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Depiction of Polish Migrants in the British Press

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Prohlašuji, že jsem práci zpracovala samostatně a použila jen uvedených pramenů a literatury.

Plzeň, duben 2014

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1. Introduction

This bachelor thesis is called *Depiction of Polish Migrants in the British Press*. As the title makes evident, this bachelor thesis deals with Poles who have been migrating to the United Kingdom (hereinafter referred to as the “UK”) for their own, mostly economic, various reasons. The hot-button topic of migration to the UK has been discussed not only by the British media, but also by the whole British society. The British press provides news items which are up-to-date, first-hand, and followed by many people. This is the main reason for choosing the British press to describe Poles in the UK. The objective of the thesis is to present information about two different European nations who live side by side in the UK - British people as natives or citizens on the one hand and Poles as migrants on the other hand.

The topic was chosen in view of the fact that the UK and Poland are close to the author who has visited both of the places. The author is interested in current affairs in both of the above mentioned countries, especially in living conditions and aspects of everyday life of the ordinary people. Therefore, the topic of this thesis represents a good opportunity to connect information about these two countries and nations.

The main purpose of the thesis is to provide depiction and to enable the general public to obtain deeper knowledge of the recent Polish migration – especially to the UK - with its background. The issues of globalization, migration, and coexistence of people from different countries or cultures give rise to many questions. This thesis attempts to provide answers to some of them. It researches the following issues: What are the main reasons for Polish migration to the UK? Does the migration cause any problems between British people and Poles when they are forced to share one territory? How does the British press write about Poles in the UK; is the coverage as reliable and unbiased as it should be?

The thesis is divided into three basic chapters. The first chapter provides the theoretical background to the topic. This part considers inter alia causes and aspects why Polish migrants head for the UK.

The second chapter aims to provide the analysis of the Polish migration in the UK from the point of view of the British press. The portrayal is created by compilation of various articles. It reveals the response of British society (British state benefits, work opportunities, education system, religious faiths, language, etc.) with regard to the presence of the Polish migrants¹. It also charts the current situation and shows how the Polish migrants are accepted and perceived by the British society. The names of individual newspapers are used in this chapter in order to emphasize the sources of information. The second chapter represents, along with the third chapter, the core part of the thesis.

The third chapter provides practical information about the topic based on the qualitative research. It attempts to express real personal experience and attitudes of the people who are influenced and connected with the topic. There are three Polish women who have contributed to the thesis. Currently living in the UK, they have shared personal reflections and observations. One of these Polish women is Asia Monika Bakalar, a Polish writer, who has been living and working in London since 2004. The author has found Bakalar at the official website of *The Guardian* because there are 2 articles published by her. Bakalar was willing to impart open-ended questions in English. The communication between the author and Bakalar was based on written conversations via e-mail. Other open-ended questions were answered within the author's own research by the two Poles who have relocated to the UK. The participants have answered several open-ended questions that were put in Polish and English. The participants preferred to answer in Polish. This chapter is instrumental in creating a comprehensive depiction of a current situation in the British so-

¹ For the purposes of the thesis, the expression "Polish migrants" delineates Poles who have been living outside the homeland on the permanent and temporary basis.

ciety from the perspective of Polish migrants and provides simultaneously a different point of view.

The facts used in this thesis come from Czech, Polish, German and English resource materials. The thesis is predominantly based on the quality press that represents the main source of information. The articles originate predominantly from *The Guardian*, *Daily Mail*, *The Independent*, *The Telegraph* and *Express*. The articles are gathered and compiled from the newspapers' official Internet websites due to author's lack of access to printed press sources. The author made an effort to obtain information directly from *Daily Mail*, *Metro*, and *The Independent* by means of their official e-mails. However, all attempts were insignificant because the official representatives were unwilling to provide the requested information with excuses for lack of time. The thesis is also based on relevant books. The realm of migration derives information from the book *Atlas of Human Migration* by Russell King and the realm of globalization derives information predominantly from the book *Political science* by Andrew Heywood.

2. The world in motion

The modern interconnected world is undergoing a rapid development and requires cooperation among a large number of people in order to ensure growth. Russell King, British professor of Migration Studies, asserts that migration has been conducive to this development and growth and, simultaneously, it has posed the history of mankind. Since “human evolution is linked to the very act of moving from one habitat to another and then adapting to that new environment.” [1] The contemporary migration is based on the identical process but the motivations of people are different [2].

2.1. Phenomenon of migration

The genesis of the word migration originates from the Latin word “migrare” that means “to change residence”. In the Social Science, the term migration is used for expressing the study of the movement of people. This movement evinces diverse characteristic features. On the basis of these features, individual authors are productive of diverse typologies of migration. Although the criteria for establishing of the typologies differ according to the authors, a generalized typology of migration evinces three principal criteria. These are localization, causation, and temporality. Each criterion is divided according to particularized characteristic features. The criterion of localization is divided into international and internal migration, the criterion of causation is divided into voluntary and involuntary migration and the criterion of temporality is divided into permanent and temporary migration [3]. Poles who migrate to the UK are classified according to these criteria as international and voluntary migrants with diverse periods of residence.

The United Nations has published a report about international migrants in the world. Data used in the report pertain to the year 2013. The report illustrates there were approximately 232 million international migrants worldwide who comprised approximately 3.2 per cent of the world

population in 2013. The report also illustrates the countries where the average annual rate of change of international migrants increased in 2013 in comparison with 2000, e.g., the UK, Australia, Canada, the Czech Republic, Bangladesh, and the Republic of South Africa and countries where the rate decreased in the course of the same period of time, e.g., Poland, Brazil, India, Russia, Ukraine, and Lesotho (see Appendix no. 1) [4].

2.2. Phenomenon of globalization

The term globalization itself cannot be defined simply and unambiguously by a short definition in order to be fully explained. Andrew Heywood, reputable British political scientist, asserts that it is important to emphasize that globalization does not cover only one issue or process. It is a mix of processes and issues. Globalization can be perceived as a policy, an ideology, sociological relationships, economic processes or a situation in the world. The mutual characteristic of all these processes and issues is the idea of the world without political and sociological borders [5].

Thomas Hylland Eriksen², a Norwegian anthropologist, delineates the phenomenon of globalization and asserts the considerable part of the modern world, if not the whole modern world, is interconnected. Distances among diverse places and people worldwide appear to be shorter with the aid of inventions, such as planes, telephones, the Internet, and motor vehicles, that all have contributed to this phenomenon. This phenomenon is demonstrated also by the fact that almost all people around the world are familiar with the brands such as *Coca-Cola*, *Microsoft*, *Apple* or *Adidas*. There are economic relationships between individual international companies in the modern world, e.g., assembly lines producing for foreign companies in China or technology call centres of American companies in India [7]. Polish workforce migrating and working in the UK poses also a constituent of the phenomenon.

² Professor Thomas Hylland Eriksen works at the *University of Oslo*. His field of study is posed by a social anthropology, especially by the concept of identity, nationalism, and globalization [6].

2.3. The UK as a host country in the globalized world

The modern UK of the 21st century is a highly globalized West European country with a cosmopolitan society. Ian Bradley³, author of *Believing in Britain: The Spiritual Identity of 'Britishness'*, delineates British cosmopolitan society as an experiment in multinational and multicultural living that has been remarkably successful. He believes that the traditional union of four nations has developed British tolerance to other people because British people are accustomed to plural national identity [8].

The British cosmopolitan society has been developed throughout history. A significant period in this development poses the economic situation after the Second World War that gave rise to an enormous wave of migration. There was a lack of workforce in Europe and influxes of newcomers⁴ from former colonies would fill the hole in the market. The UK was the first country that opened officially its borders for foreign immigrants at that time [9]. Another significant period in this development poses the British accession to the *European Union* (hereinafter referred to as the "EU") with its freedom of movement for EU citizens and workers. The UK is one of the EU member states with the largest influxes of foreign nationals. In addition to the indigenous population, it is now home to a wide-range of ethnic minorities, such as Poles, Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, and the Chinese [10].

There is a significant difference between migration to the UK after the Second World War and current migration since the British accession to the EU. The European economic and political circumstances have changed. Large numbers of people are unemployed, the EU member states have common foreign policy, and many governments struggle with socioeconomic problems, i.e., demographic decline, ageing population, national debts, etc. The UK evinces the same features: unemployment is

³ Ian Campbell Bradley is British writer, journalist, academic, and theologian.

⁴ For the purposes of the thesis, the expression "newcomers" delineates citizens of diverse countries who migrate for diverse period of time especially to the UK.

7.1 per cent (or in other words, there are approximately 2.32 million unemployed people in the UK), British minimum gross wage depends on the employee's age and it is formally 3.72 - 6.31 GBP per hour, the UK national debt has surpassed 1 trillion GBP and it is still increasing, which means there is a lack of finances for welfare expenditure. David Cameron's⁵ Government is considering the ways of dealing with this unfavourable economic situation, e.g., by withdrawal from the *EU* or restrictions on immigration [11, 12, 13].

The UK has also experienced a change in the structure of newcomers who have migrated there. The former newcomers were migrating to the UK – to their motherland - more likely in perpetuity. A large number of them had already known British people and habits from their homelands. Among the newcomers, there were large numbers of people different by colour from the native British people and therefore they were easily recognized in the streets. On the contrary, the current newcomers migrate to the country more likely for a shorter period of time in order to earn money, obtain better skills in English, get to know British culture and British people or just to live in the UK without being aware what their future life will look like. The current newcomers are largely the same colour as British people. However, they had not experienced living with British people before they arrived to the country. The newcomers are mostly young adults creating productive workforce in the UK and a large number of them are of the age to start families. This fact gives rise to a growing child population in the UK [14].

2.4. Poland as a country of migrating nation

Poland is rated among *EU* countries with a large number of international migrants who have been predominantly departing from the country. There is a special Polish expression “Polonia” pertaining to the Polish mi-

⁵ David Cameron is a British politician and leader of the Conservative Party. His party won the elections in 2010 and he became Prime Minister.

gration. This expression originates from Latin and the original meaning of the expression is “Poland”. However, the modern meaning has been extended and it also denotes “people of Polish descent living outside Poland” [15].

Joachim Osinski⁶ asserts there have been 4 waves of Polish international migration from the country since the Second World War. The first wave was related to the inter-war and post-war periods, the second wave was related to the period between the ascendancy of the communist regime in Poland, the third wave was related to the period after the introducing of democracy in Poland, and the contemporary fourth wave has been related to the Polish accession to the *EU* [17].

The contemporary Polish international migration is based on the “push and pull” model. The push factor, that supports the migration from the country, is predominantly the present Polish economic situation. It struggles with the same socioeconomic problems as the other European countries. Polish national debt is 943.1 billion PLN. In addition, there is a lack of job opportunities in Poland. Unemployment is approximately 14 per cent, or in other words, there are approximately 2.2 million unemployed people [18, 19]. Polish domestic market evinces a large number of employers who abuse this situation and pay low wages to their employees in Poland. Polish minimum gross wage is formally 1,680 PLN per month, which is 9.50 – 11.00 PLN per hour according to performed hours [20], nevertheless Poles earn lower wages for their performed work in comparison with other West European countries. Poles earn 4 or 5 times less than Germans. In addition, an average Pole works approximately 1,929 hours a year in comparison with an average German who works approximately 1,397 hours a year. The pull factors, which attract the Polish migration to foreign countries, are predominantly prospects for

⁶ Joachim Osinski works at the Warsaw School of Economics. His field of study is posed by International and Political science. He is particularly interested in Polish international relations [16].

permanent and better paid work and prospects for better living conditions [21].

Contemporarily, more than 2 million Poles are migrating between their homeland and a foreign country. They depart predominantly to the other *EU* countries. Data from 2011 illustrate there were approximately 1.72 million Poles living in the whole Europe excluding Poland and approximately 81.5 per cent of them sojourn in the *EU* countries (see Appendix no. 2). Popular directions of the Polish migration within the *EU* are, inter alia, the UK, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, and Italy. Popular directions of migration outside the *EU* are Norway, the United States of America or Canada [22].

The Polish membership in the *EU* has given rise to a change in the main Polish migrating direction. Germany was especially popular before the Polish membership in the *EU*. However, it has been supplanted by the UK that represents the main direction until the present day. There were approximately 612 thousand Poles in the UK and approximately 435 thousand Poles in Germany in 2011 [23]. Provided that the current trend of the Polish migration to other countries continues, Poland will struggle with a serious lack of workforce. Donald Tusk's⁷ Government is considering the ways of dealing with this unfavourable economic situation, e.g., by encouraging the investors who intend to do business in Poland, or by curtailing the unemployment [24].

2.5. Two European countries and nations

The motto of the *EU* is "In Varietate Concordia" meaning in the English language "United in diversity" [25]. This motto could also express relationships between the UK and Poland and between their nations. These countries attempt to protect own identities and sovereignties, e.g., by enforcement of dispensations from the *EU*. On the other hand,

⁷ Donald Tusk is a Polish politician and leader of the Polish political party Civic Platform. His party was re-elected in 2007 and he became Prime Minister for the second time.

they are conscious of the essentiality of the mutual cooperation in the modern global world.

