant. In opposing logical empiricism and independent reality and by focusing on the context and meaning of human actions, *hermeneutics* also emphasizes interpretation and questions absolute interpretations, which also has implications for the objectivity and subjectivity balance in research. This approach uses *narrative analysis* as the main research tool to examine personal accounts of individuals and the interpretation of those within a certain tradition. In that, a hermeneutic approach reveals phenomenological influences of the concept of *lived experience* (Patton,

2002). Furthermore, it is important to consider the *epistemology* - the concerns around acquiring knowledge and assumptions associated with it - and the *ontology* - a broader approach that looks at the very nature of reality and to what extent it is independent or mediated through interaction (Saunders et al. 2012), which in essence is what hermeneutic analysis involves. This reaches beyond sociological methodology and allows for a more explicit and detailed interpretation of issues within the fields of interculturality and languaging. To that end Moyer (2008, p. 19, original emphasis) also positions “the *epistemologies*, [...] the object of knowledge” and ‘the *ontologies*, [...] traditionally counted as data in the field’ in the centre of researching bilingualism and multilingualism. She further classifies four approaches that are useful for researching language as (1) ‘form and structure’, (2) ‘competence and tacit knowledge’, (3) ‘production and perception’, (4) ‘social action and practice’ (Moyer 2008, p. 19-23). Except the first one, the other three perspectives are applicable to the context of intercultural relations, transculturation, translanguaging and translation of cultures that play a role in the processes of adaptation and acculturation in the context of migration.

There seem, however, to be varying views and approaches regarding the role, function and relevance of language(s) in cultural studies. Although language is viewed as the primary symbol system through which meaning is constructed and conveyed (Holstein and Gubrium 1994), constructivists as well as postmodernists regard language as an important aspect that can prevent the expression of “true reality” in that it can reflect well established social constructs and cultural aspects. Structuralists also argue that by communicating the construction of the dominant social group, language is more likely to create a screen between humans and the world as it is (Patton 2002). Therefore, *semiotics*, another research approach related to language and meaning construction, seems to be applicable to the TCAL study as it provides a framework not only for analysing how the meaning is carried and conveyed in context, but also, as Punch (2014, p. 195) observes, for depicting a discourse of any “sign-mediated social activity”. It can also be supported by discourse analysis (DA), which is used to “identify broad discourse(s)” (Silverman 2014, p. 321) and “interpretive repertoires [understood as] systematically related sets

of terms” (Potter in Silverman 2014, p. 321) that can focus on the syntax, stylistics, coherence and logic of linguistic production.

Although the theoretical approaches and the philosophy of research in cultural and social studies may vary, they are all aimed at studying the ethnographic exchange between cultural and ethnic groups. Hence, the following sections focus on a more detailed application of the above approaches to the research project *Translating Cultures, Adapting Lives*.

3.2. Methodological Approach in TCAL

Exploring *cultural translation* requires research theory and practice from the cultural, social and linguistic perspectives; however, it needs to be noted that certain philosophical approaches are overarching within arts, humanities and social sciences. Critical Research seems to be particularly applicable in this study due to its features such as multimodality, diachronicity and multidimensionality. Kincheloe and McLaren (2008, p. 403) emphasise that ‘(a) there are many critical theories [...], (b) the critical tradition is always changing and evolving, and (c) critical theory avoids too much specificity, as there is room for disagreement among critical theorists.’ Hence a study of *cultural translation* among migrants for the purposes of their acculturation can be genuinely conducted with the use of qualitative inquiry and quantitative methods, though the latter is less prominent in cultural and diaspora studies due to its static view of reality and the resultant limited ability to serve the exploration of processes.

Kincheloe and McLaren (2008, p. 404–405) provide an extensive definition of a criticalist, a researcher whose work provides a social or cultural critique is applicable to the TCAL study in that researchers of socio-cultural matters need to be aware that ‘all thought is fundamentally mediated by power relations that are social and historically constituted’ and ‘that the relationship between concept and object and between signifier and signified is never stable or fixed and is often mediated by the social relations’. Yet, their subsequent reference to ‘capitalist production and consumption’ in the context of oppression seems to reach beyond the scope of this study and its philosophical approach. The latter has a phenomenological focus (the *lived experience* of Polish migrants in the

UK) and a constructivist approach aimed at establishing knowledge regarding how migrants' reality is constructed and reconstructed within a new environment. Although objectivity and impartiality have been the ultimate goals of this research project, a heuristic narrowing element, i.e. the researcher's personal experience and intense interest in the phenomenon of cultural translation, was predetermined as to the level of the inter-cultural phenomenon, knowledge and experience of both cultures is necessary to ascertain a textural portrayal of the theme.

Hence, interpretation within this research project is process-oriented. Its primary goal is to understand and construe the nature of cultural translation and interpretation that occurs in the process of acculturation in the context of migration. Such a type of study, according to Patton (2002), requires particular sensitivity to both qualitative and quantitative data, which is what this project aimed to accomplish. In addition, it can involve informal patterns and certain unanticipated activities and interactions, which was confirmed in the case of TCAL.

3.2.1 Data collection methods and tools

In order to obtain data for analysis in the TCAL study, mixed methods were used. Such methodology combines different types of data (qualitative and quantitative) and/or collection methods, which is less limiting as it enables the researcher to draw on a range of evidence instead of one data source (Creswell and Miller 2000; Silverman 2010). Although these two approaches may seem to be the two extremes of the research spectrum, combining the two them in a coherent manner can allow for the benefits of both to be obtained in a research study (Bryman 2008). Quantitative research can be described as a positivist, deductive model aimed at collecting general data that reflects trends and tendencies as it “usually emphasizes quantification in the collection and analysis of data” (Bryman 2008: 697). This approach involves the gathering of a large volume of data; however, as Gibson (2017, p. 195) puts it, such data are only a ‘numeric representation of concepts’. Nonetheless, the main advantage of this approach can be the perceived ability of a detached researcher to gather large amounts of data in an impartial and bias-free manner (Denzin and Lincoln 2000).

The limitations, however, include the limited possibility of addressing and interpreting the complexities of individuals' lives and lifestyles (Silverman 2010).

The qualitative approach to research, on the other hand, allows the exploration of individual phenomena and within their context (Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Silverman 2010). Its flexibility permits unexpected dimensions and offers opportunities for participants to define and conceptualise phenomena and the surrounding world (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). Qualitative research is therefore related “more closely to a constructivist paradigm, which sees truth and meaning as constructed and interpreted by individuals” (Gray 2009, p. 201). Creswell and Clark (2011) perceive the value of qualitative inquiry in the exploration of a phenomenon, with a credit given to the participants' voice, mapping the complexity of the situation and presenting the different perspectives participants may have. Hence, the qualitative approach, including interpretivism, seems suitable for the TCAL study despite criticism of being more open to bias than the quantitative approach (Silverman, 2010). Yet, to explore cultural translation, participants' opinions, views and conceptualisations need to be interpreted.

Regarding the geographical range of this research project, a pragmatic framework was applied. That was because for a project as small as a Master's or doctoral research study, a cross-country research on a population of one to three million migrants³³ would be highly challenging in terms of time, space and volume of data. Secondly, as mentioned in chapter 1, research on Polish migrants has concentrated mostly on the largest cities of the UK, so the East Midlands is an under-represented region when it comes to studies on Polish post-accession migration.

The data was collected in three ways (see Table 3):

- (1) online or paper questionnaire,
- (2) individual interviews, with one pair among the participants, and
- (3) ethnographic observation of migrants in real-life situations and online

³³ The issue of unreliable national migration statistics is explained in the footnotes in Chapter 1.

activity of migrants in the Polish community online fora.

As for qualitative data, samples can be sometimes very small, but can provide rich data as the ‘researcher is in a position to dig deeper and reveal the hidden and counter’ (Holliday 2016, p. 18). This is the case of the TCAL study that reports not only on the lived experience of migrants, but also explores how their perceptions, which are socially constructed, affect their making sense of the destination culture(s). The study also refers to migrants’ lived experience as all queried aspects refer to their everyday life experience and their observations of the surroundings in the culture(s) of their choice.

Table 3 provides a brief overview of the data collection methods and tools used in the TCAL study. It is followed by a detailed descriptions of the tools.

Table 3: Overview of TCAL data collection methods and tools

Data collection tool	Data collection method	Period of data collection	Number of participants	Outcome
Questionnaire	quantitative + qualitative (open-ended questions)	May 2013 – March 2014	97 qualifying responses ~70% female ~30% male	trends in understanding and interpretation of destination culture(s)
Interview	qualitative	June 2013 – March 2014	11 individual 7 institutional (18 in total)	deeper insight into migrants’ understanding and interpretation of destination culture(s), examples of behaviour and language
Ethnographic observation: real-life situations	qualitative	October 2008 – March 2014	n/a	examples of behaviour, verbal and non-verbal communication and language
Ethnographic observation: online communities	qualitative	2010: January/February August 2011: February/March, August/September, December	n/a	examples of issues, verbal communication and language

3.2.1.1 Questionnaire

In order to collect quantitative data where correlation, causation and linearity of the studied aspects could be established, a questionnaire was designed. In the times of increased interconnectedness, virtual reality and high popularity of social media, it seemed reasonable to make the questionnaire available online in order to reach large numbers of respondents. For that purpose, Survey Gizmo software was chosen to perform online data collection and cross-tabulation of accrued results. The unanticipated element of data collection was the decision of some respondents to complete a hard copy of the questionnaire on condition that the researcher read out the questions. In some cases, such a decision was justified by the fact that the respondents were busy (e.g. a hair salon or pizza shop staff) when they were approached in their work places.

The questionnaire comprised 80 questions of various types (Likert scale, Yes/No/Not sure, multiple choice, open-ended and demographic questions) with a comment option offered throughout. Although the volume of the questionnaire may seem extensive, the socio-cultural aspects of migrant life are so rich that it is very challenging if not impossible to capture the core of the adaptation process in just a handful of general questions about the lived experience of migrants in the UK. In some studies on Polish migration, the number of issues discussed with participants was high and exceeded 50 questions (see Eade 2007). Since the issues of acculturation as well as understanding and interpreting cultures are complex and involve a breadth of topics, opinions and perspectives (see chapter 2), narrowing down the focus to a much smaller number of questions would prevent capturing the rich and highly engaging content shared by the survey participants.

Perhaps the Likert scale should be, as Galante (2022) explains, limited to four options, ‘to produce an ipsative measure, or a forced choice in which respondents were unable to be neutral’. Although the content of the questions calls for an ipsative type of self-evaluation and reflection, the neutral (middle-of-the-scale) response may have encouraged somewhat limited reflection, though this could have also been related to the situation, in which the survey was completed by participating individuals.

The content of the questions in the TCAL study was informed by the researcher's professional and personal experience in the area of British culture(s)³⁴ and relevant literature on inter-cultural communication, culture, language and acculturation (e.g. Hall, E. T. 1966, 1898a, 1989b, 1987, 1990; Kim, Y. Y. 2001; Neulip, J. 2012; Besemeres 2008; Berry 1980, 1997, 2009; Berry et al. 2007). All questions were organised in six (five + one) categories:

- (1) identity (ID),
- (2) cultural awareness (CAw),
- (3) cultural adaptation (CAd),
- (4) cultural translation (CT),
- (5) language (LG) and
- (6) general demographic (G).

The initial categorisation (see Appendix 2) was meant to enable easier classification of data in the subsequent analysis.

The questions in the questionnaire (see Appendix 2) were aimed at probing participants' familiarity with concepts, ideas and aspects of life that may have been challenging, congruent or deceptively similar between the cultures. Ahearn (2016), with reference to other studies and her own experience in the field of language and culture, provides an analysis of elements such as colour, shape, material composition or space and spatial relations that explicitly shows how conceptualisations are affected by language and can therefore lead to misunderstanding in intercultural contacts. Boski (2009, p. 564) provides an example of a questionnaire of challenges in a foreign culture that he designed on the basis of Furnham and Bochner's (1986 cited in Boski 2009) culture shock questionnaire, in which he mentions aspects similar to the ones I chose for the TCAL study. Hence, aspects such as leisure and lifestyle, public transport, queueing, going out, physical distance and proximity, social status, religion, customs and festivals, politeness, facial expressions (smile in particular) and

³⁴ The term British culture in its singular form is frequently used as a title for modules in English Philology departments at universities in Poland and possibly other European countries as well. The content of such modules provides general knowledge on the UK in terms of social and cultural life, social and political organisation of the country, the legal system, geography and climate, etc.

recognising irony, sarcasm and humour are identified by Boski (2009) as significant socio-cultural elements as for the Polish context.

The questions, the project description and the consent form were available in two languages, English and Polish, to accommodate possible language preferences of the respondents with regard to reading comprehension and easiness of expression. Initially the questionnaire was planned to be only an online collection tool; however, the practice proved/showed that a hard copy of the questionnaire might be more efficient as not all participants wanted to engage with an online form. Some potential participants agreed to complete the paper version of the survey, but under the condition that the questions would be read out to them. Before dissemination, the questionnaire was piloted/consulted among/with a small group of volunteers of Polish and British background who provided useful feedback regarding the choice of issues and the arrangement of the questionnaire due to their insight into both, home and host, cultures.

As for questionnaire dissemination, information about the project and a link to the online questionnaire were posted on various fora (e.g. Polonia Nottingham, Polonia Leicester, GBritain/Nottingham, Polak w Northampton [transl.: Poles in Northampton], etc.) and in the Polish newspaper – *East Midlands po Polsku* [transl.: *East Midlands in Polish* or *East Midlands the Polish Way*] to reach a broader audience. Information about various Polish online communities was obtained during an observatory study of Polish online forums conducted prior to the main data collection stage. Although technology offers numerous opportunities to communicate and engage with people, it turned out that potential respondents were rarely interested in completing the questionnaire when they saw the project advert or a post on a community forum; however, their interest rose significantly when information and requests were disseminated as a word of mouth, whether orally or via Facebook and e-mail. Hence the snow-ball sampling technique proved effective. This issue also has significant implications for the interpretation of data in terms of practical representation of certain national features, which is discussed in Chapter 4.

3.2.1.2 Interviews

Interviews were undertaken to obtain a deeper insight into the issues of cultural translation and acculturation prompted in the questionnaire. As for participants, those interviews provided an opportunity to reflect upon life decisions and settlement in the UK, as detailed in the description of the study. 11 individual and 7 institutional interviews were conducted (see Table ... in section 3.3 for more details about all interviewees). Individual interviewees were recruited from among questionnaire respondents on a voluntary basis. Institutional interviewees were approached as a result of information gathered in other individual interviews and through desktop research on migrant issues in the East Midlands. The questionnaire and interview schedules overlapped due to time constraints related to my status of a part-time student and a full-time employee, though when collecting data I was rigorous about the completion of the questionnaire before the interview as the latter served as a more in-depth investigation of the aspects in question.

Since a Likert scale format used in parts of the questionnaire can measure attitudes and opinions on an ordinal scale only, some opinions were elicited in interviews in the form of description or feature specification provided by individual interviewees, e.g. conceptualisations of *Polishness* and *Being Polish*. Interviewees were expected to determine the meaning and representation subjectively, without a formalized definition being provided in advance. Similarly, the feeling of adaptation was elicited from interviewees instead of a response to a pre-defined construct. In the afore-mentioned study among Polish migrants in London by Eade (2007), participants were also prompted to generate responses representative of their opinions and feelings, which resulted in a rich picture of the ethnic aspect of the community. Similar achievements were hoped for the TCAL study.

All interviews were arranged individually with each of the volunteer respondents and were recorded with an MP3 voice recorder with a function of noise reduction while all data from paper questionnaires were manually entered online. The questionnaire responses were kept anonymous; however, in the case of interviews, participants revealed their name and sometimes their surname or

age. Hence, in order to comply with ethical requirements, they were anonymised for the purpose data presentation. In terms of institutional interviews, only in one case the interviewee did not agree to be recorded and requested full anonymity. This request was fully respected and the interview was conducted on the phone, without a voice recorder.

All respondents, including the anonymous interviewee, signed their consent to participate in the TCAL research study. All data was stored on the researcher's personal computer, in Dropbox and on Survey Gizmo account while access to all of them was password protected. All consent forms were stored in a locked cabinet in the researcher's office at the university. A research ethics form was approved by the Research Committee of the School of Cultures, Languages and Area Studies of the University of Nottingham prior to the commencement of data collection.

All interviews, apart from one institutional (Nottinghamshire Police), were recorded, and transcribed. Information from the unrecorded interview was written down in the form of notes to be used for analysis. Individual interviewees were informed about the scope of the interview; however, they were intentionally not provided with questions in advance to prevent potentially pre-meditated answers. Institutional interviewees, on the other hand, were provided with a full list of questions in advance so that the interviewees could prepare and collect necessary data. Most interviews were conducted in English; however, two individual and one institutional interview were recorded in Polish. In those cases data selected for the thesis was translated and used in writing in both language versions. Although it might be seen as an idiosyncrasy to offer a choice of languages when both the interviewer and the interviewees share a language, Polish in this case, this oddity is minimised by the transnational, transcultural and translingual context of the study.

Yet, the value of the language choice offers the researcher invaluable access to participants' authentic use of the language of the host culture and prevents potential feelings of 'disempowerment', as Holmes et al. (2013, p. 291) put it, which can be related to an imposed option. Eva Codó (2008, p. 161) emphasises that "declarative data can never be [...] a substitute for data on speakers' actual

linguistic behaviour”, which is particularly applicable to the TCAL study in that the participants were prompted about linguistic aspects of acculturation. A further illustration of this point is one of the interviews recorded in Polish as the interviewee (Hania) chose to speak Polish out of fear that she would not be able to express herself equally well in English. As the interview was progressing, Hania started incorporating first English words and then phrases. Towards the end, she was switching into English because some ideas were easier for her to explain in English. This is a typical example of translanguaging, a situation in which the speaker conveys the meaning through all accessible linguistic means, assuming or knowing that they will be fully understood by the interlocutor. Yet, the observed linguistic behaviour is an invaluable source of information about the participants’ authentic expression in English and the extent of their cultural translation.

For analysis purposes, the content of the interviews was coded and categorized with the use of Atlas.ti, online software for qualitative research. All interview transcripts were coded and the generated codes (101 in total, see examples of codes in Appendix 3) were grouped to reflect the four main categories included in the questionnaire, i.e. identity, cultural awareness, cultural translation and language. Since the topic is complex and responses can be quite subjective, many codes fell into more than one category, hence, some overlap among the five categories was observed. As for the choice of cultural aspects for the interview questions, as can be seen in Appendices 4-5, interview questions were aimed at gaining a deeper insight of issues included in the questionnaire. Interviewees were asked to reflect on everyday issues as well as on items referring to perception, e.g. naming colours (i.e. purple vs. violet) or describing potential inhabitants of residential areas shown in pictures to test their perception and awareness of indicators of social status.

3.2.1.3 Ethnographic Observation in Real Life and Online Communities

Close observation remains one of the main methods and an unobtrusive way of conducting research in the field of cultural studies (Pickering 2008, Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009). Ethnographic observation was a continuous process enabled by a high availability of cultural and linguistic cases among the large Polish

population in the East Midlands and was ongoing between October 2008 and March 2014. All information, including content, date and place, was recorded in a notebook, which guaranteed continuity throughout the period of observation. Although the study included some elements of autoethnography, i.e. reflecting upon my own culture of origin as one part of the project, I did not reflect upon myself as part of the community (Patton 2002) as I do not feel particularly bonded with the Polonia, apart from speaking Polish, which in turn can also be limited by my accent or regional connotations. Yet, my personal and professional experience was the starting point for the whole study, informed the selection of aspects for the questionnaire and the interviews and enabled the linguistic and socio-cultural focus during observation.

As for online communities, the portals (platforms) chosen for this study are sites established primarily for the Polish UK migrants in the UK. Initially, only five large cross-country community portals were chosen; however, the list expanded to 18 websites, which are included in the Appendix 6. Notes from and snapshots of websites and forum activities were recorded with a certain regularity, i.e. in 2010: January/February and August and in 2011: February/March, August/September, and December. Detailed and precise statistics with regard to the number of forum members is not readily available and is possibly less relevant for a number of reasons. Firstly, the virtual world is rather changeable, hence membership numbers can be updated frequently. Secondly, website owners and moderators may be reluctant to publicly reveal statistics. Thirdly, website and forum membership can be multiple as there are no restrictions as to how many accounts an individual can register. Therefore, detailed statistics of forum participants and viewers does not really reflect the size of the Polish community or the real number of active online community members. In terms of ethical issues and consent, only fora that are publicly available and do not require member login were observed as this allowed me to view publicly available content, not substance that may be restricted to interest groups or closed communities.

3.3 Sampling and participants of the study

The preferred method was random sampling due to the fact that Polish migrants

live in all local communities and represent a social mixture with regard to their place of origin, i.e. originate from many regions of Poland (see Fig. 8) and exemplify a variety of ethnicities. In the process of collecting data, due to features such as limited trust or distance towards strangers, which could be potentially classified as ethnic and/or national, the snow ball sampling technique proved to be more efficient than searching for research participants through advertising. Despite relying on word of mouth, which could be a limiting way of recruiting participants, the findings of the study seem to exhibit features of a broader socio-economic range of participants, an age spectrum and an array of places of origin. The main criteria in participant selection included: (1) Polish nationality, (2) post-EU accession arrival and settlement in the UK and (3) residence in the East Midlands.



Figure 8: Individual Participants' declared place of origin

Source: map: <https://www.freeworldmaps.net/europe/poland/political.html>, data: TCAL

The survey was accessed 195 times, with 116 completed responses. Out of the latter, 97 qualified for further analysis as the remaining ones were completed by migrants from other parts of the UK or second-generation migrants. 70% of questionnaire respondents were female and only 30% male. In both cases more than half of each group were individuals from the 26-35 age group. Similarly for

interviews, participants from the same age group were most eager to talk about their acculturation and adaptation experiences.

The data obtained from face-to-face (paper) questionnaire sessions were entered manually into the software.

Although a sample of 97 respondents constitutes slightly less than 0.2% of the Polish population in the East Midlands, and I therefore do not claim that this is representative of the new Polish population in the region, the extent of the results provides a basis for the exploration of cultural elements that may constitute a difference between the home culture(s) of migrants and the culture(s) of their destination (host culture), which can lead to the translation of culture(s) as an element of the process of migrant acculturation and cultural transformation.

Interview participants were selected from among questionnaire respondents who were willing to further participate in the study. Elements that frequently impacted on my ability to contact potential interviewees and arrange an interview were related to time constraints (due to my full time job) and distance, including public transport availability as it was more challenging if not sometimes impossible to reach small places rather than cities or towns in the region. However, only one participant found a Skype interview a reasonable and workable solution to the issue of distance. The list of all interviews is presented in Table 4.

Table 4: List of Interview Participants of the TCAL Study

No	Interview category	Participant (pseudonym)	Age or Age Group	Occupation / Job in the UK	Origin in Poland	Date and place of interview	Consent given
1.	Individual	Adam	26-35	PhD student	Poznań / Gniezno (Wielkopolska/ Greater Poland)	12 Sept 2012 Nottingham	✓
2.	Individual	Bogdan	46-55	bus driver	Lublin	22 June 2013 Nottingham	✓
3.	Individual	Dorota	26-35	researcher	Kraków area (Małopolska)	12 Aug 2013 Loughborough	✓
4.	Individual	Daniel	26-35	(unwilling to disclose details)	Kraków area (Małopolska)	12 Aug 2013 Loughborough	✓
5.	Individual	Edward	46-55	bus driver	Warsaw	27 Aug 2013 Nottingham	✓
6.	Individual	Hania	56-65	nurse	Wrocław (Dolny Śląsk)	28 Aug 2013 Nottingham	✓
7.	Individual	Iwona	26-35	English language teacher	Aleksandrów Łódzki (Łódź region)	20 Sept 2013 Nottingham	✓
8.	Individual	Janka	26-35	social enterprise owner	Wrocław area (Dolny Śląsk/ Lower Silesia)	5 Feb 2014 Derby	✓
9.	Individual	Katarzyna	26-35	lecturer	Gdańsk (Pomorze/ Pomerania)	17 March 2014 Skype (from Southwell, Nottinghamshire)	✓
10.	Individual (pair)	Marta and Mirek	26-35 26-35	Police force and businessman	Tarnowskie Góry (Śląsk/ Silesia) Wrocław (Dolny Śląsk/ Lower Silesia)	21 March 2014 Nottingham	✓
11.	Individual	Patryk	26-35	community engagement	Kraków area (Małopolska)	22 March 2014 Derby	✓

No	Interview category	Participant	Description	Date and place of interview	Consent given
12.	Institutional	Polish Consulate	Polish consular mission that provides support for citizens of Poland in the United Kingdom	23 October 2013 Manchester	✓
13.	Institutional	The Square Mile	a language learning project for the community in Leicester – one square mile around De Monfort University	15 January 2014 Leicester	✓
	Institutional	EEMAC	Eastern European Migrants Advisory Committee, established in Derby to provide support for migrants from Eastern and Central Europe	14 February 2014 Derby	✓
14.	Institutional	SPEA – Skegness Polish Educational Association	a community-based association established to provide education (Polish Saturday school) for the children of Polish origin in Skegness	8 March 2014 Skegness	✓
15.	Institutional	SPS – Signpost to Polish Success	a charity organisation established to provide support for Polish migrants in the East Midlands	12 March 2014 Nottingham	✓
16.	Institutional	Lincs - NHS Lincolnshire	a diversity unit of the National Health Service in Lincoln	19 March 2014 Lincoln	✓
17.	Institutional	Nottinghamshire Police, Pre-Crime Unit		20 March 2014 Nottingham	✓ Notes only, no recording (see Appendix 7 for explanation)
18.	Institutional	Association of Poles in Great Britain	an association established by the Polonia to support members of their community in the United Kingdom	23 March 2014 Nottingham	✓

3.4 Ethical issues

The data was collected in accordance with ethical standards of the University of Nottingham. All questionnaire and interview participants were provided with written information about the project: the opening page in the online survey and a paper version for hard copy questionnaires and interviews. All participants were informed about their right to withdraw at any point and informed consent (Appendix 8) was obtained from all participating individuals. Participants' time was respected and surveys as well as interviews were conducted at times and in places convenient for the participants. There were no incentives offered or given to any of the participants. All data was anonymised, with pseudonyms assigned to interview participants.

3.5 Data analysis methods and perspectives

To collect data, computer technology assisted me in designing and collecting survey data (SurveyGizmo) and analysing interviews (Atlas.ti). In terms of perspectives applied to data analysis, interpretive approach was found the most suitable for the interviews, open-ended questionnaire responses and observation for its primary values include contextualism, pluralism and personal experience. A utilitarian approach was applied to the analysis of survey data as it is effective for structured data (Greene 2003). The analysis was conducted with the use of the intercultural paradigm as this approach correlates well with the acculturation framework and the concept of cultural translation. This was further supported by elements of discourse and narrative analyses with regard to social, cultural and linguistic representations observed among the participants of the study, which are crucial to identifying the translated elements of migrant acculturation in the East Midlands. Part of the analysis did explore gender in relation to various aspects of acculturation and cultural interpretation. However, despite the gender bias amongst the participants (70% were female), gender itself was not a main focus of the study. Therefore it was explored to a limited extent, as the existence of this sample bias resonated with debates around the recently observed phenomenon of the feminisation of migration (see Schrover and Moloney 2013, p. 11). Thus, there is a commentary on gender aspects of the findings and tentative suggestions made as to areas that might benefit from further research from the gender perspective.

3.5.1 Use of Survey Gizmo

SurveyGizmo, an online software for research data collection, was used to assist questionnaire data collection and analysis. Online access enabled participants to complete the survey in a convenient place and at the time of their choosing. As for the researcher, the suitability criterion was fulfilled by instant access to monitor the survey's progress and data analysis tools. The data was selected, categorized and cross-tabulated with the use of SurveyGizmo. Reports were created and downloaded while charts and graphs were used as illustrations in the analysis chapters of the thesis. The benefits of the use of an online tool for data collection and analysis were immense, taking the volume of data generated in this study. Regrettably, due to a change in commercial policy of the company, access to the project on SurveyGizmo was lost before all the final corrections to this thesis were implemented.

3.5.2 Use of Atlas.ti

Although Atlas.ti is mostly recommended for qualitative analysis under grounded theory, I decided to use it to facilitate the management of a relatively large volume of interview text; however, I followed the coding principles suggested by Charmaz (2014) in that I examined text line-by-line and coded with a preservation of the original language used by interviewees. The codes were grouped to form the categories designed in the study planning phase (see Appendix 3). Since some codes overlapped across categories, a neat division was not always possible. Hence, the adopted interpretive approach proved to be the appropriate one.

3.5.3 Triangulation and cross-tabulation

The data collected was cross-tabulated within SurveyGizmo and triangulated to verify convergence of ideas across the methods (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009). While some data appeared convergent across all methods, which means full confirmation of the phenomenon was achieved, other aspects seemed contradictory between methods and at times with the same respondent. This shows the complexity of lived experience and volatility of attitudes and opinions.

3.5.4 Analyses: thematic, discourse and semiotic

The TCAL study draws on research analysis associated with Critical Discourse Analysis, representing constructivism, namely discourse and narrative analysis, typical of phenomenology and hermeneutics, and semiotic analysis including contrastive linguistics and sociolinguistics, as for the part of research philosophy. Detailed examples that constitute the analysis of migrants' identity, acculturation and cultural translation are presented in Chapters 4-6. The results and examples obtained from the participants were related to the underpinning theory of acculturation and cultural translation.

While the provision of both languages in the study, Polish and English, could be easily questioned in the context of the shared language of the researcher and the participants, it actually allowed for in-vivo testing of translanguaging, linguistic borrowing, inter-lingual influences, pronunciation and sounds, and syntactical issues. It also gave the interviewees linguistic freedom to choose the language they felt was easier for them to express their meaning, which resulted in participants floating between Polish and English in order to capture the core and accurately express their ideas in terms of explicit and implicit meaning. While comments in survey responses provide hard evidence for the awareness of cultural aspects and proficiency in both languages, during the interviews, notes were taken regarding aspects such as pronunciation and native and target language influences.

3.6 Positionality, Reflexivity and Reflection on the Process

The issue of the researcher's position is important for determining the trustworthiness of a study. While replicability of research is of high significance in scientific research, findings from a qualitative study can be of assistance to other researchers exploring similar contexts who may compare their own results (Bryman 2008) and will therefore search for well-set research studies in their area of interest. Each of the two positions, insider or outsider, in the study has its advantages and disadvantages for the research process and the findings. The importance of this can vary, depending on the purpose and context of the study (Bonner and Tolhurst 2002). Denzin (2014, p. x) emphasises that an interpretive autoethnographic 'begins with the biography of the writer and moves outward to culture, discourse, history,

and ideology). As already explained, the biographical element in the TCAL study refers only to studying a group with whom I share the origin and the language, which itself is a generalisation that overlooks regional and dialectal differences. As much as I can identify myself with the country of origin and the Polish language; yet, I do not find my motives to live in the UK and my lifestyle comparable with many migrants from Poland (or elsewhere). On the other hand, I am not native to the UK, but my long-term interest in British cultures and the Anglophone world, together with my professional background and education, position me in the outer circles of the local Polish community. Therefore, I can assume that in the TCAL study I take both positions, with all their pros and cons, which provides me with a unique opportunity to gain a good grasp of subtleties that are crucial for the identification and analysis of *cultural translation*.

While it can be assumed that the insider can have easier access to the studied community, it was necessarily the case in the data collection process for TCAL. As explained, collecting the sample was not a smooth process at the beginning due to an observable lack of trust and distance of the potential respondents. In Boston, for example, there was a reported serious social tension between the local and migrants communities; therefore, I was not able to find individuals who were willing to talk or participate in any study, with the exception of one company owner. Many individuals were not willing to just reject my request, but they felt they somehow had to justify their decision and distance. Some explained the situation briefly by saying that my description sounded interesting; however, their concern was that it would not change anything in their situation in Boston, if not make it worse. They were afraid of repressive repercussions if they were seen ‘complaining’ to someone. Similarly, the local priest refused to talk without permission from the Polish Catholic Mission.

Lincolnshire was challenging because of social tension; however, in other parts of the region the snowball sampling technique was very effective. Once trust and a relationship were established, participants were eager to e-mail link to the questionnaire to their family, friend and colleagues, explaining that it was trustworthy as they knew the researcher. It was, however, different with online dissemination of the link. While some members of online communities send

feedback that they found the topics, the questions and perspectives very interesting and thought-provoking, others commented that they would not participate as they were not willing to contribute to the researcher's future wealth while they were expected to provide responses without any gratuity. Such situations must be related to features transferred from the culture of origin, which are presented at length in the findings chapters (chapters 4-6).

A researcher must, however, refrain from personal judgement and opinion as well as be impartial and consistent; however, pure objectivity is hardly realistic (Patton 2002). Therefore, I recorded all data, even though some presented opinions that sounded outrageous at that time. Yet, the 2015-16 political turn in national and international politics materialised Simic's (2000 cited in Patton 2002: 93) concept of "constructed, ever-changing reality", according to which "the only reality" is a false assumption as "the next moment another reality will replace it". Therefore, a qualitative researcher should have a highly reflexive approach (Patton 2002, Bryman 2008), which I tried to adopt through keeping notes on my personal observations and feelings throughout the research period. I also tried to avoid bias or normative thinking; however, this proved challenging at times.

3.7 Conclusion

The methodology adopted in the TCAL study follows an interpretive tradition and involves mixed qualitative methods to investigate the role of the translation of culture(s) in acculturation and adaptation of Polish migrants in the UK. The five categories assigned appear to be the distinctive groups of issues pertinent to the intercultural aspects of migrated lives. The next three chapters present and discuss the findings of the TCAL study, focusing on issues of identity and its (re)creation among Polish post-accession migrants in the East Midlands (chapter 4), acculturation of migrants (chapter 5) and cultural translation (chapter 6). As explained in chapter 1, the findings chapters (4-6) are intentionally organised in a reverse order of the themes from the theory chapter (chapter 2).

Chapter 4: The Issues of Identity: Perceived Polishness in the UK Context

An individual is helpless without a cultural heritage to work on.

Edward Sapir

This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the TCAL study on the theme of the meaning, construction and reconfiguration of Polishness, the perceived Polish *identity/ies*, in terms of elements of *national* and *cultural identities*, with reference to identity factors emphasized by the participants of the study in the context of their migration to the UK, transnational lives and cross- and transcultural settings. The data in this chapter derives from the interviews, the questionnaire and ethnographic observations, including real life situations and online communities. The importance, retention and reconfiguration of the *identity/ies* of Polish post-accession migrants is viewed within the inter-cultural context in which they operate. Polishness, however, is presented in the form it is understood and explained by the participants, without any pre-defined assumptions. Hence, the discussion on the respondents' manifestations of Polishness is an attempt to specify the core elements of the complex theme of the Polish *identity/ies*.

4.1. Being Polish in the Host Community

As established in Chapter 2, for migrating individuals, identity is often expressed under diasporic conditions. Since *identity* formation is a process that is enabled by the recognition of differences, only then diasporic consciousness may emerge to confront the notion of the nation – ‘the idea[l] of a cultural norm that is ascribed to or prescribed by those occupying the boundaries of the nation-state’ (Kalra et al. 2005: 30). Further to the literature review, it needs to be reemphasised that the strong notion of, if not an obsession with, nation states is a dominant, but widely disputed feature of the discourse in European contexts, as opposed to North American perspectives. Hence, it is debatable, however, whether the community of Polish post-accession migrants can be categorized as a diaspora.³⁵ On the one hand,

³⁵ A paper discussing the controversy of the application of the term diaspora to Polish post-accession migrants was presented

the exile connotations of the term are not entirely applicable under the conditions of free movement within the EU. On the other hand, modern diasporas can be characterized by the “lived experience of the locality” (Brah 1996: 192) and “migrancy, settlement [and] ‘making one’s home’ rather than [...] fixating on a ‘homeland’” (Tsagarousianou 2004: 58–59). Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis and the topic of acculturation, the term *community* seems to be more applicable.

In the context of crossing borders, *identity* becomes increasingly important for both the migrant and the host community; hence, the imposed division into *cultural* and *national identity* becomes more fluid while *ethnicity* plays a somewhat more significant role; however, with reference to the Polish community in the UK, the terms *cultural* and *national identity* are more prevalent, not to say the participants of the TCAL study hold strong convictions of their national belonging. Although Berry et al. (2007, p. 97) argue that ‘the case for national characteristics has not been clearly established’ to form ‘a valid basis for scientific knowledge’ and Anderson (2006) questions the validity of national concepts, Polishness, the Polish identity/ies, can be seen as a *national identity* from the UK perspective. It has been formed in the history of imperial expansion, defeat, experimental socialism and a return to united Europe (see Chapter 1). Historical events, political developments and social circumstances must have had a bearing on the set of values and characteristics that gained prominence among people identifying themselves as Polish or claiming ‘Polish belonging’. The question though is to what extent the state rhetoric of *cultural belonging* and *national cultural values* is imprinted in migrants’ minds (Anderson 2006) and how little it reflects the phenomenological *belonging* and lived experience of migrating individuals.

