

RESEARCH ARTICLES

Limitations on Transnational Practices amongst Polish-born Teenagers living in the UK

Sara YOUNG

Abstract. Polish accession to the European Union (EU) in 2004 led to an upsurge in the number of Poles coming to the UK. This prompted an increased research interest in mobility and transnational practices amongst Polish migrants, transnationalism here being understood as the way that individuals endeavour to maintain their identity across two (or more) cultures and countries. However, while much attention has been paid to adult migrants, only recently has research focused on those under the age of eighteen. This paper is based on my doctoral study investigating how Polish-born adolescents resident in the UK negotiate the construction of their ethnic and linguistic identity, including the extent to which they engage in transnational practices. The study explored the narratives of eleven adolescents (aged 11-16) living in small Polish communities in semi-rural settings in southern England. Findings suggest that while it appears important for these younger migrants to maintain a connection with Poland, the scope to develop transnational identities is restricted in a number of ways, and is more limited than for adults. Nonetheless, maintaining transnational practices does appear an integral part of these adolescents' lives as they negotiate their lives in both countries.

Keywords: *Polish migration, young people, transnationalism, identity studies*

Introduction

Polish accession to the European Union (EU) in 2004 led to an upsurge in the number of Poles coming to the UK; in response, a large body of work emerged that sought to explore this new mobility. There was also increased scholarly research interest in the engagement with transnationalism by Polish migrants and the development of a transnational identity, transnationalism here being seen as the way that people attempt to maintain their identity across two (or more) cultures and countries (Block 2006). While transnational practices are not new, the underlying life expectations of migrants participating in such activities had changed. Previously,

Poles had left Poland with little hope of returning; however, the changed regime post-1989 enabled a greater unofficial flexibility of movement (Burrell 2008; Morawska 2001). The changes of 2004, resulting in such economic migration becoming legalised, meant that back and forth mobility increased still further, arguably allowing for the creation of transnational identities to take on a greater resonance.

However, while much attention has been paid to adult migrants, only recently has research focused on those individuals who migrated under the age of eighteen, often coming to the UK with their parents, or to stay with another relative. These may be regarded as the 1.5 generation, defined by Benesch (2008, 294) as those individuals who have undertaken most of their secondary, and perhaps primary, education in the host country. This demographic was the focus of my doctoral study investigating how Polish-born adolescents resident in the UK negotiate the construction of their ethnic and linguistic identity; this included an examination of the extent to which they engage in transnational practices. The research explored the narratives of eleven adolescents (aged 11-16) living in small Polish communities in semi-rural settings in southern England. While the adolescents in the study had each come to the UK at different points in their lives, given their attendance at secondary school (and for some, primary school) in England and their plans to remain in the UK, Benesch's definition of belonging to the 1.5 generation as cited above may be seen to apply to them all.

Findings of the research suggest that while it appears important for these younger migrants to maintain a connection with Poland, the scope to develop transnational identities is restricted in a number of ways, and is more limited than for adults. Nonetheless, maintaining transnational practices does appear an integral part of these adolescents' lives as they negotiate their lives in both countries.

Transnationalism

Transnationalism is here understood as the way that individuals endeavour to maintain their identity across two (or more) cultures and countries, involving 'simultaneous, social, political and economic ties with two or more nation states' (Block 2006, 19), and how this transition is managed. It is important to recognise that transnational practices and identities are not new (Morawska 2001); Vertovec (2009, 3) reminds us that migrants have often maintained 'some form of contact with family



and others in their homelands'. However, such practices have changed in a contemporary context (Levitt, De Wind and Vertovec 2003); moreover, the speed at which people may now be in contact either physically or virtually has had a major impact on transnational practices (De Fina and Perrino 2013). Modern day transnational practices include a variety of activities such as staying in regular contact with home or keeping up with events there (Vertovec 2009); transnational parenting is another contemporary practice (Bell and Erdal 2015).

However, as argued by Staeheliand and Nagel (2006, 1603), 'the nature of these [transnational] links may vary widely'; they are dependent on the circumstances and setting of an individual (Duff 2015). The importance of maintaining transnational connections also varies according to the individual (Levitt, DeWind and Vertovec 2003; Vertovec 2009), and transnational identities might vary, both in manifestations and in 'strength' (Levitt, De Wind and Vertovec 2003, 569). Thus, transnational identities may not necessarily be relevant to all individuals, or even available to them (Block 2006). Thus, while nowadays there may be greater scope to engage in transnational practices, it does not necessarily follow that the creation or maintenance of a transnational identity is available or relevant to everyone.