The UK and Poland are characterised by a large number of significantly different features. The UK is an island country and constitutional monarchy with a hereditary monarch as the head of the state. The UK legal system is based on common law. Traditionally, the UK is a Protestant country with the established Anglican Church, although the British society is becoming increasingly secular. The UK membership in the international organisation *G7* indicates that the UK is one of the most developed countries in the world. The UK has one of the biggest European economies directed predominantly at the tertiary sector [26, 27].

On the other hand, Poland is a continental centralized parliamentary republic with a periodically elected president as the head of the state. Polish legal system is based on civic law. Traditionally, Poland is a Roman Catholic country where religion is an important part of the society. Poland was under the ascendancy of the communistic regime from the late 1940s until 1989. This period has influenced its economy. The Polish economy is directed at the tertiary sector but the primary sector creates quite a large share of Polish GDP in comparison with the other *EU* countries (see Appendix no. 3) [28].

3. Polish migrants in the British press

This part of the thesis contains the depiction of Polish migrants and uses the British press as the main source material. Thus, it is important to characterize briefly its features. In the past, the press had immense power to influence the masses and classes before television and radio broadcasting become widespread. Nowadays, the influence is to some extent limited by means of diverse media. The British press can be divided into the “quality press” or “broadsheet”, which is considered dependable and is represented, e.g., by *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Independent* or by *The Financial Times* and into the “popular press” or “tabloid”, which is regarded as less dependable and is represented, e.g., by *The Daily Mirror*, *The Daily Star*, *The Sun* or by *The Daily Express*. The differences between the quality and popular press are shown in Appendix no. 4. The British press tends to have political attachments and according to these attachments it is further divided into left-wing and right-wing press [29]. Thus, information which forms the depiction of Polish migrants differs according to the information source and it is convenient to compare different resources when receiving information as the author does in this work.

3.1. Polish language in the UK

Office for National Statistics executed a census for England and Wales in 2011, the so called 2011 Census, which was extensively annotated by the British press. In contrast to preceding censuses, 56.1 million residents of England and Wales at the age of 3 or older imparted more specific information about language issues in the 2011 Census. The 2011 Census illustrates that the Polish language has become England’s and Wales’s second most frequently spoken language and it has also become the first most frequently spoken non-native language in these areas. 546,000 residents determined Polish language as their mother tongue or first language in contradistinction to approximately 61 thousand residents

in the census in 2001 [30, 31]. According to the 2011 Census, the same tendency is visible also in Scotland and Wales because the Polish language has become significant also in these areas. Number of speakers with the Polish language as their mother tongue or first language living in Scotland increased from 2,505 in 2001 to 55,231 in 2011. Speakers with Polish language as the first language or mother tongue living in Northern Ireland increased from approximately 30 before 2004 to approximately 35 thousand in 2010 [32, 33].

The outcomes of the 2011 Census illustrate a rapid shift because Polish language was not among 12 most spoken languages in the UK's census in 2001. The great upsurge of the Polish migration to the UK began after the Polish accession to the *EU* in May 2004 when the numbers of Polish migrants living in the UK were increasing rapidly. *Express* reports a statement of Sir Andrew Green⁸, the chairman of *MigrationWatch UK*, in which he provides a commentary for this rapid shift and for the Polish language as the first most frequently spoken non-native language: "This is a measure of the mass immigration that has taken place over the last decade when three million foreign immigrants arrived in Britain. The Poles are just the largest group within that influx." [35]

Although the Polish language poses the most frequently non-native spoken language in England and Wales, it comprises only 1 per cent of residents in England and Wales. According to the 2011 Census, approximately a quarter of the total number of Polish speakers living in England and Wales may be found generally in the whole London and the highest percentage (6 per cent) of Polish speakers occur namely in Ealing in west London. Ealing has been a destination with a high percentage of Poles since 1940s. Other destinations with the high percentage of Polish

⁸ Sir Andrew Green is former British diplomat and founder of *MigrationWatch UK*, the independent think-tank concentrated on the issue of immigration and asylum. The think-tank advocates that immigration should be controlled and restricted [34].

speakers are, e.g., Boston and Lincs in England, Merthyr Tydfil in Wales or Aberdeen and Glasgow in Scotland [36, 37].

The Guardian and *The Independent* reports influences and changes that the coexistence of the English and Polish languages gives to arise. Specifically, *The Guardian* reports the English language is unlikely to change its accent but the main change may reside in vocabulary of both languages. The change in vocabulary of the Polish language can be expressed by the expression “Ponglish”. “Ponglish” describes adopting English words into the Polish language. Signs of “Ponglish” are evident also in Poland because the Polish migrants who return to Poland influence the Polish language and their fellow citizens in the country. Poles start adopting some English words with Polish pronunciation, e.g., “tiszert” or “szoping”. In the realm of office and business terminology, English words are adopted into Polish language and pronounced predominantly with English accent, e.g. „PR“ or „briefing“ [38, 39].

The Guardian reports that although learning the Polish language is not an easy issue for British people, especially the difficulty with Polish pronunciation is emphasized, it is worth the exertion because the second-generation of Poles are bilingual and it provides them with an advantage that British people may accomplish as well [40].

In contrast to the attitudes of *The Guardian*, *Express* provides a commentary for the fact that approximately a quarter of native Polish speakers are unable to speak English well or they lack any English language skills. Alternatively from a different perspective, 72 per cent of native Polish speakers living in England and Wales evaluate their English language skills as “good”. The incapacity of the newcomers to learn English gives rise to potential or actual threat of damage of British communities. All newcomers intending to stay for living in the UK should endeavour to learn English in order to be more likely integrated into the British society and to curtail expenditure for translating and interpreting [41, 42].

Daily Mail reports the expenditures for translation and interpreting reached nearly 20 million GBP between 2010 and 2012. Most of the expenditures were expended for the Polish, Slovak, and Czech languages. The Polish language was the most money consuming language of all interpreted and translated languages [43].

3.2. British society and Polish offspring

In connection with the Polish migrants in the UK, it is appropriate to take into account their children. The children are an important component of the current and future British society and therefore they are extensively annotated by the British press.

3.2.1. Polish baby boom in the UK

Migration to the UK has been the most significant constituent of British population growth. However, in 2009, the fertility rate exceeded the rate of net migration in population growth in the UK. This changeover happened for the first time in a decade. The sudden increase of fertility rate had been caused by phenomenon of older-age mothers (women give birth to children more frequently at the age of approximately 30 or 40), by first-generation newcomers who had found families in the UK and by in vitro fertilisation treatment. The increasing fertility rate was boosted in large part by the newcomer mothers, especially by the Polish migrant mothers. Currently, the Polish migrating mothers living in the UK have an average of 2.13 children in comparison with British women who have an average of 1.89 children and with Polish mothers living in Poland who have an average of 1.30 children [44, 45].

According to the data published by *Office of National Statistics*, the sharp increase in the fertility rate of the Polish migrating women began in the UK in the period after the Polish accession to the *EU*. The data illustrate 1,392 born children to the Polish migrating mothers in the UK in 2003. A year later in 2004 – the year of Polish accession to the *EU* – the number of born children to the Polish migrating mothers in the UK in-

creased to 1,830. Comparing the numbers of these years with the numbers of 2005 (3,403 born children to Polish mothers in the UK) and 2006 (6,620 born children to Polish mothers in the UK), it is evident that the increase was even more significant [46]. In 2007, a headline of *Daily Mail* reported there were a thousand children born every month to the Polish migrating mothers in the UK, in addition, British taxpayers had been paying for childbirths and healthcare of the Polish migrating mothers and their children born in the UK in case the Polish migrating mothers worked and lived in the UK before the childbirths. The data from 2011 reaffirm the increasing trend and illustrate the Polish migrating mothers gave birth to approximately 20 thousand children in the UK [47].

The Express and *Daily Mail* reports that growing population in the UK gives rise to diverse problems, such as lack of residential units, increasing expenditures, pressure on services (predominantly on education and National Health Service) or preservation of nature and countryside [48, 49]. On the other hand, *The Telegraph* reports positive aspects of the Polish baby boom in the UK, i.e. provision for an ageing population in 30 years' time, although the short term expenditures, i.e., for National Health Service and education, will be increasing [50].

3.2.2. British education system and Polish offspring

The issue of diversity at schools in the UK to which Polish pupils contribute poses a point of interest of diverse researches and public debates. *Daily Mail* reports there were 170 thousand Polish children in the UK in 2007. The numbers of Polish pupils and students studying at schools in the UK began to increase substantially after the Polish accession to the *EU*. Thus, demands of Polish parents for school places, especially at state Catholic schools, have been also increasing: firstly, because of the baby boom in the UK, which was delineated above. Secondly, because of the native Polish children who had relocated with their parents. These Polish children had not predominantly spoken Eng-

lish before they came to the UK. However, they do not lag behind their native British schoolfellows as one of the researches shows [51].

The research pursuing the impact of non-native British pupils on the results of native British pupils at English primary schools was held from 2005 to 2009. The research was investigated by the *Centre for Economic Performance at the London School of Economics* and it illustrates that the influx of Polish pupils had made a difference in outcomes of native British pupils, especially in mathematics. According to the research, approximately 4.5 per cent of the Polish pupils attend state Catholic schools where the impact of the native Polish pupils on their native British schoolfellows is the most significant. The research does not illustrate any enormous impacts on the British pupils' outcomes in English but it illustrates a modest betterment of native British pupils' outcomes in mathematics [52]. The outcomes of the research may rebut concerns about the integration of Polish children into the British education system.

The Telegraph reports a statement of Sandra McNally, the leader of the research, and of Russell Hobby, the general secretary of the *National Association of Head Teachers*, in which they impute the better outcomes of the native Polish pupils to education standards in Poland and to work ethics of the Polish migrants, who are motivated to work even more diligently in the foreign country and who subsequently motivate and influence the children, although a large number of the Polish migrants do not speak English well or properly [53, 54].

In connection with the Polish education standards, *The Guardian* concentrates on the comparison between beginning of the compulsory education in the UK and in Poland. It reports that pupils in Poland begin the compulsory education at the age of 6 or 7 in comparison with pupils in the UK, who begin the compulsory education at the age of 4 or 5. Polish politicians have considered the issue, whether the age limit for beginning the compulsory education in Poland shall be curtailed from 7 to

6 in order to be equal with the age limits of other European countries, but the referendum proposal has been declined by the Sejm (the lower house of the Polish Parliament). The issue has been a hot-button-topic in the Polish society and it has provoked a large number of discussions because 1 million parents have been willing to embrace the lower age limit [55].

The Guardian along with *Daily Mail* reports that the beginning of the compulsory education at the age of 6 or 7 may have a positive effect on the development, health and subsequent outcomes of young pupils. They support their assertions by an American 80-year-research and by a research of Greg Brooks, the professor of *Sheffield University*, from 2009 [56, 57]. In contradistinction to the researches, *Southern Daily Echo* defends the lower age limit in the UK and report Polish children removed from Poland and entering schools in the UK may be 2 years belated behind their British schoolfellows because they begin compulsory education later and spend 4 hours a day at schools instead of 6 hours a day as do their British counterparts in their early years [58].

Express reports a statement of Anastasia de Waal, the member of *think-tank Civitas*, in which she mentions non-native British pupils who put a strain on education system and on pupils speaking English as a first language or mother tongue and who may suffer educationally by being unheeded. The main problem is seen by de Waal in the incapacity of a large number of Polish pupils to communicate in English appropriately. *Express* estimates that state expenditures for educating a non-native British pupil are 30,000 GBP per year because of classroom assistance in comparison with 5,000 GBP per year for educating a native British English speaking pupil and also that approximately 1 million extra school places will be needed in next decade in order to ensure pupils to have admission to education. As a consequence of an enormous number of non-native British pupils, teachers are not able to develop knowledge of

native British English speaking pupils because of a lack of time and a lack of facilities [59].

Daily Mail reports the Government's Economic and Social Research Council has registered complaints of 57 Polish parents along with other Eastern European parents whose children attend schools in the UK. The complaints were directed against the quality of British education that is not allegedly challenging for the pupils. The issue has been investigated as discrimination against non-native British pupils and students by academics. The investigation was concluded by a recommendation for schools to make every effort to be academically challenging for non-native British pupils and students [60].

Mirror reports a statement of Douglas Carswell, a Tory Member of Parliament: "It's time for a national debate about the impact of social cohesion in Britain today. I want to make sure that we create first and second generation Britons." [61] In addition, it adds a statement of the spokeswoman for the Department for Education: "We are determined that all children, whatever their background get a first-class education. Our reforms to the education system, and the hard work of heads and teachers, are ensuring that is becoming the case ..." [62]

3.3. Polish migrants and economic issues

Polish migrants have become a significant integral component of the British economy. In the British press and society, there is a question whether the Polish migrants pose a burden or contribution to the British economy. As this subchapter demonstrates, the issue is not unambiguous because it depends on the point of view.

3.3.1. Two sides of the coin

After Polish accession to the *EU*, three *EU* countries – Ireland, Sweden, and the UK – did not impose labour market restrictions. Blair's Labour Government believed that the influx of foreign newcomers to the UK

would be between approximately 5 thousand and 13 thousand per year until 2010. Simultaneously, they were convinced the British economy would be enlarged by a higher number of newcomers. The estimation was fallacious because the net immigration to the UK has surpassed all predications, e.g., it reached approximately 250 thousand newcomers in 2010 [63].

