The Construction of Ethno-Linguistic Identity amongst Polish-born Adolescents Living in the UK

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Statement of originality

I, Sara Rachel Jane Young, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

Polish accession to the European Union (EU) in 2004 led to an upsurge in the number of Poles coming to the UK. However, little research in socio and applied linguistics has investigated the experiences of Polish-born adolescents resident in the UK. Following the UK General Elections of May 2015 and June 2017, and the Referendum on Britain's membership of the EU in June 2016, the climate in Britain has become one of an increasingly virulent anti-immigrant discourse, especially against EU migrants. Against this backdrop, this research purports to investigate how Polish-born adolescents resident in the UK negotiate the construction of their ethno-linguistic identity. The study explores the experiences of eleven adolescents (aged 11-16) living in small Polish communities in semi-rural settings in southern England, with a predominantly white British demographic. Fieldwork was conducted in spring 2016. A narrative approach was used, whereby participants are encouraged to tell their own stories. Based on an understanding of identity as contingent and a site of negotiation, the study draws on the notion of identity as positioning within discourse. Counter to previous identity work in socio and applied linguistics with established BAME migrants, findings suggest that in the face of dominant discourses surrounding EU migrants in the UK, scope for the (re)negotiation of ethno-linguistic identity positions amongst Polish-born adolescents in the UK is limited, and the creation of hybrid identities stymied. Similarly, the adolescents' reported language use indicates an orientation to a separate rather than flexible bilingualism. The study also suggests a need to reconceptualise whiteness in socio and applied linguistics. While whiteness has been understood in such literature as homogenous, this study proposes that to examine questions of identity more comprehensively, the black/white binary which often underpins identity work demands reassessment, and the existence of prejudice against minority white individuals requires greater acknowledgement.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background of the researcher

My interest in the study of the ethno-linguistic identity construction of adolescent migrants stems from both a professional and personal involvement. On a professional level, much of my early career as a teacher of English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) was spent tutoring groups of adolescents. Working with such students, I became fascinated by the way they perceived the world around them as they endeavoured to find their own place within it and grappled with their own identities. If identity is perceived as 'impermanent and fragmentary' (Bendle 2002, p.1), as posited in this thesis, then what of teenage identity, which is arguably in a greater sense of flux than that of adults (Beyers & Çok 2008; Tanti et al. 2011)? In the case of migrant adolescents in particular, how might this identity construction be affected still further by a move to another country, especially one in which questions relating to migration and belonging are at the forefront of political and public discussion?

I was also drawn to this topic through my own background. Phinney (1990) notes that much research into identity 'may stem from an effort to understand one's own ethnicity' (p.7). I am in part a second-generation immigrant of mixed provenance: of Middle Eastern extraction through one grandparent, and Russian-Lithuanian through another; whilst on the other side, a mixture of Russian-Ukrainian and Polish, with previous generations of the family coming from various parts of Central and Eastern Europe. Their descendants were later to describe themselves variously as Russian, Belorussian, and Polish; English was often spoken as a second or third language after Russian, Yiddish and/or Polish. Thus the blurring of identities, the ever-shifting nature of how an individual might position herself and how she may find herself positioned by others, together with the confusion of language, all of which may never quite be

resolved, is something which resonates and which may be seen to underpin my interest in this area.

1.2 Rationale for the study

This study was conceived and the fieldwork conducted during the period prior to the June 2016 Referendum on Britain's membership of the European Union (EU). While the vote for Britain's withdrawal from the EU has dominated much work following the Referendum, it can be argued that many of the issues currently being discussed were already present in the preceding years. One of these is the subject of migration, an issue that has become particularly resonant in the early decades of the 21st century (Finney & Simpson 2009).

The migration crisis of the mid-2010s was prompted by the exponential increase in the number of people fleeing war or persecution, particularly from the civil war in Syria and the ongoing situation in Afghanistan. This was accompanied by the rise of right-wing and far-right parties in European and American election campaigns between 2014 and 2017. In Britain, the UK Independence Party (UKIP) campaigned from a staunchly anti-migration platform in both the 2015 and 2017 election campaigns; while concern has been raised from within and outside Poland about the increasingly right-wing and potentially anti-democratic agenda followed by the PiS (*Prawa i Sprawiedliwości* – Law and Justice) government elected in 2016 (Garton Ash 2016; Kucharczyk 2017).