Nonetheless, transnationalism does seem to play an important role in the lives of Polish migrants (Engbersen, Snel and de Boom 2010; Erdel and Lewicki 2016). UK-based Polish organisations encourage Poles to maintain links with Poland (see Zechenter 2015), while EU freedom of movement during the 2000s and early 2010s, together with the availability of cheap flights, allowed Polish migrants living in the UK 'to fly back and forth' with relative ease (Burrell 2011b, 1025). However, even before the confirmation of Britain leaving the EU in 2020, currently expected to result in the imposition of restrictions on free movement, there were suspicions that the ease of travel enjoyed by EU citizens between Britain and their home country may be coming to 'an end' (Viña 2016, np).

The concern over convenient transportation aside, the literature highlights further difficulties of maintaining a transnational identity. One of these is through language attrition (cf. Köpke and Schmid 2004), either through loss of the home language, or through no longer being familiar with a certain manner of speaking the language. In her biographical work *Lost in Translation*, Eva Hoffman (1989) describes her realisation that the way she might speak with her classmates in Poland would have been quite a different style of talk than that which she might hope to enjoy

with her peers in Canada. Moreover, Bell and Erdal (2015, 91) argue that regardless of the various technological ways of staying in touch with family, many migrants feel that, 'the lack of physical contact would make their everyday life-worlds diverge'.

While a substantial amount of research on adolescents is found in 'anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, and sociolinguistics' (Cooke 2008, 24), in regard to transnationalism, 'the role of children is still to be fully understood' (Sime and Fox 2015, 2). Indeed, as Duff (2015, 57) points out, it is only relatively recently that attention has been given to the experiences of younger individuals. Adolescents' experiences of migration are different from those of adults: it therefore follows that transnationalism will mean something different to younger migrants. Such children are likely to have undergone their education in different countries; they may have moved 'with or without intact nuclear families' (Duff 2015, 66). These experiences may have affected the children's ability and/or desire to participate in transnational practices, or to create transnational identities.

Similarly, despite the wealth of literature on Polish migration, until more recently (see Young 2018), less attention has been paid to the experiences of Polish adolescent migrants (Moskal 2014; Pustułka 2014; Slany and Strzemecka 2016), and on how younger migrants from Poland may construct transnational identities. While work in Polish migration has emphasised the mobility associated with Polish migrants, such studies have often focused on the experiences of those over the age of eighteen (e.g. Burrell 2011b; Ryan et al. 2009). The adolescent experience has also been lacking in transnationalism studies. A range of work has emerged on how transnationalism has changed through the 'second generation', such as Gowrichan's (2009) study of Hindustanis in the Netherlands, and Lee's (2011) work on Tongans in Australia; while in the Polish context, Pustułka (2015) has examined transnational practices amongst Polish families. However, less work has focused on adolescents specifically, and particularly on those who were born outside the host country. Yet, as will be demonstrated below, adolescents may have differing transnational practices from those available to adults: the transnational activities that are highlighted in studies looking at families or adults are not always accessible to the adolescents described in this paper.

The study

The study was designed as a narrative inquiry, a narrative approach being seen as especially useful for investigating people's experiences in the way it places

the focus on the individual: through encouraging participants to tell their stories (Bamberg 2005), narrative ‘privileges positionality and subjectivity’ (Riessman 2002, 696). Thus, the data collection consisted primarily of qualitative interviews, with other methodological tools drawn upon to supplement this. Prior to the interviews, I observed a Polish class at Grovesham; participants were also given a brief questionnaire to complete.

Unlike much identity work in migration studies and applied linguistics, which is located in urban settings (Rasinger 2012, 33), and often home to large Polish communities, I deliberately chose semi-rural towns in south-east England with small Polish communities, where I recruited participants from two settings. The first of these was Grovesham, a state secondary school of 1300 students, of whom approximately 20 are Polish. The school is located in Fieldstone, a town of 60,000 inhabitants, with a small, post-2004 Polish community and a predominantly White demographic of 85.2%; ‘White’ being defined as ‘English/ Welsh/ Scottish/ Northern Irish/ British’ (ONS, 2011). The second setting was St. Ferdinand’s Polish Saturday school; it is situated in Stadton, a small town of 15,000 inhabitants. Similar to Fieldstone, the demographic is White 89.2%. Polish presence in the town dates back to World War II, although the current community is small. In the 2016 Referendum, Fieldstone had a Leave majority of 50.5%, while the area around Stadton had a Remain majority of 55% (Electoral Commission 2017).