Other *EU* countries - some of them more pro-European than the UK - imposed the labour market restrictions in 2004. For instance, the restrictions were imposed by Germany and France until 2011. The countries were concerned about the destabilization of the national markets and economies and about presumable increasing unemployment. In connection with the concerns, the expression “Polish plumber”⁹ has been used by French politicians who were against adoption of the *EU* constitution and it became a part of their campaign in the referendum in 2005. The image of the “Polish plumber” became a symbol of low-paid skilled economic newcomers migrating from the Eastern *EU* countries and stealing job opportunities from the Western *EU* residents. The concerns about the “Polish plumber” pervaded to the UK along with other Western *EU* countries and the *EU* Constitution was not adopted [65]. Francois Hollande, current French president, the then leader of French opposition *Socialists*, and *EU* adherent, imparted: “The poor Polish plumber has been the hero in spite of himself in this referendum. We should build a statue in his honour.”[66]

As a response to the negative image of the “Polish plumber”, a humorous advertisement providing a kind of commentary for the political debate has been created by the Polish tourist board in Warsaw. In the

⁹ In 2004, the expression “Polish plumber” was used for the first time by Philippe Val, French journalist of the newspaper *Charlie Hebdo*, in his criticism of proposed directive relating to the deregulation of internal European markets within the EU. In 2005, the expression was used by Philippe de Villiers, French right-wing politician and Euro sceptic, in the political context. He asserted that newcomers providing their services in France would destabilize the French economy. Other French politicians continued the debate and the expression became widespread. [64].

advertisement, there is a young blond model symbolizing a Polish plumber with the French slogan that the “Polish plumber” is staying in Poland and encourages the French to come over (see Appendix no. 5). *BBC* reports it is a Polish way to impart that in spite of a negative depiction of Polish migrants, the French are still welcomed in Poland [67].

Even scholars are not unanimous on the Polish impact on the British economy. A group of economists assert the Polish migrants are contribution to the British economy. For instance, *The Economist* and *The Financial Times* report these opinions. They explicate the British economy has been enlarged by the Polish migrants. In addition, they pay a higher amount of money to the Treasury on taxes than they obtain in benefits (the amount of money is approximately by 35 per cent higher). According to *The Economist*, the British labour market is one of the most flexible in the *EU* and a large number of newcomers cannot imperil it. Considering the wages in the UK, they have not been depressed extensively by the Polish migrants because the competition takes place predominantly among newcomer employees [68, 69].

These assertions are supported by *The Financial Times* by means of two diverse researches. One of them was investigated by the *Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration at University College London* between 1995 and 2011. The research was focused on net fiscal cost or benefit of relatively recent newcomers especially from European Economic Area¹⁰. It illustrates the European migrants contributed to the Treasury by approximately 8.8 billion GBP more than they obtained in benefits. In contrast, the research illustrates British people obtained approximately 604.5 GBP in benefits. They contributed to the Treasury by 11 per cent less than they obtained in benefits. Considering the investi-

¹⁰ The European Economic Area delineates in this context the EU member states excluding Croatia along with the member state of the European Free Trade Association - Norway, Lichtenstein, and Iceland. The Area was created in 1994 in order to enable the members of the European Free Trade Association to participate in the *EU* internal market [70].

gated period between 1995 and 2011, the research illustrates further the newcomers from European Economic Area were by approximately 21 per cent less likely to obtain benefits than British people. The percentage is even by 24 per cent higher considering the period between 1999 and 2011 [71].

The second research was investigated by the National *Institute for Economic and Social Research* during the same period of time. It is concentrated on the impact of the newcomers on labour productivity in the UK. The research drew a conclusion that higher labour productivity had occurred in the industries, especially in the manufacturing and real estate sectors, with higher shares of the newcomer workers. It is estimated that 1 per cent increase in the newcomer share of employment gives rise to betterment in labour productivity of approximately 0.06 to 0.07 per cent [72].

On the other hand, the second group asserts the Polish migrants are a burden for the British economy. *BBC* reports the statement of Sir Andrew Green. He contests the outcomes of the aforementioned researches and articles. He considers problems in including the *EU* higher middle class workforce to the researches (because the vast majority of the newcomers to the UK pertain to the lower class) and in excluding social factors such as the age of newcomers (because aging population will demand higher expenditure on the National Health Service and Pension Bill). He emphasizes that in the investigated period of time, the newcomers from the non-European Economic Area obtained in benefits more than they contributed to the Treasury. Sir Green lambasts the research provided only a delineation of past events but it was more important to look toward the future because there would be even more enormous numbers of low-paid newcomers from Eastern Europe and the British economy would be changed because of this matter [73].

There are also opinions that the Polish migrating workforce along with other Eastern European workforce is preferred to British workforce in the UK. *Daily Mail* reports a statement of Richard Lambert, a former leader of the Confederation of British Industry, who is proponent of these opinions. He asserts Polish migrants were frequently preferred to British workforce, even to British university graduates, by British employers. Polish migrants have begun to take better paid job positions because of their work ethics, appropriate education, and experience. He asserts further there was an issue of low employability of British young people and of their deficient competitiveness with the Polish migrants. This fact has been caused by a low quality of British education system and of British graduates because a large number of graduates have difficulties with sufficient literacy and numeracy [74].

Lambert's assertions are supported by the outcomes of the research investigated by British Chamber of Commerce. The research has been focused on the attitudes of 300 British employers against employing the newcomers. It draws the conclusion that the British employers have predominantly lower opinion on British employees than on the newcomer employees. 75.8 per cent of respondents consider migration as positive component of the British economy. Newcomer employees such as Poles are considered to have better work ethic and to be more productive. In contrast, British workers are considered to have the deficient work performance prowess and to lack the required experience. A respondent of the research has imparted: "Around 20 per cent of our workforce is Polish. In three years of employing from Eastern Europe, we [have not] had one negative experience. The only concern I have is that at some point they might want to go home." [75] *The Guardian* reports the same trend predominates in job agencies, especially in those that are concentrated on factory and food work. However, such stereotyping may imperil the competitiveness of British people on the labour market [76].

Prime Minister David Cameron confesses preferring the newcomers to British employees has been caused by the British education system that do not provide the sufficient work performance prowess. He emphasizes Polish and other newcomers were not to be blamed because it was their right to search for a job. However, it is a responsibility of the Government to ensure quality and competitive education for British people in order to make them capable of performing those jobs that are currently performed by the newcomers. According to Cameron, transformation of the UK into profitable country that generates wealth for British people involves educational, immigrant, and welfare reforms [77].

3.3.2. Directed at the British state benefits

Polish newcomers may have been perceived recently as a burden on British public services because of a large number of British politicians who have been emphasizing that Polish migrants obtain a large amount of money in benefits from the British Treasury. Cameron's Government has been considering possible means to impose the restrictions on the numbers of newcomers to the UK and on the access of newcomers to British state benefits.

However, there is an issue of the British membership in the *EU* and its fundamental principle of free movement of the *EU* citizens who are allowed to claim benefits in their host country - even if their families have been left in the homeland - working on the assumption that the newcomers pay taxes in the host country. This principle is challenged by Cameron who intends to enforce new amendments to the *EU* Treaties that would restrict the *EU* right of free movement and to change the *EU* welfare reforms. Cameron has promised British people a referendum on the issue of whether the UK should remain or leave the *EU*. The referendum is intended to take place in 2017 provided that Cameron's *Conservative Party* wins the next elections. The outcome of the potential referendum will also

be related to Cameron's success or failure to enforce new amendments to the *EU* Treaties [78, 79].

Yet there have been changes in the British welfare system. In March 2014, a new ordinance came into force in the UK. The status of "worker" is bestowed on the *EU* newcomers by the Department for Work & Pensions if they have been earning within 3 months 153 GBP per week in the UK. The amount of money corresponds with 24 working hours a week at the British minimum wage. The status enables the newcomers to claim child benefit, child tax credit, jobseeker's allowance, and housing benefit [80].

Provided the requirements are not met by the newcomers, there are inspections of whether they have worked "genuinely and effectively" with possibility that the status of "worker" may be denied. Those newcomers who are not bestowed the status of "worker" are bestowed either a status of "jobseeker" or "economically inactive". These newcomers are prevented from obtaining the access to the British welfare system [81].

The reforms were adopted in order to ensure that the British state benefits support migrants who conform the rules and work hard and not to enable newcomers to abuse the British benefit system. Ian Duncan Smith, member of *Conservative Party* and current Secretary of State for Work & Pensions, believes the reforms are productive of fair system [82]. He asserts: "The British public are rightly concerned that migrants should contribute to this country, and not be drawn here by the attractiveness of our benefits system." [83]

There have been also other changes in the payments of child benefits in the UK since January 2014. Parents receive child benefits in the value of 20.30 GBP per week for the first child and an additional 13.40 GBP per week for each subsequent child. However, the restrictions were implemented for a parent who earns more than 50 thousand GBP per year (the receiving child benefits are in this case lowered) or more than

60 thousand GBP (the receiving child benefits are in this case denied totally). These restrictions should save the British Treasury 1.5 billion GBP per year [84].

The issue of child benefits has become a hot-button-topic between Polish and British politicians because David Cameron mentioned in his speech Poland as an example of the countries joining the *EU* in 2004 in connection with the assertion that not introducing the transitional movement controls was a British “huge mistake”. The speech given at the *EU* summit was connected with Cameron’s intention to deny child benefits for the newcomers whose children do not live in the UK. *The Telegraph* reports there were approximately 51 thousand children who were receiving British state child benefits outside the UK in 2009 and approximately 38 thousand of them were children in Poland. The expenditures for Polish children were estimated approximately 20 million GBP per year [85, 86].

Cameron’s speech has provoked a large number of reactions on the side of Polish politicians who disagree that Polish migrants living in the UK should be a reason and target for implementation of the British child benefit reform. For instance, Lech Walesa, the first President of post-communist Poland, emphasized Cameron has acted “short-sightedly and irrationally” and he has underrated Polish contribution to finishing with communist system paying the value of 70 per cent of Polish economy, in addition, the UK benefited also from the collapse of communism [87]. Walesa has asserted ironically: “I could say that ending communism was a great mistake so that Great Britain would have to arm itself and spend much more than it is currently contributing to Europe.” [88]

Polish Foreign Minister Radoslaw Sikorski has responded to the Cameron’s speech: “It seems the UK prefers a situation where the Polish state meets the education and healthcare costs of the children of Polish citizens who are British taxpayers.” [89] Donald Tusk has imparted: “Prime Minister Cameron has the right to change the rules in his country

but they must apply to all beneficiaries of the system; not just a specific group. ...” [90]. In addition, he added that Polish migrants living in the UK were appropriated from all newcomers living in the UK, which is not fair, and that he would obstruct all attempts of the UK to overhaul rules of the *EU* benefit system that “stigmatise any particular national minority.” Cameron has ensured Tusk that his speech was not intended to be offensive against Poles and explicated all *EU* member states should have been engaged with the *EU* welfare reforms. The Prime Ministers have agreed together on further bilateral discussions about the issue [91].

3.3.3. Polish migrants in possible economic troubles

Daily Mail reports directly from Polish Rzeszow that Polish workforce is frequently enthusiastic about the thought of migrating abroad, especially to the UK. However, in actual fact, Poles who have not experienced living abroad are not able to draw a comparison between the real wages in target countries and in Poland. Poles willing to migrate abroad are not conscious that living in a foreign country may be more expensive than in homeland (as it is in the UK). They follow the vision of being better off and enriching themselves. The vision is supported by lower wages, unemployment, and inauspicious perspectives for future life in Poland. A large number of newcomers, then, may experience exploitation and abuse. *Daily Mail* reports the UK has become a magnet for the migrants who are not able to find jobs or are not contented with the level of wages in their homeland while Polish cities and towns have been confronted with the decrease of their younger educated workforce [92].

As a rejoinder to the issue of possible and actual economic problems of the Polish migrants in the UK, a short three-minute Polish-language film *Before You Go* funded by the British and Polish Governments has been produced by the homelessness organisation *The Passage* in order to emphasize that imprudent decision to migrate from Poland to the UK may result in serious economic problems or in homelessness, in view of

the fact, that the Polish migrants are frequently unprepared for living in a foreign country (predominantly the incapacity to speak English, lack of the wherewithal, and unsecured work in advance). Essential counsels are provided in the film: legal work, British national insurance number, accommodation, and 600 GBP should have been prepared by Poles who intend to migrate to the UK before leaving the homeland [93].

Homelessness is divided into two categories in the UK. One category is “rough sleeper”, expressing someone who dwells on the streets. The second category is “statutory homelessness”, expressing someone who is in temporary accommodation or otherwise at risk of being deprived of their abode. This category incorporates, e.g., homeless people in hotels, shelters, or at holiday campsites and squatters. Polish migrants are to be found in both categories. According to a research investigated by *Thames Reach*, one of the largest UK’s charities, in 2013, 11 per cent of the total number of homeless people comprised Polish migrants. They were the largest group of homeless people in the UK who were not British-born. The average life expectancy of rough homeless people living in London was detected to be 42 years. During researching, the community of rough Polish homeless migrants eating rats was detected in North London. However, there are enormous health risks because the rats had been poisoned [94, 95].

