INTRODUCTION

There are growing numbers of psychological research publications concerned with the contemporary migratory processes taking place in Europe. Many of them refer to migratory flows between Poland and EU countries (Grzymała-Moszczyńska, Kwiatkowska, Roszak 2010; Slany, Kontos, Liapi 2010). As a result of encounters between representatives of different countries, acculturation processes are visible and open to inspection. One of the major destinations for a large number of Polish immigrants is Great Britain, historically a Protestant country though now highly secularized. Between 2004 and the end of 2006 probably at least half a million Poles made their way to Britain in search of employment. Their effect on the job market has been considerable, particularly in the service industries Burrel, 2009). The impact of Polish immigrants on the British religious milieu has been even more remarkable. Almost without exception the incoming Poles are Roman Catholics. Poland has one of the highest levels of religious practice in Europe (Dubach, 2009), hence very many of the immigrants, after settling down in the new country, start to search for Catholic parishes where they can participate in the local religious life. The effects of such a large group of incomers joining approximately a million British Catholics at Sunday Mass are bound to be manifold. Psychology of religion, especially based on cultural psychology can provide an interesting insight into the process (Grzymała-Moszczyńska, 2010). Any psychological approach based only on the perspective of one cultural group participating in cultural encounter might be less satisfactory (Henrich, Heine,Norenzayan, 2010).

The goal of this paper is to present features of the dynamic of the cultural encounter that is taking place between Polish migrants in the UK and the local population, within a particular context, namely that of the Roman Catholic Church. The major emphasis in the paper is placed is on analyzing mechanisms and processes of acculturation from divergent perspectives provided by both
groups involved in the process. As the theoretical background of the process The Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, Senecal 1997) will be employed. The model makes predictions concerning outcomes of interactions taking place during cultural encounter between immigrants and members of the host community. The model includes 3 different aspects of the process: “(1) acculturation orientations adopted by immigrant groups in the host community; (2) acculturation orientations adopted by the host community toward specific groups of immigrants; (3) interpersonal and intergroup relational outcomes that are the product of combinations of immigrant and host community acculturation orientations”. (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, Senecal 1997: 379).

There are four acculturation strategies which can be adopted by an incoming immigrant group. The choice of particular strategy can be analyzed on both individual and group levels. These strategies evolve as a result of answers to the two questions posed by immigrants vis a vis the host population. The first question pertains to the value of preserving one’s own cultural characteristics and identity while arriving in new country and the second question refers to the desirability of maintaining relationships with the host population.

As a response to these questions the following acculturation strategies have been specified: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, Bujaki, 1989). An integration strategy implies that immigrants retain values and behavioural codes rooted in their own cultural background while adopting simultaneously values and behaviours of the host community. Sometimes it is described as an additive acculturation strategy (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Rodriguez, Wang, 2007). Researchers and policy makers extol this strategy as the most valuable one. Later in the paper we’ll point to some problems with this model that are sometimes overlooked. Assimilation strategy usually gets presented as the opposite of integration. It refers to the adoption of the receiving culture while discarding the heritage culture. Sometimes it is called a subtractive acculturation strategy (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Rodriguez, Wang, 2007). Separation indicates the retention of the heritage culture whilst resisting the receiving culture. Marginalization refers to the situation where there is neither retention of the heritage culture nor adoption of the receiving culture. This mode has subsequently been divided into anomie – experienced cultural alienation from both cultures and individualism – and chosen identity (professional, gender, social role) independent of membership in either of the two cultures- immigrant or host. Members of the host society also endorse specific acculturation strategies towards immigrants. The strategies originate from answers to the following questions: “ (1) Do you find it acceptable that immigrants maintain their cultural heritage? (2) Do you accept that immigrants adopt the culture of your host community?” (Bourhis,Moise, Perreault, Senecal 1997, p. 380). The strategies of
the members of the host majority partly overlap the strategies described in relation to immigrant communities (integration, assimilation and individualism), but some of them appear only on the part of host community i.e. segregation, when the host population wishes immigrants to stay in their own enclave, maintaining their heritage culture and not mixing with the dominant society. Another strategy is that of exclusion, when the host society wishes that an already present immigrant group will be deported to the country of origin and new immigrants from this group will not be admitted.

Both sets of acculturation strategies presented by the hosts and their guests form an interactive network which eventually leads towards relational outcomes when representatives of both groups come into contact. While applying the Interactive Acculturation Model to the situation of Poles in UK, one needs to analyze the acculturation orientations adopted by Polish immigrants in the UK, the acculturation orientations of British Catholics towards Polish immigrants and the relational outcome of the orientations of both groups within the context of a parish.