The criteria for selecting participants were that they had been born in Poland and were of UK secondary school age. Having been born in Poland, and partially educated there, even only at nursery school, it was likely the adolescents would speak some level of Polish at home, and that they may have some memories of living in Poland. Attending secondary school in the UK, they would be expected to operate in English. The participants were therefore bilingual in that they had access to both languages, regardless of their levels of competency in each (Li Wei 2007, 14; Pavlenko 2001, 317-8).

The participants were five girls and six boys, aged 11-16. They had all come to the UK with their families post-2004, although with different migration trajectories. While some had left Poland as young children, others had arrived more recently. A few had come directly to the town where they were currently living, although most had lived for a time in other countries, or in different towns in the UK. Ethical approval for the study was obtained from the UCL Institute of Education; participants and gatekeepers, including school heads as well as parents, were

required to sign a consent form, while the transcriber was requested to sign a confidentiality form. The names of all locations and participants in the study were anonymised.

The fieldwork was conducted between January and May 2016, when I held three blocks of hour-long sessions: three sessions at Grovesham through January and February; two sessions in March at St. Ferdinand's; and a final block of three sessions at Grovesham in May. Drawing on the notion of group interviews as ice breakers (Robson and McCartan 2016: 299), I conducted small group or pair interviews during the initial sessions, before holding individual interviews in May with some of the participants. As advised by Habermas and Paha (2001), it is advisable to hold shorter interviews with younger participants; accordingly, the interviews at Grovesham lasted between 10-25 minutes, while the two pair interviews held at St. Ferdinand's with older participants were 45 minutes.

The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by the researcher. The data was analysed initially with a thematic analysis, before a more detailed analysis was undertaken using discourse analysis. Here, I drew on van Dijk (2000, 35), who sees discourse analysis as a systematic way of describing 'the various structures and strategies of text or talk' and how they correspond 'to the social [...] or political context'. This allowed me to examine the way the adolescents positioned themselves within their narratives, and how they saw their relationship with the wider context. The findings of the study are presented in the following section.

Findings: Transnational experiences

The adolescents' stories suggested a number of ways in which they maintained links with Poland. Sustaining these associations appeared to be an important part of their lives, and they showed themselves aware of the need to maintain a connection that brought together aspects of Poland with their lives in England. In a conversation about sport, for example, the boys named several Polish footballers who play in the English football league; they were familiar with the teams for which they played, and cited various well-known players, such as the one-time Arsenal goalkeeper Wojciech Szczęsny.

However, when I asked about football in Poland, twelve-year-old Tomasz was proud to announce that he continued to follow the football team of his home town in Poland.



Sara: What about Polish [football] teams?

Tomasz: I support one. [...] it's like my uncle's a very big supporter, my cousin's a very big supporter, it's like all the family. So it goes like nearly on all the matches.

Tomasz moved to the UK with his parents at the age of four. Yet here, he describes an activity which allows him to maintain a relationship not only with his football team, and thus an ongoing connection with his home town, but also a link with members of his family who continue to attend matches in the town regularly.

That Tomasz's close affiliation with home in Poland endures, was also illustrated by the way he described his grandfather's home in an earlier conversation, referring to it as '*u mnie*', 'at my place'. The same phrase was used by Filip, aged thirteen, during a discussion about recycling facilities in Poland: '*u mnie w Polsce jest zawsze tylko jeden kontener*' ('at my place there is only one container [for recycling]'). Filip had only left Poland eighteen months previously; nonetheless, he expresses a strong desire to remain in the UK, where he plans to become a vet. Yet, as for Tomasz, Filip's use of the phrase '*u mnie*' suggests that he still regards Poland as very much still part of his life.

However, according to the accounts given by several of the adolescents, trips to Poland remain subject to certain constraints. In a pair interview, Sylwia, aged 11, describes the factors which impact on the frequency of her family's visits to Poland.

Sara: How often do you go back to visit?

Sylwia: Like every year, on a half term, like, if, in August, when it's – but now I think we can't because we have too little money and – er, the aeroplane tickets are now too much money. Every year it goes more and more money for the aeroplane, so, we don't think we're gonna go this year.