In order to establish what Polishness means to Polish migrants and how it manifests in them in the UK context, the TCAL individual interviewees were asked to elaborate ‘how [their] Polishness manifests’. Overall, the responses varied; however, all interviewees seemed puzzled and needed some time to formulate their

at the 5th Diaspora Conference in Oxford in June 2012: ‘Cultural Adaptation and Translation as Motivation for Researching the Polish Diaspora in the United Kingdom’ and published in R. Serebnytska-Abou Eid (ed.) *Diasporic Choices* (2013), available at: <http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/publishing/product/diasporic-choices>

answers. While some of them responded that it was

a good question (Patryk),

a hard question (Janka)

or

a very difficult question (Adam),

most answers indicated a challenge in describing the individuals' identification as Polish, suggesting that national identity may be an inflated concept. Others seemed bewildered and tried to gain time to think by rephrasing the question, e.g. Edward:

You mean my Polishness, how it manifests?

[PL: Znaczy, moja polskość, jak się objawia?].

Yet, they also struggled with defining what they claimed existed. Although in literature determinants of the Polish culture are tackled to a certain extent (see Dyczewski 2002 or Boski 1992, 2006), the observed difficulty that the question posed for the participants or triggered their reflection points towards the complexity, contextuality and changeability of *identity*, whether *national* or *cultural*. It also indicates how superficial and indeed essentialist the concept of national identity can be.

Furthermore, some of the interviewees made an explicit link between their Polishness and their

nationality (Adam and Janka)

or

passport, citizenship (Katarzyna)

while others pointed towards

the obvious legal bindings that come with the nationality (Mirek).

These interpretations demonstrate the afore-mentioned nation-state mindset that operates across Europe (see Leerssen 2006), recall the concept of *national cultures* and Kłoskowska's (2012b: 123, 129, 2001: 118) univalence, an integral form of national identification, which constitutes one of four categorisations of *cultural*

valence. This is further confirmed by other participants who refer to Poland as a place of their origin and family roots (Iwona). Adam also explained his view on Polishness by saying

[w]e as a nation,

which further demonstrates that Polish migrants see themselves as a national rather than ethnic community in the UK and tend to use divisive language of ‘us’ and ‘them’ to emphasise their difference. The TCAL institutional interviews seem to partially confirm the national categorization by using terms such as

Polish population

or

Polish or Latvian (Lincs);

however, more research is needed into the local perceptions of migrants, bearing in mind that the views may have changed in the post-Brexit referendum reality.

Another aspect the TCAL participants indicated in relation to Polishness is the dichotomy of national pride and shame. For some participants their Polishness manifests in

feeling Polish and being proud of it, not ashamed

(PL: czuję się Polakiem, jestem z tego dumny i nie wstydzę się (Edward).

National pride was also confirmed by Daniel who feels proud of Polish history and for whom

to be Polish is to know Polish history,

even though his statement regarding Poland being ‘a post-Soviet Union country’ could be classified rather as an alternative historical fact.

The opposite was reported by other participants. Being ashamed of the Polish origin was emphasized by Hania who reported that

the truth is that many people feel ashamed [of speaking Polish] in public places’

[PL: [t]ak samo w miejscach publicznych [...] bo wiele ludzi wstydzi się [mówić po polsku] i taka jest prawda].

Furthermore, Adam also emphasized Polishness-related embarrassment that he observed in the UK context³⁶ in the form of denying or not admitting migrants' Polish origin. This reported interplay between national pride and shame may relate to the issue of self-esteem and perceived lower self-worth of Polish people (Boski 2009) as opposed to higher levels of assertiveness among British people. While pride seems to be more commonly associated with national belonging, the mentioned embarrassment reveals certain levels of Jung's collective unconscious rather than Kołakowski's shared national memory (Wodak 2009) as it may result from oppression-related insecurities formed in the times of the partitions and later in the People's Republic and peasant ancestry-related complexes that perpetuated in society since feudal times. The observed shame can also originate from individual experiences of life in the UK and may therefore indicate migrants' survival strategy in the host culture, which in turn could be a technique transplanted from the culture of origin. Finally, it can be an expression of one of the forms of 'reverse ethnocentrism' (Boski 2009, p. 571), which refers to expressed low self-worth, especially in the context of own ethnic group.

Nonetheless, some interviewees affirm that they feel to be a

citizen of the world

[PL: "[j]estem obywatelem świata"] (Hania and Katarzyna),

despite Hania's explicit statements that the most important for being Polish is to

maintain our customs despite being abroad

[PL: najważniejsze jest utrzymać nasze zwyczaje pomimo, że jesteśmy na obczyźnie]
(Hania)

and

speak Polish among ourselves as there is no need to speak English

³⁶ This issue requires a further and possibly cross-UK study to establish whether the shyness or embarrassment of migrants' origin and language is typical of the East Midlands only, though the post-Brexit referendum context and the reported resultant rise in hate crime may have changed the situation. Yet, Lincolnshire is one of the areas where UKIP was active and seemed successful in their anti-European propaganda. Apart from the reported facts of the frequent involvement and interventions of the Polish Consul in Lincolnshire (Bristol in particular), I received a confirmation of the reported social tension when I was collecting data. One issue was the Boston example mentioned in Section 3.4; however, slightly more tangible evidence was provided by one of the participants in another part of Lincolnshire who admitted at the end of our meeting that initially they were worried when I contacted them. Despite my explanation of how I obtained their contact details, their family warned them to be careful as this may have been a UKIP provocation. This exemplifies the strength of social tension in Lincolnshire, which may have only worsened in the context of Brexit.

(PL: [j]ak rozmawiamy między sobą, to wydaje mi się, że nie ma potrzeby mówić po angielsku.) (Hania)

Hania's convictions are supported by Adam's view that Polishness means

history, customs, [and] way of thinking.

Other participants also emphasized Polish customs and traditions, the language, Polish cuisine, family relations and religion as perceived core elements of Polishness. It seems debatable, though, to what extent those well-established values represent true ego/identity as recent research in Poland (Czapiński quoted in Pielacha 2016: 74) shows a growing disparity between self-perception and the actual compliance with traditional values, which is attributed to the existence of a false ego or false consciousness (see Pielacha 2016).

This false ego observed in Poland can be further supported by Billig's concept of banal nationalism (Billig 1995) that applies to the socio-cultural situation Polish migrants have driven themselves into. While the national adjective is of less importance in the country of origin due to its normalcy and commonality, in the context of migration it becomes signalling flag,³⁷ in other words, a carrier of a wide spectrum of cultural values, norms and traditions that are specific to a national community. Fig. 9 demonstrates an example of a Polish website that offers information advice for Polish migrants. In the left column, it can be clearly seen that the adjective *Polish (polski)* is applied to certain kinds of services, which can be assumed to be important for the community. Similarly, Fig. 8 shows a window of a Polish hair salon in Nottingham (*Polski Salon*). The use of the adjective may suggest either a specific manner of hair dressing, which is less likely in a globalised world, or the availability of service in the Polish language, which may be important for those whose English proficiency is at a lower level.

³⁷ A term coined by the anthropologist, Raymond Firth, who distinguished two functions of flags in contemporary life: symbolic and signalling (Billig 1995).



Figure 9: An example of online banal nationalism
Source: WielkaBrytania.org (2011)



Figure 10: An example of banal nationalism in town
Source: Author's photograph, Nottingham, 13th Dec 2013

4.1.1 Polishness: Identity Construction through Perceived Differences between the Polish and the British

With regard to perceptions of the two cultures, it is evident that there seem to be more differences than similarities; however, it needs to be noted that there is visible contradiction within the responses as all mentioned features in both figures derive from the respondents' individual experience of residence in the East Midlands. Fig. 11 and 12 demonstrate the perceptions of Polish migrants of the features that the

British and the Polish have in common and at which they differ. There is some observable contradiction within the lists, e.g. the quantifier ‘many’ is used to describe both similarities and differences or ‘family orientation’ is given as a similarity and a difference, which indicates varied experience of the respondents. Furthermore, one of the respondents specified that ‘there is history’, hence there are not any features the two groups have in common. One could speculate that what was meant by that statement refers to a historical grievance about the consequences of the Yalta Conference of 1945, which located Poland within the Eastern Block. There is a conviction in the right-wing circles and alternative media in Poland that the country was a trade-off for Western countries in their negotiations with the Soviet Union about the new post-war political order in Europe. This, however, indicates a certain dose of nationalism and an unforgiving attitude.

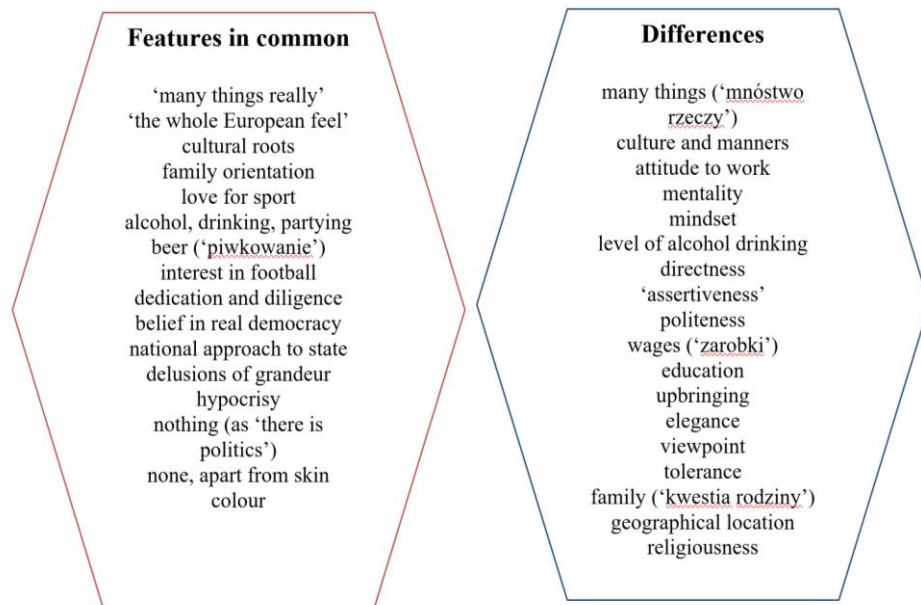


Figure 11: Participants’ view on Polish – British similarities and differences

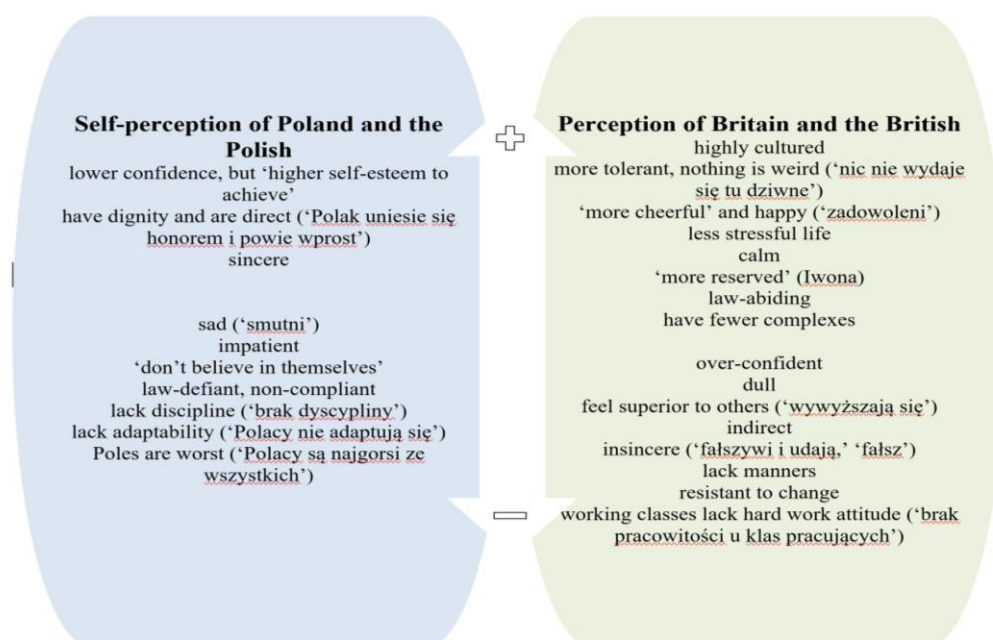


Figure 12: Participants' view on Polish – British similarities and differences

Furthermore, one of the interviewees, Daniel, emphasized, though without much explanation, that the main difference between Polish and British people is the

mindset

while other respondents listed a variety of aspects and identified cultural differences, which facilitated their construction of a picture of the host community. With regard to what the hosts could learn from the Polish, despite overgeneralized responses that British people could learn from the Polish

almost everything

or

nothing good (niczego dobrego),

a majority of the respondents listed at least one feature, which they perceived as outstanding in their inter-cultural comparison. The most frequently mentioned attitude, seen as favourable for the Polish and more negative for the British was work ethic, with its key components in the forms of

diligence [PL: solidność, sumienność] (Dorota),

hard work [PL: pracowitość] (Bogdan, Janka or Patryk)

and

self-efficiency,

thrift (gospodarność)

as well as

resourcefulness (zaradność).

Similar features were identified in a study by Boski (2009, p. 562) on individual characteristics of Polish and Irish employees.

Other listed elements that Polish migrants would eagerly see introduced to the British cultural system, which could be classified as very individual views on appropriating the host culture (Papastergiadis 2011), include

family traditions,

keeping the family together [PL: my walczymy o rodzinę],

culture [PL: kultura] and manners,

culinary skills,

creativity,

go[ing] the extra mile,

better organization (Janka),

multi-modality [PL: wielofunkcyjność],

language[s], “Polish” in particular,

better level of education [PL: bardziej solidne wykształcenie]

or

solutions to public transport.

There were also noted perceptions of limited sincerity in relations. While some of the survey participants observed that the British could

unlearn two-facedness and learn straightforwardness

[PL: oduczyć się dwulicowości i nauczyć prostolinijności]

and

learn not to denounce

[PL: nie donosić],

Bogdan in his interview summarised his perception of the local people as being rather not open, though his phrasing did not suggest being *discreet*, but rather unwilling to interact:

The British keep themselves to themselves. They are not open people. They do ask how you are feeling, but they don't mean it. This is simply a ... a phrase. They are not interested, just ...

[PL: Brytyjczycy są zamknięci w sobie. To nie są ludzie otwarci. Oni niby się pytają ciebie, jak się czujesz, ale oni wcale nie chcą się pytać. Tylko to jest taka... taka formułka. Ich nie interesuje, tylko po prostu...]

Bogdan's comment as well as the comments from the survey may indicate the interpretation stage (Papastergiadis 2011; Maitland 2017) of the participants' translation of cultures and still some gaps in the tacit knowledge of the local that made it challenging for them to comprehend indirectness and respect for privacy as exercised within the host community. In contrast, Hania experienced much openness from the people she worked with and observed much warmth in family relation. Therefore, she concluded as follows:

Openness is what I have learnt here. [...] They are very positive ... and more open to ... to other nationalities, to other people.

[PL: Ja, na przykład, nauczyłam się tutaj otwartości. [...] Oni są bardziej pozytywni ... i bardziej otwarci są właśnie do ... do obcych nacji, do innych ludzi.]

I must say that I was shocked. I work in a hospital and am utterly surprised at ... we say that the English are cold ... but I think it is absolutely not true. I work with fantastic families who care for their parents and grandparents. So it is a stereotype. I thought it would be different, but ... I do think it is an absolutely false notion.

[PL: Powiem, że jestem zaskoczona, ponieważ pracuję w szpitalu, jestem absolutnie zaskoczona, że ... u nas się mówi, że Anglicy są zimni ... uważam, że to jest absolutnie nieprawda. Mam do czynienia z naprawdę fantastycznymi rodzinami, którzy się opiekują rodzicami, dziadkami, itd. [...] Ale mówię, to jest mit. Myślałam, że jest po prostu inaczej, a jednak ... Tu myślę, że to jest absolutny mit]

Such interpretations of culture, values and behaviour have a transformative potential for the individuals and can become new cultural constructs, as they would be seen by Asad (1992).

Another issue raised by the respondents is lack of adaptability. Furthermore,

participants pointed personal issues, such as personal hygiene and acceptable behavior within a group (Edward) or dressing in a classy manner (Katarzyna). Fig. 13 presents a word cloud summary of the elements that Polish respondents perceive as lacking within the British culture.

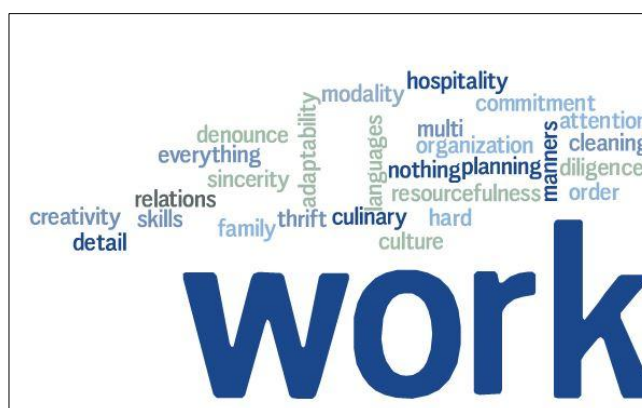


Figure 13: What could the British learn from Polish people as seen by participants

Regarding online activity of Polish migrants, stories of success resemble the notion of the American Dream while descriptions of misfortunes are full of complaints and blame. The successful migrants, though, eagerly identify themselves through presenting their social and educational background as well as personality features which enabled them to accomplish their goals away from home. Particular features of character, such as openness, good interpersonal skills, ability to work hard are mentioned parallel to good language competence. The latter seems to be perceived as an inevitable element of success. On the other hand, certain features of British culture/approach, as opposed to certain Polish features, are mentioned as factors contributing to migrants' positive experiences. Among such traits, the following were mentioned: flexibility, openness, and a straightforward approach to problem solving. The merger of all the features seems to create successful stories of Polish immigrants in the UK.

On the other hand, those migrants who have experienced a series of misfortunes attribute their failure or bad luck, strange lifestyle in the UK, ridiculous and incomprehensible sets of rules, and unfriendly society. Occasionally, some migrants admit that their low levels of language proficiency contribute to the experienced difficulties in their adaptation. It seems interesting to notice how

migrants' judgments of the host culture and society vary due to different experiences and various levels of familiarization with their target culture and reflects notions acquired in the culture of origin.

4.1.2 Maintaining Polishness and identity reconfiguration in the UK

In times of increased mobility and rapid development of transportation and communication technologies, the sense of *belonging* has become more fluid while *identity* has been increasingly understood as a process of negotiating the Self and the Other. Since 'identity is never *a priori*, nor a finished product' (Bhabha 2002: 99, original emphasis), for modern migrating individuals, it undergoes continuous reformulation and reconfiguration to fit new contexts and life situations. Since location does not necessarily signify belonging in the contemporary world, it seems that the meaning of *home* has been detached from its physical representation, a *house*. This is even more significant in terms of Polish migrants as in their culture of origin place attachment and a physical representation of family roots in the form of a house or a piece of land seems to have been prominent. It can be assumed, hence, that in the context of contemporary migration, belonging can be less associated with physical places while individuals may develop somewhat stronger attachment to particular groups. Thus, strong community bonds based on *identity* and a shared sense of belonging may form while the culture of origin can be maintained, though to a varying degree, and identity can be reconfigured. In terms of maintaining *identity*, preserving Polishness seems to be a typical symptom of a diasporic community while the afore-mentioned nationality-related shame and denial of one's origin may indicate attempts of identity reconfiguration.

4.1.3 Home and *belonging* as necessary elements of identity re/construction

Identity and *home* are important terms in a migrant's glossary. Both phrases include the concept of belonging while each of the terms may also relate to physical places and emotional bonds with particular people. Although the idea of migrants being able to find ways in which to "return to their roots" within the context of the host culture may seem to only have a sentimental value. In fact, it can be a motivating factor in building new networks of friends and acquaintances who have a similar

background and can be trusted in a foreign context. In the TCAL study the issues of *home* and *belonging* emerge at multiple levels.

Firstly, when prompted about their feeling of home, the participants provided explicit statements and declarations of their *belonging* and the location of *home*. Patryk summarized the question of home in an emotional statement ‘home is where the heart is.’ Regardless of their age, the participants had divided opinions on the issue of home. Some of the respondents feel well at home in both countries, which is well indicated by the choice of words

Well, ... here and here (Edward)

[PL: No, ... tutaj i tutaj].

By replacing *there* with *here* with reference to a distant place, Edward confirms his affiliation with both homes, i.e. the UK and Poland. Nonetheless, Edward added that he feels at home in his house, not necessarily in the UK as a country. Hania also confirmed that in both countries she feels at home as she is

happy every time [...] on the Polish land and when com[ing] back here to the UK

[PL: za każdym razem sieszę się, jak jestem na polskiej ziemi i cieszę się, jak wracam tutaj do Anglii.

She further explained that they

have accepted that they live here

[PL: przyjęliśmy to, że mieszkamy tutaj, żyjemy tutaj].

The accounts of Edward and Hania demonstrate the importance of one’s own place for the comfort of everyday life (Rybczynski 1987) and render *home* a strong cultural value.

Other respondents are planning to go back to Poland as this is where they truly feel at home and see their future (Janka, Daniel and Bogdan), though a specific time of return remained vague. Janka explained that her reason for not

feel[ing] like at home here

is the fact that

[a]ll [her] family is back in Poland.

Bogdan, on the other hand, mentioned that for him life in the UK is a necessity, though he would like to

earn money and go back to Poland to retire

[PL: “zarobić pieniądze i wrócić do Polski i się zestarzeć”],

which indicates place affiliation of home, another value on the Polish *cultural identity* spectrum and perceived higher levels of humanism (Boski 1992, 2006, 2012). However, other interviewees admitted that they

started having ideas of going to Canada [as they] really felt comfortable there (Dorota),

which may indicate their journey in search of *home* and phenomenological *belonging*. Nonetheless, although many TCAL respondents declared an over-five-year residence in the UK, the findings regarding home feelings are similar to a study by Parutis (2006), in which the participants were relatively new to the country. This indicates that rootedness is of high significance to migrating individuals while feeling of security and home may take a longer time to settle. Hence, the acculturation timeline is very individual and it is likely that cultural translation occurs in that process (Berry et al. 2007; Papastergiadis 2011).

Another level of home in the country of origin and in the host land was related to family relations and friendships as those were among the most frequently listed elements. Janka explained that she has

quite strong connections

with her family, which clearly demonstrates one of the strongest traditional values within the Polish *cultural identity* (Dyczewski 2002). Similar findings can be found in studies by Ryan et al. (2009a); Erel (2011) or (White 2017/2011).

Daniel, on the other hand, does not seem to refer to relations with reference to home, but to space for in Poland he

ha[s] more space for [himself] because space in the UK is very expensive.

Some interviewees declared that neither Poland nor the UK felt homely for a variety of reasons. Dorota, for example, mentioned her family relations only in terms of roots, but not with future reference as she stated clearly that Poland

is a home that [she] remember[s], it's not [her] home now.

Other interviewees disclose that Poland does not feel homely as they are unable to specify their origin in Poland due to the fact that the

family have been moving around a lot (Iwona)

or they enjoy

food, [their] friends, [...] galleries and museums", but they "know it's not a true picture" (Katarzyna).

These findings demonstrate that for some Polish migrants home may no longer be the place of origin, which clearly indicates shifts and reconfigurations of *cultural identity* that point towards evolutionary changes of values and cultural valence, polyvalence or cosmopolitanism in particular (Kłoskowska 2012a)

Another element that signifies *belonging* operates at a subtler level as it is related to the linguistic choices made by the participants and can be revealed in discourse analysis. They seem to reveal patterns in the mind (Freud's unconscious), i.e. the use of pronouns and national adjectives, which is particularly noticeable in individual interviews; therefore. In many cases, being part of the Polish community is marked by the use of the personal pronoun "we" ("my") and, in case of interviews in Polish, the use of "-śmy", which is the inflection for verbs in the 1st person plural form in the past tense. Distancing from the community of origin is marked by the use of the nationality noun, e.g. the Polish ("the Polish also are / Polacy też są" Hania). The most explicit representation of distinguishing the Other, however, is the use of personal pronouns "they" (PL: "oni") or "them" or the noun denouncing nationality or ethnicity "the English" / "the British" [PL: "Anglicy" / "Brytyjczycy"). The linguistic features were observed among all participants, i.e. interviewees and questionnaire respondents.

It was also noted that with regard to the issue of *home*, participants of higher levels of education presented more cosmopolitan attitudes, which is in line with Berry's et al. (2007) claims that acculturation strategies and openness to the host culture can be related to the level of education and experience of other cultures. Hence some of the TCAL participants provide evidence that home, as a strong cultural value, is not necessarily linked with the place of origin, as it used to be, and may therefore

signify multiple *belonging*. Furthermore, those participants for whom their UK residence is not homely enough, may be less accepting of the host culture, which may contribute to their prolonged or thwarted adaptation. It is therefore evident that the issues of *home* and *belonging* depict *identity* as a diachronic concept prone to continual reconfiguration and redefinition.

4.2. The Significance of Traditions, Customs and Conventions for Identity Retention Allegiance

Another set of issues that epitomize maintaining and recreating identity includes traditions, customs and conventions. While interviewees were approached with direct questions about their home allegiance (see section 6.3.1), the questionnaire respondents were prompted regarding their *belonging* in more indirect questions related to celebrations and their civic duties. Christmas, as one of the most important family celebrations in the Polish calendar is well represented in the study for a clear majority of the TCAL participants declared that Christmas celebrations, including Christmas Eve, are of high significance to them (see Fig. 14) even though religiousness is not a prominent result within this study.

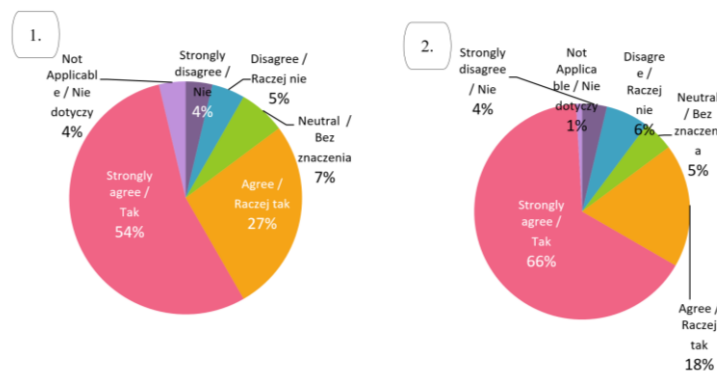


Figure 14: The significance of Polish Christmas traditions: (1) following family
Source: TCAL Online Survey, SurveyGizmo

Since the Polish way of celebrating Christmas involves cultural symbols such as wafer sharing, the tradition of twelve dishes at Christmas Eve supper or Christmas-specific dishes, incorporating those elements into UK celebrations is a strong factor contributing to the retention of elements of migrants' identity of departure. According to Boski's (1992) classification, those elements belong to two of his

categories of national identity, i.e. *symbolic*, relating to symbols, and *correlative*, referring to values and behaviours. Regardless of categorization, however, symbols are of an intangible value as they allow individuals to feel connected with the home culture, which prevents the feeling of uprootedness or displacement and render certainty in the new home. In her interview, Hania also drew attention to the continuation of home customs as an important element signifying identity and belonging:

I think that the most important think is to keep our traditions when abroad.[...] We celebrate in the same way we were brought up.

[PL: wydaje mi się, że najważniejsze jest utrzymać nasze zwyczaje pomimo to, że jesteśmy gdzieś na obczyźnie. [...] Celebrujemy dalej to, co wynieśliśmy ... wynieśliśmy od siebie z domu.]

In contrast, a minority of responses also show diminished significance of the festival in their lives in the host culture, which could be concluded that the respondents are undergoing a cultural transformation (Papastergiadis 2011; Maitland 2017).

In comparison to Christmas, the results regarding All Saints Day (1st November) are more varied as many respondents admit that they do not celebrate. Some survey respondents explained in the open-ended questions that they

do not have any family graves here [in the UK]

[PL: tu nie mam żadnych grobów];

therefore, they are

unable to visit graves of [their] relatives

nie można iść na grób swoich bliskich.

Other respondents emphasised their location or distance from home as an obstacle to following this home tradition by saying that they

do not celebrate the 1st November in the UK

[PL: nie obchodzę 1-go listopada w Wielkiej Brytanii]

or reported that they

try to be in Poland

[PL: staram się być w Polsce]

for the 1st November. Those participants who do not either travel to Poland or have family graves in the UK describe their habits they established in the new home, e.g. lighting candles either at home or in church, going to church on that day or prays at home, which can be seen as a clear element of appropriation of the conditions in the host culture to fit the values from home culture to an extent that can be reached under different socio-cultural conditions (Wierzbicka 2002; Maitland 2017). This is further supported by other survey respondents who mentally engage with the traditions of All Saints Day:

remembering and reflecting on the deceased persons

[PL: myślami jestem z osobami bliskimi, które odeszły z tego świata]

or have space for reflection by making leave adjustments at work:

taking a day off

[PL: biorę wolny dzień]

or attend local ceremonies of the Polish community:

try to attend the ceremony in Newark if I can (Patryk).

Another perspective of managing and reconstructing *identity* is noticeable in those responses that refer to family events that occurred already in the UK and therefore enable the process of negotiating constitutive elements of *cultural identity*. In some cases, tragic family events that have taken place in the UK enable migrants to continue the tradition, hence transfer customs to the new life, which can be exemplified by respondents saying:

here I have the grave of my little son

[PL: mam tutaj grób mojego synka]

or

I go to Eastwood to light a candle on my aunt's grave

[PL: jadę zapalić znicz na grobie cioci w Eastwood].

Since 'every configuration involves old elements and requires a change of a perspective' (Stuart Hall in Akomfrah 2013), the determination to apply the afore-

mentioned home culture customs to events experienced in the migrated life in the UK demonstrate the high strength of those traditions within the Polish culture. Furthermore, some respondents stress the importance of family relations when they report the need to contact the family in Poland or to

send money for flowers and candles to children in Poland as important graves are the family ones, not any other

[PL: wysyłam pieniądze do dzieci na kwiaty i znicze w Polsce – ważne są groby rodzinne, a nie inne].

This further indicates that the strongly-valued family relations are incorporated into migrants' UK lives and therefore migrants remain deeply-rooted in their culture of origin. Symbols related to specific customs and traditions also seem of high importance (Boski 2009), as discussed in sections 2.3.2.3 and 2.5.2.

The final element of *belonging* as a factor of maintaining and reconfiguring Polishness refers to the observations of Polish community websites and online fora. Those online communities (Szpunar 2004) constitute a noticeable element of the Polish life in the UK for Polish fora and websites seem to be a frequent phenomenon in the UK as they encompass nearly all aspects of migrant life in the host country. The Polish language is a prominent feature of the fora and a strong uniting aspect that maintains national or even regional identity in individuals. Similar observations were made in other studies in the UK and Australia (see Leuner 2007, Besemeres 2008, White 2011). Furthermore, the fact the most of the websites were initially presented exclusively in Polish restricted the audience to the speakers of the language, which de facto meant the Polish community only as relatively few foreigners speak Polish. This, in turn, reinforced the aspects of Polishness and *belonging* and emphasized the significance of networking among migrating individuals (White and Ryan 2008, Sumption 2009). Finally, the content of the forums and websites is often aimed at Polish migrants who are settling. Therefore, it focuses on culturally unique elements of Polishness such as cuisine, memories of the home country and news from Poland, on the one hand, and on a variety of social, cultural and legal aspects of migrants' life in the UK, on the other. Interesting examples of blending information for the purposes of accommodating identity needs of a migrated life are name days (PL: imieniny) and temperature levels stated in both centigrade (°C) and Fahrenheit (F). Fig. 15 demonstrates an example of a

Polish community website with specified name days and temperature given in both scales. Such a varied composition of information ostensibly enables the retention of the cultural identity of the home country and gently triggers acculturation processes by referring only to information selected along the criteria of individual needs in the host country.

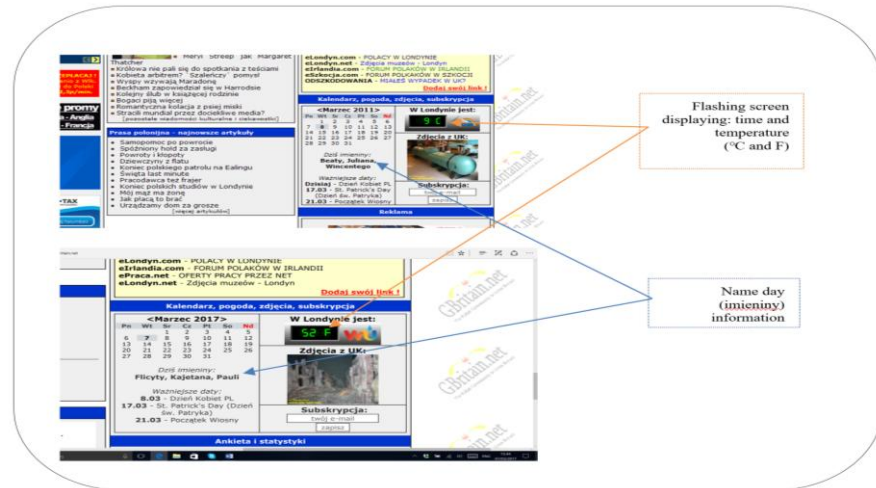


Figure 15: A Polish community website: name day and temperature in °C and F
Source: GBritain.net (2011, 2017)

4.1.1 The Polish Language as a Strong Identity Factor

The Polish language is one of the strong pillars of the Polish identity and is strongly related to Polish cultural values (Dyczewski, 2002). Historically, it was the dominant language within the Commonwealth. Currently, in the UK and in other European countries, the Polish language is a very distinct feature that makes Polish individuals differentiable as they often cannot be distinguished from other Europeans because of incompatible intrinsic markers of a cultural system, such as a dress code or manifestations of religious affiliation, but can be identified by their language, accent or their linguistic patterns (Kim 2001). Nonetheless, the retention of the Polish language is a significant element of the lives of Polish people, which can be observed in at least two areas, i.e. social networks and Polish Supplementary (Saturday) Schools, both of which are enormous areas of study and therefore are mentioned in this thesis only with regard to its main focus. It needs to be noted, however, that although the use of the Polish language enables migrants to retain the strong bond with their culture of origin and allows them to develop a strong sense

of belonging to the Polish community while abroad (Berry 2006, Spencer-Oatey and Franklin 2009), communicating in Polish can be a potentially limiting strategy for individuals who want to adapt in Britain as it may prevent them from enhancing their proficiency in English.

The 2011 Census revealed that the Polish language is the second most spoken ('other') language in England and third in Wales (Office for National Statistics 2013a, BBC 2013), which reflects and confirms the reported strong attachment of migrants to their culture of origin and home country. Although post-accession migrants have multiple easily-accessible options to communicate with their family in Poland or travel back to their home country, unlike the post-war refugees for whom Poland was often inaccessible due to the changing geopolitical situation in Europe (see Hoerder 2002, Glazer et al. 2010), it can be clearly seen that for contemporary migrants retaining the Polish language as part of their identity in the UK is among their priorities. Although in some of the narratives collected in the TCAL study the interviewees mentioned the issue of shame related to speaking Polish in public (see section 4.2), many of the interviewees confirmed their Polish language bonds. Nonetheless, although English has been taught in Poland as a foreign language (see Chapter 2), not all migrants are fluent in the host language. This is particularly true about the respondents more advanced in age as the older generations did not have many opportunities to learn English at school; therefore, they often take a chance to learn the language in the UK, regardless of their actual needs. Hence, both languages seem to be important for Polish migrants in the UK for reasons related to identity retention (Leuner 2007) and migrants' social capital enhancement, as understood by Bourdieu and Coleman (Halpern 2005), as discussed in section 2.5.

In relation to Polish Supplementary Schools, they are well known in the UK for providing complementary education to children of Polish origin. Since the 1950s the Polish community in the UK emphasized the need and significance of educating the young Poles in terms of Polish history, literature and language in the home language - Polish. This type of education is offered up to the baccalaureate level; however, in the local system of education, currently there is also an opportunity to take Polish at A-Level (The Polish Educational Society, 2014). Although Polish

education for migrant children in the East Midlands is available in most cities and some towns (Boston, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Loughborough, Mansfield, Northampton, Nottingham, Skegness and Worksop), according to the consular officer, there is a noticeable deficiency of Polish Supplementary Schools in comparison to the number of Polish children who live in the UK with their families and would be potential beneficiaries of such education. This consequently renders a question about the need for precise statistical data in European migration (as briefly mentioned in Chapter 1) for the provision of high quality services and necessary support is reliant on accurate information.