In the British context there are different types of parishes in which Poles participate (Grzymała-Moszczyńska, Krotofil 2010). At one end of the spectrum there are parishes functioning under the jurisdiction of the Polish Catholic Mission. They are often called “Polish churches”. The parishioners consist exclusively of Poles and they are not interested in making any kind of bond with Catholics from the receiving country. All services are conducted in the Polish language, and issues of Polish ethnic identity are of paramount importance in the life of the parish.

The opposite standpoint is represented by the few parishes which belong to the local British Catholic Church structure and do not cooperate directly (if at all) with the Polish Catholic Mission. Polish priests in such communities serve whole parish community, not only Polish parishioners. The emphasis is put on the universalistic nature of the Catholic Church and on the multicultural richness of the parish. Culturally specific forms of religious expression are welcomed but they are treated as something additional to commonly shared parish activities. All parishioners are encouraged to attend mass together and to work together towards common goals. They are parishes which allow for real interactions between hosts and guests. Thus, these parishes provide opportunities for collaboration between British parishioners (of non-Polish origin) and Polish parishioners who immigrated to the UK. Between these two extremes of the spectrum lie most commonly those parishes with a Polish contingent. They might be called divided mixed parishes. They belong to the local dioceses of the Catholic Church where relatively numerous Polish immigrants gather and where Polish mass has been introduced. The Polish community in the parish exists parallel to the rest of the British parishioners and the Polish priests mainly direct their activities towards
Polish members of the parish. The second and the third type of parishes represent the most interesting cases for analysis of the acculturation dynamic of Polish migrants in the UK.

METHODOLOGY

The field research to be described was conducted between November 2008 and June 2009. A sample of parishes was drawn from the dioceses of Westminster and Nottingham in England and Aberdeen in Scotland on the criterion that they have a significant number of Polish immigrants as parishioners. The dioceses were chosen for the fieldwork because they are amongst those with the highest numbers of Polish migrants settling in. The three dioceses are very different from each other, which potentially gives a good basis for comparison and gives a better understanding of the role of contextual factors mentioned above. The research concentrated on parishes where the presence of substantial numbers of Polish migrants in the area where, apart from Sunday Masses in English, Mass in Polish was celebrated on a regular basis. In each of these parishes it was deemed possible, in principle, to establish a potential base of mutual contacts between Polish Catholics and others. We say ‘others’, because more often than not, a proportion of their fellow parishioners were from very diverse cultural and national backgrounds other than from the UK. The research aimed to bring a degree of subtlety to the task of bridging the gap between distinctly different cultural situations, Polish and British, in which nevertheless the Roman Catholic religious tradition forms a common bond.

METHODS AND RESEARCH SAMPLE

The study used a variety of methods to collect data. These included structured interviews, participant observation and the use of the internet as an important communicative resource. Major attention was given to interviews with: Polish clergy in Britain, British clergy in parishes where Poles were quite numerous, British members of parishes with a significant contingent of Poles, Polish parishioners served by Polish priests in the new cultural context, Polish hierarchy representatives (bishops and religious superiors) responsible for designating Polish priests to work abroad and preparing them to do so, and members of the British hierarchies who were in some formal relationship with the issues being examined. In total, interviews were carried out with 15 key members of Polish and English clergy involved in the pastoral care of immigrants. Among them were Polish priests working in selected parishes, non-Polish parish priests working in hosting parishes, and representatives of Polish hierarchy and educational institutions (
seminaries, universities, postgraduate courses) responsible for areas pertaining to the missionary chaplaincy. Lay Catholics participating in the research formed following categories: Polish Catholics attending Sunday Masses in the Polish language and Non-Polish parishioners belonging to the host parishes. In total there were 41 interviews with Polish respondents, 19 with English, and 8 with Scottish respondents.

