THE LIVED EXPERIENCE OF ECONOMIC MIGRATION IN THE NARRATIVES OF MIGRANTS FROM POST-COMMUNIST POLAND TO BRITAIN

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the lived experience of economic migration of young and degree level educated migrants from Poland to Britain. The main aim is to explore how the participants of economic migration within the borders of the European Union experience migrating. The special feature of this migration is the fact that they leave a post-communist country and come to a country with a well established capitalist economy and long-standing democracy. The particular questions are: how these migrants construct their experience of migrating, are they faced with any problems while doing it, and if so - how do they resolve them?

The data comes from twenty-two semi-structured interviews with migrants educated to degree level who were residents and worked in one of the regions of England at a professional level or below their qualifications (manual or simple clerical work). The research utilises the critical discourse analysis perspective; the data is approached with analysis focused on linguistic choices (lexical and grammatical) evident in the respondents' statements. This kind of analysis enables observation and in-depth interpretation of the way experiences of migrating are constructed.

The migrants' narratives were full of discursive struggle while constructing their experience of migrating. Firstly, the interviewees made an effort to present their migration as rational. Secondly, they were trying to rationalise their financial needs to refute accusations of greed for money. Thirdly, the underemployed migrants justified their employment choices by distancing themselves from work below that which they were qualified for. Fourthly, the interviewees were making an attempt to withdraw from a multicultural community by constructing the negative Other. Exploring lived experience of living and working abroad reveals competitive discourses and ways of coping with ambivalence. Understanding these discursive practices requires knowledge of their beliefs and values that underpin the discourses available in the Polish post-communist society. Overall, the narratives overflowed with dilemmas that showed this migration as more complicated on an individual level than the official discourse of free movement of people in the EU suggests.

This thesis captures the migrants' lived experience within one year after the EU enlargement; it reflects on the narratives being shaped when migrants were given the opportunity to introduce the new discourses on migration or re-think the old ones as a result of new macro-processes in the European Union. This research complements other studies exploring migrants' voices in search of insight into what their experiences were and how they made sense out of them.

However, with the methodology used, it focuses more on uncovering the struggle over arguments available to build their stories. It offers explanation to their discursive practices by analysing them against the discourses as being products of post-communism. The study's results may shed more light on recent processes within this group of migrants and also inform institutional policy and practice about problems affecting members of this group, reported in this thesis.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

A8 countries - eight of ten countries that joined the European Union on 1st May 2004 (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia). While A8 nationals have the right to travel in the EU, many EU countries closed their labour markets to them. Britain allowed A8 nationals access to its labour market, however, it introduced certain conditions making their situation not equal with other EU countries nationals. The reason A8 countries were singled out was a fear of an uncontrolled outburst of economic migration from countries marked by low income levels.

CDA - critical discourse analysis is analysis focused on the content and the form of discourse as used in a particular context. It explains why a text is as it is, what it aims to do, and what the relationship between this particular use of text and its local and global context is. The critical stance means that the aim of discourse analysis is to uncover the covert ideologies underlying texts. Methodologically, it refers to the exploration of complex phenomena, avoiding easy explanations, making contradictions transparent, and being a self-reflective researcher.

discourse - a communicative activity (language use) performed by individuals acting as members of society. It is socially constitutive (it stays in a dialectical relationship with context), it is a system of options (language users make decisions on which aspect of reality to include and how to arrange them), and it is ideological (representations of reality are ideological as they carry socio-political values and beliefs).

the EU – the European Union. The 'old' European Union and the 'new' European Union refer to countries belonging to the EU before and after 1st of May 2004 respectively.

face – refers to the public self-image each person tries to protect because of a desire for this self-image to be appreciated and approved of. Building a positive image is called face-work. A face threatening act is an act that damages face.

ideology – refers to the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group. It includes values and beliefs present in a society, representing not only how the world is but also how it should be.

ideological dilemma – refers to competing beliefs and values making the speakers struggle while reflecting on the matter and taking a stance on it.

lived experience – refers to experience mediated through discourse, with its meaning lying in what is made of what was lived through, dependent on local and global context of discourse production including historical, cultural and social circumstances.

narrative resistance - a response to an impression that someone threatens our opinion of ourselves by suggesting negative categories to define ourselves by. The narrative resistance strategies are used to create and manage one's own identity by constituting an alterative stock of knowledge.

identity – a discursive-performative construct manifested through the achievements of speaking subjects. It is a changeable, provisional and context-bound construct. It is constructed with discursive resources, such as lexis and grammatical phenomena.

strategy – understood as discursive strategic action oriented towards a goal but not necessarily planned.

PART I. INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This chapter provides the foundation for the thesis by introducing the research background, the rationale for the research, its objectives and questions. It also gives a brief description of the research methodology and finally maps out the structure of the thesis and presents the content of the chapters.

1.2. The research background

The research presented in this thesis relates to an investigation of the nature and process of migration from qualifying Eastern European countries into the European Union (the EU). In May 2004 ten countries joined the EU. It was an historic event since among the new members were the countries who, for nearly half a century, had been part of the Soviet Bloc, with differing social, economic and political aims to the Western countries. Their EU accession occurred after just fifteen years of ongoing post-communist transformation.

This transformation had an impact on the lives and life choices of the citizens of the new member countries. For example, for the first time they could enjoy free travel within the EU and unhindered working opportunities. However, regarding the latter, restrictions were retained by most ‘old’ EU countries. Only three of them (the United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden), opened their employment markets and their governments allowed Polish citizens to come and work legally. With the high unemployment rate in Poland, running at twenty per cent (Drinkwater et al., 2006), migration started on a large scale. While for some migrants it was a chance to get a job and make a living, for others it was

an opportunity to go to ‘the West’ and experience a better way of life. Some of them took up employment at a professional or similar level and some became underemployed (working below their level of skills, experience and education). Most migrants were aged between eighteen and thirty-four (Drinkwater et al., 2006).

The present researcher, inspired by the post-accession Polish migration in the EU, formulated a specific area of inquiry within the initial research interest in post-communist economic migration. Under her close scrutiny were the issues of migration and post-communism not investigated earlier or investigated but with a different theoretical background (for example Iglicka, 2001, ethnographic approach; Düvell, 2004, sociological approach; Burrell, 2007, narrative history). The researcher made a decision to focus on the issue of migrating for work and working abroad but in relation to a specific group, migrants from Poland to Britain, in their mid or late twenties who left Poland not long before or after the European Union enlargement in 2004.

This research investigates the ways these degree level educated young people coming from a post-communist country talk about their experiences of migrating from East to West, and living and working in the West. The uniqueness of this group is that they were born in communist Poland but, significantly, they completed their education in democratic Poland. The research will show how they cope in the integrating EU.

1.3.Rationale for the research

The immediate reason for undertaking this research was the social phenomenon itself (migration from Poland to Britain) within the context of macro-changes taking place in the EU. Exploring migrants' narratives within a short time after accession was a unique chance to investigate discursive spaces in which migrants would involve themselves and the discursive resources that they use to make sense of the new reality and their position in it.

Despite wide social scientific interest in migration and post-communism, there are still issues that have not yet been explored in detail. Since May 2004 the body of studies on Eastern European migration to Britain, and on Poles in particular, has thrived and is still growing. Among research focused on migrants' narratives, there is still a shortage of those describing the lived experiences of migrating (lived experience is defined as one's own experience, made sense of in various ways, depending on the context in which it is presented), and exploring them using critical discourse analysis. This study is also a response to the gap in the literature on the lived experience of underemployed migrants; it is an exception within the studies on Polish migration (and migration in general) as it focuses on the lived experience of degree-level educated migrants, in particular those working below their qualifications. It also introduces another perspective to issues that have been already or are currently being investigated; for example, it explores the migrants' narratives on decisions to migrate, and their reflections on living in a multicultural community.

1.4. Research objectives and questions

The overall aim of this research is to gain a deeper understanding of the lived experience of migration to Britain by young people and those educated to degree level who left post-communist Poland after EU enlargement in 2004. In particular, it focuses on four dimensions of this experience, namely: coping with one's decision to migrate, coping with the economic connotation of East-West migration, coping with performing low-skilled jobs, and coping with being a migrant in a multicultural population. In effect, this research is a 'bottom-up' approach investigating economic migration and how individuals experience migration.

The first of two specific objectives is to explore the lived experience of economic migration of Poles to Britain. It includes answering the question as to whether there any aspects of migrants' lived experience of migration that migrants struggle with and, if so, what are they and how do migrants discursively cope with them. Moreover, it addresses the question about the migrants' experiences of the host society and their constructions of their own positions in it. The second specific objective is to examine the relationship between the discourses underpinning the lived experience of migration and the reality of migrants coming from a post-communist reality to that of a well-established market economy in a democracy and a capitalist system.

As a result, the study uncovers discourses used by migrants in the narratives about coping with new realities of migrating in a unifying Europe. It investigates whether this migration was easier than other migrations because it took place within the borders of the EU. It also makes a contribution to understanding of the migration 'legacies' of post-communism and how these impact on the way the migrants adjust or not to their new

life; it identifies practices, dilemmas and problems that had not arisen in earlier literature. The practical outcome of this research is an opportunity to identify the implications of being immersed in the particular discourses of post-communism and migration, increasing the awareness of the challenges faced by migrants travelling within the EU and the roots of these problems. The research sheds more light on the more recent processes within this group of migrants, for example returning migrants. This knowledge can inform policies and services directed towards these migrants.

1.5. Methodology

To meet the aims of the study, a qualitative paradigm was chosen as the most appropriate to explore the lived experience of migrating for work. The research design – semi-structured narrative interviews with the migrants - makes it possible to reach this lived experience, as this kind of interview enables free narration and uses the interviewees' language resources to build on (Hermanns, 1987; Flick, 1998). To investigate the collected data and to discover the discourses migrants used to describe their experiences, critical discourse analysis was applied. The discourse analysts assume that the content and the form of utterances not only describe reality but also construct it from a particular ideological perspective; it means that they carry socio-political values and beliefs and they represent not only how the world is but also how it should be (Fairclough 1992, 2001; Barker and Galasiński, 2001; Widdowson, 2007). By exploring lexical choices, grammatical forms and syntactic and textual patterns, the choices that are made within the confines of options available in a particular society, the research is not only interested in formal aspects of language use, but also places an emphasis on the social actions accomplished by language users communicating within social and cultural contexts (van Dijk, 1997). The critical aspect of this approach means two things: a focus

on making the ideologies visible and while doing so, focusing on discovering the complexity of problems, avoiding easy explanations and making ideological contradictions transparent, and also being self-reflective as a researcher (Wodak, 1999).

By exploring the content and the ways the discourses are structured, it is possible to identify what stories on a particular topic are predominant in a society. Thus, these kinds of analyses allow exploration of how social reality is at the same time represented and constructed by a particular interviewee as a member of specific groups. The focus of the analysis is also upon meaning, and it is demonstrated with two types of questions asked when approaching data: ‘what does it mean in this situation?’, and ‘why is this being said or meant in this situation?’ (Leech, 1983). If there is a pattern that appears in the interviewees’ narratives, it is possible to explore a common practice of representing social reality and discursive strategies of coping with it. Because representations are always ideological (they carry values and beliefs), it is possible to reach some beliefs that are shared in a particular social group (Billig et al., 1988).

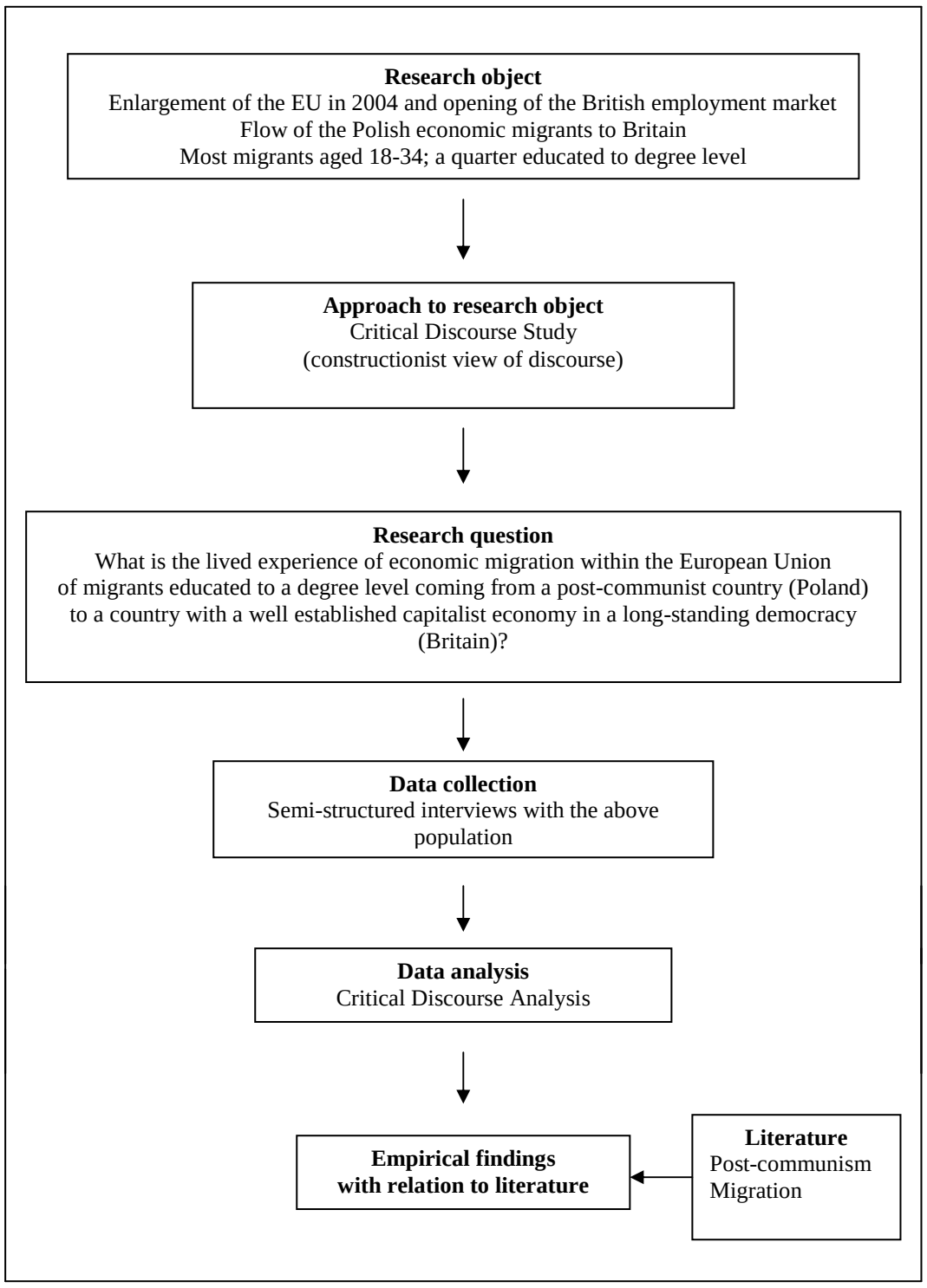
A researcher’s self-reflexivity means a researcher’s awareness of the factors enriching the research context and influencing the collected data. The questions are: who is the researcher and what is her impact on the respondents, on the understanding of the research problem and the data collected. On the one hand the present researcher is based at a university; this introduced issues of power and social hierarchy into the interviewing context. On the other hand, being a student needing help with research may have diminished the institutional overtones (Burrell, 2006). The researcher being a migrant herself might reduce the distance between her and the interviewees, but it might also make them leave some things unspoken as too obvious. Being a migrant studying at a

British university might influence in a different way those interviewees who worked professionally (shared experience) and those who were underemployed (different experience and different status). The researcher's position as a migrant could affect the research design and the research process (especially her approach to the data collection). Apart from bringing her own lived experience, the researcher adds her own values and beliefs (Hertz, 1997), and assumptions about the research (Slembrouck, 2004). The rigorous process of analysis undertaken limits this influence.

The study was subject to some methodological shortcomings. Firstly, it was based on narratives produced only in one type of situation – a research interview. It carried some risks: the character of the meetings with the interviewees could promote the free expression of views but it could also intimidate them; this semi-official/official situation gave opportunity to use only some of the discourses available to the interviewees. The second limitation was that the analytical process included only some of the identified patterns of migratory experience construction; it explored in detail the most striking discursive behaviour of the interviewees. The third limitation was the composition of the respondents' group. The recruitment strategy applied resulted in covering the experiences of Poles embedded in the Polish community.

1.6. Research design

Figure 1. Research design



1.7. Overview of the chapters

The thesis is divided into five parts: I-introduction, II- theoretical context, III-methodology, IV-analysis and V-conclusions. Part II introduces the research context, its socio-historical background and the literature on particular issues that are the focus of the research. In particular, it reviews the literature on post-communism (Chapter 2) and migration (Chapter 3). Chapter 2 presents the current discussion on post-communism and a post-communist society. Chapter 3 is focused on migration in a society undergoing transition.

Part III presents the research methodology. First, the focus is on theoretical assumptions underpinning the research methodology (Chapter 4). The research is located within the area of lived experience research and critical discourse analysis. This is followed by a description of the research process with a discussion of issues concerning collecting, analysing, interpreting and explaining data (Chapter 5).

Part IV includes analysis and consists of four chapters. The chapters are linked by a central theme - the challenging aspects of the lived experience of migration. The challenging character of experience is characterised by dilemmas that the interviewees introduced into their narratives. Whether they were talking about their decision to migrate, about their financial needs and expenditure, about taking jobs below their qualifications, or - finally - about living in a multicultural society, they were discursively struggling while reflecting on the matter and taking a stance on it. This discursive struggle involves efforts to keep a positive self-image despite face-threatening discourses.

The choice of these four ‘areas of experience’ to be included in the thesis was determined by two factors. First of all, it was grounded in the outcomes of the analytical process. Following the stages of analysis proposed by Potter and Wetherell (1987) and Willott and Griffin (1997), the data was divided into chunks based on content (themes). The special interest in the particular themes was dictated by the tasks of critical discourse analysis to identify and reveal ideological dilemmas (competing beliefs and values) within these themes. Secondly, the choice was informed by the gaps in literature (lived experience of migration of degree level educated young migrants) but also an urge to explore some problems from a new perspective (critical discourse analysis approach to narratives on the decision to migrate, and living in a multicultural community).

The first analytical chapter focuses on the migrants’ self-initiated attempts to present their migration as rational (Chapter 6). They brought rationality into their decisions in two ways: by presenting Britain as the right place to migrate to and by presenting migration itself as a venture taken up by people similar to the interviewees and widely accepted by society. Constructions of ‘fitting-in’ in Western reality also contribute to the rational character of their decision. Next, this part explores narratives about earning money and the financial needs of the interviewees (Chapter 7). These narratives are a space of struggle as dilemmas linked with the fear of being characterised as money - grabbing migrants are introduced. Thirdly, this part analyses narratives on the hardship of the experience of being an underemployed migrant in Britain (Chapter 8). The last analytical chapter is about migrants’ encounters with and reactions to the population of the host country that they choose to work and live in (Chapter 9). It explores the problems related to entering a multicultural society. Altogether, the analytical chapters

bring a picture of lived experience of migrating to the West caught between the migrants' experiences and their preferred discourses on migration.

Part V concludes the thesis. It discusses the findings in relation to theory; in particular, it refers the theory of the myths and theories of post-communist societies (Chapter 10). Further, it answers the research questions by linking the findings (the discourses) with the context and it connects them with theories of migration and post-communism. It also identifies the main contributions and implications of the research, limitations, and potential areas for further exploration (Chapter 11).

PART II. THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

To address the aims of the research, which focuses on recent economic migration from post-communist Poland to Britain, this part of the thesis sets out the background to the study by presenting its socio-historical context. It describes the relevant theoretical perspectives on a post-communist society and migration and the approach taken by this research. To set the scene, it will firstly discuss the transformation from communism to post-communism in Poland together with its accompanying social processes that is further captured in some detail in the background literature (Chapter 2). Secondly, this part will focus on migration (Chapter 3) and will discuss Polish migration during the communist and post-communist rule, concentrating on how this phenomenon has been studied by researchers. Finally, it will locate the research within the studies referred to.

CHAPTER 2. POLISH SOCIETY DURING COMMUNISM AND POST-COMMUNISM

2.1. Introduction

This chapter briefly describes the process of transformation in Poland and in Polish society. Although this study focuses on Polish migrants in Britain after 1st of May 2004, it will also refer to an earlier period in Poland to provide a description of the conditions that current Polish society grew in and the factors that shaped it. Doing so will help to link the past and the present generations and the discourses that were passed on. This chapter will also show some of the current problems within Polish society and their possible roots. This picture will give a point of reference in interpreting the lived experiences of the Polish migrants that will be elaborated on in the analytical part of the thesis.

2.2. The communist era in Poland since 1945 and the turning point in 1989

2.2.1. From communism to post-communism – the struggle over ideology

Between 1944 and 1989, Polish society was governed as a one – party communist state. Democracy and capitalism were officially rejected and forbidden to propagate; communism grew on anti-Westernism and on a moral rejection of the Western values. ‘While the Soviet Union (and the Soviet Bloc) was presented as a country of progress, prosperity and freedom, the Western nations were portrayed as unjust, exploitative, and imperialist’ (Klicperová-Baker, 1999, p.2). The aim of the communists was to fight with those who supported ‘the industrialist-imperialist West’ and to protect humankind from ‘the evils of the capitalist order’ (Wesson, 1978, p.31). Their intention was the complete abolition of social oppression and exploitation. They postulated commonality, equality

and justice. According to them, these values could be achieved only in a classless society based on social ownership of means of production and a just distribution of goods.

Communism's parallel aim was to modernise Poland, to locate it at the core rather than in the periphery of the world. Ambitious promises given by the communists failed as economic modernisation, material welfare and social justice remained only slogans. On the one hand modernisation was pushed through in some domains of social life (industrialisation, urbanisation, bureaucratisation, technological advancement, educational progress, etc.) but on the other vestiges of a traditional, pre-modern society were preserved (paternalism in politics, the elements of barter economy, nepotism, particularistic principles of status, etc.) (Sztompka, 2000a). Poor economic development (instead of modernisation) did not move the state forward. Consequently, the communist societies of the Soviet Bloc became more peripheral to the western societies.

This situation led to most citizens feeling unhappy at being forced into a *status quo*. According to Batt (1991), being an Eastern European meant experiencing restricted freedom, limited civil rights, growing economic crises afflicting everyday life, together with inequalities between the privileged and the ordinary people. Batt concluded that this repression provoked aversion to the system among 'ordinary citizens'. These people knew that 'their individual and family needs were satisfied on a substantially lower level than in advanced countries' and that 'corresponding conditions for the progress of civilisation and culture were not created' (Machonin, 1997, p.17, author's translation). The West was a point of reference for Polish citizens, most of whom saw western countries as a destination for improved living standards. This perception of the West

was strongly condemned by communist propaganda but coveted by many who opposed the regime.

This perception developed and determined the aspirations of some Polish citizens, most of whom believed that they deserved the same standard of life as that in the West because they belonged to the same cultural community (Giza – Poleszczuk, 2004). Some of them put the idealist view into practice by migrating to the West (if they had the opportunity and were lucky enough to be allowed to leave the country) whilst others who were still in Poland used Western goods (if they had the contacts and money to get them).

The Poles' aspirations were shaped and influenced in many ways by images of western countries and the western lifestyle as heard from those who had the opportunity to see it, as seen in the western magazines or also catalogues, and as seen on television programs or films from abroad. Bauman (1994, pp.23-24) confirmed this view by saying that, 'there is little doubt that the life of the affluent West, "as seen on TV", holds a tremendous and unqualified attraction for "the people" even if not briefed to this effect by the native intelligentsia'. Mai (2004, p.2) extended this view by adding that the members of Polish society having an access to Western media productions 'get the range of desired and desirable identities and lifestyles through which they imagine themselves'. Some of these expectations could be a contributory factor in the way the communist era ended. According to Machonin, the socio-structural, civilisational and cultural reasons were responsible for the fall of communism (Machonin, 1997). Social discontent and the efforts of the underground resulted in regaining independence from

the communist regime supported by the Soviet Union, heralding the advent of democracy and a market economy (Machonin, 1997).

2.2.2. Infiltration of the image of the West into public and private discourses

The present researcher will make an attempt to frame the persistent phenomenon of referring to the positive image of the West in Polish society with the theories of myth. Understanding the mechanism underpinning this phenomenon can be a useful theoretical device while exploring the worldviews expressed by Poles. Literature provides various approaches to myth. The myth of the West, following the theory of myth established by Barthes (1957), could be seen as a message. It is a mode of signification, a form, and its conditions of use are immersed in a society; the origin of myth lies in taking over a semiological chain already in existence. Before there was the myth of the West, there was a signifier (the phrase) ‘the West’ referring to the countries West of the Soviet Bloc), a signified (concept: countries with a different system) and a sign (a meaning, the words ‘the West’ that is an associative total of a concept and an image). When a myth arises, the sign from the first system becomes a signifier in a second-order semiological system. The sign from the first system loses its meaning in the sense that it becomes only raw material of mythical speech. As Barthes (1957, p.119) said: ‘what is invested in the concept is less reality than certain knowledge of reality; in passing from the meaning to the form, the image loses some knowledge: the better to receive the knowledge in the concept’. The signified becomes the concept of ‘a land of happiness’ or ‘a country of normality’ and a new sign (signification - as it points out and notifies - it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us) can still be ‘the West’.

For Adair (1986, p.xiii) myths were ‘signs of the falsely evident, of what-goes-without-

saying, of the victory of a (simple and seductive) stereotype over a (complex and daunting) reality'. Thus the vision of the West as a better world is a convenient simplification of the reality. Using a psychoanalytical approach, Winnicott (1971) offered a functional interpretation of the existence of myth, arguing that even if the ideas are recognised as not real, they are still maintained as if they were. Worldviews, beliefs and ideologies are the kind of abstractions that can serve as guides to the world and can enable a process to understand and deal with it. Myths can make the unknown reality more familiar and predictable.

The myth is experienced by people as innocent speech. Naturalisation happens because consumers of myth take a semiological system of myth as an inductive one; this means that they look for a natural/factual relationship between signifier and signified in the second system where there is only equivalence. In that way the myth becomes ideologically charged. Barthes's theory of myth gave Boym (1994, pp.4-5) the background to describe mythologies as 'cultural common places' – 'recurrent narratives that are perceived as natural in a given culture but in fact were naturalised and their historical, political, or literary origins forgotten or disguised' and she adds that 'myths are sites of a shared cultural memory, of communal identification and affection'. In this approach to myth Boym paid attention to myths shared in a society. This idea can be applied to the myth of the West that arose in Polish society.

The myth of the West pervades everyday narratives and appears with many faces - various signifiers and signified. It is a melting pot of words, images, styles of music, life styles valued as better or worse because of their relation to the West. It depends on the situation and the actors whether a product 'made in the UK' is valued as better because

of its country of origin. The opinion is based on a clear distinction that seems to be natural.

The theories of myth will be referred to in the discussion chapter (Chapter 10) once more. They will be used to explain the interviewees' constructions of Britain and migrating to Britain.

2.3. Relations between the communist and the post-communist reality

Literature is full of explanations of the transformation of Polish society during the post-communist era, and it will be introduced gradually in this and the next sections. However, there are two main trends and the first one relates to a clear-cut dichotomy of political and economic perspectives. In this context, progress in society is assessed with objective political and economic macro-indexes. While the year 1989 is taken as the end of communism, the year 1999 is seen as the end of post-communism (e.g., Staniszkis, 2005). Such clear-cut statements are made mostly in relation to institutional and structural changes.

Balockaite (2003) asserted that claims of the death of post-communism are suspicious, as they come from those who are interested only in economics, politics and institutions, having their own interest in propagating such ideas; for example politicians in order to celebrate achievements. He observed the persistent symptoms of transformation in lived experiences of people living in post-communist countries (the symptoms include a spiritual struggle for a new identity, struggle within ourselves, with our own social habits and with myths of post-communism, myths concerning others and myths concerning ourselves). Therefore, the second trend sees the transformation from

communism to post-communism as more complex and more difficult to grasp. In this case, the focus of the analysis of the post-communist society is the experience of its members and their adaptation to the new reality. Such studies focus on statistically aggregated individual attitudes, motivations and reasons (e.g., 'unconscious cognitive and motivation schemes' in Marody, 1991, p.252; what 'was left in people's minds', Lutyński, 1990, p.174), common underlying patterns of thinking (e.g., 'post-communist habitus', Scheuer, 2003) and constructing the reality (e.g., common discourses, Galasińska, 2000a; Galasiński, 2005).

The literature within the second trend, based on micro observations of society, sees communism as having laid the foundations for the post-communist order (Burawoy and Verdery, 1997, p.13). With rejection of the system came maintenance of many aspects of the communist era, because of its internalisation by people. Memories and associations were a 'baggage from the past' (Holmes, 1997), as 'there never can be a sudden and total emptying out of all social phenomena and their replacement by other ways of life' (Humphrey, 2002, p.12). There was no clear-cut view of the past or a simple adaptation of an alternative system (Holmes, 1997, p.13). Turner (1969) talked about this stage as necessarily ambiguous – people are neither here nor there, they are betwixt and between. It is 'a combined outcome of the dissolution of past meanings and the nebulousness of promised new ones. (...) It is a condition without clear time-span, obvious exit and authoritative guides' (Bauman, 1994, p.17). Stenning (2005, p.124) provided a much clearer explanation of the complexity of post-communism by saying that it cannot be reduced to neoliberal economic restructuring, legacies of socialism (and pre-socialism) or indeed to the passage of transition alone. She concluded that it is 'all of these'. She also observed that this social formation existed in combination with older

forms and the contemporary ‘others’. These ideas, Burawoy and Verdery’s in particular, will be reflected on in the discussion chapter (Chapter 10).

Observations of theorists of post-communist society within the second trend focus on the unavoidability of a mediating stage that separates and dismantles the old order from the new, raising questions about the impact of this mediating stage for the society. Dunn sees the stage as a negative situation, ‘a struggle over resources, between a new form of capitalist discipline and the legacies of socialism in which those legacies exist merely as anachronisms or stumbling blocks to be overcome’ (Dunn, 1999, pp.146-147). What is explained away as deviation, corruption or the poisonous legacy of the *ancient regime* – is understood as regularity within an analytical framework derived from van Gennep’s tripartite scheme (Bauman, 1994). The first stage is one of ‘separation’, during which the person is stripped of all the trappings of his or her previous status. The in-between stage, the stage of ‘liminality’, is an unstructured, formless condition, where neither the ‘old’ nor the ‘new’ rules apply. The last phase is ‘aggregation’ when ‘a new role is assigned/acquired and new rules come to guide the person’s conduct’ (Bauman, 1994, pp.15-16). According to Giza-Poleszczuk, what happens in a post-communist country is not chaos (the old rules do not work anymore while the new ones have not yet been created), but rather it is a stage when the new is emerging from a specific mixture of what was and what is currently introduced (Giza-Poleszczuk et al., 2000). The ideas introduced by van Gennep (1909) will be referred to once again in discussing the research findings (Chapter 10).

The second trend within the literature described here, seeing the strong links between the present and the past, together with the issue of naming the process of transformation

as a chaos or a new phenomenon, brings a sense of complexity to any study of post-communist Polish society. It enables one to see the members of this society as equipped with the baggage from the past used alongside or against the new solutions with an adaptive or disruptive result. The next sections will explore this complexity further.

2.4. Ordinary people in the post-communist reality

2.4.1. Expectations and disappointments

As Eglitis (2002) pointed out, after the 1989 turning point, achieving normality was the aspiration of the post-communist societies. The word ‘normality’ became the adopted slogan, although the word itself was never explained nor specified. Exhausted with communism, enthusiasts of transformation wished to experience no more experiments but only what had been proven to succeed (Kennedy, 1994). Generally, they held an idea of introducing conditions contrary to those offered by communism. The expectations were well expressed by Gadomski (in: Sikorska, 2004, pp.20-21): ‘Struggling against communism, we imagined that it would be replaced by a competitive system - a stable capitalism, whose mechanisms have been known for a hundred years. We were safe and poor, we were supposed to become safe and rich’. ‘It was a vision of ‘a new and invariably better (more just, more reasonable, more efficient, more enjoyable) form of life which the ancient regime arrested in its growth’ (Bauman, 2000, p. 14).

What was it like for ordinary people in a post-communist country? With the collapse of communism came optimism and the belief that everything was easy and that the promise could become reality. Consumer appetites modelled on Western images were on the increase (Morawska, 1999). However, the transformation brought also a weak legal-

institutional infrastructure, absent or frequently changing and ineffectively executed regulations, and cost-cutting in production and labour. It was observed that in only two years enthusiasm was replaced with a sour mood, pessimism and disappointment that 'neither capitalism, enlightenment, or democracy has proved as pristine or as accessible as everyone wished' (Alexander, 1991, p.4 in: Sztompka, 2000b; similar observations were made by Mokrzycki, 2001 and Svašek, 2006). The economists estimated it would take Eastern Europe twenty five, thirty and even sixty years to catch up with the more developed countries (Turnock, 1997; Kojder, 1997). Poles were the least satisfied nation in Europe with their government and democracy (Domański, 2004). But even if 'everyone' was disappointed with some aspects of the progress of transformation, there were those who managed to find their feet in the new situation. The post-89 society quickly became divided into those who actively participated in the achievements of transformation and those who struggled in the new reality (Gładys-Jakóbik, 2005; Stenning, 2005).

2.4.2. The condition of post-communist society

Instead of a quick and radical change that the enthusiasts of transformation expected, there occurred a complicated and unpredictable journey through unfamiliar places to unclear destinations (Hörschelmann and Hoven, 2003). As already mentioned, Polish society was described as generally disappointed with the slow process of transformation (Alexander, 1991, p.4 in: Sztompka, 2000b; Mokrzycki, 2001; Svašek, 2006). Its members were divided into those who managed to overcome the problems of the transformation and who took advantage of the new conditions, and those for whom adaptation to the new situation was beyond their capabilities. It could be expected that transformation brought different experiences and challenges to distinct groups

differentiated by age, gender, class, region and dwelling place (village/town/city). However, the literature review in this section will focus on attempts to generalise the processes going through society. Age and education are two dimensions chosen to determine the respondents' group in this research therefore they will be covered separately in section 4.3 in the current Chapter (age) and in section 2 in Chapter 8 (education).

According to Sztompka, commenting on social change in Polish society, post-communist societies lacked 'civilisational competence' (2000a). They lacked 'a complex set of rules, norms and values, habits and reflexes, codes and matrices, blueprints and formats of the skilful and semi-automatic mastery' (Sztompka, 2000a). Without that competence, even if a country adopted all the other resources needed to develop a democratic and market society, a level of modernity could not be achieved. Therefore, 'capital, technology, infrastructure, skilled labour force, a robust middle class, an efficient civil service, and professional political elite' (Sztompka, 2000a) were only idle platitude.

Consequently, Sztompka concluded that Polish society failed to become a modern society, as it did not develop the necessary components (Sztompka, 2000a). He cited political activism, readiness to participate, concern with public issues, rules of law, discipline, respect of opponents and compliance with the majority as the components of a civic culture that results in democracy, and that is what Poland lacks. He further argued that there is a need for an enterprise culture, that is a market economy culture which must have 'innovative persistence, achievement orientation, individualistic competitiveness, rational calculation' at its core. He also stated that there is a need for a

discursive culture, with significant free intellectual flow that includes ‘tolerance, open-mindedness, acceptance of diversity and pluralism, scepticism, criticism’ (Sztompka, 2000a). Finally, in the subcategory of everyday culture crucial for existence on a daily basis in a hi-tech and consumer driven society, there must be the following attributes: ‘neatness, cleanliness, orderliness, punctuality, health care, fitness, and facilities to handle mechanical devices’ (Sztompka, 2000a). Sztompka did not observe any of these attributes in contemporary Polish society; he concluded that its members hang on tightly to the old features and habits.

Sztompka (2004) characterised Poles as having complexes towards Westerners and he described them as having roots in Poles’ peculiar and crippled identity: the Eastern European Syndrome and Homo Sovieticus. Sztompka claims that the Eastern European syndrome has deep historical roots and is marked by insecurity and unclear self-definition (Sztompka, 2004, p.10). An inherent part of that syndrome is an inferiority complex towards the West (because of the freedoms and economic affluence that Westerners enjoyed), compensated by a superiority complex towards other Eastern societies. Homo Sovieticus is explained as the later Eastern European syndrome that appeared as being in opposition to the western mental and cultural characteristics. The syndrome included keeping an idealised image of the West and perceiving themselves as ‘incomplete Europeans’ (Sztompka, 2004, p.11). Some believe that what was once an effective way of destroying communism from inside may now stand in the way of democratic transition; psychologists named this ‘wall in a head’ (Nagorsky, 1991) and sociologists – ‘wall in culture’ (Sztompka, 2000a).

Comments of Sztompka on Polish society were theoretical reflections based on his observations. More complex descriptions of Polish society as maintaining the heritage of the communist past find support in the narratives of ordinary people. It is visible in research on lived experiences of post-communism. Such a complexity was shown in research on being a European when 'traditional ethno-political boundaries between East and West are displayed by people living on either side of the border between Germany and Poland' (Meinhof and Galasiński, 2005, p.66). Also in a study on post-communist discourses related to symbolic representation of social and political transformation, the discourses were identified as underpinned by, and embedded in, communist ideologies, which prevent people from adapting to a modern discourse and construct themselves as consumers of public life (Galasińska, 2006c). Research embedded in a discursive approach made it possible to see 'losers' of transition as its victims as they did not fit the new system and therefore they could not successfully act within it (Weiner, 2005). It was because the ideologies, understood as 'the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group' (van Dijk, 1998, p.8), underpinning the new society and the market, did not take into consideration their situation and social actions. As Eglitis (2002) observed, older people, unemployed people and the rural peasantry were those who were most affected because they lost security in the process of transformation. On the one hand they accepted the axiology of the market and on the other hand the axiology of privileges developed in communism. They opted for a welfare state and for the merits fairly measured (and not dictated by the market) (Mokrzycki, 2001).

Continuing the overview of the literature on the discourses present in Polish society, it must be said that an inseparable part of the process of discursive change is the problematisation of conventions for producers and interpreters; they are faced with

contradictions between traditional discursive practices, social relations, subject positions, and everyday practices (into which they were socialised), and new situations in a changing world (Fairclough, 1992). Instead of talking about a ‘wall in culture’, this study uses the term a ‘wall in discourse’. A ‘wall in discourse’ draws on the linguistic and discursive resources received in the past, even when opposing communism, its propaganda and ideology. For Isaac (2004), communist discourses remained a potential resource that might be used at any time if needed as a point of reference. The producers and interpreters experienced dilemmas – the opposing themes present in everyday thinking and linguistic repertoires for talking about social lives (Billing et al., 1988; Fairclough. 1992; Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Galasiński, 2005; Meinhof and Galasiński, 2005). The dilemmas were resolved by ‘being innovative and creative, by adapting existing conventions in new ways, and so contributing to discursive change’ (Fairclough, 1992, p.96). In this way a struggle between remembering and forgetting took place.

Also in contrast to Sztompka, who critiqued Polish post-communist society, and saw the communist heritage as an inconvenient burden from the past, Morawska (1999, p.374) observed that, paradoxically, ‘many of the old arrangements “fitted” very well the global-capitalist conditions in which East Central Europe now finds itself’. She claimed that some features of the Homo Sovieticus syndrome became effective strategies of economic action in post-industrial global capitalism what means that ‘popular mindsets and coping strategies formed under the previous regime’ (Morawska, 1999, p.359) might not undermine a successful transformation to liberal-democratic capitalism. The coping strategies included the reliance on old-regime beat-the-system/bend-the-law orientations and informal/crony patronage and connections, and immediate consumption

rather than deferred gratification/investment-oriented capital accumulation. Elements of the Homo Sovieticus syndrome worked well for ‘ordinary people’ who had to cope with the problems of everyday life in Poland and wished to move closer to Europe, for the small Polish entrepreneurs who had to compete with strong competition from the West and with the Western entrepreneurs who legally or illegally employed migrants from Poland.

Morawska (1999) observed that some features of the transformation from communism to post-communism made the informal or illicit strategies even more pervasive. Interestingly, the coping strategies had been all-pervasive, regardless of the economic status of Poles. With such an approach to coping strategies developed in the previous system and readily available, the informal economy, unregistered business, undocumented unemployment, corruption (using bribes to get things – consumer goods, services, jobs, advantages) and clientelism (relying on informal connections and reciprocal favours) acquired moral-free meaning (at least on an economic level) and became effective behaviours supported by society. The approach presented by Morawska (1999) makes it possible to see Polish society as one that was rooted in the past but not at a standstill. The society was actively adapting, seeking for something better, and pushing forward transformation.