Alongside the issue of illegal immigration at this time was also the question of EU intra-migration, namely, the relocation of European citizens who wished to take advantage of the principle of freedom of movement that currently allows EU citizens to work and reside in other member states. May 2004 marked the accession to the EU of the so-called A8 countries: the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland,

Slovakia and Slovenia. This resulted in a large increase in economic migration to the UK from these states (Gillingham 2010), with the largest number of A8 nationals coming to the UK being those from Poland (Fomina & Frelak 2008; Gillingham 2010). Polish migration to Britain is not new, however (see Chapter 2); the migratory demographic after 1989 had predominantly been young, single men, foreseeing perhaps only a temporary stay (Wallace, 2002). However, post-2004 saw an increase in the number of Polish families coming to the UK (Ryan et al. 2009), and by 2008, Polish-speaking children comprised the main group of non-English speaking newly-arrived migrant schoolchildren in England (White 2017).

However, the accession of the A8 countries prompted increasing concern within Britain over the issue of migration. Even before the June 2016 Referendum, the question of intra-European migration had become a 'contentious' issue in Britain (Ford 2011, p.1022), with much discussion centred on whether the founding EU principle of freedom of movement could be maintained (Barbulescu 2014). It was a major theme of the May 2015 General Election; the new Conservative government pledged in their manifesto to 'control migration from the European Union' (Conservative Party 2015, p.29). Subsequent discourse surrounding EU migrants, especially those from Eastern Europe, has become increasingly negative. Particular attention has been paid to the Polish contingent, as the largest group of A8 migrants, who are often described in pejorative terms (Moszczyński 2008).

The UK debate over migration has also been increasingly phrased in terms of language. It has been suggested that xenophobia and racism remain significant problems within Britain (Brown & Jones 2013), despite the fact that racial discrimination is deemed illegal (Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000). One way of side-stepping accusations of covert racism, however, is to utilise a proxy: a role increasingly fulfilled by language (Simpson & Cooke 2009). By substituting language for race or nationality,

sentiments that might otherwise be regarded as xenophobic and unacceptable are given a veil of respectability.

Also integral to the discussion on migration to the UK is the question of language: in its 2015 Election Manifesto, the Conservative government stated: '[b]eing able to speak English is a fundamental part of integrating into our society' (Conservative Party 2015, p.31). As will be explored in this thesis, English language skills have thus become equated with being part of British society. That the debate over migration is framed in such a way throws a spotlight on those who speak English as an additional language, to the extent that to use another language in public has been to provoke attention. The rise in such linguistic xenophobia has been highlighted by the director of the East European Advice Centre, Barbara Drozdowicz, whose comments that '[s]ymbolic linguistic violence' has become 'deeply normalised', were cited on the Tlang blog calling for resistance to this xenophobia (TLANG 2016, np).

Much scholarly attention has been paid to the post-2004 wave of Polish migration (Burrell 2010; Drinkwater & Garapich 2013; Botterill 2014; Ryan 2015). Until recently, however, there has been relatively little research on younger migrants and teenagers (Moskal 2014; Slany & Strzemecka 2016), although interest has increased in the wake of Brexit (Young 2018). Yet I wondered how those who had accompanied parents on their migratory journey to the UK were dealing with the process. Younger migrants may be seen as individuals who frequently have little choice in the migratory process (Geiss, Uebelmesser & Werding 2011): they are obliged to move with their families, and to find their own ways of adapting. Given the situation in Britain and the developing tensions within the country concerning EU migrants, I was interested in how far such Polish-born teenagers who had come to the UK were aware of the negative discourses surrounding them, and the impact these might have on the construction of their own ethnic and linguistic identities.

1.3 Research aims and questions

The principal aim of this study, therefore, is to investigate how the narratives told by a group of Polish-born adolescents, currently living in the UK, reveal the way in which these young people negotiate the construction of their ethno-linguistic identities. The research also purports to examine how these identities are negotiated against the backdrop of the contemporary anti-immigrant discourse in the UK.

Drawing on notions of identity as negotiated (e.g. Norton 1997; Pavlenko 2002a), and individuals as situated within story lines (Davies & Harré 1990), the study thus aims to explore the following two research questions:

1.   What do the stories of Polish-born adolescents living in the UK suggest about the way these adolescents negotiate and construct their ethno-linguistic identities?

2.   In the light of contemporary anti-immigrant discourses in the UK:

    i) how do these adolescents position themselves in the stories they tell?

    ii) how do the adolescents' stories suggest they are positioned by others?

1.4 Definitions of terms used

To discuss these questions, it is necessary to clarify the way certain terms are being used in this thesis.