British and Polish charities supported by the British and Polish Governments cooperate to help Polish migrants to return to Poland. Polish migrants are firstly detoxified, reunited with their relatives and families, and prepared to be employed in the homeland. If they return to Poland, they are paid benefits and obtained free access to services in “social integration centres”. Helping Polish migrants to return to the homeland is money-saving for the British taxpayers because Polish homeless migrants require medical treatment approximately 5 times more frequently than British citizens and they are approximately 15 times more likely to become a victim of violence [96].

3.4. Religious faiths on the British Isles

The UK is a traditionally Protestant country with the established Anglican Church and with a close relationship between the state and the Church. In recent decades, the UK has become more secular country than it used to be in past which gives rise to diverse debates on the religious issues in the British multicultural society. For instance, there is a query whether the Church has still its own place in the state administration, whether the occurring secularism is an indication of the crisis of British identity, or what the future religious development will look like [97].

The diminishing number of English and Welsh residents who define themselves as Christians were demonstrated by outcomes of the censuses from 2001 and 2011. The outcomes demonstrate 13 per cent reduction from 37.3 million to 33.2 million Christian worshippers in the aforementioned areas. Although the trend has been diminishing, Christian community still has the largest membership base in England and Wales. With the influx of Polish migrants along with African and other Eastern *EU* newcomers to the UK, the trend of the diminishing number of Christians have been decelerated (see Appendix no. 6) because considering Poles and British people from the religious perspective, both nations are traditionally Christians. However, Poles are traditionally Roman Catholics and British people largely Protestants, which gives rise to other debates as the Polish migrants have had impact on the shape of the religious life in the UK [98].

The Telegraph reports outcomes of the research investigated by independent organisation *Christian Research*. In 2007, when the research was investigated, there were approximately 25 million British residents who had defined themselves as Anglicans in comparison with approximately 4.2 million British residents who had delineated themselves as Catholics. However, the outcomes illustrate church attendance at Sunday's services had been more frequent in the Roman Catholic Church

thanks to the Polish migrants than the attendance in the established Anglican Church. From this perspective, the established Anglican Church has begun to lose its dominant position as the most popular Christian denomination in the country. If such trends continue, the established Anglican Church will become a minority faith in the UK [99].

However, leaders of *The Church of London* have challenged the research and such assertions arguing that the church attendance at Sunday's services could not be any criterion to express number of worshippers because Anglicans were not obligated to attend services every Sunday as Catholics. They emphasized importance of individual religious faiths because worshippers who attend church once or twice a year could be full members of the Church, as well. In addition, in the UK, the Sunday's church attendance has been more frequent historically in the Catholic Church, it is not a trend connected with the Polish migrants [100].

The Guardian supports assertions of the leaders of *The Church of London*. It reports that in the UK, the Catholic Church had had the identical problems with decreasing number of worshippers and with the church attendance; in addition, there had been a lack of priests to be recruited before influx of the Polish Catholic migrants. Francis Davis, a director of *the Von Hugel Institute at Cambridge* and a leader of a research investigating the newcomers, has asserted Polish Catholic migrants are certainly a large opportunity for the Catholic community: "...They are bringing new energy, new life and new resources and networks into the Catholic community. They are bringing a faith of their own that is so vibrant you can chew it. ..." [101] It is estimated that approximately 80 per cent of the Polish migrants are Catholics and approximately 50 to 60 per cent of them attend Sunday's services regularly. The Polish Catholic migrants from all 4 waves of the Polish migration are in this manner united by the Church because when they arrive to the UK, the majority of them search which community to join in order to meet the religious obligations [102].

On the other hand, the Polish Catholic migrants pose a large challenge for the Catholic community because the mutual coexistence of British and Polish Catholics requires a high degree of understanding. However, not only understanding between British people and the Polish migrants is necessary, but also among the Polish Catholic migrants mutually because there are differences among the Polish Catholic migrants who came to the UK in diverse migration waves in past and those who have been migrating to the UK in the current wave [103].

The Telegraph reports the statement of Cardinal Murphy-O'Connor, the Archbishop of Westminster and leader of Roman Catholics in the UK, who has directed his words to the Polish migrants. He expressed his view that although the Polish Catholic migrants were contribution to the Catholic Church in the UK, they should have learnt the English language and integrated into the UK's Catholic Church in order not to create a separated Polish-speaking Catholic Church in the UK. The assertion has provoked a row of reactions at the side of the Polish Catholic migrants. They expressed concerns about their national identity because it is created by their language and religion [104].

David Cameron has provided a commentary on the issue about religion in the British society. He has defined himself as a "committed" but only "vaguely practising" Christian and has asserted that the UK is a Christian country with historically developed values and morals based on the *Bible* and that British people "should not be afraid to say so". In addition, Christian principles give rise to a kind environment for a larger number of faith communities that have right to profess any faiths that they wish [105].

3.4.1. Religious aspect for migrating from Poland

Poland is traditionally a conservative Catholic country where the Church has an enormous influence on the society and the public opinion. For that reason, Polish gays and lesbians confront a complicated position

in the society. It is not against the law to be a homosexual in Poland. However, same-sex marriages are a taboo in the Polish society and there are frequently endeavors to emphasize that homosexuality is an aspect that does not belong to the society and homosexuality is frequently perceived as sexual deviation, as the Catholic Church allows marriages only between a man and a woman [106]. These attitudes are reflected by conservatives on the political scene. For instance, in Poland, there have been political debates whether discussions about the issue of homosexuality may be discussed at Polish schools. In 2007, there was a plan to treat homosexuals propounded by the Polish Health Ministry. The Polish police have created a database of homosexuals, despite the fact that such actions are against the *EU* law. Gay rights laws were voted down by the Polish Parliament in 2013 although the Polish Government is permanently criticized for homophobia by the *EU* [107]. Lech Walesa has provided publicly his commentary on the first openly gay Robert Biedron, the founder of the Polish *Foundation Against Homophobia*, who became a Member of Parliament in 2011: “[Gay people] have to know that they are a minority and adjust to smaller things, and not rise to the greatest heights.” [108] In addition, Walesa has added that gay people should have been banned “to sit on the front benches of the Parliament” they should have sat on the back benches or “behind a wall” [109].

The Guardian reports large numbers of the Polish homosexual migrants have been migrating from their homeland on the permanent basis - and a large number of them to the UK - because of the homophobic environment in Poland. However, the exact statistics of the Polish homosexual migrants are unknown. Robert Biedron has provided a commentary to the issue of homosexuality in Poland: “Most of the people I know are now in England ... because of the persecution of homosexuals going on [in Poland]. It's impossible for gays to be themselves in Poland.” [110] For the aforementioned reasons, the UK poses a friendlier environment for Polish homosexuals than Poland. Although the same-sex marriages are doctri-

nally also in contrary to the principles of the Anglican Church, the civil partnerships have been allowed by the UK's Government since 2004 [111].

4. Author's qualitative research

This chapter deals with author's qualitative research that is processed on the basis of 3 questionnaires with open-ended questions. Responses have been obtained by means of e-mails and they are parts of the Appendices. One of the questionnaires is answered in English and two in Polish according to preferred language of the respondents. It is almost impossible to draw general conclusions from three questionnaires and it is not the purpose of the research. The main purpose is to provide deeper knowledge of the Polish migrants living in the UK based on real experience and opinions from the perspective of three Poles (or the Polish migrants) living in the UK. Thus, in this chapter, each questionnaire is analysed separately by interpreting the obtained data.

4.1. Respondent No. 1

The analysis is based on the information obtained from the questionnaire of the first respondent Asia Monika Bakalar (see Appendix no.7) [112]. She has been living with her British partner in London since 2004. Before living in the UK, she had also lived for certain time in Germany, France, Sicily, and Canada. Currently, Bakalar is defining the UK and namely London as her home where she intends to stay on permanent basis but she added that it was also possible to relocate to another country. However, it is unlikely she would return to Poland because she responded:

“I always wanted to leave Poland due to various reasons: the attitude to women, anybody who is different (skin colour, sexual orientation), the impact of the Catholic Church on the legal system and the Church's influence on the society. I consider myself an intellectual immigrant. ... I'm not a patriot and I don't miss Poland. I don't think of myself as overwhelmingly Polish, if it makes sense. My friends in Poland sometimes say that I have become British and slightly 'alien' to them. I think of myself as

a human being. I don't have allegiance to one specific country, whether it's Poland or Britain. It really doesn't matter to me." [113]

As she has done an MA degree in English Literature at the University of Wroclaw, she had had sufficient English language skills when she arrived in the UK. Thus, she did not find it difficult to obtain a job in London. In addition, she has never experienced any negative attitude towards her because of her Polish origin but her place of birth attracts attention of some British people in her surroundings. She has heard rather positive opinions of British people on the Polish migrants, e.g., that the Polish migrants are hardworking but she emphasizes that the opinions may differ according to individual persons and their experience with the Polish migrants. On the other hand, Bakalar has experienced negative comments on her person by the Polish migrants in the UK who had thought she would not understand the Polish language. The commentary was so rude that Bakalar prefers not quoting them.

Asia Monika Bakalar considers the Polish migrants living in the UK as an "invisible minority" because they are not easily distinguishable by the white colour of their skin. In addition, the Polish migrants pose approximately 1.5 per cent of the UK's population so it is important to consider the number when speaking about the Polish migrants in the UK.

Bakalar reads the British press where she has noticed information about the Polish migrants. Some of the articles looked with favor upon the Polish migrants and some of them were critical of the Polish migrants. The articles vary according to which press is the source of information. However, Bakalar did not particularize any specific examples of the press, nor information. She is the author of 2 articles written for *The Guardian* and of some articles written for *The New York Times*.

Asia Monika Bakalar is the first Polish woman who has published a book in the English language in the UK since the Polish accession to the *EU*. The book called *Madam Mephisto* is about a Polish drug dealer

Magda who lives in the UK (see Appendix no. 10). The book has been published only in English because Bakalar prefers writing in this language:

“I have been criticised and attacked by some Poles for writing in English and not being patriotic enough in my work, which I find funny in a way, considering I write fiction which obviously allows for the freedom of the creative process. Saying that, I could not have written *Madame Mephisto* in Polish. ...” [114]

Although Bakalar is not a Polish patriot, she still misses her parents who live in Poland and Polish bookshops because Polish book market is more inclined towards literature in translation than the British market.

4.2. Respondent no. 2

The analysis is based on the information obtained from the questionnaire of the second respondent Karolina (see Appendix no. 8) [115]. She has been living with her partner and child in London for 4 months when filling in the questionnaire. Before her family and she arrived to the UK, they had lived in Mexico for 2 years. Kasia does not intend to stay in the UK on permanent basis because her intention is to stay in the UK a few years – at least 2 years - to spare money and afterwards relocate to another country. However, she is convinced it is unlikely she would return to Poland because she responded:

“...I didn’t want to return to Poland because [I] couldn’t see any future prospects in the country, unfortunately. There are too high taxes, low wages (compared to the rest parts of Europe), mess in politics, difficulties in finding a job. ... However, I am pretty sure when [my family and I] want to move somewhere else, we won’t return to Poland.”¹¹ [116]

Kasia has experienced predominantly positive attitudes of British people towards her but there has been an unpleasant situation in

¹¹ Author’s translation of Kasia’s answers from Polish

a playground when a British woman shouted at her “Say thank you” aggressively. Although she emphasizes that she had never experienced any sign of discrimination in the UK, she connects the situation in the playground with a thought that English women may often treat Polish women as much inferior. The only opinion on the Polish migrants that she knows is prejudice of other Polish women living in London that Polish women “steal” men of British women. According to Kasia, Poland may be perceived by British people as a poor country which is inappropriate for living because of a large number of Polish migrants “fleeing” from Poland.

Kasia is not interested in reading articles about the Polish migrants in the British press and she prefers not to search for such information and articles.

She considers the UK as an appropriate country for living. She has relocated to the UK because of high wages in the UK that are even 5 times higher than in Poland. She appreciates free services such as quality education and healthcare without queues that take place in Poland. On the other hand, she misses refinement on the roads and long opening hours in shops to which she is accustomed from Poland.

4.3. Respondent no. 3

The analysis is based on the information obtained from the questionnaire of the third respondent Karolina (see Appendix no. 9) [117]. Karolina relocated to the UK 10 years ago although she had obtained master degree and work experience in Poland. Currently, she lives with her husband and two children in London and attends English courses in order to improve her English language skills. Although Karolina is satisfied in the UK because it is a country where it is possible to live decently and to support family, the likelihood is that she will return to Poland in future. However, the return is not possible for her at the moment because she responded:

“I have always dreamed of returning to Poland, and I always will dream of it, because of my roots, family which has stayed there. However, it is not possible at this moment because of economic and political situation. Poland is not able to offer decent life to a family of four, decent work, and wages appropriate to education, work experience, knowledge, and to skills.”¹² [118]

Karolina is treated by British people with a “positive distance” but she describes attitudes of British people towards her predominantly as “open and friendly”. According to her, the majority of British people consider Poland as a poor and dangerous country with a high level of political corruption and believe that Poland is not a suitable place for living in general. These aspects are, then, the main reasons for such a large influx of the Polish migrants who find employment predominantly in service industry, e.g., in building industry or cleaning.