On the other hand, since the language is such a strongly unifying factor, the Polish community initiates educational enterprises on their own. The Skegness Polish Educational Association (SPEA) is a prominent example in the East Midlands. A needs analysis exercise within the Polish community in Skegness indicated a demand for a Polish school as parents were determined for their children

to keep the language, to keep the culture (SPEA);

however, the successful completion of the school project (started in September 2013) was due to the determination and strong will of the then president of the Association, a Pole born in the UK – a second generation migrant who received such education himself. The parents of the students expressed their high satisfaction with the fact that in addition to learning the native language and the history of Poland, their children interacted with other Polish children and teachers in a Polish-speaking environment (SPEA). This is in line with experiences of the Polish community described by Anne White (2017/2011).

4.2.2 Civic Engagement and Civil Rights of Polish Migrants as Identity Signifiers

Civic engagement, understood as people's involvement as citizens (Sherrod et al. 2010), and the utilization of civil rights, "the legal rights that underpin individual freedom" (Coxall and Robins 1998: 390), are further constitutive elements signifying belonging and identity reconfiguration. While civic engagement is important for influencing policy making, the application of civil liberties on a personal level represent partly the system of values of departure culture, partly the

understanding of values of the host system. Confidence in the security of the rights (Coxall and Robins 1998) is fundamental in modern European societies for building inclusive societies. Therefore, individuals' socio-political engagement can reflect their cultural *belonging* and construction of their *identity*.

The TCAL participants eagerly shared information about their engagement with Polish matters in the UK. It seems that younger participants are proactive and do feel that they should be involved in the activities of the Polish community. Although, as indicated by Górny and Kolankiewicz 2002 and Garapich 2008, the post-accession migrants often do not pursue the values and émigré traditions of the Old Polonia³⁸, it needs to be noted that two TCAL interviewees, Janka and Patryk, were involved in the activities of the Eastern European Migrants Advice Committee (EEMAC), established in Derbyshire by a second-generation Pole (EMAC and Patryk). This may indicate that the allegedly declining émigré traditions (see Garapich 2007) are not entirely rejected by the new Polish community. Their engagement was related to supporting and advising migrants on a range of issues they were experiencing in the UK and to organizing aid such as translation services. As it was stated in the interview, some other university students of Polish origin joined as well while the range of support needed was estimated at about 200 people a week who were in need of advice regarding their life in the UK (EEMAC). This also accentuates the issue of *trust*, a cultural feature that in Poland has a history of connoting negatively in relation to authorities and official information sources).

Notwithstanding, *identity* manifestation in civic engagement is observable in the involvement with the Polish community in the UK. While for Janka and Patryk it meant providing support for Polish and other Eastern European migrants in Derbyshire, for Katarzyna her supportiveness came into realisation in her field (i.e. higher education). As she reports, it came through her work for student societies:

When I was doing my doctorate, I became heavily involved in the student societies, Polish student societies throughout the UK. So, I was president of the Oxford University Polish Society for a year and I was on the committee for a good few years after that. And I've started the Federation of Polish Student Societies in Britain and I kind of became the central hub for any Polish students who wanted to come and study in the UK. (Katarzyna)

³⁸ The Old Polonia, as opposed to the post-accession wave, are those individuals who migrated to the UK earlier. The term applies particularly to post-war refugees who settled in Britain and their descendants.

All three examples of organizing support for other co-nationals demonstrate interviewee's perception of their national affiliation, even though Katarzyna stated that she felt "mainly a citizen of the world". This, in turn, indicates individuals' *identity* management in the context of their migrated lives. Equally, the three examples reflect the ability of organizing help within the community and some social entrepreneurship, which are perceived Polish cultural values formed due to social, economic and political turbulence over the last two centuries.

Furthermore, Patryk is an example of negotiating identity through engagement as, apart from attending Polish celebrations of All Souls Day at Newark Cemetery, he also reported that he "started volunteer work" with local communities in Derby and Chesterfield. While the latter is his clear contribution to the communities in the destination culture, with an aim of helping locally, the Newark celebrations,³⁹ which are combined Polish All Saints Day (1st November) and the Independence Day (11th November), indicate Patryk's allegiance. He may also find some comfort in being able to join in celebrations with other members of the whole of the Polish community (the old Polonia, post-accession migrants and representatives of the Polish and local authorities) who are based in the UK.

The photographs in Fig. 16 show the Newark All Soul's Day celebrations⁴⁰ in 2014 and 2015, though it needs to be noted that the veterans are in minority due to their advanced age. The celebration itself constitutes a blend of traditions as both flags, British and Polish, are up mast and both languages are spoken; however, the candles used in the ceremony are traditional Polish grave candles (typical *znicze*) that resemble little lanterns while most of the wreaths represent British customs (poppy wreaths).

³⁹ The Newark All Souls celebrations combine Polish traditional All Saints Day (1st November) and the Independence Day (11th November). Every year in late October or early November a short ceremony at the Polish War Graves at Newark Cemetery is organised to celebrate those who fought and survived and to commemorate those who did not. It is attended by the Polish community of all generations and migration waves, Newark authorities and representatives of the Polish authorities (usually the Consul). Candles are lit on each grave of the Polish pilots who lost their lives in the Battle of England and wreaths are laid on the graves of the dignitaries of the government in exile. Performing the candle-lighting ritual Polish migrants can partly fulfil the tradition of their home culture while the authorities can pay official respects.

⁴⁰ A paper based on the findings regarding re/creating identity, including Newark All Souls' Day, was presented at the 2nd International and Multidisciplinary Congress: Proportions, Harmonies, Identities *Utopia(s): Worlds and Frontiers of the Imaginary* and published in a hard volume: R. Seredyńska-Abou Eid (2016) 'Retaining and Recreating Identity among Polish Migrants in the UK' in do Rosário Monteiro, M., Kong, M.S.M. and Neto, M.J.P. (eds.), *Utopia(s)-Worlds and Frontiers of the Imaginary*. Proceedings. Lisbon, CRC Press (TandF).



Figure 16: *All Souls' Day celebrations in Newark*

Source: Author's photographs, Newark Cemetery, 26 Oct 2014 and 25 Oct 2015

4.3 The Polonias

As explained in Chapter 1, Polish migrants have a long history in the UK. The post-war , as well as later waves of migration before 1989, built their community in the UK and have had an extensive support network, including various Polish associations and the Church. It could be assumed that the post-accession migrants would become part of the Polonia and thus benefit from community support; however, the 'old' and 'new' migrants do not seem to get along well in many respects. This is an excellent example for the plural use of the term *culture*, i.e. *cultures* (as it is the case for *identity/ies* – Hall, S. (2000), discussed in section 2.5.1.1) as although all migrants originate from the same country, they represent often differing systems of values due to cultural changes that occurred in their home country, not to say, due to different levels of acculturation in the host culture.

With regard to similarities of the two waves of Polish settlers, the most notable and well documented in research features are the retention of the Polish language, Polish traditions and cuisine (see Temple 2008, Cook et al. 2008, Temple and Koterba 2009, Temple 2010, Düvell and Garapich 2011, Glazer et al. 2010). Furthermore, similarly to other ethnic minority groups, maintaining close community ties and organizing Polish clubs, societies and associations is another characteristic of the Polish community in the UK. Religion, i.e. the Catholic faith,

and the Polish Church constitute one example of organizing community life while Polish clubs that exist in larger cities show the strength of social Polish ties (White and Ryan 2008, Glazer et al. 2010, Habielski 2000). Another peculiarity, perhaps typical of many migrating communities, is the ability to work below qualifications and undertake jobs that allow to earn a living. This shows that practicality and rational judgement of reality overtake social status and the sense of class belonging (Habielski 2000, Isański et al. 2013). Since the features that the waves of Polish settlers to the UK have in common are the cultural elements that enable a sense of unity within an ethnic or national community, they are likely to be shared regardless of the time and socio-political references.

Although the two waves of *Polonia* organized Polish communities to preserve their home culture and language, they seem to differ in terms of their understanding of Polishness and the set of values they pursue (Temple 2010, Bielewska 2012). Nonetheless, both *Polonias* express the need to cultivate Polish traditions, speak the language and educate their children in terms of Polish history, literature and geography (Temple 2010, Glazer et al. 2010). It is noteworthy, though, that they seem to have differing, if not conflicting, approaches to family values, lifestyle and religion as well as the language(s) they speak (Temple 2010, Bielewska 2012).

While the old *Polonia*, i.e. the post-war refugees, organized their structures in order to settle in the UK and have a voice (Glazer et al. 2010, Habielski 2000), the new *Polonia*, i.e. post-2004 migrants, organize their Polish life in the UK according to criteria of convenience and socialization. In the late 1940s and the 1950s, the old *Polonia* founded institutions such as the Polish Ex-Combatants' Association, Polish Saturday schools, Polish clubs and associations, a Polish university and care homes for the elderly while the Polish Church (The Polish Catholic Mission) remained at the heart of the community (Glazer et al. 2010, Habielski, Rafał 2000, Bielewska 2012, Zubrzycki 1956). Zubrzycki (1956) points out that the Polish press was an important element of the community, with *Dziennik Polski* (*The Polish Daily*) as a national newspaper and many local bulletins and religious papers to report community news and provide support. It is noteworthy, though, that the post-war refugees and their descendants speak pre-war Polish, i.e. the language in which they were raised, while many speak the language of Polish Eastern Borderlands

(currently western parts of Ukraine and Belarus) as this was the language of their origin. This may cause some friction between the *Polonias*, as Temple (2010) observes.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the findings of the TCAL study on the topic of *identity/ies* construction and reconfiguration. Since many participants are convinced of their national identity, self-perception of participant's manifestations of Polishness as well as defining the term were important in the TCAL study in order to establish a more accurate picture of its elements. Some of those were more apparent, e.g. the Polish language while others, such as family relations or social entrepreneurship, as I called it, were less obvious. Furthermore, high mobility and free movement within the pre-Brexit EU seem to have shifted the traditional meaning of home, which in the Polish cultures often has a specific location, i.e. a family home, as some of the TCAL respondents reported that they felt at home in both countries while others specified that they felt as citizens of the world. Furthermore, through cultivating home traditions in ways possible in the destination context, the participants maintain their culture of origin and acquire new modes of cultural participation, which is important for the process of acculturation. Finally, discourse elements, the unconscious use of pronouns in particular, also depicted the participants' belonging and perceived allegiance, but also distance that may be counter-productive for their cultural adaptation. The *identity* findings are important for a further analysis of cultural elements that are translated and interpreted in the process of migrant acculturation in the UK.

Chapter 5: Approaches to Acculturation and In-Progress Adaptation of Polish Migrants in the UK Context

5.1 Introduction

While the exploration of individuals' motives to migrate can fall into the sociological realm of migration research, from the perspective of acculturation, the reasons to relocate across borders can be related to and can shape individuals' attitudes towards the host culture (or culture of choice), which in turn can have a significant impact on the processes of acculturation and adaptation in a new society. This chapter focuses on *adaptation* and *acculturation* in the context of migration. While *adaptation* is the pursued state and an ultimate objective for many migrants, *acculturation* is a process that enables it. Drawing upon the results of the TCAL study, this chapter sheds light on the channels through which the processes of *acculturation* and *cultural adaptation* of Polish migrants in the UK take place, though it needs to be noted that these processes are very individualised and subjective; therefore, the discussed categories and examples should not be seen as an exhaustive pool of *adaptation* and *acculturation* factors. Following the discussion on Polishness and participants' view on their *cultural* and *national identity*, this chapter focuses first on participants' motives to resettle, their UK experience and sense of adaptation to open the subsequent discussion on their views on learning from the local community and the acquisition of the host culture through engagement and reflection. In order to facilitate the discussion, participants' sources of information and learning about British culture(s) are briefly explained to demonstrate parts of the process of acculturation. Finally, a short discussion on the cultural and linguistic impact of acculturation on the Polish community is presented. The chapter closes with a conclusion that *cultural valence* and an *integrative* mode of *acculturation* dominate among Polish migrants in the East Midlands.

5.2 Migration Decision as a Trigger for Acculturation

The process of acculturation has its actual beginning before the point of departure of an individual as the decision to relocate must have been preceded by, at least some, deliberations of potential linguistic and cultural challenges in the chosen destination. Therefore, it is important to establish migrants' reasons for resettlement as this may disclose their approach to *acculturation*, their readiness for adaptation, and consequently, the choice of acculturation strategy, whether made consciously or with limited awareness. While in the current media and official political discourse in the UK, Polish migrants are seen only through the lens of economic triggers of migration, qualitative data, such as data from the TCAL study, can shed light on more reasons that triggered those life-changing decisions of individuals of Polish origin. As indicated in Chapter 1, many academic research studies also focus on the economic and sociological perspectives, with relatively little anthropological analysis of the situation of migrants from Poland. The TCAL survey corroborated findings from many earlier studies on Polish migrants (see section 1.3.2) in that the decision to migrate to the UK was most often economic, the most frequently chosen option in the multiple choice questions about migration motives. For some of the individual interviewees, Bogdan, Edward and Hania, also indicated that their resettlement motives were mostly financial, hence can be categorised as economic. This corroborates findings from numerous studies in the field of migration studies that emphasised economic factors underpinning the decision to relocate and often correlated this situation with income differences and economic and social inequalities among the regions of the world (see Garapich 2007, Ryan 2009, Burrell 2010, Trevena 2013, White 2017/2011 and others).

Inequalities have also been emphasised by some participants who referred to their exhaustion with the conditions of work in their profession in Poland. One of the respondents indicated that the migration decisive factor for him appeared to be the

breaches of employee rights in Poland – I worked 80-90 hours per week (PL:
ignorowano przepisy pracownicze – pracowałem po 80-90 godzin tygodniowo)

[male, age group: 36-45]

Such a reason for searching for a job elsewhere hints at higher awareness of employee rights and a higher sense of equity/equality, both of which can be strong

predictors for an individual's more successful acculturation or less challenging adaptation in a culture that values rules and righteousness (Brislin 2000; Berry et al. 2007).`

Yet, among those for whom economic reasons were dominant were also participants who were job hunting around the EU, but managed to secure employment in the East Midlands. Hence, they emphasised certain randomness of the choice of destination:

applying for jobs around the EU and [got] one in Nottingham

[female, age group 26-35].

Such an approach may signify openness and readiness of this individual to adapt to a different culture as well as higher levels of their perceived adaptability potential. These can also be a useful prognosticator as to the respondent's effective cultural adaptation in their destination (Brislin 2000; Berry et al. 2007).

In the context of existing or arising opportunities, such as free movement within the European Union, and with a combination of factors in social, personal and professional life, individuals may reach a turning point and choose to relocate elsewhere. This seems apparent in the TCAL's second ranked choice in the survey, i.e. other reasons, among which the participants indicated motives such as adventure, summer visits that turned into longer stays or cultural curiosity, e.g.

seeking adventure (PL: chęć przygody)

[female age group 18-25]

After completing secondary education I had nothing to do. I came for holiday and stayed. (PL: nie miałam co robić po liceum, przyjechałam na wakacje i tak zostało)

[female, age group 18-25]

just a wish, no economic reasons (PL: po prostu chciałem i nie było powodem ekonomicznym)

[male, age group 46-55]

willingness to see another country and a different culture (PL: chęć poznania innego kraju, innej kultury)

[male, age group 35-46]

Interviewees also explained their migration decision with their cultural thirst and

specific elements of the British culture that they were keen verify in person. Janka, for example, explained in her interview that as a great admirer of Jane Austen's novels, she was highly enthusiastic at the opportunity to see the country of her favourite writer.

It was always my dream since I was a little girl... to come to England. I was in love with Jane Austen's books

Therefore, apart from pragmatic motives, it can be clearly seen that the participants also explicate other intentions behind the decision to migrate to the host country, including their long held dreams (Berry et al. 2007).

Edward, apart from stating his primary reasons for relocation as economic, also added that he wished to learn about the culture in the UK, which clearly satisfies the criterion of willingness to adapt to the chosen context. He emphasised, though, that he was still discovering the local customs nine years after arrival, which explicates how lengthy, complex and individualised a process adaptation can be:

Among other things, I was hoping that when I come here, I can discover the culture, how people live here. And I'm still discovering it [chuckle]. I haven't fully learnt it yet. I hope I will.

[PL: No i między innymi myślałem, że jak już tu będę, to poznam kulturę, jak ludzie żyją. No i do tej pory poznaję [chuckle]. Jeszcze do końca nie poznałem. Mam nadzieję, że poznam.]

Further in the survey ranking were family reasons (3rd), friends (4th) and studies (5th). The fifth item was also frequently mentioned by individual interviewees (Janka, Katarzyna, Patryk and Mirek) as a main reason behind their migration decision. Fig. 17 shows the ranking of motives as per the online survey responses.

13. G10What were your reasons for moving to the UK?Jakie były powody decyzji o wyjeździe do Wielkiej Brytanii?			
	This Respondent's Score	Score*	Overall Rank
economic / ekonomiczne	1	163	1
other (please specify) / inne (proszę podać)		95	2
family / rodzinne	5	80	3
friends / znajomi	4	61	4
studies / studia	1	45	5

Figure 17: TCAL Ranking of Migration Motives

There was also a number of family-related factors, such as coming to join a partner (Dorota, Daniel), to secure better quality education for their children (Hania), obtaining qualifications (Mirek) and learning the language (Marta, Patryk and Mirek).

5.3 Satisfying pre-arrival expectations

In order to further establish the readiness of the participants to adapt in the UK and adopt the local ways and culture(s), they were also asked about the fulfilment of their pre-arrival expectations, which can impact on their attitudes and acculturation strategies (Berry 1997), as discussed in section 2.3.1. In a cross-examination of the criteria of gender, age group and length of stay in the UK, the largest group (over two fifths) declared that their life in the host country does not differ from pre-arrival expectations. While over a third of the participants confirmed that they feel that their life is better than initially expected, nearly a quarter of the respondents admitted that their life in the UK was worse than they thought it would be (see Fig. 18). Both questionnaire respondents and individual interviewees had an opportunity to elaborate beyond the given choice of answers, which was well utilised by the participants. While some commented that it was simply different, others explained that their new life was better in some aspects (e.g. economic or financial), but worse in other respects (e.g. social life, family or culture).

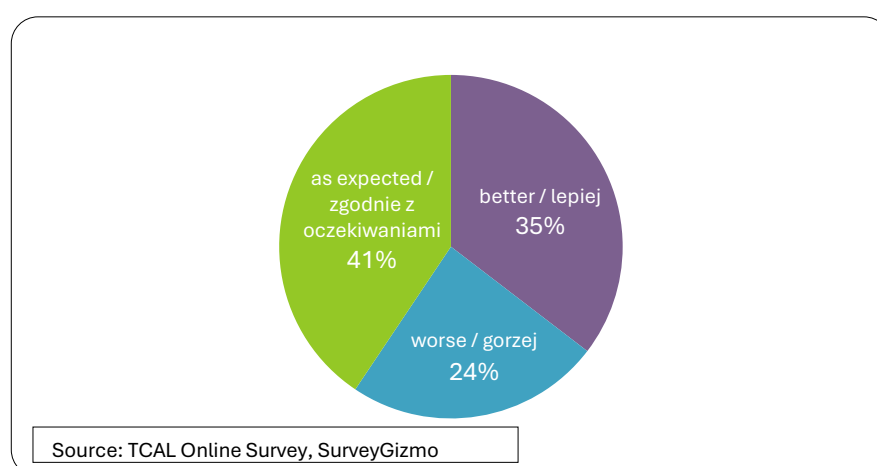


Figure 18: Participants' fulfilment of pre-arrival expectations

Similarly and unsurprisingly, there were varying opinions among the interviewees. Hania (age group 56-65), for example, was adamant that her accomplishments in the UK by far exceeded her expectations:

I must say that they [expectations] were much lower than actual realisations

[PL: Oj, powiem, że o wiele mniejsze [oczekiwania] niż zostały zrealizowane.]

Hania's optimism and appreciation of her achievements permeated the whole interview. Bogdan (age group 46-55), on the other hand, confirmed that his fulfilment of expectations occurred gradually and was not felt from the onset

Not from the beginning, but gradually I achieved what I dreamt of.

[PL: [Z] początku nie, ale stopniowo doszedłem do tego, co marzyłem.]

Notwithstanding the above examples of convergence, some of the interviewees (Edward, age group 46-55) held that their expectations were divergent as they visualised the UK somewhat differently:

I don't know what I expected, but I imagined it differently.

[PL: Nie wiem, no, czego się spodziewałem, ale wyobrażenia miałem inne.]

Although Edward's words in the written form do not seem to bring any significant information, the prosody of his expression, the intonation, his voice and facial expression, clearly pointed at his disappointment with the state of matters in his UK life. Such high expectations that were not entirely fulfilled may originate from and reflect old thinking habits from the times of the People's Republic when there was a common admiration of anything western, in contrast to the official state approach and propaganda typical of those times. Yet, as much as this interpretation can be applicable to older participants, i.e. those who were adults at the times of the systemic turn of 1989, the respondents from younger age groups may have had other reasons for high expectations. Furthermore, by enumerating particular unfulfilled pre-arrival expectations, such as

gentlemen culture,

tradition [...] like tea time (Janka, age group 26-35)

or technologically advanced public transport (Edward), the participants also expressed their pre-arrival hopes to discover and learn about British cultures (Edward and Janka). Yet, as much as Edward was interested to see how people live in the UK and expected to see more advanced transportation, Janka wanted to witness herself and explore the culture, of which a snapshot is depicted in her beloved novels by Jane Austen.

These two instances of little correlation between the pre-arrival enthusiasm and the wish to see the read-about culture confronted with the actual feelings once in the destination country can be identified as disappointment or disillusionment. In Janka's case, the disenchantment was triggered by harder to notice in the area where she settled 'gentleman culture' and 'traditional tea time', which she may have understood as 'tea and cakes' rather than 'dinner or the main evening meal'. She described her feelings as follows:

Basically, I was aware that it's not gonna be exactly like from Jane Austen's book, but I ... a little bit different... but you know, as we keep saying in Poland, *angielski dżentelmen* [transl.: an English gentleman] and ...

But tradition as well... like tea time and stuff like that... It's, you know, it's no cup of tea... nothing like that at the moment

And the people are like... I would say rude... ordinary British people... Even during studies, I couldn't really get on with British people

Maybe they are not like very rude, but they are not gentle and they're not respecting each other. Men don't respect women at all.

Similarly, Edward by comparing his workplace back in Poland, he commented on the poor state of equipment and buses in the bus company he was employed. He describes his disappointment with the UK through his first impression of his new workplace:

when I came here ... I got disappointed. I saw my work place [sigh]... In Warsaw I left a very ... I'm saying it as a driver, right ... I left a very good depot, modern buses... I came here and ... it was like in Poland in the 1950s, I thought ... the depots, old buses ...

[PL: jak przyjechałem tu... fizycznie, to się zawiodłem. Zobaczyłem te moje miejsce pracy [sigh]... W Warszawie ja pozostawiłem bardzo ... ja mówię w przypadku kierowcy, prawda... zostawiłem elegancką zajezdnię, eleganckie autobusy... że ten... A tutaj przyjechałem, to... jak w Polsce w latach pięćdziesiątych, mówię, ... te zajezdnie, stare autobusy].

His commentary was nearly identical with opinions gathered by Horolets and

Kozłowska (2012, p. 61) in their study in the West Midlands. One of their participants was also disappointed with aged vehicles in public transport and expressed his opinion by saying: '[...] when I saw the depot and the buses they drive. [...] It was better 30 years ago in Poland. The buses my god'.

Nonetheless, Edward could imagine himself in the UK permanently. Janka, however, admitted that she was not planning to stay in the UK long as she found it hard to communicate and she preferred to engage in Polish matters:

I don't really socialize with British people

I engage with everything that's Polish

This indicates that apart from motivations and expectations, the phenomenological experience of migration and Edward Soja's (1996: 20) 'micro-worlds of everyday life' play a vital role in the processes of adaptation and *acculturation*. By not socialising with the local community, Janka isolates, in Berry's terms marginalises herself in that her contacts are limited to a minimum, which delays, if not prevents adaptation.

5.4 Polish Adaptation and Acculturation in the East Midlands

Although the Polish and British cultures are similar in some points and divergent in others, many Polish migrants in the UK feel the need to adjust themselves to the modes of life in the destination culture. Because British culture is perceived as different in some aspects from Polish culture, the process of *acculturation* introduced in chapter 2 is pertinent. Under the condition of willingness, they can achieve cultural objectives through opening to and accepting cultural transmission (Berry et al. 2007), which requires highly individualized and subjective processes of enculturation, referring to primary cultural contexts (Hall, E. T. 1989b, Berry et al. 2007), socialization, meaning 'deliberate shaping' (Berry et al. 2007, p. 30) and adaptation, understood as individuals' internal processes (Berry et al. 2007, p. 352).

While cultural adaptation and *acculturation* involve migrants' competence (ideally developed IC competence) to tackle problems in situations that require social interaction within the *new* culture. Psychological adaptation, though, encompasses feelings, emotions, one's identity and well-being. Therefore, the TCAL participants

were asked to self-assess whether they ‘feel [they] have adapted to life in the UK’ (Q 15) and to present their opinion about the saying ‘When in Rome, do as the Romans do’ (Q 16) in the context of their UK settlement. Participants were also asked about the significance of the English language to their migrated lives (Q 18) and whether their English proficiency has improved (Q 17). Finally, questions that received the most varied response regarded participants’ engagement with the host culture and society and exploring the perceived differences between the two cultures through their learning experience, i.e. what Polish people learn in the UK, which implied an apparent existence of dissimilarities and a possible transmission of cultural elements from host to home context.

5.4.1 Self-Evaluation of the success of adaptation

In terms of the feelings regarding participants’ adaptation to life in the UK, a vast majority declared that they felt they had adapted, regardless of their prior knowledge of life in the UK, proficiency in English and length of stay in the host country (see Fig. 19). Hania stated that she felt she had

absolutely adapted

[PL: Powiem, że się absolutnie zintegrowałam].

Daniel, however, explicitly stated that he did not

feel like adapting,

to contradict himself later by asserting that he has

no problem adapting

and by commenting that he does not

have this kind of attitude like [he] need[s] to blend in.

Yet, it is difficult to evaluate the value of Daniel’s assertions as he was quite reluctant to disclose information about his work environment; however, such ‘defensive denial or aggressive withdrawal from the other still impl[ies] that some part of the other must have travelled across the border’ (Papastergiadis 2011) and therefore may have instilled some forthcoming transformation in Daniel.

Mirek, on the other hand, explained briefly that he could

understand British culture

and he thought he did, but he also believed that

his outlook is different [...], so [he] can see the differences.

This could be interpreted as if for some migrants it was enough to be aware of potential differences to feel adapted, without the need to ‘blend in’, as Daniel phrased it.

The participants’ comments on their self-perceived adaptation are an indication of an anti-assimilationist stance as it advocates, on the one hand, less engagement with the host culture and the retention of the culture of origin, on the other. Many respondents report that they have adapted, some even despite admitting that they

couldn’t really get on with British people (Janka).

Those results show that the psychological processes that accompany *acculturation* and adaptation, including acculturative stress (Berry et al. 2007), play an important role in migrants’ settling while reflecting over individuals’ life decisions and experiences can serve their cultural transition. The reflective component can be part of the element of negotiation of cultures, or Kłoskowska’s (2001, 2012a) *cultural valence*, in that individuals compare and choose convenient and practical aspects that can aid their positioning in the host culture.

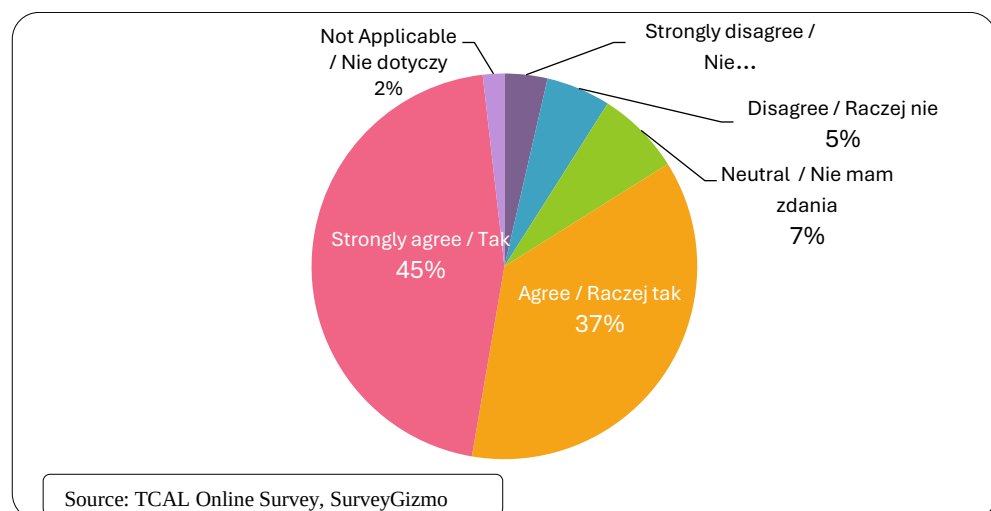


Figure 19: Participants’ declared adaptation in the UK

Ironically, though, over 80% of the TCAL respondents claimed that they felt they

had adapted to life in the UK, regardless of their level of proficiency in English, length of stay or understanding of local customs, traditions and norms. This indicates a potential divergence of criteria for adaptation, whether individuals aim for integration with or only survival in the host culture, which can be very subjective and may depend on the economic position, intended length of stay, personal interests, family arrangements or possibly gender and age of individuals. Both the adaptation criteria individuals have and their self-evaluation of adaptation can also result from their perceptions of met expectations. A case in point is the aforementioned Janka's disappointment with life in Derby, which hardly resembles the portrait of the society from Jane Austen's novels. Therefore, a further study would be required to establish whether migrants' have any, and if yes, what specific criteria for adaptation in the host culture they apply or whether unproblematic survival on an everyday basis and mere acknowledgement of differences can suffice.

5.4.2 'In Rome do as the Romans do'

Despite the reported initial challenges (see section 5.4.3) and varied fulfilment of pre-arrival expectations (see section 5.3), the majority of the TCAL participants believe that it is important to learn local customs of the host community (see Fig. 20).

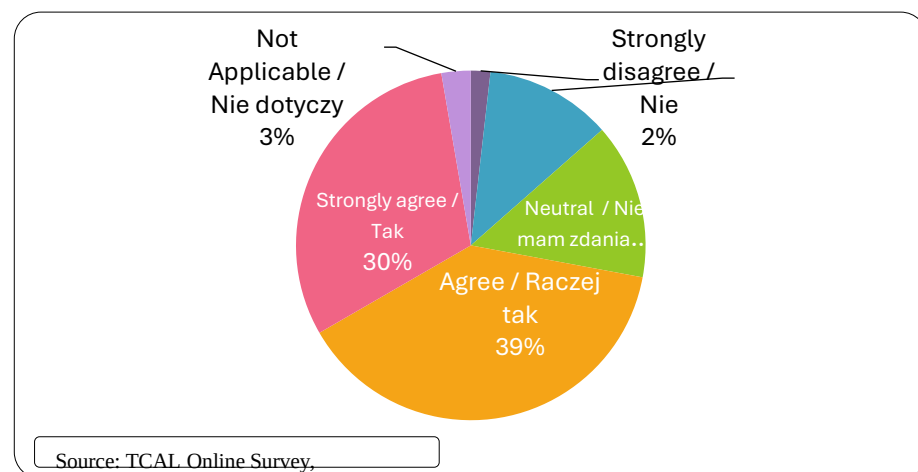


Figure 20: Participants' view on the importance and need of learning local customs

This can indicate that they are aware of and accept the potential horizontal transmission of cultural elements (Berry et al. 2007) as a method of adjusting to the host community. The TCAL interviewees shared the methods they used to achieve

the objective of adapting to life in the UK. Dorota summarized her learning curve by saying that

on average, it was me trying to understand them

while in her further explanation she elaborates how curiosity and her inquisitive nature led her to gradual adjustment to the local culture.

I was always ... I was curious. I was always, always asking questions. I wanted to know them. From their side it was mostly joking about me joking about my accent, just laughing at my differences really rather than trying to embrace it and, you know.

This path was also followed by Hania who described the British people as

a positive and helpful nation

[PL: ten naród [...] jest bardzo pozytywnie i przychylnie nastawiony]

and Iwona who emphasized that individuals need to “socialise” and “learn through experience”. Katarzyna also added that one

need[s] to take things as they are, have a positive attitude.

These comments explicate the results of a close contact with the host culture as potentially transforming individuals’ culture at their arrival in the UK. Yet, for the change to take place, the contacts need to be pleasant rather than unpleasant, as in Janka’s case, so that ‘long-term positive adaptation to the new cultural context’ can take place (Berry 1997, p. 13).

5.4.3 Initial challenges as indicators of migrants’ acculturative needs

In terms of initial challenges, which can build a clear picture of the spectrum of differences between the home and host cultures of the participants, the indicated problematic issues can be grouped under three categories:

- (1) everyday aspects that needed adjusting to with hardly any option to change them,
- (2) attitudes and behaviours and
- (3) issues that required learning and/or improvement.

Some participants, however, could not recall the initial difficulties, but acknowledged vaguely that

‘there were a few things’ (Janka)

[PL:‘było kilka takich rzeczy’].

Table 5 presents a classification of initial challenges in the UK, as reported by the TCAL participants. It summarises the observed difficulties or challenges the participants faced upon arrival in the UK, divided into two categories, which may overlap in some aspects: (1) items from the host culture which migrants have only limited power to change and (2) attitudes and behaviour that can be influenced after a period of time, but initially may feel discomforting or simply uneasy.

Table 5: Reported initial challenges faced in the UK

Everyday issues	Attitudes and behaviour
traffic	making friends
separate taps	(mock) politeness
windows (opening outwards)	rudeness
accent(s) and dialect	refusing and rejecting offers or invitations
cold and damp in houses	the question ‘How are you?’
ethnic diversity	people smile frequently
tea with milk	hypocrisy (two-facedness)
toasted bread	racism / discrimination
queueing	
language	
idioms and metaphors	
communication and interaction styles	

Source: TCAL data

It can be assumed that although many participants did not perceive adaptation as problematic, they still experienced some hurdles. Some of those may be a direct consequence of cultural interpretation in that the observed behaviours were interpreted along the frames (including norms, values and patterns), as Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009) note, or scripts (Wierzbicka 2002) or migrants know from their culture of origin. Other aspects, such as the raised issue of (mock) politeness or hypocrisy and two-facedness, can be fairly easily noticed in the host culture, but ignored in the home one. This may be reflect a difference in interpreting

the same signs and behaviours or a difference in values assigned in seemingly similar situations.

As for the observed ‘racism or discrimination’, some of the participants felt discriminated against; however, there were no specific examples of discrimination mentioned. It may then be related to lower levels of self-confidence or self-value. Yet, the term *racism* was used, but it was not explained whether the situations of discrimination genuinely involved people of different ‘races’ or only ‘white’ people. In the latter case, the term racism would be used incorrectly as ‘race’ would not possibly be a valid reason for discrimination .

On the other hand, Daniel showed his essentialist, if not nationalistic, approach in that diversity in the UK is deeply disturbing for him. By saying

I don't get it. I don't think [about] the UK as a single country, It's like a multiculti society which ... for example, Poland is [not] ... Most Polish people are in Poland.

Daniel showed not only his lack of understanding of the socio-historical conditions of the British society, but also a noticeable lack of awareness of the cultural varieties in his home country. He seems to be using the adjective *Polish* as a blanket term to describe all situations and aspects of life within the national borders of Poland. This is reminiscent of post-World War Two approaches that a younger person could not possibly know from their own experience. By mentioning his ‘unruly disturbances’ (Papastergiadis 2011, p. 2), Daniel showed how much he was trapped between ‘the state of boundedness and the forces of mobility’ (Papastergiadis 2011, p. 2) and is therefore a useful example of the significance of attitude for successful adaptation and acculturation (Berry 1997)

An example of a practical matter that in the UK poses a challenge to migrants and visitors, not only from Poland, is the widespread existence of separate taps. The TCAL participants were asked to share their opinions.