Key to this study is the notion of '**ethno-linguistic identity**'. The understanding of '**identity**' used here, draws on the Hegelian concept whereby the individual is defined by the Other (Hegel 2007); and identity construction understood in terms of the relation

between the individual and the wider social world in which that individual operates. As noted below (see section 1.5), identity is seen as malleable, contingent upon the setting in which an individual finds herself (Bauman 2000; Frosh 2002). Drawing on Fought (2006), '**ethno-linguistic**' identity is seen as the way that individuals manifest their ethnic identity through language. In investigating aspects of identity, this study does not however take an intersectional approach (Crenshaw 1989). That is, while this thesis does make reference to issues of religion, class and gender where pertinent, I do not aim to follow Block and Corona (2016), in that I am not exploring these major categories in depth, nor do I purport to examine the intersection between them. The notion of intersectionality is nonetheless discussed briefly in Chapter 3, where a more in-depth exploration of the concept of ethno-linguistic identity can also be found.

Throughout the study, I have chosen to refer to the participants as bilingual, Polish-born, and migrant adolescents. These ascriptions are explained below.

The term '**bilingual**' can be considered 'a vague descriptor' (Lotherington 2003, p.3); accordingly, a more in-depth discussion of bilingualism and how a bilingual individual is perceived will be given in Chapter 4. In broad terms, however, the use of 'bilingual' in this study draws on Grosjean's (1989) understanding of bilinguals not as 'the sum of two […] monolinguals', but as those possessing 'a unique and specific linguistic configuration' (p.6). I also borrow from the notion of a bilingual as an individual 'who can function in both languages in conversational interaction' (Li Wei 2007b, p.14), and who may 'use both languages on a regular basis, regardless of whether they are equally fluent in both' (Pavlenko 2001, pp.317-8). I therefore regard the adolescents under investigation here as Polish-English bilinguals, notwithstanding their competency in each, and that they may have other languages in their linguistic repertoire (Gumperz 1964). Here I draw on Block (2007b), who uses the term 'bilingual' to signify both bi and multilinguals (p.81). This seemed appropriate, given that the focus of this current

study is not on the wider linguistic repertoires of the adolescents, but on their use of and relationship with Polish and English as the principal languages which they use in everyday interaction.

The participants in the study are described as '**Polish-born**'; this reflects one of the main criteria for selecting participants for the project (see Chapter 5). The age at which the adolescents moved from Poland varies, the youngest having been two and the oldest thirteen, and some have experience of attending school in Poland. How far the adolescents may feel themselves to be Polish, regardless of the time actually spent in Poland prior to migration, is a moot point. Interpretations of what it might mean to be Polish, and the degree to which the adolescents feel themselves to be Polish, is discussed throughout the thesis.

The term '**adolescent**' has also been used for these participants, whose ages range from eleven to sixteen years old, and who are of the age to attend UK secondary school. Marcia (1980, p.159) notes the imprecision in defining the period of adolescence, whilst Hine (1999), who privileges the synonym 'teenager', notes that 'the word […] tells us only that the person described is older than twelve, younger than twenty' (p.15). I have thus chosen to follow studies within socio and applied linguistics that examine issues relating to adolescents and which situate their research within junior and senior schools (e.g. McKay & Wong 1996; Tartakovsky 2009). While this current study is not conceived as a school-based one, I have nonetheless drawn on the notion of taking adolescence as roughly commensurate with the start and finish of secondary school in England, that is, from ages 11-18.

I have also favoured the term 'adolescence' in order to distinguish this group of individuals from infants and children. I eschewed the term 'young people', as some studies both in applied linguistics and migration work use this to refer to those over the age of eighteen (e.g. Block 2006a; Burrell 2011a; Li Wei & Zhu Hua 2013). In using the

term 'adolescent', my intention is to make clear that the participants here are under the age of eighteen. As such, they are classed as minors according to the UK legal system. This makes them subject to certain restrictions, such as compulsory school attendance, which may shape their migratory experience in a different way to that of adults.

As will be discussed later in this thesis, the term '**migrant**' has taken on certain connotations and become imbued with greater emotional resonance. Block (2010) notes the 'problematics of naming migrants in research', arguing that the umbrella term 'migrant' makes no differentiation between the varying socio-economic backgrounds from which individuals come, and their various reasons for moving from their country of birth (p.480; see also Anthias 2012, p.102). In employing the term to describe the adolescents in this study, I follow the use by Reynolds (2008), who adheres to the United Nations' 2002 definition of a migrant 'as a person residing outside their country of birth' (p.3). More specifically, the participants here are classed as EU migrants, in that they originate from EU countries; they therefore had, at the time of their migration and when this research was undertaken, a legal right to live in the UK, and their parents the right to work in the country.

