

BOGUSIA TEMPLE

University of Central Lancashire

## INFLUENCES ON INTEGRATION: EXPLORING POLISH PEOPLE'S VIEWS OF OTHER ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

### INTRODUCTION

Muir and Wetherell (2010) in their overview of research funded under the Economic and Social Research Council's (ESRC) Identities and Social Action programme<sup>1</sup> provide evidence that 'Britain does seem to have successfully re-imagined itself as a multicultural nation' and identify the emergence of 'a convivial culture':

*...in this convivial culture racial and ethnic differences have been rendered unremarkable...they have been able to become "ordinary". Instead of adding to the premium of race as political ontology and economic fate, people discover that the things which really divide them are much more profound: taste, lifestyle, leisure preferences (Gilroy 200639-40, cited in Muir and Wetherell, 2010).*

Similarly, Finney and Simpson (2009) have challenged some of the myths about migration into the UK and the argument that Britain is becoming a country of ghettos. Muir and Wetherell suggest that evidence from the ESRC programme indicates that in the cities there may be 'a self-fulfilling political dividend: an ordinary everyday anti-racism' whilst elsewhere there is unease about 'permissive' government immigration policies, perceptions of injustice in service provision and in the recognition of 'majority cultures' accompanied by the growth of the British National Party. It is therefore by no means certain that increased contact with people from different ethnic backgrounds has positive effects either on individuals or on the communities involved (see Hewstone et al, 2007 and Vertovec, 2007 for reviews of some of the theories used in this field). Vertovec (2007) summarises the lessons from the 'contact hypothesis' developed by social psychologists and argues that recent calls for interaction are knowingly or unknowingly based on

---

<sup>1</sup> See [www.identites.org.uk](http://www.identites.org.uk)

such theories. The contact hypothesis states that contact may promote positive attitudes under the right conditions as people get to know each other via processes of either: 'personalisation'; 'recategorization' of 'them' and 'us' as 'we' as a result of membership in a common category; and 'mutual differentiation' where interdependence is stressed. He suggests that public and voluntary bodies would enhance their effectiveness by clearly considering which process they are attempting to simulate (2007, p. 26).

However, the division between 'the majority' and 'others' is not the only significant dimension of migration that bears scrutiny. A recent Channel 4 documentary *Immigration: The Inconvenient Truth* highlights tensions between communities and conflicting judgements about who has the right to live in the UK. As Vertovec (2007, p. 5) has pointed out, immigrants often only meet, live in the same building with, socialise or work with other immigrants or people from other minority ethnic communities and there is a lack of research into these encounters in social science research or policy development. Inter-group relations have been shown to be dependent on the competition, or lack of it, for resources and services (Vertovec, 2007). Evidence presented to the Communities and Local Government Committee (2008) suggests tensions between settled Asian and Caribbean communities and new minorities around increasing competition for 'race equality' resources (House of Commons, 2008). Trevor Phillips, Chair of the Equality and Human Rights Commission has argued that the actual and potential conflict between new and old migrants has been neglected in national policy and debate on migration and cohesion (House of Commons, 2008). Rather than lauding integration and shared values, some commentators have identified underlying issues of power at stake, and the positive potential of debate and contestation' (Cheong et al, 2007, p. p39). They sum up their discussion of policies focused on social capital at the expense of social and economic inequality with an argument for the need for:

*...a shift from a preoccupation with social cohesion towards an understanding of the nature of connections between people with respect to inequalities, and acceptance of the importance of contestation in raising and rectifying them' (2007, p. 43).*

Migration from Poland since 2004 has raised the profile of Polish and other Eastern European communities in debates about migration and integration. The legitimacy of Polish migrants moving to the UK to take up jobs and benefits, the increasing pressure on services and the escalating costs of translation and interpretation have become matters for heated debate, including within Polish communities. In this article I discuss findings from an ESRC funded study into the role of language in the lives of Polish people (Temple, 2008). I focus on views about people from other ethnic communities and how these influenced integration.