Karolina is interested in reading the British press. She reads *Daily Mail*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Metro*, and *Evening Standard* and asserts the articles looked largely with favour upon the Polish migrants¹³. Karolina has learnt about articles that reported on a large number of the Polish migrants at diverse age in the UK, or on large numbers of Polish children born in the UK - even 20 thousand Polish children per year. The main sources of Karolina’s information are the Internet and television broadcasting.

Karolina relocated to the UK in view of the fact that her friends had already lived there and because of language reasons. Currently, the biggest motivation for Karolina to stay in the UK is the opportunity to support her family of four and to live decent life. In addition, she feels safe in the UK. She misses her family and Polish nature the most.

¹² Author’s translation of Karolina’s answers from Polish

¹³ The respondent does not mention any negative article from the British press although she reads *Daily Mail*, which perceives Polish migrants negatively and shows its attitudes by means of its own articles.

5. Conclusion

The main purpose of the thesis was to enable the general public to obtain deeper knowledge of the recent Polish migration – especially to the UK - with its background. This purpose was achieved by theoretical introduction to migration, globalization and facts about Poland and the UK followed by practical parts, which make use of the method of compilation of diverse British articles and by the author's qualitative research.

Poland is a country with high numbers of international migrants migrating from their homeland. The Polish migrants were motivated predominantly by political issues during the period between 1940s and late 1980s. The phenomenon of the Polish migrants motivated largely by economic issues started when democracy was introduced to Poland in 1989. As the research shows, the economic issues are not the only reason for the Polish migration to the UK. The reasons for migration pose rather an individual and personal issue. Thus, the reasons are, e.g., religious aspects because Poland is a conservative catholic country, political aspects because of corruption and conservative politicians, homosexual orientation in predominantly intolerant Polish society, language aspects, or the aforementioned Polish economic situation

The coexistence of British people with the Polish migrants requires mutual understanding to which British multiculturalism contributes. In 2004, when Poland joined the *EU*, the main destination for influx of the Polish migrants became the UK that did not impose labour market restrictions. The British press emphasizes frequently this year in connection with the Polish migrants and changes in the British society.

In 2011, there were approximately 636 thousand Polish speakers among British residents and approximately 612 thousand of them were Polish citizens. The British press, as well as the British society, holds positive and negative attitudes towards the Polish migrants in the UK. British residents who look with favour on the Polish migrants argue that

they contribute to the Treasury by approximately 35 per cent higher amount of money than they obtain in benefits, enhance work ethics and labour productivity of employees and also outcomes of British-born pupils at British schools or that the Polish baby boom will pose a provision for an ageing population in the UK in 30 years' time. The fertility rate of Polish mothers in the UK is by 0.83 children higher per woman than the fertility rate of Polish mothers in Poland. On the other hand, opponents of immigration to the UK argue that the Polish migrants may destroy British communities because of their incapacity to speak English sufficiently and that they pose a burden for the British Treasury, housing, education, and for National Health Service, abuse British state benefits as the Polish children not living in the UK receive child benefits. According to the research, opinions on the mutual coexistence are based predominantly on the personal experience of residents. The common coexistence may be complicated, which is provided by attacks on Polish homeless people in the UK, sharp political debates about David Cameron's speech and his efforts to restrict the *EU* free movement and state benefit system among the official representatives of both countries.

In the British press, there are a large number of articles with diverse attitudes towards the Polish migrants. The analysed numerical data were exact in all cases in the British press. However, commentaries to the numerical data were predominantly adapted to the interests of readers. The attitudes of *The Guardian* and *Express* were most perceptible. *The Guardian* was favourably disposed to the Polish migrants in its commentaries. It reports, e.g., the Polish migrants are predominantly contribution to the British society, they have good work ethics, and even learning Polish language by British people is worth the effort. On the other hand, *Express* showed an unfavourable attitude to the Polish migrants in its commentaries. It reports, e.g., the incapacity of Polish migrants to learn English sufficiently gives rise to high expenditures for translations and in-

interpreting and difficulty in the integration of the Polish migrants in the British society. In addition, they pose a burden for the British society.

The future development of the mutual relations between the UK and Poland is unpredictable at the present time. Their international relations will be affected by the forthcoming British elections and by the possible British referendum on the issue whether the UK should stay the member state of the *EU* planned in 2017. The issue whether the Polish migrants will stay on a permanent basis in the UK will depend predominantly on the economic situations in both countries and on individual personal reasons.

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8. Abstract

This bachelor thesis is called *Depiction of Polish Migrants in the British Press*. As the title makes evident, this bachelor thesis deals with Poles who have been migrating to the United Kingdom for their own various reasons. The main purpose of the thesis is to provide depiction and to enable the general public to obtain deeper knowledge of the recent Polish migration – especially to the UK - with its background.

The thesis is divided into three basic chapters. The first chapter provides theoretical information about migration, globalization, and about the United Kingdom and Poland. The second chapter contains the depiction of the Polish migrants from the perspective of the British press. The viewpoint is created by compilation of various articles. The third chapter is devoted to the outcomes of author's qualitative research. The research is based on questionnaires responded by 3 Poles living in the United Kingdom. The research attempts to express real personal experience and attitudes of the people who are influenced and connected with the topic.

9. Resumé

Tato bakalářská práce, která se nazývá *Obráz polských migrantů v britském tisku*, se zabývá Poláky, kteří migrují do Velké Británie z různých důvodů. Hlavním cílem práce je vylíčit a umožnit veřejnosti získat hlubší povědomí zejména o současné polské migraci se zaměřením na migraci do Velké Británie.

Práce je rozdělena do 3 základních kapitol. První kapitola přináší teoretické informace o migraci, globalizaci, o Polsku a Velké Británii. Ve druhé kapitole je vytvořen „obraz“ polských migrantů pomocí kompilace různých článků z britského tisku. Třetí kapitola je věnována výsledkům kvalitativního výzkumu, který proběhl v rámci bakalářské práce. Jedná se o zpracování 3 dotazníků, na které odpovídaly 3 Polky žijící v současné době ve Velké Británii.

10 Appendices

Appendix I: Change of international migrants 2000-2013

UNITED NATIONS. *The number of international migrants worldwide reaches 232 million*. Population Facts. [online], September 2013.

Available from:

http://esa.un.org/unmigration/documents/The_number_of_international_migrants.pdf. [Retrieved 11 September 2013].

Appendix II: Charts illustrating destinations of Polish migration

Author's processing according to: GŁOWNY URZĄD STATYSTYCZNY. *Migracje zagraniczne ludności. Narodowy spis powszechny ludności i mieszkań 2011*. Warszawa: Zakład wydawnictw statystycznych, 2013. ISBN 978-83-7027-542-6.

Appendix III: Nominal GDP sector composition in 2012

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Appendix IV: Differences between the broadsheets and tabloids

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Appendix V: Imagination of “Polish plumber”

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Appendix VI: Changes in religious faiths 2001-2011

SEDGHI, Ami. *UK Census: religion by age, ethnicity and country of birth*. The Guardian. [online], 16 May 2013. Available from: <http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2013/may/16/uk-census-religion-age-ethnicity-country-of-birth>. [Retrieved 9 April 2014].

Appendix VII: Questionnaire of respondent no. 1

BAKALAR, Asia. *Questionnaire of respondent no. 1*, 25 March 2014.

Appendix VIII: Questionnaire of respondent no. 2

KASIA. *Questionnaire of respondent no. 2*, 7 November 2013.

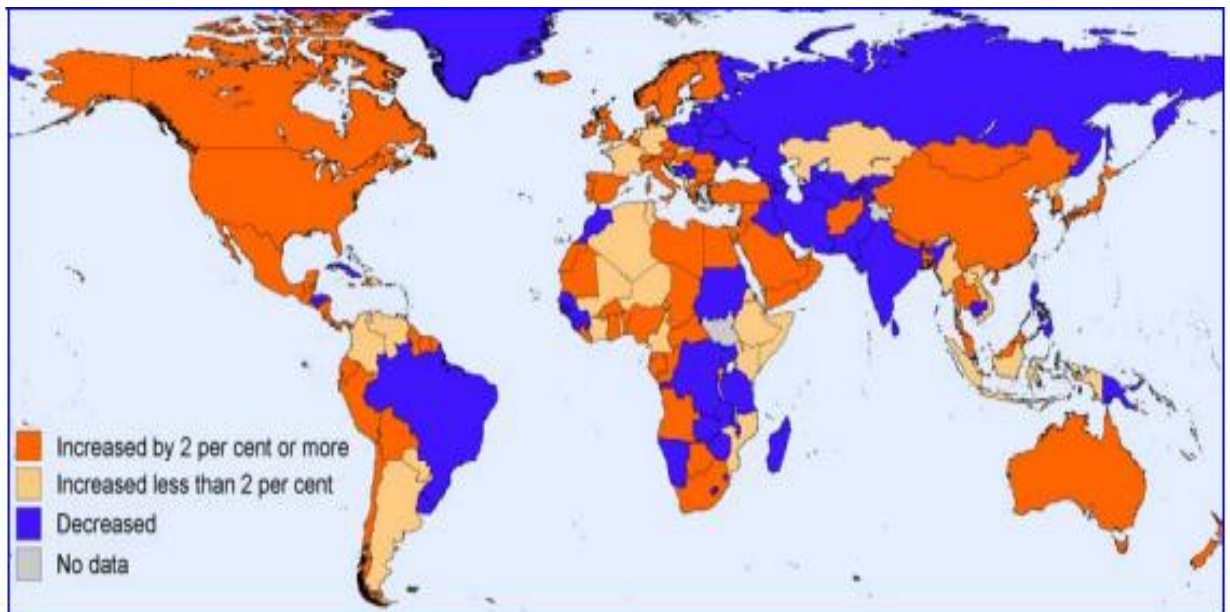
Appendix IX: Questionnaire of respondent no. 3

KAROLINA. *Questionnaire of respondent no. 3*, 7 November 2013.

Appendix X: Madame Mephisto

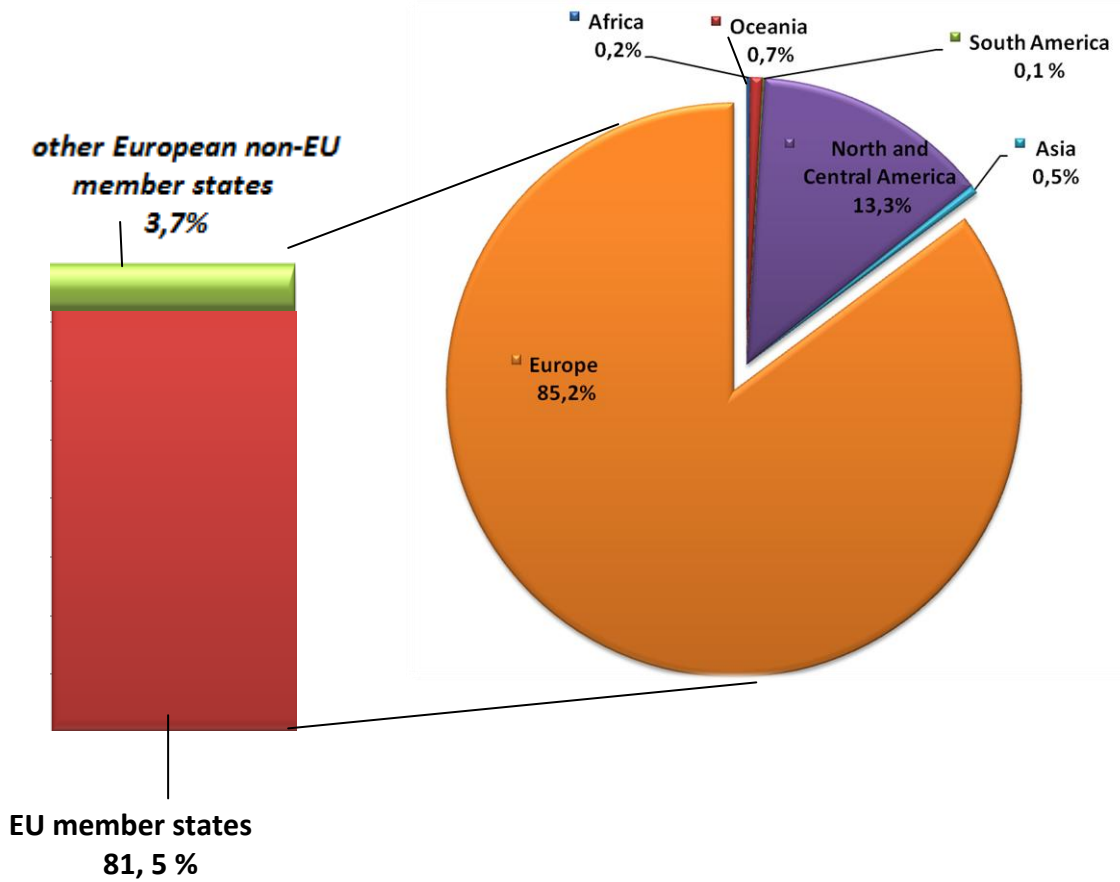
BAKALAR, Asia. *Madame Mephisto*. Official website of Bakalar. [online]. Available from: <http://ambakalar.com/book.html>. [Retrieved 16 April 2014].