RESEARCH RESULTS

Detailed analysis of the research results (Grzymała-Moszczyńska, Hay 2009) clearly points to the fact that the Polish priest becomes a key person for understanding the dynamics of acculturation process of both groups: immigrants and host population. In spite of a structurally suitable context for the integration of Poles as newcomers into British parishes, quite different situation prevailed. A potentially suitable platform – the Roman Catholic parish became more like a place of division than a creator of community. In order to understand the phenomenon, several different perspectives on the priest’s role in UK parishes need to be considered: the priest’s own perception of the situation, the perspective of British parishioners and fellow-UK priests, and the perspective of Polish parishioners, as well as the perspectives of the Church hierarchies of the United Kingdom and of Poland. Interviews with Polish clergy show that some of the priests volunteer to come to the UK while others were approached by Polish bishops who were looking for candidates interested in going to UK in order to serve Polish migrants. None of the priests got any sort of preparation prior to accepting the new assignment. Not surprisingly, they arrived in the UK without the necessary skills for the job and with mistaken expectations of what was required of them. The result was that some priests failed to fulfill their role adequately. The main problems related to their lack of command of the English language and the fact that they were unprepared for the task of serving the whole congregation, not just Poles. Some Polish priests actually arrived with the idea that their work in the UK parish would be restricted to the Polish part of the congregation. They expected to pick up good English language skills in their spare time. Some also expected to write a Ph.D. dissertation because of their close proximity to excellent British libraries. Such expectations were heavily frustrated. When these clergy were confronted with a demand to serve the whole congregation, their lack of language fluency meant that they could neither communicate with British parishioners nor cooperate properly with British priests. They were also effectively cut off from possibility of getting into the informal diocesans priests’ network during monthly or term meetings organized by local bishops. Due to linguistic problems, Polish priests self-exclude themselves from this valuable support group. Such a network would
have a vital role for exchanging information and establishing working relations with fellow-British priests. Furthermore, work in several locations, some of them many miles apart, filled many priests’ time and eliminated any chance to pursue their academic interests.

Results obtained during interviews conducted with professors from educational institutions preparing Polish priests and laity for the missions further confirmed that no preparation for working with Polish migrants exists, with the one exception of the preparation in seminary of a monastic order designated to work among Polish migrants abroad. Any preparations available on a broader scale are connected with missions ad gentes, (e.g. in Oceania, Africa or Asia). Work in other European countries does not get included in the teaching program because it is assumed that this is not necessary. As the results of this research will show, that assumption is mistaken. The awareness of such a necessity was presented by the Polish Bishops. In the rapidly changing conditions of contemporary Europe, the bishops’ collective view was that priests must be prepared for working in multicultural contexts, (and, one bishop remarked, prepared for the stress of returning home after a spell away from Poland). But whilst the Almost in the same breath they confirmed that such preparation does not as yet exist anywhere. For Polish parishioners, perception of priests have been closely connected to the role of Polish Mass. A very important reason for going to a Polish Mass and sticking to it is to meet and to be served by Polish priests. There are two main reasons given for choosing to attend a Polish Mass rather than a British Mass: Linguistic and cultural. The linguistic reason is to do with the ability to understand the readings and prayers during a Mass in English. Opinions like the following illustrate this point "During a Polish Mass one really participates, not just sits”, “Sacraments must be in Polish otherwise they have no depth””, “It is important that confession can be taken in Polish.” “It is simply different to pray in one’s mother tongue” “During British Masses you have to respond in English, and even if you know English from learning it in school, you still do not know how to respond”, “British priests don’t speak clearly enough for foreigners”, “The Pater Noster is simply a very different prayer in Polish and in English”, “Many Poles cannot repeat the simplest phrase in English, even ‘Peace be with you’ - they do not know English at all”, “British priests don’t speak clearly enough for foreigners”.

Cultural reasons are multi-faceted. Mainly they have to do with re-creating a feeling of being at home and being a member of one’s own national community. “During a Polish Mass we feel at home”, “For Poles the Mass represents not only the religious community but the national community as well. It is a role which cannot be fulfilled just by meeting friends at home” “Attending a Polish Mass helps to build spiritual ambitions – I am here not only to work. I have also my spiritual needs”, “After a Polish Mass one can help other Poles” (e.g. English
speaking students translate documents into English for others who do not speak the language), “In England people feel lost everywhere in their jobs. In the English language they are operating in a totally foreign environment. Therefore in the church they want to feel at home at least for a while”,”The Polish Mass gives people strength, gives a sense of belonging and it is a piece of Polish culture. Amongst people with the same mentality, people could be just themselves”, “My identity as a Pole is connected with my identity as Catholic”, “It is simply different to pray in one’s mother tongue”, “During British Masses you have to respond in English, and even if you know English from learning it in school, you still do not know how to respond”.