## THE RESEARCH

The research I discuss in this article was carried out with 30 people who spoke Polish living in the Northwest of England<sup>2</sup>. A narrative approach was used, the particular variety of which is discussed in detail elsewhere (Temple, 2008b). The approach recognises the significance of the structure of people's narratives in interpreting findings. This is particularly relevant in cross language research where evaluation criteria for 'good' narratives may vary across languages (Blommaert, 2001). The sample was chosen to be as inclusive of different migration paths as possible, for example, people who had come as refugees after the Second World War were included as well as migrants who came for work before and after 2004. People were also selected from those who chose different ways of interacting with Polish speakers, including attendance at events put on by Polish community groups and those organised by the newer migrants at pubs and clubs around the area. The research was qualitative and exploratory and not intended to be statistically representative of the diversity of Polish communities or of migration.

Four participants in the research came to England as refugees after the Second World War, one came to marry in the 1960s, two were students, 14 had come to find work either before or since Poland joined the EU and nine had been born in England, one of whom was third generation. Sixteen were male and 14 female of varying ages, some belonged to Polish organisations and attended the Polish Catholic Church and some did not. Many migrants were highly mobile and had lived in a number of areas in England and some had moved between Poland and other European countries more than once. All but two participants from the second and third generation described themselves as professionals. It was more problematic to classify people who came over from Poland. Eleven out of 16 new arrivals were university graduates, all but four were now working in manual jobs. None of the three participants who were manual workers in Poland worked in the same trade in England.

Participants were given a choice of being interviewed in Polish or English and a topic guide was used to ensure all topics of interest would be covered. Each interview was transcribed or translated. I acknowledge the influence of both the PI and RA on the translation process in this article by using the appropriate initials after quotes to identify who did the transcription if the interview was in English or translation if it was in Polish<sup>3</sup>. All participants have been given pseudonyms.

---

<sup>2</sup> My thanks to the ESRC for funding this research. (Language and identity in the narratives of Polish people, RES-000-22-2187. I would also like to thank Katarzyna Koterba for her work on the research and the participants for their time and hospitality.

<sup>3</sup> These aspects of the research have been discussed elsewhere (Temple, 2008, 2008b and Temple and Koterba, 2009).

## DEFINING INTEGRATION

Unsurprisingly given that Polish diasporas are well established across the world and migrants have lived in different social contexts, there were no characteristics that were agreed as essential to being Polish. Moreover, although participants described themselves as Polish, this did not generally mean that they described themselves as exclusively so. Self ascriptions of identity changed during the course of interviews according to the context of the discussion, as the results below in relation to second generation Polish people show. Being Polish was seen as important for everyone in different ways, even though the significance of Polish identity varied. All participants acknowledged the significance of the Polish language. Views of people from other communities and integration featured as part of the interviews and form the focus of this article. I illustrate below that who is defined as being Polish varies as does what constitutes community. Debates over integration and ‘others’ concerned solely with migrants and non-migrants overlook significant dimensions of integration: inter-community divisions and relationships between different ethnic communities.

Integration was defined by participants in the research in various ways. They used the term to apply to both individuals and communities and described it in terms of interactions with others in different spheres of their lives. However, as I discuss below, their discussion was not just around migrants and non-migrants but extended to differences between migrant cohorts within Polish communities and to contact with other communities which included migrants from other parts of the world. Focusing on social networks and work contacts, participants recognised that integration involved more than one aspect of their lives and that they could integrate, for example, at work without wanting to do so socially. Social networks ranged from those made up of other Polish speakers only to those that were intentionally set up to include both English and Polish people. Elsewhere I have discussed the influences on networks and suggested that the kinds of networks people took part in were influenced by a variety of factors, including English language proficiency, likelihood of returning to Poland to live and views about other communities in England (Temple, 2010). Here I focus on who they included in discussions about integration.

The different kinds of social activities set up by younger migrants undoubtedly affected the social contacts they made (see below)<sup>1</sup>. Visiting pubs and clubs opened up possibilities for meeting people from different ethnic communities. Garapich (2008) has also documented the significant part played by the media and ‘the migration industry’ in integration. He defines this as ‘a set of specialised social actors and commercial institutions that profit directly not only from human mobility but also from effective adaptation into the new environment’ (2008, p.