According to Sylwia, the first restriction is that the timing of visits to Poland are dictated primarily by the school holidays: the family can travel either during the half term break, or the long summer holiday in August. However, there is also a financial consideration, and an awareness on Sylwia's part of the rising cost of air travel, something that had been highlighted in the press (e.g. Starmer-Smith 2009). The issue of cost is also reflected in the account given by twelve-year-old Yamina. She describes how the family has to choose between visiting Poland, her mother's country of origin, and Algeria, where her father was born.

Sara: Have you been to Algeria?

Yamina: [...] I go to Poland as well as Algeria and I go to Poland again and then I go to Algeria again. But this time, because we didn't have enough money to get, cos we drive to Poland from England, we're gonna to go Poland again this year. Even though we've been last year, because we didn't have enough money to erm, get an airplane.

Sylwia's reference to the increase in airfares: 'every year it goes more and more money for the aeroplane' runs counter to the apparent availability of cheap airfares highlighted by Burrell (2011a). Efforts by Yamina's family to alternate between visiting family in Algeria and Poland are also restricted by economic factors. Yamina later explains how this year they have decided that Poland is a less expensive option as they can 'drive to Poland from England'.

Twelve-year-old Ryszard also explained how financial considerations determined the timing of a family trip to Poland. For his family, it was more economical to arrange a visit during the long summer break:

because if you like, if you wanna go to Poland [...] you don't have to pay like for the by going by car for petrol there and back or by plane going there and back. There and back, there and back, you might as well just go on one ticket, there and back for a long time, so it's cheaper.

Similar issues were raised by other participants; these experiences thus indicate that while visiting Poland remains a regular part of the adolescents' lives, the frequency with which they can do this is, as White (2017) asserts, curtailed by school obligations in the UK and financial considerations.

One additional problem faced by two of the adolescents, Marek and Anna, both aged fourteen, is that their parents are divorced; for each of them, it is their father who has stayed in Poland. The issue of separated parents living in different countries may be an increasing issue for Polish children: research in Polish studies has noted a shift towards female-driven migration, whereby it is the mother of a family who initiates the migration from Poland (Ryan 2008; White 2017). Visits to Poland may therefore cause additional emotional upheaval for the children; Marek hints at the sense of disjuncture he faces when returning to England at the end of the summer spent in Poland.

Sara: When you go to Poland, do you miss England, or when you come back to England, do you miss Poland?

Marek: Hm – honestly, it's just I go to Poland then I, it's – I don't know, I miss Poland and then I get over it and then it's back to normal. It's just, you know – every year's

similar. I've learned to deal with it, I'm just like, ok, I'll go and come back and then next year will be the same!

Marek's disjointed syntax as he attempts to articulate his feelings – 'it's just I go to Poland then I, it's – I don't know' may be interpreted as a reflection of the mixed emotions Marek experiences as he must move from one location to the other. His sense of resignation as he recognises it is something he has to 'deal with' every summer is suggested by Marek's final jaded exclamation 'and next year will be the same!'.

Another issue that was raised by both Marek and Anna in regard to maintaining their relationship with their fathers, is the question of language. For Marek, the limited English language competency of his father, who nonetheless 'does speak some words, some sentences and stuff', has become a joke which the two of them are able to share. For Anna, however, the situation is less a matter for humour, but more of her need to maintain her Polish; she explains:

my Dad can't speak English so I have to talk to him in Polish [...] so I think if I, if I didn't – if he could speak English I probably wouldn't know Polish as well so it's kind of like I HAVE to know Polish to be able to speak with him.

While Marek and Anna are anxious to sustain a relationship with their fathers, for other adolescents, there is a general concern about retaining a solid enough knowledge of Polish to allow them to stay in touch with other family members. One example is fourteen-year-old Krystyna, who asserts a strong desire to maintain her level of Polish, explaining: 'I wouldn't want to forget the language. I have a lot of family that are still there [in Poland] and I definitely want to keep in contact with them'.

At the same time, others expressed concern that they were losing their Polish language skills, and worried that this would impact on their relationships. Fifteen-year-old Beata is slightly agitated to find that, even though she has been in England for under two years, she is losing her Polish 'like a little bit'. While Anna was attempting to maintain her linguistic competency, she also spoke of the difficulty in making friends when she visited Poland, due to her limited knowledge of the language; Marek also complained that he found himself unable to understand jokes.