Among cultural reasons for choosing a Polish Mass rather than a British Mass one should also specify the range of acceptable behavior of Mass participants. UK congregations are perceived by Poles as treating the Mass with much less respect, beginning with casual dress codes, through very noisy behaviour by children, who are unrestrained by their parents during Mass, and also meetings after Mass – because for Poles the Mass is not a place to socialize. Such meetings feel like an imposition because there are no common topics of interest to share with the British. It is interesting to discover that the attempts by some members of the Polish community to get absorbed into the English language context are met with ridicule and disdain by their fellow Poles: “Some Poles pretend that they are non-Polish, for example they change their name from Alexandra to Alex”. Along the same lines is, “Going to a British Mass means that you pretend that you are someone else than you really are”. Poles feel that they can share their experiences with their priests who also came recently to the UK. Priests and people came in the same way as each other to a foreign land, share the strangeness and therefore they are more approachable than in Poland. Polish priests sometimes help with very practical matters, they also help by introducing fellow Poles to relevant council officers who can advise them, for example, on how to fight discriminatory behaviour in the place of work. Some respondents refer also to the attitude of Polish priests in respect of acculturation in UK: ”Our priests stress that Poles should not integrate but remain in a Polish social context while living and working in the UK”.

However it must also be pointed out that such views are not acceptable to all Polish immigrants: “Polish priests should be pro-integration, suggest people learn English to watch TV, and stimulate Polish-British activities in the parish”. One can notice that there is a dual set of expectations voiced by Polish parishioners towards Polish priests in the parishes. On the one side they should serve as a gatekeepers, helping Polish parishioners to retain sense of national identity, but on the other side they are expected (by some respondents) to serve as an active pro-adaptation factor, stimulating parishioners to adapt to the new religious and cultural context.
As previously said, the Polish Mass and Polish priest are also focal points in British discourse about acculturation of Polish migrants in UK. From the British perspective, the invitation of Polish priests to serve in the UK was seen as one part of the universal church requesting another part for help, with the obvious outcome of the integration of the Poles into their UK parishes. In one Scottish parish for example, Mass had been planned to be conducted partly in Polish and partly in English to allow the Poles to have contact with English language. The British expectations towards incoming Polish priests was that they will serve as a bridge for Polish Catholics in the process of becoming a part of the local parishes. Therefore, a very difficult situation occurs when Mass in Polish starts to attract Polish parishioners to the point that they withdraw from English Mass in which they used to participate. Many Poles from other parts of town also start to travel there in order to be able to participate in the Polish language Mass. Instead of the desired integration, separation becomes the case. Such a development has obviously annoyed British parishioners. One of them stated: “Poles should integrate because there is no space in Catholicism for such strong differences among people and such divisions. But there is no organized programme set out for integration and Poles just get more and more privileges and everything is done for them….Then the Poles all moved to a different church because apparently they wanted a mass in Polish”. Along the same line another person said: “Polish mass is a good thing but that it should be only once a month and for the rest of the time Poles should come to the mass in English... without this, there will not be any integration.” Polish priests are blamed by local parishioners for a lack of competence but are also perceived as getting too little guidance for work on the new posting. One of British parishioners quite radically stressed: “should not be any Polish priests in the parishes unless they are fully trained in the cultural and linguistic knowledge of the new context”. Observation of another member of the parish goes in the same direction “Polish priests come and they have no preparation for what awaits them and they end up doing far too much, or far too little. If everyone knew their duties and place, then the whole place would function more smoothly. There is .... Weak leadership and the lack of clear guidelines for the Polish priests who arrive in Aberdeen”. Another person expressed the view that the presence of Polish priests hinders integration and puts more pressure on the existing local clergy because they have to ‘nanny’ the incoming priests instead of getting the help they need. There should be a proper induction for the Polish priests that would include a language course, a brief history of the Catholic Church in the diocese and some meetings with parish boards to discuss the diocesan plan of action. The way it has been done in his diocese seemed to that respondent very ad hoc and messy, hence the problems with integration. He would like to see Polish parishioners forced to go to masses in English. If they don’t, it
obviously means they are not religious, or committed enough, in which case they are a ‘waste of space’ in our Lord’s home. Polish priests are seen as a stimulus for division between members of the parish. It contradicts often expressed, by British parishioners, conviction that “Catholicism is a universal religion, which means that Poles should gradually adjust and practice their faith in English because ‘a Catholic is a Catholic’”. Polish priests are perceived as people who do things only for Polish parishioners instead of doing them for the whole parish. It stimulates a sense of envy, “we have difficulty in getting a priest even for Christmas, and the Poles have two masses on Sunday”. In this way the priest can stimulate division in the parish instead of helping parishioners at least to meet, which is an obvious pre-condition for any kind of mutual acculturation. According to some British parishioners in one diocese, the Polish priests are interested only in creating a Polish ethnic church - which the locals feel is wrong because the Poles are supported by the Scottish Church and should work for British parishioners as well. Creating divisions in the parish is seen as potentially dangerous, splitting the local Catholic Church between Polish and British sectors. This could eventually lead to a very serious division, of the kind which has regularly taken place in Protestant Churches to the point of destruction. More than one parishioner in Aberdeen diocese felt that Polish priests lack relevant knowledge about the language, history and social customs of the Scots and they therefore do not know how to behave in the context of a Scottish parish. This comes across as a lack of proper respect for their Scottish parishioners.