---

<sup>1</sup> The different kinds of social networks used by Polish people are discussed by Ryan et al (2008)

736). He gives examples including immigration advisors, money sending outlets, the ethnic food economy and recruitment agencies. Garapich's research suggests that 'the migration industry is set to destabilise this political view of immigration which still regards states and governments as the driving forces of international migration and the main actors in incorporating large populations of migrants. (2008, p. 739). The growth of the migration industry has had another significant effect in that Polish migrants are less reliant on the established Polish diaspora for services such as translation and for access to jobs. The gate-keeping roles of community organisations in a variety of ethnic communities, including Polish, have been documented (see for example, Alexander et al, 2004). Alexander et al (2004) have found evidence of, for example, the denial of help to people not considered deserving, such as Polish Roma, before 2004. Recent migrants have more choice outside of established diaspora organisations, even if their English is not sufficient to work with English speakers. However, influences on the formation of those networks are complex, as I discuss below.

#### MAKING UP YOUR MIND

All participants felt that they were integrating with people from other communities by mixing with them in everyday life, for example on the bus or in shops. They recognised that they were integrating through their daily activities, whether they wanted to or not. Jacek Żuromski, 28, came over from Poland in about 2003 and lived with his wife, child and friends in rented accommodation. He worked as a builder and explained that he knew that the longer he stayed the more ties he made here:

*And I explain it sometimes to myself like this. Every time I buy something here [uses kolejny – which means successive – gives picture of mounting pressure], every penny that I invest here is like a nail in my coffin [he means here that it makes it more difficult for him to decide where to set up a permanent home] [translated jointly by BT and KK].*

Some people in the research were content with a level of English that was enough for getting by (see also Rutter et al, 2008) and argued that they were integrating sufficiently through these fleeting encounters. However, some wanted to mix as widely as possible with people from a range of backgrounds. For example, Marta Sacha described the need to mix, otherwise Polish people would create 'something that you can create with Pakistani people. They create their own ghettos. It is like a country in a country' (translated by KK). Younger migrants who had come to England to find work were more willing to integrate in a way that involved them in activities with others and the more recent migrants were

more likely to choose to mix with people from other communities than the older arrivals who came after the Second World War.

Participants agreed that integration was necessary for people to live together but there were differences in the extent to which they were prepared to interact with others. Vertovec (2007, p. 4) has developed the notion of ‘civil-integration’ as a way of pointing to the importance of everyday interactions and civility for relationships between people. He defines this as:

*...the acquisition and routinization of everyday practices for getting on with others in the inherently fleeting encounters that comprise city life. These include simple forms of acknowledgement, acts of restricted helpfulness, types of personal consideration, courtesies, and ‘indifference to diversity’. Recognizing these modes of integration may help the wider public and policy makers to better realise that (a) lack of ‘deep, meaningful, sustained’ relations is not necessarily an indicator of the lack of social cohesion, and (b) by way of these civil practices, immigrants may be better integrated than often thought. Such kinds of civility can be learned and promoted alongside the calls for more meaningful and sustained inter-group relations.*

He asks a question that is significant for this research: can ‘less-than-meaningful’ interchanges have impacts on cohesion between groups? Drawing on sociological and social psychological research, he points out that most encounters in cities are fleeting and that whilst promoting sustained encounters, we must also foster positive relations ‘amid the fleeting and superficial kinds of contact that are the daily stuff of urban existence’ (2007, p. 29). As discussed above, participants in the research recognised that they were integrating over time through daily interactions, even if they did not take part in community activities designed by ‘representatives’ of ethnic communities. However, the research points to the unpredictable nature of daily interactions and their effects, not necessarily leading to conviviality (Muir and Wetherell, 2010) in the cities or to civil integration. For example, Jacek Zuromski discussed above had come to England wanting to take advantage of the opportunities to integrate at work and socially. After experiencing racist attacks, he ‘went in another direction’ and now restricted his desire to integrate to the fleeting experiences discussed by Vertovec. He felt that he was integrating with people, for example, on the bus. These fleeting exchanges were not positive small steps towards people from other ethnic communities but rather unavoidable exchanges that could be threatening as well as productive.