Nonetheless, all of the adolescents in the study were regularly attending Polish language classes. On the one hand, the adolescents' endeavour to maintain their Polish language, even as they were working hard on improving their English language competency to succeed in school, illustrates a further way in which they

may be seen as attempting to engage in transnational practices. While there were several motivations for the adolescents to continue with Polish classes, a fuller investigation of which lies beyond the remit of this paper, part of the motivation for attending language lessons was to maintain verbal contact with friends and family back in Poland. Yet at the same time, despite this, their efforts at communication were stymied by their lack of fluency in Polish.

The adolescents' accounts thereby illustrate that, however long they have been in the UK, they continue to maintain contact with Poland; they are anxious that it remains part of their consciousness even as they embrace their lives in the UK. They show themselves as active participants in transnational practices, which they endeavour to sustain even when such activities may be restricted to them.

Discussion

As noted above, studies have highlighted the 'liquid migration' (Engbersen, Snel and de Boom 2010) enjoyed by Polish migrants since Poland's accession to the EU in 2004. The availability of cheap air transport has been cited as facilitating the mobility of Polish migrants (Burrell 2008, 367; 2011a; see also Bell and Erdal 2015) and as a way of doing transnationalism (Vertovec 2009, 18). Yet such effortless mobility is not reflected in the experiences recounted by the adolescents' stories presented here. While all the study participants spoke of trying to visit Poland on at least an annual basis, and described visits from family members from Poland to England, the frequency of such visits was limited by a number of factors. The first reason related to the economic situation of their families, as illustrated by the accounts given by Sylwia, Yamina and Ryszard; financial reasons also restrict Yamina's ability to form a transnational relationship with Algeria, her father's country of birth. Other participants explained that their parents are in low-paid work, or unemployed, and that the airfare to and from Poland often proves prohibitive.

It must be remembered that a noticeable increase in airfares had occurred over the previous few years, leading to a reduction in the number of UK-Poland routes operating (Starmer-Smith 2009). Yet the experiences recounted by Yamina and Sylwia also echo Bauman (2000), who cautions that transnational freedoms are often a privilege only of the elite classes, who enjoy wider economic freedom. This accordingly reflects the classed nature of migration, social class being understood here as 'the composite of wealth, occupation, education and symbolic behaviour'

(Block 2006, 35). The difference between the ‘lifestyle migration’ for those ‘relatively affluent individuals of all ages’ (Benson and O’Reilly 2009, 609), and migration driven by the need ‘for work or asylum’ (O’Reilly 2007, 281) thus becomes clear, a distinction also highlighted by Johansson and Śliwa (2016) in their exploration of social and organisational differentiation amongst Polish migrants in the UK. It may also be seen that those individuals who possess greater capital – both financial and symbolic – have the advantage of enjoying greater mobility, including the flexibility to travel back and forth (see Oliver and O’Reilly 2010). As such, these individuals are arguably more able to build transnational identities in a way that is not necessarily available to those who have less capital at their disposal.

For younger migrants also, transnational mobility is further restricted by the demands of the school timetable. As White notes (2017), unlike the single young adult migrants whose experiences are the focus of much work on migration, the constraints of the legal requirements of school attendance mean that adolescents cannot travel whenever they wish. Nor are adolescents necessarily able to decide when trips to Poland can take place. Rather, this is more likely to be decided by parents, in the same way that adolescents are often excluded from discussions over the original migratory decision (Slany and Strzemecka 2016).

Another difficulty confronted by some of the adolescents is the emotional impact of traveling between the two countries. Marek’s description of visiting Poland every summer to see his father suggests they enjoy a warm relationship; thus Marek finds it difficult returning to England. This echoes findings by Slany and Strzemecka (2016, 24): in a study of Polish children living in Norway, one participant talks about missing her grandmother, explaining ‘[w]henever I visit Poland, I don’t have the heart to leave for Norway’. For younger migrants, it may be harder to live far away from family members than it is for older individuals, and thus to enjoy a transnational identity; this may be even more difficult for children with divorced parents who are living in separate countries, as for Anna and Marek.