Appendix I: Change of international migrants 2000-2013



The map illustrates changes in average annual rate of international migrants in individual countries between 2000 and 2013. Countries where the rate was increasing (the UK) are indicated by orange colours. On the other hand, countries where the rate was decreasing (Poland) are indicated by blue colour.

Appendix II: Charts illustrating destinations of Polish migration



The pie chart on the right illustrates percentage of the total number of Polish migrants on individual continents in 2011. The bar chart on the left illustrates percentage of the Polish migrants in the EU member states and non-EU member states with the evident predominance of the Polish migrants in the EU member states.

Appendix III: Nominal GDP sector composition in 2012

Country	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
France	1,9%	18,3%	79,8%
Germany	0,8%	28,1%	71,1%
the UK	0,7%	21%	78,3%
Italy	2%	24,2%	73,8%
Spain	3,2%	24,2%	72,6%
Sweden	1,8%	26,9%	71,3%
Poland	3,4%	33,6%	63%
Belgium	0,7%	21,6%	77,7%
Norway	2,7%	38,3%	59%

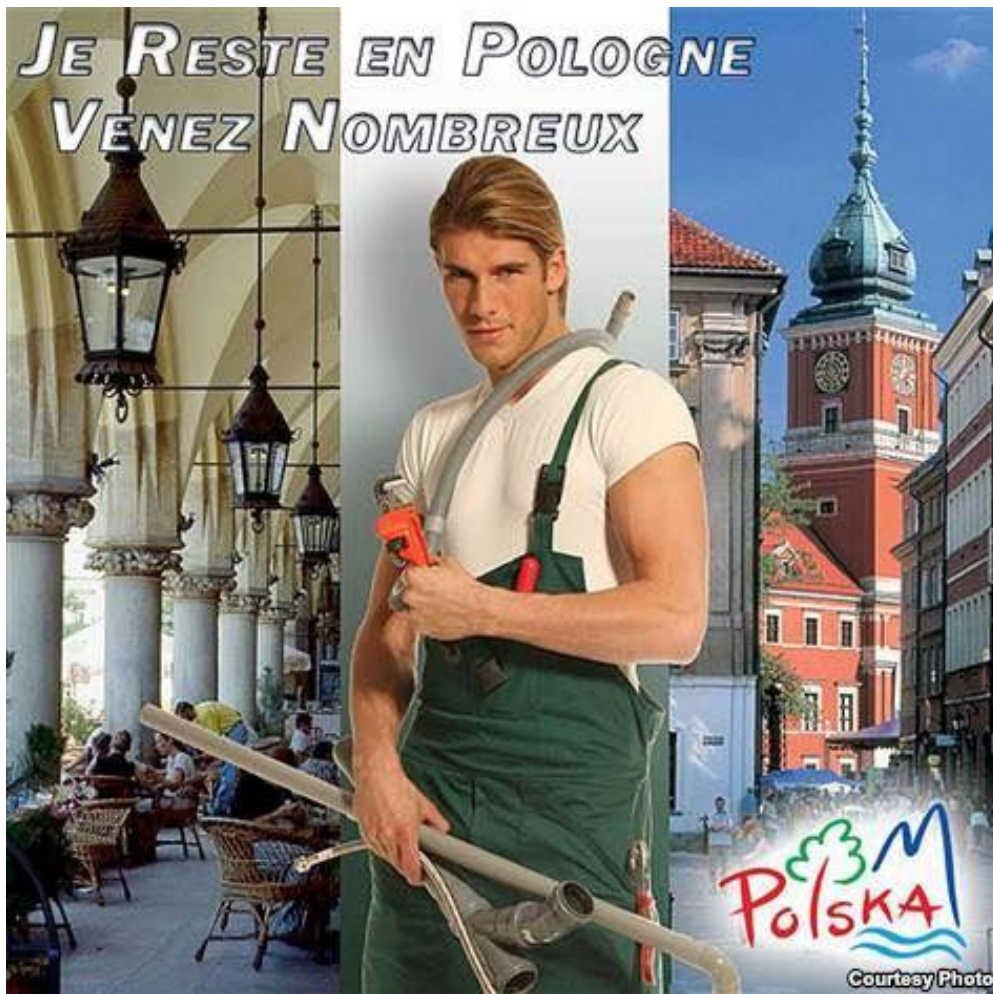
The table demonstrates shares of nominal GDP in primary, secondary, and tertiary economic sectors in some *EU* member states. The data are expressed in percentage and related to 2012. Comparison of the individual shares in the primary economic sector, to which agriculture belongs, shows that the sector creates actually a large share of Polish nominal GDP. On the other hand, the UK evinces much larger share in the tertiary sector.

Appendix IV: Differences between the broadsheets and tabloids

	Serious / Quality newspaper (so-called broadsheet)	Tabloid
layout	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • long headline • often long paragraphs • not many pictures • pictures are relatively objective, don't aim at evoking an opinion • few pictures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • eye-catching • big letters to catch attention • a lot of pictures • large pictures • banner headline and subheading • different types of print sub-divisions/photo
composition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • structured • long sentences • lots of information per paragraph 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • short sense units or paragraphs are made regardless of sense units • paragraphs are often only one or two sentences
language style & syntax (syntax=sentence structure)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • serious and formal language • fairly complex sentence structure, subclauses • can contain interview by experts or involved people with original jargon 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • less subclauses • more simple sentences, also because of number of quotations • simple structure • sometimes slang • low standard
choice of words	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • large number of difficult words • mainly standard English, technical terms, difficult words • neutral/formal language • usually no informal language, factual & neutral style 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • words that attract the readers interests • signal words (e.g. gay, fat) • standard and colloquial English, few difficult words • emotivestyle, large number of qualifiers
headline	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fairly long • informative, neutral apart from occasional colloquialism (e.g. "yobs") • already answers a few of the 5 W-questions (what, who, when, where, how) • formal, no grammatical omissions • not too big print 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • grammatical omissions • many eye-catching elements: alliteration, emotive verbs/adjectives, capital letters, subheadings
target group & appeal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • attracts reader through topicality • written for a demanding reader • so-called "middle/upper class" reader (sophisticated, informative articles) • appeal depends in part on the topic, often includes home and international news, financial reports, book reviews etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • written for less demanding reader, who is not interested in in detailed news reports • so-called "human interest" reader who wants to know about personal aspects of people
orientation (for example: objective/one-sided; problem-oriented; person/opinion oriented, etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • largely objective or various points of view • problem-oriented 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • one-sided • opinion and person-oriented

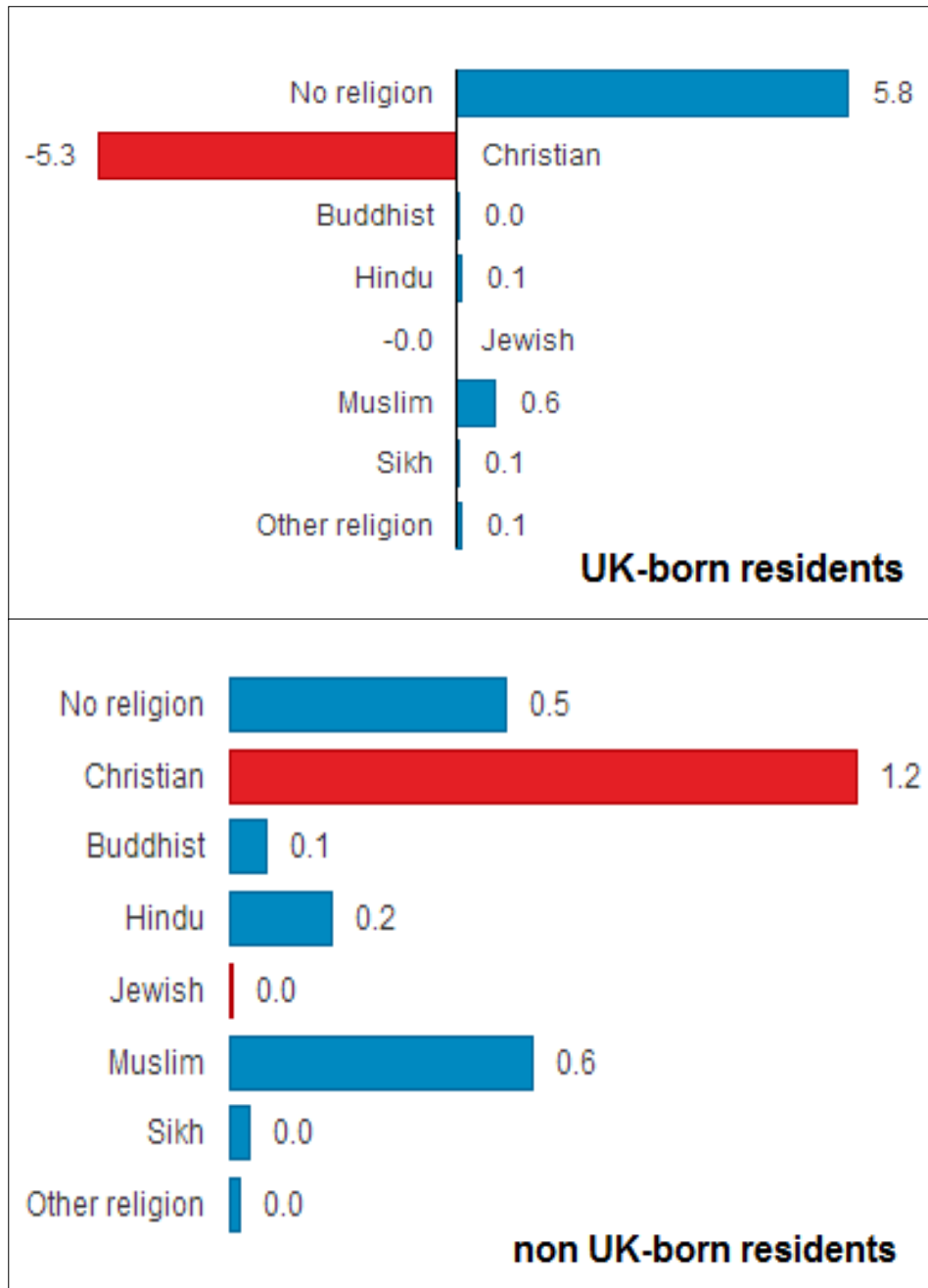
The table illustrates main characteristic differences between the broadsheets and tabloids.

Appendix V: Imagination of “Polish plumber”



The advertisement created by the Polish tourist board in Warsaw. The “Polish plumber” portrayed in the advertisement is 21-year-old model Piotr Adamski.

Appendix VI: Changes in religious faiths 2001-2011



The charts illustrate changes in individual religious faiths according to places of birth of British residents between 2001 and 2011. There is a significant decrease in the number of Christian worshippers among the UK-born population, on the contrary, the number of Christian worshippers among the non UK-born residents increased substantially.

Apendix VII: Questionnaire of respondent no. 1

1. What have led you to move from Poland and why have you chosen the United Kingdom as a destination for your stay? Is it the best country where you have lived so far?

I always wanted to leave Poland due to various reasons: the attitude to women, anybody who is different (skin colour, sexual orientation), the impact of the Catholic Church on the legal system and the Church's influence on the society. I consider myself an intellectual immigrant. My partner is British so I ended up living in London. It's difficult to answer if Britain is the best country I've lived in so far, it all depends what you are looking for and each country and society has its own advantages but also challenges.

2. What were your beginnings in the UK like?

I'm not sure I understand the question. I did not have any problems with finding a job or with the language - I did an MA degree in English Literature at the University of Wroclaw.

3. How long have you been already in the United Kingdom? Are you satisfied there?

I arrived in 2004. Britain, or rather London, is my home now.

4. Do you plan to live in the United Kingdom permanently?

I think so. Unless my partner and I decide to live in another country.

5. There are a large numbers of articles and debates about foreigners in the United Kingdom; have you also heard anything about the Polish minority? If so, could you mention what in particular and state the source of the information (press, person from your surroundings, TV news, political debate, ...)?

The British press has been publishing various articles about immigrants, including Poles. TV, radio, people I meet at various events.

6. Do you read the British press? If so, which ones and what is your opinion of them? What do you think of information about Poles in this press? Have you noticed any negative articles about Poles?

I think you will need to be more specific which articles you are referring to. I would not like to generalise. Of course, some papers are more critical towards immigrants than others. It depends which paper or media outlet you read / watch / listen to. I read British and American press, literary magazines, journals, Internet based opinion sites, translated articles from other media, etc.

7. What are the attitudes of British people toward you as a Pole? Have you already experienced any troubles? If so, what was it? And would you like to mention anything about your good experience with British people?

I've never experienced any negative attitude towards me because I was born in Poland. London is very different from other parts of the UK, also it depends what type of work you do, where you live etc. Like any person who was born in a different country or comes from a different culture there's a natural curiosity among the people around you.