Ziółkowski (2000), grounding his theory on empirical research, distinguished three features of contemporary Polish society, which indicated the society’s position in the adaptation process. First, it was a reflexive society, focused on thinking about what happens and what should happen. Second, it was a society that compared itself with other societies all the time; it was an upward comparison. Members of the society

referred to positively valued aspects of the desired *status quo*: the lifestyle of Western countries, facts and memories from communist time (for example full employment), the situation of those people who are more successful in post-communist Poland. Third, it was also an impatient society that would like to see immediately the positive effects of changes. As already mentioned, the sour mood that appeared after the burst of positive emotions indicated that the society expected immediate changes without obstacles and undesirable turns.

According to Ziółkowski (2000), the upward comparisons and impatience in addition to the features related to the adaptation process resulted in Polish society becoming materialistic in understanding success at work and adequate financial standards as the most important values. He observed that society became wealthier, as the indices of standard of living and needs satisfaction showed. However, society members tended to focus on failures (Ziółkowski, 2000; Schöpflin, 2003).

Koralewicz and Ziółkowski (2003), using surveys and biographical interviews to study Polish society, distinguished between various dimensions of post-communist mentality and the coping strategies related to it depending on the strategies used in everyday life and perception of the reality. These differences were conditioned by the level of education. Those with higher education tended to support active enterprise more and did not rely on easy solutions and wanted more than a subsistence existence. The opposite was the case with those with a lower level of education. As Koralewicz and Ziółkowski observed, in general Poles preferred the strategies used earlier by those with a lower level of education; even the highly educated started to use strategies that they had previously rejected. This point is important for this study because the analytical chapters

include the narratives of educated migrants who reflect on their decision to deal with the Polish reality of migrating and being employed below their qualifications.

First, Koralewicz and Ziółkowski (2003) distinguished those who ‘adapted actively’ and supported an attitude of ‘anything goes’. These were those who acted and looked for success or at least tried to avoid financial degradation by any means. They supported democracy and saw it as providing many opportunities and creating challenges. They tried to take advantage of it and coped well on their own without depending on the state or other people. In a quantitative and qualitative study on Polish society comparing Poles in 1988 and 1998, Koralewicz and Ziółkowski (2003) defined Poles as focused on gaining a desired standard of life in various ways. They accepted fighting for a desired standard of life by all possible means (active enterprise, convenient solutions) or being active enough only to secure a minimum life standard. They were egoistic and ruthless in achieving it and they accepted both old and new coping strategies. Second, they observed those who were interested in participating in political life and realised democracy in their everyday life. They were far from relying on the state and other people, and they also rejected easy ways of achieving goals and a subsistence existence. Third, they described those who were not interested in political life but only in looking for easy ways to achieve the minimum and rely on the state. Fourth were those who focused on their own needs, self-focused, egoistic, and independent. For them the reality was not threatening, they were optimistic and open to learn about the reality. They reached for more than convenient means and minimalism.

2.4.3. The creation of the modern Eastern European

So far, this chapter has referred to the literature describing Polish society in general; now it will focus on the literature on Polish youth, as this group is at the core of the research. Again, a divergence is observed in the literature in linking the past with the present; some researchers see contemporary youth as detached from the past, and some see them as being rooted in it. Apart from discussing this literature, this section will also reflect on the literature on contemporary youth perception of the West and that of contemporary life in Poland. Altogether, this section will provide a characteristic of post-communist youth as captured in the literature.

Firstly, there is a view that there is a clear-cut dichotomy between old and young generations suggesting that young people have not been affected by the communist past and are making the most of the transition period. Sztompka (2004) wrote that young people, those who were born and brought up during the communist era, but who began their adult life at the turn of the century, became almost completely immune to the destructive influence of communism. Proponents of this idea argued that they were children of a new epoch, with a new culture and who lived in a stable and predictable reality. Because they did not invest materially and symbolically in the old system, it made them more likely to be receptive and adaptable to the new opportunities. Consequently it was argued their life was free of ambivalence and uncertainties as they were preserved from the post-communist syndrome (learned helplessness, civilisation incompetence, lack of confidence and cynicism) that their parents embodied. In accordance with the above, Klicperová-Baker (1999) claimed that the youth had protective factors guarding them against the post-communist syndrome. If the youth were protected from the past, educated and lived in big cities the possibility of reverting

to the old ways would be minimised, hence they were less likely to be lost in the new reality. As educated people, they were aware of cultural options, they thought critically, and they were sceptical. As cosmopolitans, they experienced foreign culture and took a relativistic perspective. According to Klicperová-Baker, the post-communist syndrome was more likely to occur among older, less educated, less active people, with lower economic status and not living in an urban centre.

Secondly, there is an approach that introduces a dichotomy between old and young generations into question. It depicts the contemporary Polish youth as drawing on past and present discourses. Mach (2003) introduced family resources to the discussion of communist heritage among the young generation. Her study suggested that children do not grow up in a vacuum, but through interaction in particular with their parents who present a specific understanding of the reality and attitudes towards change, and with society in general. These are the sources that provide the young with discourses that may be recalled and negotiated. Mach took her approach to extremes by saying that families with parents living in communist Poland lacked well-established examples of practices that would be conducive to success. Despite such extremes, Mach's approach was more in line with the theories of post-communism discussed earlier; these theories support a non-dichotomous relation between the past and the present.

Although Sztompka (2004) supported rather a dichotomous view between the old and the new generation, his view was questioned when he described youths' perception of the West. He described the young Polish generation as developing a new cultural syndrome of idealising the image of the West. Values that are ascribed to Western societies and praised include: 'individualism, risk-taking, personal success, self-reliance,

self-blame, public concern, meritocracy, pluralism and tolerance' (Sztompka, 2004, p.15). In such a way the young created and maintained a coherent and stable image of Western countries. The theories of post-communism supporting continuity between the systems, together with Mach's observations, suggested that the syndrome of idealising the image of the West was not a novelty in Polish society. This idea finds grounds in the theories of myth suggesting the idea of a mythical image of the West shared among Poles.

How young Polish people perceived the new reality and their position in it is another issue. According to Roberts (2003) the generation born in the seventies and eighties of the twentieth century believed that they were a lucky generation with better life prospects than their parents enjoyed, and that they could hope and intend to realise their personal goals via labour and consumer markets. They knew that they might not succeed, but they were grateful for the opportunity to try, and they were certainly grateful for the opportunity that they believed, rightly or wrongly, they had to plot and shape their own future lives. More pessimistic was Mach's observation that the youth became disappointed with the institutions of the new system because of a belief that the institutions were hostile towards them (Mach 1998, 2005). The generation that came of age in 1989 felt that they had a chance to shape the future, but about ten years after communism collapsed many of them felt insecure and unfulfilled. Both these studies showed a crack in the young Poles' vision of the opportunities in Poland (they may not succeed in their efforts, their efforts may be thwarted by bureaucracy), but it also showed them as the active agents fighting obstacles.

All in all, the literature on contemporary youth in Poland referred to, together with the literature on a post-communist society in general discussed in the previous section, gives an idea of the discourses on society and discourses within the society that those young people, also the interviewees who's narratives are analysed in this thesis, have access to.

2.5. Conclusion

Within sixty years Polish society went through many changes. For almost fifty years it was under communist rule and then it went through a change of system again. After fifteen years of transformation and efforts to rebuild its internal structures and international position, Poland became a member of the EU on 1 May 2004. A question arose about the way it affected Polish society. As shown in this chapter, there have been two main trends in describing the links between the past and the present, the old and the new generation, and also between Poles and Westerners. Studies claiming a dichotomy (Klicperová-Baker 1999; Roberts, 2003; Staniszkis, 2005) were challenged by studies demonstrating the more complex nature of these links (Bauman, 1994; Buravoy and Verdery, 1997; Holmes, 1997; Dunn, 1999; Morawska, 1999; Giza-Poleszczuk, 2000; Ziółkowski, 2000; Humphrey, 2002; Balockaite, 2003; Koralewicz and Ziółkowski 2003; Isaac, 2004; Sztompka, 2004; Meinhof and Galasiński, 2005; Galasińska, 2006c). The second trend, recognising the communist past in the post-communist present, informs this thesis. Within the second trend, the studies understanding the changes in Polish society as an adaptation process (e.g. Bauman, 1994; Morawska, 1999; Giza-Poleszczuk, 2000; Ziółkowski, 2000; Balockaite, 2003; Koralewicz and Ziółkowski 2003) and as a struggle over the discursive resources (Isaac, 2004; Meinhof and Galasiński, 2005; Galasińska, 2006c) are valued more than those stereotyping the Polish society as hopelessly trapped in the communist past (Sztompka, 2004).

In particular, following the approach that see the young people as being under the influence of the past discourses that were available to and have been negotiated by the post-2004 society (Mach, 2003), this study will explore how being caught up in the reality of post-communist Poland (being immersed in post-communist discourses and practices underpinned with 'ideological load' originating in communism and post-communism) is displayed in discourses produced by young and educated people in the situation of migration to the West. This study will help to understand the way these people, carrying such a 'body' of discourses, construct their experience of migrating to the West. Before proceeding, the focus of the next chapter will be on the patterns of Polish migration to the West and the ways it has been studied hitherto.

CHAPTER 3: POLISH MIGRATION TO THE WEST

3.1.Introduction

This chapter addresses three issues. Firstly, it discusses recent Polish migration to Britain in the light of previous Polish migrations. It analyses migration from Poland to Western Europe in three periods: pre-1989, post-1989 and post-2004. Taking the three periods of migrations together will enable the thesis to 'avoid ad-hoc and short-perspective analyses and provide an opportunity to understand the complexity of new population movements in the region and its dynamic' (Morawska, 2001, p.119). This approach to understanding the phenomenon will ensure that migration as rooted in social and demographic processes will be analysed. The analysis focuses on the size of these migrations, their patterns, their reasons, and the restrictions imposed on migrants. Secondly, this chapter discusses studies on Polish migration and situates this research among them. Thirdly, it describes the approach to economic migration taken in the literature and the way this thesis contributes to it.

3.2. Migration from Poland to the West

3.2.1. Migration during the communist era (1945-1989)

According to Iglicka (2001, p.121), 'Poland has been one of the biggest sending areas in Central and Eastern Europe and a vast reservoir of labour for many countries in Western Europe and North America'. Between 1950 and 1990 more than one million people left Poland (Morawska, 2001). This migration was triggered by various factors. The most significant were related to the post-war political and economic situation in Poland. Many people migrated as a result of the Second World War. Some decided to stay where they found themselves during the turmoil of war, and some chose to leave Poland because of communist repression (Sword, 1996; Iglicka, 2001; Burrell, 2006). In the

second group were those for whom migration was a token of rebellion against the system, a reaction to the worsening situation in the country, or a necessity (asylum applicants in Britain). It is not surprising that legal migration consisted of mostly educated young citizens (Okólski, 1996), politically and civil aware (Duszczyk and Wiśniewski, 2007). More mundane but significant reasons, such as growing frustration with the commodity shortages back in the country also drove people to take the option of migrating abroad (Stola, 2001).

Permanent migration was not the only pattern. Western Europe was a popular destination among labour migrants for short-term visits, especially in the 1980s (Iglicka, 2001). Those who managed to find illegal temporary employment could import foreign currency; this practice became significant especially when commodities in Poland became available in exchange for foreign currency (Stola, 2001). Even short-term visits from communist countries to the West were seen as migratory behaviour (Triandafyllidou, 2006). This is because business and tourist trips became an opportunity to set up private importation businesses.

The restrictions in travelling abroad changed over time, but travelling was never a straightforward process in communism. It was not only difficult to enter another country, but also to leave Poland. Free movement of Polish citizens was limited because of restrictions in passport and border crossing policy. Western states offered residency to many of those who were successful in crossing the border and determined to stay; this was the situation during the martial law period (1981-1983), when some countries decided not to expel Polish citizens against their will.

The last years of the old regime were called ‘migratory psychosis’; the economic and political crisis, well-developed networks (informing about the situation abroad) and unsatisfied consumer aspirations resulted in a public belief that the only accessible and acceptable life option was emigration to the West (Koryś and Weinar, 2005).

3.2.2. Migration during the post-communist era (1989-2004)

The legal and institutional framework for migration changed significantly after the collapse of the communist regime; the right to leave the country was granted to Polish citizens (Iglicka, 2001; Kępińska, 2004; Triandafyllidou, 2006). In 1991 EU states introduced visa-free entrance for Polish citizens (Triandafyllidou, 2006). Tourist circulation within Europe was unrestricted but still a decision on letting Polish citizens into any destination country depended on customs officers deciding whether a person was actually a tourist, a legal worker or an unwanted illegal worker. Nowadays Polish citizens are controlled while entering the UK but the reasons for refusal of entry are different from before; the reasons behind refusal are the same as for other citizens of the EU country members. In the last few years prior to May 2004, migrants coming from Poland were grouped with those most likely to be refused entry and third amongst those being identified for illegal entry (Düvell, 2004). The efforts and risks taken by Polish migrants present this migration as not an easy step but that which is worth taking.

Mostly, migration in the 1990s consisted of short-term, often circular, movements (Cyrus, 2006). Temporary or seasonal work was a dominant employment trend for those who worked in the official or unofficial employment market. The employment choices made by migrants coming from Central and Eastern Europe were mostly limited to the secondary labour market consisting of low-pay, part-time and temporary jobs in light

manufacturing and service sector. The jobs available were called 3D jobs, as they were dirty, demanding or dangerous (Triandafyllidou, 2006); often employment for them was on daily basis, depending on the needs of an employer. Simultaneously, many of them kept jobs in Poland and that gave them a feeling of stability and welfare benefits.

In the nineties Polish migration increased about forty percent above the annual average from the previous decade (Morawska, 2001). Between fifteen to thirty five thousand people were migrating annually (Morawska, 2001). This trend can be explained by the disappointment that set in at the beginning of the 1990s, when people realised that transformation could not happen immediately but might take much longer than anticipated. Ziółkowski (2000) explained this trend as the impatience of society wishing for quick improvement. The reasons for migrating were mostly economic (Morawska, 1999; Düvell, 2004). The migrants were ready to commit to very hard work and poor conditions of everyday life to save as much as possible and spend money in Poland (Morawska, 1999; Düvell, 2004). They were motivated by earning additional money to make ends meet and also to elevate their economic status. The latter meant accumulating material goods (because of their relation to social status) rather than investing in business.

Jordan and Düvell (2003) questioned the legitimacy of claiming a link between the legacy of communism and migration practices in post-communist societies. Relying on interviews with Polish illegal workers in London, undertaken after 1989, they argued that the behaviour of illegal workers originated not in the legacy of communism (to search for solutions outside the official system) but in the protectionism of the employment market, anti-immigration politics of Britain and the overly slow process of

European integration. Their migration was based on rational calculation and answered the needs of the capitalist market in Britain. Therefore, because there was demand and their work was positively valued by British employers, their position on the unofficial employment market was justified. Düvell and Jordan called the Polish illegal migrants pioneers of the free European labour market.

Morawska (1999), describing the practices of the same group of migrants, took a contrary perspective. She concluded that the experience of the undocumented transnational migrants who made their occupation 'work in motion' (trading migrants and tourist-workers originating in and returning to post-communist Poland) did not modify their homebred crony-*debrouillard* strategies (informal and often illegal 'ins' (connections) and 'wangling') of the communist and post-communist provenance. On the contrary, these strategies were still rewarded which encouraged migrants to sustain them as the effective means for the realisation of migrants' purposes.

Observations of the ways migrants performed on the Western employment markets raised further questions about the legacy of the communist past and made the issue more complex. Goicoechea (2005) wrote about resourcefulness learned in communism (for example experience in mending and fixing one's own belongings) that helped post-communist migrants to find a niche in manual work. It was not the only form of adaptation to requirements of the markets abroad. Morawska (1999) wrote about 'Homo Sovieticus-derived orientation' of beating the system (now a host liberal-democratic one) by operating in the grey market (unregulated market), relying on the familiar old-regime tactic of simulation and informal networks of illicit assistance. Also networking, a popular practice of any migration, especially illegal migration, developed a new

meaning as post-communist undocumented migration gave it some special features. People ‘wangled’ (kombinowali) and used ‘ins’ (dojścia) to find a job, to replace it with a better one, or to sell it. They entered into agreements (also with the employers) based on their word and mutual trust. Personal trust was the legacy after the communist regime when people lacked confidence in state institutions and civil-legal guarantees.

The linguistically oriented study of Galasiński and Galasińska (2007) showed that some discourses of work inherited from post-communist Poland were not useful in realities governed by other discourses, but were still displayed by migrants. The ‘inappropriate’ discourses were characteristic to the post-89 migrants as holding expectations of success in the West but also of finding abroad the security experienced within communism. It meant a Western lifestyle and consumption with job security, where they could stay passive. They expected that the Western states would welcome them and offer them financial help. These unrealistic expectations followed by disappointment, together with less or more useful strategies, show the complex nature of the migrants’ resources building their migratory experiences.

3.2.3. Migration from Poland following the European Union accession (1st May 2004 onwards)

3.2.3.1. Changes in the migration patterns

The enlargement of the European Union in 2004 resulted in changes in the migration patterns of Polish citizens. Three countries of the EU opened their employment market to Poles: Sweden, the UK and Ireland. Other countries introduced transition regulations and have been opening their markets gradually. Polish migrants had begun leaving a poorly performing labour market, with unemployment running at twenty per cent, and

they started coming to Britain, where the unemployment rate was the lowest in Europe, running at less than five per cent (Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich, 2006).

Various sources give different data on post-2004 migration from Poland to Britain. The International Passenger Survey (Home Office, 2008) revealed that from 2003 to 2005 visits to the UK by Polish citizens increased by forty per cent and in 2005 the number reached 1,127,000 (Home Office, 2008, p.28). The data presented in the Accession Monitoring Report (Home Office, 2006) showed that after 1st of May 2004 up to June 2006, 427,000 people from the eight former communist bloc countries were issued with Work Registration certificates and the majority were from Poland (more than sixty per cent). The majority of migrants were aged between 18 and 34, while only eighteen per cent were aged over 34. Only seven per cent brought dependants with them (Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich, 2006).

Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich (2007) observed that in the new conditions of migration, new patterns became prevalent among Polish migrants. Four types of post-communist migrants were identified: stork, hamster, searcher, and stayer. These types are based on migration strategy, settlement plans and the extent of engagement in transnational activities. Storks (twenty per cent of all migrants) have a family in Poland and come to Britain for a few months. Mostly these are inhabitants of little towns and villages, employed in agriculture, but also students. They work in the low paid sector. Mostly they socialise in Polish groups. Hamsters (sixteen per cent) are focused on growing rich and returning home, just like storks, but their stays are longer and uninterrupted. Searchers (forty-two per cent) are open to all opportunities – staying, returning or going somewhere else. For them, mostly young, individualistic and ambitious, a visit to Britain

is to increase social and economic capital in the host and home country. They take low-paid but also professional jobs. Finally, stayers (twenty-two per cent) intend to settle down in Britain permanently and wish to build their position in British society. This clear division is based on the migrants' own declarations. This thesis will also discuss the respondents' narratives on the reasons for migration and their further plans. However, it will see the personal narratives as rooted in the grand narratives on migration from Poland.

According to the Accession Monitoring Report (Home Office UK Border Agency et al., 2009), migrants from new EU member countries have been mainly employed in the following five sectors: administration, business and management, hospitality and catering, agriculture, manufacturing and food, fish and meat processing. They have mostly occupied low-skilled jobs: process operatives, warehouse operatives, packers, kitchen and catering assistants, cleaners and domestic staff. The majority of post-enlargement Polish migrants found low paid jobs despite having a relatively high level of education (Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich, 2006). A quarter of migrants to Britain were educated up to degree-level (Okólski in interview with Pszczółkowska, 2006). This data is surprising because the pattern among Polish migrants is different from patterns characteristic of the migrants between developed countries like the USA, Switzerland, Japan, or France. While migrants from those countries look for jobs that are equivalent to their qualifications, many Polish migrants take up any job continuing a pattern characteristic to Polish migration to the West in the early years of post-communism (Okólski, 1999). Regarding the post-1989 migrants, it was suggested that the reason was the different aspirations of migrants coming from highly developed countries who wish

to develop or make a career, and migrants who just wish to earn money and escape from a ‘grey’ reality without opportunities (Okólski, 1999).

3.2.3.2. Latest areas of research

Since 2006, studies on Polish migration to the West and Britain in particular analysed its patterns (Burrell, 2007; Fihel, 2007; Kaczmarczyk, 2007; Elrick and Brinkmeier, 2009), including patterns of migration duration (Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2007; White, 2007), and dynamics of settlement (Osipovic, 2007). Also, the determinants of migration were under the scrutiny of researchers (Fabiszak, 2007; Riedel, 2007). An interesting perspective of researching families instead of individuals was utilised to investigate migration strategies (Ryan, Sales, Tilki, and Siara, 2009).

Research on migrants’ problems and the availability of social networks/voluntary agencies in supporting those struggling to survive, produced knowledge of migrants’ performance on the global city’s (London) job market (Eade and Garapich, 2009).

The links between migrants arriving in different migration flows were also studied. These included: the relationship between new and older generations of Polish migrants (Garapich, 2007c; Ryan, Sales, Siara and Tilki, 2007a, b) and coexistence between two flows of post-communist migration (Galasińska, 2006b).

Identity issues were well researched, among them: identity negotiation and construction processes in the context of transnational migration (Ryan, 2007), negotiation of ethnicity (Garapich 2007a), class (Garapich 2007b), identity politics (Datta and Brickell, 2009),

and constructions of identity by shopping and eating habits (Rabikowska and Burrell, 2009).

Migrants' adaptation to the new society was also studied, in particular problems of integration (Rodriguez, 2007), cosmopolitanism (Datta, 2009), a sense of being a stranger (Metykova, 2007), and migrants' emotions related to finding themselves in the host society (Svašek, 2007), but also the positive impact of free access to the labour market on integration with the host society (Garapich, 2008).

Migrants' work experiences were explored, with a study of hospitality workforce experience (Janta, 2007), and a study of migrants in low-wage employment (Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly, and Spencer, 2006; Cook, Dwyer, and Waite, 2010).

Recently the subject of returning migrants has been studied (Iglicka, 2010). The representation of Polish migration in cinema (Mazierska, 2009) and media (Lesińska, 2007) was researched too. Explored on a large scale, the phenomenon of Polish migration still provokes researchers to ask new questions. This study will explore one such issue – the lived experience of migration in one group of migrants – young graduates.

Various approaches were applied in studies on Polish migration, including historical (Burrell and Panayi, 2005), demographic (Kaczmarczyk and Okólski, 2008), sociological (Düvell, 2004, 2006; Mach, 2005), economic (Kaczmarczyk, 2001; Kaczmarczyk and Okólski, 2008), ethnographic (Kaczmarczyk and Łukowski, 2004; Garapich, 2005), and political (Koryś, 2004). Recently a discursive approach has also

been used to study the issue (Galasińska, 2006b; Fabiszak, 2007; Galasińska and Horolets, 2010).

This research, exploring the lived experience of migrating to Britain of degree level educated young Polish migrants, continues to study recent Polish migration within a discursive approach. It will contribute to this extensively researched area by focusing on problems that have not been researched (experiences of migrating of this particular group of migrants; dilemmatic character of migrants' narratives) or by looking at the problems that have already been explored but with a different approach (reasons for migrating; experience of living in a multicultural society). With this approach it will be possible to access migrants' constructions of their migration and reach for values and beliefs in building them. In that way this research will complement the previous studies.

3.3. Theoretical approach to economic migration

3.3.1. Definition and approach to economic migration

In this study I take the following definition of 'economic migration':

> Migration refers to the cross-border movement of people from a homeland to a location outside that homeland, with the purpose of taking up employment and conducting a daily existence there for an extended period of time. In principle such movement need be no more than an expression of an individual desire for change or a choice of locale. But as a social phenomenon this usually arises from and reflects on economic inequality or inequality of economic opportunity between politically discrete zones – hence economic migration. Such inequalities include differences in workforce requirements, perceptions of differences in

> standard of living, and perceptions of difference in ideological inclination. (Gupta, 2007, p.8)

There are three elements in this definition that determine migration as economic. Firstly, the direction of this migration is from an economically less developed country to an economically better-developed country. In particular, the difference between the economic situations of the countries must be perceived by migrants-to-be as translatable into the conditions of everyday life (employment opportunities, standard of living, social values and beliefs). Secondly, it must be a movement for the sake of earning a living or improving material conditions. Thirdly, this movement must result in a prolonged residency in the host country. In contrast, non-economic migration, for example lifestyle migration, is defined as spatial mobility of 'relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that, for various reasons, signify, for the migrant, a better quality of life' (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009, p.609).

While thinking about 'economic inequality or inequality of economic opportunity' wage inequality is the most obvious reason occurring as a factor giving impetus to migration and its direction. Wage differences between sending and receiving countries are a trigger of migration according to neoclassical theories of migration. But as it was observed in a comparative study (Massey et al., 1998), differentials in wages between two countries are neither necessary nor sufficient to cause international migration. Despite wage differentials between Spain, Portugal and Greece, no outburst of migration from these countries took place when they joined the EU. On the contrary, southern Europeans (people who migrated before Spain, Portugal and Greece joined the EU) began returning to their homelands. The comparison of large-scale migration from

Poland with small-scale migration from Spain, Portugal and Greece provokes a question about the reasons for migration from Poland to the West other than wage difference. The socio-historical context of Polish migration may deliver an answer to this question; in particular, the processes characteristic of a society in transformation contributing to high rates of this migration may help to understand the phenomenon.

The literature on migration throw some light on the relationship between ‘an individual desire’ and ‘economic inequality or inequality of economic opportunity’ and their role in shaping migration. Particular theories, presented below, refer to individual factors that question migrants’ decisions as independent. The migrants are perceived in these theories not so much as rational actors responding to economic disparities between countries as in the neoclassical theories.

Economic migration is seen by the world system theory as shaped by foreign policies and the penetration of capitalist economic relations into countries with the prevalence of non-market or pre-market social and economic structures (Sassen, 1988, p.128). As a result of these policies and penetration, the formation of ideological and material links to the Western countries attracts migrants; however, if they migrate, they are employed in the so-called secondary labour market consisting of skilled or semi-skilled work. An ‘ethnosurvey’ in Poland (Jaźwińska and Okólski, 1996) documented that an increase of migration to the West after 1989 was a direct response to market penetration after the forces of international capitalism started to operate in Poland. Okólski (1996) supports this theory, by saying that the British made a choice between the types of migrants they wished to have in their country. According to Okólski (1996), Polish migrants are

supposed to replace those from outside the EU as they adapt well and do not create cultural tensions.

According to the segmented labour market theory, bifurcation takes place in labour markets in countries with wealthy economies, where the primary sector (of steady work and high pay) is occupied by its citizens but the secondary sector's (little stability and low pay) lack of a labour force is perceived as promoting migration. The segmented labour market theory implies that an enclave economy appears in the host country; the inflow of migrants is followed by further demand that is supplied through migrants' networks. Therefore employers initiate flows of migrants. This theory is in line with Morawska's (1999) observation interpreting migration of the Polish migrants as responding to the needs of Western employers.

There are also theories that see economic migration as a strategic behaviour undertaken by families and households (the New Economics of Labour Migration) (Massey et al., 1998, p.125). The movement occurs 'not because of higher lifetime earnings at the place of destination, but of the management of risk and overcoming of market failures at home' (Massey, 1998, p.125). Migrants manage risk by investing money earned abroad in their homeland or by combining foreign labour with local employment.

Other theories, like 'culture of migration', counterbalance the theories of migration that perceive migrants as rationally weighing the costs against the benefits of migration. They observe more subtle reasons for migrating depending on social and cultural context (Brettell, 2003). Thus, different factors play a role in the choices of people belonging to different societies or social groups.

One of such theories is the theory of reproduction of myth grounded in experiences of migrants from Algeria to France (Sayad, 2004). In this theory, 'the collective misrecognition of the objective truth of emigration' is seen as 'the necessary mediation that allows economic necessity to exercise its power' (Sayad, 2004, p.26). Even though the reality of migration from Algeria to France denied the illusion, it was masked by Algerian migrants and the positive image of France and migrating to France was maintained. Sayad showed that migrants used the vocabulary of the mythico-ritual system to describe conditions of life in France; the vocabulary was derived from the great traditional oppositions: 'inside-outside, full-empty, light-dark' (Sayad, 2004, p.25). So, in relation to the situation in France the vocabulary of 'easy, value, rich, company, joy' was used in contrast to 'difficult, scorn, poor, loneliness and sadness'.

The approach to the economic migration taken in this research refers to and builds on the theories presented above. Each of these theories describes one factor of economic migration, one of many possibilities. What is important to this study is perhaps a realisation and acceptance that to understand economic migration it is not enough to focus on isolated factors. It puts a different inflection on the idea of economic migration: not one that has a sociologically or economically determined focus on the causes and effects of migration, but one that attempts to see discourses attached to the economic and sociological logic of people movements.

3.3.2. Macro and micro level combined in exploring migration

The theories outlined above differ in the level of analysis. The macro-level applied in migration studies entails a focus on flows of migrants crossing borders. The demographic characteristics of those who are on the move are analysed in relation to the

political and economic situation – triggers and constraints that shape the flows (Brettell, 2003). Studies approaching migration on the micro-level focus on families and individual migrants. The latter are of a special interest in this research. Such studies recognise the complexity of individual migration; this complexity was well grasped by Sayad in his micro-oriented definition of migration. This definition may be seen as complementing the definition formulated by Gupta:

> To immigrate means to immigrate together with one's history (immigration itself being and integral part of that history), with one's traditions, ways of living, feeling, acting and thinking, with one's language, one's religion and all the other social, political and mental structures of one's society – structures characteristic of the individual and also of society, since the former is no more than the embodiment of the latter – or, in a word, with one's culture. (Sayad, 2004, pp.3-4)

Such studies also recognise the importance of a migrant's voice and life story (Brettell, 2003). Qualitatively focused approaches, including the oral history approach (Yans-McLaughlin, 1999; Burrell, 2006), narrative studies (Bayhnam and de Fina, 2005), and discourse analysis studies bring another perspective to migration studies by capturing the complexity of the migration process at the personal level. Giving a voice to migrants themselves and their first-hand experience allows us to see migrants as agents who act in a particular context. This study, drawing on the interviews, will explore what discourses migrants use as a source to understand and construct the reality of their migration.

Although this research is a micro-level study it still engages at the macro-level by referring to the processes happening on the national and international levels; macro-level is needed as the historical and politico-economic context of individuals' migrant activity. Abu-Lughod (1991) observed that individuals' lives are not necessarily separated from forces and dynamics that are not locally based. On the contrary, 'the effects of extra-local and long-term processes are only manifested locally and specifically, produced in the actions of individuals living their particular lives, inscribed in their bodies and their lives' (Abu-Lughod, 1991, p.150). As Triandafyllidou (2006, p.11) observed, the 'economic situation in the country of origin and destination, the overall socio-economic and geopolitical transition context in Europe and the historical background together with the specific laws and politics governing migration' are the structural factors that migrants make sense of. Moreover, Dossa (2004, p.3) argued that the life stories of migrants 'although discursive in nature, lend texture to macro-level analysis'. Therefore, the micro- and macro-studies can complement each other.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter discussed recent migration from Poland to Britain in the light of earlier migration flows and as rooted in the current situation in Poland. Comparison of three flows of Polish migration to Britain shows some continuity within the discourses and practices of migrating. In particular, Polish migrants tend to keep high expectations about the British reality (e.g. Galasiński and Galasińska, 2007) and they take up work below their qualifications (e.g. Morawska, 1999; Okólski, 1999).

This chapter also presented definition and understandings of economic migration and it positioned this study amongst them. The popular theories of migration and economic

migration in particular give ready explanations of recent migration from Poland to Britain. Additionally, recent studies on this migration provide insight into the migrants' practices. This study will take research on Polish migration further. By focusing on the lived experience of migration it hopes to deliver a more complex image of this migration than individual theories can offer.

Part II presented the context of this research on lived experiences of post-2004 migration from Poland to a Western-European country. It reviewed the literature on the condition of Polish society, and Polish youth in particular, and on the migration of its members. The next part will present the methodology. The thesis will then continue with analyses of recent migrants' narratives.

PART III. METHODOLOGY

This part, divided into two chapters, discusses the study's research methodology. Chapter 4 is oriented towards the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of the methodology used, while Chapter 5 demonstrates how the methodological procedures were put into practice. Chapter 4 introduces the theoretical underpinnings of the methodology used. It begins with a presentation of the research paradigm chosen. Next, the chapter provides a definition and characteristics of the subject of the research – lived experience. What follows is a presentation of the approach taken to explore lived experience - critical discourse studies and critical discourse analysis in particular, followed by a critique of the approach and rationale for employing it. Chapter 5 explains how critical discourse analysis was applied in this research. It is devoted to a detailed report of the research process. Sample selection, data collecting methods and analytical procedure are described followed by the processes of data interpretation and explanation and then the presentation of the problems of validity and reliability. Part III ends with a section on the researcher's self-reflection; awareness of the researcher's cultural position is important because it may enrich the research context and influence the data collected.

CHAPTER 4. THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

4.1. Introduction

Following Shih (1998) this study takes the position that a researcher should make a decision on the research method only after considering four areas. This chapter deals with the first two issues from the four listed below and leaves the third and fourth ones to be discussed in the next chapter:

- the philosophical paradigm and the goal of the research
- the nature of the object of interest
- the level and nature of the research questions
- practical considerations related to the research environment and the efficient use of resources. (Shih, 1998, p.638)

In this chapter the focus is on the research paradigm (post-positivism), the nature of the object of interest (the constructionist nature of lived experience), and the chosen approach to the data (critical discourse analysis).

4.2. The research paradigm

After identifying the research problem, the next issue that a researcher should resolve before taking any further action is making a decision on the research paradigm. ‘Questions of method are secondary to questions of paradigm’ (where ‘a paradigm’ refers to the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator in choices of method, ontology and epistemology) (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p.105). Following the recommendations of Proctor (1998), the present researcher asked a question about the nature of data and opted for a particular interrelationship between ontological, epistemological, and methodological levels of enquiry. A choice was made between two

extremes within research philosophy: positivism (related to quantitative research methods) and post-positivism (related to qualitative research methods). For clarification, the next section will revise the research questions presented in Chapter 1 and will justify the application of a post-positivist approach to answer them.

A positivist approach cannot be applied to this research, as it does not make it possible to explore lived experience; it focuses on developing and testing a hypothesis to the disadvantage of reaching subjective meanings constructed by individuals. This difference is based on different assumptions about reality and the possibility of describing and understanding it. In contrast to post-positivists, positivists perceive reality as independent of humans. There is one true version of it and it may be uncovered when applying objective methods. The essence of positivist thinking was well grasped by Smith:

> Positivist approaches to the social sciences [...] assume things can be studied as hard facts and the relationship between these facts can be established as scientific laws. For positivists, such laws have the status of truth and social objects can be studied in much the same way as natural objects. (Smith, 1998, p.77)

Bond (1989), Hughes (1994), Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (1997), and Crossan (2003) write about the implications of positivist thinking for social research. According to them, all research should be quantitative in order to make generalisations and establish laws. The choice of subject of a study should be based on objective criteria instead of human beliefs and interests. Research should identify causal explanations and

fundamental laws explaining human behaviour. The concepts need to be operationalised in a way to make a quantitative measuring of facts possible. In order to better understand a problem, it should be reduced to simple elements. In this research process, a researcher is perceived as having no influence on the research subject. What a positivist approach offers is the testing hypotheses.

Because of the emphasis this research project places on lived experience of migrants and the ways they construct reality (in other words it aims to find out what their experiences are and how they make sense of them), a post-positivist approach needs to be applied. Within post-positivism, the focus is on meaning and understanding. This approach is based on an the assumption that reality is multiple, subjective and constructed by individuals; the reality is dependent on human beings (Crossan, 2003). Because reality does not exist in a vacuum, its composition is influenced by its context, and many constructions of reality are possible (Hughes, 1994); what can be known about reality is only a description of one of its dimensions. The researcher is concerned with establishing and searching for a 'warranted assertibility', that is, valid evidence for the existence of a particular phenomenon (justified belief in a phenomenon that is based on interpretation built on credible rules of analysis) (Philips 1990; Forbes et al., 1999).

Post-positivist research is qualitative and applies flexible and multiple methods of studying a small sample in depth (Crossan, 2003). Qualitative research is 'any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.17). The research is aimed at the exploration and description of an object of interest. The researcher is perceived by the post-positivists as interacting with those being researched (Crossan, 2003). Qualitative

research explores the richness, depth, and complexity of phenomena (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The strength of qualitative research is its ability to focus on an actual practice *in situ*, looking at how social interactions are routinely enacted.

When exploring an unknowable feature, the constructionists (working within the qualitative approach) recommend adopting a relativist ontological position (Burr, 1995; Denzin and Lincoln, 2002). Taking a relativist position means acceptance of the existence of many alternative constructions of meanings and events. The task is 'to understand people's constructions of meanings in the context being studied because it is these constructions that constitute social realities and underlie all human action' (Greene, 2000, p.986).

4.3. Theory of meaning - social constructionism

Social constructionism looks at human actions and interactions as experienced and constructed in a given context (Greene, 2000). The actors construct dimensions of the social world (emotional, linguistic, symbolic, interactive and political) and give them significance. The constructions are influenced by specific historical, geopolitical and cultural practices and discourses, and also the intentions of actors. As Greene (2000, p.986) sums it up: 'these constructions are multiple and plural, contingent and contextual'. Cromby and Nightingale (1999), focusing more on a process, state that structures of meaning, conventions, morals and discursive practices are socially reproduced and transformed.

A researcher working within a constructionist approach achieves a model of constituted general experience with its conceptualisations essentially derived from language, beliefs and social rules – the 'world view' – of the agent's cultural community (Armon-Jones,

1986). A process of analysing people's constructions is an interpretative task, as 'the inquirer's worldview becomes part of the construction and representation of meaning in any particular context' and 'the inquirer's bias, experience, expertise, and insight are all part of the meanings constructed and inscribed' (Greene, 2000, p.986). Thus, the result of an inquiry is influenced by those who construct the meaning – a subject of a research and a researcher immersed in a particular society.

4.4. Definition and characteristic of lived experience

'Experience', on its own, means 'something one lives through personally' (Burch, 2002, p.2). To give it a less mundane sense, Burch (2002), attached the adjective 'lived' to 'experience'. According to her, lived experience is always essentially one's own direct and meaningful experience. It is constituted as one's own by integrating and reintegrating its constituted meaning into the course of one's life (Burch, 2002). For Schütz (1967), the meaning of 'experience' is not automatically given in the immediate reflection on what was lived through, but is constituted from retrospection, where meaning is recovered and re-enacted, for example in a narrative. Moreover, as Burch notices (2002), narratives are retold and redirected, which leads to ascribing various meanings to a 'lived experience'.

Articulation of experience is not a-historical or a-contextual, as lived experience is realised in language, and language is located and deployed within the social customs and conditions in which it is exchanged. 'The construction of "experience" is a social performance: an active, fluid and dynamic production' (Hardin, 2003, p.544). Individuals position themselves when telling the stories, depending on the context, audience and their intent (also in Burch, 2002). The constructionists ask the questions

about the function that is served by the way an account is told, about the effect of using the concept in one way in one context (for example an interview) and in another way in another context (for example family conversation) or when people learn to talk about their lives in a particular way.

To conclude, lived experience is mediated through discourse. The meaning of ‘experience’ is constituted and lies in what is made of what was lived through. It is dependent on local and global contexts including historical, social and cultural circumstances.

4.5. Theoretical framework of the analysis

4.5.1. Critical discourse studies

This study’s aim is to analyse the discursive resources people use while talking and critical discourse analysis (CDA) was chosen as the theoretical framework of the analysis. CDA is included in critical discourse studies (CDS), defined by Van Dijk as ‘an academic movement’ of a group of socially and politically committed scholars and ‘a socially critical attitude’ of undertaking discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 2009). What is common to these scholars is an interest in studying discourse, but what differentiates them is the variety of methods they use. As Van Dijk concludes, one cannot use CDS as a method, one needs to learn and apply one of many, including: detailed and formal analysis of syntax or conversational turn-taking, studies of narrative or argumentative structures, rhetorical strategies, experimental methods in the cognitive psychology of text production and comprehension, and ethnographic methods in the study of social and cultural aspects of language use and interaction. Details of the method used in this study will be presented in section 4.3. of the next chapter.

4.5.2. Critical discourse analysis

There is an ongoing discussion within discourse studies literature on what discourse analysis is (Mills, 1997; Titscher et al., 2000; Fairclough, 2003; Paltridge, 2006) and critical analysis in particular (Titscher et al., 2000; Paltridge, 2006). The approach to discourse, its analysis and interpretation taken in this study are outlined in the next sections.

4.5.2.1. Discourse

Fairclough (1992) makes a distinction between two meanings of ‘discourse’. He sees it as ‘language use conceived as social practice’ (Fairclough, 1992, p.73), or as ‘a way of signifying experience from a particular perspective’ (Fairclough, 1992, p.73). These definitions have a close relationship and only together give a clear understanding of what discourse is. Being a form of social practice within a socio-cultural context, discourse is a communicative activity, performed by individuals who act not as individuals but as members of society (Fairclough, 2001).