The extent of participation in social life with people from other communities was influenced by participants’ views about the lifestyles and values of people from other communities. Those with strong beliefs about the significance of their

Polish ethnicity were least likely to want to mix with people from other ethnicities. Those who looked favourably on the values and beliefs of others were more likely to want to integrate socially in a sustained way, whilst those who viewed other communities less favourably had decided that a minimal level of contact was sufficient, as in the example of Jacek discussed above. Views about other people's values and lifestyles were built up through the everyday interactions they had with others and they expressed them in relation to three main groups: English, Pakistani and Polish people living in England. However, there is no way of knowing if the people they were categorising as belonging to these groups would have described themselves as from these communities. For example, the term 'Pakistani' appeared to be based on skin colour rather than knowledge of the background that people came from. For all three groups there were negative and positive comments.

Only a minority (three recent migrants) commented on the advantages of multiculturalism. One young migrant referred to herself as a European citizen and valued the experiences she could have in England with people from other communities. Most participants felt that they had been well received in England and that Polish people were generally respected by others. They acknowledged the positive aspects of an English lifestyle, including opportunities to live more comfortably than in Poland, especially in retirement. However, eleven people mentioned some experience of racism ranging from physical attacks to calls to go back to Poland and five people made negative comments about English people. Krzysztof Biel explained that 'I know that some English people hate Polish people and here if you are Polish it means you are cheap labour'" (translated by KK). He went on to say:

*I don't like about the English people that they feel like lords of the world! It doesn't matter they had colonies. They brought Blacks, Pakistanis! And what do they have now? They don't work here. They live here on benefits"* (translated by KK).

He felt that: 'there is all the time shagging [English word used here]' and many participants agreed that English and Polish people had different values and life styles. Krzysztof Biel stated that he didn't make any effort to integrate because of his views about English values. He described how his conversations with English speakers were about 'trivia' and how he was not interested in football and TV, things that his English work colleagues focused on. Tomasz Salomon also felt integration involved sharing a system of values he did not support. The differences were mainly around family values and especially with reference to leisure time spent drinking. Concerns about safety in the evenings were voiced, with descriptions of drunken behaviour in the city and anti-social behaviour on the

streets. Some migrants expressed negative views about ‘Pakistanis’, mentioning problems at school for their children between young Pakistani children and Polish children and incidents of verbal abuse by Pakistani teenagers. The quote from Biel above illustrates the tone of these comments.

However, descriptions of ‘others’ who were seen to have questionable values and lifestyles were not limited to other migrant communities or to English people. It was generally recognised that there were different Polish communities rather than a single undifferentiated group, with sometimes overlapping and sometimes exclusive social activities and networks. Participants were as concerned in the interviews about how the more recent migrants who had come to England to work were integrating with the established diaspora as with how Polish people were integrating with other migrant or long established communities. Recent migrants from Poland did not tend to regularly use facilities organised by the older Polonia<sup>2</sup>, except for some events such as Polish dances which were popular and attendance at the church. Lack of time, the absence of any perceived need to attend church or to be a member of a Polish organisation and tensions between migrant groups were reasons given for not taking part in such activities. However, the Polish Church was viewed as somewhere that people far from home could hear Polish spoken, even if attendance was not every week. Eight participants saw attendance at church more in terms of social interaction than fundamentally about beliefs. For example, Magda Poznanska, a student from Poland, described herself as ‘a practicing non-believer’ (*praktykujący niewierzący*) and felt that the Polish Catholic Church was different from the English Catholic Church because it was ‘a Polish place’ and ‘maybe it is simply that people are missing something...their own language’ (translation by BT). However, Daniel Grass and his partner Bożena Stanczyk described how the links between Catholicism and Polishness led to social pressures to go to church, get married and have children – none of which they wanted to do. They felt it was easier in England to be more anonymous and to get out from under ‘the Polish yoke’ (Stanczyk):

*I think that we have pulled ourselves out of the Polish erm...actually the Polish yoke...the fact that we are in England helps us to be anonymous (Translated by KK).*

*Myślę, że wyrwaliśmy się spod ... spod takiego polskiego jarzma właściwie ... spod takiej presji społecznej. To, że jesteśmy w Anglii pomaga nam w tej anonimowości.*

Tensions between sections of the community meant activities organised by community groups sometimes worked to signal difference rather than to strengthen links between Polish people. Jan Majczak, born in England, described how:

---

<sup>2</sup> I have discussed the problematic notion of an undifferentiated Polish diaspora, community or Polonia in previous research and refer the reader to a fuller discussion of these issues in my previous work, for example, in relation to gender in Temple (1999).