8. Do you think there are stereotypes or prejudice against Poles in the United Kingdom? If so, which ones?

I think it depends who you talk to. My perception of Poles differs from a British person, or person of different nationality. I've heard good opinion about Poles as hardworking. Though, of course, it depends who you talk to and what kind of experience they've had with Poles.

9. What do you miss from Poland the most and what don't you miss at all?

I miss my parents, who live there, and bookshops. Polish book market is much more open to literature in translation than the UK or the US. I always bring a big number of books by authors whose work may never be translated into English or it will take years before it will happen.

Questions related to your piece of work

1. You are originally an interpreter and English teacher, aren't you? When did you start writing? Your official website says your friends pushed you to write, are they Polish or British friends?

I worked as an interpreter and English teacher at the Postgraduate School. I started writing during my PhD I was doing at Birkbeck and later on in Southampton University. A number of friends, English, South African, Zimbabwean, British, encouraged me to write for which I'm immensely grateful as I don't think I would have done it without their support and belief in me.

2. Are you still a teacher and interpreter?

No.

3. What is your biggest pleasure when you are writing?

Toying with various ideas and characters, and the research process. At the later stage, after a few drafts, the process of editing which is very nuanced and I think brings me the biggest joy as I can see the book as a whole.

4. What is your real surname if Bakalar is your pen name?

I'd rather keep A.M. Bakalar in the public domain as it allows distancing myself to my real self.

5. Your book *Madame Mephisto* is the first novel written in English by a Polish woman, how have you reached this success?

I don't know really. Writing / creating in a second language is very different form of art than, e.g. painting or recording music. Any form of art takes time, the thinking process, the choice of a medium etc. I think there comes a point of desperation to tell a particular story and then you decide how you'd like to tell it, which medium to use.

6. There is an interesting issue in the book I would like to ask about. Magda claims she does not belong in Poland. You claim that when you are writing in English, you can take on a different identity. You do not want to write in Polish. What is your personal attitude toward being a Pole? Do you feel rather British or Polish? And why do you judge Poles so critically claiming that they wouldn't accept your piece of work? Do you have any unpleasant experience with Poles?

Yes, existing in a second language allows taking on a slightly different identity or cultural characteristics depending on the society you live in. I was born in Poland but wanted to leave for a very long time. I'm not a patriot and I don't miss Poland. I don't think of myself as overwhelmingly Polish, if it makes sense. My friends in Poland sometimes say that I have become British and slightly 'alien' to them. I think of myself as a human being. I don't have allegiance to one specific country, whether it's Poland or Britain. It really doesn't matter to me.

I have been criticised and attacked by some Poles for writing in English and not being patriotic enough in my work, which I find funny in a way, considering I write fiction which obviously allows for the freedom of the creative process. Saying that, I could not have written *Madame Mephisto* in Polish. There are certain sensibilities and cultural aspects which I find are easier to express in English. I don't think I have a responsibility to write in a certain way because I was born and raised in Poland. The only responsibility is to myself and to the readers, to write as honestly as I can.

7. What is the message of your book *Madame Mephisto* and what does the title express?

It's up to the readers to decide how they read the novel and what the title means to them.

8. The book contains information about cannabis trade; where did you find information related to the topic? Why did you choose this motive?

I did extensive research into the cannabis trade and I was lucky to talk to people who were open to discuss it with me. Initially the novel had nothing to do with it. It was only after my partner read it and thought it was a bit dull, another story of an immigrant, when I began to think what I could do with Magda and how to make her an unlikely immigrant, and make her life choices slightly unexpected.

9. Does the main character Magda or the plot of the book have any autobiographical features? Why is Magda a person with many identities?

Madame Mephisto is a work of fiction. Claire Messud said in one of the interviews that writers are like magpies, which I agree with. Characters in *Madame Mephisto* are not real people, they may have some characteristics of various people or their stories I come across in real life, but it's basically fiction.

Magda is a complex character and I'm fascinated by people having various identities or even lives sometimes. When you live in two countries, or speak various languages, you often assume a slightly different personality, you become somebody else. This is what I was thinking about when I wrote about Magda.

10. There are Magda's family members mentioned in this book. Do you also have family in Poland to whom you return?

Yes, I have family in Poland.

11. Do you plan to write your next piece of work also in English? Could you impart some pieces of information about the book?

My next novel is also in English. I'm very sorry but I do not discuss my next project while it's still being written. During the writing process a lot can change so there's no point really to talk what the next book is about or about the characters.

12. If you could send a message to Poles living in the UK, what would it be? And what would you say to Poles living in Poland?

I don't have a message to Poles, either here or in Poland. I think it would be incredibly rude of me to try to send them any kind of message. Everybody lives their own lives.

Your articles in *The Guardian*

1. I have found your two articles at the website of The Guardian. Have you written these articles directly for the press?

I'm not sure I understand your question, specifically this phrase: 'directly for the press'? I was commissioned by the editors of the *Guardian* and *NYT* to write these articles. And a number of other literary magazines.

2. Do you like the idea of becoming a journalist?

I have no interest in becoming a journalist.

3. I like your statement: "Poles are invisible minority unless, of course, we make the headlines." Could you comment on it a little bit? Do you really think that Poles are invisible minority in the UK if the Polish language is the most spoken non-native language in the UK and there is Polish baby boom in the UK?

Poles are white so, for example, in comparison to people from Asia or Africa, they are not easily distinguishable by the colour of their skin or facial features, thus the term 'invisible minority'. There are around 40m people in the UK, and around 600k Poles, which makes Poles 1.5% of the UK population. It's worth to keep the numbers in mind when talking about Poles in Britain, so yes I think Poles are largely a minority.

4. You reports that you have heard Poles speaking inappropriately and loudly in Polish because they thought that nobody understood. Have you ever experienced such behaviour against you?

Yes I have, but the comments are too rude to quote. It's been also experience of a number of Poles I talked to.

Appendix VIII: Questionnaire of respondent no. 2

Author's translation of the questionnaire from Polish into English:

1. What have led you to move from Poland and why have you chosen the United Kingdom as a destination for your stay?

To be honest, I haven't moved to the UK from Poland but from Mexico (I had lived there for 2 years before my arrival to the UK). My husband, daughter and I didn't want to return to Poland because we couldn't see any perspectives in the country, unfortunately. There are too high taxes, low wages (compared to the rest parts of Europe), mess in politics, difficulties in finding a job. We have chosen the UK because there is a good market for software developers, high wages - even 5 times higher than in Poland! There is a possibility of personal development, work with new up-to-date technologies. In Poland, qualified professionals in the field of IT do not earn enough money in proportion to their abilities.

2. How long have you already been in the United Kingdom? Are you satisfied there?

I have been here for 4 months and to be honest I really like several things and some, unfortunately, less. Education – my daughter is 4 years old and she attends a really modern state school which means that it is for free! It was a huge shock for me because equipment, architecture, decoration of the school is at the highest level - kids have the world's most authentic garden on the roof! They grow vegetables there and then the vegetables are prepared by the kids themselves in the kitchen where all appliances and cabinets have been created especially for their age. In addition, the number of caregivers in the group, safety at schools – it is really at high level. Healthcare is also for free, there aren't queues like in Poland, modern clinics and children get medicaments for free!

3. Do you plan to live in the United Kingdom permanently or just for a certain time and then come back home?

We plan to stay here for a few years, for at least 2, we want to spare some money. I wouldn't like to stay here permanently although you never know... However, I am pretty sure when we want to move somewhere else, we won't return to Poland.

4. There are a large numbers of articles and debates about foreigners in the United Kingdom; have you also heard anything about the Polish minority? If so, could you mention what in particular and state the source of the information (press, person from your surroundings, TV news, political debate, ...)?

Personally, I haven't experienced any signs of discrimination but it is true that there are a lot of Poles in London. Unfortunately, they are mostly to be seen in work clothes with a beer in their hands... which also contributes greatly to how others may perceive us. I have several Polish friends living in my neighbourhood. They have been here a bit longer and I often hear from them how Polish women are perceived in the UK, e.g., one of the mostly heard opinions (opinion of Polish women on the other Polish women) is that Polish women "steal" men from British women ... that Polish women take care of their appearance, always put on their makeup, and they are dressed nicely which are the reasons why Polish women are perceived as a threat to British women.

5. Do you read the British press? If so, which ones and what is your opinion of them? What do you think of information about Poles in this press?

Unfortunately, I haven't read any articles related to Poles yet, and I prefer not to search for texts about Poles in the British press.

6. What are the attitudes of British people toward you as a Pole? Have you already experienced any troubles? If so, what was it? And would you like to mention anything about your good experience with the British?

All in all, I have experienced an unpleasant situation in the playground when I was looking after my kid sliding down straight through the entrance gate of the playground and a boy stood by the gate (I wouldn't think that the boy was holding the gate open in order to let us in) I would rather have thought that he was swinging on the gate. However, his mother who was standing about 10 metres away started shouting "say thank you". I had no idea that she could have been shouting at me but she was screaming louder and louder and she was getting more and more aggressive... After this situation, a Polish woman had heard the whole situation came up to me and told me that English women often treated Polish women as much inferior.

However, I have experienced more favourable situations related to British people, e.g., soon after our arrival, we met a British man who invited us to lunch and a trip.

7. Do you think there are stereotypes or prejudice against Poles in the United Kingdom? If so, which ones?

I think that British people may consider our country as a place that isn't good for living because of the fact that many Poles have fled from Poland. However, personally I haven't experienced anything like this.

8. What do you miss from Poland the most and what don't you miss at all?

What I miss the most is refinement on the roads... When I am walking across a pedestrian crossing without traffic lights and I am standing with my kid in the rain in the middle of the pedestrian crossing, no car will stop in order to let us walk across. It is a norm here... I often stand in this way for about 5 minutes ... It's pretty annoying ... It is the same when you drive a car and you want to turn, no car will stop in order to facilitate the turning ... I have a feeling that egoism predominates on the British roads ;)

I miss certain things, e.g., in some boroughs of London, shops are open only until 18:00 which is often a problem because when someone finishes work at 18:00 it is difficult for them to find an open shop.

Polish source text:

1. Co spowodowało, że się przeprowadziłaś z Polski i dlaczego właśnie do Brytanii?

Prawdę mówiąc przeprowadziłam się do Wielkiej Brytanii nie z Polski, ale z Meksyku (przed przyjazdem do UK mieszkałam tam 2 lata) nie chcieliśmy wraz z moim mężem i córeczką wracać do Polski bo nie widzimy przyszłości w tym kraju, niestety. Bardzo wysokie podatki, niskie zarobki (w porównaniu z resztą części Europy), bałagan w polityce, trudności ze znalezieniem pracy. Wybraliśmy Wielką Brytanię dlatego, że jest tu dobry rynek dla programistów, wysokie stawki często nawet pięciokrotnie wyższe niż w Polsce! Możliwość rozwoju, praca w nowszych technologiach , w Polsce niestety wykwalifikowani specjaliści w dziedzinie informatyki nie zarabiają proporcjonalnie do swoich umiejętności.

2. Jak długo już jesteś w Brytanii, jak ci się tu podoba?

Jestem tutaj od 4 miesięcy i prawdę mówiąc pewne rzeczy bardzo mi się podobają inne niestety trochę mniej. Szkolnictwo - moja córeczka ma 4 lata i chodzi do naprawdę nowoczesnej szkoły która jest państwowa a więc za darmo! co było dla mnie olbrzymim szokiem, bo sprzęt, architektura, wystrój szkoły jest na najwyższym poziomie - dzieci mają najprawdziwszy na świecie ogród na dachu! Sadzą tam warzywa które potem same przygotowują w specjalnie dla nich przygotowanej kuchni gdzie wszystkie sprzęty, szafki są przystosowane do ich wieku, do tego jeszcze ilość opiekunów w grupie, bezpieczeństwo w szkołach - naprawdę na wysokim poziomie. Służba zdrowia też darmowa, nie ma kolejek takich jak w Polsce, nowoczesne przychodnie, i dzieci dostają leki za darmo!

3. Planujesz zostać w Brytanii na stałe czy tylko tymczasowo i potem wrócić do domu?

Planujemy tutaj zostać kilka lat, co najmniej 2, chcemy odłożyć trochę pieniędzy. Nie chciałabym jednak zostać tutaj na stałe chociaż nigdy nic nie wiadomo... Na pewno jednak jeżeli będziemy chcieli się gdzieś przenieść to raczej nie wrócimy do Polski.

4. W Brytanii się mówi o cudzoziemcach, którzy tu żyją. Słyszałaś również coś o polskiej mniejszości? Jeżeli tak, mogła byś opisać co i z źródłem informacji (gazeta, osoba z twego otoczenia, wiadomości, dyskusja polityczna, ...)?

Osobiście nie spotkałam się z jakimś przejawem dyskryminacji, aczkolwiek to prawda w Londynie jest bardzo wielu Polaków i niestety najczęściej spotyka ich się w stroju roboczym z piwem w ręce... co też przyczynia się bardzo do tego jak inni mogą nas postrzegać. Sama mam kilka koleżanek polek mieszkających w okolicy, one są tutaj już trochę dłużej i często od nich słyszę o tym jak postrzegane są polki w UK, np. jednym z częściej słyszanych opinii (opinii polek o polkach) jest, że polki „odbijają” mężów brytyjkom... , że polki o sobie dbają, zawsze są umalowane i fajnie się ubierają przez co są odbierane jako zagrożenie dla brytyjek.