Language and discourse are rule-governed and the focus of the discourse analysts is not only on how the grammatical and interactional rules are followed, but also how they are violated, ignored and suspended (Grice, 1975; Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987). Being a way of signifying experience ‘discourse is a coordinated pattern of words, deeds, values, beliefs, symbols, tools, objects, times, and places in the here and now as a performance that is recognisable as just such a coordination’ (Gee, 2005, p.19).

The basic assumptions about discourse and text is that discourse is socially constitutive, it is built of options and it is ideological; text is multifunctional and intertextual (Fairclough, 1992; Galasiński, 2004).

Discourse is socially constitutive, it stays in a dialectical relationship with the context (Galasiński, 2004; also in Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999). A particular discursive event (an instance of language use) is shaped by situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive and socially conditioned. On the one hand it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, the social identities and relationships between people and groups of people. On the other hand, it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, or it contributes to transforming it (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

Discourse is a system of options which means that 'language users make decisions on which aspects of reality to include and how to arrange them' (Galasiński, 2004, p.20). As a result, each choice is motivated by values that contribute to a construction of reality representation, with specific significance and consequences (Galasiński, 2004).

Discourse is ideological, and 'it is through discourse and other semiotic practices that ideologies are formulated, reproduced and reinforced' (Galasiński, 2004, p.20). 'Ideology' is understood here as 'the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group' (van Dijk, 1998, p.8); representations of reality are ideological and they carry socio-political values and beliefs. Language use is always influenced by ideological positions: the values people hold (consciously or unconsciously) and the biases and perspectives they adopt (Eggins, 1994). Representations are filled 'not only with cultural constructs of how the world is, but also with political constructs of how it should be' (Widdowson, 2007, pp.70-71). People's position in relation to ideologies is that they 'are not only influenced by them but they actually construct it in what they say,

and in ways that are most likely to persuade others to comply with it' (Widdowson, 2007, p.71).

These representations are organised into systems which are deployed by social class, ethnic group, gender group, and other groups in order to make sense of, figure out and render intelligible the way society works (Galasiński, 2004; Hall, 1996). Discourse may be seen as a site of power struggle where ideologies entailed by discursive choices motivate rivalry for dominance within and between social groups (Billig et al., 1988). Acts of meaning-making are 'always engaged in that they realise the interest, the positions, the perspectives and the values of those who enact them' (Hyland, 2005, p.4). Ideologies 'iron out' the contradictions, dilemmas and antagonisms of practices in ways which accord with the interests and projects of power of these groups (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). But ideologies are not always negative. 'Ideologies can be "good" or "bad" depending on the consequences of the social practices based on them' (Van Dijk, 2001, p.14).

Text is a distinct concept from discourse; it is understood as 'the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event' (Fairclough, 1992, p.73). Text is multifunctional, and it has three functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual. The functions were recognised by systemic and functional linguists, particularly Halliday (1978, 1994). The ideational function of text means that it is through text that users of language refer to reality, and it is text that 'enables them to render intelligible their experience of the world' (Galasiński, 2004, p.21). The interpersonal function entails ability of language users to interact with each other. 'Through language speakers can set up relationships with their addressees' (Galasiński, 2004, p.22), and they position

themselves with regard to their addressees. The speakers also construct their attitude to what someone says: ‘how certain they are in saying something, how committed they are to it, or whether they distance themselves from their attitudes’ (Galasiński, 2004, p.22). The textual function enables discourse to appear as text that makes sense within itself and is relevant to the context of appearance.

Text is intertextual, which means that ‘texts are full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth’ (Fairclough, 1992, p.84). People ‘make sense of every word, utterance, or act against the background of (some) other words, utterances, acts of a similar kind’ (Lemke, 1995, p.23). Texts may cite other texts, refer to them, and allude to other past or even future texts (Paltridge, 2006). ‘Thus intertextuality signals the accumulation and generation of meaning across texts where all meanings depend on other meanings’ (Galasiński, 2004, p.22).

The assumptions about discourse (discourse being socially constitutive, built of options and ideological) and text (text being multifunctional and intertextual), constitute the theoretical framework and also a method of analysis for this study. The migrants’ accounts about their experiences are seen by the present researcher as social actions through which they construct the social world and their place in it. Under investigation are the features of text produced by migrants reflecting their preferences in representing the social reality, their beliefs underpinning them and the discursive sources they drew on.

4.5.2.2. Discourse analysis

Discourse analysts deal with ‘a view of language at the level of text and a view of language in use’ (Paltridge, 2006, p.9). First, discourse analysis is a textually oriented analysis (Fairclough, 1992). Its focus is on the content and the form of discourse, that is the lexico-grammatical resources of language (Galasiński, 2004). Second, the focus of discourse analysis is on ‘how, through the use of language, people achieve certain communicative goals, perform certain communicative acts, participate in certain communicative events and present themselves to others’ and what ‘ideas and beliefs they communicate as they use language’ (Paltridge, 2006, p.9).

The two above may be perceived as two different approaches to discourse analysis, but as some (Cameron and Kulick, 2003; Fairclough, 2003) argue, an analysis of discourse should be both linguistically and socially oriented. Discourse analysis is ‘an approach to the analysis of language that looks at patterns of language across texts as well as the social and cultural contexts in which the texts occur’ (Paltridge, 2006, p.1). It offers ‘some kind of explanation of why a text is as it is and what it is aiming to do’ but it also looks at ‘the relationship between discourse and society and aims to describe, interpret and explain the relationship’ (Rogers, 2004, p.2).

Overall, discourse analysis is used to examine how people use language to construct versions of their experiences, and is based on the assumption that people draw on cultural and linguistic resources in order to construct their accounts in certain ways to have certain effects. The aim of this study is to understand how the accounts of the experiences of migrants are constructed and what is gained from these constructions.

4.5.2.3. Critical stance within discourse analysis studies

The discourse analysts take a critical position on theory and methodology. Critical discourse analysts ‘are concerned with a critical theory of the social world, the relationship of language and discourses in the construction and representation of the social world’ (Rogers, 2004, p.3). They see their task as describing, interpreting and explaining such relationships and as deconstructing and challenging the texts being examined. They ‘trace underlying ideologies from linguistic features of a text, unpack particular biases and ideological presuppositions underlying it, and relate the text to other texts and to people’s experiences and beliefs’ (Paltridge, 2006, p.179; also in Clark, 1995) they get access to the text producers’ ‘views of the world, themselves, and relationships with each other’ (Kress, 1991). In short, they are focused on tracking and disclosing what is taken for ‘granted as self-evidently valid’ (Widdowson, 2007, p.71), ‘the hidden and “out of sight” social, cultural and political ideologies and values that underlie texts’ (Paltridge, 2006, p.186).

The link (dialectical relationship) between discourse and society (and also culture) is of special interest to critical discourse analysts (Wodak, 1996). They are concerned with social problems (social and cultural processes and structures) and their linguistic character. They ‘are particularly concerned with (and concerned about) the use (and abuse) of language for the exercise of socio-political power’ (Widdowson, 2007, p.70). They explore the relations between discourse, power, dominance, and social inequality (van Dijk, 1993) and they call into question ideas and assumptions preserving a status quo sustaining inequality and injustice (Widdowson, 2007).

Methodologically, the critical aspect of this approach means exploration of the complexity of phenomena without reducing them to variables and excluding deviant cases, avoiding easy explanations based on a content of accounts, making contradictions transparent and being self-reflective at the same time (Wodak, 1999).

4.5.2.4. Critique of critical discourse analysis

CDA research was criticised by those who find the analysis and data interpretation inadequate. Analysts were accused of taking a radical approach to data. Their complete rejection of data as a source of evidence for witnessing events and understanding them only as a source of evidence about informants' orientations was seen as going too far (Hammersley, 2008). They were also accused of not always providing sufficiently detailed and systematic analyses of the texts that they examined (Schegloff, 1997; Stubbs, 1997; Toolan, 1997). To rebut criticism the critical discourse analysts used to systemic functional linguistics, approaching language as sets of interrelated grammar and lexical options (used for making meaning in a particular social context); this approach provides analytical techniques, increasing the accuracy of analysis (Halliday, 1978, 1994; Martin, 2000; Fairclough, 2003).

The strongest critique came from the conversation analysts (e.g. Schegloff, 1997). Their main argument was that the analyses within CDA are underpinned by sociological and ideological assumptions. Conversation analysts, who focus on talk in interaction, claim to escape these assumptions (Billig, 1999). For conversation analysts, postulating contextual categories (for example power, gender) in order to understand or explain talk is irrelevant, unless the participants in the interaction make them relevant (Van Dijk, 1999).

The strength of CDA is in analysing text and context together. Once a feature of historical, cultural and social context is observed, CDA delivers tools to examine texts produced in this context. As result, a relation between such a feature and the structures of text and talk can be identified (Van Dijk, 1999).

4.5.2.5. Justification for applying critical discourse analysis

CDA is especially useful to the present study as it offers a program for research of socially relevant phenomena (Wodak, 1999). It allows the opportunity to 'systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes' (Fairclough, 1995, p. 132) and it allows illumination of the ideologies that shape them. For this study, it is possible to examine the relationship between the discourses underpinning the lived experience of migration and the historical, cultural and social context of their occurrence.

This approach is most suited for this study since it allows for an exploration of the migrants' worldviews without pre-defining them. It also offers tools for exploring lived experience; for this study, it is possible to shed light upon the ways in which the migrants formulate their experiences in terms of addressing matters of disillusionment with migration and the British reality and account for their decisions and positions taken. All in all, CDA provides a means of critical engagement and offers a different way to explore migrants' experiences by showing how their worlds are discursively formed.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter introduced the theoretical assumptions underpinning the methodology used in this research. It clarified the research paradigm - the researcher's assumptions concerning the nature of (social) reality and the nature of the inquiries into it. Within post-positivism, reality is seen as dependent on humans - constructed by them. An inquiry into these constructions must take into account that they are contextual and it also must recognise the influence of the researcher on the results of the inquiry. The paradigm determines an exploratory character of the study – in the case of this research it is to examine and describe lived experience of migration. The aim was to qualitatively explore a small sample in depth. It was possible to get an insight into people's constructions of meanings in the context being studied.

The theoretical framework of the analysis is critical discourse analysis. Discourse is understood as a communicative activity (language use) performed by individuals acting as members of a society. It is socially constitutive (it stays in a dialectical relationship with context), it is a system of options (language users make decisions on which aspects of reality to include and how to arrange them) and it is ideological (representations of reality are ideological as they carry socio-political values and beliefs). Two further remarks regarding text must be made: text is multifunctional (it has ideational, interpersonal and textual function) and it is intertextual (texts are linked with other texts). The focus of discourse analysis is on the content and the form of discourse as used in a particular context; it offers explanation of why a text is as it is, what it aims to do, and what the relationship is between this particular use of text and its local and global context. The aim of discourse analysis is to uncover the hidden and 'out of sight' social, cultural, and political ideologies and values underlying texts.

Despite being critiqued for going too far in rejecting data as a source of evidence for interviewees' orientations and not always providing sufficiently detailed and systematic analysis of the text, the strength of CDA lies in taking an assumption of reality being socially constitutive and socially conditioned in communicative acts and in applying systemic functional linguistics to perform analysis.

The core of this research is the lived experience of migration. In accordance with the research paradigm (post-positivism) and the theoretical framework of the analysis (CDA), lived experience is seen as mediated through discourse with its meaning lying in what is made of what was lived through, dependent on local and global contexts including historical, cultural and social circumstances.

CHAPTER 5. RESEARCH PROCESS –

- APPLICATION OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

TO THE STUDY

5.1. Introduction

This chapter will present how the present researcher approached the research problem and answered the research questions. It begins by presenting the process of choosing the research topic and the research questions. Then it introduces and evaluates the research strategy. Next, it describes the method of collecting data. Later, it reports on the process of research, from data collection, through analyses, to interpretation and explanation. Then, it discusses the issues of validity and reliability of the research. Finally, it discusses self-reflexivity of the researcher.

5.2. The choice of the research topic and formulation of the research questions

The present research into the lived experience of Polish migrants to Britain concerns initial observations of the trends within migration from Poland to Britain and the public and private discourses about it. The context of formulating the problem was the official discourse on migration within the European Union (understood as the discourse of the European Union legal regulations) based on one of the pillars of the single area of the European market – the free movement of people. The main question was about the ways migrants make use of that pillar and about the ways they cope in the expanding EU.

The formulation of the research topic was followed by specifying the research questions; they were formulated after further academic reading and data analysis. A gap in the studies on migration from post-communist countries was identified, namely, a shortage

in analysing the lived experience of economic migration (in particular the lived experience of migrating, looking for work abroad, working professionally or below one's qualifications).

5.3. Research strategy

This section is about the procedures implemented by the present researcher to get an insight into the lived experience of migration. In this study, interviews provided the data, and CDA was used to analyse, interpret and explain it. Interviews were perceived here as the most suitable technique for gaining access to the migrants' discourses on migrating. Before discussing data collection, this section will reflect on the ethical considerations related to this research.

5.3.1 Research ethics

To keep the research in accordance with ethical standards, the present researcher followed good research conduct guidelines (Gomm, 2004). First, the thesis was made transparent by describing all steps taken and the elements potentially influencing data and its interpretation. To increase transparency, the thesis quoted excerpts from the interviews. Second, the interest of the interviewees was considered (Data Protection Act, 1998; Fontana and Frey, 2000, p.662; Code of Good Research Practice, 2002[1]). The interviewees' participation in the research was well-grounded. They were informed about the aim of the research, the use of data, and anonymity. They were asked for their informed consent to the recording of interviews and to the use of the data for academic purposes. They were guaranteed privacy and confidentiality. The interviews were first recorded, then transcribed and quoted as anonymous transcripts.

[1] *Code of Good Research Practice* (2002) includes regulations determined by the University of Wolverhampton

5.3.2 Data collection

5.3.2.1 Sampling

Participants were recruited to the study in the West Midlands. This is a socio-economically and geographically diverse region in central England. Since 2004, migrants from A8 countries replaced migrants from the New Commonwealth as the largest source of new labour migrants; Poles accounted for the largest single national group of labour migrants in the region followed by Indians (Green, Owen and Jones, 2007). Migrant workers played an important role in some sectors of the economy and they were concentrated in sectors such as Agriculture, Manufacturing, Hotels and Restaurants, Transport, Storage and Communication, and Health and Social Work (Green, Owen and Jones, 2007). Some migrants were working in professional occupations, but there has been a trend towards a greater concentration of more recent migrants in less skilled occupations, e.g., Operatives and Elementary Occupations (Green, Owen and Jones, 2007). The West Midlands Migrant Worker Survey showed that a substantial proportion of migrants having worked in occupations at a higher level outside Britain than the occupations they were engaged in after coming to Britain (Green, Owen and Jones, 2007). Number of migrants from A8 countries in the West Midlands, employability and population diversity made it an interesting region to study.

Contact with recent young and highly educated migrants from Poland to Britain was made through the researcher's local acquaintances; using the present researcher networks helped to legitimise the research and the researcher to the respondents, and it helped to protect the researcher's safety. Respondents were sought in the university environment and were also approached via settled migrants having contacts with newcomers. Assistance was provided by a local Polish priest serving Polish parishioners

and by an English teacher of Poles. Despite such a developed network in Wolverhampton, problems with finding migrants who work professionally were experienced. The problem was solved with assistance from the office of the Birmingham Polish Catholic Centre. Using these institutions and 'snowballing' technique (Heckarthon, 1997; Salganik and Heckarthon, 2004), data was gathered from twenty-two interviews.

Purposeful sampling, characteristic of qualitative research, is aimed at intentional selection according to the needs of a study (Coyne, 1997). 'What would be "bias" in statistical sampling, and therefore a weakness, becomes intended focus in qualitative sampling, and therefore a strength' (Patton, 2002, p.230). Purposeful sampling enables one to explore a research object in depth (Patton, 2002). To meet the research aims, a set of criteria was used when recruiting the respondents. They had to have arrived in Britain from Poland and resided here for at least one month (the shortest term was one month, the longest two and half years). They had to be employed in Britain, highly educated (bachelor or master's degree, or close to completion) and young (21-39). Most respondents were between twenty-four and thirty three years old, with one person aged thirty-seven. All of them were employed in Britain: nine found jobs in their professions, thirteen remained underemployed, doing manual or simple clerical jobs. It was decided to distinguish two categories of the underemployed, because clerical work (in contrast to manual work), even if below respondents' qualifications, is included in the white-collar jobs and is seen as having higher occupational prestige.

Education and occupation were the most important factors that were taken into consideration when collecting and analysing data. Appendix 1 gives detailed

characteristics of the interviewees, including their names (changed in order to protect anonymity of the respondents), gender, year of birth and age on the day of interview, month and year of interview, length of stay in Britain (including also previous stays), and type of job in Britain.

5.3.2.2 Setting

For the research setting a university site (an interview room), a classroom in the Birmingham Polish Catholic Centre, Birmingham Central Library, a local pub, the researcher's flat and the flats of respondents, or a flat of an acquaintance were chosen. Meeting locations were dependent on respondents' preferences and the researcher's concerns about a proper environment regarding the length of the interviews, its privacy and a sound-recording quality.

The interview location may have an impact on an interviewee and the content of his/her accounts. Herzog (2005) observed in his research that interview location played a role in constructing reality, serving simultaneously as both cultural product and producer. In the case of the interviews in this study, the interviewees chose from a wide range of locations or were put into one of them; they varied from familiar ones (e.g., an interviewee's flat) to unfamiliar (e.g., a university site, a library), from unofficial (e.g., a local pub) to official (e.g., university site), from English in character (e.g., a local pub) to Polish (e.g., a classroom in the Birmingham Polish Catholic Centre). Each negotiation of the location between the interviewer and the interviewee, and the location itself, might have imposed different power relations between the interviewee and the interviewer but also between the interviewee and the situation of the interview making them feeling for example intimidated, emboldened, relaxed or tensed. Moreover, the

location might have provided different triggers enriching the content of the narratives. As a result, the present researcher got access to discourses on migration produced in one type of situation (a research interview) but in various settings.

5.3.2.3. Interviews

Interviewing is currently one of the main research methods used within social science disciplines (Briggs, 1995; Atkinson and Silverman, 1997; Rapley, 2001). The principles of narrative interviewing worked out by Fritz Schütze were applied in this research (Bokszański and Czyżewski, 1987; Hermanns, 1987; Flick, 1998). The interviews were semi-structured with open-ended questions. It was decided to use semi-structured interviews, as they 'minimise the extent to which respondents had to express themselves in terms defined by the interviewers and encourage them to raise issues that are important to them' (Shiner and Newburn, 1997, p.520). This type of interview may be seen as 'an attempt to discover respondents' own meanings and interpretations' (Shiner and Newburn, 1997, p. 520). The semi-structured research interview allows for a less imposed, more natural and spontaneous way of interaction.

The interviews were based on predetermined topics; the set of questions was prepared in advance (Appendix 2). Semi-structured character of the interview allowed new questions to arise from what interviewees said. The questions introducing a new issue were mostly broad, in order to trigger narratives. More detailed questions were asked after the general ones, first those related to what the interviewee said and then the next questions on the list. In that way this research allowed the interviewees to influence the content of the interviews within the general framework proposed by the researcher which prioritises their perspectives on the problems raised. The interviewees could

‘influence the order, the (re)formulation and the interpretation of the interview questions as well as choose his or her individual answers and clarify their contextual meaning’ (Smaling, 1996, p.25). This responsive, participatory and collaborative character of the interview process empowered the interviewees (Smaling, 1996; Ritchie, 2003). The questions focused upon the migrants’ experiences of migrating, living and working abroad. Although designed as neutral, some of the questions became face-threatening in the context of the interview (such as questions about one’s job asked to the underemployed interviewees) and this issue will be discussed in the analytical part of the thesis.

The process of collecting data was divided into two stages. First, in a pilot study three migrants were interviewed (Patryk, Marcin, Marta) in order to test the questions and the pattern of the interview. The interviews were in Polish, the native language of the researcher and the informants.

5.4. Data analysis

5.4.1. Transcription

‘Transcription itself is an act of interpretation’ (Locke, 2004, p.80). As a record it is selective and interpretative, and it is constructed in accordance with a set of conventions. The interviews were transcribed according to the rules developed by Jefferson (2004) for the needs of conversational analysis (for example Atkinson and Heritage, 1984; Have and Psathas, 1995; Holt and Clift, 2007) (Appendix 4). A general recommendation for transcribers is that ‘only those components of spoken discourse which are to be analysed should be transcribed, and only what makes analyses intelligible should be presented in transcripts for the reader’ (O’Connell and Kowal,

1995, p. 98). The advice of applying a transcribing system that is suitable for the subject studied was taken into account in this study (Potter and Wetherell, 1995) and a reduced version of Jefferson's system was used.

5.4.2. Approach to interview data

There are two major approaches to interview data (Seale, 1998). For the first one, interview data understood as a resource; the interview data is perceived as (more or less) reflecting the interviewees' realities outside the interview (Seale, 1998). For the second approach, interview data understood as a topic; the interview data is seen as (more or less) reflecting a reality jointly constructed by the interviewee and the interviewer (Seale, 1998). In line with the research paradigm followed in this study (post-positivism), the approach to lived experience and assumptions underpinning the chosen research method, the second approach must be accepted. The interview data gives access to various stories or narratives through which people describe their worlds (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, 1997).

As Dingwall (1997, p.56) puts it, 'the interview is an artefact, a joint accomplishment of interviewer and respondent.' Holstein and Gubrium (1995) talk about 'an active interview' emphasising its reality-constructing and meaning-making character. For Rapley (2001, p.304) 'this leads to considerable analytic attention to understand interviewees' talk as "accounts", or "versions", which offer up a window through which to view the various possible ways that the topic of the interview can be talked about'. In that way the local context of the interview is taken into consideration and discourse/narrative is seen as produced in negotiation with an interviewer (Rapley, 2001). This approach to interview data has substantial implications for this research, as

the data collected is perceived as a joint product of the researcher and the interviewees, the product obtained in a certain location of the interview, and as such is only one of many possible representations of the subject.

5.4.3. The process of analysis

Although worked out within discursive psychology, the stages of analysis proposed by Potter and Wetherell (1987, p.168) are general enough to be applicable to any research using critical discourse analysis and they were applied to this research. The first stage of the analysis is focused 'on differences in either the content or form of accounts and on identification of features shared by accounts'. The second stage is focused on formulating hypotheses about functions and effects of people's talk and searching for linguistic evidence. Willott and Griffin (1997), expanding Potter and Wetherell's model, proposed seven stages of analysis. To analyse the data collected in this study, the following instructions were followed:

1. Break the transcribed interviews into 'chunks': a chunk is a series of interactions ending with an interjection from the interviewer or a topic shift is introduced.
2. Code each chunk using one or more 'themes.'
3. Select all the chunks coded under a single theme.
4. Identify the different ways in which this theme is talked about.
5. Use these ways to develop theoretical accounts of recurrent discourse patterns (reference to existing literature, the researcher's understanding, etc.).
6. Select all the chunks coded under another theme.
7. If the patterns of discourse identified in 5 do not describe this new theme – repeat stages from 4 to 7.

To identify the different ways a theme is talked about, the formal features of language (features of vocabulary, grammar, and structure of interaction) and the values they have (experiential, relational, expressive, and connective) (Fairclough, 2001) were explored. As Fairclough (2001, p.92) advised, ‘in order to interpret the features which are actually present in a text, it is generally necessary to take account of what other choices might have been made, i.e. of the systems of options in the discourse types which actual features come from.’ Fairclough proposed ten questions and recommends asking them selectively depending on research needs. These recommendations were constructed when Fairclough was analysing written texts, and were modified in this study to approach the interview data.

Following Fairclough (2001), the present researcher took into consideration ten dimensions of analysis of the grammatical features while working with the transcribed interviews. They were used as a list of possible directions guiding the researcher through the data. The researcher’s attention was on all of them; writing up the analysis included only the dimensions identified as patterns of describing lived experiences and constructions of reality. This is the list of all ten dimensions:

1. Experiential values of words.
2. Relational values of words.
3. Expressive values of words.
4. Metaphors.
5. Experiential values of grammatical features.
6. Relational values of grammatical features - Modes of sentence, Modality, Pronouns
7. Expressive values of grammatical features.

8. The ways of linking together (simple) sentences.

9. Interactional conventions.

10. Larger-scale structures of the text.

The analysis consisted of the following four dimensions:

Contents. Emerging from the analytical process, the discourses of migrating were closely identified and associated with the thematic areas (contents).

Means and forms of realisation. The experiences of migration were constructed using lexical and grammatical means.

Rhetorical and argumentative features of the text. They consisted of the means used by the speakers to convince a listener of their point of view.

Strategies. Following Bourdieu (1994), Wodak and her associates (1999, p.32), this refers to strategic action as 'oriented towards a goal but not necessarily planned to the last detail'; the significant feature of this strategic action is that the speakers can use the strategies automatically.

5.4.4. Interpretation and explanation

To access the social values associated with texts and the social significance of texts, description (language features of text) has to be followed by interpretation and explanation (Fairclough, 2001, p.118). While interpretation 'is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction – with seeing the text as the product of a

process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation', explanation 'is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context – with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects' (Fairclough, 2001, pp.21-22). Therefore, studying discourse requires taking into consideration its local and global context, context such as 'settings, participants and their communicative and social roles, goals, relevant social knowledge, norms and values, institutional or organisational structures' (Galasiński, 2004, p.19).

The aim of the stage of interpretation is to reach the discourses that build texts. 'The values of textual features only become real, socially operative, if they are embedded in social interaction, where texts are produced and interpreted against a background of common-sense assumptions which give textual features their values' (Fairclough, 2001, p.117). To do so, a link is made between the formal features of texts and their three values (experiential, relational, and expressive), the three aspects of social practice susceptible to power (contents, relations and subjects), and their structural effects (on knowledge and beliefs, social relationships, and social identities) (Fairclough, 2001, p.2).

The interpretation of discourse involves answering the following questions and it is done in this thesis' analytical chapters and the chapter discussing findings:

1. What is the text doing in the social and cultural setting in which it is used/it occurs?
2. How does the use of language present various views of the world and various understandings?

3. How is the use of language influenced by relationships between participants and what effects does the use of language have upon social identities and relations?
4. How are views of the world, and identities, constructed through the use of discourse? (Fairclough, 2001, p.2)

The explanatory stage of the analysis explores the social context of the discourse. The discourses, and the three values embedded in them, perform as parts of institutional and societal processes of struggle (Fairclough, 2001). An explanation aims to 'portray a discourse as part of a social practice, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them' (Fairclough, 2001, p.135). An explanation has two dimensions; it may focus on social structures (relations of power) or on the social processes and practices (social struggle) (Fairclough, 2001).

The procedure of discourse analysis should be seen as hermeneutic where hermeneutics is understood as the method of grasping and producing meaning relations (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). A hermeneutics approach to text analysis identifies a relationship between the meaning of the parts and the whole. It assumes that 'one part can only be understood in the context of the whole, but that this in turn is only accessible from its component parts' (Wodak and Meyer, 2001, p.16).

5.5. Researcher's self-reflexivity

Burrell observed that being an academic researcher means that one 'represents an élite social institution and thus introduces issues of power and social hierarchy into the interviewing arena, potentially intimidating some respondents and distorting their

accounts' (Burrell, 2006, p.21). However, a young researcher can be perceived more as a student needing help than as an academic representative (Burrell, 2006). Being a migrant too opens space for shared experiences and may mitigate the distance between the interviewees and the interviewer, but also can make them exclude experiences that they assume will be familiar to the interviewer. Being a migrant studying at a British university can have a different impact on those interviewees who work professionally (shared experience) and those who are underemployed (different experience and different status). Being a woman interviewer can also influence the sorts of data obtained as gender relations are an important dynamic shaping the interview process (Herod, 1993; Williams and Heikes, 1993; Kosygina, 2005).

These factors have a potential influence on the collected data. The researcher countered to reflect on this problem during the process of collecting the data. Respondents were asked about the experience of sharing their stories with the interviewer and whether they would tell them in the same way while talking to their friends, family members, or the British. Their answers to these questions cannot be taken as entirely reliable (for example because of the interviewees' self-presentation), but at least they shed some light on the issue. For example, some of the interviewees did not wish to go into details of their experiences as they did not know the interviewer well enough (while other were happy to find in the interviewer a person they could share their intimate thoughts and experiences with), or were less critical while talking about British society to the British. Gender did not seem to play a role in shaping the interview process. The present researcher did not observe any difference in behaviour during the interviews dependent on gender of the interviewees.

Moreover, as Slembrouck (2004, p.107) writes, ‘we bring a set of assumptions to any analysis of interview data, in terms of what we hope and expect to find there’. Therefore, a researcher examines what seems to be important and interesting: she may give or take away the voice of certain meanings or she may ‘hear’ the data in a particular way. Hertz (1997) suggests that a researcher should be aware of her/his own ‘positioning of self’ (for example ideology, political view, lived experience in the same context) and how it could affect research. Slembrouck (2004, p.107) makes a suggestion of ‘inward-looking scrutiny of the research events and instruments,’ allowing detection of certain biases in the assumptions which inform the research more generally. In the case of this research it is the researcher’s lived experience as an educated migrant that could affect the research. The researcher’s migrant status could affect the interview questions and the selection of the themes for the analysis but the rigorous process of analysis undertaken limited this influence.

5.6. Validity and reliability

The research fulfils the rigour of reliability and validity. Reliability ‘refers to consistency of the results obtained in the project’ (Paltridge, 2006, p.216).

> Internal reliability refers to consistency of the data collection, analysis of the data and interpretation of the results; that is, the extent to which the researcher was consistent in what she did and whether someone else would get the same results if they carried out the same analysis of the data. (Paltridge, 2006, p.216)

Each interview was analysed in the same way. The analysis involved looking for typical patterns and considering the extent to which the use of the patterns reflects particular socio-cultural views in the local context. The analysis also included looking at the cases

that seemed to go against the pattern, as such cases may bring disconfirmation of the pattern, but also may confirm regularities (Potter, 1996; Heritage, 1988).

Explanations covering both the broad pattern and the accounts of micro sequences were searched for in order to show coherence of identified discourse (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). This first stage of CDA (linguistic analyses resulting in hard data) is repeatable and empirically verifiable as analyses are focused on an objective linguistic form (Halliday, 1978, 1994; Halliday and Hasan, 1985). In contrast, interpretations are open, dynamic and imbued with the analyst's perspective (Wodak, 1999; Galasiński, 2004).

> External reliability *(*or replicability) refers to the extent to which another researcher could reproduce the study, using the same discourse analysis procedures, and obtain the same or similar results to those obtained in the study. (Paltridge, 2006, pp.216-217)

Another researcher should identify the same linguistic forms and the same patterns among the data collected for this study. To allow 'readers' evaluation', rich and extended materials were presented (Potter, 1996). The extracts from the interviews provide evidence for the analysis performed. Furthermore, the interpretations were presented in parallel with the analysis of the interview fragments (Potter, 1996). In this way transparency was brought to the research.

Validity 'refers to the extent to which a piece of research actually investigates what it says it will investigate' (Paltridge, 2006, p.217). Internal validity refers to the extent to which 'claims about cause are "true" in the situation being studied' (Yates, 2001, p.120), and external validity – 'the results of the study can be generalised from the

sample used in the study to a broader population' (Paltridge, 2006, p.217). The external validity of this study is more restricted; the study presents some of the discourses on migration available to the population.

The aim of this research project is to understand a phenomenon. It is also to identify the discourses available in society; the identification can be done because dominant social and cultural discourses stay in relation to individual accounts – 'commonalities in data gathered from multiple individuals and sources exist because individual accounts originate from broader cultural and historical discourses' (Hardin, 2003, p.537). Therefore, 'the accounts that individuals articulate are not privatised experiences, they are public understandings given voice through individuals' (Hardin, 2003, p.538). The thesis provides sufficient details on the nature and source of the interviews and character of the analysis, to enable future consideration of the extent to which the findings could be transferred or compared with a similar set of texts.

5.7. Conclusion

Chapter 5 introduced this thesis' methodology and described the level and nature of the research questions and practical considerations related to the research environment and the efficient use of resources.

The formulation of a narrow and deep research topic was preceded by initial observations of recent trends within migration from Poland to Britain and public and private discourses about it. Next, formulation of the research objective and more detailed research questions followed. To explore the private discourse of migrants, this research employs interviews to collect data and critical discourse analysis to analyse,

interpret and explain it. The analysis consists of four dimensions: contents, means and forms of realisation, rhetorical and argumentative features of the text and strategies. To reach the social values associated with texts and the social significance of texts, the analyses are followed by interpretation and explanation. Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction (text as generated in a process of production), while explanation focuses on interaction and social context. To make the research reliable the analysed data is presented extensively in the analytical part of the thesis and the analyses are carried out in the same way. To make the research valid, the evidence is given for the results presenting the discourses available in society.

In the process of research it is vital to retain self-reflexivity. In the case of this research, self-reflexivity refers to two factors related to the researcher having a potential to enrich the research context and influence the results. Firstly, the researcher's position as an academic but also a migrant can intimidate or encourage the interviewees to share their experiences. Secondly, the researcher being a migrant herself contributes into research with her own lived experience.

Part IV. ANALYSIS

The narratives on migration that are the subject of these analyses came from a group of interviewees distinguishable by two key elements of the context that the interviewees were immersed in. The first characteristic of this group was that they were Poles born under a communist government, but grew up in the post-communist era. The second characteristic is that they left Poland and migrated to Britain, taking advantage of the opportunity provided by enlargement of the European Union.

This group of interviewees consisted of graduates who completed higher education (apart from two of the interviewees, who were about to complete their studies) in their twenties and thirties. Education and age are the significant factors in this study because a high level of education and young age were presented in the literature on the Polish post-communist society (described in Chapter 2) as responsible for the existence of Western cultural features amongst Poles (identified in Chapter 2). The presumption in the literature is that the higher the level of education, the easier migration to the West is. This part of the thesis presents the interviewees' narratives, which challenges these assumptions and show that the situation of this group is complex. The second reason for making education important in this study was that the literature on highly skilled migrants in general, as described in Chapter 3, did not deliver explanation to the phenomenon of the patterns of employment of Polish migrants. This chapter brings input into the body of knowledge by referring to the lived experiences of migrants.

In this context, two key sub-groups were distinguishable within higher education graduates; these were migrants who worked professionally and those who took up jobs

below their qualifications. However, comparative analysis of the narratives coming from these two groups was not performed as the initial analyses focused on identifying the patterns within the data, did not confirm any differences in the discourses used by the representatives of these sub-groups. This means that the discourses of the graduates were independent of the employment positions they held in Britain.

The next four chapters will present the analysis of the lived experience of migrants to Britain. Chapter 6 concentrates on the ways they presented their decisions to migrate to Britain. The following chapters (Chapters 7-9), explore narratives about aspects of the British reality and migration that became problematic for them: the dilemmas of being an 'economic' migrant (Chapter 7), dilemmas of working below qualifications (Chapter 8), and dilemmas of living in a multicultural community (Chapter 9).

CHAPTER 6. CONSTRUCTING ONE'S OWN DECISION TO MIGRATE

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STRATEGIES OF RATIONALISATION

6.1. Introduction

The literature on migration and on Polish migration in particular, discussed in Chapter 3, revealed that people migrate mostly because of the vision of a better life abroad (e.g., Massey et al., 1998; Morawska, 1999; Düvell, 2004). In the case of Polish migration to Britain, this view is further strengthened by the human development index (a standard means of measuring well-being in countries worldwide). The Human Development Report compiled on the basis of 2003 data (published by United Nations Development Programme in 2005) shows a significant gap between the human development index in Britain, ranked fifteenth, and Poland, ranked thirty-seventh. According to this report, gross domestic product was higher in Britain and thereby quality of life and standard of living as measured by GDP were better there than in Poland. The ranking was made just before Poland joined the EU and before the influx of migration to Britain. In such a context, Polish migrants seem to behave as rational actors, responding to economic disparities between the countries.

The question is whether this economic reality was represented in the interviewees' narratives on their migration. Indeed, the interviewees often directly pointed at their expectations of abundance of jobs and a better standard of life in Britain. Such an argumentation was characteristic of the narratives of Polish migrants coming to the West in the early years of the post-communist era (Düvell, 2004; Galasiński and Galasińska, 2007) suggesting a continuity of discourse. However, in the process of analysis in this

study, the focus was not only on the image the interviewees' constructed but also on their attitudes towards it. The analysis showed that although strong, the image itself was not an argument good enough for the interviewees while reflecting on their decision. Whenever they referred to that decision and its consequences, they built an argument to convince themselves that what they did was 'really' rational. It is not claimed that all the interviewees came to Britain purely for economic reasons, but whatever the reason, whenever the interviewees reflected on their migration, they tried to convince themselves that it had been a rational step in their lives.

In negotiating their narratives, when referring directly or indirectly to their decisions on migration, the interviewees were negotiating their subject position. The local context of the interview imposed the local face constraints they had to cope with. Face is understood here as the public self-image each person tries to protect because of a desire for this self-image to be appreciated and approved of, (Goffman, 1959; Brown and Lewinson, 1987). As explained in the methodological chapter, the situation of the interview could be uncomfortable for the interviewees. They were reflecting on their decision to migrate while still suffering the consequences of it, and were doing so with an interviewer whom they could evaluate as enjoying high social and cultural capital. The discourse of rationality may have been employed by them to save face.

This type of discourse was universal among the interviewees. The discourse was underpinned with two specific themes that arose while referring to the decisions. Although different, the themes showed migration as a rational action to take. Firstly, the interviewees constructed the destination of their migration as rational (this involved constructing a positive image of Britain). Secondly, they constructed the practice of

migration as rational (this involved emphasising the obviousness and popularity of migration). Five strategies of rationalisation were identified:

1) rationalisation by reference to the certainty of success of migration achieved with commitment to truth and credibility (built with quotations);

2) rationalisation by reference to confirmed success of migration achieved with comparison of information (constructed as facts) on the British and Polish realities;

3) rationalisation by reference to migration as an obvious choice achieved with minimalisation of the decision process;

4) rationalisation by reference to migration as an opportunity not to be missed achieved with social imperative;

5) rationalisation by reference to migration as a popular practice achieved through quantification.

6.2. Rationalisation by reference to the certainty of success of migration

This section explores how migrants convinced themselves of the rationality of their decision to migrate based on a positive image of Britain. They tried to show that before coming to Britain they held a particular image of it and according to this image the success of their migration should have been guaranteed. In other words, they presented their decisions as the best possible. In that way they presented themselves as rational actors. Here, constructing the positive vision is of primary interest to the present researcher; two ways of doing it include: commitment to truth and giving credibility to the image with reference to the views of others. Furthermore, the interviewees presented their decision to migrate as even more rational by presenting themselves as having been convinced by the positive vision they constructed.

Although the topics in the first four examples quoted below and the ways of constructing the vision differed significantly, the result was the same – a positive vision of Britain. As a way of convincing themselves, the interviewees used the strategy of commitment to truth. The strategy is based on a particular scheme of argumentation, the interviewees mix doubts and certainty about their thoughts about Britain before migration.

Extract 1.
Janka, female, 1977[2] [consistent with qualifications]

I[3]: How long have you been here?
Janka: two years.
I: Two years.
J: Two years. (..) well, my dream came [laugh] true. Though **maybe I imagined it to be somehow a bit different.** Somehow this country always attracted me, **I thought that if I come here I will not like to leave, that it is so wonderful here and so on.** Undoubtedly, this is an interesting experience, and a person learns a lot, there are a lot, a lot of such aspects that will be useful later in Poland, for example language and experience. (..) But for the moment, I don't plan to stay here permanently.
I: What did you imagine, what it would be like here?
Janka: **I don't know**, somehow one always imagines that **somehow I don't know, it is better, better is such a** (.) **it wasn't certain how this better looks like**. **Maybe** such a curiosity, because we couldn't ever come here, and just such a normal curiosity what it is like here. **And what one maybe heard**, that **there is everything in abundance here**, and **people don't have a problem to get a job**. And **I don't know**, it seemed to me that this is important in life.

Extract 2.
Zosia, female, 1979 [consistent with qualifications]

I: What did you imagine work to be like in England?
Zosia: (..) m: (..)You know, I wasn't thinking particularly about work. **I hoped / it means I knew, I knew it would work out**. In a sense, **I knew that there wouldn't be a situation that we wouldn't cope.** Because as I say, I graduated English philology, my fiancé also knows English. We have university degrees so (.) I knew that it could take some time, in a sense that at the beginning maybe we will be forced, I don't know, to take some manual jobs, in a sense I don't know, in pubs and so on. To reach in the end this what we want to do. But I believed that it wouldn't take long, or nothing at all, and it appeared that there was really nothing like this at all. It seems to me that we both are resourceful people, in a

[2] the year of birth
[3] 'I' for the interviewer

sense that / considering that / I don't know, for a few years we have been living without parents, we live on our own. We manage, we made a lot of things by ourselves, so **I knew that we would manage.** And talking about work, as I say, we thought that we would have to begin with some manual jobs, but it worked out that we did not have to, and it is ok.