*The new people that have arrived from Poland all sat chatting together and there was us lot that had been born here sat in another corner chatting together and there's a kind of...we're of the same community but we're not [Transcribed by BT].*

The Polish Club and Church as well as the Saturday School are organisations predominantly set up to foster a 'Polish' way of life. The activities organised outside of the confines of the Social Club tend to be representations of this Polish life to others, for example, in displays of Polish dance and/or occasions for showing the skills of Polish people in competition with others, for example, in football games. The newer migrants bring challenges to this established view of a 'Polish way of life' as, although they appreciate some of the activities on offer, they are more willing to take part in social activities that are not necessarily based on ethnicity, particularly more traditional views of appropriate activities.

Second generation Polish speakers described the 'avalanche' of recent migrants that had brought the end of an era. Edmund Lesniak, who was born in England, described how the recent migrants brought their problems with them. Tensions at Polish Saturday School were discussed. Recent migrants were seen to be different in their values and more like English people. Divisions within Polish communities around 'proper' Polish values and identity are not new (Temple 1999, 2001) and have continued since 2004 (Temple, 2010; Garapich, 2007). The numbers of migrants post 2004 has meant that 'alternative' Polish organisations such as Saturday Schools and organised social activities can be set up and activities that older Polish people may define as 'not Polish', such as Polish nights in pubs which women attend, become the sites of celebrating the diverse ways in which migrants can knit 'English' with 'Polish' ways of relaxing.

#### DIFFERENTIATING INTEGRATION

Scholars have long warned about the dangers of assuming undifferentiated ethnic communities. In his review of transnationalism and integration, Vertovec (2007, p. 20) points to the value of the American literature on 'segmented assimilation theory'. The term integration is preferred in research in Britain but the points made concerning assimilation are valuable. Vertovec argues that it emphasises 'that a linear process based on White, middle class norms is not the only measuring stick for integration'. Assimilation approaches describe possible paths for socio-economic mobility: upwards into White, middle class society, downwards into the broadly excluded or low income working class, or into an ethnic or racialised community characterized by its own economic and cultural patterns. Participants in the research discussed in this article undoubtedly aimed

at the first or third of these paths. The first route involved taking up education opportunities and the latter meant taking advantage of the increased need for goods and services for Polish speakers.

The influence of class noted by Vertovec was seen as significant by many participants, with integration being discussed in terms of the desire of integrating only with particular kinds of people in England, whether migrants or members of other ethnicities. They did not want to live and work as part of the low income working class whose values they saw as questionable<sup>4</sup>. Benjamin Kwasniak, a recent migrant, suggested that he would integrate only with people of 'high culture'. Participants in effect asked themselves: integrating with whom?

Language was discussed as key to the kind of integration possible. The level of English spoken was seen as important in allowing people to mix with the class of people they felt comfortable with. However, language could also serve to stress difference rather than act to bridge the gap between different language speakers. Some participants felt that they would never be able to use the lexicon of professionals or have the knowledge of the English context to be accepted by English people who were highly educated. They highlighted the limits of their existing networks in improving their circumstances. Daniel Grass, for example, commented on the cultural gap he experienced between English and Polish that was evident in talk:

*But when we talk to English people we talk about, excuse my language, about not important things (o 'dupie Maryny' literally Mary's ass, slang word for unimportant things, translated by KK).*

This class related aspect of integration is often neglected in accounts of integration that focus solely on ethnicity. Views about other communities were made on the basis of everyday interactions and in particular participants discussed what they had seen in evenings out in the city relating examples of drunkenness and inappropriate behaviour by women. These were labelled as 'English' and as class based behaviour that the 'the right kind' of people would not take part in. Skeggs (2002) argues that defining what is 'respectable' involves judgements about class, race, gender and sexuality and that different groups have differential access to the mechanisms for generating, resisting and displaying respectability.