Because of a lack of real contact between Polish and Scottish parishioners and Polish priests and Scottish parishioners, wild rumors take root. For example: Polish priests are alleged to make negative comments about their Scottish hosts during sermons. More alarmingly there are paranoid rumors that the Polish immigrants have the intention of driving out the local parishioners from the church and taking over the building exclusively for themselves. Such rumors can only live in a situation where there is no contact between the communities. Some parishioners stress how ill-prepared the Polish priests are for their mission in Scotland. They are coming without adequate linguistic and historical knowledge of the Church in Scotland. They are also getting, according to some Scottish parishioners, unjust privileges, payments and free cars. These are perceived as a sort of abuse of Scottish hospitality and as particularly unjust because Polish priests are doing nothing for Scottish parishioners. One person said “Poles are Catholics in a nationalist sense, which makes them very resistant to change and stubborn. Integration is not in their interest because they come only for a short time and they don’t want to invest in integration. Poles and Scots have completely different ideas of what it means to be Catholic; Poles blindly follow the Church in Poland”. Some parishioners commented sarcastically that the prevalence of
Polish language in the church stops the church from being a refuge where Scots can feel at home, away from foreigners who are plentiful everywhere in their town.

Other British parishioners commented that a failure to integrate can also be due to the attitudes of UK parishioners and priests, “People in the UK are not ready to make contacts with newcomers”; “Integration is a no-no in London”; “People in this parish are absolutely ice cold.....it’s the weirdest parish you could ever wish to be in”.

Some respondents stressed the necessity of changing the attitudes of British priests: “British local clergy should be more forthcoming and show Poles that they care; that’s the correct way to go about integration”. A reflection from another parishioner points to a personal characteristic of the British which might be an obstacle to integration: “British people generally take a long time to get to know someone, and befriend them. Cardinal Cormac [Murphy-O’Connor] is very centralist in his thinking. He likes everybody to be the same”. Other British respondents tried to interpret the non-integration of Poles differently: “Sometimes it is essential when you are abroad to have your own community, because it is on a smaller scale, where you can know each other, and you can really share your struggles and problems” or “Integration must be natural with the second or third generation of children going to school here”. Particularly striking, according to British parishioners, are the expressions of non-integration in relation to the liturgy. Poles have not only separate Masses, but they also, for example, have their separate (or at times parallel) Way of Cross, and First Holy Communion. Also they often refuse to participate in activities like cleaning the church, doing flowers, and they do not contribute regularly to the costs of maintaining the church building. They don’t participate in charitable activities run by parish. Yet again rituals around Christmas and Easter that are run by the Poles contribute to the divisions in the Catholic community in Britain. The Poles also don’t meet social expectations concerning acceptable forms of interaction: “Poles behave in an unfriendly way towards British parishioners: they don’t greet you, don’t smile, never come to you, you have to make first move”, “Poles, due to sticking to the Polish Mass only, are perceived as rude guests who are coming to someone’s home and behaving in unfriendly ways, not trying to learn the hosts’ language, and not interacting properly with their hosts”.

An interesting perspective on the role of Polish priests has been provided by local UK fellow-priests. They see Polish priests as contributing in a decisive fashion to the dilemma concerning the role of the Polish Mass. The dilemma can be voiced as ‘Do we like Poles to stay Polish Catholics, or do we like them to stay Catholics in the universal sense?’. According to them, Polish priests and the Polish Mass contribute to the affirmative answers to the first, but not necessarily
to the second question. The Polish Mass had been originally expected by the UK clergy and bishops only as a transitory stage, helping newly arrived Poles who did not master their English yet, to become fully-fledged members of the UK parish.