Extract 3.
Monika, female, 1980 [below-qualifications – manual work]

I: What did you imagine, it would be like here after your arrival? What does life and work life in England look like? How do people live here?
Monika: Actually, **I don't know**. **Somehow, I didn't have any specific ideas about life in England. I knew it was better,** my friend and other people, who were not necessarily in England but in Germany or France, assured me of it. They were saying that **one could try**. **That financially it is better**. [...]

Extract 4.
Tymon, male, 1978 [below-qualifications – manual work]

Tymon: [...] well, I am not happy with it [England], if one can say so. **If I had any thoughts, I thought** about England being **a developed country. I thought** that it is **a developed country**, **I thought** that it must be **second America**.

When comparing two realities (the Polish and the British one), the interviewees present Britain as different and better. The following phrases signify their expectations; the respondents describe the British reality as: "something different", "a better life"; "a better world a bit", "it is always somehow better than in Poland". What makes these constructions interesting is the vagueness of the interviewees' vision of Britain. The use of adverbs with modifiers "a bit", "somehow" makes the vagueness even more extreme. The descriptions remain on the general level; details about particular aspects of the British reality are rarely included. The attempt to make the situation more detailed and to specify what "better" means, ends with a failure to go beyond generality. For example, in extract 2 an expression "so wonderful" is the beginning of an unfinished sequence of positive adverbs "and so on". The interviewees put their statements about the British reality into a frame of doubt – "I don't know", "What one maybe heard", sometimes denying their earlier statements (example 1 "I thought – "I don't know").

However, the vagueness of their descriptions and doubts do not exclude attempts to present their thoughts about the image as mirroring the reality. The most convincing example is extract 2 where Zosia makes a shift from “hoping” to “knowing”. With this shift she shows how important it is to present her beliefs as knowledge. Monika’s attitude towards her expectations is irresolute (“I don’t know”) but also she “knew” that it is better; however, her expectations are vague (“I didn’t have any specific ideas”). Janka also has an ambivalent attitude towards her expectations (“maybe I imagined”, “I don’t’ know”, “maybe”) however she uses the opinions of others to construct her conviction.

Another way the interviewees construct a positive image of Britain is by including Britain in a group of countries regarded as developed in contrast to Poland. Tymon (example 6) expected Britain to be such a country. He compares his vision of Britain to “a second America”. With such a description, expressed with a few phrases only (“developed”, “second America”), Tymon constructs an image of Britain that speaks for itself. Tymon’s narrative about Britain as a second America is rooted in the well established grand narrative of the ‘American dream’. The content of this dream has changed over the centuries, until it has evolved to mean that anybody can achieve everything in America (wealth, success and fame) through thrift and hard work, and one can do it quickly (Hochshild, 1995; Warshauer, 2002). For migrants, in this vague and grandiose dream, America is a country of opportunities and wealth, just as Britain is. The commitment to truth becomes apparent by looking at the way the statement is built: “If I had any thoughts, I thought […] I thought […] I thought […]”. Tymon speculates about the existence of his thoughts, and he makes them convincing through repetition.

The interviewees constructed a positive vision of Britain. With such a construction of the expected reality of the host country, their migration was not only the chance of a lifetime but also a venture devoid of any risk. The interviewees engaged various lexical and grammatical means to make the positive vision of Britain a certain one. They talked with conviction about Britain; to build that conviction, they portrayed themselves as knowledgeable about the country.

The rationalisation of the migrants' decisions on migration was also achieved by building the credibility of the image, by endorsing it with the views of others. The (quasi-)quotes placed by the interviewees in their pre-migration past strengthened the certainty of their expected success. By quoting, the interviewees give double credibility to that expectation. Firstly, they bring dramatic tension to their narratives. Secondly, they quote only positive statements in relation to the situation in Britain. Three extracts exemplify this strategy:

Extract 5.
Justyna, female, 1974 [consistent with qualifications]

I: What did your family tell you? [How did they comment on your decision to go abroad?]
Justyna: My family? They were supporting me, or how can I tell? They were supporting me. 'Go children, **there is no future for you here**'.

Extract 6.
Zosia, female, 1979 [consistent with qualifications]

I: What did your co-workers say about your decision to leave?
Zosia: (..) Because Poles generally have an attitude towards going abroad that one knows why everybody is doing it, they are doing it only because of the financial reasons, so people that were somehow close to me were **rather** saying 'easy, go, you will manage, you will find something good **for sure**, it will be much much better. Generally, all young people should leave, if I were twenty years younger I would do the same. Because they have much better opportunities abroad'. **So this is how it looked like.**

Extract 7.
Leszek, male, 1977 [consistent with qualifications]

I: And did anybody tell you what it is like here?
Leszek: Well, I had acquaintances here that had been already living here.
I: mmm and what were they saying?
Leszek: [he laughs] How they enjoy themselves. [laugh] These are the friends that I visit. No, well what they were saying was '**you will work, you will earn, you will live and it's all, isn't it?** It will depend on the aim you will have. If you want to save hard, you won't afford a lot of things. But if you want to live normally, your earnings will make it possible'.

The three examples above reveal how informants, using the voices of others, describe their future life in Britain with categorical expressions. With the negation: "there is no future for you here", the opinion quoted by Justyna constructs the British reality as giving hope for the future. In contrast, Poland deprives Poles of this future. In a quote in the second extract, Britain is described as "much much better". In Zosia's extract too, Britain is presented with certainty as being a good place to be. Additionally, this example is overflowing with expressions predicting what Zosia will do in Britain: "you will manage", "you will find something good". This brings reassurance, strengthened with the expression "for sure".

One more point must be made regarding Zosia's narrative. She makes explicit that she quotes only the positive opinions of others, hence the use of the word "rather". However, to conclude her argument, she says: "So this is how it looked like". With the latter she belittles "rather" and makes the opinion quoted the dominant one. Similarly to Zosia, Leszek quotes his friends' unambiguous description of what life will be for him in Britain "you will work, you will earn, you will live and it's all, isn't it?"; his message is: you [Leszek] will do it in Britain. In all three cases, the quotes construct certainty of availability of opportunities – or at least of something better (Justyna's example). So, the opportunities are present in Britain and it only depends on a rational choice of the

person and his/her determination, to have a normal and successful life in this stable world of opportunity.

There is a further element of these narratives that supports the claim that the interviewees tried to construct their decision about migrating as rational. The interviewees achieved it by showing that they fitted into the vision constructed. They did it by generalizing and specifying: 'fitting in' was constructed in various ways. First, as in examples 1 and 6, the interviewees talk about the general abundance and availability of jobs in Britain. This certain and universal image is built in the context of talking about the interviewees' migration and there is no negotiation of the interviewees' positions in Britain; such a construction implies that they expected to enter the British reality and start taking advantage of it immediately. The view is that they will not have problems getting jobs and they will live in affluence (example 1: "there is everything in abundance here, and people don't have a problem to get a job", example 6: "you will find something good for sure, it will be much much better"). Second, they are included in specific groups (young generation in example 5 and 6) that are expected to have opportunities abroad and simultaneously are in a better position to use this potential. And third, they are constructed as individuals who have the potential to succeed. Leszek (example 7) expects to find secure work and be financially successful, while Zosia (example 6) expects to find a job and to cope with the new situation. In Zosia's case her predispositions (having diplomas, having good English skills and being resourceful) and activities are presented as guarantees of a positive outcome. Significantly, it can be concluded from her narrative that she sees herself fitting better into the British reality than that of Poland because in Poland the mentioned positive traits were unappreciated. It can be inferred that it is only in Britain that all her traits will be appreciated and her

success guaranteed.

In the theoretical chapter on communism and post-communism, a reference was made to the ambivalent self-perception attributed to Poles living in communist Poland. Sometimes this self-perception manifests itself in Poles' statements of belief in being alike Western societies and other times in being inferior. In contrast, the post-communist generation has been characterised (as described in Chapter 2) as feeling equal to Western societies. As the analyses showed, the interviewees built an image of Britain as suitable for them; it was an environment where they felt they could easily fit in, provided they were willing to work. Simultaneously, they presented themselves as fitting into the positive image they had constructed of the British reality.

The pattern that appeared within the narratives indicates the informants' expectations about their life in Britain. When quoting the utterances of others related to the situation of future migrants, or when predicting how life would be in the host country, the interviewees were positioned, or they positioned themselves, as being in the right place for them, that the expected reality was precisely the one that they would fit into. A slightly different situation applies to 'the others' that appeared in the narratives of the informants. Some of the informants positioned themselves, or were positioned, as strictly individual migrants-to-be and others were included in a wider group of those who are similar to them (for example the young), who have the same background (e.g., coming from Poland) or just would simply fit in with people living in Britain. This inclusion or exclusion shows that the vision of the West can be constructed as applicable/available to a particular type of person; one is lucky to be the right person for migrating to the West. Such a construction adds something to the understanding of

migration of the young and educated Poles: not only is it a step that guarantees success in life, but it is also a chance that one should not squander (if one wants to behave rationally).

6.3. Rationalisation by reference to confirmed success of migration

This section focuses on one particular aspect of British reality, its job market, constructed by the interviewees as more promising than the one they knew in Poland. The interviewees built a universal, negative, certain and unquestionable image of the Polish job market and presented themselves as not fitting in it. They showed that post-communist reality did not meet their needs: they could not find a job in Poland or they were not satisfied with the one they had.

By expressing negative opinions about the Polish job market, the interviewees implied a positive image of a preferred market, and by leaving Poland in favour of Britain, they indicated the place they expected to find it. The critical voices on the employment market in Poland focused on three main topics: work conditions (the financial aspect of work in particular), relations with employers and availability of work. These were rooted in the interviewees' own experiences and their general observations. Here, the focus is on their perceptions of the unwritten rules practiced during the recruitment process. But the main focus is on the relatively short remarks that the interviewees made to conclude their answers; these additions referred to their own experiences in Britain. They took their arguments further as they showed that they were right about Britain, where they found what they expected.

Example 8.
Patrycja, female, 1979 [below-qualifications – manual work]

I: and were you offered a job there?
Patrycja: well the situation was (.) I would say, unclear. Maybe they would like me to stay, but it was me who was supposed to ask them to let me stay, and not they to offer it to me. So (.) I didn't decide to go for it because I earned very little money during the apprenticeship, maybe later they would give more but (.) there were such moments, hard days, as one says, in communication with the boss. Well and I decided that if I should ask somebody to give me a job, I thank you in such a case, **and within one week after coming here, on the second day, I had a job.**

Example 9.
Wojtek, male, 1972 [below-qualifications – manual work]

I: how was it with work in Poland?
Wojtek: well very hard. I had never worked professionally, (..) because I have never had any connections, neither in the local authority offices, nor in police, nor this (.) for example where I lived, this is quite a small place, I knew people who worked in the local authority offices, they graduated vocational schools, and they worked there, and they weren't some old settled employees, but new employees, young people, after trade schools, and they had these jobs. And I couldn't find a job. The application forms were probably already laying everywhere, where it was possible. And I was catching all various jobs on the black market. Alternatively, if there was an opportunity to catch a job offered by the employment office somewhere in a warehouse (.) but mostly these were jobs within program of the public works and it meant that after three months when the subsidies from the employment office were out **they were replacing the employees on their own. Well and I came here, all the time I work in the same job, and: (.) I have a reputation, from what they say, maybe I will boast a little bit, but for the best employee. I do my best, I do a little bit more than the norm is, I do as I can do. I already got a contract of employment, for four years, after few months of work, and they don't have intention to fire me.**

The first issue that emerged is the image of the Polish reality and the 'facts' about it. In both narratives the interviewees describe negative aspects of employment practices and they express their unhappiness with them. Although the image is based only on their experiences and selective observations, it is presented as applicable to Poland in general. Patrycja's narrative is a good example. For her, it is not only important to have a job: how to get it matters too. She compares how it was in Poland with Britain, outlining the

differences through the language used to construct the procedures in the two countries. In relation to work in Poland, she does not generalise, she just says how it was at her workplace, but when talking about getting a job in Britain, she uses the spatial reference "here"; thus she not only talks about her workplace in Britain, but also constructs a general situation in Poland and in Britain.

The problem of getting a job in Poland is also presented in the narrative of Wojtek. He focuses on the difficulties of getting one, and this time the problem is access to potential posts, which he describes as a problem created by employers. Wojtek constructs them as the active actors contributing to chaos (or even the main reason of it) and to the absurdity of the Polish employment market; these are the Polish employers who could "replace the employees on their own," while the British employers "don't have the will to fire me". The Polish employers seem to act in an arbitrary manner, for example the expression "wymieniali sobie" ("were replacing the employees on their own") in Polish connotes carelessness and scant regard for industrial relations. There is also an impersonal construction of employment procedures in Poland, which Wojtek describes in the earlier part of his narrative as "connections" the absence of which he gives as the reason for his failure to find a job in his profession. As far as Wojtek is concerned, everything apart from the area of 'unprofessional' work seemes to be static and located in a space that is beyond his reach; it is equally static to his job application forms 'lying' in institutions. Thus, for him the job market was governed by unfair employers, a system that he could not enter or confront; he could only leave it to look for a market organised on a rational basis, which according to him was outside Poland. Yet, he stressed, it was not external factors that influenced decisions to employ people, but the willingness on the part of the particular employer ("they also don't want them"). The large scale of the

problem is clearly determined; Wojtek “has never worked in a profession”, “has never had any connections”, his application forms “were lying everywhere”. His narrative about determination in searching for work and “catching all” possible jobs, adds credence to his perception of the market.

Chaos and absurdity, corrupt systems, dishonesty and the illogical behaviour of employers, were all elements that the migrants wished to leave behind. In their narratives they implied that they could not do so in Poland, hence their readiness to leave the country and look for something different and better elsewhere. These narratives were complemented by observations about their lives in Britain. The interviewees decided to talk about their situation in Britain although they were not asked for it; the questions were only about their job situation in Poland.

6.4. Rationalisation by reference to migration as an obvious choice

Another way to construct a decision on migration as rational was to show it as an obvious choice. Obviousness was stressed with statements on the ease and immediacy of the decision to migrate. Before analysing the interviewees’ narratives collected for this research, this section gives an example of a migrant’s narrative placed in a newspaper. It gives evidence to the presence of this discourse in a wider society. A newspaper article about numerous Polish bus drivers leaving for Britain quoted the words of one of the migrants-to-be that captured well the obviousness of his decision about migration:

> When I saw a job advert in the free Metro I made up my mind almost immediately. I think that it's no good sitting in the home country and complain, one should take a risk and find one's luck somewhere else.[4] (Piotrkowiak, 2007)

In this statement, there are two significant aspects of the decision-making process. Firstly, making the decision is impulsive – there is a trigger followed by an immediate reaction ("I saw a job advert ... I made up my mind"). Secondly, it takes only a short reflection to make a decision; there is no consideration needed and no doubts involved ("I made my mind almost immediately"). In this narrative migration is an instant and obvious response to problems experienced in Poland. It is a straight choice between life in Poland and life in Britain, even if a risk is involved. Similar narratives appeared in the data collected from migrants recalling their decisions. Three examples illustrate this point:

Example 10.
Monika, female, 1980 [below-qualifications – manual work]

I: So tell me how did it happen that you came to England.
Monika: **the decision was made spontaneously actually**. **Very shortly after I found out that the government had decided to stop paying something like alimony,** paid by the state, I was deprived / that is, **not suddenly actually**, but earlier somehow I hadn't taken note of it, that suddenly I would be deprived of half of the financial means that I had at my disposal until then, when I was studying. **So it happened, and I came over**. To make up for it financially.

Example 11.
Patryk, male, 1979 [below-qualifications – manual work]

Patryk: so a failed exam, I decided that I wouldn't bother myself about it anymore, and because in Poland I didn't have any prospects for the future good enough, of course apart from going to military service, I'm talking about employment, not the future in a sense of whole my future, **so I decided to accept his invitation. I packed my rucksack**, **and I came**. I came, I headed for the road [to hitch-hike], I am here.

[4] Kiedy zobaczyłem w bezpłatnym "Metrze" ogłoszenie, zdecydowałem się prawie natychmiast. Uważam, że nie ma co siedzieć w kraju i narzekać, trzeba zaryzykować i znaleźć swoje szczęście gdzie indziej.

Example 12.
Wojtek, male, 1972 [below-qualifications – manual work]

I: How did you happen to come to England?
Wojtek: I didn't have work in Poland, mates of my brother worked in England, they were working here on the black market. And once, **they started to talk with my brother by chance**, that if I would like to come I could come, it was already allowed then. They would try to find a job for me. **Frankly I didn't wait long, but I just grabbed my things and I came here.**

The decision on migration is constructed here as instant and obvious in two ways. First, the speed (of the events happening) is expressed literally (Monika: "very shortly"; Wojtek: "I didn't wait long") and the clauses are linked (Monika: "So it happened, and I came over"; Patryk: "so I decided to take advantage of his invitation. I packed my rucksack, and I came"; Wojtek: "I didn't wait long, but I just grabbed my things and I came here"). The time needed to consider the opportunity, to decide and to actually migrate was very short and in most cases it was a matter of a few moments separating making the decision and migrating to Britain. In Wojtek's narrative there is no interval between a conversation on the Internet, packing and coming to Britain. Patryk "packed his rucksack" as if he was going on holiday or on some other journey and Wojtek just "grabbed" his belongings, without any time left to reflect on what to take with him. Things happened quickly.

However, the narrative about the speed of events is disrupted in Monika's account. With the phrase "that is, not suddenly actually, but earlier somehow I hadn't taken note of it," she brings back accuracy to her well-developed dramatic story. The procedure of cutting herself off while saying one thing and fixing ("that is, not suddenly actually") interrupts the story. Although this 'self-repair' undermines the immediacy of the process of

decision making, it demonstrates the significant role of that discourse in her narrative (on 'self-repair' see Levelt, 1983).

Apart from the speed of events, it was coincidence that brought an impression of immediacy and obviousness to the process of decision making. In the case of Wojtek his decision to migrate was a matter of one conversation and somebody's suggestion, rather than his own deliberation. The conversation between Wojtek's brother and his friends residing in Britain is constructed as small talk that included a hint of a possibility to come to Britain. Mentioned by accident, it was a matter of coincidence (in Polish "zgadać się") rather than of a well-planned search for opportunities to go abroad. The way Patryk speaks about his decision to quit his studies when an opportunity to migrate appeared, makes his decision as easy as it is for Wojtek. For him migration is simply acceptance of his friend's invitation.

Impulsive decision-making has been ignored in the literature on migrant population. Jordan and Düvell (2003), concluding their review of the migration strategies used by various migrant groups, observed that it was common among migrants to engage themselves in a planning and preparation stage before actually migrating. Focusing upon unusual strategies, Ryan and her associates (2006), researching Irish migrants to Britain, concluded that geographical proximity and ease of workforce movement may facilitate impulsive and unplanned migration. A study by Chamberlain (1997), using interviews and ethnographic observation, revealed some interesting findings. Ethnographic exploration showed that both men and women engaged themselves in a complex process of decision making. However, only women admitted it in the interviews. Chamberlain's observation on gender differences in constructing migration sheds light on the narratives

presented above, and shows that they depend on discourses available and acceptable to a particular group of migrants.

It is interesting why the interviewees in Chamberlain's and the present researcher's studies were drawing on such a discourse of migration. The supposed immediacy and obviousness of the decision to go abroad may be relevant in constructing a positive image of Britain as a place that is obvious to go in case of problems.

6.5. Rationalisation by reference to migration as an opportunity not to be missed

Some of the interviewees presented migration as an opportunity that should not be squandered. Such a construction was especially notable in the narratives that included the opinions of 'significant' others. This kind of narrative, in which migration was presented as encouraged by society because of its anticipated profits, has been observed in literature. Kandel and Massey (2002) suggested that migration could be seen as the only possible way of improving people's economic situation and it was expected that it would be taken up at a particular stage of life. A similar observation was made by Chamberlain (1997), who observed that the stories of migrants were all organised around the theme of migration as improvement and that the stories of mobility were constructed as an expected behaviour. Significantly, the stories produced by successful or not so successful migrants were similar, as the accounts confirmed or were recounted and interpreted to confirm that migration equates to opportunity. The following extracts provide further evidence for understanding this complex area of people's reasoning for migrating:

Example 13.
Jola, female, 1968 [below-qualifications – manual work]

I: what were your friends saying?
Jola: what were they saying? **Well that it is great, that of course, that it is an opportunity, that simply it is a window to the world that opens in front of us**. [...]

Example 14.
Marcin, male, 1978 [consistent with qualifications]

I: what were the comments of your friends and family on your idea of leaving?
Marcin: [...] my two bosses, when I told them that I want quit because I want to go, they also didn't say that 'absolutely we don't let you go because you are needed here'. And I was needed indeed. They said that of course **this is an opportunity and so on and so on.** My parents take it the same way, **that one should grab chance** and try something else, because unfortunately, **as it is known,** situation in the country is not too great and not too optimistic, at least at this moment.

Example 15.
Zosia, female, 1979 [consistent with qualifications]

I: what were your friends saying?
Zosia: you know, my friends, **besides one knows how it is now in Poland**, most of my friends are already somewhere abroad, because one knows how does the economic situation looks like now in Poland, so people escape, they look for money somewhere abroad, so really fifty percent if not more percent of my friends are spread all over the world at that moment. That is why I think people understand it. I think that people who are in Poland they either think about leaving, or they will start to think about it soon. Because young people who don't have any prospects, I don't know, to buy a flat, somewhere there, start a life somehow, migration is **the only possible option**. So everybody with the same assumption, 'go, good luck, and **probably soon we will join you**'.

Example 16.
Zosia, female, 1979 [consistent with qualifications]

I: and how did people at work comment on you quitting a job?
Zosia: because the Poles generally have an attitude towards leaving for abroad, one knows why everybody does it, because they do it only because of financial reasons, so these people who somehow were close to me were saying rather 'easy, go, you will manage, for sure you will find something great, it will be much much better, **if I was twenty years younger I would do the same**. Generally all young people **should leave**, because they have **much better prospects abroad**'. So this is what it looked like.

In these quotations, migration is seen as an opportunity (Jola: “opening a window to the world”) or a chance to experience something better (Marcin: “one should grab a chance and try something else”). It is constructed as an opportunity most dramatically in Zosia’s narratives. For her, migration is “the only possible option,” with “no prospects” in Poland (example 15), and “better prospects abroad” (example 16). The constructions of migration are not only positive in their literal meaning but they are also located in the narratives about a positive change in one’s life; in all these cases migration is constructed as a chance of a lifetime.

In the statements quoted, migration is not only a chance for a better life, but also a rational step that one should take when an opportunity appears. This picture of migration emerges from the opinions of ‘the others’ whose statements are presented as a source of encouragement and support to leave Poland (Jola: “that of course”; Marcin: “one should try something”, “one should grab a chance”; Zosia: “all young people should leave”). Significantly, not only are the opinions of ‘others’ quoted, but also their statements expressing their wishes to be in the position of the migrants (Zosia: “if I was twenty years younger”), which strengthen this viewpoint. Migration constructed in such a way is not only an opportunity that one may accept or reject, but also a manifestation of common sense. Therefore, one would act unreasonably by staying in Poland while having the possibility of going abroad.

A description of the situation in Poland has an important role in constructing migration as an opportunity. Marcin (example 14) and Zosia (example 15) both use general phrases with negative connotations: “one knows how it is in Poland”. With this phrase, and the objective description of the Polish reality, both interviewees introduce the

opinions of others on their decision to go abroad. In this political/social/economic context, the emphasis is placed on the positive reactions of those informed of the interviewees' plans. It is not only reasonable to leave Poland, but it seems to be the only solution. The practice of migrating is constructed as the best solution recommended (the interviewees quoted only the positive opinions), the most socially acceptable, thus emphasising further its rationality.

6.6. Rationalisation by reference to migration as a popular practice

In example 15, Zosia expressed her views about Poles' attitudes towards migration: they are thinking of leaving Poland or will soon start to think about it. She specified that she meant young people, as their situation is especially difficult - they just do not have any prospects for a better life in Poland. By constructing her narrative in such a way, Zosia presented migration as a common practice among people similar to her (young people). This section will focus on the interviewees' descriptions of other people migrating and the role played by such narratives in presenting migration as common; such a strategy makes migration legitimised and, as such, rational.

In the following examples the interviewees refer to groups of migrants as they construct migration as a common practice. Janka, Natalia and Zosia talk about their friends and everybody else going abroad or already having the experience of migrating. In the first two narratives, the interviewees answer a question about their friends' reactions to their decision to migrate, and in the last narrative the interviewee refers to the experiences of the migration of her friends when asked about their work experiences in Poland.

Example 17.
Janka, female, 1977 [consistent with qualifications]

I: What were your friends saying?
Janka: **my friends were already here [laugh] my friends, well my best friend,** with whom I have been close since I was ten, she has already been in England, she had left before I started my studies so she had already been here for four years, so she was pleased that I would come here, that we could visit each other more often. My brothers, **two brothers they already had been abroad**, so it wasn't like this that I left everybody, because **I already had these few friends and family abroad.** I also have **friends** in London, who I know since the studies time, they left in the same time, so somehow I don't know, I left (of course), I left there **few friends**, but also few people came here the same time or earlier.

Example 18.
Natalia, female, 1980 [consistent with qualifications]

I: were your friends saying anything?
Natalia: friends, I think that also nothing special, because **we also have friends somewhere there also around the world.** Also those who live in Poland they are also rather mobile. They don't sit in one place only, they are not interested in their own work only, their own house but in general various things. **But friends? I think that nowadays people are so accustomed that everybody is somewhere.** That people go somewhere for a while or to stay forever or I don't know for how long. So I think that even if there was a comment it wasn't anything special.

Example 19.
Zosia, female, 1979 [consistent with qualifications]

I: your friends, how do they experience work in Poland?
Zosia: you know what, those who have a job they are pleased with, they experience it positively. But there are not many of people of that kind, really. As I told you, **a lot of my friends spread over the world.** [...] **A lot of friends. Friends that I knew from other studies, from polytechnic, people who are engineers, who have master's degree, they leave in masses.** [...]

An interruption in example 17 needs further explanation; it is 'self-repair': "my friends, well my best friend". From talking on a general level of all her friends, Janka shifts to the level of a single migrant. She keeps operating on this level throughout her narrative. The discourse of a big scale of migration that she starts her statement with is abandoned, however, it is used which means that this discourse is available to her and it fits the narrative about her being a migrant, but does not reflect her experiences. The fact that

this discourse of a big scale of migration was used, in spite of being irrelevant to her experience, shows her need to negotiate her own migration as a common practice.

Nevertheless, Janka presents migration as common by enumerating those migrants who are known to her: personal friends, friends and members of her family. In this way she creates an impression that there are many migrants in Britain. Significantly, when she specifies who is abroad, she uses expressions “my friends”, “my friend”, “my two brothers”, “few acquaintances and family abroad”, “acquaintances in London”, “few people came here at the same time as we did” and she contrasts them with “I didn’t leave all” and “I left there few acquaintances”. She talks often about those who she joined in Britain and they seem to be in majority in comparison to those left in Poland, thus constructing migration as a common practice. Additionally, by presenting migrants known to her and in a similar situation (because of their age, place of residence, education) she depicts herself to be part of this group of migrants.

Natalia portrayed the phenomenon of migrating from Poland as common by referring not only to her friends (people who are similar to her who are spread all over the world), but also other people. The large scale of the phenomenon is constructed with the expression “nowadays people are so accustomed that everybody is somewhere”. Thus not only her friends share this point of view but everyone does, and not only her friends participate in migration (including her) but again – everybody. Interestingly, she uses the adverb “also” a few times, which makes the number of those who migrate a great one. Three instances seem to be especially significant, as they are all grouped together: “we **also** have friends somewhere there **also** around the world” and “and those who live in Poland **also** are rather mobile”.

Similarly to Janka, Zosia also chooses enumeration as a strategy to place herself within a common practice. For her it is not enough to say that a lot of her friends have left Poland. She enumerates who they are (by referring to the groups and not to the individuals), stressing how many of them left, or by the use of expressions indicating the huge scale of the phenomenon (lots of people, a large scale) and she uses a special expression to refer to people leaving Poland: “spread over the world,” as they reached many places in large numbers.

In these three narratives, leaving Poland is constructed as a rational practice by the use of expressions suggesting that people similar to the interviewees do it, that many people do it, or that it is something that everybody does and is a practice that does not surprise anybody anymore because of its large scale. The interviewees portrayed themselves as belonging to a much larger group of Polish migrants. Giving examples of co-migrants accounts, and doing so with language that makes migration a common thing (not only by pointing out how many people leave but also that migration is widely accepted) is a way of constructing migration as a rational practice. What emerges from these narratives is that the interviewees discursively establish a group of migrants to which they belong and by doing so make their migration as a mirroring of others’ decisions.

The narratives quoted in this part of the chapter can be interpreted within a framework of social networks. In this case, the analysis would focus on discovering the role that relationships and contacts may have in facilitating migration. The narratives on migration as common and their meaning in the narratives of interviewee experiences provide an insight into social networks among migrants. Social networks are widely explored in migration studies and some even take networks as crucial to understand

patterns of migration (Ryan, Sales, Tilki and Siara, 2007; Jordan and Düvell, 2003; Boyd, 1989; Castles and Miller, 2003). In contrast to research focusing on how other people influence migrants' decision on migration, this chapter has explored the ways in which social networks are narrated, and the role of such narratives in the construction of migration as a rational practice.

6.7. Conclusion

The narratives presented in this chapter were built with the discourses of rationality. The interviewees not only described what motivated them to make the decisions to leave Poland, but they also engaged in arguments resulting in the establishment of 'a cluster of rights to perform certain actions' (Harré and Moghaddam, 2003, p.5). As a result, they made migration a positive change worthy of bringing into life. The migrants' drive to go to Britain was justified by the conviction in their narratives about their pre- and post-migration knowledge of the host country. The drive to migrate was also legitimised by presenting migration as the only option possible and, as an obvious option. Rationalistic discourses contributed to the normalisation of the migrants' behaviour by making migration a widely accepted practice in Polish society.

The use of strategies of rationalisation, applied by interviewees to convince the listener about the rationality of one's decision, raises questions about motivation. A possible explanation is that talking about one's decision to migrate was considered threatening to the interviewees' 'face'. They were under pressure to present themselves in a favourable light, as rational individuals. This observation overlaps with the self-presentation of Polish migrants as rational market actors responding to economic opportunities (Düvell, 2004). Also Fabiszak (2007), Eade and his associates (2007), researching Polish

migrants, noticed that their interviewees made their migration a rational and well-justified step in their lives. These researchers observed that for Polish youth, migration was ‘a school of life’ (experience of migrating is educational itself) and holidays (also adventure). However, Düvell, Fabiszak and Eade’s conclusions referred to the factual reasons that drove migrants. This chapter has shown that such narratives could also tell us something more about the challenges of this migration. This conclusion is supported by a study presented by Galasińska and Horolets (2010) on the clash between the narratives on migration present in Polish society and the individual stories of post-accession migrants. Their study discussed the voices coming from Poles residing in Poland manifesting the negative attitudes towards recent migrants from Poland to Britain (including mocking comments on migrants’ success abroad). An evidence of such voices allows understanding better the rationalisation discourses of the interviewees presented in this chapter.

Furthermore, a theory of reproduction of myth (Sayad, 2004) described in Chapter 3 remains in connection with the strategies of rationalisation used by the interviewees to protect their ‘face.’ An effort taken by the interviewees to protect their ‘face’ in the presence of the interviewer brings in Sayad’s idea of maintaining the positive image of Britain and migrating to Britain and one’s success abroad regardless of the reality. This interpretation of the data will be discussed further in Chapter 10.

CHAPTER 7. ECONOMIC DILEMMAS OF MIGRANTS

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STRATEGIES OF DISTANCING FROM MONEY

7.1. Introduction

The first analytical chapter analysed migrants' discourse on migrating to Britain. This discourse involved the interviewees' attempts to convince the listener about the rationality of their decision to migrate. They did so by presenting a positive image of British reality and by claiming that they perceived migration as a popular practice among people similar to themselves. Such discourse, especially its rhetorical and argumentative features, sheds light on the problematic nature of talking about one's own migration. It raises the issue of protecting one's face. This chapter continues to explore the lived experience of migration and its challenging aspects. It focuses on the economic aspect of migration, and its place in the respondents' narratives.

This chapter analyses how the interviewees built their narratives while describing the characteristics of what constitutes 'work' and 'a good job'. The ways the interviewees talk about this abstract concept provides an insight into the discourse of their migration; their statements on expectations about 'work' and 'a good job' are produced not in a vacuum, but in the situation of an interview about their personal migratory experiences and its possible profits. Firstly, this chapter describes the key points from the literature on the socio-economic aspect of work. Secondly, it moves on to the migrants' narratives and their statements about 'work' and 'a good job'. Thirdly, it explains the patterns in the migrants' narratives within the framework of the background literature.

7.2. Work in its socio-economic dimension

Two dimensions of 'work' determine its socio-economic character (Poleszczuk, 1991). Firstly, work is an activity that has economic value and results in receiving payment. Secondly, it is as a system of values that influences its meaning, shapes its ethos and formulates the symbolic motive for entering the employment market. These two dimensions complement each other; payment has not only an economic but also a social meaning related to work ethos and social prestige rooted in values present in a particular society.

The young generation of migrants that is the focus of this research was immersed in work discourses coming from both the past and the present, both from Poland and from the West. In Poland, where they grew up, western and post-communist discourses and practices were mixed together. They have been influenced by many systems of values which impact on their attitudes towards work. This section focuses on the work discourses identified in the literature on work ethos and social prestige in communist and post-communist Polish society, before analysing the discourses used by the migrants. In doing so, it presents a map of discourses on work that are currently available in the Polish society.

Making reference to past and present work discourses when discussing the discourses of the young generation of migrants interviewed for this study, who had had little or no work experience in Poland is well-grounded. Kalinowska (1978) observed that attitudes towards work are already formed in childhood. Willis's perspective (1977) wrote about a culturally learned sense and the subjective inhabitation of labour power. Paugh (2005), taking a language socialisation approach, claimed that children learn about work in the

routine social interactions with parents (for example dinnertime conversations). She observed the initiation of children into discourses and ideologies of work. Children acquire work-related values and expectations, related narratives and analytical skills through taking part in parents' conversations, but also through overhearing them. Of course, parents' conversations are only one of many areas where children may learn about the economic dimension of work and the social power of money.

The ideology underpinning work in its economic meaning that was present in Polish society differed depending on the premises of the political system, the economic demands, and the people's needs. Post-war society was characterised in communist propaganda as a 'workers' society'. The working class was elevated to the position of the owner of the means of production in response to the poverty experienced by its members (Merkel, 1994). The proposed solution was 'the holy trinity of labour, bread and housing' (Merkel, 1994, p.57). These ideals were meant to be implemented with rules of equality and community (collectivism) against social diversity and private enterprise. Implementing these rules did not mean hostility towards consumerism but an antagonism towards private forms of consumption that excluded the masses. In relation to these rules, an instrumental attitude to work (working only for money) was also condemned. Members of the bourgeoisie were identified as obsessed with possession and working only because of financial reasons. Consequently they were identified with negative attitudes such as greed, brutality and aggressive rivalry (Michalik, 1970). In contrast, positive attitudes towards work in its own right and work for the sake of society were emphasised and preferred. The joy of working for society while being free of mercenary tendencies was at the core of the socialist philosophy of work (Michalik,

1970). According to this philosophy, the workers should have sought satisfaction at work, possibility to self-express, and to develop their own personality.

Propaganda about the ideal image and work attitude of a socialist worker changed throughout the communist regime. Two reasons behind this change were identified in the literature. As Gładys-Jakóbik (2005) observed, the country's economy during the communism needed a new citizen – a committed worker but also a consumer. The other reason for a change in propaganda was in response to the growing needs of society and the spread of non-socialist practices. Needing to make communism more convincing to society, the regime was in constant negotiation between the state and society. In the sixties, a balance between family and working life was promoted and was presented as an indication of success. Progression at work and an average standard of life were supposed to be gained as a result of very hard work and in spite of initial hardship. An image of 'proper' consumption was created by presenting condemned groups of consumers, those who longed for a 'life of luxury'. Luxury was linked with illegal business rather than with hard work.

Higher education and initiative were shown as admirable, but only if used to build 'stability' in life. Modesty was seen as evidence of a stable position built with a clear conscience, giving a feeling of security and providing for basic needs. Additionally, material goods were supposed to be possessed in sufficient amounts and obtained through hard work. Furthermore, the focus on consumption was mostly restricted to commodities regarded as necessary to lead a normal life; for example a flat but not a house, furnishings but not a car were preferred and promoted by communist propaganda. At the same time, innovation and creativity were valued less than conformity. Those

who wanted to do more were discouraged; being promoted, drawing profits, taking risks and wishing for prestige was condemned (Koralewicz-Zębik, 1979; Gładys-Jakóbik, 2005).

System changes in the Polish economy and employment market (work was no longer guaranteed in post-communism) were followed by a change in the image of work (Sikorska, 2000; Rutkowski, 2002). Work became one of the main values in life and a crucial element of life (Rutkowski, 2002). Life aims (financial, social and spiritual) became dependent on work. Work became a source of economic and social value (Poleszczuk, 1991). With the free market came opportunities to work one's way up, to gain a high financial and social status. Merkel observed that East Germans after unification with West Germany in 1991 'learned to understand that the commodities around them possessed a symbolic sense different from their senses under socialism' and that from then on 'objects were necessary to show that you belonged to a group, they were measures of cultural and social distinction' (1994, p.61). Commodities began to be perceived as signs of social status. Similarly, Morawska (1999) observed that members of the new middle class in post-communist Eastern Europe ostentatiously displayed Western-made objects (furnishings, garden furniture, curtains in the windows, cars, colour TV and satellite dishes, stereo systems, computers, electronic kitchen equipment, fashionable clothing) to satisfy status requirements as measures of success (also in Domaradzka, 1996; Jaźwińska and Okólski, 1996).

Although the literature on the economic dimension of work present in Polish society seemed to simplify the much more complicated social reality (with rival discourses present in society, especially those related to the consumption desires of its members),

they express the dominant discourses of the time. Most importantly, the socio-economic dimension of work as shaped in post-communist Polish society was understood in the literature as being under the influence of both the communist past and new capitalist ideas. In this study, the work related values will give a framework to explore young migrants' discourses about work and will help to better understand the lived experience of migration.

That said, there is a need for a final remark before turning to the analysis: talking about work and its economic dimension is face-threatening. Determining one's position towards earning money and consumption shows one's system of values and classifies a speaker as a member of a group sharing these values. Therefore, constructing one's position means making choices that may be face-threatening in the context of the interview. The analysis in this chapter gives evidence of this claim.

7.3. Distancing achieved with generalisations

In this part of the chapter, the focus is on the narratives produced in response to a question about what meaning work has and what a good job is. In the following analysis, financial reward emerges as a dominant topic and the strategies used by the interviewees to talk about it are discussed. Moreover, there is a link made between these constructions and the narratives present in the society 'trying to understand why and how the migrants absorb and reflect, critically examine, fight against or rewrite them, or why they want to be seen and perceived in certain ways' (Wagner and Wodak, 2006).

In all the examples quoted in this chapter, the interviewees mentioned good earnings as one of the elements of a good job. However, it was a challenging subject for them to talk

about. In their narratives they dealt with ‘good earnings’ by distancing. They built their narratives to avoid constructing themselves as people who want to earn large amounts of money. Four strategies of distancing the speaker from money were identified:

1) generalising – the interviewees generalised while expressing and justifying the wish to earn ‘good’ money;

2) impersonalising and balancing – the interviewees talked impersonally about money and they referred to a just salary (appropriate according to the quality of work);

3) mitigating – the interviewees talked personally but indirectly about money;

4) belittling – the interviewees talked personally about money but they referred to a minimum that they wished to spend.

This section of the chapter focuses on the strategy of distancing by generalising. In all narratives quoted here, talking about earnings is challenging, especially talking about high earnings. What emerges from the first two narratives is that the interviewees’ wish for having a good salary has to be put into frames of generalisation in order not to be seen as falsely modest.

Example 1.
Justyna, female, 1974 [consistent with qualifications]

I: and a good job, what does it mean to you?
Justyna: a good job? Such a job that I would like, and that would give me **a sea of money** [with exaggeration]. **How mundane it is** (unclear) **well this is what we work for, this is what the truth is**. I don’t have an aim to fulfil at work, but also I’m glad that at least I have knowledge about area I’m working in. Maybe that way.

Example 2.
Janka, female, 1977 [consistent with qualifications]

> I: and a good job, what does it mean to you?
> Janka: a good job. A good job. I think that **well I would lie if I didn't say that that this is good money**. **Because nowadays it is still hard to live without money**. And when looking at our situation in Poland, where it is still hard to get a good job, there is a problem I don't know, with buying a car, or buying a house, because life isn't easy, there is a big unemployment. So I admit that for sure this money make life easier. I also think that realisation of some one's own dreams, self-development, development of one's own skills, meeting other people, the way to meet other people.