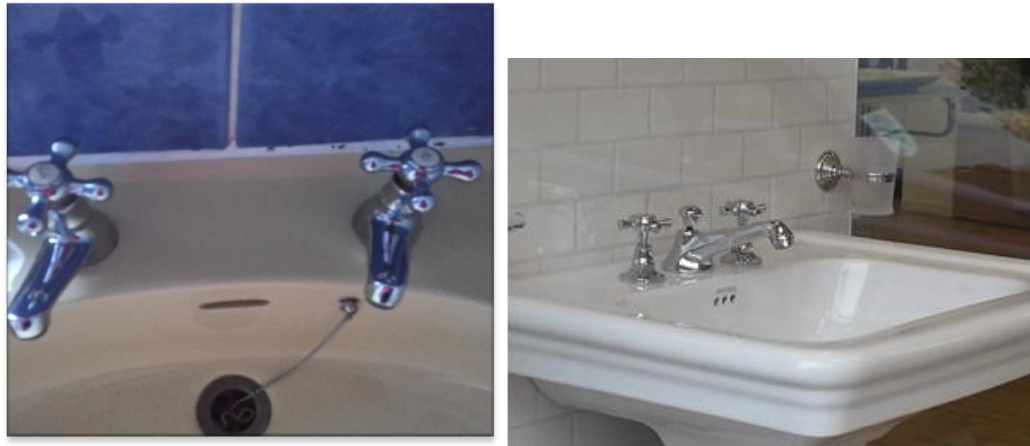


Figure 21: Separate taps – Left: traditional, Right: modern
Source: Author's own pictures taken in Nottingham LEFT [28/10/2014], RIGHT [28/10/2014]

Fig. 22 and Fig. 23 demonstrate participants' self-evaluation of adjustment to separate taps and their choice of fitting in a new tap (examples of separate taps – Fig. 21). Although most participants claim they have got used to separate kitchen or bathroom taps or have a neutral attitude to the issue, over three quarters of the respondents clearly indicated that they would chose a mixer tap when fitting in new appliances. This is a clear indication that a culturally-specific item can be accepted to a certain degree; however, if they feel inconvenient, individuals are eager to apply home standards or solutions. The availability of mixer taps in the UK, hence accessibility of the standards of the culture of origin, may have a smoothing effect on the views and may potentially reduce the discomfort of existing differences. It needs to be noted that a single tap may have some negative connotation of backwardness if associated with the times when there was only cold water available, hence a single tap was needed.

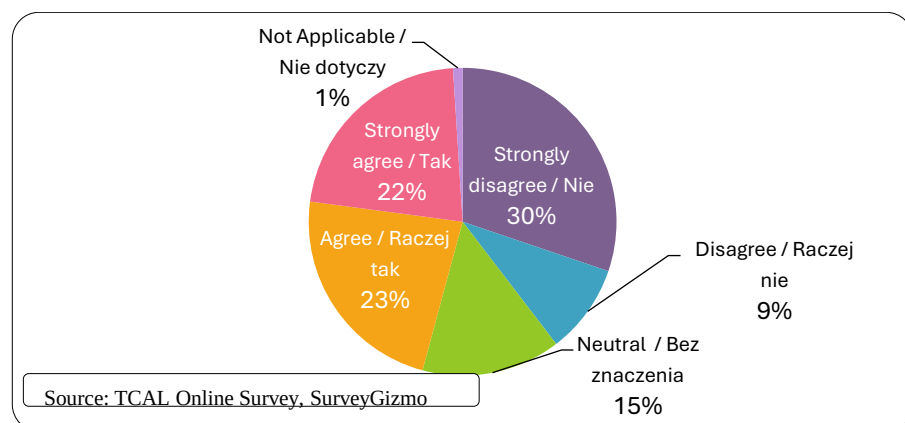


Figure 22: Participants' view on their adjustment to separate taps

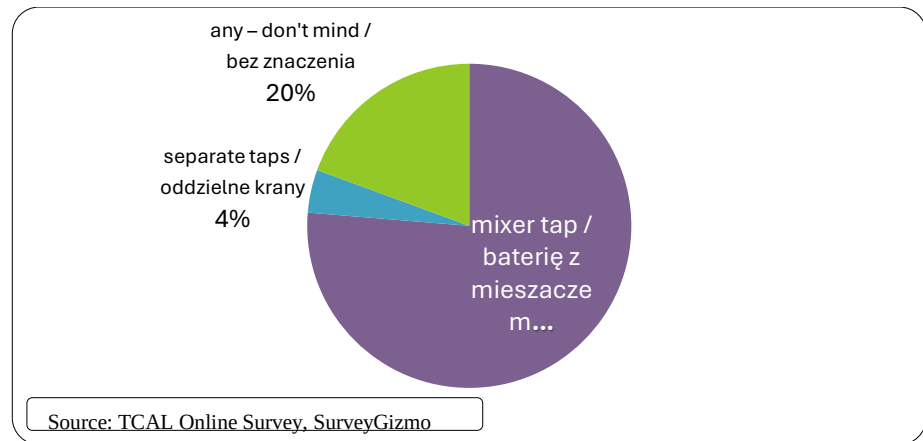


Figure 23: Participants' preference of taps

It is noteworthy, however, despite common associations of individual taps with the UK, such solutions can be seen elsewhere. Fig. 24 depicts a UK-like arrangement in a hotel bathroom in Ponta Delgada, on the Azorean island of Sao Miguel, Portugal.



Figure 24: Separate taps spotted in the Azores, Portugal

Source: Author's own picture taken in Ponta Delgada, the Azores [06/10/2018]

The matter of separate taps clearly shows that a practical item can be problematic and the issue can be attributed to a particular place. Yet, the assumptions can be verified by gaining more experience in international and intercultural terms, which can be transformative for individuals (Papastergiadis 2011; Maitland 2017).

5.4.4 The significance of the English Language

The results of the TCAL study clearly show that the English language is important for migrants in their lives in the UK. A vast majority of the participants agreed that 'proficiency in English is important for [their] live[s] in the UK' (Q18) and

described it as ‘fundamental’ (PL: ‘fundamentalna’) although in their comments, many respondents admitted that they did not speak English when they came to the UK, which means that they acquired the language during their stay in the UK. The need to speak English was further explained by the survey participants by making a connection between language proficiency and handling work and professional engagement, e.g.

I wouldn’t be able to do my job if I was not fluent in the language

[PL: bez biegłej znajomości języka nie byłabym w stanie wykonywać swojej pracy]

or

especially at work [PL: zwłaszcza w pracy].

Similarly, individual interviewees admit that English language proficiency is significant in the UK and many indicate a language barrier and communication problems as their initial challenges (Edward, Bogdan and Hania). Furthermore, Patryk and Edward would strongly recommend potential newcomers to have some proficiency in English; however, it also needs to be noted that there is a certain expectation towards the local community to learn ‘Polish’ to communicate with the migrants. This view is supported by a comparison of the local population (referred to as the English) and other, often migrant, ethnogroups, such as Kurds and Arabs, who

learn Polish to communicate with the Polish in shops and in business while the English are unchangeable

PL: Kurdowie, Arabowie uczą się polskiego, żeby dogadać się z Polakami w sklepie, biznesie. Anglicy są niezmienni].

This could be perceived as linguistic imperialism and anti-*acculturation*, which would be in line with a generalized view that ‘compared to other nations Poles integrate more slowly into new societies, and in many only partially’ (Dyczewski 2002: 19) and further evidence that for centuries the Polish language and culture were dominant in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which minimised the need to adapt (Kłoskowska 2012b). Yet, by making such claims, migrants do not take into account the perspective of the local community, which is an attitude that might hinder acculturation.

Nonetheless, the account of many TCAL participants provides evidence that eagerness to adapt is superior towards the expectation of the adjustment on the part of the local community. As briefly discussed in section 1.4.4, Polish migrants came with different levels of proficiency in English and therefore had to find solutions how to manage their lives in the UK. While in the initial stages of their settlement some participants were looking for translation help as a temporary solution to the language barrier (Edward), others tried to communicate in other languages, e.g. German (Bogdan) or started to learn English intensively (Hania). The survey participants stated that they learnt the language through their hard work as they did not actually have any opportunity to attend more formalized language training; however, younger participants (mostly age groups up to 35 years of age) mostly learnt English prior to the arrival in the UK, though not all were successful due to perceived poor quality of education, e.g.

school is school, you know how they teach

[PL: jak to w szkole, wiadomo jak uczą].

A similar issue, i.e. a conversation about the applicability of English taught at school in Poland in real contexts in the UK, was observed on a flight from Łódź to East Midlands Airport. A couple was discussing the use of the question *How do you do?* as a greeting form in English. The below example clearly illustrates that there is a discrepancy between English taught around the world and the language spoken in the UK. It also shows that some individuals reflect on their deposit of linguistic knowledge and attempt to verify information when possible.

Woman: Słuchaj, to jest jakiś archaiczny angielski. Może w czasach młodości Elżbiety II tak się mówiło, ale teraz nikt nie wie, o co chodzi.

(Listen, it is really an archaic form of English. Perhaps this was the language when Queen Elisabeth was young, but now nobody knows what it means.)

Man: Nie wiem, zapytaj jakiegoś Anglika.

(I don't know. Perhaps you should ask an English person.)

Woman: Ja to już przetestowałam na wielu Anglikach i oni albo nie wiedzą o co chodzi, albo odpowiadają *I'm fine*.

(I have tested it, I have spoken to many English people. Either they don't know what I'm talking about or they reply *I'm fine*.)

Man: No to zapytaj tego naszego.

(Ask one of ours.)

Woman: No rozmawiałam z nim. I powiedziałam mu, że jak ja mówię *How do you do?*, to on musi odpowiedzieć tak samo, a nie *Fine*.

(I have spoken to him and explained that when I say *How do you do?*, he needs to use the same phrase to respond, not *Fine*.)

Man: I co powiedział?

(What did he say?)

Woman: Zapytał skąd to wzięłam. Więc wytłumaczyłam mu, że nas tak uczą w szkole i że to jest taka grzeczna forma przywitania. Ale on powiedział, że to jakieś stare zasady i nikt już tak nie mówi.

(He asked me where this rule came from. So, I explained to him that this is how we are taught at school and that it is a polite way to greet people. But he said that this must be a very old rule and nobody speaks this way any more.)

It is noteworthy, though, that almost all participants declared that their proficiency in English improved since they had moved to the UK, regardless of their length of stay in the country (see Fig. 25).

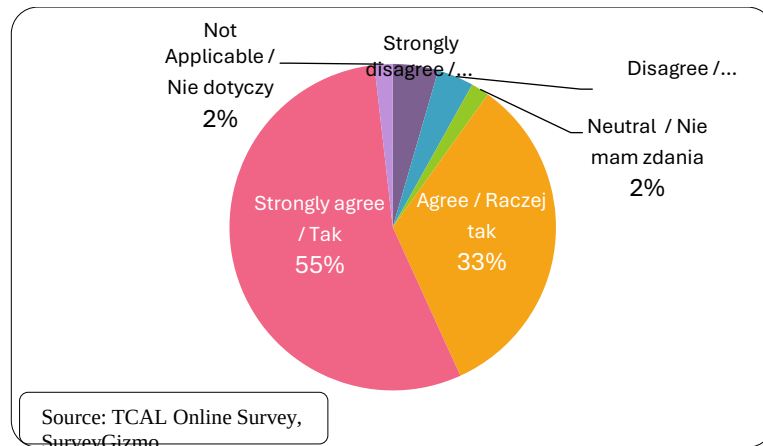


Figure 25: Participants' view on their improved English language proficiency

The afore-mentioned strategies of the participants, i.e. using translation or a third language and learning English intensively, clearly show that in their migrated lives the individuals put a certain degree of effort to communicate within the host culture, which reflects a positive approach to acculturation. This approach is also confirmed by the Polish Saturday School in Skegness which offers English support classes for those children who have language problems in English schools. As stated by a school committee member and a mother of one of the students, the school organization that is based on the age group and proficiency in both languages, Polish and English, seems to be highly effective from the students' point of view (SPEA). A similar online project could be observed on *Moja Wyspa*, a Polish community platform that offered the English Zone, a section where language issues can be discussed for the benefit of the users. Although the Polish language is a strong and uniting cultural element of the Polish community, the eagerness to adjust through learning and improving the host language depicts a mostly integrative strategy of *acculturation*, which encompasses both the retention of the culture of origin and exchanges with the host culture(s). In that sense the Polish community that is willing to retain Polish and learn English to an at least communicative level, could also be perceived as an ethnocultural group, one that “retain[s] a sense of their cultural identity, and who (on that basis) participate in a social framework that is characterized by some social norms (legal, economic, political agreements) about how to live together” (Berry et al. 2007: 347, Neuliep 2012). Such involvement on the migrants' part may encourage local authorities to offer a more inclusive provision of services for it can be seen as a consensus between isolationist and

assimilationist attitudes of new members of the local community.

Furthermore, in a series of institutional interviews, migrants' inability to communicate in English, even at a very basic level, has been identified as a serious impediment to social integration and active participation in community life. In Lincolnshire, for example, such an obstacle is claimed to be one the most significant barriers preventing migrant registrations with GPs. In addition to assertions that many migrants seem to be unfamiliar with procedures, possibly due to a different organizational model or divergent expectations of staff and patients in the home country (Lincs), gaps in health monitoring and screening can pose a serious health challenge to the local community. Moreover, a lack of language proficiency can also impact on migrants' communication with the police in emergency situations such as witnessed crime or witnessed or experienced domestic violence as reported in the Pre-Crime Unit interview. In both cases, health and crime issues, using translation services may either be impossible or inconvenient for the patient or victim due to the sensitive nature of their matter. Therefore, apart from various campaigns organized by the NHS (Lincs) or the Police (Pre-Crime), institutions such as the Signpost to Polish Success in Nottingham, the SPEA in Skegness or the Square Mile Project in Leicester provide English lessons for migrants to help them improve their language skills to enable their greater engagement in the host culture and society (Square Mile, SPEA and SPS). It can be assumed, therefore, that within the large community of Polish migrants, there are individuals whose language proficiency is at a very low level, which can result in the afore-mentioned social problems and restrained *acculturation*; however, although some TCAL participants have lower levels of education, they declared some proficiency in English.

Finally, another language-related issue that became prominent in the results relates to local dialects and regional speech, which posed some difficulty for the participants and were mentioned as a communicative barrier. Since the language taught in English courses is more of a standardized type, the Nottingham accent or the dialect of Derbyshire can be challenging for newcomers in terms of lexis, ungrammaticality of expressions and varying pronunciation. One respondent reported that at the beginning it was difficult to understand

what the English say [PL: zrozumieć mowę Anglików].

On the other hand, in their interviews some participants exhibited strong sign of adaptation by imitating local pronunciation, e.g. pronouncing /ʊ/, not /ʌ/ in words such as *but* (Mirek), or partially adapting the pronunciation of Polish names, e.g. Wrocław pronounced as /vrotslav/, in which the /v/ for *w* and /ts/ for *c* are maintained while the /w/ sound represented by the letter *l* is changed to an *l* (Mirek). Furthermore, in SPEA interview the word *moms* was used with reference to mothers, which depicts a certain level of linguistic adaptation in terms of register and pronunciation.

5.4.5 Sources of information about British culture

In the country of origin, most individuals are part of various networks, such as family, friends, and work colleagues who provide many kinds of support in the person's native culture. Very often such relationships are taken for granted and their value is not fully recognized. When a person migrates, this support system is no longer easily available and this can have a negative effect on the migrants. Kuo and Tsai (1986) indicate that communities serve as a social support system, which has a soothing effect on migrants' psychological health providing the system is available and suitable. This is in line with the findings of studies by White and Ryan 2008, Sumption 2009, and Ryan et al. 2009a, 2009b and corroborated by the data and observations collected in the TCAL study. It is important for migrants to feel supported and secure by creating social networks only amongst those who speak the same language and share the same culture, though it can be counter-productive for it can effectively reduce social mobility.

It is therefore apparent that relocating requires preparation in many aspects, including the target cultural circle. Hence the optimum situation for migrants would involve cultural knowledge gained prior to departure in order to prevent potential clashes, conflicts and misunderstanding. Yet, migrant-oriented publications and training, those include mostly niche sources or even personal blogs. As for Polish migrants who relocated to the UK, apart from travel guides, cultural information is available via two channels: (1) official and (2) informal. The official dissemination of information is done by Federation of Poles in Great Britain (Zjednoczenie Polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii) who published a volume and an online resource in the form of an emigrant's guide *Jak żyć i pracować w Wielkiej Brytanii* [How to Live

and Work in Great Britain] (Federation of Poles in Great Britain 2016) and the Polish Embassy who made the publication available on their website as well (Ambasada RP w Londynie 2015). The informal channel includes descriptive blogs, such as *Heart in Poland ... Praca, nauka i życie w Wielkiej Brytanii* [*Heart in Poland... Work, Study and Life in Great Britain*] (Praca i Życie w UK 2015), conversational and advisory blogs such as *Oczami Emigrantki: Życie w Wielkiej Brytanii* [*Seen by an Emigree: Life in Great Britain*] (Emigrantka 2015) or online communities, e.g. *Moja Wyspa*, which offers the emigrant's guide and an online forum (Moja Wyspa 2007). All the information is published in Polish; hence, the ultimate assumption is that the publications are intended for Polish migrants as language serves here as a limiting element. It is, however, notable that the selection of information is more subjective and is differently categorised than the know-how type of guides for the business world.

The TCAL participants reported that they obtain information about British culture and lifestyle from a variety of sources, including mass media, social media and social contacts (both Polish and British). While Polish portals offer an abundance of information on Polish UK life and aspects of significance to newcomers, many websites provided information about translation services, advice on various application forms such as WRS (required by law until April 2011), NINo, social benefits, residence and citizenship. All information has been available in the Polish language, which clearly indicates and restrains the audience. In terms of Polish platforms, TCAL respondents enumerated websites they utilize: *Moja Wyspa*, *Polonia Nottingham*, *Polemi*, *Polski Newark* (*Polish Newark*) or *Polak w Northampton* (*A Pole in Northampton*). A small number of respondents also mentioned Facebook sites of various platforms and organisations as useful in their life in the UK. Fig. 18 indicates the selection of presented choices of sources of information about British culture and lifestyle. The information is mainly derived from local television, radio and newspapers; however, Polish media are mentioned as well. Since the volume of modern emigration is large, news websites such as Onet.pl have dedicated sections to report news from the UK and Ireland. This could be one example of obtaining information of the host culture via home culture. Furthermore, it needs to be noted that by *Polish radio* the participants may have understood PRL (Polskie Radio Londyn – Polish Radio London), not necessarily a

radio station based in Poland. In this case, it could be seen as *acculturative* as the station focuses on life and work of Polish migrants in London, though their broadcast is available in the whole country. On a different note, the acronym of the radio station has very strong connotations with the one used for the official name of the country before 1989 (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa). The acronym can now be used sarcastically, with references to the negative aspects from the previous era or in a slightly provocative manner. This might be the case with the Polish radio; however, the acronym serves also as a link with the socio-cultural context of origin, which can have a positive effect on migrants' emotions. The good effect may be realised not through associations with the past, but through awareness of the breadth of opportunities and possibilities Polish migrants have now in comparison to the past era.

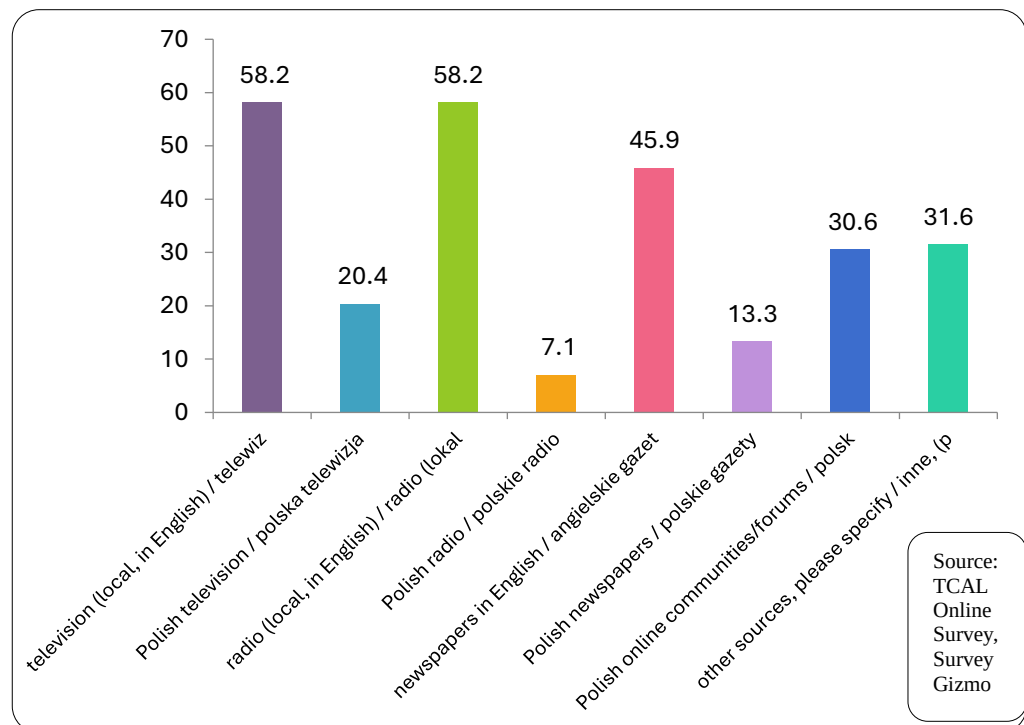


Figure 26: Sources of information about British culture as declared by the participants

Regarding other sources of information about the destination culture, many participants indicated social contacts with local people, colleagues at work and friends. Everyday experience and the internet were also mentioned as of significant value to migrants' *acculturation* in the UK. One participant, however, stated clearly in his interview that he did not trust mainstream media and he relied on alternative

media. Daniel explained further that

[t]hose who got internet and can see the truth for themselves will get ... how do you say it ... the true perspective'. (Daniel)

Hence his information about British culture comes from direct encounters and online sources; however, he also declared that he did not feel like he had to “blend in”, but in terms of adaptation he would advise some distance. Such marginalisation and an isolationist attitude prevents cultural change that leads to acculturation (Berry 2005 and 2009).

Finally, in terms of the availability of *inter-/cultural competence* training, a variety of courses and workshops are available online and worldwide, though it is noteworthy that this type of training is mostly oriented at the business sector, whether within academia or private enterprises. Hofstede (2001: 428), who himself began intercultural research with the business environment, specifies two types of such courses: (1) *culture-specific* courses that focus on “the knowledge about the other culture”, which is the case of Polish migrants in the UK, and (2) *culture-general* training that “focuses on general knowledge about cultural differences”. Yet, it needs to be emphasised that a vast majority of face-to-face courses, online training and specialist publications are aimed at the business world and expat⁴¹ communities. Furthermore, many of the available IC resources are available in the English language; therefore, it is understood that they are aimed at English-speaking customers who are planning contacts with non-English cultures. Examples of *intercultural awareness* resources include online training in The Hofstede Centre, CrossCulture based on the Lewis Model (Lewis 2016) or the Mind Tools Toolkit (2016). Examples of book publications that may be attractive for sojourners include both narratives such as *The Culture Map* (Meyer 2014) and quick know-how guides such as Morrison's (2006) *Kiss, Bow or Shake Hands*, with several regional or continental variations. Other publications, which are mostly traveller-oriented include brief guides on the traditions and history of places of travel interest, e.g. Lonely Planet's *British Language and Culture* (Lonely Planet 2013).

⁴¹ The term *expatriate* (*expat* in short) is often used with reference to western sojourners, mostly from the Anglophone world, who travel to non-western countries for work purposes. In one of the 2015 Victoria Derbyshire election debates broadcast on the BBC, the supporters of the Scottish National Party (SNP) called for a change of migration discourse in the UK and suggested that all migrants, not only those with high income, should be called *expatriates* (*Election Immigration Debate* 2015).

5.5 Acquiring customs through engagement and reflection

In order to further establish the ways *acculturation* occurs among Polish migrants, the TCAL participants were prompted to indicate what they have learnt in the UK, apart from the language, in terms of behaviour, customs or habits. Secondly, they were asked to specify what they like in the UK and what aspects of the British culture would be worth introducing into the Polish culture. Such a set of questions offered space for reflection on migrants' current life in the UK and the values they have brought over from their culture of origin. As discussed in sections 2.2 and 2.3.3, among the following results a variety of issues and concepts related to *acculturation* and *culture* surfaced.

It needs to be noted that some participants struggled with specifying what they have learnt in the UK, which can be discerned from direct responses such as

don't know [PL: nie wiem],

hard to say [PL: ciężko powiedzieć]

or

I don't know, honestly (Janka).

Some other participants questioned whether there is

anything you can learn from the English

[PL: Nie wiem, czego się można od Anglików nauczyć? (Edward)]

or made similar statements such as

I don't think there is a lot to learn (Daniel)

and, using the discourse of 'us' and 'them', declared that they

did not learn anything from them [the British]

[PL: "Ja się od nich niczego nie nauczyłem] (Edward).

Nevertheless, most participants enumerated the elements of life in which they experienced changes due to their residence in the UK. In her interview, Iwona made an explicit link between the learning curve and the purpose of migrants' decision to settle in the UK by saying that

[i]f they came to improve themselves, they probably learnt the language, maybe new qualifications, attitude ... different attitude to things.

Iwona's explanation emphasizes the possible enhancement of skills and change of attitudes, which points towards the integrative and assimilative types of *acculturation* (Berry et al. 2007, Neuliep 2012). This is further illustrated by a respondent who describes how they learnt manners and politeness as follows:

I say 'sorry' all the time, even if it's not my fault (I mean situations in shops, queues at tills or pushing on the bus and so on). I thank drivers for letting me cross the road. What else can I say ... I have learnt better manners and learnt to be polite to other people.

Przepraszam za wszystko, nawet jeśli to nie moja wina (chodzi mi o sytuacje w sklepach, kolejki do kas, pchnięcia w autobusach itd.) Dziękuję kierowcom za przepuszczenie mnie jako pieszej przez pasy. Co tu dużo mówić ... nauczyłam się większej kultury oraz uprzejmości dla drugiego człowieka.

It is interesting to observe possible gender differences in participants' attitudes to learning and complying with rules. While female participants tended to emphasise the need to learn, acquire new customs and ways of expression, some male participants appeared to state quite boldly that they see no reason for them to blend in.

Moreover, the general picture of habits acquired by other TCAL respondents involves contradictions, such as

(everyday) politeness [PL: (codzienna) uprzejmość],

courtesy (Dorota)

and

smiling at strangers [PL: uśmiech do obcych ludzi]

as opposed to

fake smile and mock politeness [PL: sztuczny uśmiech i udawana uprzejmość].

Another example of collected contradictory data can be

good manners [PL: dobre maniery]

and

culture [PL: kultura] (Bogdan)

versus the afore-mentioned lack of manners among the British. In addition, while some participants indicated that a family-oriented approach is missing in the British culture, others stated that in the UK they acquired a habit of

Sunday family trips [PL: niedzielne wycieczki rodzinne],

which are clearly contradictory responses. Such discordant responses emphasise the individual, subjective and background-related nature of perception as well as potential internal, from the UK perspective, differences in migrants' culture of origin. Nonetheless, those of the quoted examples that refer to acquired behaviours or habits demonstrate *acculturation*; however, all cited examples provide supporting evidence for the significance of reflection within the inter-cultural context of Polish migration to the UK.

The TCAL survey respondents also reported that they have learnt to use

please and thank you everywhere [PL: proszę i dziękuję na każdym kroku],

particularly when using public transport

greeting and thanking the driver [PL: dziękowanie kierowcy autobusu or witanie/żegnanie przy wchodzeniu/wychodzeniu z autobusu].

Public transport is one example of a cultural difference as in Poland passengers do not interact with the driver and are obliged not to distract their attention. Hence, interaction with a bus driver is an imposed custom and therefore an element that is prone to acculturation. Furthermore, some participants added that they have acquired the habit of

thanking and apologizing everywhere, even if they do not see themselves at any fault [PL: dziękuję i przepraszam na każdym kroku, nawet jeśli to nie moja wina],

which clearly shows the acculturative mode of adapting to local customs and the cultural transformation of individuals.

In order to further exemplify their *acculturation* pathway, participants list and elaborate on elements that in the inter-cultural comparison were classified as more British features, i.e.

assertiveness,

calmness (in solving problems),

going to a pub after work [PL: wychodzenie do pubu prosto po pracy na drinka],
small talk [PL: rozmowa o niczym].

In addition, many responses specify typically British traditions or habits, such as

queuing

or its variation in the form of

not pushing the (bus) queue [PL: nie wpychać się w kolejkę do autobusu],

a very frequent use of words and phrases such as ‘thank you’, ‘sorry’ and ‘please’

or

greeting people with the question ‘How are you?’

Aspects such as cuisine and celebrations were also exemplified among the responses. The participants itemized traditions and celebrations such as Easter egg hunt, Red Nose Day, Pancake Day, Christmas parties, Black History Month or ‘Indian celebrations’ while cuisine elements included

English breakfast,

tea with milk,

afternoon tea

or

pudding for Xmas.

A few participants also reported that they celebrate Halloween) rather than All Saints Day and enjoy

walk[ing] on the streets and watch[ing] vampires.

The last example shows a more conscious approach to *acculturation* as the respondents compared their cultures, i.e. the culture of origin and destination while all the specified aspects of culture that Polish migrants acquired in the UK show *acculturation* by active engagement in the host culture and do not necessarily testify to the denial of the culture of origin.

Other elements that participants classify as acquired in the UK are of a less common nature. These elements tend to be tightly linked with cultural transfer or

interpretation and included:

grassing on someone / grassing someone up,
to be not too good to people [PL: nie można być za dobrym]

or

not to say anything as it may be used against us [PL: nie powinno się nic mówić, bo może to być wykorzystane przeciwko nam].

Furthermore, some participants declared that they

learnt to distinguish among races, nationalities and ethnic groups [PL: rozróżniać rasy, narodowości i grupy etniczne]

while others acquired

openness [PL: otwartość] (Hania).

Janka, though, focused on the multicultural aspect of Britain. Although she admitted that she found it uneasy to communicate with British people and she would not be prepared to stay in the UK indefinitely, she likes

[t]hat it is a very multicultural place

and she enjoys contacts

with people coming from different countries.

She further added that she was even

part of this Black Ethnic Minorities Forum in Derby and Derbyshire.

Further examples relate to very individual experiences. While

buying your own drinks at weddings [PL: kupowanie sobie drinków na weselach]

can be seen as a clear example of unfulfilled expected similarity (Jandt 2016),

[s]nort[ing] cocaine

could be viewed in the category of international social challenges.

Observations similar to the information collected from TCAL survey and interview participants were made with regard to online communities and online activity of Polish migrants. When the observations were carried out in 2010 and 2011, those

migrants who enjoy writing had an opportunity to narrate their UK stories. Websites such as *Stachoo.pl* (see Fig. 27) and *Wszędzie Dobrze*⁴² (transl. *Home's Everywhere*) offered a section 'My Story' where members of the Polish community could present their migration story in as much detail as they wished. Despite such possibilities, migrants eagerly participated in fora discussions (e.g. *Moja Wyspa*) on a variety of topics related to their life in the UK, telling both successful and less fortunate stories and sharing their likes and dislikes in their migrated realities. Participants in online discussions emphasized approaches observed in the UK such as flexibility, openness, and a straightforward approach to problem solving as the ones that contributed to their positive migration experience; however, strange lifestyle in the UK, ridiculous and incomprehensible sets of rules and unfriendly society represented the drawbacks of their migration. Only occasionally, though, some migrants admit online that their low levels of language proficiency contribute to difficulties in their adaptation.



⁴² In the virtual world, published materials can be withdrawn or altered. *Stachoo.pl* and *Wszędzie Dobrze* are excellent examples of how online material may not be accessible after a few years. While initially working as websites for the Polish community in the UK, currently *Stachoo.pl* is limited to a financial consulting website while *Wszędzie Dobrze* cannot be traced. The presented information regarding those two websites was recorded on 8th March 2011.

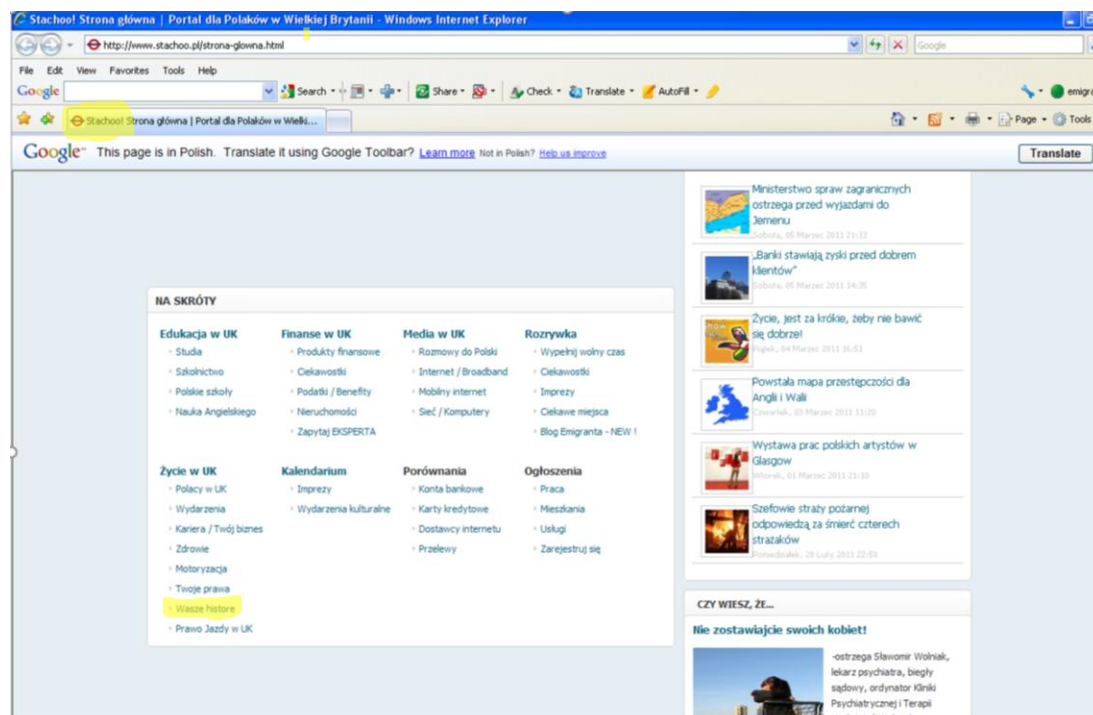


Figure 27: My Story (Wasze Historie) on www.stachoo.pl
Source: Stachoo.pl (2011) as of 8th March 2011

Furthermore, acculturation through engagement with the target culture was also probed by prompting the participants to share their memories of their participation in the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Elisabeth. The celebrations of 2012 did not arouse much interest among survey respondents (see Fig. 28), but some of the interviewees reported that they joined in the celebrations. Although Bogdan emphasized only the fact that there were a few days of public holiday, which for him and his family were suitable for

a trip to York [PL: pojechaliśmy na wycieczkę [...] do Yorku],

Hania in more detail described how they celebrated at work. She reported that they had

home-baked cakes [ciasta upieczone],

which

raised money for charity [PL: pieniądze poszły z tego na charity],

and that

the whole ward was watching the television coverage till midnight [PL: [transmisja] tak, oczywiście. Cała, cała. Na oddziale wszyscy chyba [oglądali] do północy].

It is noteworthy that in her description, Hania decided to use the English word ‘charity’ as it seemed to better reflect the concept of charitable work she was referring to than the Polish equivalent.

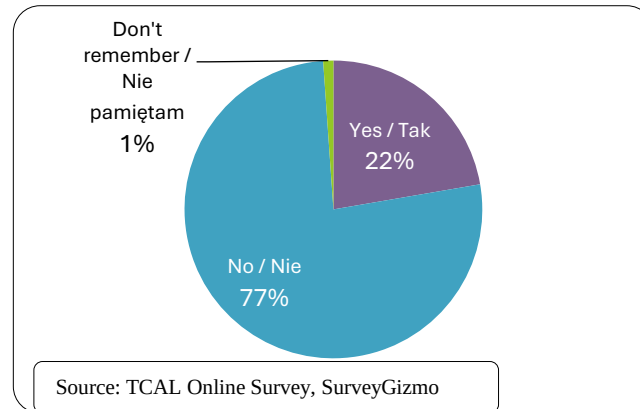


Figure 28: Diamond Jubilee participation

The other example, questioning acculturation by exploring participants’ willingness to introduce British Christmas traditions into their Polish celebrations, expectedly generated varied responses that ranged from

none [PL: żadnych]

through

almost none [PL raczej żadne]

and

I don’t know [PL: nie wiem]

to particular examples and comment such as

all [PL: wszystkie]

or

already done.

Those eager to incorporate new customs exemplified such traditions as

Boxing Day,

minced pies,

Christmas pudding,

Christmas/Xmas crackers,

(roast) turkey [PL: pieczenie indyka or zrobić indyka w piekarniku]

or

British dinner: roast beef and potatoes [PL: obiad brytyjski: pieczona wołowina i pieczone ziemniaki].

Even though some participants seemed to be familiar with the concept of Christmas crackers, two respondents struggled with spelling, e.g.:

Christmas Charckers

or

Christmas Crakers.

This may indicate that those individuals are in the process of *acculturation* as they are familiar with the custom; however, their written expression (and possibly pronunciation) of it is not accurate. On the other hand, limited *acculturation*, or possibly its extended process, can be inferred from comments that explicate lack of engagement, e.g.

I don't know their traditions [PL: nie znam ich tradycji],

which shows an isolationist approach based on othering and divisive discourse of *us* and *them* or a slow transformation when an individual has some awareness of concepts, but has not yet accepted or adopted them:

as for me, nothing fits: turkey???, boxing day???