Further to this, given the age at which they migrated, this group of adolescents may more specifically be described as belonging to the migrant group described as the '**1.5 generation**'. This borrows from Benesch (2008), who applies the term to those individuals who have undertaken most of their secondary, and perhaps primary, education in the host country (p.294). Regardless of the exact age at which each of the adolescents in this study left Poland, given their current attendance at secondary school in England and their plans to remain there, this definition can be seen to apply to them all.

1.5 Religion in Poland

It also needs to be explained here why I have chosen not to explore religion as a dimension of identity in this study, given the prominent role of the Catholic Church in the construction and maintenance of Polish identity (Porter 2001; Weeks 2011). To provide the rationale for this decision, it is first necessary to provide a brief overview of religion in Poland.

The correlation between Polish identity and the Catholic Church is highlighted by Kościelniak (2013), who avers that 'for most Poles being Catholic is part of the Polish identity' (p.224; also see Porter 2001; Rutherford 2007). The vast majority of Poles self-identify as Catholic (Zagorska 1998; Porter-Szűcs 2011), with over 90% of the population declaring itself to be Polish Catholic (Pędziwiatr 2011; Narkowicz & Pędziwiatr 2017). The Catholic Church remains a significant element of Polish life, both within Poland and in diasporic communities (Ryan 2010; Lacroix 2012). Nonetheless, as Temple (2010) notes, attending Church in a diasporic setting is not always necessarily about religious belief, but often also driven by an individual's wish to maintain a connection with the Polish community. This includes an opportunity to use and/or learn the Polish language (Souza, Kwapong & Woodham 2012), as discussed in section 2.3.

However, the current homogeneity within Poland belies the staunch presence of other religious and ethnic groups within Polish lands, both historically and today (Zagorska 1998). The Jewish community remains a significant population within Poland, be this in terms of historical import if not in actual numbers (Krajewski 2005). In the 18th century, Poland housed the largest Jewish community in Europe (Teter 2011); its near-annihilation during the Second World War is well-documented (e.g. Gilbert 1986; Mazower 1998; Michlic 2007). Relations between Poles and the Polish-Jewish community remain a complex issue (Gross, J.T. 2001; Michlic 2007), as does the

extent to which Jews in Poland have been allowed to regard themselves as Polish (see section 2.3.5 on ethnic groups in Poland).

While the Muslim population within Polish lands dates from the 14th century (Dziekan 2011; Pędziwiatr 2011), Muslims in Poland currently account for fewer than 0.1% of the population (Górak-Sosnowska 2011; Kościelniak 2013). The slight increase in the Muslim population in Poland during the late 20th century encompasses migrants from abroad and also includes converts to Islam (Pędziwiatr 2011). Recently, however, there has been increasing antagonism towards Muslims in Poland, prompted in part by Polish military engagement in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, together with the so-called 'war on terror' following the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 (Pędziwiatr 2011; Nalborczyk & Ryszewska 2013; Narkowicz & Pędziwiatr 2017). The animosity displayed towards Muslims can also be seen as part of a growing tendency towards a more widespread racism across Poland and beyond (Górak-Sosnowska 2011; Narkowicz & Pędziwiatr 2017).

Thus, while Catholicism is inexorably linked with Polish identity, it is not the only religious affiliation which exists in Poland. Given the potential delicacy of the subject, and the changing nature of religious tolerance in both historical and contemporary Poland, as alluded to above, I felt that religion would be a difficult subject to broach with younger participants. I therefore decided to avoid overt discussion of the subject. Nonetheless, as will become apparent in the latter part of the thesis, discourses around the topic of religion may be seen to have informed views expressed by some of the adolescents in this study, hence the brief overview provided above.

I next set out the theoretical framework of this study.

1.6 Theoretical framework

As set out in Chapters 3 and 4, this study is situated in a post-structuralist framework according to which knowledge is understood as 'socially constructed, not discovered' (Baxter 2016, p.35). It draws on the thinking of Foucault (1972), whereby knowledge is created through '**discourses**', defined by Foucault as 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (p.49). This conceptualisation of discourse and how it is drawn on in this study is expounded upon further in section 3.2.2.

Integral to this study is the issue of identity. The 20th century saw an increasing preoccupation with questions of identity (see Bucholtz & Hall 2005), and a burgeoning interest in identity construction within the field of socio and applied linguistics; investigation into how identity may be (re)constructed has taken on a new urgency at the start of the new millennium (Preece 2016).