Points raised during interviews relate also to lack of certain skills which are important in parish work in UK. Polish priests should first of all exhibit good linguistic capacities, otherwise there is no chance for real communication and collaboration within the parish. Secondly they should have the skills of social worker, because quite frequently they are working for what amounts to an underprivileged group (Poles), who are seeking help from the parish because of various difficult situations like unemployment, homelessness and lack of money for covering medical treatment in case of accident. Another observation by British priests concerning necessary skills for successful parish work done by Polish priests refers to managerial skills. The Polish priest should be a manager, who knows how to remain leader but at the same time shares and delegates many responsibilities to other parish members.

British priests and bishops felt that there were cross-cultural difficulties related to the general attitude of some Polish priests. Some did not seem to have a missionary attitude, or an openness and readiness to go out to meet people. They rather expected that people would come to them, which does not work in the UK context. Some British parishioners commented on this difficulty “Polish priest forgets that he is not a boss here”. The same openness becomes necessary for fruitful collaboration with school principals. Some Polish priests got into conflict in schools because of lack of willingness to accept the expectations of headmasters of the schools concerning content and style of teaching. Another important set of skills necessary for successful work in British parish pertains to openness to cultural diversity and knowledge about such a diversity and cultural differences, because of the multicultural composition of parishes. Such a situation comes as a total novelty to the majority of Polish priests and finds them unprepared for coping with challenges posed by the different cultural origins of their parishioners.

A difficult point perceived by UK clergy and bishops pertains to the loyalty of Polish priests to Polish bishops back home and to the Polish Catholic Mission, which is seen as an institution no longer necessary for Polish Catholics in UK. This view was reflected by respondents who noted their opinion that the Polish Catholic Mission to England and Wales, of which they were at times somewhat suspicious, does the selection work without ever consulting the local British bishops. Logically, both ways of selection (via Polish bishops and via the Polish Catholic Mission to England and Wales) create a situation where some Polish clergy feel that they are responsible only towards their home bishop, or to the Polish Catholic Mission, but not towards the British bishop in whose diocese they
work. Interviews conducted with Polish priests suggested that indeed all the above was true. One important remark from a British bishop and a priest referred to the psychological effects when incoming Polish clergy fully realize that they are functioning in a context where Catholics are not a majority as in Poland but an extremely small minority, possibly less than 10% of the national population. Two corollaries of this difference are the reduced social status and income of the clergy in Britain as compared with Poland, and the multiculturalism in Britain in contrast to the near-monoculture in Poland. On the part of Polish priests it has been often considered as a proof that British people are not “real” Catholics, nor truly Christian, and strengthen their conviction that they should be serving only real Catholics, that is, Poles.

One of the UK bishops suggested a novel way of supporting ‘less than satisfactorily trained’ Polish priests in the UK. Parishes could support the participation of Polish priests in international exchange programmes such as the Erasmus scheme sponsored by the EU. They could come to the UK as graduate students and complete part of their theological education in the UK. Such a solution would allow them to learn more about the British cultural context and increase their effectiveness in serving both Polish and British parishioners. Each British diocese (according to one of the interviewed bishops) could support 3 - 4 Polish student priests who came to study in the UK. Such a support would be seen as an investment in the future of Catholic Church in UK. Right now more than 200 Polish priests would have support if they decide to come and to study in UK. The arrival of Polish clergy in British parishes might create a situation where both the hopes and fears of Pope Benedict XVI expressed in his comments captured by Wikileaks (http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/us-embassy-cables-documents/65066) could be justified. He perceives Polish Catholicism as a counter-weight to Western European secularism and Polish priests are very important expressions of this style of individual and group religiosity. From another angle the Pontiff expresses the thought that the nationalistic and potentially divisive aspect of such religiosity would be a dangerous development, threatening the unity of the Church.

Roman Catholic parishes in UK became an interesting context for applying the Interactive Acculturation Model for analyzing the outcome of encounters between the acculturation orientation of the hosts (British parishioners and clergy) and guests (Polish immigrants: parishioners and clergy). The model specifies three clusters of such outcomes: consensual, problematic and conflictual. A consensual outcome can be achieved when both host community members and immigrant group members share either the integration, assimilation or individualism acculturation orientations. This would be an ideal outcome of encounters between the two communities. Problematic relational outcomes appear when host
between universalism and ethnic...
REFERENCES