5. Czytasz brytyjskie gazety? Jeżeli tak, które i co o nich sądzisz? Jakie masz zdanie na artykuły o Polakach opublikowanych w tych gazetach?

Niestety nie spotkałam się jeszcze z jakimś artykułem dotyczącym Polaków i raczej nie szukam tekstów o Polakach w gazetach brytyjskich.

6. Jak cię Brytyjczycy traktują jako Polkę. Spotkałaś się z jakimiś nieprzyjemnościami? Jeżeli tak, z jakimi? I chciała byś powiedzieć jakieś dobre doświadczenie z Brytyjczykami?

W sumie raz miałam nieprzyjemną sytuację na placu zabaw kiedy biegłam za moim dzieckiem zjeżdżającym z górki prosto przez bramkę na plac zabaw i jakiś chłopiec przy tej bramce stał (nie przyszłoby mi do głowy, że on tę bramkę trzyma żeby nas wpuścić) prędkiej pomyślałabym, że on się na niech buja, tak czy inaczej jego mama która stała jakieś 10 metrów dalej zaczęła krzyczeć na cały plac zabaw „say thank you” w ogóle nie miałam pojęcia, że to może być do mnie, ona jednak krzyczała coraz głośniejsze i robiła się coraz bardziej agresywna... Po tej sytuacji podeszła do mnie Polka, która słyszała całą sytuację i powiedziała mi, że Angielki często traktują polki dużo niżej od siebie...

Więcej miałam natomiast miłych sytuacji związanych z Brytyjczykami, np zaraz po przyjeździe zostaliśmy zaproszeni na obiad i wycieczkę przez nowo poznanego brytyjczyka.

7. Myślisz, że Brytyjczycy mają jakieś stereotypy czy przesady o Polakach? Jeżeli tak, jakie?

Myślę, że przez fakt, że tyle Polaków uciekło z Polski Brytyjczycy mogą myśleć o naszym kraju, że nie żyje się tam dobrze ale osobiście nie spotkałam się z niczym takim.

8. Czego z Polski ci w Brytanii najbardziej brakuje a czego przeciwnie wcale nie brakuje?

Najbardziej brakuje mi kultury na drodze... Często jeżeli przechodzę przez jezdnie na pasach gdzie nie ma sygnalizacji świetlnej i stoję z dzieckiem w deszczu po środku przejścia dla pieszych żaden samochód nie zatrzyma się żeby nas przepuścić, jest to tutaj normą... zdarza mi się tak stać często 5 minut... to jest dość irytujące... to samo jeżeli jedzie się samochodem i chce się np skręcić, żaden samochód nie zatrzyma się żeby nam to ułatwić... mam wrażenie, że na brytyjskich drogach panuje egoizm ;)

Brakuje mi pewnych rzeczy, np w niektórych dzielnicach Londynu sklepy są otwarte tylko do 18:00 co często jest problemem, bo jak ktoś kończy pracę o 18:00 to ma problem ze znalezieniem otwartego sklepu.

Appendix IX: Questionnaire of respondent no. 3

Author's translation of the questionnaire from Polish into English:

1. What have led you to move from Poland and why have you chosen the United Kingdom as a destination of your stay?

After finishing my Master degree and many years' work in a company without any opportunity of personal development for minimum wages which weren't high enough to earn living wage in a big city, my decision appeared to be the only chance of a normal and decent life. I have chosen the UK for language reasons and my friends who have already lived here.

2. How long have you already been in the United Kingdom? Are you satisfied there?

I have been living in the UK for almost 10 years. I have managed to settle down, get a job, husband and two kids☺. I am satisfied here because I am able to support my husband, two kids, and myself and to live maybe not luxuriously but decently. In Poland, I had problems to support even myself.

3. Do you plan to live in the United Kingdom permanently or just for a certain time and then come back home?

I have always dreamed of returning to Poland, and I will always dream of it, because of my roots, family who has stayed there. However, it is not possible at this moment because of economic and political situation. Poland isn't able to offer decent life to a family of four, decent work, and wages appropriate to education, work experience, knowledge, and skills.

4. There are a large numbers of articles and debates about foreigners in the United Kingdom; have you also heard anything about the Polish minority? If so, could you mention what in particular and state the source of the information (press, person from your surroundings, TV news, political debate, ...)?

Foreigners find their own place here. Poles at diverse age come here all the time; there are lots of Polish children born in the UK, even 20 thousand per year actually. Source: Internet, TV.

5. Do you read the British press? If so, which ones and what is your opinion of it? What do you think about information about Poles in this press?

Yes, I do; Daily Mail, Daily Telegraph, Metro, Evening Standard. The articles are predominantly friendly referring to Poles.

6. What are the attitudes of British people toward you as a Pole? Have you already experienced any troubles? If so, what was it? And would you like to mention anything about your good experience with British?

They treat me with a positive distance. They are rather open and friendly.

7. Do you think there are stereotypes or prejudice against Poles in the United Kingdom? If so, which ones?

The majority of people who live in the UK think that Poland is a poor dangerous country with political corruption and not suitable for living. These are the reasons for influx of Poles fleeing from their homeland. Poles find employment in service sectors: building industry, cleaning, etc.

8. What do you miss from Poland the most and what don't you miss at all?

From Poland, I miss my huge family at one table especially during the holiday seasons, white winter during Christmas, mountains, Mazury, and Polish sandy beaches☺ the most.

I don't miss pessimism that is typical of Poles (such as it was, it is, and it will be badly), being sad during too many holidays and particularly bureaucracy the most. I feel safe here.

Polish source text:

1. Co spowodowało, że się przeprowadziłaś z Polski i dlaczego właśnie do Brytanii?

Po obronie pracy magisterskiej i wieloletniej pracy w firmie bez możliwości rozwoju za minimalne zarobki, które nie wystarczały na utrzymanie w dużym mieście moja decyzja okazała się jedyną szansą na normalne i godne życie. Wielką Brytanie wybrałam ze względów językowych i przyjaciół, którzy już tutaj przebywali.

2. Jak długo już jesteś w Brytanii, jak ci się tu podoba?

Mieszkam w W. Brytanii już od prawie 10 lat i zdążyłam się zadomowić, dorobić pracy, męża i dwójki dzieci☺. Podoba mi się na tyle, że jestem w stanie utrzymać siebie, męża i dwójkę dzieci i żyć może nie luksusowo, ale godnie. W Polsce miałam problemy z utrzymaniem samej siebie.

3. Planujesz zostać w Brytanii na stałe czy tylko tymczasowo i potem wrócić do domu?

Marzenia powrotu do Polski zawsze były i będą ze względu na korzenie, rodzinę, która tam pozostała, ale na ten moment nie do zrealizowania ze względu na sytuację gospodarczo-polityczną. Polska nie jest w stanie zaaferować godnego życia rodzinie 4 osobowej, godnej pracy i zarobków adekwatnych do wykształcenia, doświadczenia zawodowego, wiedzy i umiejętności.

4. W Brytanii się mówi o cudzoziemcach, którzy tu żyją. Słyszałaś również coś o polskiej mniejszości? Jeżeli tak, mogła byś opisać co i z źródłem informacji (gazeta, osoba z twego otoczenia, wiadomości, dyskusja polityczna, ...)?

Cudzoziemcy odnajdują tu swoje miejsce. Cały czas przyjeżdżają tu Polacy w różnym wieku, rodzi się tu wiele polskich dzieci, nawet 20 tys. rocznie. Źródło: internet, tv.

5. Czytasz brytyjskie gazety? Jeżeli tak, które i co o nich sądzisz? Jakie masz zdanie na artykuły o Polakach opublikowanych w tych gazetach?

Tak; Daily Mail, Daily Telegraph, Metro, Evening Standard. Artykuły w większości są przyjazne Polakom.

6. Jak cię Brytyjczycy traktują jako Polkę. Spotkałaś się z jakimiś nieprzyjemnościami? Jeżeli tak, z jakimi? I chciała byś powiedzieć jakieś dobre doświadczenie z Brytyjczykami?

Traktują mnie z pozytywną rezerwą. Są raczej otwarci i życzliwi.

7. Myślisz, że Brytyjczycy mają jakieś stereotypy czy przesady o Polakach? Jeżeli tak, jakie?

Większość ludzi mieszkających w W. Brytanii sądzi, że Polska to biedny kraj, skorumpowany politycznie, niebezpieczny i nienadający się do normalnego życia stąd ten napływ Polaków uciekających ze swojego kraju.

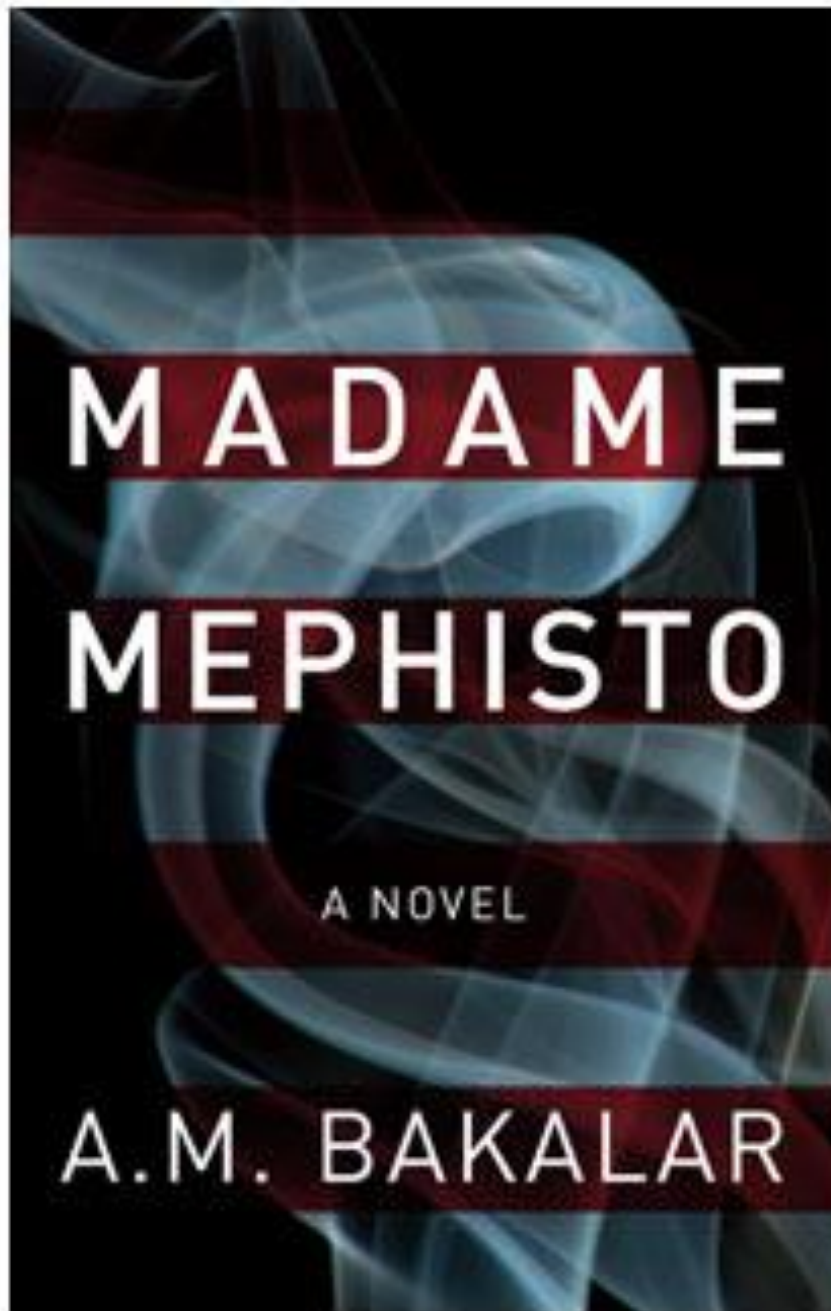
Polacy najlepiej sprawdzają się pracując w sektorach usług: budownictwo, sprzątanie itp.

8. Czego z Polski ci w Brytanii najbardziej brakuje a czego przeciwnie wcale nie brakuje?

Najbardziej brakuje mi z Polski ogromnego grona rodzinnego przy jednym stole szczególnie w okresie świątecznym, białej zimy w święta, gór, mazur i polskich piaszczystych nadmorskich plaż☺.

Najbardziej mi nie brakuje charakterystycznego dla Polaków pesymizmu typu (jak to było, jest i będzie źle). Zasmucania się podczas zbyt wielu świąt oraz przede wszystkim biurokracji. Czuję się tu bezpiecznie.

Appendix X: Madame Mephisto



The picture shows the cover of *Madame Mephisto*, book by Asia Monika Bakalar published in 2012. *Madame Mephisto* depicts Polish drug dealer called Magda selling cannabis in the UK. The author of the book has investigated an extensive research of cannabis, which enables her to delineate the trade trustworthily and in detail.