The expressions "this is what the truth is" (Justyna) and "I would lie if I didn't say" (Janka) reflect what should be said when talking about good work; avoiding mentioning it would simply mean taking a stance. Such expressions suggest that talking about high earnings is face threatening. Mentioning it as well as omitting it is unwelcome, and as such – poses a dilemma.

Justyna openly admits that she wants to earn a lot, but in such a way that it is clearly not easy for her to talk directly about such a wish. Thus she uses the expression "a sea of money", which sounds less serious than the alternative expression "a lot of money". She also utters it with exaggeration. Immediately after saying it, she justifies her attitude. In doing so she shifts from a personal to a general perspective ("we") to support her opinion. Thirdly, she claims that what she says has the status of truth and by doing so legitimises her way of thinking. When talking about pleasure linked to work or self-fulfilment she adopts a personal perspective. Thus, only money matters are threatening enough to provoke Justyna to justify her statement.

While Janka points directly at "good money" as an element of a good job, she immediately justifies her wish to earn well and does it on a general level ("it is still hard to live without money"). Also, the narrative is built in a way that implies that it is the

current reality that makes her hold a wish that she would not have under different circumstances. The repeated “still”, together with “unfortunately”, stress that what she says does not represent her permanent attitude: it is the current situation that makes her speak in such a way. The way she determines the amount of money is also interesting. On the one hand she talks about good money and buying a car and a house, but on the other she talks about living without money. This constructs a certain style of life as based on common needs, the universal – ‘normal’ ones.

7.4. Distancing achieved with impersonal and balanced statements

In the following two examples the interviewees also make earnings an important element in defining ‘a good job’. They identify a ‘just’ level of salary, which is constructed as a well-deserved and adequate reward. Money earned is an abstract concept, an indication of achievement:

Example 3.
Zosia, female, 1979 [consistent with qualifications]

I: and what does a good job mean to you?
Zosia: (…) a job that you realise yourself in, in a sense as I was saying, you do what you like, you are satisfied with work done, **well and I think that money is extra motivation**, **that you get, that are a sort of extra gratification of your work and if you make the best and really do your best in that work. This is a kind of reward and a proof that somebody rewards you because you do well, what you do.**

Example 4.
Leszek, male, 1977 [consistent with qualifications]

I: what does a good job mean to you?
Leszek: gratifying and a job that gives you **adequate earnings for adequately put / for effort put into it.**

On a grammatical level the interviewees create a distance by avoiding talking about their own situation - they transfer to “you” and make the statement impersonal [Zosia:

“that you get”, “gratification of your work”, “if you make the best”, “somebody rewards you”, “you do well, what you do”; Leszek: “a job that gives you”].

Although salary is not the most important element in determining what a good job is, Zosia introduces it as an “extra motivation.” It dominates her narrative. What she does in this developed narrative about salary is only to imply her wish to have enough money. Firstly, she links the high degree of engagement put into work to a salary. Secondly, she talks about the great effort that one makes (“make the best”, “do one’s best”, “work well”). Thirdly, she takes the reaction of an employer as a reward. Therefore, the message that she implies is that earnings are supposed to be balanced with appreciated hard work.

Leszek makes the elements of a good job equal (by using the conjunctive “and”), but the way he talks about earnings enables him to do it without losing face. The language he uses to characterise earnings allows him to present them as adequate. It is not the money that he talks about, but payment depending on his effort. Another interviewee, Kacper, used even fewer words and with one short expression “financial effects” he implied that before effect goes an effort; a desired salary here is a well-earned payment. Such a balance guarantees that the interviewees construct themselves as rational people and not hungry for money.

7.5. Distancing achieved with mitigations

In contrast with distancing by generalising and impersonalising, the interviewees also distanced themselves from ‘big money’ while operating on a personal level. The personal level does not give the same face protection as in reference to a group sharing

the same values. Therefore, it had to be counterbalanced with another distancing strategy. Examples of such balancing are presented in this and the following section of the chapter.

In the following two examples, the interviewees distance themselves from the money they talk about by using expressions that replace the word “money” or accompany it in a way that mitigates its financial overtone:

Example 5.
Kacper, 1976 [below qualifications, clerical work]

I: and what does a good job mean for you?
Kacper: a good job? This is a job that I do not have to be embarrassed with, a good job for me it is an intellectual job, for me it is a job that make sense, and for me it is a job that **brings financial effects**. And this is what a good job means for me.

Example 6.
Jola, 1968 [below qualifications, manual work]

I: what role does work have in your life?
Jola: **a source of income, a source of a [little] money for living**. Of course if it brings pleasure, and in the current job I like / oh, this is the first job that I really go to with pleasure. Because not only people are great, I work with great people, but also the whole atmosphere, the whole atmosphere. There hasn’t been a single day during which I was particularly irritated or stressed, or something else. So in this moment I can say that **it is not only money addition** but also a social one.

In both extracts the interviewees avoid using the word “money”. Kacper, in extract 5, includes “financial effects” into his definition of a good job. This expression is significant, as it shows that in negotiating his narrative and in making choices about the way to refer to “money”, he decides to speak indirectly about it. Referring to a job as bringing something, Kacper shows himself not as someone who earns money but who is receiving it. Therefore, he is just a recipient and not an active agent in the money transfer. He refers to payment for work as “financial effects” instead of “money”.

Perhaps the latter implies too much materialism. By using the former expression he makes this element of his job more abstract and the job itself as not connected with amassing and spending money.

Expressions that Jola uses include: "a source of income, a source of [little] money for living" and "money addition". In the case of the first phrase, most interesting is the use of the diminutive form while talking about money. Money becomes "little money" which gives it more subtle overtones and also implies a moderate amount. "Money addition" also implies that the salary is not the main focus of the person's efforts. Overall, the interviewees managed to mitigate the financial dimension of their work.

7.6. Distancing achieved with belittling

This section continues the analysis of narratives in which the interviewees operate on a personal level while talking about earning a little. The chapter will now turn to the narratives where they earn 'enough'. The strategy that the interviewees use is belittling – they negotiate their narratives with expressions and explanations to present their salaries as very modest. In the first of two examples it is dignity that defines work, and in the second one it is moderation in consumption needs:

Example 7.
Wojtek, male, 1972 [below qualifications – manual work]

I: and what does a good job mean to you?
Wojtek: a good job it is such a job that **I can live on**, and a job in which I'm sure of the next day. Like the one I have now that I go the next day to work and I know that I have that job. Well and of course also relations at workplace, how they respect you and (..)

Example 8.
Jola, female, 1968 [below qualifications – manual work]

I: and what does a good job mean to you?
Jola: a good job? Most of all a job giving satisfaction, a job that I feel good in, **well and a job for money that is enough for my needs. And because I don't have outrageous needs, so** (…)
I: so what are the needs?
J: what are the needs? These are needs of that sort, well I don't know, needs of everyday life, it doesn't have to be, well of everyday life well, one knows, normal needs, but what I think about in the nearest future, I think about buying a car, not a new one for sure, **because I can't afford such a car**, but few years old, not too old. Well for slow saving up for a house, I don't know buying a good camera. These are my dreams.

Wojtek does not simply state that his wish is to earn enough. 'Enough' is constructed as satisfying the most basic needs, sufficient just to make ends meet. Such a construction is significant especially in relation to earnings; a will to distance himself from a well-paid job is noticeable once again. This is implied by the expression "utrzymać się"/"live by" that in Polish refers to a subsistence existence. Significantly, he defines a good salary rather than a good job. Thus in the first phrase he reduces a notion of a job to a notion of salary. Furthermore, this first phrase points to a functional role of work (providing for living). Only the function of work, fulfilling his extrinsic needs, is important for him. Creating a detached relationship between him and his work is achieved by the expression "z której" – to live by work, instead of "w której" - at work, when Wojtek talks about work security and his relationship with an employer. Not sure I understand that.

Jola also focuses on needs as a determinant of salary but this time it is not dignity but moderation that guides her. The way she talks about earnings suggests that it is important for Jola to specify a level of salary that would satisfy her. According to her, it should be an amount of money that "is enough" (in Polish "starczać"/"being enough")

for “needs”. In the later stages of the interview, Jola discussed her ideas about her future spending plan. She mentioned purchasing “a little house” and she added “not too big, not too expensive” and “a little car”. Therefore, in both cases the interviewees’ desire is rational because it is limited to their basic needs.

Narratives on the meaning of work and a good job were built in contrast to experienced or observed situations in Poland, but they also appeared to be rooted in the context of migration. The way the interviewees talked about earnings indicates that it was important for them to take a position on the topic and that it had to be done carefully, hence distancing. Two things indicate this. Firstly, whatever problems it can cause, the interviewees decided to talk about money. Therefore, talking about money is included in the discourse on what constitutes work and a good job, and similarly when talking about work and a good job, one has to talk about money. Secondly, the interviewees did not find it easy to position themselves on this subject; any attitude taken, the desire to earn (a lot), had to be portrayed as reasonable.

7.7. Conclusion

This chapter analysed the ways the interviewees talked about the economic dimension of work and a level of salaries that they would be happy to achieve. The subject of this chapter, positioning of the interviewees towards money, was drawn from the collected data and not from the literature. In that way, this data driven study sheds light on an aspect of the migrants’ experience that has not been explored to date.

The chapter concluded that it was difficult for the interviewees to talk directly about ‘good money’. The linguistic negotiations that they engaged themselves in showed that

it was not a neutral topic to elaborate on. The chapter explored the strategies of distancing that the interviewees used while talking about money. By generalising, impersonalising, balancing, mitigating and belittling they managed to position themselves as a group of people who are not greedy for money. They just wanted what they deserved or what was necessary for living. In this way, they showed that they were within 'a norm'. This norm can be seen as 'moderation'; expectations towards earnings were balanced and negotiated within the boundaries of what was established as rational and just.

It is not only a similarity in a meaning of 'work' and the definition of 'a good job,' but also the fact that the notions were constructed in a similar way that is important. Such constructions show that the same issues were challenging for this particular group of migrants. Lived definitions of 'work' and 'a good job' drew on the available discourses of work and a good job, negotiated according to the current context of migration and the interviewees' need to protect themselves from being seen as (materialist) economic migrants. These are not only discourses on work and a good job, but also discourses on migration accepted in a particular society.

The narratives about money appeared to have a special status for this group because of their significant role in the particular story of each interviewee. The narratives were not only an opportunity to present which values are important for the interviewees in their lives (and thus create an image of themselves) but also which values are important for them in their migration; the interviewees had to position themselves as migrants willing to grow rich quickly or simply looking for a normal life. There was conformity in the discourse of a good job - what could be said or not said about a good job in the context

of migration. The interviewees' narratives appeared to be moderated in line with discourses on migrants from a post-communist country. A possible interpretation of such a discourse is that what they struggled with in their narratives was the image of a migrant who wants to earn a lot quickly.

One of the explanations of this discursive struggle present in the interviewees' narratives is their being permeated with Polish emigration ideology - the set of values attached to migration in Polish society (Garapich, 2007c). Garapich (2007c) observed that the official Polish historical discourse on migration is underpinned with moral judgement; it differentiates between political and economic migration, with the former constructed as having higher moral status. While political migration (exile) is seen as 'a sacred act in the fight for freedom' (migration driven by ideas), economic migration is 'a necessary evil, a manifestation of weakness or simply cowardice, egoism and an ambiguous act of turning away from the fate of the nation' (migration driven by 'bread') (Garapich, 2007c, p.129). Sacrifice for the nation is opposed to individual choice and agency. This moral dichotomy, shaped by centuries of Polish migration, was in power when two migrations occurred simultaneously. In the data presented in this study, there were hardly any references made to former generations of migrants from Poland. However, the interviewees' struggle may be a result of post-accession discourses on migration being deeply rooted in the moral dichotomy, with economic migration having a lower status.

Another possible explanation is based on the idea that the discourses of the interviewed migrants are rooted in discourse of moderation present in communist and post-communist Poland. Communist propaganda condemned materialism (Siemieńska, 1988;

Miszalska, 1998). The aim was to promote non-materialistic values and aversion towards rich people. For example, people who could afford commodities (a car, a summer house and holidays abroad) because of their occupational position were perceived as having excessive needs; this was a form of 'envious egalitarianism' (Nowak, 1979; Machonin, 1997), which left those who could only provide for their basic needs frustrated. Similarly, Morawska wrote about the post-communist reality, where 'displayed ownership of the middle-class status symbol-objects evokes appreciation but also envy among those who cannot afford it' (Morawska, 1999). This presence of mixed aversion and envy towards those who own is one possible interpretation of the migrants' discourse.

This explanation is also in tune with an evaluation of the 'illegal' economic activities performed by ordinary people in the early years of the post-communist transformation. While the actions of speculators, middlemen, dishonest salespersons and corrupt government officials were seen by the society members as the morally reprehensible and unacceptable behaviour of individuals grabbing money, the illegal activities of those 'who were not seeking to get rich, but just to make ends meet – who, like almost everyone, were trying to "work the system" to obtain scarce but necessary goods and services,' were morally justified and accepted (Millar and Wolchik, 1994, p.22). This appreciation of those who want little, and aversion to those who are greedy may be reflected in the interviewees' narratives.

The discourse of moderation was also reflected in advertisements. Commenting on an advertising slogan from 1992, 'Give yourself a little bit of luxury', Bralczyk (2006) argued that putting together the expressions 'a little bit' and 'luxury' was significant.

Just after communism collapsed, people were not prepared for ‘extravagance.’ Luxury would be inconsistent with the belief in modesty and moderation as desirable values. One could feel appreciated and had consent to exceed ‘a little bit’.

One more interpretation of the discourse about a good job is possible; it can be found within the ideology of social justice. When the interviewees were defining good earnings they not only presented themselves as aiming for the existential minimum and moderation in consumption, but for a just life that they lacked in Poland. Sztompka (2000a) wrote about ‘primitive egalitarianism’ – egalitarianism that postulates that everyone has the same size of stomach so they should obtain the same amount of commodities. This slogan was produced in communism as a manifestation of the dislike of extraordinary successes and profits; it was popular among those who were frustrated with the successes of others. According to Sztompka, such an attitude may still be in practice. The narratives of the migrants might have been an echo of such postulations.

Overall, the literature on Polish migration and communist and post-communist Polish society provides two complementing interpretations of the discourses identified in the interviewees’ narratives. Both of them are grounded in moral dilemmas underpinning the interviewees’ motive for migration. The interpretation based on a comparison of political and economic migration (Garapich, 2007c) shows migrants as being faced with the task of justifying their decision to migrate. The interpretation based on discourse of moderation pervading Polish society (Siemieńska, 1988; Miszalska, 1998; Sztompka, 2000a Bralczyk, 2006), with more convincing studies based on the analysis of everyday life quandaries over one’s and others’ economic status (Nowak, 1979; Millar and Wolchik, 1994; Machonin, 1997; Morawska, 1999), points at migrants as entangled in

discourses of owning. Chapter 10 will attempt to explain the interviewees' dilemma displayed in the narratives in the wider context of their migration, expectations about it and questions about their morality that appeared simultaneously or later.

CHAPTER 8. UNDEREMPLOYMENT OF MIGRANTS AS A CHALLENGING EXPERIENCE – STRATEGIES OF DISTANCING FROM WORK BELOW QUALIFICATIONS

8.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the lived experience of being underemployed abroad. The problem of being underemployed in the host country is not exclusive to migrants coming from post-communist countries to the West but it is a problem of many groups of migrants, refugees in particular (e.g., Aspinall and Watters, 2010). In this study, the interviewees' statements on working below one's qualifications revealed unsettling aspects of such a practice and put the unexpected problematic nature of their economic migration into question. What was supposed to be a well-justified non-demanding experience, just doing what one is supposed to do and focusing on future aims, was constructed as affecting one's way of life and threatening one's self-image (Goffman, 1967; Brown and Levinson, 1978). Moreover, the interviewees' discourse on migration was challenged by the perceived low social standing (related to low occupational prestige) of the overqualified migrants.

Firstly, the chapter will focus on occupational prestige that was important for the overall experience of economic migrants. Secondly, the strategies that the interviewees used to distance themselves from work below their qualifications (manual/clerical work) will be introduced:

1) distancing by justifying;

2) distancing by narrative resistance;

3) distancing by ridiculing manual work.

These strategies are understood in the analysis as a negotiation of occupational identity built with occupational prestige or stigma. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the findings and of the individual and social implications that underemployment may have.

8.2. Occupational prestige in post-communist Poland

Occupational prestige, the social value associated with work, is organised in 'hierarchies of prestige that reflect social judgements of work's relative worth and esteem' (Rothman, 1998, p.192). This prestige has important implications, as people's self-concepts and concepts of others are in part rooted in their social position (Nock and Rossi, 1979). This social dimension of work was captured by Buchowski, who argued that through work people 'can comprise a pursuit of a specified sort called "profession"', where professions are 'socially constructed categories people identify themselves, classify others, and are described by others' (Buchowski, 2004, p.175). Occupational prestige plays a role in achieving personal pride and creating a positive self-image (Rothman, 1998). It was also an important element of self-evaluation for the interviewees. Before moving to the migrants' narratives, the next section will show how Poles in Poland evaluate work.

Rankings of work according to occupational prestige vary between communist and capitalist societies; these rankings depend on the technological and demographic development of a society and political/economic/social conditions. The most fundamental distinction and classification is probably one that divides the workforce into blue- and white-collar (Rothman, 1998). Under communism, manual workers were praised by the state, but Polish society was divided in subsequent communist

propaganda; for example, some Poles perceived a change from manual to clerical job as a desired promotion and ennoblement in society (Sztumski, 1999). Opinion polls on perceptions of work (including professional, clerical, skilled and unskilled manual jobs) showed that while in the West a hierarchy of prestige follows a hierarchy of earnings and responsibility at work, there is no such relationship in Poland (Domański, 2004 on data collected in 1958, 1996, 1999). In the nineties in Poland there was no distinct rule linking the higher ranks with intellectual work and the lower ranks with manual work (Falkowska, 1997). White-collar professionals and skilled manual workers gained a high status but there was still no blue-collar and white-collar hierarchy, for example a miner was assessed as enjoying almost the same status as professor. It is worth mentioning that the highest ranks were occupied by jobs that were perceived as being relatively badly paid, such as teachers and doctors. Thus many different criteria (education, income, working conditions and work duties) were employed by the participants of the opinion pools.

There is a further phenomenon in Polish society that may influence the perception of work and occupational prestige in Poland. With capitalism, individual success became connected to a belief in the power of the free market (Markowski, 2000); knowledge, initiative, ambition, and enterprise became highly valued. More and more Poles have been educated to university level. People (especially the young), who became immersed in the ideology of success when capitalism came to Poland, however, soon felt cheated (Tymowski, 2006). Many university graduates were overqualified for the market or they were underpaid as professionals (Tymowski, 2006). For them, slogans such as ‘learn, invest in your skills and knowledge, and opportunities will come to you’ appeared to be an illusion (Tymowski, 2006).

Another issue is the occupational prestige in relation to workers coming from post-communist countries working in Western Europe and USA. In post-communist (and also in communist) Poland, there was no disrespect towards work below one's qualifications while abroad (Środa, 2000). With reference to Polish migrants working abroad, individualism, heroism, sacrifice and dedication to work were highly valued in Polish society; this also applied to unskilled manual workers. This pervasive understanding was reflected in the narratives of the underemployed migrants, explaining their attitudes towards their manual jobs; for example Düvell (2004) observed that migrants presented the experience of travelling and working in the West as consumption. Their aim was to learn English, gain experience abroad (and improve one's *curriculum vitae*), and meet other cultures. Simultaneously with working to consume, they were consuming by working – they gained social experience. For them this kind of work was also understood through the concept of development – people should develop themselves by acquiring skills and experience through work. Similarly, Psimmenos and Kassimati described the narratives of work of Polish migrants to Greece as giving an impression of 'settlement, temporality, the importance of change, the life in flux' and an absence of 'grand scenarios, traditions, musts and regrets' (Psimmenos and Kassimati, 2006, p.294). Eade and his associates (2007) observed that for post-accession migrants it was not important what they did abroad as they built their future back home. The analysis in this chapter will show a more problematic nature of the experiences of underemployed post-accesion migrants. It will be achieved by focusing on the way the arguments for taking up work below one's qualifications were delivered in contrast to other studies which took them literally. In that way, the similar narratives including explanation given by migrants and interpreted by other researchers as an indication of a positive experience of migration will be shown as full of dilemmas.

8.3. Underemployment and occupational identity

The questions put to the interviewees in this research encouraged them to reflect on their life decisions and to make sense of their life experiences (more on biographical work in Gubrium, Holstein and Buckholdt, 1994, and Ronai and Cross, 1998, 2003). In particular, biographical work was triggered by the questions about their decisions to leave Poland to look for work in Britain, followed by questions on educational attainment (higher education) and their current occupation (a professional job or a job below their qualifications). The narratives uncovered a struggle in this biographical work for those who are highly educated but underemployed. The most characteristic feature of these narratives is that the interviewees interpreted the questions as an attack on their face. Following that, they dealt with it in two ways – they justified taking up their jobs or they defended them by pointing at some positive features. However, whatever route they took, in effect the way they built their narratives showed that they did not accept that kind of employment.

It is necessary to emphasise the local context of the interview and its role in shaping the narratives and using distancing strategies. The interviewees (graduates of higher education currently working below their qualifications) were doing their biographical work in front of a university representative. Such a situation could work as a face constraint encouraging them to face-work (strategies of distancing from work below qualifications) (Goffman, 1967; Brown and Levinson, 1978).

8.4. Distancing realised with justification

The first type of distancing strategies that was used was justification. In the following two examples, the interviewees justify their decision in taking a job below their qualifications by referring to the difficult situation they were in:

Example 1
Monika, female, 1980 [below-qualifications – manual worker]

I: what role does work play in your life?
Monika: well at the moment a basic one. Because I'm dependent on myself, so I don't get subsistence means of support from anybody, so **I have to work.** I don't say that I don't like working, but I would prefer doing something else.
[...]
I: what do you think generally about the situation of people who work below their qualifications?
Monika: I distinguish it, I distinguish them in two categories. Those people who are **desperate**, and they need money, and they are ready to take up such work and move back on their pathway. And those who aren't ambitious especially, despite of getting some education in Poland, but maybe they studied under pressure of their parents, let's say, and never wanted to do it really, and they were only materialistic-minded.

Example 2.
Marta, female, 1980 [below-qualifications – office worker]

I: where do you work now?
Marta: now, in a company where Kuba somehow realises himself professionally. [describes a company's profile] I work there in a marketing department, so called marketing, although it is not advertising, but more creating some computer bases, at least at the beginning **I had to file** products used in the company, do some kind of balance for them, help them. There are days that / this is really a kind of job only to **survive**, to mentally find one's feet, mix with the English so not to sit at home, not to think about the future, everybody knows that my priority is something / a job in my profession generally.

In both examples going for such a job is constructed as a necessity and a condition of survival. In Monika's case, the necessity to work was caused by a need to earn a living. She constructs her financial situation as dramatic. She presents herself not as self-dependent but as left alone with her financial problem. This financial problem appears to

have touched the core of her life – she was in need of the basics. She avoids mentioning "money" by replacing it with "subsistence means of support" which is akin to the expression "środki utrzymania" in Polish, which refers to what is needed to secure food and a place to live. Without working, and she had no other option than working manually, she would be devoid of financial support – thus this was what she had to do. The 'must' acquires a different meaning in Marta's story. Here it refers to the necessity to work to maintain her mental well-being. Similar to the previous example, constructing the situation as "survival" makes it dramatic; this in effect means that special actions are required and justified.

However, the most significant action taken by these two interviewees towards their current jobs is making additional points about their attitude towards their jobs. Such a choice indicates that their arguments about being in a difficult situation are not enough to justify taking up this kind of job. A shift in Monika's narrative ("so I have to work**.** I don't say that I don't like working"), a change from talking about having to work to liking it, is a significant way to resist the identity of manual workers by building a positive self-image. With this final phrase Monika specifies that her negative attitude towards work is based on the type of work only, and not on her general attitude towards working. This dilemma in self-presentation shows that distancing from such work is a struggle to keep one's face and it is a complex fight, as one has to manoeuvre between the threat of self-degradation and boasting.

Similarly, Marta finds no pleasure in what she does at work. These are duties that she has to fulfil and she reports only negative feelings towards them. She prefers to do something else and she is striving for it. She detaches herself from her work by

constructing herself not as a working agent but as a passive receiver of an order ("I had to file"). By emphasising no attachment to their jobs, both interviewees resist the identity of a simple worker/clerk experiencing satisfaction at work.

Both the interviewees managed to distance themselves from their work and to resist the identity of a manual worker/a clerk by justifying their choices and going to extremes when doing so. Moreover, they also resisted an identity of migrant manual worker/clerk, which was directly referred to in Monika's narrative. She talked about the general situation of her co-migrants as co-sufferers. Work below one's qualifications is presented as the only choice that people have, a necessity because they are in a situation in which they have to work to make a living, and there is no other option of a better (more professional) job. The two categories that Monika distinguishes are clearly separated. The first group is also strictly regulated. This is the group to which Monika belongs. Only those who are in an extreme situation are included – those who are desperate and who need money. The second group is presented not as those who have to, but those who freely choose to work below their levels of qualifications. Their employment careers and ambitions centre on the amount of money they earn and not with the type of work they do.

To justify working below their qualifications the interviewees also used the strategy of pointing at the short period they planned to stay in Britain. This was common when the interviewees talked about their future plans concerning their stay in Britain and their career. The most striking narrative about this 'temporariness' is Tymon's. He makes the most of it when linking the temporal dimension with the spatial one. By doing so he presents himself as not settled in Britain in any way and therefore as being out of any

social stratification. In that way he constructs his occupation as irrelevant and unimportant.

Example 3.
Tymon, male, 1978 [below-qualifications – manual worker]

I: which social class would you classify yourself to?
Tymon: (..) a working class.
I: and the same here and in Poland?
T: in Poland I couldn't classify myself because I was learning all the time. When I was in Poland I was studying, well and after graduating I haven't been in Poland anymore, so… And here, unfortunately, that's the truth, I'm a real worker, a worker.
I: what does it mean to you?
T: a worker, a manual person, who really (.) doesn't think about anything big. You know, spending time with a beer, in a pub, and that's it. The lowest social layer. Exactly.
I: and do you really feel like that?
T: **no, all the time, I'm in this England as if I'm not here.** Even at work **I think what will be when I leave**. I will tell you that in one year after leaving England **I won't even remember** probably that I was in England. This is for me **a transitional period**. Well that one has to survive somehow.

What is clear and unproblematic at the beginning – self-qualification as a member of the working class - appears to be only a label that Tymon uses to reflect on the type of job he has. Firstly, he indicates that he is beyond what he is doing for a living. He directly points out that his stay in Britain is only transitory. Secondly, he imposes temporality on his memories of being in Britain. This seems somewhat implausible – forgetting about living and working for one year or more abroad – but in his narrative it becomes a possible option. In this way he makes this stay a minor event in his life or even an event that is not worth mentioning. Thus, all that is included in the migratory experience – also his job – will be forgotten. Thirdly, this temporality may contribute to diminishing the status of his work, in the sense that he is constantly thinking about his future outside Britain. Therefore he constructs himself in his current life as being totally absorbed with his future. There is *here* (Britain) related to the present day and there is *there* (Poland)

related to the future, but this is only a physical level of experience. There is equivalence between here and there – both referring to Poland. Thus he is outside the host society, outside any group, no labels valid in Britain can describe him properly, and also no activities/situations/jobs can determine his image. So, he can do whatever he wants and his job does not count, as it is temporary.

Patrycja uses this notion of 'temporariness' not in relation to her stay in Britain but to her career:

Example 4.
Patrycja, female, 1979 [below-qualifications – manual worker]

I: what role does work play in your life?
Patrycja: at the moment only earning money. Because well I have not a very ambitious job, so I only earn money, it is nothing interesting. **But I hope that one day, when I adjust here better, have a look around, to find something that will be more interesting for me.**

Temporariness is constructed here in two ways. Firstly, Patrycja justifies the choice of taking up a manual job with a short period of time allocated to look for more suitable employment. Thus, she sees a manual job as a step to getting a better job. Secondly, she places two activities – physical and mental, and work and hopes about the future – in the same present time. Therefore, she works manually but she already hopes to have another job. The focus on the future indicates her negative attitude towards her job. This negativity, brought to the narratives by the interviewees themselves, helped them to resist the identities of workers.

8.5. Distancing realised with narrative resistance

The interviewees also built their narratives on manual and clerical work by referring to its negative aspects, only to resist taking up the identity of a migrant workers. In their narratives, they introduced a negative (unwanted) identity of an underemployed migrant only to reject it. Such a procedure may be characterised as narrative resistance, being a response to discursive constraint. Discursive constraint is experienced as a threat: 'Others have the ability to threaten our opinion of ourselves by suggesting negative categories to define ourselves by' (Ronai, 1997, p.125). Furthermore, narrative resistance as a response to discursive constraint, 'dialectically emerges from and constitutes an alterative stock of knowledge within a stigmatised group' and 'serves to decentre the authority of specific individuals or society to dictate identity' (Ronai and Cross, 1998, pp.105-106). Narrative resistance strategies can be used to create and manage one's own identity (Cordel and Ronai, 1999, p.31) and can involve the language of deviance reshaped in a way to resist taking on a negative identity (Ronai and Cross, 1998).

When talking about their jobs, the overqualified interviewees included statements suggesting the low value of manual work. Such remarks were especially prominent when preceding or following statements about some good aspects of their current jobs. In the first two examples the interviewees talk about the work satisfaction they gain but they also express some reservations:

Example 5.
Jola, female, 1968 [below-qualifications – manual worker]

I: does this job give you satisfaction?
Jola: yes. Yes. **Maybe it is ridiculous** but it gives some satisfaction.
I: why ridiculous?

J: because it may seem ridiculous to some people, especially to those who already have a position, isn't it? With higher education and schools, and how work on an assembly line can give satisfaction. But it can. It can. **Because it is not such a line** that one stands and one stands side by side the other and one screws in these little screws, no, everybody there has to bring some contribution so that this final product was of a good quality. And all these little details contributing to a big success.

Example 6.
Patryk, male, 1979 [below qualifications – manual worker]
I: does this job give you satisfaction?
Patryk: of course. Of course that it gives me satisfaction, **but** as I say, as I said earlier. I am not a person attaching importance to what I am doing, it gives me satisfaction because I can do what I want to do here. And do I fulfil in that job? Let's not exaggerate, [with laugh] a night porter, I take out the garbage and I mind a door to be closed, what is here to be satisfied with?
I: is there anything that you could like in that job?
P: of course. Well, people are nice, there is a contact with a client, they are very nice people sometimes unless a client is drunk and. Of course, that there is something / to like. Because there is peace in this job, nobody rushes too much. Nobody gets irritated too much. It is something that one can like in this job. **But** as people for example, as in your case, they work at universities, they work as doctors or they do something else and this is this aim of their lives, this is what they <u>want</u> to do, they link their development in their work, than no, not in my case. Maybe in few years, because I would like to graduate from university here, graduate geography that I begun in Poland. I hope that they will credit me few subjects, because I looked for information and they are / this is the same, maybe then I will begin working in a profession and then I could tell that indeed, this job gives me satisfaction in a sense that it allows me to develop in a sense that I do what I studied, what I like and what interests me a lot. Not now. In one hour. In two.

The way Jola handles the question indicates her need to renegotiate a hypothetical opinion that despite being a university graduate she could be happy with having a simple manual job. By double nodding ("yes"), double confirmation ("it can"), by describing the work tasks with a sophisticated/professional vocabulary ("final product", "qualitatively good"), and finally, by naming the effect of work as success, Jola constructs her work as valuable. Simultaneously, she seeks to convince, to those who might doubt it, that her job is valuable. By doing so she does not speak about her attitude from her perspective but she takes others' perspective. She then devalues their opinion by saying that what they claim about manual work only appears to them in that

way (she delivers alternative knowledge). Because of others, who may evaluate her and determine her occupational identity, Jola voluntarily engages herself in a task of presenting her manual job as different from other jobs of that kind (work on an assembly line). What she achieves with that comparison is a self-image of a person who is aware that some manual jobs cannot give satisfaction.

Similarly to Jola, Patryk immediately follows statements on his positive attitude towards his job with utterances that somehow minimise the type of work (“but”). Just as Jola did, Patryk strengthens his utterance – “of course” appears a few times. Together with general statements used when enumerating the advantages of his work, these expressions create an impression of obvious and general truth. On the one hand, just as Jola did, he has to prove that manual work may have value. It is not enough to say that it has, one has to convince others about it. On the other hand, Patryk undermines this satisfaction by comparing it with the satisfaction that highly educated professionals may feel. He offers alternative knowledge by describing his personal character and his plans for the professional future. Therefore, he constructs himself as someone who can graduate and work professionally here, and who is aware that only a professional job can bring him satisfaction.

The striking feature of these narratives is that the interviewees try to defend their jobs. They both focus on the positive aspects. But the ways they do so undermine this defence. Both Jola and Patryk, use impersonal expressions when focusing on the positive aspects of their jobs, the aspects that they like. They do not talk about themselves in their jobs but they operate on an impersonal level, and while Jola describes a process of work (“everybody there has to bring some contribution so that

this final product was of a good quality"), Patryk indicates what his job is like ("people are nice, there is a contact with a client, if a client is not drunk and impolite than these are very nice people sometimes. […] there is calm in this job, nobody is in hurry too much. Nobody gets irritated too much").

The next two interviewees seem to recover their composure after mentioning the positive or neutral characteristics of their current jobs. They reflect on it and then begin to undermine their manual jobs to protect face:

Example 7.
Tymon, male, 1978 [below qualifications – manual work]

I: and what made you take such a job?
Tymon: what made me taking it up? I had plans all the time. To sit here till April. So till April and out. If work was there, I was working but I was earning more than three hundreds pounds, I didn't need to look for anything different anything better. Because you see, as I told you, this work required nothing from me, nor effort, because it is not manual work, nor intellectual effort, nor physical effort, for me it was perfect at the beginning. **Of course it had to become boring later.**

Example 8.
Filip, male, 1979 [below qualifications – clerical work]

I: so tell me about for example yesterday's day at work. Or about a night (when you worked).
Filip: [laugh] I don't know whether it was two nights before. The last night when I was at work, it was as <u>any other</u> previous night, although I was working on my own, because at this moment we have few people. One is ill, second one on holidays, so two are left, one is working a few days and second is working a few days. We have to do all by ourselves. So what does it look like, I come at eleven, I print a few reports that I have to have, so that I know how many people are in the hotel in case of fire or anything. And I don't know, [laugh], **well it is silly to mention all duties of that kind**
I: mention all
F: do you want me to mention all? Well ok, I come, I count money, [he lists the duties]

When Tymon finishes enumerating the reasons for keeping his job, he mentions the possibility of changing his attitude towards his current job. Not asked about his attitude towards it, he reflects on it, and just after describing the positive aspects of his job, he stresses that this kind of work had to become boring in the long run. Interestingly, his statement is personal as a state of boredom is dependent on the character of the person. He resists the identity of a manual worker by describing himself as a person who is bored by such a job.

Filip also reflects on his own words when talking about his job. But this time the interviewee does not talk about the positive aspects of his work, he just describes how his workday looks and he enumerates his duties. When he talks about particular tasks that fill his day, he starts to laugh, and with this behaviour and a following phrase he challenges what he just said and what he almost said. In particular, an unfinished expression “all of that kind” and an expression “it is silly” diminishes the activities he does at work. In Polish this expression means that what one is talking about has little value. But it has one more function here; it not only establishes a relationship between Filip and his work but also between the interviewee and his interviewer. It is because of his audience and discursive constraint that he protects his dignity and resists a clerk’s identity.

8.6. Distancing realised with ridiculing manual work

To build distance between themselves and their manual jobs, the interviewees also used paralinguistic means, including laughter and irony. In this way they resisted unwanted occupational identity by presenting themselves as not ‘professional’ at work. However, this data should be analysed and interpreted very carefully; while CDA provides the

analysts with a set of tools to analyse the lexical and grammar it does not give such a rigorous method to analyse the paralinguistic features. In the literature, laughter in conversation is seen as displaying a stance and as used in ways that can strengthen as well as undermine an account's factual basis and seriousness (Edwards, 2005). In particular, laughter is seen as signalling that a topic of conversation, even if serious, is not something that the speaker is disposed to moan about, indulge in, or make heavy weather of (Jefferson, 1984; Edwards, 2005). And these are the data:

Example 9.
Monika, female, 1980 [below-qualifications – manual work]

I: and would you tell me about your most recent day at work? From the moment you woke up.
Monika: [laugh] I start work at ten, so I get up at eight, a quick toilet, breakfast, departure to work. Quarter before a start I prepare **equipment of a cleaning lady**, I mean filling [with laugh] the bottles with various **aerosols** [diminutive], and so on, dust cloths, air fresheners, this kind of things. [...]

Example 10.
Patryk, male, 1979 [below qualifications – manual work]

I: what would you like to achieve in life, at work?
Patryk: at work?
I: mmm
P: [with laugh] oh [laugh] **to be a worker of the year in a hotel I work at**. Well no, let's not exaggerate. [...]

Firstly, the laughter in Monika's case appears in response to the question. It indicates that what she is going to talk about is not neutral. It is something that she has to put into a framework and in this case it is done with laughter. She laughs for the second time when she uses deprecating and humorous expressions together, "the equipment of a cleaning lady" which sounds sounds lofty in Polish, especially followed by a diminutive form of aerosols "psiukacze", which is mocking. Such a contrast creates an impression of absurdity, of putting together things that do not match each other. An atmosphere of

absurdity and the grotesque as a background is a way of talking about matters that need to be dealt with and not just reported.

Laughter and irony meet in Patryk's account. Again, laughter appears at the beginning of his answer. As in Monika's case, it frames the utterance that follows. Irony appears when Patryk talks about aspirations at work. What his employer considered important (a prestigious title of being "a worker of the year"), and what was important for Patryk's co-workers, becomes an issue worth only a laugh for him. By not talking seriously about their work, both interviewees distance themselves from it, thus avoiding constructing themselves as subjects who have a particular attitude towards manual jobs. In such a way, by jeering at their manual jobs, they manage to resist an unwanted occupational identity.

8.7. Conclusion

This chapter presented the strategies used by migrants to distance themselves from manual/clerical work. By describing the face-threatening topics, the discursive resources making a migratory experience a difficult one were reached in this chapter. Three distancing strategies were identified regarding content of the interviewees' narratives. Firstly, the respondents justified their economic migration. They presented taking their jobs as an 'absolute must'. Significantly, this argument was not sufficient and they added arguments showing their lack of interest in their jobs. While justifying taking up jobs below their qualifications, they sometimes referred to the length of their employment contracts, pointing to the temporary character of their current occupations. Secondly, they applied narrative resistance to defend their jobs, but they failed in defending their jobs. Thirdly, they laughed at their work and by doing so, they presented

themselves as not professional at work, not too much into the work they were employed in. In general, the migrants constructed themselves as not accepting their jobs. In such a way they rejected a relationship between their present occupation and their occupational identities: they had simple jobs but they were not simple migrant workers. They resisted the unwanted and constrained identity of an underemployed migrant.

Migrants working below their qualifications constructed their current occupations as stigmatising. They built their narratives in the same way – they argued with what they assumed was the interviewer's idea of them being 'real' manual/clerical migrant workers and they did so by showing themselves as not immersed in their current reality. By building their narratives in such a way, they made it clear that talking about their work, especially about its positive aspects, was a challenge.

These strategies contrast with earlier observations of Polish youth and Polish migrants, which suggest that they are ready to sacrifice their knowledge and qualifications if necessary, and that they have easily accessible discourses constructing their experiences as unproblematic. Kovacheva (2001) observed that the youth in post-communist countries perceived their situations as a 'transition,' just as their countries were in 'transition'. They chose this perception as they could apply flexible adapting strategies without identifying with any of them. Therefore, they could retain high aspirations while coping with the current unstable environment. The successful careers they longed for were supposed to come when the transition stage ended. Similarly, Świda-Ziemba (2005) characterised Polish youth in the nineties as a temporary/provisional generation. They lived in a state of flux, ready to change and open to opportunities. Garapich

(2006), researching post-2004 migration, described migrants as intentionally unpredictable, always on the move and quickly adapting to new situations.

The interviewed migrants positioned themselves as actively coping with difficulties and finding solutions perceived as adequate to their situation. Moreover, they made work under their qualifications a positive and rewarding experience by talking about their current occupation in terms of work consumption (gaining experience abroad, learning English) and working to consume (having a better life, developing their interests, bringing their dreams and passions to life). However, a conclusion that they fitted the image of youth observed by Kovacheva (2007) and Świda-Ziemba (2005) would be an oversimplification. Such narratives were accompanied by accounts that challenged them. On the one hand, overqualified interviewees accepted the practice of working below qualifications when they were making an argument about their motives for their migration. On the other hand, they struggled with talking about their jobs and everyday work experience.