[PL: nic mi nie pasuje: indyk???, boxing day???].

It seems that there is little correlation between eagerness to adopt British customs and age or origin (understood as regional affiliation in Poland) as the respondent who does not know British traditions and the one who has already introduced some customs to their Polish Christmas, reportedly originate from Western Pomerania (zachodniopomorskie) and are reported in the same age group (26-35). The respondent for whom nothing fits originates from central Poland and reported a different age group (i.e. 36-45). Similarly, within the contradictory groups, i.e. respondents who were not willing to incorporate any British customs into Polish traditions and those who were enthusiastic about the idea, there is little correlativity

in terms of their origin in Poland or age. This could be regarded as evidence of high subjectivity of opinions on elements of culture and a lower strength of national ties, which would be in line with Anderson's (2006: 7 original emphasis) 'nation [...] imagined as *limited*.'

Similarly to Christmas customs, food is another prominent identity-related aspect of life for migrating individuals. While many respondents eagerly listed more than one Polish dish that they seem to be missing when in the UK, some participants explained that 'everything is available here [in the UK]' ('tutaj wszystko jest' R80) and that 'there are Polish shops' ('są polskie sklepy' R54). These findings are similar to Rabikowska and Burrell (2009) and confirm a strong bond with the place of origin and/or upbringing. Nonetheless, the variety of foods available in Britain was also valued by the TCAL participants. Only four responses to the question about 'food liked in Britain' (Q76) were associated with Polish cuisine either by stating explicitly "Polish food" [PL: "polskie jedzenie"] or "Polish dishes" [PL: "polskie potrawy"] or by providing an example of a dish, e.g. "pierogi", dumplings or "żurek", a variety of sour soup. Almost all respondents focused on British and international food available in the UK, which could denote acculturative transformation of individuals and provide evidence that the Polish community prefers integration rather than separation as a strategy of *acculturation* (Berry, J. et al. 2007) while combining foods from the culture of origin and destination aligns with Kłoskowska's (2001, 2012) concept of *cultural valence*.

5.6 Acculturative impact on migrants' language and communication

Regardless of the reasons for resettlement, adaptation in the host country seems to have a profound impact on migrants' language and communication. The observed existence in two languages in a multicultural society affects not only migrants' behaviour, but also their use of language. The latter is often marked by translanguaging or lexical interference, code-switching and morpho-semantic transfers. All four match the criterion of user's convenience, reflect context specificity to avoid ambiguity and create neologisms, a new place- or situation-specific jargon or simply newspeak that with time can be incorporated into the

mainstream variation of the affected language. The following examples of lexical interference and code mixing seem to be in line with Sapir's (1958: 69) claim that '[h]uman beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society.'

5.6.1 Lexical Interference – A Quick Fix

In terms of lexis, linguistic interference builds upon borrowings between languages. One of the first definitions of interference identifies the phenomenon as 'deviation from the norms of either language which occur in bilinguals' (Weinreich quoted in Toth 2007: 7); however, modern contact linguistics expands the understanding of interference onto other research disciplines, such as psychology, neuro- and sociolinguistics and cultural studies. In the TCAL study, the respondents and the observed community revealed direct borrowing from English, adapting and transferring non-existent terms into Polish, adapting existing Polish terms and falling into the trap of false friends.

5.6.1.1 *Direct Borrowing from English*

This phenomenon is observed in everyday situations and can be related to simplest vocabulary. The first example depicts how the simplest language in simple language of an everyday conversation can pose a challenge to the user. In the first example observed in 2008, in an instruction a father was giving his young daughter, the Polish word *sok* (*juice*) was replaced by its English equivalent, i.e.

Father: '[...], no pij *juice*.'
('[...], drink your *juice*')

Such a replacement was permissible due to the simple structure of the sentence and the availability of a single word equivalent. This is a very good example of translanguaging when migrants employ their linguistic repertoire to generate meaning (Li 2018), as discussed in section 2.5.4. It may however have happened because it was convenient for the speaker in that particular situation or because at that moment he was incapable of producing the Polish word. While such interference may not affect the speaker, it may have a lasting impact on the language

development of the young daughter, the recipient of the message.

Another example of lexical borrowing can have more lasting communication impact as it represents the formation of neologisms. Namely, one of the cultural adaptation questions tackled the issue of separate taps in the UK. The responses included the option of a *mixer tap* (*bateria z mieszaczem*). One of the participants in his comment on the issue explicitly stated:

I haven't got used to [separate taps]. I fit in mixers.

[PL: Nie przyzwyczałem się [do oddzielnych kranów]. Montuję miksery.]

By using the word *miksery* (*mixers*) the speaker created a neologism as in Polish the word *mikser* refers to a kitchen blender rather than a *mixer tap*. The latter is simply called a *tap*. Such a situation could have happened as the speaker wanted to take a linguistic shortcut in explaining his approach to the issue. Nonetheless, such a use of Polish in Poland would likely result in some misunderstanding while in the UK situation, it seems to be justified by the context.

Similarly, a conversation overheard on a plane from East Midlands to Warsaw in 2013 can depict a struggle of second generation migrants to understand Polish traditions through the use and application of English terms, which is a clear example of not only interference, but also cultural translation or possibly reverse translation of culture. In the example conversation, the mother is trying to explain to her young school age son the reason for their trip to Poland while the boy comments to check his understanding of the issue. To do that he engages all his lexical repertoire.

- Boy: *Święta w Polsce? Mają święta w Polsce?*
(Festive celebrations in Poland? Do they have festive celebrations in Poland?)
- Mother: *Tak, teraz będzie Wielkanoc.*
(Yes, now there will be Easter.)
- Boy: *Aaa! Mają Easter w Polsce!*
(Oh! They have Easter in Poland!)
- Mother (emphasizing the Polish term): *Wielkanoc! Wielkanoc!*
- Boy: *Tak, mają Wielkanoc w Polsce i chocolate eggs.*
(Yes, they have Easter in Poland and chocolate eggs.)
- Mother: *Nie, chocolate eggs są w Anglii. W Polsce nie ma.*
(No, they have chocolate eggs in England. In Poland they don't.)

The third example of interference shows explicitly how the speaker's familiarity with terms influences their choice of lexis and language. It is also clear that one speaker's (the mother in this case) inconsistency with the choice of the language contributes to code switching (here the boy), which Gardner-Chloros (1997: 361) define as 'the use of two or more languages in the same conversation or utterance,' and applying translation to cultural terms in order to maximize the understanding of the discussed issue. Yet, while the boy attempts translanguaging, the mother clearly attempts to separate the two languages in the conversation.

5.6.1.2 *Translanguaging or Contextualised Adaptation of Non-Existent Terms*

Contextualised adaptation of terms that do not exist in one of a migrants' languages seems to be a natural process of cultural adjustment in the host country. As explained by Li (2018), Garcia and Li (2014) and other scholars working in the field of translanguaging, new words are created across languages as and when they are convenient. Hence, adapted and appropriated terms may be meaningful in the contexts they were created. The participants of the TCAL study were asked to evaluate the use of two terms that are commonly used by Poles in the UK: (1) *w UKeju* (in the UK) and (2) *Jeżdżę dablem* (I drive a double-decker).

The first example, *w UKeju* (in the UK), represents the adaptation of an English term to reflect the specificity and precision of the name of the country. In Polish, similarly to many other European languages, the names England or Great Britain are frequently used with reference to the UK, where such a selective usage can be offensive through its exclusionary effects. Thus, Polish migrants started using the original term in a partly polonised form, i.e. often the pronunciation of the letters remains English /ju: keɪ/ while a relevant Polish inflection for a locative is added, hence /wju:keju/. Occasionally, the pronunciation of the abbreviated term is also polonised /ɔ ka/; however, this version is not as common as the combined one. It needs to be noted, though, that a reverse process does not take place, i.e. when speaking English, Poles do not tend to say *in Polska* (Poland).

The other example also depicts the practicality of adapting work-specific terms by Polish bus drivers in the UK. Since there is no equivalent in Polish as *double-decker* buses are not common, one would have to use a complex descriptive term, such as

autobus piętrowy [= a multi-storey bus] or *autobus dwupoziomowy* [= a two-storey bus]. Therefore, Polish drivers in the UK adapted the local term and polonised the spelling (i.e. *dabl* or *dabel*) and the sounds. It seems that such borrowings are unavoidable in migrants' adapted lives as through their context-specificity they tend to improve communication with the host community and within the prescribed community of practice. These examples, however, may be categorized as the linguistic habitus, which Thompson (in Bourdieu 1991: 17) defines as "a sub-set of dispositions acquired in the course of learning to speak in particular contexts" or as translanguaging. Nonetheless, the context-specific adaptation of terms faced less understanding among many TCAL respondents who, with two exceptions of Katarzyna and Patryk, were rather disapproving and stressed an apparent lack of possibility for such lexical adoptions.

5.7 Conclusion

The *acculturation* and *adaptation* processes among Polish migrants in the East Midlands occur at multiple levels and are therefore individual and subjective. While motives for relocation, expectations towards the destination culture and identity issues (discussed in chapter 4) play a certain role in shaping the attitudes of migrating individuals, migrants' knowledge of the host culture, their sources of information about local lifestyle and reflection upon initial challenges faced in the target culture are crucial elements of their *acculturation* and pursued *adaptation*. Although most participants feel they have adapted, their engagement in the destination culture and involvement in matters of the Polish community vary. This demonstrates that acculturation is a subjective process. Although adaptation pathways are individual, the TCAL participants emphasized that openness, a positive attitude and eagerness to acquire the host culture significantly contribute to *acculturation* and do not depreciate the value of the culture of origin. This depicts *cultural valence* and the *integration* as dominant modes of acculturation among Polish migrants. Marginalisation, an approach that prevents acculturation, was far less frequent. Nonetheless, varying degrees of limitation to an open approach are reflected in the process of translation and interpretation of cultures, which is discussed in chapter 6.

Chapter 6

Translating the British Culture(s) to Adapt: The Polish Migrants' Perspective

Every culture is translated.

Anthony Pym

This chapter presents a discussion on the findings of the TCAL study regarding the interpretation of the host culture and its role for Polish migrants in adapting to life in the UK. While issues of identity and acculturation were discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, this chapter focuses on the element of the translation of cultures (TC) and transference as elements of acculturation and pursued cultural adaptation in the context of migration. Aspects such as assuming similarity, cultural projection and translanguaging, recognising cultural indicators and linguistic issues are discussed on the basis of data collected from the participants of the study and through ethnographic observations.

6.1. The element of *translating cultures* for migrating individuals

For the purposes of this study, as explained in Chapter 2, *culture* has been regarded in terms of mental, spiritual, social and linguistic elements that contribute to the process of reality construction by migrated individuals, based on two sets of cultural systems: home – broadly referred to as Polish and host – broadly referred to as British, with a focus on the East Midlands. Although it has been emphasized in this thesis that national cultures are rather superficial constructs, though very popular in the European context, the national adjectives seem to be workable in that they refer to two systems of partly similar origin, but of often different developmental pathways. Therefore, those systems can be convergent in some points and divergent in others. The similarities must derive from shared cultural and civilisation roots, i.e. Roman and Greek philosophical influence on the social, legal and cultural systems; Latin, Greek and French linguistic influence; as well as Europeanness and

imperial sentimentalism. The potential differences, however, may result from differing cultural contexts that reflect historical and geo-political circumstances, divergent social structures, unique approaches and views on issues or dissimilar climatic conditions, all of which can influence perception of the elements of life in a chosen society. It is 'the (at least partial) nonsharing of knowledge across [cultural] boundaries [that] encourages the identification and verbalization of taken-for-granted realities' (Lutz, 1987, p. 291). Yet, the new reality of migrants requires comprehending how its elements operate and interact, a way to which can lead through interpretation, analogy and translation (Collins and Gentner 1987). Hence, the acculturation and adaptation of Polish migrants to life in the UK may be challenging in some aspects, filled with uncertainty and the unexpected, which in tandem with uncovering new communities and modes of acting can stimulate a cultural transformation of individuals, including their mindset, behaviour and use of languages. Papastergiadis (2011: 2) attributes such reconfigurations to 'the productive relationship between dominant and minority partners'.

An element with somewhat elevated significance in the intercultural context of adaptation is the transfer of messages, i.e. the process of encoding and decoding, which is possible only when the code is fully, or at least partially, shared (see section 2.2.2). One example of a common code is language. Only speakers who use the same language can communicate whereas when the linguistic systems differ, communication is not entirely possible, it breaks or becomes inefficient. Similarly, cultural values other than language need a shared code to be communicated effectively and interpreted or comprehended without causing any tension between individuals. In extreme cases, cultural misunderstanding triggered by the application of varying codes may result in gestures, actions or words being interpreted as insulting or offensive. In other situations, if a code is not shared or only partially shared, translation and interpretation will occur to complete the meaning, though ineffectively at times.

Ziem (2014: 8) emphasises that 'linguistic expressions can be clearly assigned a function of cognitive stimuli' as meaning is constructed through semantics and associations. The *translation of cultures* also occurs as a cognitive process, i.e. in a new situation in the host country, the interpretation of the circumstances is likely to

derive from meanings, frames and models that are well known to the individual, either from a very personal experience or from the set of norms present in the home society. Kim (2001: 171, original emphasis) also accentuates that challenges to adaptation often arise from ‘incompatible *intrinsic markers* of cultural and communication systems.’ They also depend on values and norms that contextualize individuals’ culture. Therefore, transferring culture-bound meanings and expecting familiar cultural elements, in other words assuming similarity, is most likely to occur in an inter-lingual and intercultural context. Assuming similarity, projecting values of the culture of origin

Assuming similarity in inter- and cross-cultural contacts is a well-defined obstacle to adaptation (Jandt 2016) that can have very individual levels of depth, depending on knowledge and previous experience with the target culture(s), exposure to other cultures, openness and flexibility to accept differences. Assuming similarity can slow down or thwart the processes of acculturation and adaptation by discouraging individuals from further involvement in the destination culture. It can also bring both positive and negative features of the culture of origin into spotlight and thus enable the process of splitting *them* off to effectively realise one’s cultural traits. It is noteworthy that many of the examples cited in this chapter, regardless of their categorisation, represent the notion of assuming similarity.

The following example of Daniel’s observation regarding snowy weather conditions, which are often problematic in Britain, explicates the issue of the interpretation of cultures, which is often related to particular patterns of thinking that can be carried over from the culture of origin to the context of the destination culture to aid its comprehension. By saying

Like the thing I couldn't understand: nobody buys or puts winter tyres on their car!

Daniel associated certain weather conditions with a response to them that is more habitual in Central Europe, i.e. in Poland, Germany or Austria; however, due to his still rather limited familiarity with the UK climate and weather, he did not take into account either the severity or frequency of the conditions. Since this respondent came to the UK only about a few months prior to the interview (conducted in August), he must have had only limited knowledge of the winter conditions. Hence

this was a rather decontextualized comment, which may have been verified by his later experience of life in the UK. This example also shows the temporality of culture for Daniel, being a young person in his late twenties at the time of the interview, belongs to the generation who could not remember the times when in Poland winter tyres were not a standard, not to say they were not known at all. Furthermore, Daniel's line of reasoning in deconstructing the issue can also be categorized as assuming similarity, instead of a difference, which is discussed in more detail in the following section.

A case in point is also the ethnocentric feature of culture (Samovar and Porter 1997), which is epitomized by the application of the word *normal* to describe what individuals' familiarity and expectations towards the host culture. A witnessed conversation with a Polish bus driver demonstrates how any element of life in the UK can be interpreted to the advantage of the individual. By saying:

I've read that the climate is changing and that here they will finally have a normal climate, you know, like in Poland, with normal seasons.

(Czytałem, że klimat się zmienia tak, że wreszcie tutaj będą mieli normalny klimat, wie Pani, taki jak w Polsce, z normalnymi porami roku.)

the speaker expresses their wish and a subconscious desire to have elements of their culture of origin transferred to the host culture. This also demonstrates their preferences, which may directly derive from their cultural background and upbringing within particular conditions, in this case climate. Similarly, reported elements such as single taps, windows opening to the outside only or left-side traffic were considered by the participants as *not normal* and unexpected. Such defensiveness and unruly disturbance, in Papastergiadis's (2011) terms, exemplifies an internal struggle that was initiated by a moment of encounter, led to interpretation, with some elements of analogy, and is likely to induce an individual process of selection and bricolage of cultural elements of reality, which will lead to reconfiguring participants' cultures. This is because 'some part of the other [culture] must have travelled across the [cultural] border and disturbed the culture's internal structure' (Papastergiadis (2011: 2). Yet, according to Maitland's (2017) classification, the above examples can be placed in the first stage of interpretation as distanciation, the second stage, is not really observable in the participants' comments. Nonetheless, the further stages of incorporation, transformation and

emancipation may still occur, conditioned by individual circumstances.

Among examples from the TCAL survey, *hard work* was the most frequently reported element that demonstrated a perceived significant difference in attitudes between Polish and British people. While in Poland commitment beyond responsibilities or ‘going the extra mile’ is often a standard expectation epitomizing devotion, a system with clearly defined tasks and detailed job descriptions could be interpreted as limiting. Consequently, individuals who do their job diligently but only in accordance with prescribed requirements can be perceived as not creative and not committed to their job to a satisfactory level. Furthermore, the rather strict division of life spheres in Britain into professional and private (Fox 2005) can also be misinterpreted by Polish migrants for it is more common in Poland to observe some overlap between work and personal life and contacts. Therefore, a clear line between work and private time may initially receive less approval from individuals who are new to the culture.

It can, therefore, seem apparent why many of the survey respondents indicated “hard work” as an element the British could learn from the Polish. Similarly, Janka who reported she did not gain work experience in Poland and declared she did not socialize with British people and mentioned hard work as an element missing from the British culture. This is a valuable example of applying cultural scripts (Wierzbicka 2002) and certain expectations to the host community as the connotations of the term and the whole concept of working hard can differ between cultures. Applying cultural scripts can initially lead to misunderstanding and negative judgement on the migrants’ part. On the other hand, Katarzyna mentioned that she learnt work standards and ethics in the UK, which shows how subjective experiences can be. Similarly, Dorota and Justyna did not have any work experience in Poland, hence they did not comment on lack of commitment of British people. Therefore, the discrepancy of opinions demonstrates how the system of values instilled in the culture of origin can influence the perception of the host culture and how it can further impact on intercultural relations, cultural engagement and cultural adaptation in the destination country.

A further example of social norms and patterns that were not entirely expected by TCAL participants relates to social occasions and invited participation in

celebrations. One of the survey respondents reported

buying your own drinks at weddings

[PL: kupowanie sobie drinków na weselach]

as an element differentiating British culture from Polish customs and traditions. In the UK it seems to be commonly accepted for individuals to pay for themselves when celebrating in a group whereas in Poland there is a clear distinction between a casual night out with friends and being invited to gatherings such as weddings. While on the first occasion it is entirely permissible to share or split the bill, an invitation most frequently means that the costs are covered by the host. Therefore, expecting your guests to buy their own drinks or food at a Polish wedding would be regarded as an impropriety or faux pas. In the reported situation the participant must have been taken by surprise as they clearly assumed similarity, but experienced a difference. This indicates that the behaviour on a range of social occasions and gatherings is highly culture-specific and the knowledge of such can be gained mostly through experience, meaning enculturation and acculturation, rather than theoretical training. Consequently, in preparations for a particular event, individuals are likely to rely on the deposit of socio-cultural knowledge they have accumulated (Spencer-Oatey and Franklin 2009; Wierzbicka 2002), which in the case of migrants means to a large extent the culture of origin, with an addition of potential international encounters. Hence, if particular norms, customs or behaviours are not known to an individual, the most likely course of action is the application of the familiar norms, behaviours or expectations to the event, which often appear to be the ones from the culture of origin. In other words, in unknown types of situations, individuals will apply prior knowledge as this is the only deposit they have at hand to tackle the situation.

While the main concepts of social occasions and gatherings can be similar across European cultures, the differences emerge in the organisational details. For example, in many cultures flowers are bought for weddings and funerals, yet the details, i.e. what kinds of flowers, where, when and how they are bought and delivered seems culture specific. Therefore, the first behavioural stage for individuals is cultural translation and transfer, which involves the application of known standards. This, in turn, confirms the notion of assuming similarity, though

the process can also be accompanied by collecting relevant information and advice from the community, including other migrants, e.g. online communities and fora, and individuals from the host culture, e.g. colleagues at work or friends, which in the long term leads to acculturation and prospective adaptation.

Similarly, some participants were very critical of the English question *How are you?* as a type of greeting, in which the interest in the interlocutor's well-being is of little significance, contrary to the question. One participant reported that this is the very element they have learnt in the UK for in Polish the intention of the question is usually convergent with the direct meaning of the phrase; hence, certain misinterpretation of the English question may occur in the UK context. Secondly, in Polish small talk is less extensive than in English while expressing interest in someone's well-being reflects the intention of eliciting the intended kind of information, though there will be other social norms that regulate the types of relations, in which such questions are permissible or acceptable. Yet, assuming similarity instead of a difference in this case may lead to misunderstanding or certain disappointment in inter-personal relations.

Another example of assuming similarities regards personal culture, manners and behaviour in the most private situations in public places such as work places. Interpretation of those is strongly based on cultural scripts and often results in projecting expectations on the host culture. In every cultural circle, there are rather strict unwritten rules regarding permissible naturally-occurring bodily reactions, which all people are taught at home at a young age. While certain behaviours, such as spitting in the street, can be acceptable, though to varying degrees across European countries, other behaviours, such as belching or flatulence, are regarded as an entire lack of manners and are therefore unacceptable in the public sphere. For Edward, facing such unacceptable behaviour from work colleagues was clearly unexpected and distressing. As he added, he expected an apology as he classified the incident as impolite. When talking about those situations he was disgusted and concluded

We don't behave like that!

[PL: My się tak nie zachowujemy!]

Therefore, it is apparent that a particular unfulfilled assumption regarding behaviour can contribute to the formation of a negative judgement of the host culture. Edward's observations, however, can be contested by Bogdan's admiration of the respect for people and traditional values that he noticed in Britain. He clearly emphasised, as opposed to Edward, that Poles in Britain can learn manners and personal culture from the British (the English, as he said):

The respect for the Monarchy here, for the Queen. This ... I like the English attachment to the Queen. I've been at many social event and there is always ... Well, what can I say, for them the Queen is ... a kind of a goddess...

[PL: ten respekt do Monarchii tutaj, do Królowej. Ten taki... mi się bardzo podoba właśnie, że Anglicy mają tą taką więź z Królową. Bo byłem na wielu imprezach i zawsze jest ... No nawet nie ma nawet o czym rozmawiać... Królowa jest dla nich... no ... boginią jakby ...]

This further demonstrates the practicalities of the process of splitting off *them* to realise one's identity (Lutz 1997; Jenkins 2003) and emphasizes the degree to which all experiences, positive and negative, are significant for identity reconfiguration (Papastergiadis 2011) and reaching the stage of Bhabha's (1994) *cultural hybridity* or Kłoskowska's (2001, 2012) *cultural valence* as well as Maitland's (2017) stages of *transformation* and *emancipation*.

6.2. Politeness

Another culture-specific area is *politeness* and perceived polite behaviour. As already pointed out, individuals' perception of politeness and acceptable conduct may have a significant influence on their sustainable functioning in the other culture or their culture of choice, which is host or target from the migrants' perspective and simply typical or ordinary (in other words expected) for the local community. Therefore, the participants of the study were also prompted about the issue of politeness, which subtleties can differ between cultures (Katan 2004, Spencer-Oatey and Franklin 2009). The aspects chosen in this study related to the politeness of requests, i.e. the use of the word 'please' in particular, and to directness in communication as an element of inter-personal relations (Katan 2004, Spencer-Oatey and Franklin 2009). In one of the questions in the TCAL survey, the participants were asked (Q52) whether when ordering a coffee, it a question and a request 'Can I have a latte?' would be sufficiently polite. As indicated in Fig. 29 below, the responses differed; however, half of the participants seemed convinced

that such a question was rather impolite.

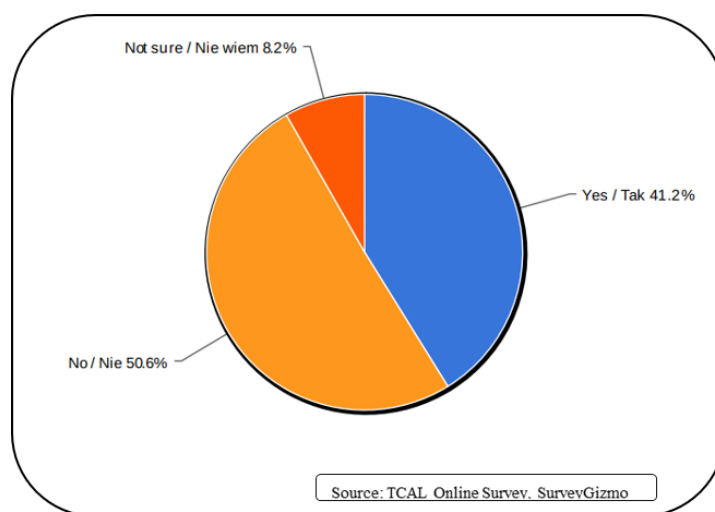


Figure 29: Do you think it is polite enough to say „Can I have a latte?” when you are ordering a coffee?

In the comment box, most explanations referred to the need for adding the word ‘please’ to turn the question into a polite request. The participants express the requirement for ‘please’ more directly:

mention the magic word – please [original spelling]

‘please’ is necessary [PL: koniecznie trzeba dodac ‘please’]

‘please’ is fundamental [PL: please jest fundamentalne – original spelling]

you need to add ‘please’ [PL: trzeba dodać ‘please’]

add please [original spelling]

or more tentatively:

I would add ‘please’ [PL: dodałabym , ‘please’ – original spelling]

I would end the sentence with the word ‘please’ [PL: zakończył bym zapewne zdanie słowem please 😊 – original spelling]

Some of the respondents indicated in their comments different codes of behaviour in Poland and in the UK, though they did not refer to linguistic features of the question and the use of the modal verb ‘can’:

Not in the UK

Yes, in Poland; not in the UK [PL: W Polsce tak, w UK – nie]

Some participants were not sure whether a request without added ‘please’ would

sound sufficiently polite. This was either expressed directly in the survey by marking ‘not sure’ or by intonation of the statement in an interview:

I would say that rather not [polite]. ‘Please’ can be added. [PL: Znaczy, mi się zdaje, że raczej nie [uprzejmie]. To można jeszcze dodać ‘please’.]

(Edward)

Nonetheless, most participants, in the survey and in the interviews, agreed that the word ‘please’ is necessary in requests to reach a polite tone, which is not divergent from their culture of origin and can be categorised as their tacit cultural knowledge. The difference, however, relates to the combination of the modal verbs used in requests and an addition of ‘please’. While in English the verb *can* is neutral, in Polish it bears a polite connotation; therefore, a question ‘Czy możę dostać kawę?’ [PL: ‘Can I have a coffee?'] can suffice in terms of politeness. Such implicit knowledge may not cross easily through linguistic and cultural boundaries (Lutz 1987). Hence, by applying the polite meaning to the English verb *can*, in other words by misattribution or transferring the connotation across languages, politeness in the target language or mode of communication can be effectively thwarted. One of the survey respondents pointed out that the word ‘please’ is needed in a request and supported their answer by providing an alternative phrase in Polish that also includes ‘please’, though the syntax of the phrase differs from the phrase in English while back translation into English also sounds awkward or patronising:

‘Please’ is needed; we also say ‘Coffee, please’

[PL: Potrzebne jest ‘please’; my też mówimy ‘proszę kawę’]

Similarly, a reverse translation of a reply may be equally awkward as the permissible answer in English *Yes, you can* (*Tak, możesz*) would be found rude according to Polish cultural norms. The acceptable response would be a reassuring phrase, such as *Of course!* [PL: *Oczywiście*], which does not seem problematic in either of the two languages. Therefore, in the intercultural context, it seems evident that politeness can be affected by syntax while connotations can be adjusted only with intercultural experiences of individuals in mind. For example, Katan (2004: 313) examines similar examples in other languages and concludes that in English “there is an array of grammatical (modals, conditionals) and lexical (e.g. ‘please’) options” to achieve the goals of polite indirectness. However, this analysis suggests

that the verb ‘can’ seems to be culturally more sensitive in Polish than it is in English as it is not neutral, and, apart from signalling ability, can also encode politeness in the context of requests.

A more complex example of politeness in Britain refers to indirectness in relations (Katan 2004). It seems to be a less understood issue for the respondents, which became explicit in individual interviews. Some interviewees asserted that direct questions

are very polite [PL: bardzo [uprzejme]] (Bogdan)

while others emphasised that

it is the reverse [PL: raczej odwrotnie] (Edward),

which indicates Edward’s incorporation stage, in Maitland’s (2017) terms. Some interviewees admitted that although they

still [felt] much more direct than the British”, they “[did] not feel bad about it”
(Katarzyna)

when they thought a particular situation required that. This also represents the stage of incorporation in the process of cultural translation (Maitland 2017). Daniel and Iwona, however, had to learn ‘to be very polite’ as they noticed that

you really have to choose words carefully [and] the intonation has to be appropriate.
(Iwona)

The issue of indirectness in English is related to modesty and respecting the space and privacy of others (Fox 2005, Katan 2004) whereas in Polish, directness may be commonly understood as assertiveness. The latter may derive from a centuries-long extensive experience of oppression and imposed rules and propaganda. Therefore, the English indirectness in personal encounters may be perceived by individuals new to the culture as two-facedness, hypocrisy (Fox 2005) or an ineffective manner of managing relationships. As Katan (2004) points out, indirectness seems culture-bound and it is often taught from an early age. Consequently, the level of directness applied by migrants may not be compatible with the local culture and may lead to frictions as the behaviour will also be interpreted by the host community according to their norms and values. While adding the word *please* to every uttered request

may seem relatively easy to sound more polite, achieving well-functioning indirectness requires sensitivity, practice and feedback from within the destination culture. The latter, however, may remain only a wish as if directness is found by the host community too intrusive or awkward, it may have an impact on relationships between host and migrant communities.

The culture-bound perspective on politeness, and by default rudeness as well, was also manifested in Janka's bitter-sweet experience of personal encounters and perception of individuals in the UK:

the people are like, I would say rude, ordinary British people. Even during studies, I couldn't really get on with British people. [...] Maybe they are not like very rude, but they are not gentle and they're not respecting each other. Men don't respect women at all.

Another significant politeness issue is related to address terms as in some cultures hierarchy is more valued than intimacy or egalitarianism (Wierzbicka 1991, 2003: 47). Among the TCAL participants, the commonality of addressing people by their first name was mentioned as an obstacle to adaptation to life in the UK. It appears problematic as in the Polish culture, the second person singular - *you* is reserved only for children and close friends. Otherwise, a common manner of addressing individuals is the polite form *Pan* (Sir/Mr.) for men or *Pani* (Madam or Mrs./Ms.) for women, regardless of age and status⁴³. Furthermore, there is a middle form combining the prefix and first name (e.g. *Pan Jan*), which is used in relations with acquaintances who are neither strangers, nor close friends. Such a form often softens the tone of the conversation and reduces formality and distance. Therefore, if the same rules are applied within the UK context, individuals may use forms such as *Mr. John*, which is non-existent within the English language and the Anglophone cultures, or *Sir John*, which reflects social status and a given title rather than certain proximity in relationships. Hence, confusing the forms that often happens due to the application of prior knowledge, keeps the participants at the distancing stage when meaning may not be readily available. Nonetheless, those TCAL participants who reported the issue of addressing people by their first names may have experienced relatively little exposure to the cultures in the Anglophone world;

however, they do not vary from representatives of other cultures who also find this issue problematic when communicating in English.

Similarly, the use of personal pronouns in address forms may be problematic. Although pronouns seem to be purely grammatical aspects of the language, address forms can aid to identify what constitutes *politeness* in a particular culture. The challenges of using polite and formal address forms are also discussed by Michael Agar (2002/1996) with reference to German, Laura Sacia (2006) with reference to German, Portuguese and Vietnamese contexts. Both scholars emphasise the complexity and fluidity of the rules of address terms and both perceive the distinction between general rules and the ones established by individuals in their particular situations as challenging. In this respect, the Polish cultural norms⁴⁴ can be equally challenging for an outsider. Furthermore, in comparison to the rules within the Anglophone world, some principles/customs can operate in reverse forms (see above for *Sir John* – *Pan Jan* – *Mr. John*); therefore, a potential cross-match of rules and norms relating to a customary use of address forms is a vivid example of cultural translation when the framework from the home culture is applied to the new environment. Hence, although Polish migrants, as indicated by the respondents, may find it rather frustrating and disrespectful to address others *per you*, the younger generations seem to transfer this style into their use of the Polish language in casual situations. In everyday situations, such as shopping or services, in accordance with the Polish cultural norms, formality is usually maintained, e.g. in a shop, at the hairdresser's or in a garage a new client is likely to be addressed with an appropriate address form *Pan/i* rather than *per ty* [*per you*]; however, in more casual or social situations there is a tendency to use the colloquial and direct form of *ty* [*you*]. Such confusion over more egalitarian use of address forms, their potential misinterpretation and misuse in the host culture exemplifies Bennett's (1958) "status cue confusion".

⁴⁴ Up until World War II, the address terms and forms were rather well established. The forms of *Pan* for men (e.g. *Pan Kowalski*) and *Pani* for women (e.g. *Pani Kowalska*) were used to address people of a higher social status, e.g. land owners. Workers, land workers and people of lower social positions were addressed by their surname (e.g. *Kowalski*) while servants, cleaners and other people of lower social status were often addressed by their first names. This changed when the new regime took power after WWII, social norms, including address terms, were altered. Although in the official discourse, the term *comrade* was used to address party officials (but also other people), in everyday conversations the form *Pan/i* became widely/commonly accepted. In professional circles, however, also titles were used, e.g. professor, doctor or engineer (*inżynier* = *inż.*), though there were cases of individuals addressing their colleagues by surname (e.g. *Kowalski tell me...*).

6.3. Recognising indicators of social status

Roth (2000: 77) states that recognising an object, and I would argue, a concept, as well, is an absolute prerequisite to understanding. It “occurs rapidly, spontaneously and without any deliberate effort”, hence automatically. In cultural terms, this automaticity is most likely to be a result of learning and exposure. It has been established in this thesis that the translation of culture can take place at many levels and in multiple spheres of life. Hence, recognising the signifiers of the social status within the host society is an area where interpretation and application of non-host norms and patterns of thinking can certainly occur. Therefore, the TCAL participants were asked to assess social status on the basis of housing, i.e. to state to what extent they think it is true that ‘living in a house with a garden reflects a higher social status’ (Q29) and that ‘only less wealthy people live in apartment buildings’ (Q30). Additionally, individual interviewees were shown a set of eight pictures of houses (see Appendix 5) to speculate who the potential occupiers might be by indicating their social status or profession. While nearly two thirds of the questionnaire respondents (Fig. 30) did not perceive a house with a garden as a signifier of a higher status and a fifth agreed with the statement conditionally, the vast majority (almost three quarters) disagree that apartment buildings are for less wealthy social groups and a fifth remained neutral to this statement.

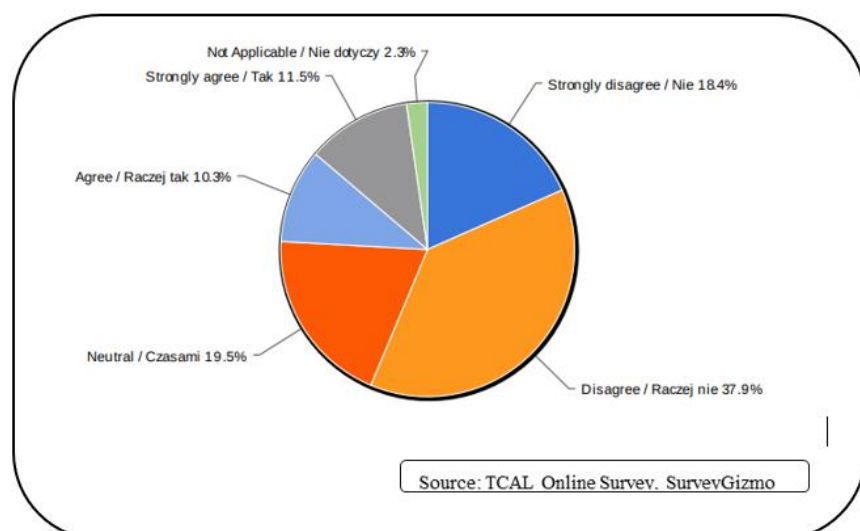


Figure 30: Living in a house with a garden reflects a higher social status

One of the survey respondents supported their answer with a comment that

An apartment in, for example, Lace Market in Nottingham is rather not cheap.

[PL: Appartment np. na Lace Markey w Nottingham raczej nie należy do tanich.]