Despite this, however, the adolescents are able to maintain a connection with Poland through various technologies. On the one hand, it must be remembered that not all migrants have access to the technology which can help facilitate a transnational existence, such as mobile phones or satellite television (Vertovec 2009), nor is it always a method of staying in contact that is embraced (Pustulka 2015). For the adolescents here, however, a range of technological tools are available, thus allowing them to sustain such contact. Free or inexpensive telephone

calls or texts, along with Skype, facilitate communication with friends and family in Poland; these habits reflect findings on the transnational practices of other Polish migrants (e.g. Bell and Erdal 2015). That said, the ease of technological contact aside, Pustulka (2015, 115) also raises the question of whether such technologies can replicate the physical intimacy of everyday contact, given ‘the combined temporal and spatial distance that invariably results in the process of “growing apart” affecting certain migrants and their relationships’. Moreover, maintaining written or spoken contact via technology also requires the use of language; as is argued here, the gradual loss of the home language may prove an increasing barrier to successful communication.

In addition to direct communication with friends or family, Erdal and Lewicki (2016) also suggest that access to satellite television and streaming programmes via the internet are further technologically facilitated methods through which people may choose to maintain links with their country of origin. Several of the adolescents here mention watching Polish television, partly for entertainment but also to learn the news from Poland. Yet this activity too may be hampered by a lack of linguistic competency.

As reflected in the accounts given by the adolescents in this study, younger migrants often become more fluent in the language of the host country, due to their attendance at school where they are usually instructed in the language of that country. It has been argued that in the UK, state school policies and practices are often underpinned by an ideology of monolingualism, discouraging students to use their home language(s) in favour of acquiring the dominant language of the host country (García and Li Wei 2014). In work on language attrition, Köpke and Schmid (2004, np) assert that ‘the younger the child is when the language of her environment changes, the faster and deeper she will attrite’, that is, lose her competency in her home language. To counter this potential loss, parents may encourage maintenance of the home language through attending additional Polish classes, an activity in which many of the adolescents in this study show themselves willing to participate. Yet even with such exposure to the home language, familiar ways of speaking, especially amongst younger people, are not necessarily learnt by migrant adolescents, making it harder for them to maintain successful communication with friends and family in the home country.

Other ways of maintaining links with Poland included the way that Tomasz continues to follow his local Polish football team, while other boys displayed their

knowledge of Polish footballers who play for English teams. Some of the boys also talked of discussing Polish current affairs and politics with friends and family both in the UK and in Poland. This chimes with the notion of transnationalism as a conscious engagement with various aspects of life in both the home and host country (Levitt, DeWind and Vertovec 2003). Such ways of sustaining contact with Poland may be particularly important for these adolescents when physical visits to the country are curtailed. It can therefore be seen that, regardless of the limitations on visiting Poland, the adolescents each engage in several different transnational practices, although the type of activity varies amongst them. This appears to echo the literature in the field, which suggests that those migrant individuals who choose to participate in transnational activities, 'do so with considerable variation in the sectors, levels, strength, and formality of their involvement' (Levitt, DeWind and Vertovec 2003, 569). The study's findings also support the view that adolescents' experience of transnationalism must be seen as different to that of adults (White 2017).

Conclusion

Thus, the accounts presented here suggest that transnationalism may be seen to play some part in the lives of these adolescents, and that each of them engages in transactional activities to varying degrees. However, it must be recognised that such activities may differ from those enjoyed by adult migrants. The stories told by the adolescents often demonstrate the limitations on their movement, and the freedom with which they can physically visit Poland; while there may be other ways in which they maintain a relationship with Poland, difficulties remain nevertheless, especially for those whose parents live in different countries. A further element that may hamper successful transnational practices amongst the younger, 1.5 generation is that of attrition in the home language. Notwithstanding the efforts being taken to ameliorate this problem, the adolescents here all testify to struggling with the issues of language.

Exploring the variety of transnational activities undertaken by the participants in this study thus casts a light on the difficulties they face in navigating their relationships with their home and host countries. At a time when greater limitations on cheap and easy mobility may come into existence, whether through government migration policies, or reductions in air travel driven by the climate crisis, it is imperative for scholars to remain alert to the evolving challenges involved in individuals' engagement in transnational practices.