It can be argued that those who take up work below qualifications and discursively struggle with it, suffer because of two discourses. The first is a discourse of approval of the decision to go abroad to work below one's qualifications (Chapter 7). However, the language used to build the utterances of support stigmatised those doing it. Therefore, it is not only justified, but also recommended to go abroad to make a living, but those who do perceive themselves in categories of lost social status and struggle. The second is a discourse of resistance. The interviewees cannot make their narratives about work easily, for example by referring to their qualifications being wasted. Cook, Dwyer and Waite (forthcoming) quoted much more straightforward migrants' narratives of

frustration at their qualifications not being recognised than quoted in this chapter. However their approach to data was content and not discourse oriented. Chapter 10 of this thesis will take the explanation of the migrants' discourses further and will try to present them as resulting from a struggle to come to terms with the reality of being an underemployed migrant.

A significant implication to society, drawn from the narrative practices of those who took work by 'accident', is that when they resisted it within the dimensions of social status, they used a deviant discourse on manual/clerical work. In their narratives, there was a depreciation of this type of work and such a discourse can be seen as a long-term effect of the practice of going abroad to work below one's qualifications. By using this discourse they supported the view of the low status of manual work. Among the narratives there was no single case in which the interviewees resented the stigma of occupation by pointing out that the work they were doing was useful or meaningful. In a way, the lack of such narratives is not surprising, as the interviewees were educated to do other than simple jobs. However, none of the interviewees mentioned regretting not using the skills and knowledge they possessed through education; instead they mostly focused on diminishing the work they were engaged in.

Furthermore, overqualified migrants presented themselves as not belonging to any occupational group. In contrast, research on individuals experiencing low status, routine and demanding work, for example work on an assembly line, showed that workers share a sense of unity (King, 1978; Thompson, 1983) - the sense that 'we are all in this together' (Thompson, 1983, p.230) or 'the monotony of the line binds us together' (King, 1978, p.201). Occupational culture is also expressed with linguistic devices of

shared identity (‘the workers referred to themselves as *beefers* where each individual *beefer* shared something in common with all others,’ Thompson, 1983, p.230). Such a unity did not exist among the overqualified migrants, because of their resistance to their work. As a result, the unity of particular occupational groups may disintegrate because of the declining occupational culture of workers. Such a situation may have further, more general implications. The migrant workers, although large in number, may become invisible in public discourse. Kideckel (2002), writing on industrial workers in Romania denying their occupational group identity, observed that their work lives and group concerns were dismissed and did not appear in the media.

CHAPTER 9. MIGRANTS' PROBLEMS WITH MULTICULTURALISM

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STRATEGIES OF EXCLUSION

9.1. Introduction

The narratives about the population of the host country and migrants' own places among its members were unevenly spread in the interviews. When talking about their reasons for leaving Poland and expectations about Britain, respondents focused on the aspects of British reality that would help them to build a better life, for example the availability of work and good earnings. They engaged in convincing themselves that Britain was a country of prosperity into which they would fit. The importance of the host society and the migrants' position in it remained unspoken and unproblematic at this stage of their narratives, manifesting itself later when interviewees spoke about their negative experiences of Britain.

This chapter focuses on another challenging aspect of the lived experience of migration; the interviewees presented themselves as not fitting into the multicultural community they entered. They showed themselves as feeling uncomfortable in this new situation; it was not what they anticipated or what they wished for. However, they were faced with the dilemma of how to build up the argument of not fitting in without losing face. They needed to protect the face of a migrant who did not fit in but also the face of a person unhappy with members of the host society and members of other minority groups.

Generally, interviewees underpinned their narratives of discontent with a discourse of exclusion; they discursively excluded particular groups of the multicultural community

(including themselves) from the host society. Exclusion was realised by constructing the community's members as the negative Other – someone who is different and therefore unwanted. The negative Other referred to non-Europeans but also other Europeans. The interviewees criticised the Other in different ways depending on whom they referred to. The chapter presents the groups which were excluded from the community (by showing who was constructed as the (negative) Other) and the strategies of exclusion adopted by the interviewees. Before moving to the analysis, the next section presents the literature on the perceived position of Poles among Europeans to give background to a discussion on 'othering' and excluding performed by Poles; secondly, it introduces a theory of the Other.

To clarify, the word 'society' is avoided in this thesis because of the interviewees' construction of the British population. In narratives, they talked about the British, the members of the minority groups, and themselves. For them, there was no united 'British society'.

9.2. The position of Poles among Europeans

Before Poland joined the European Union, Kurczewska (2004) predicted an increase in the number of inferiority and superiority complexes held by Poles. Her anticipation was that fears and phobias towards Europe and towards Poland would grow among Poles themselves. The narratives of dissatisfaction with both – Europe and Poland, would accompany these fears in result of confrontation between the imagined European community and its demanding realities. The complexes that were expected to develop were an inferiority complex towards Western societies and a superiority complex towards Eastern ones. Kurczewska observed that in the process of preparation for

accession, Polish society manifested a superiority complex towards the countries of the European Union (because of a perceived image of Poles as those who safeguarde traditions). Both complexes alternated, making Poles feel at once better *and* worse than Westerners.

Düvell (2004), who studied Polish economic migration before European Union enlargement (the interviews with skilled workers and entrepreneurs took place in 1998 and 2001) noticed a similar ambivalence about identity in the narratives of his interviewees. First, the then Polish migrants presented themselves as contributing to British society by being better workers than the British. Second, they saw the British as 'more honest', 'decent', 'more pleasant' and 'more polite' than Poles. As Düvell (2004, p.18) pointed out – 'it became part of their [Poles] identities that they were privileged enough to enjoy that'. Consequently, as Kurczewska (2004) and Düvell (2004) showed, Poles could not achieve a feeling of satisfaction with being who they were wherever they were. This chapter reflects on this observation with reference to recent Polish migrants; it explores the migrants' constructions of the members of the host population and their own position in it.

9.3. Exclusion and the theory of the Other

Positioning towards the members of social groups includes negotiating identity to establish membership of a group one accepts, and to distance oneself from a group one rejects. In this study, it is assumed that identity is not a closed construct but is relational and requiring the 'constitutive outside' (Hall, 1996). Identity cannot form without the Other and all forms of group identity are based on the traits attributed to the Other (Barth, 1969). Giving and taking the position of the Other is based on discursive identity

work. Using discursive resources, such as lexis (e.g., negative labelling), grammatical phenomena or agentive structure of discourse (e.g., constructions in terms of alienation, oppression), the speakers construct their own identities (Meinhof and Galasiński, 2005). 'It is a discursive-performative construct manifested through the achievements of speaking subjects' (Barker and Galasiński, 2001, p.122). Thus it is a temporary construct – it is changeable, provisional and context-bound (Meinhof and Galasiński, 2005). It depends on local and global contexts. People are predisposed by 'the community's or society's discursive practices to adopt certain identity positions by virtue of the linguistic resources required in a certain context' and they can accept, contest or reject these resources (Meinhof and Galasiński, 2005, p.52).

The interviewees' positioning towards the members of the host society was dominated by their self-exclusion from particular groups: the British and minority groups. The informants did so by constructing its members as the negative Other (negatively evaluated). Moreover, they presented themselves as the negative Other too - as those not fitting the host population. The analysis focuses on the way negative otherness was achieved and the dual exclusion that was achieved. Another challenging aspect of lived experience of migration is shown by analysing who is constructed as the Other and how it is done. Two issues are discussed: a vision of an ideal society constructed by the informants, and the ideologies that entitle them to include and exclude some groups from this perfect society.

9.4. Excluding the British by negative othering done with mitigation

The interviewees constructed the British as the Other because of perceived differences in habits and character from their owns. The descriptions of differences between two

nations included evaluation of the British as those who lack what Poles have. The next two examples present the British constructed as the negative Other:

Example 1.
Marcin, male, 1978 [consistent with qualifications]

I: If you had to talk about differences between you and them [co-workers], are there any?
Marcin: [...] Some. Generally speaking they [the British] have **some habits**, some food habits as well, but well **we are all Europeans** at least so **I don't think that there are any serious differences** disturbing them or me. For example I pity them, for example I think that somehow **they lose on it**, that they don't have spirituality developed in a country. I don't mean exaggerated spirituality, but they see Christmas as a very commercial event, as buying presents, atmosphere of this kind, buying the gifts is more important for them, meeting somebody, it seems to me that it is very superficial. [...] But **I pity them as they lose a lot** because of that. It seems to me so.

Example 2.
Kuba, male, 1979 [consistent with qualifications]

I: and with the English, do you see any differences? Similarities?
Kuba: frankly, I was working for about two weeks with a German, and we were talking about the British. And we agreed that we are much more similar, Poles and the Germans, than Poles and the British. Nevertheless. Simply **such small differences**, these are small differences, I don't say cultural, because **it is difficult to talk about cultural differences where we are from the same continent**. But yet the order on the streets, simply so I don't know, I was at the swimming pool, and the swimming pool was dirty, there were no lines for swimming, and everyone swam as one liked. These are **small things** that the British are used to it, we (.) I with the German we agreed that **it is not as it should be**. I say, it was interesting for me, because always it seemed to me that Germans and Poles are very different, and here it appears that we are much more similar in fact. Yes.

Marcin and Kuba position themselves as Poles. Instead of talking about their co-workers only, they decide to make nationality important and they talk about 'them' – all British[5] and 'us' – all Poles. They do not neutrally compare two societies and their cultures, but they act as the ones who know better what 'good' means (Marcin: "they lose on it",

[5] The nomenclature of the British population is a problematic issue here as it is used in a different way in Polish. Probably the British and the English were used by the interviewees with the same meaning.

Kuba: “it is not as it should be”). In this way, by comparing two nationalities and evaluating them as better or worse, they construct the British as the negative Other from which they distance themselves. However, they criticise the British with some mitigations. Marcin criticises the British for their “habits” with compassion (“they lose on it”, “I pity them”). Kuba minimises the scale of the problem and talks about “small differences” and “small things”.

There is another mitigation in criticising the British and constructing them as the negative Other. Asked about the potential differences between them and their co-workers, Marcin and Kuba refer to a category of Europeans. This category diminishes the differences between the British and Poles. This strategy of referring to a wider category uniting two societies makes the differences less important and places various behaviours within a range accepted in Europe. By choosing this strategy, they support their opinions based on their own observations on the insignificance of the differences (Marcin: “some habits”, Kuba: “small things”). Europeans are identified as an ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1983; an expression relating originally to a nation).

By diminishing the differences and stressing their insignificance, and also by referring to more general categories, interviewees ensure that the otherness, even if negative, is not a factor making co-existence of these two groups impossible. In Marcin’s case, the significance of the differences is minimised by a reference to European culture. Unity is stressed with a phrase “we are” in relation to Poles, the British and Germans. Kuba’s negative opinion of the British is constructed in a way which does not completely separate one group from another and does not praise Poles.

The negative Other, constructed in a similar way, can be found in narratives about the attitudes towards work and life held by the interviewees and observed among the Others. There is 'me', with or without explicitly indicated nationality, and 'them' – the British:

Example 3.
Agata, female, 1980 [below qualifications – clerical work]

I: what similarities or differences do you notice between you and your co-workers?
Agata: **I think** that I approach work much more professionally. Jokes are jokes, but work is work. And **they have really such an English attitude** towards life. It means making yourself drunk during a weekend, and conversations of this kind, there are a lot of rumours in the company, they have **typically English** attitude towards life.

Example 4.
Patrycja, female, 1979 [below qualifications – manual work]

I: how would you describe yourself in relation to the society here?
Patrycja: no, I don't want to fall into self-delight, but **I have an impression** that generally Poles are more intelligent, even those without higher education, they cope in life better, maybe not exactly cope better, but cope better in various situations. **The English are somehow more thoughtless**, and sometimes even dull, because an easy thing that is logical to me and simple and easy, how to install something, how to do something, if one doesn't explain it to them few times they can't deal with it. **I think** that in this aspect it is quite good probably. **I don't know.**

Here, the narrative works on two levels. Firstly, there is a level of individual characteristic and behaviour. Secondly, there is a level of national characteristic. They harmonise with each other. "Typically English" in Agata's narrative becomes an adjective that is used to describe an inappropriate attitude towards work. Patrycja also merges two levels by talking about the situations in her workplace and generalising it to the whole society. Such a generalisation of national character expands the distance between Agata and Patrycja and their co-workers. The British are positioned as the negative Other because of some cultural and national characteristics that make them far from perfect in the eyes of the respondents. However, in this case mitigation also takes

place. They hedge their opinions to minimise their critiques and present their descriptions as their own opinions only and not objective statements (Agata: “I think”, Patrycja: “I have an impression”, “I think”, “I don’t know”; the hedges appear also in Marcin’s narrative: “It seems to me so”).

A similar phenomenon was observed among European post-war migrants to Britain, who took pride in being hard working as apposed to their British workmates (Weber-Newth and Steinert, 2006). This was also observed by other researchers of post-accession migration (Datta and Brickell, 2009). Such narratives may be interpreted in categories of superiority complexes suggested by Kurczewska (2004). However, in line with the worldview accepted in this study, it is more appropriate to talk about taking a position of superiority and authority. The interviewees tended to construct themselves as knowing better and having better assets than the British. Marcin says “I pity them”, Kuba says “it is not as it should be” (referring to the behaviour of the British), and Agata and Patrycja imply that the English style of life and capabilities are not up to Polish higher standards.

9.5. Excluding minority groups by negative othering done without mitigation

The second group constructed as the negative Other were various minority groups living in Britain. This section explores the narrated reactions to their presence. It also compares these narratives with these about the British explored previously. Thus, it presents a different way to construct negative otherness. These are the extracts:

Example 5.
Marta, female, 1980, [below qualifications – clerical work]

I: Anything else? Regarding those important differences?

Marta: **Poland is sort of one ethnic country**. This suits me more, that I simply see who is the main inhabitant of our country. Here I can't say it, unambiguously. **Because I can't say / is a Black person native British citizen? Because he was born here? And what about that?** I simply don't know, a lot of Indians and I don't mind it, because **I'm not a racist,** I'm not a person that generalises, that some population, some nationality is better then the other, **but it was hard for me, especially at the beginning, when I was walking the street and I didn't see any white person but only Blacks, Indians, Arabs.** And this changed my image of England. **England that always seemed to me** that it is up to a high standard, much higher, I thought that everything here is so ordered.

Extract 6.
Jola, female, 1968 [below qualifications – manual work]

I: And how do you find living in Wolverhampton?
Jola: At first I was also **shocked** with this city, because **I didn't expect** that there would be so many foreigners here. I say, apart from the British. And it is such a cradle probably of the Indians, Kurds. So I was at first / I didn't know 'God, where did I get to' [laugh] 'where am I'.

The negative otherness of members of minority groups is constructed by describing the interviewees' reaction to their presence in Britain. Marta talks about the "hardness" of being surrounded by "Blacks, Indians, and Arabs". Shock is Jola's reaction to the multicultural society and to the presence of "the foreigners". Both interviewees are not uncertain of their feelings or thoughts. They identify immediately and without any doubts who the negative Other is and they take a clear position against it.

Marta's evaluation of the otherness is very similar to those witnessed in the previous section. She gives herself a right not only to evaluate the Others but also to do it from a general perspective. The objectivity that she arrogates herself makes the British reality truly bad. She also gives herself a right to make judgements. She qualifies herself as not a racist; this denial illustrated with a disclaimer "I am not a racist […] but […]" is a form of positive self-presentation (van Dijk, 1992). On the one hand she denies it, but on the other hand she supports her negative discourse by referring to facts from her life – her observations and feelings. She positions herself as a better Other in Britain than

members of the other minorities, and also positions herself as one who “doesn’t mind” and who suffers because of the otherness (“it was hard for me”). Jola also takes a similar position as she talks about herself as fitting the host society better than members of other minority groups already living in Britain.

Finally, negative otherness refers to ethnicities other than white. Marta juxtaposes a general positive opinion about the host society (“England that always seemed to me”), held before leaving Poland, with a negative opinion based on her personal experiences of the host country. The new perspective makes her appreciate Polish society as a homogeneous society (“sort of one ethnic country”).

The interviewees also construct members of minority groups as the negative Other by describing them as non-British:

Example 7.
Monika, female, 1980 [below qualifications – manual work]

I: How would you describe this society?
Monika: [...] All people that are somehow important here, people from my environment, these are Indians, who were lucky to grow rich here. My landlord came here in 1953, now he has few dozens of houses in Wolverhampton, and a few properties in Spain. Similarly, the owner of the hotel where I work is an Indian, who drives every week a different car. An area where I live, all shops are Indians’ shops. So somehow, this one thing stands out for me. I don’t have a lot to do with the English. These are only the clerks, who help me to fill some applications, or they phone me to talk about some bank offers. Although recently even in a bank I have contact more often with the coloured than with the English. I don’t know, I have an impression that the British withdraw somehow from social activity, of course I know that it is not true, but from my point of view simply I meet the English so rarely. **They aren’t the English**.

Example 8.
Leszek, male, 1977 [consistent with qualifications]

I: Where do you live now?
Leszek: Where do I live now? Here in (name).

I: What kind of neighbourhood is it?
L: What do you mean?
I: Well what is it like there?
L: What is it like? [laugh] still sort of good.
I: Still [sort of good.
L: [still sort of good.
I: What do you mean?
L: Maybe I shouldn't say it but I say what I think, more and more Indians move in there, and it scares me.
I: Why does it scare you?
L: Because I don't like them.
I: Why?
L: Because they annoy me, because they can't adapt to the rest, they think that they are kings here.
I: And what makes you think [the way you do?
L: [Everything. Everything. What they do. Everything they do. Especially those who are twenty, twenty five years old, who were born here but **for me they are not the English**. It does not mean anything to me that they were born here, they are still Indians, and they still have the rules valid there inculcated into their heads.

Both the interviewees imply that there is a 'proper' Britishness that the people described by them lack. It is not important whether a person was born here or came recently or to what extent s/he is integrated with the society, the status of 'British' is impossible for them to fulfil.

At the stage of their expectations there was no place for non-Whites and the reality just did not change their narratives about the British. To cope with this incompatibility they rejected diversity rather than accepted it. It was important for the informants to clarify who can be classified as British. They take the position of judges who have the right to decide on somebody's group of belonging and one's status in a society.

The final example in this section compares the discourses presented in the current section with those from the section on the British as the negative Other. This example

shows the members of minority groups as a problem. They are contrasted with co-existing Poles and the British:

Example 9.
Kacper, male, 1976 [below qualifications – clerical work]

I: How do you experience these cultural differences?
Kacper: I think that nevertheless our culture / I mean, let's say **Polish and English mentality is not as divergent as we think**. It is quite similar. **The problems begin with some ethnic groups,** if for example somebody is working let's say in a kitchen, and one is working with an Algerian, one experiences it **almost** as a cultural clash.

Kacper, when talking about cultural differences in Britain, constructs three groups. First are the English, second Poles and third some ethnic groups. The English and Poles, despite cultural divergence (diminished with a phrase "they are not as divergent as we think"), are included in one group. Significantly, this narrative is a much more neutral comparison of these two cultures than in the examples quoted in the previous section. There is no critique of the English, only a statement of the presence of differences. The evaluation of otherness appears, but it concerns some ethnic groups. Thus, the lack of negative evaluation of English otherness becomes significant here. Particular ethnic groups are presented as a problem. These are the negative Others that can bring disturbance and make Poles feel uncomfortable. Poles are in the same group as the English, exposed to the Others' cultures. Poles are not constructed as the negative Other while members of minority groups are not only the Other but also the negative one being a burden to both the English and Poles.

Although "some ethnic groups" are represented as the negative Other and excluded from the group of English and Poles, the ways of constructing them as a problem are different from the previous four examples. This extract is an example of the availability of a

different discourse on “some ethnic groups” among the interviewees. Kacper is an example of someone who notices that simply there is a difference between the cultures but he is cautious about admitting it (hence “almost”).

9.6. Self-exclusion of Poles by negative othering and stigmatising

In contrast to the previous sections, discussing the examples of the narratives of respondents who positioned themselves as better than the British and the members of other minority groups, here the focus is on interviewees who self-stigmatised and constructed themselves as the negative Other. Establishing the relation of better-worse may be interpreted in terms of an ‘ideological square’ (Van Dijk, 1998), with the general rule of positive presentation of ‘us’ and negative presentation of ‘them’. However, it would be an oversimplification simply to reverse this principle and to claim that self-stigmatisation by migrants entails presenting the Poles in negative terms in contrast to the praised British. In the narratives quoted in this section there are no references to negative national traits of Poles. Instead, stigmatisation is related to the status of a migrant – a stranger, an intruder and not alike (first two examples). It is also related to perceived negative traits such as poor language skills (two final examples). Self-exclusion is realised in all four examples in a similar way – the interviewees never talk about ‘us’ while talking about themselves and the host population. Additionally, in the first two examples self-exclusion is realised by spatial and national categories (belonging to one place – a place of birth). In the last two, self-exclusion is constructed by referring to their own behaviour of avoiding the British.

The analysis in this section focuses on the content of the narratives. In the first set of examples informants talk about being migrants. For both interviewees this situation is uncomfortable as they see themselves as out of place.

Example 10.
Leszek, male, 1977 [consistent with qualifications]

I: What do you miss?
Leszek: [...] I miss **an unconstrained life**. Because here **I'm in a foreign country** unfortunately and I think that **I'll always be a foreigner.** And in Poland I'm in my place, I feel unconstrained.

Example 11.
Zosia, female, 1979 [consistent with qualifications]

Zosia: [talking about her own position in British and Polish society] It seems to me that in Poland I could place myself somewhere a little bit higher on the social ladder than here. At this moment. It is because I am **a foreigner** here. My nationality is different, I have a different passport. **I am always not in my place. There I am in my country, and I am equal with everybody. Here I'm not. And really, I will never be, even if I was here for I don't know, ten twenty years, I will always be an immigrant.** Yes. **I wasn't born here, it is not my home, maybe it will be one day, but on paper only.** But I will never feel as confident here as I feel there. Or as I felt. This will be a problem later, if I stay here, neither of countries will be my home anymore.

Leszek and Zosia position themselves in Britain as the negative Other; for them "a foreigner" has a value-charged meaning; it not only refers to a person who feels different but also to a person who feels like a stranger. Significantly, they do not refer to any discriminatory actions towards them, but they point at their experiences of having a constrained life (Leszek) and lacking confidence (Zosia) when living abroad. According to them, being a foreigner entails suffering. Moreover, their experiences are marked by determinism; migrants are condemned to keep their current position and all the feelings attached to them ("I think I will always be a foreigner", "I will always be an immigrant"). They construct themselves as strangers who cannot melt into the 'host society'.

Negative otherness is constructed here in relation to one's own perceived status only, and not with the negative characteristics; this differentiates this construction from those explored previously. Thus, there is nothing wrong with being a Pole, but it is inconvenient to be a migrant. Leszek and Zosia both built emotional attachment with their country of origin and alienation in the host country as they both referred to Poland as "my place," which in colloquial language refers to home. Such reasoning is even more visible in the narrative of Zosia: she idealises Poland by claiming that there, she was equal with everybody. These narratives revealed a will to live in an ethnically homogeneous society where one is not the Other.

Apart from the narratives constructing oneself as the negative Other because of migrant status, there were also narratives on the distance created by informants themselves from the members of the 'host society'. The narrated behaviour of avoiding the British is the next example of self-exclusion from the 'host society' because of self-stigmatisation. Patryk and Marcin position themselves as the active actors of exclusion. They also make generalisations about the British, and ascribe to them feelings of what bothers them. Here, the negative Other is the one who is a burden. But again, the interviewees do not refer to a general national characteristic; in this case it is only a temporary incompetence linked to the progressing adaptation process. The lack of permanence, in contrast to the previous two examples, shows that otherness can be overcome.

Example 12.
Patryk, male, 1979 [below qualifications – manual work]

I: Do you spend your free time with people from your workplace?
Patryk: No. It hasn't happened to me. Maybe I feel a little bit ill-at-ease, **and I don't pursue it.** Because of course my colleagues meet, they go out together somewhere for parties like beer in a pub or some other discos. I don't crave for it too much because **there is such a fear that I will go**, I will have nothing to talk

about. Everyone judges people looking at oneself. If I went with somebody, who speaks very bad / I mean very bad, I don't speak English so bad, but if somebody spoke Polish badly, and I would have to try very hard to understand him, I would be kind to him, I would nod, even if he was talking about something interesting, I would like to I would ask a question, to make it clearer, but a conversation of this kind is very tiring. **And I wouldn't like to give torment to someone else.**

Example 13.
Marcin, male, 1978 [consistent with qualifications]

I: Do you think that you fit in with your colleagues?
Marcin: [...] in a general sense, an interpersonal one, maybe there is always this barrier, it is a reason, this language barrier (.) regarding language at least for now I don't have such an ease. I always lament on it that I don't have such ease, for example joking with them, something like that. Maybe they isolate from me because of it and **I isolate from them a little bit**. Maybe it is also a reason. And because of it maybe I don't necessarily fit them on the interpersonal ground. But regarding a technical knowledge, I think that there is no such a contraindication.

Self-exclusion because of language incompetence raises a question about the turning point of becoming 'one of them' and also about being a perfect migrant. Marcin's marrative is also interesting because comparing it with his narrative from example 1, raises questions about the consistency of the informants' accounts. This inconsistency, or rather positioning oneself towards the Other in various ways, shows the variety of accessible discourses on one's own position in the host country. But on the other hand, inconsistency also shows that discourses are underpinned with an ideology of negativity towards diversity.

The negative Other is constructed here as the outcome of being away from the homeland and being a foreigner. What follows is a conclusion that it is not good to be the Other and only loss of confidence can follow from that status. Moreover, the status of the Other determines the evaluation of a person. Whatever good could be said about a person is diminished because of his/her migrant status. The interviewees excluded themselves from the population of the host country.

9.7. Conclusion

The narratives of migrants were marked by disappointment, indicating that migrants held some assumptions about the host population before coming to Britain. On arrival in Britain, these assumptions were challenged not only because the reality was different from expected, but also because the migrants' own position was more problematic. As the narratives showed, the initial priorities of the economic migrants (a wish to have a better life) were combined with an open-mindedness and positive curiosity about other cultures. But the clash with unexpected manifestations of otherness became a significant element of the overall migratory experience.

In the discourses of the migrants, this clash was constructed as a difficult experience. Construction of this experience as a problem was crucial here because it showed that the interviewees could not simply accept what they found in Britain. It was a challenge for them. The solution that they choose – coping with the constructed otherness by rationalising it made the disappointment with the host population more profound and legitimate in their eyes. Furthermore, construction of the negative Other excluded a will to overcome differences that applied to both situations – to excluding other groups and to self-excluding themselves from the population. The otherness was unwanted, problematic and impossible to accept. This discursive phenomenon of constructing the otherness and coping with disappointment due to disillusionment with the host society and the interviewees' position in it will be explained with help of the theories of myth in Chapter 10.

The way the informants excluded the Other (including themselves) from the host population casts light on a category of Europeans and construction of this identity in the

personal narratives. It adds to a discussion on the inferior and superior position taken by Polish migrants (Sztompka, 2000a; Kurczewska, 2004). The informants were able to find discourses that made certain groups equal by virtue of being Europeans (the British and Poles), but in some cases referring to this category was done only to criticise other groups (regarded as non-European). It became both a resource to unite and to differentiate. Moreover, the presented narratives on exclusion and self-exclusion portrayed the interviewees not as the victims but as the actors of excluding practices. The informants positioned themselves against the British and other minority groups by constructing both them and themselves as the negative Other.

Significantly, when positioning themselves as the negative Other, the interviewees focused on holding an unwanted status of a migrant (a stranger) and not on shortcomings characteristic to the whole nation because of its communist past that could make them feel worse than the British. Focusing on a migrant status and not on nationality is an interesting finding; Sztompka (2000a) and Kurczewska (2004) wrote about Poles living in Poland taking an inferior position toward Westerners in the post-communism era. Düvell (2004), exploring narratives of the post-communist Polish migrants to the West, observed that Polish migrants felt at once better and at once worse than Westerners because of being Poles. The data in this chapter showed an existence of a discourse that has not been identified before or simply did not exist.

The constructions of the Other in the interviewees' narratives that emerged in this chapter complement the picture of the Other presented in the literature on the post-accession Polish migrants. Datta's study showed the presence of a discourse of cosmopolitanism among Polish migrants emerging from a need to survive in a

multicultural community but also from a will to engage with the Other alongside a discourse of distancing (Datta, 2009). Siara (2009) pointed at opening up of migrants towards the Other linked by them to their positive personal experiences with people from other ethnic origins; she also noticed stereotyping practices of Polish migrants towards them. Both studies and the present study indicate a co-existence of few discourses on the Other available among the current Polish migrants.

The last section of the chapter, on the stigmatisation of oneself and on self-exclusion, answered the question of the kind of society in which the informants would like to live. The society that they desired was homogeneous. A sense of being the negative Other was normalised as well as exclusion and self-exclusion. The constructions of being better than the British and members of other minority groups, or of being stigmatised became a manifestation of the same issue – a problem with diversity.

This chapter closes the analytical part of the thesis. All four chapters in this section reflected on the migrants' narratives on challenging aspects of the lived experience of migration. The challenging character of particular issues was revealed, with dilemmas that the interviewees faced while narrating their experiences. Chapter 6 depicted migrants' dilemmas involved in reflecting on one's decision to migrate. Chapter 7 described the dilemmas while discussing the economic aspects of migration. Chapter 8 showed the dilemmas while talking about being an underemployed migrant. Finally, Chapter 9 presented the dilemmas related to their lives in a multicultural community. The next part of the thesis will explain these patterns in migrants' narratives.

PART V. CONCLUSION

Part Five consists of the two concluding chapters (10 and 11). Chapter 10 summarises and discusses the findings of the research in the light of the background literature. In the first instance, it addresses the key question underpinning the research by highlighting the participants' discourses associated with their lived experiences. Secondly, it focuses on the links between these discourses and their manifestations in the context of post-communist migration. Chapter 11 discusses the limitations of the study, its contributions to knowledge and practical implications, and it highlights some areas for future research.

CHAPTER 10. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

10.1. Introduction

Concerned with gaining a deeper understanding of the lived experience of economic migration and inspired by its current official discourse (migration within the borders of the EU constructed as a straightforward process), this research explored the private discourses of post-accession Polish migrants. In particular, it looked at the ways they represented their experience of migration. This research identified discursive practices in the migrants' narratives focusing on their migration, their dilemmas and struggles while making sense of their experiences in facing the new realities of migrating in Europe.

Since the research was data-driven, detailed research questions appeared only after the preliminary data exploration took place and the dominant discourses (the discursive practices recurrent in the participants' narratives) were identified. The dominant discourses involved constructing the experience of migration (one's decision to migrate and various experiences related to being a migrant) through strategies of rationalising, distancing and excluding. Consequently, questions followed about the strategies the interviewees employed to deal with the reality of migrating and the means of their realisation.

The socio-cultural context of recent migration from Poland to Britain, interwoven with lived experiences of migration, entailed a specific route to explore and explain discourses, and prompted in-depth exploration of this migration as a transition from a post-communist context to a society with a well established market-economy and long lasting democratisation. This thesis viewed the discourses used by the interviewees as

being the products of specific socio-historical circumstances. This raised further questions about the link between the strategies the migrants used to make sense of their current situation and the context of this particular migration.

To conceptualise the findings of the study, this chapter will discuss the participants' discourses; this will pave the way for a better understanding of their lived experiences. Then, it will provide a theory-based explanation of the findings of this research.

10.2. Empirical findings

The analysis undertaken in the previous four chapters consisted of the following four dimensions: contents, means and forms of realisation, rhetorical and argumentative features of the text, and strategies.

Contents. Emerging from the analytical process, the discourses of migration were identified and associated with the following four thematic areas (contents):

- the linguistic construction of the decision to migrate
- the linguistic construction of the migrants' financial needs
- the linguistic construction of working below qualifications
- the linguistic construction of living in a multicultural society

Means and forms of realisation. The lived experience of migrating was constructed by the interviewees through lexical and grammatical means.

Rhetorical and argumentative features of the text. These included the means used to convince a listener of the speaker's point of view.

Strategies. Discursive strategic action was understood in this study as goal-oriented (precisely) planned action. The strategies identified in the migrants' discourse included strategies of rationalisation (of the decision to migrate), strategies of distancing (from money and from work below one's qualifications), and strategies of exclusion (from the host society).

10.2.1. Constructing one's own decision to migrate

The interviewees constructed the destination of their migration and the practice of migration as rational. They constructed a positive image of Britain and the obviousness and popularity of migration. In constructing a particular image of Britain, the argumentative scheme was mainly one of comparison and distinctiveness as if the decision to migrate acquired the status of a rational step in their lives. A scheme of argumentation was directed to present the decision to migrate as an obvious and instant reaction to the problems experienced in Poland and as an opportunity not to be missed. Migration was also presented as a common and ordinary practice; in this case an applied scheme of argumentation presented migration as a socially accepted step. Figure 2 presents the macro-topics and the linguistic means that were used:

Figure 2. Strategies of rationalisation of one's decision to migrate

Strategies of rationalisation	
macro-topic	**argumentation and linguistic means**
a positive image of Britain	**destination of migration constructed as rational**
-expected success of migration	- rationalisation by reference to the certainty of expected success of migration realised with commitment to truth and credibility (built with quotations) - commitment to truth - general descriptions with few or no details - vagueness of descriptions - means of convincing – building certainty in presenting the image of Britain - building credibility of the positive image by referring to the views of others - (quasi-)quotes - quoting positive views only - constructing a good adjustment into British reality - generalisation of success
-confirmed success of migration	- rationalisation by reference to the confirmed success of migration realised with comparison of information (constructed as facts) on British and Polish realities - the narratives building a negative, universal, certain and unquestionable image of the Polish job market complemented by spontaneous observations on the life in Britain based on migrants' experiences - self-presentation as not fitting into Polish reality
obviousness and popularity of migration	**practice of migrating constructed as rational**
-migration as an obvious choice	- rationalisation by reference to migration as an obvious choice realised with minimalisation of the decision process - **obviousness built with statements on the ease and immediacy of the decision to migrate** - **speed (of the events happening) expressed literally and with the way the clauses were linked** - the coincidental occurrence of the decision to migrate
-migration as an opportunity not to be missed	- rationalisation by reference to migration as an opportunity not to be missed realised with social imperative - quoting only opinions supporting migration - giving an objective negative description of the Polish reality
-migration as a popular practice	- rationalisation by reference to migration as a popular practice, constructing a huge scale of migration – quantifiers (everybody, majority is abroad), exaggerated expressions (e.g., spread all over the world), superlative degree, enumerating - migration of people similar to the interviewees - self-categorising as a member of a group driven to migration - showing themselves as joining other migrating Poles

In general, the interviewees demonstrated a negative attitude towards the reality in Poland. The host country was presented as a promised land; they tried to build a strong image of Britain, highly positive and coherent. The interviewees presented themselves as fitting into this world. They did this in two ways: 1) they included themselves in the group of those who can live in Britain and make the most of its opportunities, just as the British do; 2) they focused on their own predispositions (e.g., youth, higher education, flexibility) and activities (e.g., actively looking for jobs) that make them perfect migrants who could adapt well and act there. They tried to show that they simply fitted the positive vision of the West. Hence, they attempted to show migration as a reaction and an escape to a better world and to present themselves as individuals who can take the opportunity to live and work in better conditions, all which they deserve because of their personal qualities.

10.2.2. Economic dilemmas of migrants

The linguistic means used to describe the meaning of ‘work’ and ‘a good job’ by the interviewees served to distance them from talking directly about having or wishing for high earnings and, consequently, more spending power. The ways the migrants talked about money give an insight into the discourses on migration because they were produced in an interview about personal migratory experiences and its possible profits. When they were asked to define ‘a good job’ and determine what was valuable for them, they struggled to reproduce the idea that they were rational but not greedy migrants. Among the argumentation schemes were schemes of generalising, balancing, mitigating, and belittling. Figure 3 presents the macro-topics and the linguistic means that were used in the narratives:

Figure 3. Strategies of distancing from money

Strategies of distancing from money	
macro-topics	**argumentation and linguistic means**
-significant role of money in the contemporary world	- distancing realised with generalisations - low modality implying status of truth in statements about importance of money - shifting between personal and general perspectives to support one's opinion and justify one's needs - exaggerated and humorous phrases while talking about money
- balanced salary (a well-deserved and adequate reward) – money as an abstract concept, indication of achievement rather than financial means	- distancing realised with impersonal and balanced statements - money as a dominant element of narrative (regardless of significance given to money in life) - implications (e.g., implying good earnings by talking about being appreciated by an employer, by stressing the big input of work) - distancing realised with mitigations - using expressions replacing the word "money" or accompanying it in a way that mitigate its overtone
- balanced salary adequate to the needs - functional role of salary, money needed to satisfy common and basic needs (dignity or moderation)	- distancing realised with belittling - expressions with minimalist connotation used while determining one's needs - detached relation between a person and work

The interviewees took two positions. As employees, they negotiated a desired salary to present themselves as realistic and pragmatic towards life. As economic migrants, they did not focus solely on earning money and distanced themselves from those migrants who are supposedly driven only by the wish to be rich.

10.2.3. Underemployment of the migrants as a challenging experience

The underemployed interviewees were working below their qualifications. According to the interviewees, the West was a land where those who work below their qualifications could do so without feeling uncomfortable. It is common and ordinary to migrate (as demonstrated in Figure 2) but it is also common and ordinary to migrate to be underemployed. However, the narratives on experiences of being underemployed showed that the underlying discourse on underemployment is much more complex.

The interviewees used strategies helping them to resist an occupational identity related to their current jobs. They manoeuvred between degrading themselves and having an exalted opinion of themselves. The schemes of argumentation focused on the necessity of taking up a manual job, the temporary nature of having a manual job, and narrative resistance. With these macro-topics and schemes of argumentation, the migrants showed the problematic nature of economic migration. Figure 4 presents the macro-topics (resistant strategies), argumentation and the linguistic means that appeared in the interviews.

Figure 4. Strategies of distancing from work below qualifications

Strategies of distancing from work below qualifications	
macro-topics	**argumentation and linguistic means**
- justification of taking up a simple job	
– survival	- the necessity (a must) of taking up a simple job, a life situation presented as dramatic - expressions indicating basic material needs (not financial) - shifts in the narratives – expressing negative attitude towards jobs - detachment from work – constructing oneself as passive receiver of the orders
– temporality of having a simple job	- being underemployed as a transitory stage and therefore unimportant - linking time and spatial discourses – a temporary visit implies no settlement in Britain and being outside any social group in Britain therefore social dimensions or descriptions are not applicable to them - focus on the future
- defending and plunging into a simple job	- narrative resistance - immediate making reservations about one's job after pointing at its good features - following statements on one's positive attitude with expressions minimising it - an interviewee as an objective and knowledgeable observer using sophisticated/professional vocabulary while describing positive aspects of work - rhetorical means of convincing while describing positive aspects of a simple job - impersonal expressions while describing positive aspects of a simple job
- laughing at a simple job	- expressions marked with paralinguistic behaviours (laugh) - irony - pompous, pathetic and humorous expressions

The linguistic means the interviewees used to talk about working below qualifications and constructing a low degree of immersion in their current occupation, helped interviewees to resist being positioned as simple workers. A self-image of those working below qualifications was built by constructing negative attitudes towards their occupation. What they achieved was exclusion, at least discursively, from other groups of manual or clerical workers.

Significantly, on the one hand, the interviewees presented themselves as the victims of prevailing circumstances and on the other hand as agents who dealt very well with the situation (by working hard and not asking for financial help). However, their acceptance of manual and clerical jobs as a necessary evil still led the migrants to undermine the work's value. The stigma of 'simple' work and underemployment was what counted for them and working below qualifications was problematic. What the interviewees showed was that in the West what one does for a living is important and that one's work is evaluated in terms of occupational prestige (which threatened their positive self-image) and not unused qualifications (which would be not threatening to their self-image).

10.2.4. Migrants' problems with multiculturalism

Some of the interviewees constructed themselves as not fitting into the community they came to live in. This observation may seem to stand in contradiction to the claims of fitting in presented in section 10.2.1. However, 'fitting in' was related to the general expected image of Britain constructed when justifying one's own decision to migrate, and 'not fitting in' was related to experiences of this reality and positioning towards an element of this reality that had not been taken into consideration earlier. Regarding the host population, they showed disappointment regarding the multicultural community

they found; the narratives on co-existence with the British and with members of various minority groups challenged the interviewees' positive vision of Britain. The interviewees excluded others and themselves from the multicultural community, hence making diversity an unwanted phenomenon.

Generally, the interviewees underpinned their narratives with a discourse of exclusion and self-exclusion. Schemes of argumentation used were of comparison (difference or similarity), and the scheme of internal and external factors influencing the behaviour of particular nations. Argumentation within the macro-topics and its linguistic realisation shows that some interviewees would like to live in a homogeneous society. Figure 5 presents the macro-topics, argumentation and the linguistic means used when constructing negative otherness.