This indicates a judgement based on some gained local knowledge, which limits the need for cultural translation. Similarly, a comment:

depends on the garden [PL: zależy od ogródka],

though enigmatic, demonstrates some familiarity with cultural signifiers in the host culture. However, another participant, by saying

in Poland, yes, but here ...? [PL: w Polsce tak, a tu ...?],

showed a mid-range interpretation that revealed some awareness of potential differences in such social indicators as accommodation between their home culture and the host one. Yet, the three dots and the question mark at the end of the comment clearly point to gaps in cultural knowledge and in understanding socio-cultural cues of the host environment.

In terms of the distribution of answers across the age groups, there were more respondents from older groups (i.e. 56-65 and 65+) than from among younger respondents who were inclined to think that higher social status could be represented by living in a house with a garden. The respondents from the older age groups may have applied meanings from their first culture, especially from the times of their youth or childhood when most residents of Polish cities and towns lived in often small flats in multi-storey residential buildings while city houses with gardens were associated with wealth and status beyond the reach of average people. Therefore, those who have less experience with the meanings of the host culture, may have cultural associations with different types of accommodation that may be strongly rooted in their home culture and activated when prompted.

The interviewees, however, clearly indicated income, stage of life and family background and/or roots as the main factors for differences in housing. The participants also implied that the apartment buildings in pictures 7 and 8 are not similar; therefore, they would have different occupants. Recognising types of

housing as indicators of social status did not prove problematic for the TCAL participants. This could indicate that housing is a cultural similarity; however, there is generally well known that individuals in Poland and in the UK do live differently in terms of housing. Therefore, the results of the TCAL study could be seen as indicating a mental and cultural transformation that occurred in Poland over recent decades, which was further enhanced in migrating individuals due to their exposure to British life style. Yet, the hesitant or unsure responses denote the potential influence of home culture on the attempts to understand and interpret the reality and cultural meanings of the host culture the individuals chose to live in.

Linguistic choices constituted another aspect of the interpretation of culture, which partly overlapped with cultural awareness. In order to test that element, the individual interviewees were asked to

- (1) specify the word they would use in asking about the location of a ‘bathroom’ in a public place,
- (2) list, both in Polish and English, names of meals and specify times when those are usually eaten in Poland and in the UK and
- (3) state whether the Polish word *dziewczyna* would be an equivalent to the English word *girl*.

With regard to the first issue, most of the participants stated that they would use the word *toilet* (Bogdan, Dorota, Edward, Iwona, Janka, Hania and Daniel), which as Fox (2005: 76) explains would “make the higher classes flinch – or exchange knowing looks”. To consolation of those who could be appalled by such a lexical choice, some participants also mentioned that they would use words such as

bathroom” (Iwona),

restroom (Janka)

or

the ladies (Marta).

Some interviewees stated that they were also aware of the word *loo*, but some claimed they were not fond of it (Katarzyna). The use of the word ‘toilet’ can be

another example of transferring the norms of the culture of origin into the new societal context. Since in Polish the equivalent word ‘toaleta’ is more cultured, as many words originating from French, than other less sophisticated terms, the recognition of social status is not immediate. Hence, the transference of the category, together with the implied finesse or *savoir-vivre*, seems to fill the gap between the home and host cultures, though it could be expected of migrants to adjust the use of the term in later stages of acculturation when they gain more insights of the host culture. Once this happens, they will have transformed and possibly emancipated (Maintland 2017).

In terms of meal names, another potential indicator of social class affiliation (Fox 2005), the participants did not exhibit any problem with either names or time; however, only some interviewees were aware of the use of the word ‘tea’ for ‘dinner’. Furthermore, those who were familiar with the use of the word ‘dinner’ in the meaning of ‘lunch’ associated it with regional differences rather than social background of speakers (Katarzyna). It is noteworthy that in Polish an equivalent word to ‘dinner – obiad’ is used with reference to a meal in the middle of the day and after work, provided it is hot food. Hence, despite the familiarity with names, the Polish categorisation may influence the perception of meal names in the host culture.

As for the words *girl* and *dziewczyna*, their equivalence across the languages did not raise any questions among the participants as most of the interviewees would use the English word in the same contexts as its Polish equivalent, which resembles the actual contexts of both languages, which is clearly stated by Bogdan:

Well, applying my Polish thinking, I would say so, but I also know that in English this is correct.

[PL: Znaczy, myśląc po polsku, to bym tak nie powiedział, ale wiem, że po angielsku to jest poprawnie.]

Minor differences could be attributed to very specific contexts; however, in general the Polish and English words are used in similar situations and with similar meanings and connotations. Therefore, assuming similarity (Jandt 2016) can be a workable linguistic strategy and interpretation could be needed only in those rare contexts where a specific meaning could be differ from the general one.

6.4. Cultural transference and projection

In the process of adaptation, cultural transference and appropriation occur at various levels. The transfer can be more implicit, for example related to personal preferences, likes and dislikes that can originate from the home culture, or more explicit, for example observed in law-related issues that can bear serious consequences on migrants' lives. Both types of cultural transference were observed in the TCAL study in participants' reflections about aspects they like in the UK, home elements they miss or behaviours they learnt or mastered in the UK. As aspects of their liking or even fascination, a few of the interviewees mentioned UK nature, landscape, regions of the country and their culture. Dorota, for example, explained how much she liked Northern England and Scotland by saying:

West Yorkshire, you know, you will see really nice hills and rolling hills and the poetry... [...] Inner and Outer Hebrides in Scotland. Gosh, I love those places!

Dorota's love of hills and mountains may be related to her place of origin, the mountainous South and thus it represents her longing for home landscape that can be approximated by enjoying similar natural environment in the UK. This also shows that there are certain migration-triggered gaps can be partially filled with elements of the host culture.

Nonetheless, the way of spending free time differs between cultures, which is another issue mentioned by the TCAL participants. Bogdan, for example, reported that one of his favourite leisurely activities include angling (fishing) and mushroom picking, which are frequently observed in Central Europe. In the UK, however, as Bogdan stated

simple fishing here is a big problem as ... as there is nowhere to go

[PL: głupie pojechanie na ryby tutaj to jest wielki problem, bo ... no bo nie ma gdzie].

He further explained that enjoys fishing and mushroom picking as he comes from Eastern Poland and

at home there are forests, here there are none

[PL: [n]o u nas są lasy, tu nie ma],

which demonstrates how an individual would like to transfer elements of culture of origin, but is limited by the reality of the destination country. Furthermore, from Bogdan's lack of awareness of fishing opportunities in the north of England or in Scotland, it can be assumed that he, contrary to Dorota, has not explored Britain yet. This emphasises the developmental element of the process of *acculturation* and the role the *translation of culture* plays in it. Moreover, Bogdan's example of mushroom picking as a leisurely activity also depicts migrants' limited familiarity with the destination law, which does not permit such activities, and can have serious legal consequences for the involved individuals.

The issue of mushroom picking received some coverage in the Polish media in the UK and in Poland (for example Gazeta Wyborcza 2014, Nasze Strony 2014, Polish Express 2016) when a Polish family was taken to court for mushroom picking in Epping forest in the autumn of 2013. The three cited articles in Polish newspapers emphasise the fact that the defendant made an attempt to explain to the judge that the law was outdated (dating back to 1878) and therefore should not be applicable to modern times. Yet, in terms of portraying the whole situation, there were observable differences between the Polish daily newspaper Gazeta Wyborcza and Polish papers in the UK, the Polish Express and the Nasze Strony. By showing a number to emphasise the age of this specific law (Fig. 31), the title of the article in Gazeta Wyborcza clearly implied that the situation was ludicrous because an outdated law was applied. To intensify the impression of an exaggerated approach to the issue, the subtitle states that 'They were picking mushrooms' as if the author wanted to belittle the action, without adding 'only' before the verb, because in the home culture the activity of mushroom picking is so common, simply seen by some as a hobby, that it could not possibly be an offence.

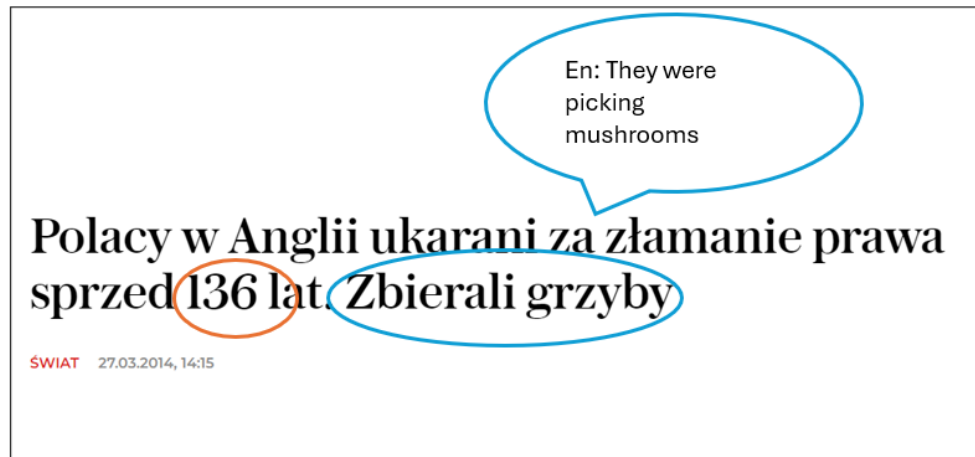


Figure 31: The title in *Gazeta Wyborcza*
Source: *Gazeta Wyborcza* (2014)

The Polish papers in the UK focused not only on reporting the situation, but also clarified why picking mushrooms in the UK is against the law. This example story and the comments from Bogdan demonstrate a noticeable lack of familiarity with the British rules and/or rules of specific sites (e.g. protected areas), such as Epping Forest, lack of explicit awareness of any potential wrong doing as well as a clear lack of understanding of local norms when it comes to the perspective of the home culture. For both the journalist in Poland and for Bogdan, the issue is simply a ‘taken-for-granted reality’ where tacit knowledge did not cross cultural boundaries (Lutz 1987). The same issue appears somewhat differently in the UK Polish newspapers as they explain the significance of complying with the law and picking mushrooms being a theft and a act dangerous for the ecosystem; however, differences in the legal systems are not mentioned by any of the three journalists. This specific example depicts how norms and standards of the culture of origin can be applied to fill a gap in understanding the norms and values of the host culture and how assuming similarity (Jandt 2016) can lead to unexpectedly serious consequences for individuals at the stage of interpretation (Papastergiadis 2011; Maitland 2017), so early stages of acculturation.

Attitude to legal matters being underpinned by cultural transfer has also been reiterated by the TCAL study participants with reference to other issues. Mirek noted that for the law in Poland,

it needs to be imposed” while in Britain “people are going to abide it [because] there

is an understanding that [...] it's probably for the greater benefit.

This seems to be confirmed by the survey respondents as nearly half of them agree with the statement that 'British people obey rules more and are more law-abiding than Polish people' (Q34) while nearly a third of the participants remains neutral (Fig. 32). Among those who disagree the largest group are the participants whose length of stay exceeds 5 years and are mostly male of age up to 45 years.

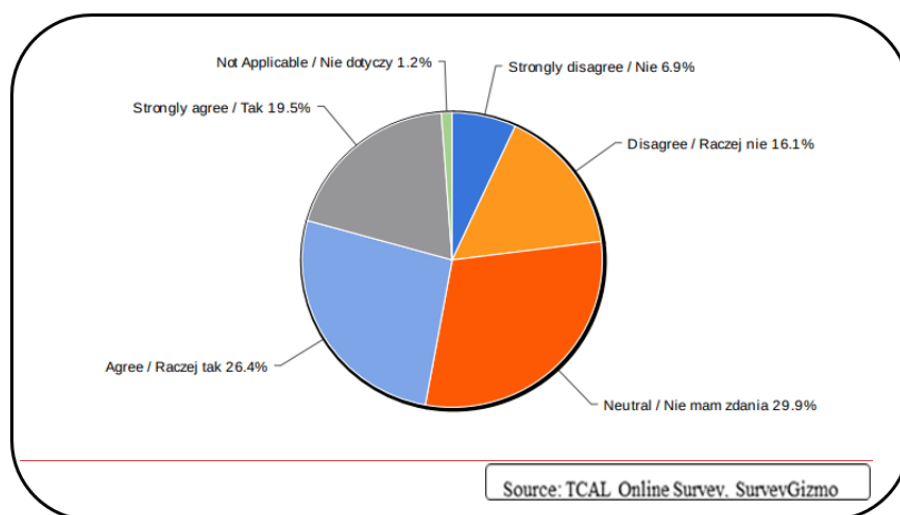


Figure 32: British people obey rules more and are more law-abiding than Polish people

In their comments on law abidingness, half of the survey participants justified their agreement with the statement by saying that

[this is] because the British laws are less absurd – I would say, more friendly

[PL: dlatego że brytyjskie prawa są mniej absurdalne, powiedziałbym nawet – przyjazne]

or

the law and rules are better respected in the UK.

One of the respondents stated enthusiastically:

And I like it very much!

[PL: I bardzo mi się to podoba!]

While some respondents admitted that they did not really know, one respondent was more critical in saying emigmatically

It depends.

[PL: To zależy.]

Similar scepticism was expressed by the interviewed Polish consular officer who clearly stated that

the argument of legal differences is overrated

[PL: ten argument o różnicach prawnych jest przeceniany]

as, on the example of social services and the adoption of children from families at risk, Polish people are not surprised that this happens, but that the process is swift. This, in turn, uncovers systemic weaknesses of the culture of origin and the resultant expectation that time delay may turn the outcome of an issue into a more positive one for the individuals involved. The latter may be an attitude transferred from the home culture and not entirely dropped in the host cultural environment.

Furthermore, attitudes to authorities or any other form of superiority in formal situations also depict the historical influences on the development of collective identity with regard to survival under oppression. Such attitudes persist and are difficult to change within a short period of time. Therefore, they may play a role in acculturation as transferred or translated elements. One survey respondent reported that in the UK they have learnt

not to say anything as it may be used against us

[PL: nie powinno się nic mówić, bo może to być wykorzystane przeciwko nam],

which resembles more old Polish attitudes than British norms. While in the UK such an attitude might be perceived as immature or irrational, the recent history of oppression and manipulative methods of the regimes applied to subdue the people in Poland can provide a certain explanation. As Hall (1989/1976: 69) emphasises, “[i]f one is to *really* understand a given behaviour on the basic level [...], one must know the entire history of the individual”. Furthermore, the comment points towards potentially subversive behaviours and low self-esteem, which have been researched and analysed by psychologists (see Pielacha 2016). While low self-esteem was commented on by the TCAL survey participants:

Poles [...] don't believe in themselves

or

Polish people often think they are not good enough,

the afore-mentioned subservience was observed in an extensive media coverage of the Sports Direct issue in Shirebrook,⁴⁵ Derbyshire where most exploited employees are Polish post-accession migrants, and ethnic tension in Boston, Lincolnshire, where the consular officer had to intervene on more than one occasion.

The subversive attitudes and low self-esteem may also be related to somewhat limited trust in authorities and politicians in Poland, another issue that has a deep historical undercurrent. Since politics in modern Poland is often perceived as a media only phenomenon and politicians are thought to remember about their electorate before elections only, an average Polish person retains little interest in casting votes. Although suffrage is a right whereas voting is categorised as a duty, Polish people tend to think that their ‘one little vote wouldn’t matter’; hence, they often have limited motivation to engage. The TCAL participants’ involvement in activities related to their civic rights and duties was reported as limited regarding the Polish parliamentary and presidential elections of 2010. Most respondents (across all age groups and regardless of gender or length of stay in the UK) declared that they did not cast their vote in Polish elections in 2010⁴⁶ (see Fig. 33).

⁴⁵ All media in the UK and in Poland reported on the substandard conditions of work and pay below the national minimum in a Shirebrook warehouse. A turning point was a story of an employee giving birth to her child in the toilet. Although initially the woman was arrested for neglecting her child, the incident itself and the woman’s explanation that she was afraid to lose her job if she asked for leave put Sports Direct in spotlight. See for example: Nottingham Post 2014, Smith and Dean 2016, Pickard 2016.

⁴⁶ The Polish elections are organised for the citizens who live in the country and for those who either permanently or temporarily stay abroad. Votes are always cast in person or through a nominated representative while postal vote is not a legal option in Poland. The voting outside the country is organised and supervised by the Polish diplomatic mission (the embassy and/or the consular officer(s)). Prior to voting, citizens need to register online with a relevant consular office through the government website (a more recent solution) and indicate which of the accredited electoral commissions they will attend. In the UK, the East Midlands region is within the territorial supervision of the Consulate General in Manchester. Electoral commissions operate in major cities, such as Nottingham, Leicester or Derby, and are usually located in Polish clubs or cultural centres.

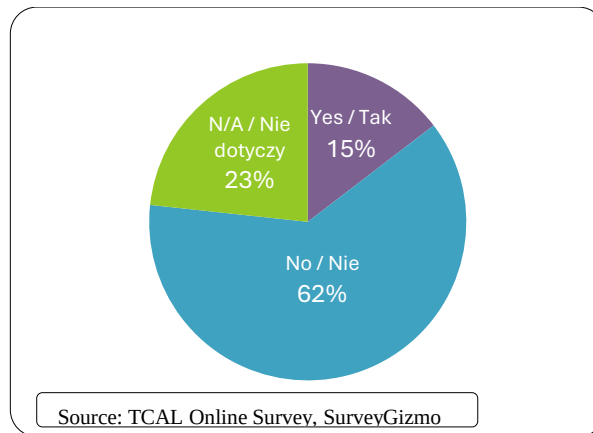


Figure 33: Participants' engagement in the Polish elections in 2010

Even fewer participants confirmed their involvement with British elections, either parliamentary⁴⁷ in 2010 or local in 2012, as more than three quarters of the respondents admitted that they did not vote in the local elections (see Fig. 34 and 35). Many of the respondents who confirmed their lack of participation in the British parliamentary elections justified it by a lack of interest in politics

because I care little [PL: bo mnie to mało obchodzi]

rather than being ineligible. Yet, the declared lack of interest in politics seems to be transferred across from the respondent's cultural background, where individuals do not know politicians who represent them and politics is possibly perceived as beyond average people's reach. Hence, in the UK context, such individuals may initially struggle to understand how constituencies operate, though may go along a learning curve if a situation forces them to contact their MP for support, for example. Another issue that may be of significance for this element of the TCAL study is gender as females may be less interested in politics and this attitude can be carried across cultures.

⁴⁷ EU (here Polish) citizens are eligible to vote in British parliamentary elections only if they have obtained British citizenship; therefore, many participants may have been excluded. It needs to be noted that measuring British citizenship among Polish migrants was beyond the scope of this study; yet, the responses to the question about the participation in the British parliamentary elections may be indicative of certain positive attitudes to civic engagement among migrants from Poland.

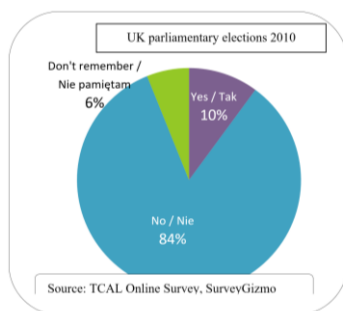


Figure 34: Participants' engagement in British Parliamentary elections of 2010

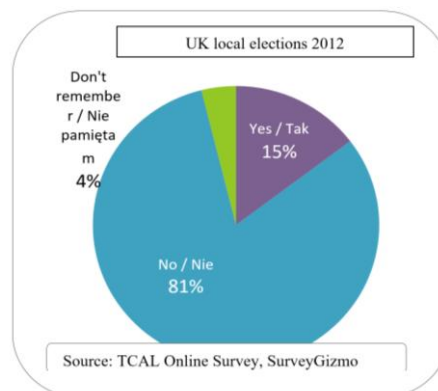


Figure 35: Participation in UK local elections 2012

Nonetheless, regardless of the fact that the issue of citizenship was not followed up in this study, the responses could be interpreted as an intentional lack of engagement in political matters, either at the local or national level, if the respondents stated it explicitly; yet, some of the participants may have not been willing to reveal personal information about their citizenship status in the UK. Nonetheless, there were also some mature voices as some respondents asserted that they

like to know who and how governs, especially in the local area

[PL: lubię wiedzieć kto i jak zarządza na przykład w okręgu, w którym mieszkam]

or

our votes matter [PL: nasz głos jest ważny!].

However, despite some declared interest in local issues and politics of the region, in response to the question about supporting the idea of an elected mayor in Nottingham (Q43), less than a fifth of the respondents affirmed their support for the issue and none of the participants elaborated on their reasons, which can indicate lack of interest or knowledge regarding differences between elected and appointed mayors. This again may be related to the transfer of ideas instilled in the home

culture.

In terms of civic engagement, the TCAL survey findings are in line with research conducted in non-urban areas of Poland. A study by Malewska-Szałygin (2002) in post-cooperative areas of Poland (Giżycko in the North-East and Nowy Targ in the Tatra Mountains, the South) shows that the respondents in those two regions exhibit a lack of interest in politics while emphasising the obligation of casting votes. There is no difference observed between elections before⁴⁸ and after 1989 as for the respondents there are no noticeable effective changes that would improve their lives or standard of living. Electoral campaigns are also seen as times of populist agitation, empty promises and waste of public funds; therefore, individuals are not willing to engage in activities that have little positive impact on their life. Hence, the assumptions resulting from experiences in the home country may be translated onto their attitudes to electoral participation in the host country.

Such attitudes may also be related to respondents' limited awareness of the competence framework of local authorities in the UK, which can depict limited interest or knowledge of the local governments in Poland and may also be seen, as Janiszewski (2007, p. 189) points out, as an element originating from the previous system when the party had regional representatives who were responsible for the implementation and monitoring of the party policy, so the voice of people was rarely heard. Although those studies were conducted in rural areas, where electoral engagement is often lower, they shed a light on the issue of why many of the TCAL respondents, some of whom originated from the rural South-East or East of Poland, reported a lack of interest in politics. This further allows for an assumption that a lack of engagement in electoral matters can be categorised as a transfer from the culture of origin, underpinned by a lack of trust in authorities that was instilled in that culture and then applied to the new context of the host culture.

⁴⁸ Before 1989 in Poland citizens could vote in multi-mandate constituencies to elect members of a one-house parliament; yet, there was often only one list of candidates and the governing party was winning a majority. Due to the consensus reached at the Round Table in 1989, the first (semi-)democratic elections to a two-house parliament took place on 4th June and gave an overwhelming victory to the Solidarity (Solidarność) circles.

6.5. Language and Conventions

6.5.1. Dangers of False Cognates

Phrases that may look familiar due to spelling or pronunciation, but in practice express entirely different concepts, can have a detrimental effect on communication between cultures and languages. A classic example of an English false friend is the word *sympathetic*, which in other European languages⁴⁹ means *nice* and *pleasant* while in English it refers to compassion. Although a majority of the TCAL participants agreed to no apparent linguistic equivalence, about a fifth reported that they would use the word *sympathetic* to describe someone who appears nice, *sympatyczny* in Polish. This may indicate a lower level of proficiency in English, which contributes to a higher frequency of errors with the so-called false friends.

Apart from divergent meaning, false cognates include terms that are conceptually different, yet translatable. One example is the word *government*, which has its applicable equivalence in other languages despite conceptual and systemic differences. Therefore, TCAL participants mostly agreed that the Polish word *rzqd* is a good translation for English *government*. Nevertheless, since many participants declared their lack of interest in politics, it can be assumed that they may not be entirely aware of structural and functional differences between the governments of the two countries.

The words *debit* and Polish *debet* were, however, slightly different. Although the terms are in frequent use due to individuals' participation in the banking system, nearly half of the respondents agreed that the words have the same meaning. This may indicate potential problems for effective communication in a bank either in the UK or in Poland. Although the Polish word *debet* is an equivalent of the English word *overdraft*, the term *debit card* can be translated into Polish as *karta debetowa* or *karta platnicza* (payment card). The latter is a less confusing term, but there is some specialist knowledge required to distinguish between the two types of cards in Polish, yet both can be translated into the same English term. Therefore, one respondent admitted that

⁴⁹ French: *sympathique*, Italian: *simpatico*, German: *sympathisch* or Russian *simpatichnyi* (симпатичный)

at the beginning they thought it was the same, but now they know it is not”

[PL: “na początku wydawało mi się, że to jest to samo, ale teraz wiem, że nie”],

which exemplifies acquired knowledge and adaptive processes the participant underwent. Other participants, however, were not entirely convinced that the terms would differ as nearly half of the survey respondents stated that the terms were equivalent.

Another example observed in the TCAL study that may cause confusion is related to the use of the prefix *auto-*. Although some English dictionaries (e.g. Oxford English Dictionary or Collins Cobuild) present the automobile meaning as the first definition for the that prefix, in the *British & World English* version of the Oxford Dictionaries (2015) and in everyday life in the UK, *auto-* in its meaning is primarily related to ‘self’. It is, however, different in American English (Oxford Dictionaries, 2015) and in other languages, including Polish and German, where the meaning of the prefix is often associated with cars and car-related services as well. Hence, the Nottingham *Autoservice* or polonised *Autoserwis* denotes a garage in the meaning of car mechanic services. Due to the apparent misuse of the prefix, the term is understandable to Polish customers, but may appear mysterious to the local population; however, there appeared to be a few ‘autoservice stations’ in Bulwell and Colwick in Nottingham. Nevertheless, the British police use the term ‘autocrime’ with reference to car theft (see Nottinghamshire Police, 2015), not committing a crime to oneself. This must be a borrowing from American English where this term is in regular use. Therefore, whether a term is classified as a false friend or a neologism is highly dependent on the situational context of migrants, though initially communication can be disrupted. Examples of the use of the term *autoservice* and *garage* are presented in Fig. 36 below.

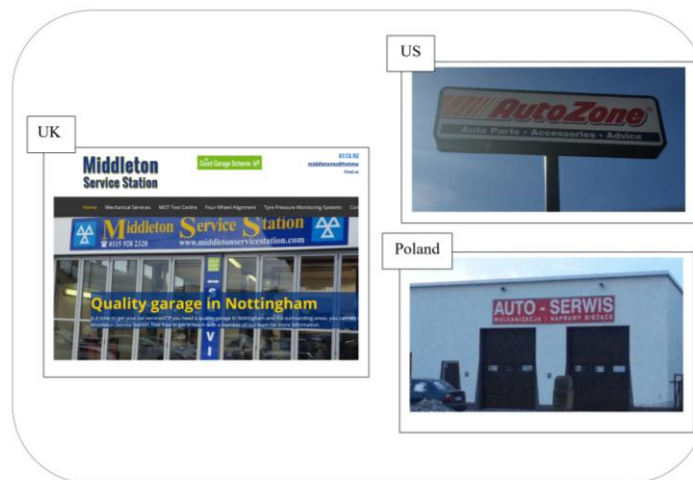


Figure 36: Examples of Autoservice

Sources: UK – Middleton Service Station in Nottingham [2017]];

Author's photographs: US – Lexington, KY [20 April 2016] and Poland – Mroków, near Warsaw [5 July 2014]

Another challenge, though more complex than just linguistic, is the identification and categorisation of colours. Although there is relatively little agreement between scholars regarding colour as a purely cultural construct, its functional and social meaning with reference to elements of culture cannot be disregarded. Perception seems to be primary in colour identification; however, parameters such as brightness, saturation and wave length play a role as well (Berry et al. 2007). Since the European cultures seem to be rather similar regarding colours and perception of those, there may occur slight discrepancies, e.g. from English to Polish, *purple* is often translated into *fioletowy* rather than *purpurowy*; however, the reverse translation of *fioletowy* into English may in fact be *violet*. Hence, the issue of colour perception and categorisation may turn to be culturally-loaded linguistic translation (Ahearn 2016), which through its circular character and superficial similarity may lead to individuals' frustration in communicative encounters. Ahearn (2016, p. 103) cites a study by Berlin and Kay (1969) who classified *purple* as one of the universal colours. The TCAL interviewees were approached to identify colour samples and 'purple' posed relatively little challenge. Only one interviewee (Hania) would say *fiolet* in Polish and *violet* in English, which can be attributed to lower language proficiency, hence greater translation. Although this example does not have to result in broken communication, as it would be the case of *sympathetic* and *sympatyczny*, such an expression that could be understood but seen by a fluent English speaker as inaccurate may be stressful for the migrant speaker and can be demotivating for

them.

6.5.2. Translanguaging

As discussed in section 2.5.4, the relatively new term translanguaging can usefully incorporate code switching and code mixing, which can occur at two levels, i.e. through alterations applied to the structure and semantics of lexical terms in migrants' native language and through mixing conventions. In both cases, the outcome could be ascribed to either confusion or inaccurate transference. The examples presented below are ethnographic observations of the Polish communities in the East Midlands.

6.5.2.1. Adapting Existing Native Terms

Lexical alterations within the native language, spoken rather than written, appear when the speakers change the gender form of the noun by attaching incorrect inflections. This may result in coarsened or shaded connotations when the common value in the meaning is either diminished or enhanced. The two examples observed in the TCAL Project relate to the name of the country. Instead of using the term in its regular form, i.e. *Polska* [transl: *Poland*] – a feminine noun, the speakers referred to the homeland as *Poland* (a masculine noun) or *Polandia* (a feminine noun). The former can have a belittling effect on the noun as in the Polish language nouns signifying important subjects are often feminine. Hence, changing the gender from feminine to masculine can evoke, though sometimes unintentionally, more negative connotations. The latter example can bring the opposite effect as the suffix *–landia* conjures an image of a dream land or a fairy-tale. Therefore, it is much more sentimental in its nature and holds positive connotations. Both examples, however, deviate from the standard term and can be interpreted as context specific adaptations of the name of a home country for the Polish migrant community in the UK.

6.5.2.2. Mixing Conventions

In the intercultural context mixing conventions seems another apparent symptom of the process of negotiating the meaning as well as possibly the learning curve of the author. The observed examples depict how local symbols can be presented in the written conventions of the migrants' home country. In the *reduced* (PL

przecena) price tag in a Polish shop in Nottingham (see Fig. 37), the price information includes a number, a currency symbol and a weight unit. While the currency symbol (£) is the graphic representation of the currency, Pound Sterling, that is commonly used in colloquial contexts in the English-speaking world, all the other elements of the price tag are written in accordance with the conventions of the Polish language.

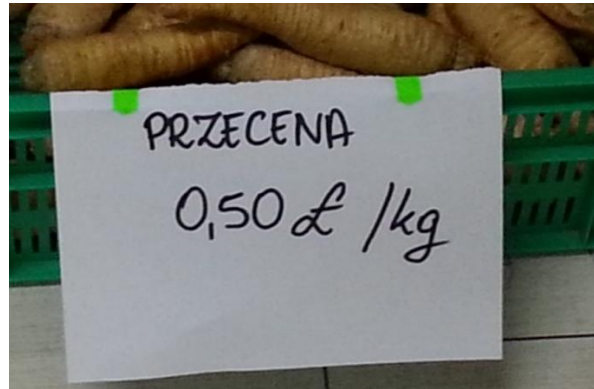


Figure 37: Mixing written conventions: 'Reduced' ('Przecena') price tag
Source: Reseracher's photograph, Nottingham [14 January 2014]

As can be seen in Fig. 37, the currency symbol is positioned after the number (0,50£), not before it as it would be expected in the written convention of English. Such an order of symbols expressing a price unit does break the conventions of the English language; yet, the message is likely to be conveyed to both Polish speakers, who would easily follow the Polish convention, and to English speakers, who can guess the meaning and mentally correct the written inaccuracy. More problematic for Polish speakers, however, can be the symbol itself as it resembles the capitalised form (£) of the letter *l* (pron: /w/) of the Polish alphabet, which might result in some confusion due to meaningless associations. Secondly, the decimals are separated by a coma (0,50), not by a full stop, as in English (0.5), which depicts the level of detail of graphic representation of mathematical symbols that can differ across cultures. The latter can lead to some confusion as conventions in Polish and English seem to be reverse, i.e. while in English a coma separates the values of thousands and millions (every three digits for numbers larger than 999) and a decimal point separates decimal values, in Polish the coma and the point are used in a directly opposite manner. Hence, confusing the two written conventions can affect the recipient's understanding of the message if they do not share the code the author

used or if the author intended to use the recipient's code, but has done it incorrectly. Finally, in the *reduced* price tag, the weight is expressed in metric units (kg), not imperial customary units (lb), which now seems to be less of a problem for a majority of local people. Yet, it can demonstrate a preference of the metric system and shows the writer of the tag is at the incorporation stage of acculturation that may lead to transformation in the future

Such mixing of the written conventions may reveal some growing awareness of those rather than a lack of knowledge of the modes of communicating this type of information in a compact and symbolic manner. This is because the attempted use of the currency symbol in this price tag shows how exposure to the host culture results into migrants' perceptions and is therefore gradually incorporated into their expression. It is also a strong indication of translanguaging and transculturation that occur more frequently in more intense intercultural contacts.

Another example of mixing, or not recognising conventions in some cases, refers to the pronunciation of acronyms. In general, pronunciation can be a significant issue in intercultural contacts; however, acronyms may be a real mystery for foreign speakers of English for there are limited rules as to when an acronym is read as a word (e.g. laser, an acronym that has become a word) and when it is spelt out (e.g. MRI). Since in Polish every syllable (corresponding to a vowel) is read, acronyms that contain vowels are more likely to be read as words. In the TCAL interviews, the acronym VAT was pronounced as /vat/, not V.A.T., which in an everyday context may cause some confusion and therefore slow down communication or cause some strain to the listener. This example demonstrates that despite individuals' high proficiency in English, certain conventions can be transferred from the culture of origin and cause some misunderstanding. Adjusting to the cultural context and conventions of the host community is a process that involves juggling cultural knowledge from the home country, implicit assumptions from home and host cultures, attitudes and growing awareness of the host culture. The balance of these elements shifts for each individual with time and experience.

6.6. Conclusion

The findings presented in this chapter clearly indicate that the phenomenon of

cultural translation occurs in migrants' acculturative processes of adaptation. While the awareness of the host culture plays a significant role in integrating with the target culture, cultural interpretation and transference are inevitable. Although they occur at different levels and with varying intensity, being thus very individualised, certain typical categorisations can be observed in both cultures. Transference of specific patterns of behaviour or thinking is observed particularly in the early stages of adaptation efforts and can initially become an impediment to individuals' effective navigation within the destination culture; however, depending on individual circumstances and life pathways, a broader repertoire of behavioural and thinking patterns can be enriching for the individual. New societal conditions and the willingness and/or perceived necessity to adapt involve complex and multi-layered processes of interpretation between divergent systems of values, norms and traditions and adjustment to a seemingly similar system. These include mediation regarding behaviour and linguistic choices, which in turn emphasises migrants' displacement and *inbetweenness*. Thus, *cultural translation* and *interpretation* in the context of migration epitomise cognitive and affective management of the cultures of origin and destination, home and host ones. It is also noteworthy that out of Maitland's (2017) five stages of cultural translation, the first three can be observed frequently, transformation is not very common while emancipation has not been identified among the participants. Therefore, there is a potential for further studies

Chapter 7

Conclusions

7.1. Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis and summarises the main findings in response to the research questions, which comprised the following:

1. What are Polish migrants' perceptions of the local cultures in the East Midlands and in the UK?
2. To what extent are the perceptions driven by migrants' home culture(s) and how they impact on Polish migrants' adaptation to life in the UK?
3. How does cultural translation as an element of acculturation aid or hinder adaptation?

Although the topic of acculturation, inclusive of the translation and interpretation of cultures, is a complex and fluid one, this chapter presents conclusions as to the interpretation and translation processes that occur among migrants from Poland on the brink of their home and host cultures, together with the contribution it makes to existing knowledge. Areas for further research stemming from this study and its limitations and policy implications are presented towards the end of this chapter.

7.2. The Complexity of Acculturative Processes

As explained from a theoretical standpoint and demonstrated with numerous examples from the TCAL study, acculturation can occur only in the context of more than one cultural system. It is a dual and iterative process (Berry 2005) that apart from cultural systems also affects the mental and cognitive processes of individuals. In their acculturation, migrants can adopt various approaches, which will ultimately impact on the success of their adaptation; however, there are various factors that either facilitate or hinder the process. Acculturation scholars note that context, background of individuals and prior knowledge, among other elements, play a role in successful acculturation. The latter is likely to contribute to the *emancipation* of individuals at some point if the different dynamic and flexible cultural forms and shapes are not perceived by migrants as building blocks, but rather as elements

which intensity contributes to a varying degree to the processes of (trans)formation of migrant cultural identity. The participants of the TCAL study did not seem to have reached the Maitland's (2017) highest stage of *emancipation* yet, though many were undergoing cultural transformation.

7.3. Perceptions driven by migrants' culture(s) of origin

The participants in the TCAL study originate from all regions of Poland, though many come from the South of the country. Many participants declared that they were eager to discover British culture(s), which can indicate their open-minded, approach on the one hand, and the anticipation of cultural differences, on the other. In order to understand the surrounding reality in the host culture, migrating individuals need to share the same code, which means the system of values and norms should be alike in the culture of origin and destination. Once there are deviations, ethnocentric perceptions can dominate.