Debates about integration have pointed to different expectations about what activities and lifestyles are appropriate and 'respectable' for women. Gender

---

<sup>4</sup> Participants assumed that anti-social behaviour was a working class phenomenon despite reports in the media that some were teenagers from middle class backgrounds or professionals on a night out after work.

within Polish communities has been discussed by researchers (for example, Ryan and Webster, 2008) and the intersections of gender, class and ethnicity, as well as other social characteristics work together to produce different possibilities and constraints on people's lives (Anthias, 2006). Many researchers have shown that women play a significant role in the reproduction of nationality and ethnicity (for example, Yuval Davis, 1997). The gendered aspect of being Polish in the research discussed here was evident in accounts of how traditions, and language, were practiced and passed on. Krzysztof Biel, who arrived nearly two years ago and lived with his girlfriend, discussed the importance of Polish food and joked how he couldn't cook 'because he had a girlfriend to do this' (translated by KK). Artur Kisielewski who was born in England and was in his late 40s had married an English woman and said 'she bred them' when discussing the decision not to bring up his children following Polish traditions. When talking about women who do bring up children in Polish traditions he commented that 'It shows you the character of the mum' [Transcribed by KK]. Being a mother was therefore linked to, and judged by, the ways in which women took on the traditional roles of preparing meals and taking responsibility for their children's upbringing.

Even when passing on 'Polishness' was seen as a shared task the division of labour tended to be stereotypical. Often, as participants pointed out, this was because the division of work within families they had grown up in was structured in a gendered way, with the father going out to work and mother staying at home to look after the children. For example, Marta Sacha said her mother taught her as a woman', for example, taking care of something, smiling and her father taught her how to do a job 'without anybody's opinion' (translated by KK):

*My dad made an idea how it should look [Polish festivals] and then my mum was the one who showed me how to create it...he said it should be cooked this way...I think that's again like a mixture, he has ideas and my mum is a person to do that.*

However, women did not always accept responsibility for bringing up children as Polish. Moreover, it cannot be assumed that accepting these responsibilities made women powerless. Some women spoke with pride of their work in educating their children in Polish ways and others just did not accept their roles. The example of Artur Kisielewski given above is a useful reminder of the complexities of investigating gender. His wife was English and had decided they should speak English as she did not like Polish traditions. She did not accept she was responsible for her children learning their father's culture, even though it is clear from his statements that he took that view. There were, therefore, counter-narratives. Another interesting example is that of Anna Lechowicz who was born in Poland and was separated from her Muslim husband and felt it was not up to her to pass on her husband's traditions. She did see herself as responsible for passing

on Polish language and traditions and felt that her husband had the chance to pass on his traditions but ‘he didn’t use the chance’ (translated by KK).

Views about how ‘respectable’ Polish men and women lived influenced who they mixed with and how they behaved. Men and women were assigned different routes for integrating, if they chose to take these. Choosing an unacceptable route, such as socialising in pubs and clubs for women, not getting married or going to church regularly led to charges that they had taken on more English lifestyles.

## DISCUSSION

The research discussed in this article points to the complexity of factors that influence integration and contact with ethnic ‘others’. It is small scale and exploratory but nonetheless serves to question the suitability of government policies based on assumptions that migrants will stay in one country.

None of the comments in this article should be taken to suggest that there are ‘Polish’ or ‘English’ values. Indeed, the findings question such a sealed view of ethnicity. Participants recognised that definitions of ethnicity were context specific. However, they continued to make assumptions about the ways in which people from different ethnic groups lived and their values from their daily encounters. There is some evidence of the ‘conviviality’ that Muir and Wetherell (2010) point to, and of the appreciation of the diverse ways of living that are possible in England. However, some participants had experiences of encounters that they found threatening, both in respect of social occasions and at work. Although the everyday practices referred to by Vertovec (2007) as ways of integrating are recognised by many participants, for some they were tinged with resentment and racism, on both sides. Moreover, these everyday practices are influenced by the wider social, political and economic context in which debates about increasing numbers of migrants have begun to influence everyday experiences and challenge migrants’ rights to access services and scarce resources. Integration was not just seen in terms of instrumental choices about who to mix with. It involved an examination of what was acceptable in living with others. This involved an emotional willingness or, lack of it, to accept different ways of experiencing being Polish and living in England.

The research discussed in this article suggests that the results of increasing contact with people considered as ‘other’ in terms of ethnicity are influenced by a variety of factors, including whether everyday contacts are convivial but also whether, given that movement between EU countries is now easier, staying in England is likely to be long term. Views about people from ethnic communities are not formed in a vacuum and further research is needed on the best ways of countering some of the negative perceptions of Polish people as well as those held

by Polish people. There is also a need for research that examines the interplay of factors that influence the nature of integration, including the changing pattern of migration, economic context and attitudes and experiences of people from other ethnic communities. In particular, research that addresses the factors which influence the outcome of contact with 'others' is needed which examines integration in terms of more than a one dimensional issue of ethnicity and explores whether and how 'them' and 'us' becomes 'we'.