Figure 5. Migrants' problems with multiculturalism – strategies of exclusion

Imperfect British society	
macro-topics	**argumentation and linguistic means**
The British as the negative Other – othering with mitigating	
-the British and Poles as spatially, mentally and culturally close	- mitigation: a use of a category of Europeans in reference to us – Poles and the British - referring to a category of Europeans when talking about differences diminishing them and stressing their insignificance and the possibility of co-existence of two groups - mitigation: compassion for the British, minimising the differences - objective expressions about how it should/should not be, what are proper work practices – constructing superiority of Poles - general characteristics of the British – what they are like and what the personal preferences of the interviewees are (do they like it or not) - even when it is possible to talk about a workplace without references to nationality, nationality appears (us-Poles/them-British)
Members of other minority groups as the negative Other – othering without mitigating	
-division between Europeans and 'the rest'	- immediate recognition of negative otherness and immediate positioning against it - one group of the British together with Poles versus the rest (migrants or members of minority groups); a category of Europeans used to unify the two first groups against the rest

-diversity as negative and undesirable	- adjectives used with negative otherness (reinforcing it) but not with exotic/positive terms - constructing other migrants (not Poles) as a problem - the right given by Poles to themselves to decide who is British and who is the Other - co-existence of discourse on multiculturalism and racist discourse - racist discourse, irritation with the Others, disclaimers - external factors made responsible for holding a racist attitude; positioning the Others as responsible for irritating behaviour (objective statements) - problems with expressing dislike
Oneself as the negative Other – negative othering and stigmatising	
- negative experience of being a migrant - status of the foreigner as a permanent status of being an outsider or a temporary incompetence - a wish to live in a homogeneous society - narratives on not being at home	- self- stigmatisation (not-alike, holding negative traits) - self perception as intruders and strangers among the British - narrated behaviour (active actors) of avoidance of the British

A category of 'Europeans', constructed by the interviewees, was used to diminish the differences between Poles and the British. This category was also used to magnify the differences between Poles and members of minority groups, and to justify negative attitudes towards them. Self-stigmatisation of the interviewees as a negative Other and self-exclusion from British society is the most striking way for them to opt for a society without diversity. The informants not only took their personal perspective of not feeling comfortable as foreigners (the category of 'Europeans' is absent in these narratives) but they introduced also a perspective of the British burdened with Poles. With such a construction of their situations in Britain, the interviewees also idealised Polish society back in Poland as a homogeneous society.

Throughout the data migrants presented themselves as rational actors and they struggled to protect their self-image; the unproblematic practice of migrating was challenged. The financial dimension of migration became a problem as well as working below qualifications. Moreover, dissatisfaction with the composition of the host society was

expressed. The self-presentation of the interviewees varied from fitting in better in the West and Britain than the British, through having the same position in Britain as the British, to excluding themselves from the British society that challenged their vision of fitting in.

10.2.5. The social macro-functions of the migrants' discourses

The link between the migrants' discourses (applied strategies and the face-saving practices) and their social macro-functions will be identified. This is the point where the migrants' discourses of migration reveal their linkage to the macro context of their production. Discursive acts are shaped but also shape the *status quo* by construction (the attempt to construct and establish a certain idea), perpetuation (the attempt to maintain and to reproduce a threatened idea), justification (the attempt to justify or relativise a *status quo* by emphasising the legitimacy of actions taken), transformation (the attempt to transfer a relatively well-established idea and its components into another idea the contours of which the speaker had already conceptualised), and demontage/dismantling (attempt to dismantle or disparage part of an existing idea construct, but usually without providing any new model to replace the previous one). In discursive acts, these macro-strategies tend to appear simultaneously and interweave with each other.

Whilst the former dimensions of analysis (contents, means and forms of their realisation, rhetorical and argumentative features of the text, and strategies) were referred to in the analytical chapters, the macro-strategies have not yet been distinguished. The reason for introducing them at this stage is that they play an important role in linking the above-mentioned dimensions of analysis. These macro-strategies are crucial in understanding

the complex nature of the lived experience of migrating (by locating the strategies used by the interviewees in a wider social perspective).

Among the macro-strategies observed in the research were strategies of construction, justification, perpetuation and dismantling. The meta-strategy of construction prevailed throughout. Meta-strategies employed in the discursive formation of Britain and migrating to Britain were justification and perpetuation. The same meta-strategies were observed regarding the construction of the lived experience of an economic migrant, and also of being an underemployed migrant. The meta-strategies employed regarding living in the host society were justification, but also demontage/dismantling meta-strategies.

The only meta-strategy not identified was the meta-strategy of transformation. The lived experience of migration, involving the struggle over competing discourses on migration, was abounding in justifications of the migrants' actions and the preferred *status quo*, in perpetuating ideas that were threatened, and in demontage/dismantling ideas that were not accepted. The reasons for this struggle, but also for employing justification, perpetuation, and demontage/dismantling of ideas rather than transforming them to cope with this struggle, is the question to be solved in the next section.

10.3. Discussion of the findings

In this section, an attempt is made to make sense of the migrants' discourses in the social context described in detail in the theoretical chapters. The interviewees' discourses shaping lived experience were developed in post-communism and disclosed in the situation of migration. The aim of the present researcher is to portray them as determined by social structures, social processes, and practices (Fairclough, 2001). To

do so, the next section of the chapter refers to theories and ideas (the theory of myth and of post-communist society in particular) useful in understanding the reason for producing the discourses identified in the research.

In the previous sections, the macro-topics, the schemes of argumentation, the linguistic means, and the strategies used by migrants while constructing their experiences of migrating were identified. To explain these patterns, the theory of myth will be employed, giving insights into the interviewees' constructions of the vision of Britain and of migrating to Britain (the West), and into the problems with reflecting on and re-evaluating that vision.

Theories of myth (introduced in Chapter 2) shed light on the migrants' narratives as narratives about expectations and experiences of migration. The questions appear about the initial vision of Britain and of migrating to Britain, the formulation of a positive picture of Britain and unproblematic migration, and the ways these constructions were built. Second, a question then follows about the way the interviewees reacted when their experiences did not reflect their expectations; it is a question about the way the vision of Britain and migrating to Britain evolved and about the possibility or impossibility of reformulating the initial vision.

To interpret the vision of the West constructed by the migrants, it is useful to merge the ideas worked out by theorists on myth (described in detail in Chapter 2). The concept of myth as a recurrent narrative present in society shall be taken from Boym and her approach (1994). This approach links myth with the society in which it is produced. The idea of its language construction and immersion in ideology and taking into

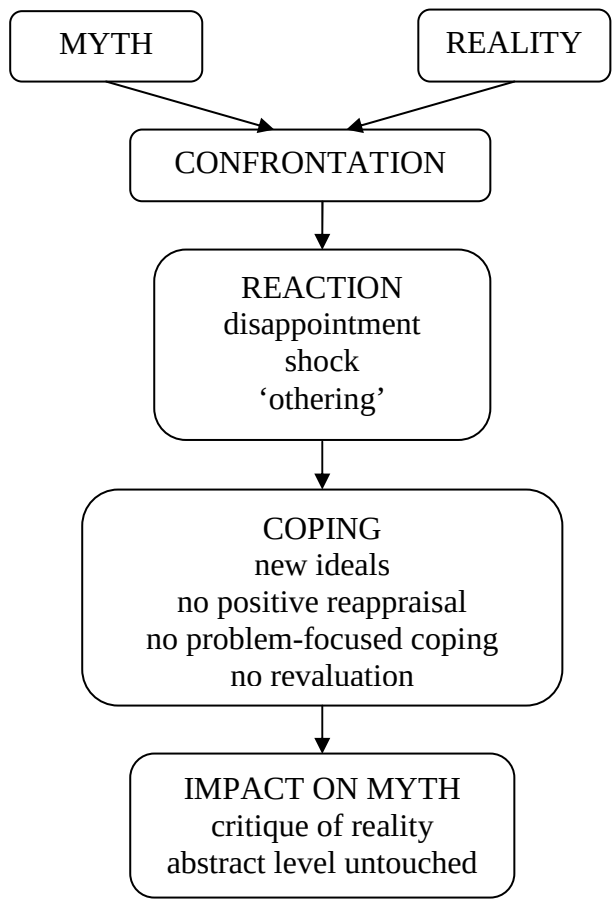
consideration functional assumptions of Winnicott (1971) when drawing conclusions on the function of myth is borrowed from Barthes (1957). The discourses (building illusion and simplifying reality) allow the migrants to cope with the reality of migration by stretching the limits of their reflections on their initial assumptions; the focus is on sustaining the *status quo* of the 'world view that they hold' (Segal, 2004, p.6).

In the data presented in this study, the informants used the resource of mythical discourse. They easily adopted the myth of the West and the myth of migrating to the West with its lexical and grammatical manifestation. The content of the myths included concepts of "different", "better", "common", and "ordinary". What is significant is the construction of the myth achieved by the use of watchwords. The informants used "different" and "better" but they did not explain them; they barely talked about the situation in their country of origin. In the case of migration constructed as common and ordinary, the interviewees tended to generalise ("everybody"). These words were ideologically loaded.

The confrontation of the myth with the British reality (reality understood as a cluster of accumulated experiences and opinions on them), and surprise that the latter did not mirror the former, resulted in shock and disappointment. Such a reaction was observed among the migrants towards the multicultural society they came to live in. Whatever was beyond the general and abstract content of the myth, was perceived as negative otherness. As a result, the myth was challenged but finally it survived in a vestigial form. Only some elements of the reality in Britain were evaluated as not fulfilling the myth rather than the myth being evaluated as a false image of the world.

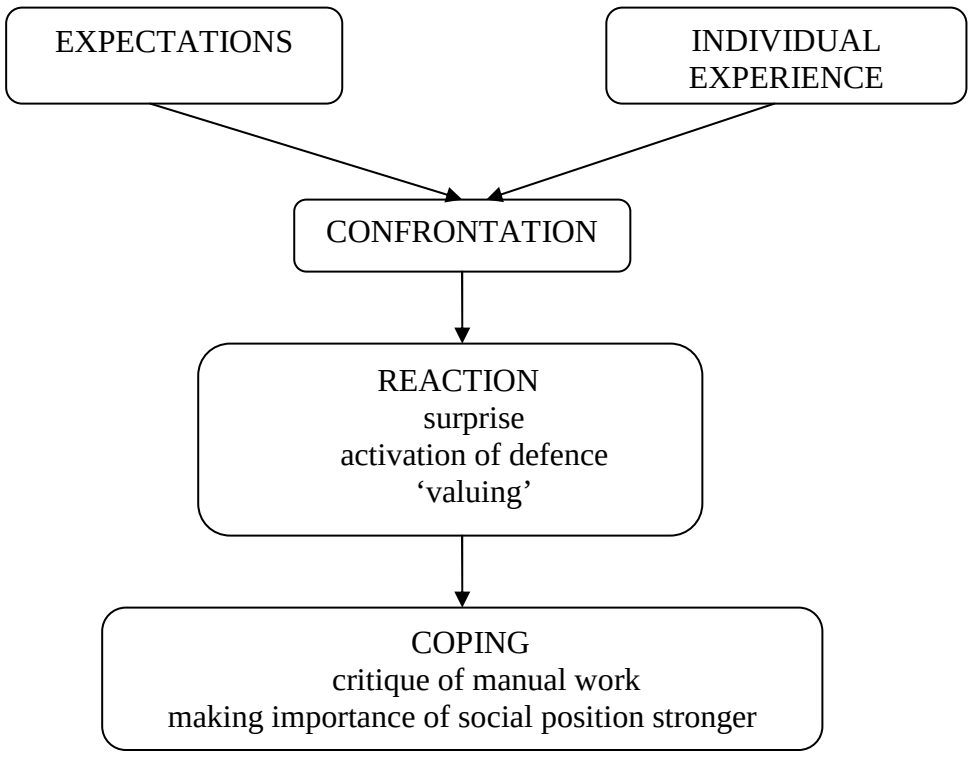
The myth survived the negative critique of the British reality. It manifested itself in three ways. Firstly, the abstract level of the myth stayed untouched. In that case, the migrants separated the level of observed everyday life and the economy of Britain. They still constructed Britain as an ideal country that functions independently of the practices of its residents. Secondly, in an apparent change of mind, they began to appreciate Poland and constructed it as an ideal place to be. Thirdly, they excluded Britain from the mythical West and directed their dreams towards 'genuinely' normal Western countries, for example the USA or Australia. Examples of representing this case were not included in the analysis because they were rare (Tymon: "[England], it is not America"; Kuba: "I don't want to go back to Poland. […] I have been thinking all the time about going to Australia. […] I do not imagine myself in England in thirty, forty years"; Leszek: "there are two countries that I would like to try. This is America for sure, I like it very much there, and at the moment I arrange the documents so that I could move to Australia. […] I like it because of the weather (h)"). Although barely represented, it seems important to signal it because of the significant number of post-accession Polish migrants leaving Britain and migrating to other Western countries (the observations of Iglicka based on a recent study of post-accession Polish migrants showed that almost 60% of them had already lived in at least two Western-European countries since 2004, quoted by Różalski, 2008). In all three cases mentioned, the myth of Britain was challenged but the myth of it being an ideal country remained. Also, in all cases the myth became more detailed (expectations were growing). Figure 6 presents the consequences of the myth meeting reality.

Figure 6. Confrontation of myth and reality



The myth of migrating to the West was also threatened. Although migration for any work was presented as a worthwhile practice widely shared by co-migrants and recommended by other members of Polish society, the individual experience of earning abroad and working below qualifications demonstrated the opposite. The migrants did not expect that they would feel uncomfortable with earning abroad in general, and in particular with work undertaken. Further, they negotiated their financial needs and occupational prestige; they activated defence in the form of distancing and narrative resistance. They coped by resisting an economic migrant’s and a simple worker’s identity, and as a result they made belonging to a particular group and having an ‘appropriate’ social position significant. Figure 7 shows what happens when ideals of migrating coincide with individual (actual) experience.

Figure 7. Confrontation of expectations about migrating with experiences



In reference to the reaction of the migrants holding a myth and comparing it with reality, four possible types may be formulated. In each case confrontation of the myth with the reality has different outcomes:

- surprise followed by acceptance of an imperfect reality and adaptation to it; the myth of an ideal country is 're-thought'
- disappointment followed by rejection of reality, isolation from it and creation of an enclave; the myth of an ideal country is kept but it becomes unattainable
- disappointment followed by rejection of reality of the host country; the myth of an ideal country is kept, but it changes its subject – from a host country to the homeland or another Western country

- disappointment followed by rejection of reality and forcing changes in the host country; the myth of the ideal country is retained

The data presented in the analytical chapters showed that the interviewees did not use the first of the possible types. Each time they tried to make sense of the reality they experienced by challenging the myth in the process, the myth was protected as if they were rejecting the reality.

The theories of myth used to explain the discursive practices identified in the migrants' narratives appeared to bring some insight into this study's research questions. They put the interviewees' narratives into a socio-historic perspective; they presented them as dependent on the existence of a long-standing worldview in Polish society. However, applying the theories of myth was not sufficient to give an in-depth explanation of the migrants' discourses. For example, it is still unclear why the first of the possible types was not employed. Some ideas discussed in the next sections shed more light on the reasons behind these discursive practices.

The ideas of Burawoy and Verdery (1997), introduced in Chapter 2, reflecting on the appearance of symbols known in communism in post-communist societies, give an insight into this problem. It seems that the old symbols are still present but they are used in a different way. The West and the East, the symbolic division of the European space into two separate units, was present in the discourses of the migrants. The West and the East were filled with new meanings, but the division survived. The migrants were not capable of transcending their societies. This is similar to Merkel's (1994) description of the dilemmas faced by East Germans after unification (Easterners living in a Western

country). These individuals have Western money and enjoy a Western lifestyle but are still confused about their newly acquired Western identity. Similarly, Polish migrants are confused. Transformation can be seen in both these cases as ‘a constant spiritual struggle for a new identity; struggle basically with itself, with its own social habits and with myths of post communism, myth concerning others and myths concerning ourselves’ (Balockaite, 2003, p.3). It is a constant question of ‘What should we be like? How should we see the world and ourselves in the world?’ (Balockaite, 2003, p.3).

Inferiority and superiority complexes presented by Poles, explored by Kurczewska (2004) and Düvell (2004), and constructed in the interviewees’ narratives also in this study (taking an inferior or superior position), may also play a vital role in shaping such a discourse. The confrontation with British reality made Poles feel both better and worse than the British or members of minority groups. The first encounter with the British reality and further stages of migration were accompanied by these complexes. Even if the complex was negotiated by changing its direction (feeling inferior or superior alternately), comparison between Westerners and Easterners was still practised. This supports Burawoy and Verdery’s (1997) claim of the continuity of old symbols.

Van Gennep’s (1909) ideas about rites of passage, referred to in Chapter 2, give another perspective from which to discuss the data from this research. Application of these ideas to the findings is justified because of their similarity with the theories of myth; both a myth and a rite of passage help to familiarise people with a new reality. To characterise transformation and analyse its progress Bauman (1994) applies van Gennep’s (1909) three-stage scheme. Although this scheme refers to rituals that simultaneously produce, reflect, and announce the transfer of a person from one ‘structured’ position to another

(for example professional), they also can enrich understanding of (post-communist) migration. The first stage is one of ‘separation’, during which the person is stripped of all the trappings of his or her previous status. The in-between stage is that of ‘liminality’, which is an unstructured, formless condition, where neither the ‘old’ nor the ‘new’ rules apply. As Turner observed:

> The persons travelling from one position to another are, so to speak, ‘on the loose’ and devoid of socially enabling roles; for this reason their behaviour is normally passive or humble; they must accept arbitrary punishment without complaint. It is as though they are being reduced or ground down to a uniform condition to be fashioned anew. (Turner, 1969, p.95)

‘The ordeals and humiliations’ to which they are as a rule submitted ‘represent partly a destruction of the previous status and partly a tempering of their essence in order to prepare them to cope with their new responsibilities’ (Turner, 1969, p.103). After the stage of ‘liminality’, the last phase is ‘aggregation’ when ‘a new role is assigned/acquired and new rules come to guide the person’s conduct (Bauman, 1994, pp.15-16).

If applying argumentation of Bauman to this study, the migrations of the group researched in this study, coming from a society in the ‘liminal’ stage, lacked migrants’ submissions to rites of passage. The decision to migrate was presented as not a big burden and travelling to the preferred destination was shown as easy. Migrants could not go through all the stages of migration: seeking a better future defined with goals and hopes; confronting reality defined with losses, pain, and the hardships of uprooting;

grieving and mourning defined by anger, frustration and blame related to the losses, pain and hardships; coping defined with gains and remains (the stages of migration in its first year identified by Khan and Watson, 2005). Migrants pushed decisions on staying in Britain or going away and were living in suspension. It can be argued that they did not go through the process that could guarantee them 'aggregation'.

Such an explanation finds support in Papastergiadis' (2000) and McHugh's (2000) contention that contemporary migration has no single origin and no simple end. 'It is an ongoing process and needs to be seen as an open voyage' (Papastergiadis, 2000, p.4). It 'is about people dislodged from place, people in motion, people with attachments and connections in multiple places, people living in the moment while looking backward from where they came and forward to an uncertain future' (McHugh, 2000, p.83). According to Gergen (1991), such a situation brings possibilities that are positively experienced by an individual. A migrant inhabits a global world rather than a single homeland. A cosmopolitan person enjoys change and is free of the burden of emotional feelings towards the homeland.

However, as some researchers have observed, including this researcher, some people feel lost in such a world. Burrell (2008) identified longing for home among the recent Polish migrants to Britain despite the accessibility of fast and cheap communication. As Billig (1995) and Melucci (1989) wrote, contemporary migrants miss boundaries, a sense of place, and the certainty built on them. To cope with ambiguity, they look for 'secure identities' (Billig, 1995) and often regress to an earlier stage of development (Billig, 1995). Stability, certainty and a solid identity are accomplished by re-building attachments to nation and the symbols of nationhood (Kristeva, 1993). It appears that

open and easily accessible space with people who feel free and willing to change places and feel good about it was not accepted by the interviewees. It also emerged that individuality was not fully exercised as they still took the opinions of others into consideration and struggled with them. Finally, it became visible that cosmopolitanism was too difficult to practice in a multicultural society.

10.4. Conclusion

This chapter summarised the results of the analytical part of the thesis on the lived experience of migration. It discussed the nature and form of the interviewees' narratives about their experience of migration (the discourses of migration). In the context of the interview, migrants found some topics difficult to reflect on: their decisions to migrate, money (their financial needs in particular), their decision to take jobs below their qualifications, and living in a multicultural society. Discussing the interview topics involved applying discursive strategies that helped them to cope with them and to protect their self-images as migrants. Analysis of the strategies themselves and the purposes they were used for revealed the struggle over competing beliefs and values (the ideological dilemmas) underpinning the discourses of migration.

The narratives analysed reflected the macro processes taking place in Europe (EU enlargement and the opening of the British employment market for Polish citizens) and infrastructure change (the development and expansion of cheap transport linking Poland with Britain). They questioned the idea that migrating within the EU borders is no longer a challenging venture. Despite the opportunity this offers (freely and easily available and cheap to realise, it happens with the perceived consent of the host country and Polish society), they struggle while making sense of their decisions.

CHAPTER 11. LIMITATIONS, CONTRIBUTIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND FURTHER RESEARCH QUESTIONS

11.1. Introduction

This study offers insights into the current process of economic migration in the European Union. It adds to knowledge of the lived experience of migration of young and degree level educated migrants from a post-communist country (Poland) to a country with a well-established capitalist system and long-standing democracy (Britain). It provides an example of exploring migration processes by analysing migrants' narratives using critical discourse analysis. This final chapter discusses the limitations of the research, its contribution to enhancing knowledge about the phenomenon, and the implications of the research findings.

11.2. Limitations of the study

The aim of this research was to identify and to understand the discourses available to a particular group of migrants. However, it had some methodological shortcomings. Firstly, the researcher obtained access to the narratives produced only in one type of situation – the research interview. The decision about collecting data from only one source was dictated by a preference of having more data from one source than less data of one type from many sources; extensive interview data delivered enough analytical material to look for linguistic patterns. There are two problems related to this issue. First, the level of engagement in conversation was framed by the nature of the meeting. The researcher met most of the interviewees for the first and last time while conducting this research. This could promote the free expression of views, but it could also be intimidating for the interviewees to reveal their experiences and thoughts to a stranger. A potential barrier in talking openly was minimised by questions giving room to share

personal experiences and encouraging sharing them in-depth. Second, the research interview is only one of many settings to talk about one's experiences of migration; other settings include for example conversations with friends or family members, or an internet forum. This means that in this semi-official/official situation the study reached only some of the discourses available to the interviewees.

The second limitation was that the analysis focused only on some of the identified patterns of constructing migratory experience. The thesis explored in detail the most striking discursive behaviours of the interviewees; it included the interviewees' struggle over their situations in terms of the dilemmas these situations posed. Therefore, the thesis is about the conflicts that they faced and the ways they tried to resolve them, rather than about the broad spectrum of the discourses involved in the lived experience of migrating. Such a choice was made to address a mission of critical discourse analysis of dealing with social problems and their linguistic character (Chapter 4).

The third limitation was that the study included only a specific group of migrants. The respondents were found with help from Polish institutions, other institutions that migrants approach, and with a 'snow-balling' technique. As a result, the migrants interviewed were those who were in touch with other Poles, for example sharing a workplace or socialising together. The study does not cover the experiences of Poles who stay outside the distinct sub-group (interviewees) of the Polish community.

11.3. Methodological contributions

This study contributes to methodology of studying post-accession migration from Poland to Britain. Firstly, it shows the benefits of applying critical discourse analysis to

explore the phenomenon of migration in its many dimensions. Secondly, it presents a way of combining micro and macro aspects of migration and post-communism.

This study is an example of applying critical discourse analysis and narrative studies to exploring migration as a phenomenon in a particular historical and social context. The thesis gives a step by step description of the process of approaching the phenomenon: 1) searching for a significant social issue, 2) formulating the research objectives and questions, 3) collecting data, 4) analysing them, and 5) making conclusions. It also depicts the problems that appeared during the process and the methods of dealing with them.

Previous studies (e.g., Iglicka et al, 1995; Jaźwińska and Okólski, 1996; Jordan and Düvell, 2003) have attempted to integrate micro and macro aspects of migration. Economic research within migration studies explored the influence of economic and financial factors on individual decisions; labour market research investigated labour force participation. This study, by applying critical discourse analysis to explore lived experience, provides an example of combining micro and macro aspects of migration from another perspective. In particular, the phenomenon of migration of a group from a post-communist country to a well-established capitalist economy, was analysed in its socio-historical context and the current dominant discourses. As a result, the research delivered an image of how the public discourse (the official discourse of uniting Europe) works on a private discourse level (the discourses of those who became its direct beneficiaries and practitioners).

11.4. Theoretical contributions - contributions to studies on migration and post-communism

This research contributes to our understanding of experiences of post-accession migrants from Poland to Britain and it also casts light on a post-communist society. The findings are presented in the next two sections.

11.4.1. Understanding post-accession migration from Poland to Britain

This study's main objective was to capture the lived experience of migrants in the first year of the influx of Polish migrants to Britain after the EU enlargement in 2004. By achieving this objective, it contributed to knowledge of post-accession migration. Its distinctive contribution to the growing body of literature in this research area was reaching the migrants' discursive practices at the very beginning of the phenomenon and making visible the struggle over the discursive resources available in the new context. Apart from that, this study's unique input was delivering in-depth analysis of the experiences of one particular group of migrants – young and degree level educated. Moreover, this study's distinctive contribution was its regional focus and providing insight into the experiences of the migrants living in cities and towns in the West Midlands of England what brings further possibilities of comparing this study with others describing migrants in various locations in Britain.

This research provided evidence that 'transparent' migration (white and economic migration of educated migrants), occurring within the borders of the EU and engaging the citizens of EU member countries, may also be about hardship. Migrants experience problems despite the fact that this migration is constructed in official discourses of the EU institutions as an easy movement within one economic and cultural socio-space. In

reality, this migration may bring confusion and inner struggles to migrants, which may be followed by suffering as shown in research on the mental health of Polish migrants (Kozłowska, Sallah, Galasiński, 2008). In the present study, this problem was demonstrated by describing the dilemmas that migrants were faced with while giving meaning to their migration.

The study challenged previous research on recent Polish migration to Britain by questioning explanations of the migrants' everyday practice by focusing mainly on the content of their narratives. For example, instead of explaining the narratives on the decision to migrate for economic opportunities (Düvell, 2004) or personal objectives (Fabiszak, 2007), the present study looked at the narratives to examine the interviewees' face-protecting strategies. Instead of explaining willingness to work very hard with migrants' plans for the future (Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich, 2007), this study analysed the narratives in terms of distancing from 'simple' work. In this way, with another approach to the data (critical discourse analysis), new information was gained.

This research shed light on the social and individual consequences of the situation in which degree level educated migrants perform simple work (especially manual work). Manual work was presented as having a very low status when described by overqualified migrants. Such a discourse on manual work may have a negative impact on a working society as a whole, as it challenges the manual work ethos and manual workers' occupational identity. The study also showed that such discourses on 'simple' work might cause social suffering for the overqualified migrants not because of the lack of utilising the knowledge and skills they possess, but because of the loss of social prestige. Moreover, the study demonstrated that such discourses are related to a

particular context of post-communist migration to the West.

Regarding the functioning of migrants in a multicultural community, the study provided another perspective on the power relations involved in discrimination (e.g., Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). It proposed a shift in focus from discourses relating to the discrimination against migrants to discourses used by the migrants themselves to construct the Other, including migrants themselves. Thus, the study opened up a possibility of discussing these problems from the point of view of migrants; it looked at the discourses as used by migrants to help them accomplish their 'private' attempt to save face, for example of the migrant who aims to construct herself/himself as not fitting into the host society.

Further, the thesis described a clash between the interviewees (as migrants) and the Other. It showed the ways intolerant discourses and justifications of dislike of diversity manifest themselves. The migrants' desire to live in a homogeneous society was identified as a problem. The study challenged the claim that current societies live and move in an open world space. The study showed that post-communist Polish society still functions rather on the level of nation-state space.

11.4.2. Understanding post-communism

The study demonstrated what can be added to knowledge about change in post-communist Polish society (researched for example by Miszalska, 1998; Mach, 1998), if its members' discourses are explored in the context of migration. In the situation of migration post-communist discourses were taken from their everyday context and were challenged. Moreover, by studying migrants' discourses, the research supports the argument that social change is not determined by change in social actors' mentalities

(Morawski, 1996), nor in their consciousness and thinking (Mach, 1998), but in the discursive resources available to them.

The study showed that the theory of myth is a useful framework to approach discourses of migrants originating in a post-communist country. The analysis revealed new stories and new (old) myths, all contributing to rebuilding the meta-narrative of Polish society. Most importantly, it showed the myth about the West as still underpinning migrants' discourses. It showed that other myths, although believed to be dead (the myth of superiority/inferiority of Eastern European societies claimed by Balockaite (2003) to be forgotten) are still alive. It showed that discourses alive in communism are still practised by those who were only children during the communist era (Willis, 1997; Paugh, 2005; Kalinowska, 1978).

The study critically reflected on theories on post-communist youth. It showed that the use of critical discourse analysis might reveal the layers of a phenomenon that is hidden from researchers using other research methods. It questioned Klicperová-Backer's (1999) claims that young, educated people coming from big cities are not affected by communist discourses. It also questioned Sztompka's (2004) idea that the generation of twenty- and thirty-year-olds are immunised against communism.

The study revealed that some of the discourses used by post-communist migrants (e.g., the discourse of cosmopolitanism) reflect discourses highly valued within society but simultaneously not lived by. The discourses are adapted orthopractically; that is, practice occurs, but is not filled with meaning and adequate ideology (on orthopraxy, see Scott, 1990).

The study confirmed that members of Polish society (at least some of its groups) are prone to reflection, comparisons, and impatience (Ziółkowski, 2000), with a tendency to great euphoria followed by dissolution: disappointment with transformation (as described by Alexander, 1991 in Sztompka, 2000a and Mokrzycki, 2001), and they are still (as much as was happening with migrants coming with the earlier flows) vulnerable to disillusion with migration, as noticed during this research.

11.5. Practical implications

11.5.1. Implications for the institutions providing help for migrants

This research found that there are complications for migrants trying to adjust to the realities of life in the UK. Such complications can be seen as putting migrants' mental health at risk. The findings of this research provide an in-depth understanding of migrants' plight for providers of mental health services, particularly psychologists, about the extent of mental distress which many Polish migrants may experience. These findings mirror those of many researchers who found a negative link between migration and mental health (e.g., Pernice and Brook, 1996; Bhugra, 2005; Bailes et al., 2006). There is a need to assist migrants in general by recognising the problematic discourses characteristic of this group, and, promoting and supporting adaptive responses to stress, inner struggle, disappointment and ineffective (and socially undesirable) coping strategies.

The practical outcome of this research is a better understanding of the implications of being immersed in the particular discourses of post-communism and migration. The findings of this research may help practitioners in supporting migrants to become more critical towards the challenges in their migratory lives. In particular, awareness of

competing discourses creating tensions may help to reflect on them in order to eliminate them. Reflection may lead to more coherent and more acceptable narratives about one's migration for the migrants themselves. It may also lead to better understanding of migrants' positions in the host society, the origins of fear of the Other and of being the Other. Apart from the insights it offers professionals helping current Polish migrants living in Britain, the study can also be a source of knowledge for practitioners assisting those who want to migrate from non-Western societies to the West.

11.5.2. Implications for the policies of the European Union and its member countries

The official discourse of the EU presents migration within its borders as unproblematic, but does not distinguish between migrants from 'old' and 'new' Europe. However, as this study reveals, even if a member country is easily accessible to Eastern Europeans (e.g., Britain for Poles) it does not mean that the process of migrating and settling down is trouble-free. The perception of migrants from Eastern European countries tends to mirror the official discourse of the EU; that is to say that they are seen as economic migrants in the first instance, freely leaving their countries of origin.

As voluntary migrants and white Europeans they are the invisible migrants and, therefore, their problems are unnoticed. But the ideologies they live by make them both vulnerable to and active in acts of discrimination, withdrawal, isolation, and idealised approaches towards reality. Understanding specific characteristics of migration and being aware of its problems and challenges, having their roots in socio-historical conditions of post-communist countries, can inform member country policies. It can help to develop programmes of prevention and prepare appropriate solutions.

11.6. Questions for further investigation

This study raises a range of questions that could form the basis for future research. These questions are focused on further exploration of issues related to economic migration and post-communism. In this thesis, only the most visible issues in the data reconstructing an image of economic migration from a post-communist country to the West were explored. Apart from the issues identified in the study, some others emerged in the data but remained outside the scope of the thesis; however, they are worth further exploration to complete the image of the lived experience of migration. These include: problems of simultaneity of the process of migration and other processes that the migrants go through (for example going through life cycle changes – in the case of these migrants it was an issue of becoming independent; the use of racist discourse in narratives about Polish co-migrants (newcomers); and discursive struggle in the narratives referring to patriotism.

Another question for further research is about the consequences of the migrants' discourses in use. The after-effects of the migrants' discourses (on the West, on the Western societies, on migrating to the West, on the migrants' position within the host countries) should be investigated in detail. The need for such research has been already noticed in the news media. Firstly, there is a problem of well-being of non-returning migrants who wish to go back to Poland, but who prolong their stay in Britain for the fear of being perceived in Poland as unsuccessful returning migrants (Szostak and Michalak, 2007). They may be the victims of the dominant discourse of successful migration that was identified in this study. Secondly, this is an issue of racism among the migrants' children who discriminate against the Other (children from minority groups) in British schools (Anon, 2007). Such behaviour may indicate further inter-

generational discursive practices of othering described in the thesis. Thirdly, is the problem of integrating into British society (Łojek-Magdziarz, 2007; Burrell, 2009). The questions asked by Burrell (2009) in the conclusions to her edited book consisting of recent research on Polish migration to Britain, show the range of possible further research on the place of Poles in a multicultural community. Regarding this problem, there are questions that can be asked in relation to findings of this research: about Polish migrants' relations with the Other being other migrants from A8 countries and about construction of whiteness within this group of migrants. Fourthly, the media refers to migrants' inability to access help and protection against discrimination (Kowalski, 2007), related to their health (Jasińska and Wolna, 2007), and their mental health (Czernik, 2007; Rączkowska, 2007; Kozłowska, Sallah, Galasiński, 2008). All of these issues are significant for the well being of migrants as well as of the host society.

11.7. Conclusion

Post-2004 economic migration of migrants from Poland to Britain, being migration within the single market of the European Union, could be perceived as a venture bringing no difficulties for European citizens because of the lack of formal barriers to travel and access to the employment market, and because of cultural similarities between originary and host societies. However, this migration is also a move from a post-communist country to a country with well established capitalism and democracy. Starting with this macro-context, the objective of this research was to gain an insight into the lived experience of this migration. The study addressed three issues in relation to this migration: how migrants educated to degree level construct their migration, how they experience the reality of migrating and what the relationship is between this experience and the macro-context of this migration. By studying the personal narratives and discourses underpinning them, it showed the complex nature of that migration and

the discursive struggles that migrants were faced with. This research made a number of contributions to understanding the lived experience of migrating in this particular context, as well as to current migration processes in the EU.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Participants' profiles

	Name	Gender	Birth year	Age	Date of Interview	Length of stay	Type of job
1PS	Patryk	M	1979	25	11. 2004	4m	Manual
2MK	Marta	F	1980	24	12. 2004	3m	Clerical
3MS	Marcin	M	1978	26	12. 2004	7m	Professional
4AF	Alicja	F	1977	28	03. 2005	3m	Professional
5KJ	Konrad	M	1978	27	04. 2005	7m/9m	Manual
6FB	Filip	M	1979	26	05. 2005	2y	Clerical
7MS	Milena	F	1979	26	05. 2005	6m/1y	Manual
8AG	Agata	F	1980	25	05. 2005	10m/9 m	Clerical
9JZ	Jola	F	1968	37	07. 2005	5m	Manual
10TS	Tymon	M	1978	27	07. 2005	1m/9m	Manual
11MP	Marzena	F	1972	33	07. 2005	3m	Professional
12KW	Kacper	M	1976	29	08. 2005	3y	Clerical
13PW	Patrycja	F	1979	26	09. 2005	2m/1m	Manual
14WH	Wojtek	M	1972	33	09. 2005	1y	Manual
15PL	Leszek	M	1977	28	09. 2005	2y6m	Professional
16JL	Janka	F	1977	28	09. 2005	2y	Professional
17KK	Kuba	M	1979	26	09. 2005	11m	Professional
18NJ	Natalia	F	1980	27	10. 2005	1y10m	Professional
19ZG	Zosia	F	1979	26	10. 2005	3m	Professional
20MM	Monika	F	1980	25	10. 2005	1y1m	Manual
21JK	Justyna	F	1974	31	10. 2005	1y6m/ 4m	Professional
22MP	Mirek	M	1978	27	12. 2005	2m/7m	Manual

Appendix 2. Interview questions in Polish

1. Jak to się stało, że przyjechałaś do Anglii?
2. Dlaczego wyjechałaś z Polski?
3. Jak komentowano twój wyjazd?
   A co ty czułaś, myślałaś?
4. Jak ci się tutaj żyje?
5. Czy jest coś, za czym tęsknisz?
6. Pracowałaś przed wyjazdem w Polsce?
7. Czy ciebie zwolniono z pracy, czy sama odeszłaś? A może jesteś wciąż na urlopie?
8. Jak komentowowano twoje odejście z pracy? Co ty czułaś, myślałaś?
9. Jak szukałaś pracy?
10. Ktoś ci pomagał?
11. Jak wygladała rozmowa kwalifikacyjna?
12. Jak wyglądały pierwsze dni w pracy?
13. Gdzie teraz pracujesz? A co robisz?
14. Kim jesteś z zawodu?
15. Co cię skłoniło do podjęcia tej pracy?
16. Czy podjęłabyś taką pracę w Polsce?
17. Jak ci się pracuje?
18. Jak sobie wyobrażałaś pracę w Anglii?
    A jak jest?
19. Czy chciałabyś, żeby coś było inaczej?
20. Czy ta praca daje ci satysfakcję?
    A czy są momenty, że ta praca daje ci satysfakcję?
21. Jakie masz stosunki ze współpracownikami, z szefem?
    Jak się czujesz w ich towarzystwie?
    Pasujesz do nich?
    W czym są do ciebie podobni, w czym inni?
    Rozmawiacie ze sobą na tematy nie związane z pracą?
    Spędzacie razem czas wolny?
    Lubisz z nimi przebywać?
22. Gdzie teraz mieszkasz?
    Jak ci się mieszka? Jakich masz sąsiadów?
23. Opowiedź mi coś o swoim dzieciństwie.
    Kim są twoi rodzice?
    Dlaczego zdecydowałaś się studiować?
24. Jak sobie wyobrażasz swoją przyszłość? A twoich dzieci?
25. Jak myślisz, dobrze zrobiłaś wyjeżdżając?
26. Chcesz tu zostać?
27. O co pytają ciebie rodzice/znajomi, gdy wracasz do Polski? O co pytają w mailach, w rozmowach telefonicznych?
28. Opowiedz mi o jakiejś rzeczy, którą przywiozłaś z Polski.
    Co zabrałbyś ze sobą do Polski?
29. Czy chciałabyś jeszcze coś dodać?

Appendix 3. Interview questions in English

1. How did it happen that you came to England?
2. Why did you leave Poland?
3. How were people commenting your decision?
   And what did you feel, what did you think?
4. How is your life here like?
5. Is there anything you miss?
6. Did you work before leaving Poland?
7. Were you fired or did you quit your job? And maybe you are still on leave?
8. How were people commenting your decision on quitting a job? What did you feel, what did you think?
9. How did you look for work?
10. Did anyone assist you in looking for work?
11. What did a job interview look like?
12. What were the first days at work like?
13. Where do you work now? What do you do?
14. What is your profession?
15. What made you take this job?
16. Would you take up a job of that kind in Poland?
17. How are you doing at work?
18. What did you imagine work in England would be like?
    And what is it like?
19. Would you like anything to be different?
20. Does the job give you satisfaction?
    Does this job give you satisfaction at any time?
21. What do the relations with your co-workers and boss look like?
    How do you feel in their company?
    Do you fit in to their company?
    How they are similar and different from you?
    Do you talk about things other than work?
    Do you spend free time together?
    Do you like spending time with them?
22. Where do you live now?
    How do you find living there? What are your neighbours like?
23. Tell me something about your childhood.
    Who are your parents?
    Why did you decide to study?
24. What do you imagine your future to be like? And the future of your children?
25. Do you think that your decision on leaving was right?
26. Do you want to stay here?
27. What do your parents/acquaintances ask you about when you go back to Poland?
    What do they ask you about in e-mails, in phone conversations?
28. Tell me about a thing that you brought from Poland.
    What would you take with you to Poland?
29. Would you like to add something?