References

- Bamberg, M. (2005), 'Narrative Discourse and Identities', in J.C. Meister et al, (eds.), *Narratology beyond literary criticism: mediality, disciplinarity* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter), 213-237. Available online at: [http://www.clarku.edu/~mbamberg/Papers/Narrative Discourse and Identities.pdf](http://www.clarku.edu/~mbamberg/Papers/Narrative_Discourse_and_Identities.pdf) [Accessed 01-09-2014.]
- Bauman, Z. (2000), *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Bell, J. and M.B. Erdal (2015), 'Limited but enduring transnational ties? Transnational familylife among Polish migrants in Norway', *Studia Migracyjne–Przegląd Polonijny* 41, no.3: 77-98.
- Benesch, S. (2008), "'Generation 1.5" and Its Discourses of Partiality: A Critical Analysis', *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* 7 no.3-4, 294-311. doi: 10.1080/15348450802237954
- Benson, M. and K. O'Reilly (2009), 'Migration and the search for a better way of life: a critical exploration of lifestyle migration', *The Sociological Review* 57, no.4: 608-625. doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2009.01864.x
- Block, D. (2006), *Multilingual identities in a global city* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Burrell, K. (2008), 'Materialising the Border: Spaces of Mobility and Material Culture in Migration from Post-Socialist Poland', *Mobilities* 3, no.3: 353-373. doi: 10.1080/17450100802376779
- Burrell, K. (2011a), 'Opportunity and uncertainty: young people's narratives of 'double transition' in post-socialist Poland', *Area* 43, no.4: 413-419. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-4762.2011.01024.x
- Burrell, K. (2011b), 'Going steerage on Ryanair: cultures of migrant air travel between Poland and the UK', *Journal of Transport Geography* 19, no.5: 1023-1030.
- Cooke, M. (2008), "'What We Might Become": The Lives, Aspirations, and Education of Young Migrants in the London Area', *Journal of Language, Identity and Education* 7, no.1, 22-40. doi: 10.1080/15348450701804698
- De Fina, A and S. Perrino (2013), 'Transnational identities', *Applied Linguistics* 34, no.5: 509-515. doi.org/10.1093/applin/amt024
- Duff, P.A. (2015), 'Transnationalism, multilingualism, and identity', *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35: 57-80. doi.org/10.1017/S026719051400018X
- The Electoral Commission (2017), 'EU referendum results'. Retrieved from: <https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/find-information-by-subject/elections-and-referendums/past-elections-and-referendums/eu-referendum/electorate-and-count-information> [Accessed 09-01-2018.]
- Engbersen, G., E. Snel and J. de Boom (2010), "'A van full of Poles": Liquid migration from Central and Eastern Europe', in R. Black, G. Engbersen, M. Okólski and C. Pantiru (eds.), *A continent moving west. EU Enlargement and Labour Migration from Central and Eastern Europe* (Amsterdam: MISCOE), 115-140.
- Erdal, M.B. and A. Lewicki (2016), 'Polish migration within Europe: mobility, transnationalism and integration', *Social Identities* 22, no.1: 1-9. doi: 10.1080/13504630.2015.1110351
- García, O. and Li Wei (2014), *Translanguaging: Language, Bilingualism and Education*, (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Gowricharn, R. (2009), 'Changing forms of transnationalism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32, no.9, 1619-1638. doi: 10.1080/01419870902853232
- Habermas, T. and C. Paha (2001), 'The Development of Coherence in Adolescent's Life Narratives'. *Narrative Inquiry* 11, no.1: 35-54. doi.org/10.1075/ni.11.1.02hab
- Hoffman, E. (1989), *Lost in Translation: A Life in a New Language* (London: Vintage Books).