Polish migrants in the East Midlands do interpret the environment along the norms from the culture(s) of origin, which is shown by the list of cultural elements that they find conflicting with their view (see table in Appendix 9 and Fig. 11 and Fig. 12 in section 4.1). Some of the elements, e.g. arrogance, rudeness or hypocrisy, also show the complexity of interpretation as behaviours that by the standards of one culture are rude may be acceptable in another cultural system. Since individuals frequently operate in *cultural scripts* (Wierzbicka 2002), their interpretation often depends on the perspective, situational background and assumed aims and objectives of an individual. On the other hand, migrants, who express the need to adapt, attempt to go beyond the norms and frames, with which they are familiar. In cases of disagreement, many migrants decide to follow the rules from their culture of origin as projecting responses from their culture of origin may look helpful at first glance. Yet, although some scholars (Kłoskowska 2012, 2001) see it as *cultural valence* that could ultimately lead to cultural emancipation, Maitland's (2017) stages of cultural translation clearly show that the journey to the last stage of *emancipation* is long and the process itself is very individual. The participants of the study have not reached this high stage yet, as ethnographers, many seem to incorporate some cultural prior knowledge to make sense of the chosen host culture.

The impact of the perception of the British culture on the adaptation of Polish migrants in the UK is noticeable through the demonstrated intentions to adapt. The findings of this study suggest tentatively that an integrative mode of acculturation could be the predominant one in the Polish community in the UK. The TCAL participants reported numerous examples of their learning of the intricacies of the destination culture. This does not eliminate the identity of the culture of origin as the study found that perceived Polish identity, the difficult to pinpoint *Polishness*, is seen by migrants as their distinctive feature, though language seems to be the most obvious indicator of identity and belonging. It is also the element that many of the participants would like to retain. However, migrants also have aspirations to be proficient in English as this makes their lives in the UK manageable, transforms them and makes adaptation easier. Numerous examples of translanguaging have been observed as incorporation takes place.

7.4. Cultural interpretation: Potential trigger points for misinterpretation

Cultural contacts vary and the experience of individuals may not always denote an easy relationship between the cultures, in which an individual is involved. Misunderstanding and confusion can occur at the stage of interpretation, the first step of the process of cultural translation, when cultural cues are interpreted along different norms or within cultural scripts of an individual. The two cultural systems pertinent to the TCAL study exhibit variations with regard to attitudes, modes of thinking and consequently behaviour, which tend to be typical variables that impact on the process of acculturation. Data analysed in the TCAL study highlighted the cultural elements Polish migrants find challenging in adapting to life in the UK. Potential trigger points that can lead to misinterpretation and misunderstanding, as shown in this thesis, are collated in Appendix 9. Although the list is not exhaustive and is open to interpretation, it needs to be noted that this is one of few first attempts in research on Polish migrants in the UK to collate information about cultural aspects that may lead to misunderstanding. Although the issue of migrant perceptions of a multi-ethnic and multi-racial society is a complex topic and should not be reduced to a small bullet point as it requires a larger study, the contexts of table X could be used as a basis for a course on cultural adaptation if there were

intentions among migrant support organisations to develop one..

The list of potential trigger points includes elements, arranged on a continuum from implicit to explicit, that are likely to hinder acculturation, though the outcome of the process of acculturation also depends on individuals' disposition and openness to cope with the unknown.

7.5. Translation of culture(s) as an embedded element of acculturation

The terms *translation* and *interpretation of culture* are useful metaphors for the actual application of ethnocentric perceptions, cultural projections or cultural scripts in an inter-cultural context of migrated lives of individuals. Although both seem inevitable in intercultural encounters, *interpretation* is an element of *translation*. This is the first stage when individuals make attempts to make sense of the symbols they are exposed to. It is then characteristic of first cultural encounters when individuals are not familiar with cues and may not share the code to understand them. Only later individuals attempt to understand the circumstances and incorporate new meanings through denotations, connotations and associations, which will ultimately lead to cultural transformation and emancipation for an individual. Hence, it is explicitly clear that *cultural translation*, with its five stages, is an embedded element of the process of acculturation.

To reiterate after Maitland (2017: 17, my emphasis), “*cultural translation* is something that we simply do”. Accordingly, the *interpretation of cultures* denotes a transference of knowledge and experience of their cultural knowledge (including home culture, culture of origin and individual personality features and attitudes) of a migrating individual to enable their positioning and functioning in the host culture(s). Yet, both the source or origin and the recipients or the audience of this act are not entirely tangible or well defined and can therefore be only appropriated. Hence, a variety of interpretations and the negotiation of meaning can be observed in intercultural encounters that are typical of migration contexts as individuals do not originate from or operate in vacuum, but are part of a geopolitical context with differing systems of values. The findings of this study have shown that, as a result of the inevitable interpretation of cultural elements and the related negotiation of meaning in the process of acculturation, there will be a very individualised transformation of migrants in terms of their knowledge, views, behaviour or approach. This can also initiate changes in migrants’ identity, which can be seen on a continuum from tacit alterations to general metamorphosis; however, Berry’s (2005)

cultural duality and Stevens's (2004) ties with both or all cultures of migrants may remain visible. It is noteworthy, however, as this study has demonstrated, terms such as *mix* or *blend* in the context of acculturation do not accurately reflect the complexity of the processes of transformation and emancipation initiated by intercultural and interlingual encounters.

The TCAL study found that the process of cultural interpretation is a circular phenomenon, which constantly prompts dialectic discussions of individuals with themselves. While historical influences on the mindset of people originating from the nation state of Poland cannot be either denied or ignored, the participants' declared and observed willingness to adapt, but not necessarily 'blend in', and the constant interpretation of the surrounding world may lead to identity reconfiguration. This, in turn, can be perceived as acculturative adaptation, though it needs to be mentioned that this process is very individual and can affect migrants in all spheres of their lives. *Cultural translation* is, therefore, an inseparable element of *acculturation* that can facilitate or hinder the process. It concerns all individuals; however, those who display greater awareness of the local cultures seem to be better equipped for further adaptation

7.6. Translation and interpretation of cultures as a conceptual framework

Although the concept of cultural translation was initially defined in the field of translation studies, the *translation* and *interpretation of cultures* are highly applicable in the context of mobility and intercultural encounters. *Cultural translation* then relates to cognitive elements such as perception and patterns of thinking, which strongly related to the first-hand experiences of the home and the destination cultures. As discussed in this study, pre-arrival expectations and assuming similarity play an important role in determining the extent of interpretation experienced by individuals. Linguistic issues are equally important for syntax and intonation are crucial for polite communication whereas lexis and pronunciation enable effectiveness in interpersonal encounters.

If applied as a conceptual framework to understand cultural phenomena

between ethnic groups, *cultural translation* can contest Bhabha's concept of hybridity, which at times assumes an existence of a barrier that needs to be overcome while an individual constantly crosses a cultural bridge between the banks of two cultural/ethnic lands.

The consequences of *cultural translation* and *acculturation* can be compared to the processes of osmosis or diffusion when different particles mix to form a new substance with time. This new formation, which can be labelled as an evolved identity and culture, possesses new qualities that, on the one hand, derive from the old and/or previous ways of understanding and interpretation, habits, traditions and ways of living and, on the other, construct new modes by mixing the familiar perspectives and ways of living with newly-acquired patterns along the criteria of individual preferences, convenience, usefulness and applicability. Such an evolving cultural and identity patchwork or bricolage, as Bromley (2017) calls it, seems to be a natural individualised process that enriches migrating individuals by expanding their repertoire of cultures, perspectives and ways of understanding the surrounding world.

As for the osmosis metaphor, however, an existence of a membrane is necessary as it regulates the pace of the whole process. In the context of increased mobility in the borderless structures of the EU, the metaphorical membrane that represents national borders is highly porous, if not fragmented, and is therefore only a smaller obstacle for the processes of transculturation and translanguaging that have been increasingly taking place in borderless Europe.

The *translation of cultures* can therefore be used as a conceptual framework for cultural analysis from a hermeneutic perspective as it can be an element of analysis of potential trigger points in intercultural encounters and communication. It can become a useful tool for evaluating the potential of acculturation and cultural adaptation of individuals. As this study has shown, in addition to the stages of cultural translation identified by Papastergiadis (2011) and Maitland (2017), an initial stage of *noticing* needs to be added as for interpretation to take place, in the first place a difference or a discrepancy in cultural norms, values or behaviours needs to be spotted and realised. The cultural translation conceptual framework will then include six stages that can

accurately reflect the complex process of comprehending and adapting to a host culture:

- (1) **noticing** – an act of spotting or realising a cultural difference or a discrepancy in cultural norms, values as well as behaviours and perspectives;
- (2) *interpretation* (Papastergiadis 2011; Maitland 2017),
- (3) *distanciation* (Maitland 2017) or *selection* (Papastergiadis 2011),
- (4) *incorporation* (Maitland 2017) or *assemblage* (Papastergiadis 2011),
- (5) *transformation* (Maitland 2017) or *reconfiguration* (Papastergiadis 2011),
- (6) *emancipation* (Maitland 2017).

This framework of six stages capture a long and complex journey across cultural boundaries, including individual differences of migrating individuals, their unique experiences as well as the specificity of home and host cultures.

7.7. Limitations of the Study and Future Research

The study *Translating Cultures, Adapting Lives* was conducted to obtain rich insights into the acculturative processes of adaptation among Polish migrants in the UK. Since there is a number of studies that focused on Polish post-accession migration, but most of them focus on a sociological analysis of the phenomenon, there was scope for a project that would approach the two cultures in an analytical and comparative manner. For the sheer volume of Polish post-accession migration, the research area was limited to the region of the East Midlands; however, much of the data collected and analysed can be generalizable. The first underlying reason relates to the choice of questions for the study, which referred more generally to British culture(s), not specifically to the East Midlands, though certain participants emphasised the local character of their responses. While answers to all three research questions were provided by the study, it needs to be emphasized that the issue of evolving culture as a result of migrants' intercultural experience requires further investigation.

To further determine the extent to which acculturation and cultural translation contribute to individuals' emancipation and transformation of identity, another

complex study is required. It is certain that in the context of migration and inter, cross- and transculturality of experiences, the identity of individuals will be transformed. This process, however, will happen at an individual pace and in relation to subjective issues. Therefore, now that the current study has observed the translation of cultures as an element of acculturation, a more detailed follow-up study could contest the notions of *hybridity* and *cultural evolution*.

Despite more research being needed into the evolutionary traits of cultural development, further studies are also needed to follow the acculturation and adaptation of Polish migrants in the UK, even more so in the times of Britain leaving the European Union. Furthermore, there is a need for a complex cultural study to establish the perceptions of Polish migrants by the local community. Sociological studies to date omit the very phenomenon of everyday culture while the media focus on sensational stories related to migrants. Thus, an intercultural study is needed to research the views of the other party, the British society. Similarly, an in-depth exploration of the gender aspect of acculturation could be a useful and needed contribution to migration studies.

There seems to be much scope for linguistic, ethnolinguistic and anthropological studies as well. While research on translanguaging, a practical theory of language (Li 2018), has recently commenced, there is still a great need to investigate transculturation. Currently available terminology does not encompass the complexities of acculturative processes; therefore, it may be a good opportunity to move beyond the concept of *hybridity*.

Finally, regarding the Polish community, there is still space for a greater number of studies exploring the portrayal of migrants in the media, particularly in the post-Brexit context, with focus on linguistic undertones of media portrayals. Secondly, the theory of acculturation and cultural translation would benefit from longitudinal studies that could explore these processes in the long term. Finally, such studies could be supplemented by research on how migrants are perceived by local communities as this would allow for verification of cultural trigger points.

7.8. Policy implications

At this point, it is fitting to turn to the words of Claude Levi-Strauss (Levi-Strauss and Eribon 1991: 149),

[w]hat can we conclude from all this, except that it is desirable for cultures to retain their diversity or for them to find renewal in diversity? Only [...] one has to agree to pay the price: to know that cultures, each of which is attached to a life-style and value system of its own, foster their own peculiarities, and that this tendency is healthy and not – as people would like to have us think – pathological

The findings of the TCAL study conducted in the East Midlands clearly indicate that Polish migrants, the largest ethnic group that represents the second most spoken language in England, are mostly open to learning and adaptation in the UK. They are also willing to retain the culture and language of the country of origin. It needs to be emphasized that acquiring a destination culture and maintaining home culture are not mutually exclusive processes. Conversely, to a large extent they can occur parallelly, even more so when the two cultures share roots, i.e. European origin in this case. Therefore, it is important to identify the points of potential cultural translation to improve the understanding of migrant settlement and to adjust policy to work for the best for local communities. Educational institutions such as language schools, colleges and universities should be involved in cultural and linguistic education of migrants through community engagement programmes.

The notion of *cultural assimilation* would now seem to be an outdated concept, for in the times of globalisation, increased mobility and transnationalism, including the free movement within the EU, individuals can relocate without restrictions and reside in the places of their choice for unspecified periods of time. In doing so, they are expected to respect local customs; however, they are not obliged to naturalise in a coalescing manner. Instead, their acculturation should be tailored to their individual needs through a provision of locally available culture-oriented language education, which in the case of the UK is English and the Gaelic languages. This can be done locally by city or county councils by offering language courses with elements of British cultures; however, a unified approach across regions could facilitate achieving more consistent results. Course providers should also be aware of cultural translation

and the whole process cultural meaning construction. By helping to avoid cultural misunderstanding and potential social discordance, this cultural investment financed by local authorities would benefit local communities as much as any other tangible collective action, such as education, police force or street lighting, as minimising potential tensions and conflicts could markedly enhance community cohesion and communication.

Finally, embracing the channels of migrants' cultural translation may contribute to a better understanding of migrant settlement-related issues from the authorities' perspective and improve social integration processes. Nonetheless, providing migrants with language courses, just like it is done for refugees, could bring a solution not only to adaptation issues, but also a potential long-term resolution to high translation costs in public services. It can be concluded that the best public policy is made when the community is listened to.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Essentialist Models of Intercultural Relations and Communication

Lewis' Model of Cultural Communication

LINEAR-ACTIVE	MULTI-ACTIVE	REACTIVE
Talks half the time	Talks most of the time	Listens most of the time
Does one thing at a time	Does several things at once	Reacts to partner's action
Plans ahead step by step	Plans grand outline only	Looks at general principles
Polite but direct	Emotional	Polite, indirect
Partly conceals feelings	Displays feelings	Conceals feelings
Confronts with logic	Confronts emotionally	Never confronts
Dislikes losing face	Has good excuses	Must not lose face
Rarely interrupts	Often interrupts	Doesn't interrupt
Job-oriented	People-oriented	Very people-oriented
Sticks to facts	Feelings before facts	Statements are promises
Truth before diplomacy	Flexible truth	Diplomacy over truth
Sometimes impatient	Impatient	Patient
Limited body language	Unlimited body language	Subtle body language
Respects officialdom	Seeks out key person	Uses connections
Separates the social and professional	Mixes the social and professional	Connects the social and professional

Fig. A...: Lewis' model of cultural communication

Source: Lewis (2015)

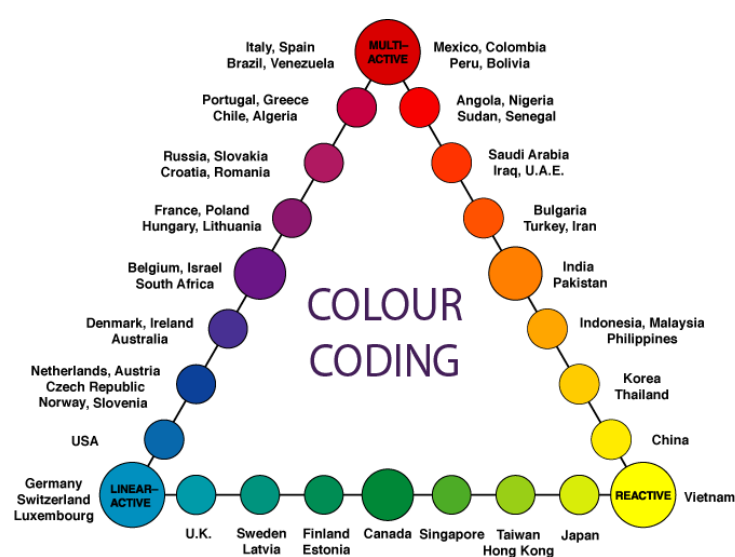


Fig.: Lewis' (2016) model of cultural communication in countries

Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions

Table ...: Hofstede's Six Dimensions of Culture

Dimension	Measured Value(s)
Power Distance (PDI)	approaches to human inequality
Individualism vs. Collectivism (IDV)	integration of individuals to primary groups
Masculinity vs. Femininity (MAS)	division of emotional roles between men and women
Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI)	the level of stress in the face of an unknown future
Long-term vs. Short-term Orientation (LTO)	the choice of focus for people's efforts: the future or the present

Source: Hofstede (2001: 29) and The Hofstede Centre (n.d.)

Trompenaar's Cultural Differences

Table ...: Trompenaars' Basis of Cultural Differences

Dimension	Conceptualisation	Examples of National Cultures
Universalism	placing high importance on laws, rules, values and obligations; respecting law-abidingness	USA, Canada, UK, Germany
vs.		
Particularism	conviction that circumstances and relationships dictate the rules and that response is situation-specific	Russia, China, Latin America
Individualism	emphasis on individuals; regarding oneself as an individual	USA, Canada, UK, Scandinavia
vs.		
Collectivism/Communitarianism	the collective considered first as it is shared by many individuals; regarding oneself as part of a group	Latin America, Africa, Japan
Neutral	objective and detached interaction	UK, Sweden, the Netherlands, Finland, German
vs.		
Emotional	expressing emotions is acceptable	Italy, France, Spain, Latin America
Specific	specific relationship prescribed by a contract	USA, UK, Switzerland, Germany
vs.		
Diffuse	real and personal contact of the whole person involved	Argentina, Spain, Russia, India, China
Achievement	evaluation based on accomplishment; performance is valued	USA, Canada, Australia
vs.		
Ascription	status is attributed / ascribed; power, title and position define behaviour	France, Italy, Japan, Saudi Arabia
Sequentiality	emphasis on order, planning and punctuality, clarity of objectives	Germany, UK, USA
vs.		
Synchronicity/Polychronicity	emphasis on past achievements; flexibility of plans and commitments	Japan, Argentina, Mexico
Internal Direction	motivation and values derived from within; emphasis on having control over environment	USA, Australia, UK
vs.		
Outer Direction	conviction that the world is more powerful than individuals; emphasis on individuals subjected to environment	China, Russia, Saudi Arabia

Source: Trompenaars 1995/1993: 8–11

Appendix 2: TCAL Questionnaire

Polish Migrants in the East Midlands, UK

Translating Cultures – Adapting Lives Questionnaire

<http://edu.surveymzmo.com/s3/1206496/Translating-Cultures-Adapting-Lives>

Information about the Project

This survey is part of a doctoral research project, which is aimed at studying elements of cultural translation in the processes of cultural adaptation of Polish migrants to the East Midlands in the UK. The survey and the interview offer a possibility to reflect upon the two cultures: Polish and British and upon your life decisions. The ultimate aim is to inform policy makers about the adaptation needs of Polish migrants and to address certain public policy concerns regarding migration and issues of migrant social interaction and adaptation in the UK. The survey is aimed at a sample based in the East Midlands.

Your participation in the project is voluntary and anonymous unless declared otherwise. You can fill in the questionnaire only or you can complete the questionnaire and volunteer to take part in a recorded interview. Please answer as many questions as you can. The questionnaire is not aimed at judging views, but it is meant to capture the diversity of opinions, attitudes, and approaches.

If you have any further comments or would like to mention migration and/or cultural issues not included in the questionnaire, please e-mail me at emigratka9@gmail.com.

Thank you for participating in this Project.

Informacja o badaniach/projekcie

Poniższy kwestionariusz jest częścią badań doktoranckich, których celem jest przeanalizowanie elementów translacji kulturowej w procesach adaptacyjnych polskich imigrantów w regionie East Midlands. Zarówno kwestionariusz, jak i rozmowa dają uczestnikom badania możliwość refleksji nad obydwojema kulturami, polską brytyjską, oraz nad podjętymi decyzjami życiowymi. Docelowo badania zmierzają w kierunku informowania lokalnych decydentów o potrzebach adaptacyjnych polskich imigrantów. Ponadto, niniejsze badania są również ukierunkowane na zwrócenie uwagi na problemy imigrantów oraz kwestie interakcji i adaptacji społecznej polskich imigrantów w Wielkiej Brytanii. Badania są zorientowane na reprezentatywną próbę w rejonie East Midlands.

Państwa udział w badaniach jest dobrowolny i anonimowy, jeśli nie zadeklaruje Państwo imiennego udziału. Mogą Państwo wypełnić tylko kwestionariusz lub dodatkowo mogą Państwo wziąć udział w rejestrowanej rozmowie. Proszę odpowiedzieć na możliwie najwięcej pytań. Niniejszy kwestionariusz nie jest ukierunkowany na ocenę opinii, a na uchwycenie różnorodności poglądów i postaw.

Jeśli mają Państwo dodatkowe komentarze lub chcieliby podzielić się uwagami na tematy migracyjne i kulturowe nie uwzględnione w poniższym kwestionariuszu, proszę o kontakt na adres email: emigratka9@gmail.com.

Dziękuję za udział w badaniu.

PART 1 / CZĘŚĆ I			
Please answer the following questions by ticking or writing your answer in the space on the right.			
Proszę zaznaczyć lub wpisać swoje odpowiedzi w kolumnie po prawej stronie.			
1.	ID1	Which part of the East Midlands do you live in? Please specify city or county. <i>W jakiej części East Midlands Pan/i mieszka? Proszę podać miasto lub hrabstwo.</i>	.....
2.	ID2	Have you lived anywhere else in the UK? <i>Czy mieszkał/a Pan/i w innej części Wielkiej Brytanii?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie
3.	G9	Did you come to the UK after 1 st May 2004? <i>Czy przyjechał Pan/i do wielkiej Brytanii po 1-ym maja 2004?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie
4.	ID3	If you have lived elsewhere in the UK, please specify. <i>Jeśli mieszkał/a Pan/i uprzednio w innej części Wielkiej Brytanii, proszę podać gdzie.</i>	.....
5.	ID4	Which part of Poland do you originally come from? <i>Z jakiej części Polski Pan/i pochodzi?</i>	.....
Please circle a number (1-5), which is closest to your opinion, where 1=strongly agree while 5=strongly disagree. <i>Proszę zaznaczyć cyfrę (1-5), która jest najbliższa Pana/i zdaniu, gdzie 1=tak (w pełni się zgadzam), a 5=nie (zupełnie się nie zgadzam)</i>			1= strongly disagree / nie 2= disagree / raczej nie 3= neutral / nie mam zdania / czasami 4= agree / raczej tak 5= strongly agree / tak
6.	CAd5	It was difficult to get used to rules and customs here, e.g. queuing at bus stops. <i>Trudno mi było przyzwyczać się do zasad i zwyczajów brytyjskich.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
7.	CAd6	I feel I have adapted to life in the UK. <i>Wydaje mi się, iż zaadaptowałem/am się już do życia w Wielkiej Brytanii.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
8.	CAd1	It is important to know local customs as in the proverb 'when in Rome, do as the Romans do'. <i>Ważne jest, aby poznać zwyczaje lokalne, zgodnie z powiedzeniem, że 'kiedy wejdiesz między wrony, krakaj jak i one'.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
9.	LG3	My English has improved since I came to the UK. <i>Mój poziom znajomości angielskiego poprawił się od momentu przyjazdu do Wielkiej Brytanii.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
10.	LG5	Proficiency in English is important for my life in the UK. <i>Dobra znajomość angielskiego jest ważna w moim życiu w Wielkiej Brytanii.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
11.	CAw8	People I know in the UK are more diverse than people I know/knew in Poland in terms of: <i>Ludzie, z którymi utrzymuję kontakty w Wielkiej Brytanii są, w przeciwieństwie do znajomych w Polsce,:</i>	
12.	a.	different ethnic background / innego pochodzenia kulturowego (etnicznego)?	1 2 3 4 5
13.	b.	different race / innego koloru skóry?	1 2 3 4 5
14.	c.	different religion / innego wyznania?	1 2 3 4 5
15.	LG15	I often access the Polish version of documents if multiple language options are available. <i>Często korzystam z polskiej wersji językowej dokumentów, jeżeli jest taka możliwość.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
16.	CT6	When it snows in Britain, it makes my everyday life/activities difficult. <i>Kiedy w Wielkiej Brytanii pada śnieg, utrudnienia pojawiają się w moim codziennym życiu.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
17.	CT7	I often eat Polish food. <i>Często jadam polskie potrawy.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
18.	CT8	I often eat British/English food <i>Często jadam brytyjskie/angielskie potrawy.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
19.	CT19	When in the UK, I go to church more frequently than in Poland. <i>W Wielkiej Brytanii częściej chodzę do kościoła niż w Polsce.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
20.	CT20	Christmas Eve is an important celebration for me. <i>Wigilia jest dla mnie ważną częścią Świąt.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
21.	CT21	I follow the same Christmas traditions as my family in Poland. <i>Obchodzę Boże Narodzenie zgodnie z tradycją mojej rodziny w Polsce.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
22.	CT32	Living in a house with a garden reflects a higher social status. <i>Mieszkanie w domu z ogródkiem odzwierciedla wyższy status społeczny.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
23.	CT33	Only less wealthy people live in apartment blocks. <i>Tylko mniej zamożni mieszkają w blokach.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
24.	ID6	I enjoy introducing British people to Polish traditions. <i>Z przyjemnością opowiadam o i pokazuję Brytyjczykom polskie tradycje.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
25.	CAd10	It annoys me when my name and/or my surname is mispronounced <i>Irytuje mnie, kiedy moje imię i/lub nazwisko jest niepoprawnie wymawiane.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
26.	CAw2	British people are more uncompromising and assertive in inter-personal relations than Polish people. <i>Brytyjczycy są bardziej nieustępliwi i przebojowi w relacjach z ludźmi niż Polacy.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
27.	CAw3	British people obey rules more and are more law-abiding than Polish people. <i>Brytyjczycy bardziej przestrzegają zasad i prawa niż Polacy.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
28.	CT11	I have adapted to separate taps. <i>Przyzwyczaiłem/am się do oddzielnych kranów.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
29.	CT15	Unlike in the UK, in Poland I use my umbrella every time it rains.	1 2 3 4 5

		<i>W przeciwieństwie do Wielkiej Brytanii, w Polsce zawsze używam parasola kiedy pada deszcz.</i>	
30.	CT29:	I always order alcohol when I go to the pub. <i>W pubie zawsze zamawiam alkohol.</i>	☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5
31.	CT30:	I buy new clothes every season. <i>Co sezon kupuję nowe ubrania.</i>	☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5
32.	CT31	When I buy new clothes, I give my old clothes to a charity shop. <i>Jak kupuję nowe ubrania, stare oddaję do sklepu fundacji charytatywnej.</i>	☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5
PART 2 / CZĘŚĆ 2			
Please tick your answer in the right column. <i>Proszę zaznaczyć swoją odpowiedź w kolumnie po prawej stronie.</i>			
33.	ID9	If you were in the UK at that time, did you vote in Polish parliamentary and presidential elections in 2010? <i>Jeśli był/a Pan/i w 2010 roku w Wielkiej Brytanii, czy głosował/a Pan/i w polskich wyborach prezydenckich i parlamentarnych?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie ☐ N/A / nie dotyczy
34.	ID10	Did you vote in the British parliamentary elections in 2010? <i>Czy głosował/a Pan/i w brytyjskich wyborach parlamentarnych w 2010 roku?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie
35.	ID11	Did you vote in the local elections in Britain in May 2012? <i>Czy głosował/a Pan/i w wyborach lokalnych w Wielkiej Brytanii w 2012 roku?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie
36.	ID12	If you live in Nottingham, did you support the idea of having an elected mayor? <i>Jeśli mieszka Pan/i w Nottingham, czy popierał/a Pan/i pomysł wybierania burmistrza w wyborach lokalnych?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie ☐ N/A / nie dotyczy
37.	ID14	Did you join in the Diamond Jubilee celebrations? <i>Czy brał/a Pan/i udział w obchodach Diamentowego Jubileuszu?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie
38.	CAw7	Is there a difference between the adjectives <i>English</i> and <i>British</i> ? <i>Czy jest różnica pomiędzy przymiotnikami: "angielski" i "brytyjski"?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie ☐ Not sure / Nie wiem
39.	CAw9	Would you agree that a person of, for example, Pakistani origin is English? <i>Czy prawdą jest, że osoba, na przykład, pakistańskiego pochodzenia jest Anglikiem?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie ☐ Not sure / Nie wiem
40.	CAw10	Are same-sex couples legally recognised in the UK? <i>Czy homoseksualne związki partnerskie są prawnie uznane w Wielkiej Brytanii?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie ☐ Not sure / Nie wiem
41.	CAd11	Should same-sex couples be legally recognised in Poland? <i>Czy w Polsce (homoseksualne) związki partnerskie powinny zostać prawnie uznane?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie ☐ Not sure / Nie wiem
42.	Lg6	Would you use the Polish word "rząd" as an equivalent to "government" in English? <i>Czy użył(a)by Pan/i polskiego słowa "rząd" jako dobrego odpowiednika angielskiego "government"?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie ☐ Not sure / Nie wiem
43.	Lg7	Would you use the Polish word "debet" for English "debit"? <i>Czy użył(a)by Pan/i polskiego słowa "debet" jako odpowiednika angielskiego "debit"?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie ☐ Not sure / Nie wiem
44.	Lg8	Would you use the English word "sympathetic" to talk about someone who is "sympatyczny" in Polish? <i>Czy użył(a)by Pan/i angielskiego przymiotnika "sympathetic", żeby opisać kogoś, kto po polsku jest „sympatyczny”?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie ☐ Not sure / Nie wiem
45.	Lg12	Do you think it is polite enough to say „Can I have a latte?” when you are ordering a coffee? <i>Czy uważa Pan/i, że zamawiając kawę uprzejmie jest powiedzieć "Can I have a latte"?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie ☐ Not sure / Nie wiem
46.	CT34	When you move to a new place, do you throw away furniture and/or other items that may not be useful in the future? <i>Czy podczas przeprowadzki wyrzuca Pan/i meble i/lub inne rzeczy, które nie wydają się już potrzebne?</i>	☐ Yes / Tak ☐ No / Nie ☐ Some / Niektóre ☐ Tend to keep things/ Zazwyczaj zatrzymuję rzeczy
PART 3 / CZĘŚĆ 3			
Please tick your answer in the right column. <i>Proszę zaznaczyć swoją odpowiedź w kolumnie po prawej stronie.</i>			
47.	CAd2	Where do you find information about British lifestyle, culture, and customs: <i>Jakie są Pan/i źródła informacji o brytyjskim stylu życia, kulturze i zwyczajach:</i>	☐ television (local, in English) / telewizja (lokalna, po angielsku) ☐ Polish television / polska telewizja ☐ radio (local, in English) / radio (lokalne, po angielsku) ☐ Polish radio / polskie radio ☐ newspapers in English / angielskie gazety ☐ Polish newspapers / polskie gazety ☐ Polish online communities/forums / polskie społeczności wirtualne/fora ☐ other sources, please specify / inne, (proszę podać)
48.	CAd8	Is life in the UK better or worse than you expected? <i>Czy w Wielkiej Brytanii jest lepiej, czy gorzej niż się Pan/i spodziewał/a?</i>	☐ better / lepiej ☐ worse / gorzej ☐ as expected / zgodnie z oczekiwaniami

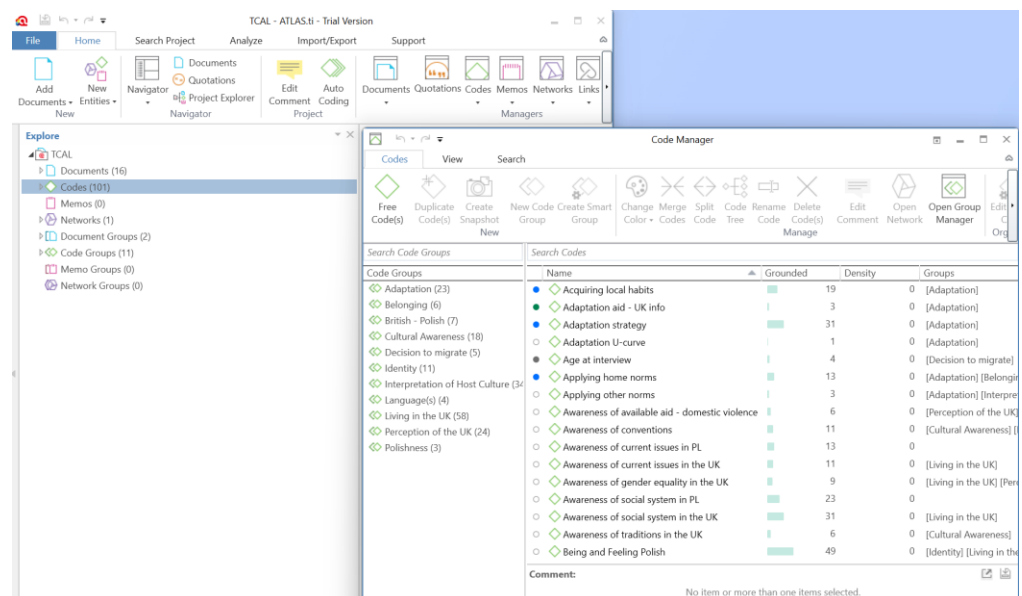
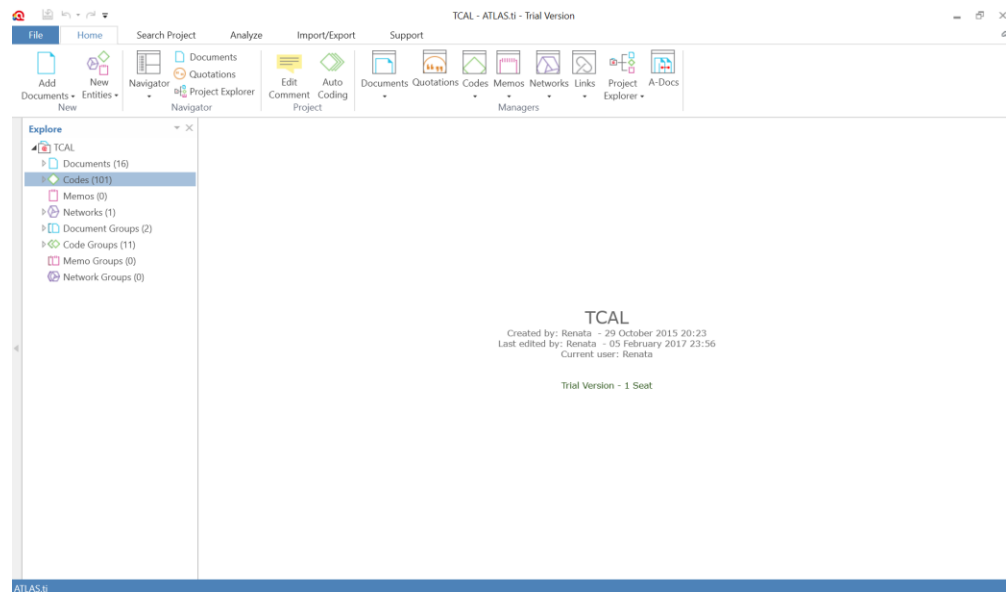
49.	CT3	When you talk to other Polish people in the UK about life here, with reference to your place of living, do you use the Polish word 'Anglia' or the English name – 'UK'? <i>Kiedy rozmawia Pan/i z Polakami w Wielkiej Brytanii o życiu w tym kraju, czy używa Pan/i polskiej nazwa „Anglia”, czy angielskiej nazwy „UK” w odniesieniu do Wielkiej Brytanii?</i>	☐ Anglia ☐ UK
50.	CT4	When you are in Poland, which of the words (“Anglia” or “UK”) do you use to describe your life here? <i>Podczas pobytu w Polsce, której z nazw (“Anglia”, czy “UK”) używa Pan/i w odniesieniu do swojego życia w Wielkiej Brytanii?</i>	☐ Anglia ☐ UK
51.	CT12	If you were renovating your bathroom now, would you choose a mixer tap or separate taps? <i>Gdyby remontował Pan/Pani swoją łazienkę teraz, jaki rodzaj kranu wybrał(a)by Pan/i?</i>	☐ mixer tap / baterię z mieszaczem ☐ separate taps / oddzielne kran ☐ any – don't mind / bez znaczenia
52.	CT26	How often do you go to the pub? <i>Jak często chodzi Pan/i do pub'u?</i>	☐ never / nigdy ☐ every day after work / codziennie po pracy ☐ twice or three times a week / dwa – trzy razy w tygodniu ☐ only at weekends / tylko w weekendy ☐ other, please specify / inne, proszę podać
53.	CT35	When you are on a crowded bus and you need to get to the door, do you ... <i>Kiedy jest Pan/i w zatłoczonym autobusie i próbuje Pan/i przedostać się do drzwi,</i>	☐ repeatedly say “Excuse me” or “Sorry” until people move? / kilkakrotnie powtarza Pan/i zwrot “Excuse me” lub “Sorry” i czeka Pan/i aż pasażerowie ustąpią miejsca? ☐ say “Excuse me” or „Sorry” once and then you push your way through? / używa Pan/i zwrotu “Excuse me” lub “Sorry” jeden raz, a następnie próbuje Pan/i przepchnąć się do drzwi? ☐ you push your way through? / przepycha się Pan/i w kierunku drzwi?
54.	CT36	When you are not sure about procedures, do you <i>Kiedy nie wie Pan/i, jak się prawidłowo zachować,</i>	☐ try to find written guidelines? / próbuje Pan/i znaleźć informację pisemną? ☐ ask a relevant person? / pyta Pan/i właściwą osobę? ☐ keep asking around to compare answers and choose the best one? / pyta Pan/i wszystkich dookoła w celu porównania odpowiedzi i wybrania najlepszej?
55.	CT37	If they say on the radio in the morning that the temperature should reach 82F, how warm is it going to be? <i>Jeżeli rano w radiu podają przewidywaną temperaturę na poziomie 82F, jak ciepło będzie?</i>	☐ very hot / upalnie ☐ moderate / umiarkowanie ciepło ☐ rather cool / raczej chłodno
PART 4 / CZĘŚĆ 4 Please answer the following questions in the right column. Proszę wpisać swoje odpowiedzi w kolumnie po prawej stronie.			
56.	CT23	What British traditions would you introduce to your way of celebrating Christmas? <i>Jakie brytyjskie zwyczaje wprowadził(a)by Pan/i do swoich Świąt Bożego Narodzenia?</i>	.....
57.	ID5	What sights or attractions in the UK would you show your visitors from Poland? <i>Co zwiędził(a)by Pan/i w Wielkiej Brytanii wraz ze swoimi gośćmi z Polski?</i>	.....
58.	ID8	Who is the Prime Minister in Britain now? <i>Kto jest aktualnie premierem Wielkiej Brytanii?</i>	.....
59.	ID15	If you joined the Diamond Jubilee celebrations, how did you celebrate? <i>Jeśli brał/a Pan/i udział w obchodach Diamentowego Jubileuszu, to w jaki sposób?</i>	.....
60.	CAw1	When you came to the UK, what was most difficult for you to understand and/or get used to? <i>Po przyjeździe do Wlk Brytanii, co było najtrudniej zrozumieć i/lub do czego się przyzwyczaić?</i>	.....
61.	CAw4	What, from you have observed in the UK, do you think would be useful to implement in Poland? <i>Co, spośród tego co Pan/i zaobserwował/a w Wlk Brytanii, warto byłoby wprowadzić w Polsce?</i>	.....
62.	CAw5	What could British people learn from Polish migrants? <i>Czego Brytyjczycy mogliby się nauczyć się od Polaków?</i>	.....
63.	CAw6	What solutions (e.g. social, urban, etc.) from Poland could be implemented in the UK? <i>Jakie rozwiązania (np.: społeczne, miejskie, itp.) z Polski można by wprowadzić w Wlk Brytanii?</i>	.....