## REFERENCES

- Alexander, C., Edwards, R. and Temple, B. (2004) *Access to Services with Interpreters: User Views*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Anthias, F. (2006) 'Belongings in a Globalising and Unequal World: Rethinking Translocations', in N. Yuval-Davis, K. Sannabiran and U. Vieten (eds) *The Situated Politics of Belonging*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 17-31.
- Blommaert, J. (2001) Investigating narrative inequality: African asylum seekers' stories in Belgium. *Discourse & Society*, 12(4), pp. 413-449.
- Cheong, P., Edwards, R., Goulbourne, H. and Solomos, J. (2007) Immigration, social cohesion and social capital: A critical review. *Critical Social Policy* 27(1), p. 24-49.
- Finney, N. and Simpson, L. (2009). *'Sleepwalking to segregation'? Challenging myths about race and migration*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Garapich M. (2008) 'Odyssean Refugees, Migrants and Power: Construction of the "Other" within the Polish community in the United Kingdom', [in] Deborah Reed-Danahay and Caroline Bretell (eds.), *Citizenship, Political Engagement and Belonging: Immigrants in Europe and the United States*. New Brunswick, New Jersey, London: Rutgers University Press, pp.124-144.
- Garapich, M. (2008) The Migration Industry and Civil Society: Polish Immigrants in the United Kingdom Before and After EU Enlargement. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 34(5), pp. 735-752.
- Hewstone, M., Tausch, N., Hughes, J. and Cairns, E. (2007) Prejudice, Intergroup Contact and Identity: Do Neighbourhoods Matter? In (eds.) M. Wetherell, M. Laffleche and R. Berkeley, *Identity, Ethnicity and Community Cohesion*, London: Sage, pp. 102-112.
- House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee (2008) Community Cohesion and Migration, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200708/cmselect/cmcomloc/369/369i.pdf>
- Muir, R. and Wetherell, M. (2010) *Identity, Politics and Public Policy*, Institute for Public Policy Research, [www.ippr.org.uk](http://www.ippr.org.uk)
- Rutter J., Latorre, M. and Sriskandarajah, D. (2008) Beyond Naturalisation: Citizenship policy in an age of super mobility: A research report for the Lord Goldsmith Citizenship Review. <http://www.justice.gov.uk/reviews/research.htm>.
- Ryan, L., Sales, R., Tilki, M. and Siara, S. (2008) Social Networks, Social Support and Social Capital: The Experiences of Recent Polish Migrants in London'. *Sociology*, 42(4), pp. 672-690.
- Ryan, L. and Webster, W. (eds.) (2008) *Gendering Migration*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Skeggs, B. (2002) *Formations of class and gender: becoming respectable*. London: Sage.
- Temple B. (1999) Diaspora, diaspora space and Polish women. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 22(1), p. 17-24.

- Temple B. (2001) Polish families: a narrative approach. *Journal of Family Issues* 22(3), pp. 386-399.
- Temple, B. (2008) Language and identity in the narratives of Polish people, ESRC End of Award Report RES-000-22-2187 [www.http://esrcsocietytoday.ac.uk](http://esrcsocietytoday.ac.uk)
- Temple, B. (2008b) Narrative Analysis of Written Texts: Reflexivity in Cross Language Research. Special Issue on Narrative Analysis, *Qualitative Research* 8(3), pp. 355-365.
- Temple, B. (2010) Feeling special: Language in the lives of Polish people. *The Sociological Review*, 58(2), pp. 286-304.
- Temple, B. & Koterba, K. (2009) The same but different: Researching language and culture in the lives of Polish People in England. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 10(1), Art.31, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0901319>.
- Vertovec, S. (2007) New Complexities of Cohesion in Britain: Super-/diversity, Transnationalism and Civil-Integration. Report for Commission on Integration and Cohesion. Retrieved from <http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk> 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2010.
- Yuval Davis, N. (1997) *Gender and Nation*. London: Sage.