- Johansson, M. and M. Śliwa (2016), "It is English and there is no Alternative": Intersectionality, Language and Social/Organizational Differentiation of Polish Migrants in the UK', *Gender, Work & Organization* 23, no.3: 296-309. doi: 10.1111/gwao.12049
- Köpke, B. and Schmid, M.S. (2004). 'Language Attrition: The next phase', in M.S. Schmid, B. Köpke, M. Keijzer & L. Weilemar (eds.), *First Language Attrition: Interdisciplinary perspectives on methodological issues*, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), 1-43. Available at: <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-00879106>
- Lee, H. (2011), 'Rethinking transnationalism through the second generation', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 22, 295-313. doi:10.1111/j.1757-6547.2011.00150.x
- Levitt, P., J. DeWind and S. Vertovec (2003). 'International Perspectives on Transnational Migration: An Introduction', *International Migration Review* 37, no.3: 565-575. doi: 10.1111/j.1747-7379.2003.tb00150.x
- Li Wei (2007), 'Dimensions of bilingualism', in Li Wei (ed.), *The Bilingualism Reader*. 2nd edn. (London: Routledge), 3-24.
- Morawska, E. (2001), 'Structuring Migration: The Case of Polish Income-Seeking Travelers to the West', *Theory and Society* 30, no.1: 47-80. doi: 10.1023/A:1011081228016
- Moskal, M. (2014), 'Polish migrant youth in Scottish schools: conflicted identity and family capital', *Journal of Youth Studies* 17, no.2, 279-291. doi: 10.1080/13676261.2013.815705
- Office of National Statistics (ONS) (2011), Retrieved from: www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk [Accessed 10-05-2015. Now available at www.nomisweb.co.uk]
- Oliver, C. and K. O'Reilly (2010), 'A Bourdieusian analysis of class and migration: Habitus and the individualizing process', *Sociology* 44, no.1: 49-66. doi.org/10.1177/0038038509351627
- O'Reilly, K. (2007), 'Intra-European migration and the mobility—enclosure dialectic', *Sociology* 41, no.2: 277-293. doi.org/10.1177/0038038507074974
- Pavlenko, A. (2001), "In the world of the tradition, I was unimagined": Negotiation of identities in cross-cultural autobiographies', *International Journal of Bilingualism* 5, no.3: 317-344. doi: 10.1177/13670069010050030401
- Pustułka, P. (2014), 'Child-centred narratives of Polish migrant mothers: cross-generational identity constructions abroad', *Studia Migracyjne - Przegląd Polonijny*, 40, no.3, 151-170.
- Pustułka, P., (2015), 'Virtual transnationalism: Polish migrant families and new technologies', *Studia Migracyjne-Przegląd Polonijny* 41, no.3 (157), 99-122.
- Rasinger, S.M. (2012), "And Everything is Polish...": Narrative Experiences of new Migrants', *The European Journal of Applied Linguistics and TEFL* 1, no.2: 33-49.
- Riessman, C.K. (2002), 'Analysis of Personal Narratives', in J.F. Gubium & J.A. Holstein (eds.), *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*, (Thousand Oaks, C.A.: Sage), 695-710.
- Robson, C. and McCartan, K. (2016), *Real world research. A Resource for Users of Social Research Methods in Applied Settings* 4th edn. (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons).
- Ryan, L. (2008). "I Had a Sister in England": Family-Led Migration, Social Networks and Irish Nurses'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34, no.3: 453-470. doi: 10.1080/13691830701880293
- Ryan, L., R. Sales, M. Tilki and B. Siara (2009). 'Family Strategies and Transnational Migration: Recent Polish Migrants in London', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35, no.1: 61-77. doi: 10.1080/13691830802489176
- Sime, D. and R. Fox (2015), 'Home abroad: Eastern European children's family and peer relationships after migration', *Childhood* 22 no.3: 377-393. doi.org/10.1177/0907568214543199
- Slany, K. and S. Strzemecka (2016). 'Who Are We? Cultural Valence and Children's Narratives of National Identifications'. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review* 5, no.1: 13-34. <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=422640>

- Staeheli, L.A. and C.R. Nagel (2006), 'Topographies of home and citizenship: Arab-American activists in the United States', *Environment and Planning A* 38, no.9: 1599-1614. doi.org/10.1068/a37412
- Starmer-Smith, C. (2009), 'Ryanair cuts 11 routes to Poland', *The Telegraph*, 09-02-2009. Online. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/travelnews/4571090/Ryanair-cuts-11-routes-to-Poland.html> [Accessed 12-02-2018.]
- Van Dijk, T.A. (2000), 'New(s) racism: A discourse analytical approach', *Ethnic minorities and the media* 37: 33-49.
- Vertovec, S. (2009). *Transnationalism* (London: Routledge).
- Viña, G. (2016), 'Brexit: the effect on UK-Europe travel', *Financial Times*, 26-06-2016. Retrieved from: <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/317bdad8-3ba9-11e6-8716-a4a71e8140b0.html#axzz4LqtF2nsX> [Accessed 01-10-2016.]
- White, A. (2017), *Polish families and migration since EU accession*. Updated edn. (Bristol: Policy Press).
- Young, S. (2018), 'Experiences of Polish-born adolescents in Britain during the run-up to Brexit' in M. Fleming (ed.), *Brexit and Polonia: Challenges facing the Polish Community during the process of Britain leaving the European Union*, (London: PUNO Press), 63-82.
- Zechenter, K. (2015), 'Migracja i Integracja (Migration and Integration)', in K. Zechenter (ed.), *Po polsku na Wyspach: Poradnik dla rodziców dzieci dwujęzycznych - A Guide for Parents of Bilingual Children* (London: PUNO), 15-23.