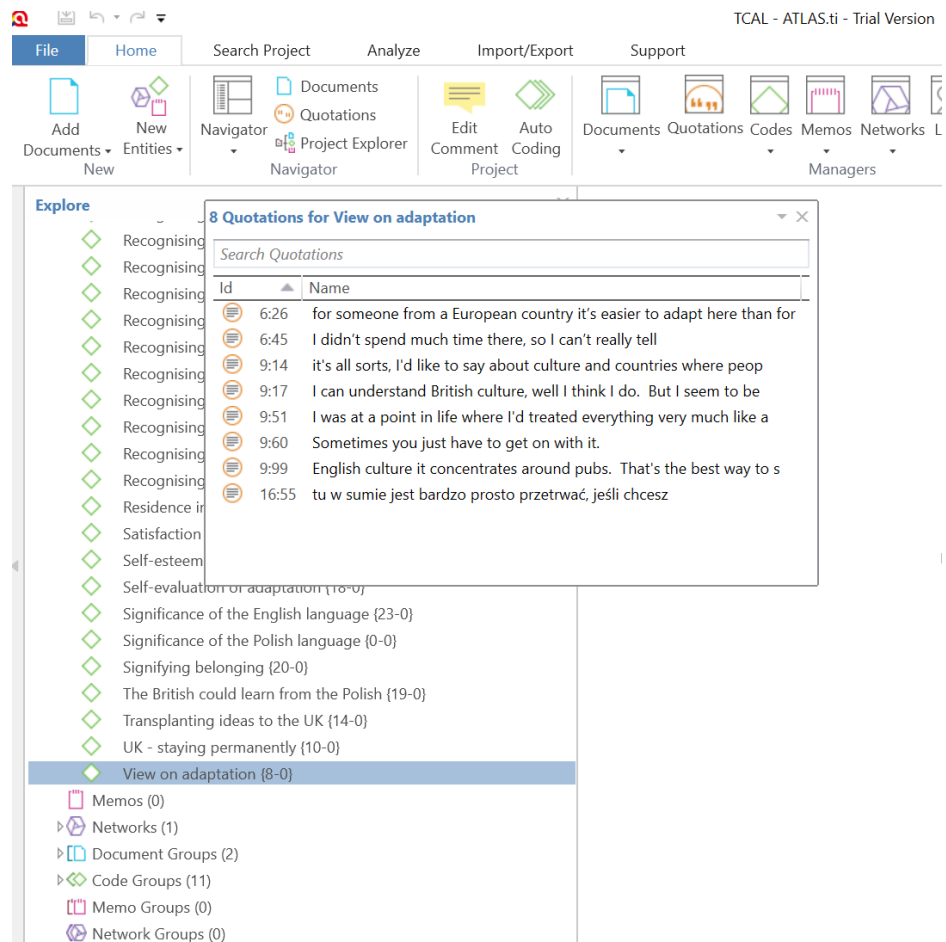
64.	CAd4	What customs have you learnt in the UK? <i>Jakich zwyczajów nauczył/a się Pan/i w Wielkiej Brytanii?</i>	.....
65.	CAd9	How do you celebrate the 1 st November festival when you are in the UK? <i>Będąc w Wielkiej Brytanii, jak obchodzi Pan/i Wszystkich Świętych (1-go listopada)?</i>	.....
66.	CT1	What would you say is the main difference between Polish and British people? <i>Co według Pana/i najbardziej różni Polaków od Brytyjczyków/Anglików?</i>	.....
67.	CT2	What would you say the Polish and the British have in common? <i>Co według Pana/i jest cechą wspólną Polaków i Brytyjczyków/Anglików?</i>	.....
68.	CT5	What is your favourite tippie? <i>Jaki jest Pana/i ulubiony drink?</i>	.....
69.	CT9	What is your favourite food in Britain? <i>Jakie jest Pana/i ulubione jedzenie lub potrawa w Wielkiej Brytanii?</i>	.....
70.	CT10	When in the UK, what food from Poland do you miss most? <i>Jakiej potrawy z Polski brakuje Panu/i w Wielkiej Brytanii najbardziej?</i>	.....
71.	CT22	What British Christmas traditions do you like? <i>Jakie brytyjskie tradycje bożonarodzeniowe podobają się Panu/i?</i>	.....
72.	CAd12	What Polish online communities / portals do you use (e.g. Polonia Nottingham)? <i>Z jakich polskich portali społecznościowych Pan/i korzysta (np.: Polonia Nottingham)?</i>	.....
PART 5 / CZĘŚĆ 5			
Please tick your answer in the right column.			
Proszę zaznaczyć swoją odpowiedź w kolumnie po prawej stronie.			
73.	G1	Please indicate your gender <i>Płeć</i>	☐ Male / <i>Mężczyzna</i> ☐ Female / <i>Kobieta</i>
74.	G2	Please indicate your age group <i>Przedział wiekowy</i>	☐ 0-17 ☐ 46-55 ☐ 18-25 ☐ 56-65 ☐ 26-35 ☐ 66+ ☐ 36-45
75.	G3	How long have you been in the UK? <i>Od jak dawna przebywa Pan/i w Wielkiej Brytanii?</i>	☐ less than 1 year / <i>mniej niż rok</i> ☐ 1-2 years / <i>lata</i> ☐ 3-5 years / <i>lat</i> ☐ more than 5 years / <i>ponad 5 lat</i>
76.	G4	What is your level of education? <i>Wykształcenie</i>	☐ Primary / <i>podstawowe</i> ☐ Secondary / <i>średnie</i> ☐ Tertiary / <i>wyższe</i> ☐ Vocational / <i>zawodowe</i>
77.	G5	Have you completed any education in the UK? <i>Czy zdobył Pan/i część swojego wykształcenia w Wielkiej Brytanii?</i>	☐ Yes / <i>Tak</i> ☐ No / <i>Nie</i> ☐ In process / <i>Jestem w trakcie nauki</i>
78.	G6	What is your job now? <i>Czym się Pan/i teraz zajmuje zawodowo?</i>	.....
79.	G7	Do you work in line with your qualifications? <i>Czy pracuje Pan/i zgodnie ze swoimi kwalifikacjami?</i>	☐ Yes / <i>Tak</i> ☐ No, below / <i>Nie, poniżej</i> ☐ No, above / <i>Nie, powyżej</i>
80.	G10	What were your reasons for moving to the UK? (please rank – 1 = most important) <i>Jakie były powody decyzji o wyjeździe do Wielkiej Brytanii? (proszę zaznaczyć najważniejsze jako 1)</i>	☐ economic / <i>ekonomiczne</i> ☐ studies / <i>studia</i> ☐ family / <i>rodzinne</i> ☐ friends / <i>znajomi</i> ☐ other (please specify) / <i>inne (proszę podać)</i>

Thank you for taking part in the questionnaire. If you wish to be contacted for further interviews, please leave your contact details, i.e. e-mail address and/or phone number or e-mail me at emigratka9@gmail.com or renata.eid@nottingham.ac.uk or skype me at “emigratka”.

Dziękuję za wzięcie udziału w badaniu. Jeśli wyraża Pan/i zgodę na wzięcie udziału w rozmowie, która jest kontynuacją badań, proszę zostawić swoje dane kontaktowe: adres e-mail i/lub numer telefonu lub skontaktować się ze mną na adres emigratka9@gmail.com lub renata.eid@nottingham.ac.uk lub na skype (“emigratka”).

Appendix 3: Sample Coding in Atlas.ti





Appendix 4: TCAL Interview Questions

Polish Migrants in the East Midlands, UK: *Translating Cultures – Adapting Lives* Interview and Focus Group Questions

(Questionnaire: <http://edu.surveymoz.com/s3/1206496/Translating-Cultures-Adapting-Lives>)

Information about the Project

This survey is part of a doctoral research project, which is aimed at studying elements of cultural translation in the processes of cultural adaptation of Polish migrants to the East Midlands in the UK. The survey and the interview offer a possibility to reflect upon the two cultures: Polish and British and upon your life decisions. The ultimate aim is to inform policy makers about the adaptation needs of Polish migrants and to address certain public policy concerns regarding migration and issues of migrant social interaction and adaptation in the UK. The survey is aimed at a sample based in the East Midlands.

Your participation in the project is voluntary and anonymous unless declared otherwise. You can fill in the questionnaire only or you can complete the questionnaire and volunteer to take part in a recorded interview. Please answer as many questions as you can. The questionnaire is not aimed at judging views, but it is meant to capture the diversity of opinions, attitudes, and approaches.

If you have any further comments or would like to mention migration and/or cultural issues not included in the questionnaire or interview, please e-mail me at emigratka9@gmail.com .

Thank you for participating in this Project

Renata Seredyńska-Abou Eid

Informacja o badaniach/projekcie

Poniższy kwestionariusz jest częścią badań doktoranckich, których celem jest przeanalizowanie elementów translacji kulturowej w procesach adaptacyjnych polskich imigrantów w regionie East Midlands. Zarówno kwestionariusz, jak i rozmowa dają uczestnikom badania możliwość refleksji nad obydwoma kulturami, polską brytyjską, oraz nad podjętymi decyzjami życiowymi. Docelowo badania zmierzają w kierunku informowania lokalnych decydentów o potrzebach adaptacyjnych polskich imigrantów. Ponadto, niniejsze badania są również ukierunkowane na zwrócenie uwagi na problemy imigrantów oraz kwestie interakcji i adaptacji społecznej polskich imigrantów w Wielkiej Brytanii. Badania są

zorientowane na reprezentatywną próbę w rejonie East Midlands.

Państwa udział w badaniach jest dobrowolny i anonimowy, jeśli nie zadeklarują Państwo imiennego udziału. Mogą Państwo wypełnić tylko kwestionariusz lub dodatkowo mogą Państwo wziąć udział w rejestrowanej rozmowie. Proszę odpowiedzieć na możliwie najwięcej pytań. Niniejszy kwestionariusz nie jest ukierunkowany na ocenę opinii, a na uchwycenie różnorodności poglądów i postaw.

Jeśli mają Państwo dodatkowe komentarze lub chcieliby podzielić się uwagami na tematy migracyjne i kulturowe nie uwzględnione w poniższym kwestionariuszu lub rozmowie, proszę o kontakt na adres email: emigratka9@gmail.com.

Dziękuję za udział w badaniu

Renata Seredyńska-Abou Eid

Questions:

1. Could you please introduce yourself and say a few words about what you do in the UK and how long you have been here?
Proszę się przedstawić I powiedzieć kilka słów o sobie, co Pan/i robi w Wlk Brytanii i jak długo jest Pan/i tutaj.
2. Which part of Poland do you originally come from?
Z jakiej części Polski Pan/I pochodzi?
3. Why have you decided to come to the UK? What was the decisive factor?
Jakie były powody decyzji przyjazdu do Wlk Brytanii? Co było czynnikiem decydującym?
4. What does it mean to you to be Polish?
Co znaczy dla Pana/i być Polakiem/Polką?
5. Do you feel you are Polish when you are in the UK?
Czy czuje się Pan/I Polakiem/Polką w Wlk Brytanii?
6. What is the difference between the Polish and the English and the British?
Co odróżnia Polaków od Anglików i Brytyjczyków?
7. What do they have anything in common?
Jakie mają cechy wspólne?
8. In what way are you different from British people?
A w jaki sposób Pan/i czuje się inny od Anglików i Brytyjczyków?
9. When you go back to Poland, do you feel differently at home than before you left the country?
Czy w domu w Polsce czuje się teraz Pan/i inaczej niż przed wyjazdem?

10. If yes, what is it that makes you feel different?
Jeśli tak, to jaka jest różnica? Co powoduje to inne odczucie?
11. Would you say that you feel at home in the UK?
Czy w Wielkiej Brytanii czuje się Pan/i u siebie, jak w domu?
12. When you get off the plane (whether in the UK or in Poland) do you say to yourself “Finally at home!”?
Czy jak wysiada Pan/i z samolotu (czy to w Polsce, czy w Wielkiej Brytanii), czy pojawia się myśl „Wreszcie w domu!”?
13. What expectations did you have prior to your arrival in the UK? Have they been confirmed in reality?
Jakie miał Pan/i oczekiwania przed przyjazdem do Wielkiej Brytanii? Czy spełniły się?
14. Is it better or worse?
Czy jest lepiej, czy gorzej niż Pan/i oczekiwał/a?
15. What did you have to learn or remember about when you moved to the UK?
Czego musiał/a się Pan/i nauczyć w Wielkiej Brytanii, o czym pamiętać?
16. Have you had any particularly problematic issues?
Czy coś było szczególnie trudne?
17. Would you say you have adapted to life in the UK?
Czy uważa Pan/i, że przyzwyczail/a się, czy też zaadaptował/a się Pan/i do życia w Wielkiej Brytanii?
18. What has been your survival strategy in society/among people in the UK?
Jaka jest lub była Pana/I strategia przetrwania w społeczeństwie/wśród ludzi w Wielkiej Brytanii?
19. Do you think you could stay in the UK permanently? Why yes/not?
Czy uważa Pan/i, że może/jest w stanie zostać tu na stałe?
20. Where do you find information about British lifestyle, culture, customs?
Skąd czerpie Pan/i informacje o angielskim/nrytyjskim stylu życia?
21. Do you think that English language is important for your stay in the UK?
Czy angielski jest istotny w Pana/i życiu w Wlk Brytanii?
22. Has it improved since you came here?
Czy Pana/i poziom angielskiego poprawił się od przyjazdu do Wlk Brytanii?
23. When you talk to other Polish people in the UK about life here, with reference to your place of living, do you use the Polish word ‘Anglia’ or the English name – ‘UK’?

Kiedy rozmawia Pan/i z Polakami w Wielkiej Brytanii o życiu w tym kraju, czy używa Pan/i polskiej nazwa „Anglia”, czy angielskiej nazwy „UK” w odniesieniu do Wielkiej Brytanii?

24. When you are in Poland, which of the words (“Anglia” or “UK”) do you use to describe your life here?

Podczas pobytu w Polsce, której z nazw (“Anglia”, czy “UK”) używa Pan/i w odniesieniu do swojego życia w Wielkiej Brytanii?

25. Do you say “w UKeju” (“in the UK” – the English name with a Polish inflection)?

Czy mówi Pan/i “w UKeju”?

26. What in your area in Poland would you show to your British visitors?

Co pokazałby Pan/i w Polsce gościom z Wlk Brytanii?

27. What in the UK would you show your visitors from Poland?

Co zwiedził(a)by Pan/i w Wielkiej Brytanii wraz ze swoimi gośćmi z Polski?

28. How did you join in the celebrations of the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee?

Jak świętował Pan/i Diamentowy Jubileusz Królowej?

29. What is your opinion about measuring the scale of austerity/economic crisis by the number of pubs that had to close down?

Czy uważa Pan/i, że ilość zamykanych pub’ów miarodajnie odzwierciedla rozmiary kryzysu gospodarczego?

30. Do you like going to the pub?

Czy lubi Pan/i chodzić do pub’u?

31. Do you always order alcohol when you go to the pub?

Czy w pub’ie zawsze zamawia Pan/i alcohol?

32. Why do you think snowfall is such a problem in the UK?

Dlaczego śnieg jest tak dużym problemem w Wlk Brytanii?

33. Do you think that some Polish solutions to the problem of snow could be applied in Britain?

Czy polskie sposoby na problem śniegu mogłyby znaleźć zastosowanie w Wlk Brytanii?

34. In many places in the UK, a tram network is presented as an innovative solution to tackle traffic problems. What are your feelings about this issue? Is it really such an innovation?

W wielu miejscach w Wlk Brytanii tramwaj jest przedstawiany jako innowacyjne rozwiązanie problemów ruchu drogowego? Co Pan/i o tym sądzi? Czy to faktycznie jest aż tak wielka innowacja?

35. Could English/British people learn sth from the Polish?

Czy Anglicy/Brytyjczycy mogliby się czegoś nauczyć od Polaków?

36. What do you think Polish people learn in the UK?

Czego wg Pana/i Polacy uczą się w Wlk Brytanii?

37. Is Polish “dziewczyna” equivalent to English “girl”?

Czy polskie słowo “dziewczyna” jest odpowiednikiem angielskiego “girl”?

38. Would you equally say “hi girls / hej dziewczyny” to your female friends?

Czy powiedział(a)by Pan/i “Hi Girls” do koleżanek w takim samym znaczeniu jak po polsku „Hej Dziewczyny”?

39. Would you say in English “those girls working in that restaurant...” in the meaning of “dziewczyny pracujące w tej restauracji...”?

Czy powiedział(a)by Pan/i po angielsku “those girls working in that restaurant...” w znaczeniu “dziewczyny pracujące w tej restauracji...”?

40. “Jeżdżę dablem.” Would Polish “piętrus” serve as an equivalent to the English “double-decker”? What about official language/discourse?

“Jeżdżę dablem.” Czy polski “piętrus” byłby dobrym odpowiednikiem angielskiego „double-decker”? A jaki odpowiednik byłby dobry w bardziej oficjalnym, urzędowym języku?

41. Is it polite enough to say „Can I have a latte?” when you are ordering a coffee?

Czy zamawiając kawę wystarczy powiedzieć “Can I have a latte?”, żeby brzmieć uprzejmie?

42. What colour is my pencil case and this pen/ What colour is it in English and in Polish?

Jakiego koloru jest mój piórniki i ten długopis / Jaki to kolor po angielsku i po polsku?



43. Do you know what hot issues are debated in the Polish parliament and in the media now?

Czy wie Pan/i jakie tematy są obecnie gorąco dyskutowane w polskim parlamencie i mediach?

44. Do you know what changes have taken place in British politics recently?

Czy wie Pan/i, jakie zmiany zaszły ostatnio w brytyjskiej polityce?

45. Are men and women equal in British society? If yes, is it visible in everyday life?

Czy w Wlk. Brytanii istnieje równouprawnienie płci? Jeśli tak, to czy jest to zauważalne na co dzień?

46. Do you know if victims of domestic violence can equally easily find support in the UK as in Poland?

Czy ofiary przemocy domowej mogą równie łatwo uzyskać pomoc w Wlk. Brytanii co w Polsce?

47. Which social division is more common in the UK and in Poland: the class system (working, middle, upper class) or urban-rural division?

Który system podziału społecznego dominuje w Wlk Brytanii i w Polsce: system klasowy (klasy pracujące, średnia, wyższa), czy podział miasto-wieś?

48. Do you know determinants / typical features of particular classes in the UK and in Poland?

Czy zna Pan/i determinant/cechy wyróżniające poszczególne klasy w Wlk. Brytanii i w Polsce?

49. What kind of people could possibly live in each of the houses in the pictures?

Kto może mieszkać w każdym z domów na załączonych zdjęciach?

50. In a restaurant you need to use the bathroom, how would you ask where it is located?

W restauracji musi Pan/i skorzystać z łazienki, jak Pan/i zapyta gdzie się znajduje łazienka?

51. How are meals called in English and at what time of the day are they eaten? Did you have to adjust or change your habits?

Jak nazywają się posiłki po angielsku i o jakiej porze są jadane? Czy musiał się Pan/i przestawić na inny tryb jedzenia posiłków lub zmienić swoje nawyki?

52. If you didn't hear well what someone said to you, what would you say: Sorry, Pardon or What? Do you know if there is any difference among those terms?

Jeśli nie dosłyszał/a Pan/i, co powiedział/a rozmówca/czyni, którego zwrotu użył(a)by Pan/i jako odpowiednika polskiego Słucham/Proszę?:

Sorry, Padon or What? *Czy wie Pan/i jaka i czy jest różnica między tymi zwrotami?*

53. Is directness in relations and requests polite?

Czy bezpośredniość (zwracanie się do kogoś „bez owijania w bawełnę”) w relacjach i prośbach jest przejawem uprzejmości?

54. Do you often go to Poland?

Czy często jeździ Pan/i do Polski?

Appendix 5: Interview - Q49 Cues: Houses

House 1



Source:

http://www.google.co.uk/search?q=working+class+house+in+nottingham&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ei=TVoHUqrZD6aI0AXdwoG4AQ&ved=0CAcQ_AUoAQ&biw=1280&bih=603

[12/08/2013]

House 2



Source:

<http://www.rightmove.co.uk/property-for-sale/property->

36454258.html?premiumA=true [12/08/2013]

House 3



Source: <http://www.rightmove.co.uk/property-for-sale/property-39584143.html>
[12/08/2013]

House 4



Source: <http://www.rightmove.co.uk/property-for-sale/property-41445584.html>
[12/08/2013]

House 5



Source: <http://www.rightmove.co.uk/property-for-sale/property-41445584.html>
[12/08/2013]

House 6



Source: <http://www.nottshistory.org.uk/Jacks1881/papplewick.htm> [12/08/2013]

House 7



Source: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/3971401.stm> [12/08/2013]

House 8



Source: <http://www.top365.co.uk/professional> [12/08/2013]

Appendix 6: Sample List of Online Communities

Ania's Poland <www.aniaspoland.com>

Bham <<http://bham.pl>>

E-Londyn <www.elondyn.co.uk>

Emito <www.emito.net>

Gadatka <www.gadatka.com>

G.Britain <www.gbritain.net>

Glasgow24 < www.glasgow24.pl >

Leeds-Manchester <www.leeds-manchester.pl>

Londynek < londynek.net>

Moja Brytania <www.mojabrytania.pl>

Moja Wyspa <www.mojawyspa.co.uk>

Polacy <www.polacy.co.uk>

Poland Street <www.polandstreet.org.uk>

Polonia Nottingham < www.polonianottingham.com >

Sotland <www.sotland.pl>

Stachoo.pl < www.stachoo.pl >

Strefa <www.strefa.co.uk>

Wielka Brytania <www.wielkabrytania.org>

Appendix 7: Response from the Police to a Query under FOIA (print screen)

Our Ref: 005360/14		Please be advised that this information is not held in an easily retrievable format. Our crime systems only record Visible and Voluntary Ethnic Description as per Home Office Guidelines and do not break that data down as far as Polish in a searchable field. Therefore to locate, retrieve and extract the requested information requires a manual search of all records held. An initial search revealed a total of 141944 records over a one year period in 2005. We estimate that this would increase exponentially over the years you have requested data for.	Should you have any further enquiries concerning this matter, please write or contact the Freedom of Information Officer on telephone number 0115 9672507 or e-mail freedomofinformation@Nottinghamshire.pnn.police.uk quoting the above reference number.
Renata Seredynska-Abou Eid	Freedom of Information Section Nottinghamshire Police HQ Sherwood Lodge, Arnold Nottingham NG5 8PP Tel: 101 Ext 800 2507 Fax: 0115 967 2896	We estimate that it would approximately 3 minutes per record to search which would equate to approximately 7097 working hours (for 1 year worth of records). This takes the request over the cost threshold of 18 working hours and engages Section 12 (1) of the Act.	Yours sincerely
24 September 2014	Dear Ms Seredynska-Abou Eid	This letter constitutes a refusal notice under Section 17(5) of the Freedom of Information Act 2000 with Section 12(1) of the act being applied	Disclosure Officer
Request under the Freedom of Information Act 2000 (FOIA)	I write in connection with your request for information, which was received by Nottinghamshire Police on 01/09/2014. Following receipt of your request searches were conducted within Nottinghamshire Police to locate the information you require.	12. – (1) Section 1(1) does not oblige a public authority to comply with a request for information if the authority estimates that the cost of complying with the request would exceed the appropriate limit.	Should you wish for the Force to continue with your request, a more accurate figure will be provided within a fee's notice. The cost will need to be paid by you, prior to any further investigation. Please advise if you wish to proceed.
Please find below answers to your questions.	RESPONSE	Alternatively you are invited to refine your request to bring it within the cost threshold. However, due to the large numbers I am unable to suggest a refinement that would bring the request within the cost threshold.	Complaints Rights Your attention is drawn to the enclosed review procedure, which details your right of complaint.
Under S 1 (1) (a) of the Freedom of Information Act 2000 (FOIA), I can confirm that Nottinghamshire Police does hold the information you have requested.	To be able to complete the analysis of data collected in my research study, I need information about the types of crimes and/or reported offences Polish migrants are involved in. Therefore, I would like to request the available statistics you have. Also, it would be useful to have information, if possible at all, about reasons why Polish migrants decide not to report crimes.	Copyright Nottinghamshire Police in complying with their statutory duty under Sections 1 and 11 of the Freedom of Information Act 2000 (FOIA) to release the enclosed information will not breach the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988. However, the rights of the copyright owner of the enclosed information will continue to be protected by law. Applications for the copyright owner's written permission to reproduce any part of the attached information should be addressed to the Force Solicitor, Nottinghamshire Police, Force Headquarters, Sherwood Lodge, Arnold, Nottinghamshire, NG5 8PP.	I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your interest in Nottinghamshire Police.
CLARIFICATION: My research focuses on post-accession migrants, so ideally I would need information about Poles in the East Midlands from 1st May 2004 onwards.			

Appendix 8: Participant Consent Form

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (English/angielski)

Project title: *Translating Cultures – Adapting Lives: Cultural Translation among Polish Migrants in the East Midlands, UK*

Researcher's name Renata Seredyńska-Abou Eid

Supervisors: Dr. Paul Gladston and Dr. Jennifer Birks

- ❖ I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.
- ❖ I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.
- ❖ I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect my status now or in the future.
- ❖ I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I [\[tick your choice\]](#)
 - ☐ will be identified by my first name and age for the purposes of data analysis.
 - ☐ will not be identified and my personal details will remain confidential
- ❖ I understand that I will be audiotaped during the interview if I agree to do it.
- ❖ I understand that data will be stored in the researcher's office (hard copies) and on the researcher's personal computer and other people will have no access to it.
- ❖ I understand that I may contact the researcher or supervisor if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Chair of the Research Committee of the School of Culture, Languages and Area Studies, University of Nottingham, if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.

Signed (research participant)

Print name **Date**

Contact details

Researcher: e-mail: ajxrs@nottingham.ac.uk, emigratka9@gmail.com

Supervisors:

e-mail: paul.gladston@nottingham.ac.uk, jennifer.birks@nottingham.ac.uk

University of Nottingham School of Cultures, Languages and Area Studies
(CLAS) Ethics officer:

Dr. Liz Evans elizabeth.evans@nottingham.ac.uk

Chair of CLAS Research Committee:

Dr. Toni Kapcia A.Kapcia@nottingham.ac.uk

FORMULARZ ZGODY UCZESTNIKA BADAŃ (polski/Polish)

Tytuł projektu badawczego: *Translacja kulturowa wśród polskich imigrantów w East Midlands w Wielkiej Brytanii*

Prowadząca badania: Renata Seredyńska-Abou Eid

Promotorzy: dr Paul Gladston i dr Jennifer Birks

- ❖ Przeczytałem/am Informacje dla Uczestnika Badan i zapoznałem/am się z celem niniejszego projektu. Rozumiem zasady i zgadzam się na udział w badaniach.
- ❖ Cel projektu i mój udział w nim są dla mnie zrozumiałe.
- ❖ Zostałem poinformowany/a, że mogę wycofać się z udziału w badaniach na każdym ich etapie bez żadnych konsekwencji teraz i/lub w przyszłości.
- ❖ Zostałem poinformowany/a, że informacje uzyskane w tych badaniach mogą zostać opublikowane. W związku z tym, [proszę zaznaczyć właściwe]
 - ☐ wyrażam zgodę na ujawnienie mojego imienia i wieku dla celów analizy danych
 - ☐ nie wyrażam zgody na ujawnienie żadnych moich danych personalnych
- ❖ Zostałem poinformowany/a, że ewentualna rozmowa będzie rejestrowana.
- ❖ Zostałem poinformowany/a, że wszystkie wyniki badań i analizy będą przechowywane w biurze Prowadzącej badania i na jej osobistym komputerze oraz, że żadne osoby postronne nie będą miały do nich dostępu.
- ❖ Zostałem poinformowany/a, że mogę się skontaktować z Prowadzącą badania lub jej promotorem, gdybym potrzebował/a dodatkowych informacji o poniższych badaniach oraz, że w przypadku skargi mogę takową złożyć do Przewodniczącego Komitetu Badań Naukowych School of Cultures, Languages and Area Studies (CLAS) na Uniwersytecie Nottingham.

Podpis uczestnika badań

Imię i nazwisko **Data**

Kontakt

Prowadząca badania: e-mail: ajxrs@nottingham.ac.uk,
emigratka9@gmail.com

Promotorzy:

e-mail: paul.gladston@nottingham.ac.uk, jennifer.birks@nottingham.ac.uk

Uniwersytet Nottingham, School of Cultures, Languages and Area Studies
(CLAS) Ethics officer:

dr Liz Evans elizabeth.evans@nottingham.ac.uk

Przewodniczący Komitetu Badań Naukowych CLAS:

dr Toni Kapcia A.Kapcia@nottingham.ac.uk

Appendix 9: Adaptation hindrances: Potential trigger points for cultural misinterpretation and hampered acculturation for Polish migrants in the United Kingdom

	Observed in home country (Poland)	Issue / theme / concept	Observed in host country (UK)
explicit ↑	extensive consonantal repertoire neutralised voiced values in final positions vowel elision predominantly fixed stress pattern (penultimate syllable)	LANGUAGE mis/pronunciation false cognates, lexical borrowings & translanguaging	complex vowel system (vowels and diphthongs) phonemic vowel length distinction reduction to <i>schwa</i> in unstressed syllables stress-timed language
	Republic Civil law system (codified) <i>Government</i> = a team of ministers in charge of ministries and offices	SYSTEMIC DIFFERENCES political, legal administrative incl. varying terminology	Monarchy Common law system (judge-made law) <i>Cabinet</i> = team of senior ministers <i>Government</i> = team of Cabinet ministers and ministers from other departments
	limited trust in authorities and official information	TRUST towards authorities, force personnel (police or army) and official(ly published) information	trust in authorities and official information
	law is imposed rules can be broken (as they may serve the purposes of oppression)	LAW-ABINDINGNESS	law serves people rules must be respected (as they are there for a reason)
	place of residence often tied with family relations and properties (possibly due to historical mansion culture + peasant land attachment)	PLACE ATTACHMENT	place of residence more determined by work
	mix of individual – collective approach relatively close family ties	FAMILY RELATIONS	more individualistic approach that allows greater freedom to individual family members
	relatively low	SELF-ESTEEM, SELF-WORTH and SELF-RESPECT	relatively high
	for example: lack of awareness to the pace of executing law < assuming that in a single case the law may be uniquely inapplicable solid work / commitment determination in achieving goals / ability to go the extra mile	ATTITUDEs	for example: belief in systems assuming people are good-willed complaining and relatively low ability to overcome obstacles
implicit ↓	independence as non-conformity <i>wolność</i> (freedom) and <i>samowola</i> (being law to oneself and/or lawlessness) feeling at liberty to ‘advise’ others	FREEDOM interpretation of libertarian concepts (similar, but different)	independence as autonomy of action, acting with(in) reason respect for privacy, private space and ownership respect for others / other values

Appendix 10: Publications (until 2016)

Seredyńska-Abou Eid, R. (2016) 'Retaining and Recreating Identity among Polish Migrants in the UK.' In do Rosário Monteiro, M., Kong, M.S.M. and Neto, M.J.P. (eds.) *Utopia(s)-Worlds and Frontiers of the Imaginary*. Proceedings Lisbon, CRC Press (Taylor and Francis)

Seredyńska-Abou Eid, R. (2015) 'Separate Taps and Red Brick Houses: Reflections on the Adaptation of Polish Migrants in the UK.' In Kong, M. (ed.) *Proportions, disHarmonies, Identities*. Lisbon: Archi&Book's

Seredyńska-Abou Eid, R. (2015) 'Translating Cultures, Adapting Lives: Maintaining and Re/creating Identity among Polish Migrants in the East Midlands, UK.' In Johnson, N. and Simpson, S. (eds.) *Bridging Differences: Understanding Cultural Interaction in Our Globalized World*. Oxford: Interdisciplinary Press. Available at: <http://www.interdisciplinarypress.net/product/bridging-differences-understanding-cultural-interaction-in-our-globalized-world>

Seredyńska-Abou Eid, R. (2014) 'The Two Waves of Polish Migration to the UK.' Poster. *Our History – Our Story* Exhibition, Nottingham Central Library and New Art Exchange, Nottingham, April – December

Isański, J., Mleczko, A. and Seredyńska-Abou Eid, R. (2013) 'Polish Contemporary Migration: From Co-Migrants to Project ME.' *International Migration*, 52(1): 4-21

Seredyńska-Abou Eid, R. (2013) 'Cultural Adaptation and Translation as Motivation for Researching the Polish Diaspora in the United Kingdom.' In Seredyńska-Abou Eid, R. (ed.) *Diasporic Choices*. Oxford: Interdisciplinary Press. Available at: <http://www.interdisciplinarypress.net/product/diasporic-choices>

Seredyńska-Abou Eid, R. (2012) 'Polskie społeczności wirtualne w Wlk. Brytanii po 2004 roku [Post-2004 Polish Online Communities in the UK].' In Kaczmarczyk, P. and Lesinska, M. (eds.) *Krajobrazy Migracyjne Polski* [transl. Migration Landscapes of Poland]. Warsaw: Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami

Seredyńska-Abou Eid, R. (2011) 'The Role of Online Communities for Polish Migrants in the United Kingdom.' In Isański, J. and Łuczys, P. (eds.) *Selling the Favourite Piano to Emigrate: Mobility patterns in Central Europe at the beginning of the 21st Century*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars

Seredyńska-Abou Eid, R. (2010) 'The Role of Online Communities in Social Networking among Polish Migrants in the United Kingdom.' In Mousoutzanis, A. and Riha, D. (eds) *New Media and the Politics of Online Communities*. Oxford: Interdisciplinary Press. Available at: <http://www.interdisciplinary.net/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/cyber5ever119082010.pdf>