Appendix 4. Transcription conventions

.	A period indicates a stopping fall in tone.
,	A comma indicates a continuing intonation.
?	A question mark indicates a rising intonation.
-	A single dash indicates a halting, abrupt cutoff.
[ ]	Square brackets enclose vocalizations, details of conversational scene, clarifications.
( )	Parenthesis encloses words that are in doubt.
[	Square parenthesis on successive lines indicate the beginning of simultaneous utterances
‘ ’	Quotation marks enclose citations.
(.) (..) (…)	Dots in parentheses indicate pauses.
[…]	Ellipsis in square brackets indicates omitted fragment.
no:	A colon indicates extension of the sound.
(h)	‘h’ enclosed in parentheses indicates laugh.
under	Underlining indicates emphasis

ANCILLARY DATA

Interview data in Polish

Chapter 6

Example 1.

I: to jak długo już tutaj jesteś?
Janka: dwa lata=
I: =dwa lata.
JL: dwa lata. (..) m: no spełniło się moje marz(h)enie. chociaż może wyobrażałam sobie że to będzie jakoś inaczej trochę. y: jakoś zawsze tak ten kraj mnie ciągnął, myślałam że jak tu przyjadę to nie będę chciała nigdy wyjechać, że tak cudownie i tak dalej. jest to niewątpliwie ciekawe doświadczenie, i: człowiek się dużo uczy, jest tu dużo dużo jakiś takich aspektów które później przydadzą się w Polsce jak język i doświadczenie. (..) ale no na razie to jednak nie nie nie planuję tutaj zostać na stałe.
I: to jak sobie wyobrażałaś tutaj jak tutaj będzie?
Janka: nie wiem, jakoś człowiek zawsze wyobraża sobie że jakieś takie nie wiem lepiej jest, lepiej to takie m: też tak do końca nie wiadomo było to lepiej jak to lepiej wygląda. może taka ciekawość, to że że że nigdy nie mogliśmy tu przyjechać, i: taka bardziej po prostu ludzka ciekawość jak jak to jest. i to co może człowiek słyszał, że tu jest wszystkiego pod dostatkiem, y: nie wiem, ludzie nie mają problemu żeby znaleźć pracę, i: nie wiem wydawało się że że że to po prostu jest ważne w życiu człowieka.

Example 2.

I: uhm. jak sobie wyobrażałaś pracę w Anglii?
Zosia: (..) y: (..) wiesz co, nie myślałam konkretnie o pracy. miałam nadzieję / znaczy wiedziałam tak, wiedziałam że się uda. w sensie wiedziałam że nie będzie takiej sytuacji że sobie nie poradzimy. bo: no mówię, no ja jestem po anglistyce, y: mój mój narzeczony też zna angielski. mamy gdzieś tam dyplomy więc (.) wiedziałam że to może zająć trochę, w sensie że najpierw będzie może będziemy zmuszeni nie wiem do jakiejś fizycznej pracy, w sensie nie wiem, knajpy i tak dalej. y: żeby w końcu dotrzeć do tego co chcemy robić. y: ale wierzyłam że: nie będzie to trwało długo, albo w ogóle, no i okazało się że rzeczywiście nie nie było w ogóle takiegoś czegoś. y: wydaje mi się że jesteśmy my oboje jesteśmy zaradnymi ludźmi, w sensie biorąc pod uwagę to że no nie wiem parę lat nie mieszkamy już z rodzicami, żyjemy na własną rękę. y: sami się utrzymujemy, sami robiliśmy wiele tam rzeczy, więc wiedziałam że sobie poradzimy. a w sensie pracy: no mówię, (..) myśleliśmy że może trzeba będzie gdzieś tam zacząć od jakiejś fizycznej pracy, ale udało się nie i (..) i jest okej.

Example 3.

I: jak sobie w ogóle wyobrazalas tutaj jak to bedzie jak przyjedziesz, jak bedzie tutaj wygladalo zycie w Anglii, jak sie tutaj ludziom zyje, jak im sie tutaj pracuje.

Monika: (...) wlasciwie to nie wiem, jakos takich bardzo konkretnych wyobrazen na temat zycia w Anglii nie mialam. wiedzialam ze jest lepiej, z zapewnien m: Rafala i z zapewnien innych osób które byly m: niekoniecznie w Anglii, ale w Niemczech czy Francji. które mówily o tym ze (.) mozna spróbowac. ze finansowo (.) jest lepiej. (..)[...]

Example 4.

Tymon: [...] no nie jestem zadowolony jeżeli tak można by powiedzieć, jeżeli jakieś przemyślenia miałem to myślałem że Anglia jest krajem rozwiniętym. myślałem że krajem jest rozwiniętym, wysokie zarobki, myślałem to musi być taka druga Ameryka.

Example 5.

I: jak komentowano twój wyjazd, co rodzina mówiła?
Justyna: rodzina? popierała czy ja wiem, no popierała. 'jedźcie dzieci, co was tu czeka'.

Example 6.

I: i jak twoje odejście komentowali w pracy?
Zosia: (..) y: (.) ponieważ Polacy mają generalnie nastawienie do wyjazdów za granicę, właśnie takie że wiadomo dlaczego to wszyscy robią, bo robią to wyłącznie wyłącznie z pobudek finansowych, to: raczej ci ludzie którzy gdzieś tam byli mi bliscy mówili ‘spokojnie, jedź, dasz sobie radę, na pewno znajdziesz coś fajnego, będzie dużo dużo lepiej, gdybym była dwadzieścia lat młodsza zrobiłabym to samo. w ogóle młodzi ludzie wszyscy powinni wyjeżdżać, bo: mają dużo lepsze perspektywy za granicą’. tak że no (.) tak to wyglądało.

Example 7.

I: a ktoś ci opowiadał o tym jak tutaj jest?
Leszek: znaczy tutaj miałem znajomych którzy tutaj już mieszkali.
I: uhm i co oni opowiadali?
Leszek: [śmiech] jak się dobrze bawią. [śmiech] właśnie ci do których jeżdżę. nie no co oni opowiadali, no będziesz pracował będziesz zarabiał będziesz sobie żył i to wszystko nie? coś w zależności od tego jaki będziesz miał cel, jeśli będziesz chciał bardzo oszczędzać to to to (.) no to nie będziesz praktycznie mógł sobie pozwolić na wiele rzeczy. a jeśli chcesz normalnie żyć to co będziesz zarabiał to ci pozwoli na to.

Example 8.

I: i proponowano ci tam dalej pracę?
Patrycja: no sytuacja była: powiem tak, nieczysta. być może że chcieliby żebym została, ale to ja powinnam zabiegać o to żebym została, a nie oni mi proponowali. w związku z tym (.) stwierdziłam że nie bo: na stażu zarabiałam bardzo marne pieniądze, później być może daliby lepiej ale (.) takie były momenty, ciężkie dni, jak to się mówi, żeby się dogadać z szefem. no: i

stwierdziłam że jeżeli ja się mam prosić kogoś o to żeby mi dał pracę, to dziękuję bardzo, a za tydzień po przyjeździe tutaj, na drugi dzień miałam pracę.

Example 9.

I: i jak bylo z pra- z praca w Polsce?
Wojtek: no bardzo ciezko. w zawodzie nigdy nie pracowalem, (..) poniewaz nie mialem nigdy zadnych ukladów, ani to w gminach, ani wlasnie w tej policji, ani tego (.) wlasnie na przyklad w mojej miejscowosci, to jest dosyc mala miejscowosc, y: znalem ludzi którzy pracowali w starostwie, w urzedzie gminy, którzy byli po zawodówkach, i pracowali, i nie to ze to jacys starzy pracownicy zasiedzieli, tylko nowoprzyjeci, mlodzi ludzie, po zawodówkach i mieli ta prace. a ja nie moglem znalezc pracy. podania lezaly wszedzie juz bodajze, gdzie tylko mogly lezec. a ja lapalem wszystkie rózne prace na czarno. ewentualnie jak sie gdzies udalo z urzedu pracy w magazynie gdzies zlapac jakas (.) przy: tam ewidencjonowaniu czy cze- czegos (w pracy) ale to glównie byly takie prace ze brali z: robót publicznych, po trzech miesiacach konczyly sie dotacje z urzedu pracy wiec wymieniali sobie pracowników. no i tutaj przyjechalem, caly czas pracuje w jednej pracy, i: (.) mam opinie z tego co mówia, moze sie pochwale troche, ale najlepszego pracownika. staram sie, wyrabiam troche ponad norme, robie tak jak potrafie robic. dostalem juz kontrakt, na cztery lata, po paru miesiacach, i nie maja ochoty mnie zwalaniac (ani nic). (..)

Example 10.

I: to opowiedz mi teraz jak to się stało że przyjechałaś do Anglii.
Monika: y: decyzja była powzięta (.) właściwie spontanicznie. to znaczy y: (.) bardzo krótko po tym jak dowiedziałam się że m: rząd postanowił zlikwidować coś takiego jak alimenty, wypłacane przez państwo, zostałam pozbawiona / znaczy właściwie nie nagle, ale jakoś wcześniej nie przyjęłam tego do wiadomości że (.) nagle zostanę pozbawiona połowy środków finansowych, jakimi do tej pory dysponowałam podczas studiów. no i tak się stało, i: przyjechałam. żeby odbić się finansowo.
[...]
I: i przyjechałaś sama? [jak to wyglądało?
Monika: [nie, przyjechałam z moim chłopakiem, który też skończył studia, i: też nie mógł znaleźć pracy. (..) więc (.) kupiliśmy bilety we wtorek, przylecieliśmy w czwartek. przyjechaliśmy do znajomego, który był tutaj już wcześniej.

Example 11.

Patryk: w kazdym mądzie razie [chrzaka] nastepnie niezaliczony egzamin (..) postanowilem ze nie bede sie juz z tym ten (.) brochal, a ze w Polsce nie mialem jakby y: perspektyw, poza oczywiscie pójsciem do wojska, y: (..) na przyszlosc w miare porzadna, chodzi mi o prace
I: uhm
Patryk: nie od razu przyszlosc w znaczeniu (.) cala przyszlosc przede mna, y: no i postanowilem skorzystac z jego zaproszenia. spakowalem plecak, (..) no i przyjechalem. przyjechalem, wyszedlem na droge[to hitch-hike], (.) jestem.

Example 12.

I: prosze mi opowiedziec jak to sie stalo ze pan przyjechal do Anglii?
Wojtek: stalo sie tak ze nie mialem pracy w Polsce, koledzy mojego brata: pracowali wczesniej w Anglii, byli tutaj na czarno. no i tak sie z:gadali kiedys przez internet z moim bratem, ze jezeli chce to mozesz teraz wolno moge przyjechac. tam postaraja mi sie znalezc jakas prace. szczerze mówiac dlugo nie czekalem, tylko zebralem swoje rzeczy i przyjechalem tutaj.

Example 13.

I: a znajomi, co mówili?
Jola: co mówili? no ze fajnie, ze super, ze jasne, ze szansa, ze po prostu otwiera sie przed nami okno na swiat. [...]

Example 14.

I: co mówili twoi znajomi, i rodzicie na twój pomysl wyjazdu? jak komentowano to?
Marcin: [...] em tak samo moi mój dwóch szefów, y: tez jak im powiedzialem ze chce sie zwolnic bo chce jechac do tez nie powiedzieli ze absolutnie nie puszczamy cie bo jestes tu potrzebny, chociaz bylem, y: to powiedzieli ze pewnie ze to jest szansa i tak dalej i tak dalej. y: moi rodzice tak samo do tego podchodza ze, ze trzeba jakby: lapac szanse i i: i próbowac y: cos bo niestety, jak wiadomo sytuacja w Kraju jest niezbyt y: fajna i (.) i niezbyt optymistyczna, przynajmniej na razie.

Example 15.

I: a znajomi twoi co mówili?
Zosia: y: wiesz co znajomi, zreszta wiadomo jaka jest sytuacja w Polsce teraz, wiekszosc znajomych juz jest gdzies za granica, bo: wiadomo jaka jest sytuacja ekonomiczna wiec ludzie uciekaja, szukaja pieniedzy gdzies tam za granica, wiec no (.) tak naprawde piecdziesiat procent, jesli nie wiecej juz w tej chwili moich znajomych sie rozjechala po swiecie. no dlatego mysle ze to jest zrozumiale. ludzie (.) mysle ze ludzie ludzie: y: którzy sa w Polsce to albo (.) albo mysla o tym zeby wyjechac, albo niedlugo zaczna o tym myslec. bo: mlodzi ludzie którzy nie maja zadnych perspektyw na to zeby nie wiem kupic sobie mieszkanie, gdzies tam, wejsc w to zycie jakos tam, no to to jest jakby jedyna opcja, mozliwa do wykonania. no tak ze wszyscy z takim samym zalozeniem ‘jedzcie, niech wam sie uda, i pewnie niedlugo przyjedziemy do was’.

Example 16.

I: i jak twoje odejscie komentowali w pracy?
Zosia: (..) y: (.) poniewaz Polacy maja generalnie nastawienie do wyjazdów za granice, wlasnie takie ze wiadomo dlaczego to wszyscy robia, bo robia to wylacznie wylacznie z pobudek finansowych, to: raczej ci ludzie którzy gdzies tam byli mi bliscy mówili ‘spokojnie, jedz, dasz sobie rade, na pewno znajdziesz cos fajnego, bedzie duzo duzo lepiej, gdybym byla dwadziescia lat mlodsza

zrobilabym to samo. w ogóle mlodzi ludzie wszyscy powinni wyjezdzac, bo: maja duzo lepsze perspektywy za granica'. tak ze no (.) tak to wygladalo.

Example 17.

I: a twoi znajomi? co mówili?
Janka: moi znajomi juz tutaj byli wczesniej [smiech] moi znajomi no moja przyjciólka, z która sie przyjaznie od dziesiatego roku zycia, byla juz tutaj w Anglii wczesniej, wyjechala zanim ja zaczelam studia czyli juz tutaj byla cztery lata wczesniej wiec nawet w sumie sie cieszyla ze ze przyjade tutaj, bedziemy sie mogly czesciej odwiedzac, y: moi bracia, dwóch braci oni juz m: tez za granica byli, wiec jakby (.) nie bylo tak ze wyjechalam, zostawilam wszystkich, bo jednak mialam juz tych kilku znajomych i rodzine zagranica. m: tez mam znajomych w Londynie, z naszej miejscowosci ze studiów, tez wyjechali w tym samym czasie co my, wiec (.) wiec jakos tak no nie wiem, zostawilam (no wiadomo 23.32), zostawilam tam kilku znajomych, ale tez kilka osób tutaj przyjechalo jak w tym samym okresie badz wczesniej.

Example 18.

I: a znajomi, cos mówili?
Natalia: znajomi, mysle ze tez nic specjalnego, dlatego ze: znajomych tez mamy gdzies tam tez po swiecie. tez (.) a ci którzy w Polsce mieszkaja tez sa raczej tacy mobilni. nie nie siedza w miejscu nie tylko (.) nie interesuje ich tylko wlas- wlasna praca wlasny dom tylko tam w ogóle, no generalnie rózne rzeczy. ale czy znajomi, mysle ze tak ludzie sa teraz tak przyzwyczajeni ze kazdy gdzies. gdzies gdzies wyjezdza czy to na chwile czy to w ogóle na na na stale czy nie wiem na jaki okres na jaki okres czasu. takze tez mysle ze jakis komentarz to nie nie nie specjalny.

Example 19.

I: a twoim znajomym, jak sie w Polsce pracuje?
Zosia: (..) wiesz co, ci którzy ci którzy maja prace z której sa zadowoleni, to dobrze. ale: niewiele jest takich ludzi, tak naprawde. tak jak ci powiedzialam, bardzo duzo moich znajomych sie rozjechalo po swiecie. [...] mnóstwo znajomych. znajomi z innych studiów, z politechniki, ludzie którzy sa inzynierami, magistrami, wyjezdzaja masowo. [...]

Chapter 7

Example 1.

I: a dobra praca, co dla ciebie oznacza?
Justyna: dobra praca? m: taka która lubie, i taka która mi daje morze pieniedzy. jakze przyziemne (niejasne) no po to pracujemy, taka jest prawda. y: nie mam idei zeby sie spelniac w pracy, ale tez y: ciesze sie ze ze przynajmniej sie orientuje w tym co robie. moze tak.

Example 2.

I: a dobra praca co dla ciebie oznacza?
Janka: dobra praca. m: dobra praca. y: mysle ze m: no sklamie jezeli nie powiem ze ze sa to dobre pieniadze. y: no bo jednak niestety w dzisiejszym swiecie (.) bez pieniedzy jest ciezko zyc. i: (.) i patrzac na nasza sytuacje w Polsce, gdzie jednak jest ciezko dostac dostac dobra prace, jest jest problem (..) nie wiem, zeby kupic sobie samochód, czy y: kupic sobie dom, bo (..) zycie nie jest nie jest latwe, jest duze bezrobocie. wiec nie ukrywam ze te pieniadze na pewno ulatwiaja zycie. mysle ze tez realizacja jakis wlasnych marzen, (..) rozwiniecie sie, rozwiniecie (.) jakis swoich umiejetnosci, poznawanie tez ludzi, sposób na poznawanie ludzi. (..)

Example 3.

I: a co dla ciebie oznacza dobra praca?
Zosia: (..) praca w której sie spelniasz, w sensie tak jak mówilam, robisz to co lubisz, jestes zadowolona z: z wykonywanej pracy, no i: dodatkowa motywacja mysle sa pieniadze, które dostajesz, które sa jakims takim wynagrodzeniem twojej pracy i jesli starasz sie i rzeczywiscie dajesz z siebie wszystko w tej pracy. to jest taka nagroda i dowód za to ze (.) ktos cie ktos cie nagradza bo robisz dobrze, to co robisz.

Example 4.

I: co oznacza dla ciebie dobra praca.
Leszek: sprawiajaca satysfakcje i i i: praca która ci daje odpowiednie wynagrodzenie za odpowiednio wlozony za (.) wlozony wklad w nia.

Example 5.

I: co to dla ciebie znaczy dobra praca.
Kacper: dobra praca, taka z której bede zadowolony. bede czuc sie spelniony, bedzie mi sie podobac, bede robic to co chce, i bedzie mi przynosic godne zarobki. (..)

Example 6.

I: jaka role odgrywa w twoim zyciu praca?
Jola: zródlo dochodu, zródlo (.) pieniazków na (.) na dalsze zycie. oczywiscie jezeli jest polaczona z przyjemnoscia, a obec- w obecnej pracy lubie / O to jest pierwsza praca do której naprawde chetnie jade. bo nie dosc ze sa fajni ludzie, z fajnymi ludzmi sie pracuje, to jest cala atmosfera, cala (.) nie ma dnia kiedy bym sie musiala jakos specjalnie denerwowac, albo stresowac, albo cos. tak ze w tej chwili moge powiedziec ze nie tylko dodatek pieniezny ale jeszcze (.) towarzyski.

Example 7.

I: a co oznacza dla ciebie dobra praca.

Wojtek: dobra praca to: (..) to jest taka z której moge sie utrzymac, i: praca w której jestem pewny: dnia jutrzejszego. tak jak mam w tej chwili ze ide nastepnego dnia do pracy i wiem ze ta prace mam. (..) no i: wiadomo ze jeszcze stosunki w tej pracy jak jak jak sie odnosza do ciebie i: (..)

Example 8.

I: a co oznacza dla ciebie dobra praca.
Jola: dobra praca? (..) przede wszystkim praca przynoszaca satysfakcje, praca w której ja sie czuje dobrze, no i praca m: za pieniadze które mi starcza na moje potrzeby. a poniewaz nie mam wygórowanych potrzeb, wiec (...)
I: to znaczy to jakie to sa potrzeby.
Jola: jakie to sa potrzeby? to sa takie potrzeby w sumie no nie wiem dnia codziennego, nie musi to byc, no dnia codziennego no to tam wiadomo potrzeby normalne, ale (.) o czym mysle w najblizszej przyszlosci, mysle o kupnie samochodu, na pewno nie nowego samochodu, bo mnie na taki nie stac, ale ale tam parolatka, nie za starego. no na spokojne odkladanie pieniazków na dom, nie wiem kupienie dobrego aparatu fotograficznego. to sa takie (..) moje (..)

Chapter 8

Example 1.

I: jaką rolę w twoim życiu odgrywa praca?
Monika: (..) no w tym momencie podstawową. ponieważ no: jestem zdana na siebie, więc (.) od nikogo innego (.) środków na utrzymanie nie nie dostaję więc (.) pracować muszę. nie twierdzę że nie lubię, ale wolałabym robić coś innego.
[...]
I: co myślisz w ogóle o sytuacji ludzi którzy właśnie pracują poniżej swoich kwalifikacji?
M: (...) dzielę je sobie dzielę ich sobie na dwie kategorie. albo: (.) ludzi którzy są zdesperowani, i: (.) potrzebują pieniędzy, i są gotowi m: podjąć taką pracę tutaj i cofnąć się jakby (.) na swojej drodze. y: i: na takich, którzy nie są szczególnie ambitni, mimo tego że zdobyli jakieś wykształcenie w Polsce, to jednak (.) może zdobyli je pod presją (.) rodziców powiedzmy, a nigdy tak naprawdę nie chcieli tego robić, i byli nastawieni tylko i wyłącznie na materialistyczne gromadzenie dóbr.

Example 2.

I: gdzie teraz pracujesz?
Marta: teraz w firmie (.) y: w której Marek tak jakby realizuje sie zawodowo. jest to firma architektoniczna, bardziej no budowalano architektoniczna moze w ten sposób. pracuje tam w dziale marketingu tak zwanego marketingu, chociaz y: to nie jest jakby zwiazane z reklama, ale bardziej y: z tworzeniem jakis baz komputerowych, przynajmniej na poczatku musialam posegregowac y: produkty wykorzystywane w firmie do y: do do firm które y: zajmuja sie po prostu jakies takie zestawienie dla nich, ulatwienie. y: bywaja dni ze m: / to jest rzeczywiscie taka praca tylko na: na przetrwanie, y: psychiczne odnalezienie sie, poobcowanie z Anglikami zeby nie siedziec w domu, nie myslec o przyszlosci, kazdy wie ze

moim priorytetem jest cos y: praca w zawodzie generealnie. [describes her current work]

Example 3.

I: i tak samo tutaj i w Polsce?
Tymon: w Polsce nie mógłbym się zakwalifikować ponieważ się uczyłem cały czas. w Polsce byłem to albo (.) studiowałem, no a po studiach już mnie w Polsce nie było więc. no a tutaj niestety, taka jest prawda. jestem prawdziwym robolem, robol.
I: co to dla ciebie znaczy?
T: robol, osoba fizyczna, która naprawdę (.) nie myśli o czymś wielkim. wiesz spędza czas przy piwie, w pubie, i to wszystko. najniższa warstwa społeczna. dokładnie.
I: i tak się faktycznie czujesz?
T: (..) nie no właś- (.) ja cały czas jestem w tej Anglii tak jakby mnie nie było. cały / ja: nawet w pracy, to ja myślę co już bedzie gdy ja stad wyjade. (..) powiem ci że, jak stąd wyjadę to ja za rok nawet nie bede pewnie pamietał że ja w Anglii byłem. to jest dla mnie: okres przejściowy. no który trzeba jakoś przeżyć.

Example 4.

I: jaką rolę w twoim życiu odgrywa praca?
Patrycja: (..) w tej chwili to tylko zarobkową. (..) bo no: prace mam (.) taka mało ambitna, wiec tylko zarabiam, nie jest to nic ciekawego. (.) ale mam nadzieję, kiedyś jak sie tu lepiej zaadaptuje, rozejrzę, to znaleźć coś co będzie (.) takie bardziej interesujące mnie.

Example 5.

I: ta praca daje ci satysfakcje?
Jola: tak. tak. moze jest to smieszne ale jakas tam daje.
I: czemu smieszne?
J: no bo tak moze sie niektórym ludziom wydawac szczególnie juz m: postawionym prawda? po wyzszych studiach i szkolach ze jak praca na linii produkcyjnej moze przynosic satysfakcje. ale moze. moze. poniewaz to nie jest taka linia gdzie stoi sie i jeden stoi obok drugiego i sie przykreca te srubki, nie, tam kazdy musi wniesc jakis swój wklad w to zeby ten koncowy produkt byl jakosciowo dobry. i i i kazde takie (.) male szczególiki skladajace sie na (.) duzy sukces.

Example 6.

I: czy ta praca daje ci satysfakcje?
Patryk: oczywiscie. (..) oczywiscie ze daje mi satysfakcje, ale to tak jak mówie, jak mówilem wczesniej. ja nie jestem typem który zwraca uwage na to co robi, y: daje mi satysfakcje taka ze: moge robic to co (.) chce (.) tutaj. a to czy spelniam sie w pracy, no to bez przesady, [smiejac sie] nocny portier, ja wynosze smieci i pilnuje zeby byly drzwi zamknieteco tu jest do satysfakcji?

I: jest w tym cos co móglbys lubic?
P: y: oczywiscie. no ludzie sa przyjemni, jest kontakt z z klientem, jezeli klient ni jest na tyle pijany ze jest nieuprzejmy to, to sa bardzo mili ludzie czasami. y: oczywiscie, ze jest cos co lubic. bo jest spokój w tej pracy, nikt sie za bardzo nie spieszy. nikt sie za bardzo nie denerwuje. to jest to jest cos co mozna lubic w tej pracy. ale zeby tak jak na przyklad ludzie tak jak w twoim przypadku pracuja na ucze:lnia:ch, pracuja: jako le:ka:rze czy robia jeszcze cos innego i to jest ten cel ich zycia to jest to co oni CHCa robic, wiaßa po prostu swój rozwój bardzo scisle ze swoja praca, to nie, nie w moim przypadku. moze (.) za pare lat, bo chcialbym skonczyc tutaj studia, rozpoczete w Polsce geografie. mam nadzieje ze zalicza mi pare przedmiotów, poniewaz orientowalem sie i: sa to to jest to samo. y: wtedy moze zaczne prace w zawodzie i wtedy bede mógl opowiedziec ze: fakt, ta praca daje mi satysfakcje w sensie ze: pozwala mi rozwijac sie w znaczeniu tym ze (.) robie to co studiowalem to co chcialbym i to co bardzo mnie interesuje. (..) nie teraz. za godzine. za dwie.

Example 7.

I: i co cie sklonilo do podjecia takiej pracy.
Tymon: do tej pracy co mnie sklonilo? ja mialem caly czas perspektywe. tutaj siedziec siedze sobie do kwietnia. czyli do kwietnia i out. jezeli praca byla, ja pracowalem (.) tyle ze zarabialem ponad trzysta funtów, nie potrzebowalem szukac niczego innego niczego lepszego. bo widzisz tak jak mówilem ci praca nie wymagala ode mnie niczego, ani wysilku, bo to nie jest praca fizyczna, ani wysilku intelektualnego ani fizycznego, dla mnie to byl na poczatku miód. oczywiscie to sie pózniej musialo znudzic.

Example 8.

I: to opowiedz mi na przykład wczorajczy dzień w pracy. czy noc (kiedy pracowałeś).
Filip: [śmiech] nie wiem czy to była przedwczorajsza bo chyba (.) kiedy (ja pracowałem, 8.10). ostatnia noc jak byłem w pracy, wyglądała jak <u>każda</u> inna, poprzednia i w ogóle, z tym że pracowałem sam bo akurat mamy (.) m: mało ludzi. jedna chora, drugi na wakacjach, i zostało dwóch więc, jeden pracuje parę dni i drugi pracuje parę dni. wszystko musimy robić sami. no jak to wygląda, przychodzę o jedenastej, drukuję parę raportów które muszę mieć, żebym wiedział ile osób jest w hotelu, w razie pożaru czy czegokolwiek. a (.) nie wiem, [śmiech], no głupio wymieniać wszystkie takie
I: wszystko wymień
F: wszystko chcesz żebym ci wymienił? no dobra, przychodzę, liczę kasę, [...]

Example 9.

I: a opowiesz mi dzisiejszy dzień w pracy? (..) pomyśl sobie od momentu jak wstałaś.
Monika: [śmiech] zaczynam pracę od dziewiątej, więc (.) wstaję o ósmej, (..) szybka toaleta, śniadanie, wyjście do pracy. kwadrans: przed rozpoczęciem y: czas na przygotowanie ekwipunku sprzątaczki, to znaczy uzupełnienie [śmiejąc

się] butelek z różnego rodzaju psiukaczami, i tak dalej, szmatki do wycierania kurzu, air frashnery, tego typu rzeczy. [...]

Example 10.

I: co chcialbys osiągnąć w życiu, w pracy?
Patryk: w pracy?
I: uhm
P: (h)ojejku (hhh) żeby być pracownikiem roku w hotelu [name]. nie no, bez przesady. (..) [...]

Chapter 9

Example1.

I: gdybys mial powiedziec o róznicach miedzy toba a nimi, to sa jakies?
Marcin: [...] y: no jakies (.) y: (.) generalnie maja tam jakies swoje przyzwyczajenia, jakies tam jedzeniowe tez, y: ale (.) no w koncu jestesmy Europejczykami wszyscy to nie sadze zeby tam jakis powaznych róznic. zeby mi to jakos przeszkadzalo czy im przeszkadzalo. y: (.) na przyklad ubolewam nad tym, na przyklad uwazam y: (.) jakby traca na tym ze, ze nie maja rozwinietej takiej duchowosci y: w kraju. y: nie mówie tez o przesadnej jakies duchowosci, ale (.) y: traktuja na przyklad swieta jako taki bardzo y: komercyjny element, jako tam kupowanie prezentów, tam y: taka atmosfere wlasnie jakby dla nich bardziej jest wazne kupowanie prezentów, spotykanie sie takie mi sie wydaje ze to jest takie m: bardzo takie plytkie. [...] ale m: ale jakby ubolewam, ze oni na tym duzo traca. tak mi sie wydaje. (..)

Example 2.

I: a z Anglikami, jakieś różnice wychwytujesz? podobieństwa?
Kuba: m: no szczerze mówiąc to też pracowałem przez jakiś dwa tygodnie z Niemcem, i właśnie z nim tak rozmawialiśmy troszkę, na temat Anglików bardziej. i: doszliśmy do jednego wniosku, że nam dużo bardziej do siebie, Polakom i Niemcom, niż Polakom i Anglikom. mimo wszystko. po prostu takie rożnice drobne, to są drobne róznice, nie mówię kulturowe, bo to ciężko mówić o różnicach kulturowych gdzie jesteśmy z tego samego kontynentu. ale, ale właśnie na przykład zachowanie jakiegoś porządku, jakiegoś y: organizacji pracy, nie wiem porządek na ulicach, y: po prostu takie nie wiem, no byłem na basenie załóżmy i to że że basen jest brudny, nie ma torów w których się pływa, tylko każdy pływa jak chce. to są drobne rzeczy które Anglicy są do tego przyzwyczajeni, my (.) ja z Niemcem się zgodziliśmy że to jest nie tak, że tak nie powinno być. no mówię, to było ciekawe dla mnie, bo zawsze mi się wydawało że Niemcy i Polacy że to jest jednak strasznie duża różnica, a tu się okazuje że my jestesmy bardzo podobni w gruncie rzeczy. (..) tak.

Example 3.

I: jakie widzisz podobienstwa czy róznice miedzy toba a nimi?

Agata: y: ja mysle ze ja bardziej profesjonalnie podchodze do pracy. y: zarty zartami, ale: praca praca. y: i oni maja takie naprawde angielskie podejscie do zycia. czyli isc sie spic w weekend, i tego typu rozmowy sa, bardzo duzo jest plotek w firmie, y: (..) no takie podejscie maja typowo ang- no trudno to wytlumaczyc, takie typowo angielskie do zycia.

Example 4.

I: jak bys siebie opisala na tle tego spoleczenstwa tutaj?
Patrycja: (..) nie, no nie chce jakos popadac w samozachwyt, ale mam wrazenie ze: ogólnie Polacy sa bardziej myslacy, nawet ci bez wyksztalcenia, y: sobie lepiej radza w zyciu, moze nie tyle lepiej radza, ale lepiej radza w róznych sytuacjach. Anglicy sa (.) jacys tacy bardziej bezmyslni, a czasami to nawet tepi, bo (.) prostej rzeczy której dla dla mnie to jest logiczne i i proste i latwe, jak cos podlaczyc, jak cos zrobic, to oni jesli im sie czegos nie wytlumaczy pare razy to sobie nie daja rady. tak ze mysle ze pod takim wzgledem (.) to chyba calkiem dobrze. (..) nie wiem.

Example 5.

I: coś jeszcze? z takich: ważnych (.) różnic?
Marta: m: Polska jest jakby takim krajem jednonarodowościowym. to mi bardzej odpowiada, że: (.) no widzę po prostu m: kto jest m: głównym mieszkańcem naszego kraju. tutaj nie mogę tego powiedzieć, jednoznacznie. bo nie mogę powiedzieć y: czy Murzyn, y: (..) czy Murzyn jest rodowitym obywatelem Anglii no a co z tego że się urodził tutaj? nie wiem po prostu dużo bardzo Hindusów i (..) to mi nie przeszkadza, bo nie jestem rasistką, nie jestem osobą która y: by generalizuje, że: jakaś tam populacja, jakaś narodowość jest lepsza od drugiej, m: ale m: trudno mi było szczególnie na początku, jak szłam ulicą i nie widziałam żadnego białego człowieka tylko samych właśnie y: Murzynów, Hindusów, Arabów. i: to jakby tak zmieniło wizerunek mój o Anglii. Anglii która zawsze tak wydawała się że jest na wysokim poziomie, dużo wyższym, że wszystko jest tu takie poukładane. (...)

Example 6.

I: a w Wolverhampton jak ci sie mieszka?
Jola: z poczatku tez bylam zszokowana tym miastem, bo (.) nie spodziewalam sie ze bedzie tutaj tyle (.) obcokrajowców. mówie poza Anglikami. a to jest jednak taka kolebka chyba Hindusów, Kurdów. wiec bylam z poczatku nie wiedzialam ‘boze gdzie ja sie dostalam’ [smiech] ‘gdzie ja jestem’.

Example 7.

I: a jak bys opisala tutejsze spoleczenstwo?
Monika: [...] a wszystkie osoby które jednak tutaj cos znacza, to z mojego otoczenia, to sa Hindusi, kórym udalo sie tutaj czegos dorobic. mój landlord przyjechal tutaj w piecdziesiatym trzecim, ma w tym momencie kilkadziesiat domów w Wolverhampton, i kilka posesji w Hiszpanii. podobnie wlascicielem hotelu, w którym pracuje, jest Hindus, który co tydzien przyjezdza innym

samochodem. dzielnica w której mieszkam, wszystkie sklepy sa sklepami hinduskimi. wiec to jakby, ta jedna rzecz szczególnie rzuca mi sie w oczy. z Anglikami mam niewiele do czynienia. to sa tylko urzednicy, którzy pomagaja mi wypelnic jakas aplikacje, czy (.) dzwonia do mnie w jakiejs tam sprawie z banku. chociaz i w banku ostatnio jestem obslugiwana czesciej przez kolorowych niz przez Anglików. (..) nie wiem, mam wrazenie ze Anglicy jakos wycofuja sie z aktywnego (.) z aktywnej: dzialalnosci spolecznej, no oczy- ja wiem ze to nieprawda, ale (.) ale z mojego punktu widzenia po prostu tak rzadko (.) trafiam na: Anglika, i (Island Raveniu 1.03.01) czy cokolwiek innego. (...) m: to nie sa Anglicy. (...)

Example 8.

I: gdzie teraz mieszkasz?
Leszek: gdzie teraz mieszkam? no w (name) tutaj.
I: co to jest za okolica?
L: to znaczy?
I: no jak to tam wyglada?
L: jak to wyglada? [smiech] jeszcze w miare dobrze.
I: jeszcze [w miare dobrze
L: [jeszcze w miare dobrze.
I: to znaczy?
L: moze nie powinienem tego mówic ale mówie to co mysle, y: coraz wiecej Hindusów sie tam wprowadza, i i to mnie przeraza.
I: dlaczego przeraza?
L: bo ich nie lubie.
I: bo?
L: bo mnie denerwuja, bo nie potrafia sie dostosowac do reszty ludzi, mysla ze sa panami tutaj.
I: i co zauwazasz co: (co ci kaze) [tak myslec.
L: [wszystko. wszystko. to co robia. wszystko to co robia. szczególnie ci którzy maja tutaj dwadziescia dwadziescia piec lat którzy sie tutaj urodzili ale dla mnie to nie sa Anglicy. to ze sie urodzili to nic dla mnie nie znaczy, oni dalej sa Hindusami, i dalej maja wpajane w glowy (.) (wszelkie) zasady wszelkiego rodzaju zasady które (.) które obowiazuja tam u nich.

Example 9.

I: a jak ty odczuwasz te róznice kulturowe?
Kacper: m: (.) ja mysle ze mimo wszystko nasza nasza kultura znaczy, y: mentalnosc powiedzmy polska i angielska nie jest az tak bardzo rozbiezne jak my myslimy. jest dosyc jest jest to dosyc podobnie. problemy sie zaczynaja juz z pewnymi grupami etnicznymi, jezeli y jezeli na przyklad ktos pracuje dajmy na to w kuchni, i i pracuje z Algierczykami, to on odczuwa to niemalze jako zderzenie kulturowe.

Example 10.

I: a chciałam cię się ciebie zapytać o to za czym tęsknisz.

Leszek: [...] (..) no myślę że tak, że że za takim swobodnym życiem. bo niestety tutaj jestem w obcym kraju i: i jestem zawsze i myślę że będę obcokrajowcem. a a w Polsce jestem u siebie, czuję się swodobnie.

Example 11.

Zosia: [talking about her own position in the British and Polish society] wydaje mi się że ja w Polsce mogłabym siebie postawić na drabince hierarchii gdzieś tam trochę wyżej niż tutaj. w tej chwili. znaczy dlatego ze tu jestem obca, jakby nie bylo. moja narodowosc jest inna, mam inny paszport. jestem zawsze, jakby zawsze nie u siebie. tam jestem w swoim kraju, i jakby na równi ze wszystkimi. tutaj nie jestem. i tak naprawde nigdy nie bede, nawet jak bede tu nie wiem, dziesiec dwadziescia lat, to zawsze bede imigrantka powiedzmy. y: no. (..) ale (.) no gdzies tam jest to porównywalne ale mówie, tutaj nie zostalam tu urodzona, nie jest to moim domem, moze kiedys sie stanie, ale: na papierze. ale nigdy: nigdy do konca nie bede sie czula tak pewnie tutaj jak czuje sie tam. czy czulam sie, wlasnie tutaj bedzie polegal problem jakby później jak nie bede mieszkac tam tylko bede tu to jakby ani to miejsce nie bedzie juz moim domem ani to nie bedzie moim domem. wiec (.) nie wiem.

Example 12.

I: a spędzacie razem czas wolny? z ludzmi z pracy właśnie.
Patryk: nie. mi się nie zdarzyło. y: (...) moze trochę czuję się skrępowany, (..) i nie bardzo dążę do tego. bo ludzie oczywiście spotykają się, y: w pracy, ludzie y: wychodzą razem gdzies tam na jakieś właśnie (..) imprezy typu piwo w barze czy jakieś inne y: dyskoteki. ja trochę: nie bardzo do tego się garnę bo (...) taka obawa jest (..) pójdę, nie będę miał za bardzo o czym gadać, y: (...) każdy ocenia (.) ludzi patrząc na siebie. y: (..) ja (...) gdybym wyszedł z kimś, kto mówi strasznie kiepsko / znaczy strasznie kiepsko, nie mówię aż tak kiepsko po angielsku, ale (.) gdyby ktoś mówił kiepsko po polsku, i musiałbym się strasznie strać żeby go zrozumieć, (..) byłbym dla niego miły, (..) przytakiwałbym, y: nawet gdyby opowiadał o czmyś ciekawym, chciałbym (.) zadałbym pytanie, żeby lepiej mi to wytłumaczył, ale taka rozmowa jest strasznie męcząca. a ja nie chciałbym być męczącym dla (.) kogoś innego. [...]

Example 13.

I: powiedz mi:, myślisz ze pasujesz do tych ludzi? z którymi tam pracujesz?
Marcin: m: (...) to znaczy (..) jeśli chodzi o takie techni/ może taką y: (..) w sensie takim technicznym, fachowym, to myślę ze (.) ze pasuję, jakby nie odbiegam od nich w żaden sposób, y: (.) oni mnie akceptują, y: nie ma takich jakiś problemów w komunikacji takiej y: technicznej, jeśli są jakieś rozmowy. czy spotkania w biurze na jakiś temat, jakiegoś projektu i tak dalej. ale (..) w sensie takim ogólnym, (.) takim interpersonalnym to (...) m: (.) no to może jednak zawsze jest ta bariera jest powodem, ta bariera językowa że (.) pod względem językowym y: przynajmniej na razie nie mam takiej swobody zawsze ubolewam nad tym ze nie mam takiej swobody, jeszcze, takiego na przykład żartowania z nimi, cos takiego. to (.) i oni może przez to może też się izolują ode mnie i ja izoluje się trochę od nich. y: to może też jakiś taki jest powód. y: i

przez to może niekoniecznie do nich pasuję. na takiej płaszczyźnie, takiej właśnie (.) międzyludzkiej. ale na takiej jeśli chodzi o taką techniczną, y: to y: myślę że nie ma żadnego takiego przeciwwskazania.