In this thesis, identity is regarded as contingent; fluid across time and space, it is constantly under (re)negotiation in each new setting (Bauman 2000; Frosh 2002). Identity will also be seen here as multi-dimensional (Norton 1997; Pavlenko 2001; Block 2006a), and ethno-linguistic identity understood as a dimension of an individual's identity (see section 3.3.3). Despite this focus on the multi-dimensional nature of identity, however, I have chosen not to not use an intersectional approach (see section 1.4).

In drawing upon a conceptualisation of identity as fluid and multi-faceted, this study thus follows similar work in socio and applied linguistics concerned with identity (e.g. Norton 1997; Pavlenko 2001, 2003; Baynham 2003; De Fina 2003a, 2016; Block 2006a; McKinney & Norton 2008). I also draw on the philosophy of Mikhail Bakhtin (1981), who sees the world as dialogic, whereby an individual's identity is created

through dialogue with another, and where at the same time, each individual is also in dialogue with the past and the envisaged future.

Such a perspective chimes with the sense of narrative drawn upon in this research as a way of identity construction. This echoes Pavlenko (2001), for whom narratives are 'where selves are produced and reproduced by individuals as contingent and coherent' (p.320). In using narratives, I also draw on the notion of positioning (Davies & Harré 1990), where individuals position themselves within co-constructed 'story lines' in the construction of their identity (p.48). The stories told by the adolescents in this study, seen as constructed in conversation (Mishler 1999), are thus viewed as a way of understanding how the individuals fashion their identity in response to the environment in which they find themselves.

1.7 Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is divided into ten chapters. Where the Introduction has given a brief overview of the study, Chapter 2 situates the research in its wider context, providing an outline of the history of Poland and of Polish migration, in particular that to the UK. The chapter also offers a historical perspective on the role language has played in the maintenance of the idea of the Polish nation. The background to the current political situation in Britain will also be set out, together with the way that English has become core to notions of British citizenship and identity. Chapters 3 and 4 comprise a review of the relevant literature. The conceptual framework of the study is discussed in Chapter 3, where understandings of identity will be explored, including that of ethno-linguistic identity. Chapter 4 examines how identity has been approached in the field of socio and applied linguistics; it also explores studies which have drawn upon the linguistic theories expounded by Mikhail Bakhtin, both his overarching philosophy of

dialogism, and his principal concepts of heteroglossia and voice. Other conceptualisations relating to language use, including that of the native speaker and the positioning of the bilingual, will also be set out here.

The methodology employed in the study is set out in Chapter 5. This discusses the rationale behind framing the study as a narrative inquiry and the method of analysis used. The chapter sets out the way that narrative research has often been drawn upon in socio and applied linguistics work on identity; it also examines the extent to which the researcher is implicated in any research. A consideration of the ethical concerns raised by the project is also included here. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 constitute a presentation of the data. Chapter 6 focuses on the participants' experiences of migration; this includes the manifestations of anti-Polish sentiment they report having encountered. The adolescents' experiences at school will be set out in Chapter 7, while Chapter 8 describes their stories of life at home, be this in England or Poland. These three chapters are followed by a discussion of the findings in Chapter 9. Chapter 10 concludes the thesis in the form of a general overview; it also considers the limitations of the study. This final chapter then puts forward suggestions as to possible future avenues of research, especially in the light of the changing political climate and ongoing situation in relation to Europe.

Throughout, the choice has been made to retain all diacritics in the presentation of names of individuals or places, something which appeared imperative for a study in the field of linguistics. This draws on Dubravka Ugrešić (1998) for whom, when a language is stripped of such marks, it loses something of its essence, and 'the seriousness of the message' is diminished (p.34). It is also necessary to note that the pronouns she/her have been used throughout this thesis, except when it would not have made sense to do so.

2 Historical background and contemporary context

2.1 Introduction

As noted in the previous chapter, this study was conceived and conducted in the 18-month period between October 2014 and May 2016, with fieldwork finishing one month before the UK Referendum on Britain's membership of the EU. The study is thus situated in a pre-Brexit context; nonetheless, as I have argued elsewhere (Young 2018), themes which dominate political and public debate in the spring of 2018, and which impact on Polish individuals living in the UK, can be seen to have stemmed from this earlier period.

In order for the contemporary context to be understood, however, it is necessary to set out the background to Polish migration, and in relation to this particular study, to the role of language in the maintenance of Polish identity. While it might be said that today's adolescents are far removed from 18th century history, or that their experiences bear little resemblance to those of Poles who lived through the Second World War, great importance is given to history in the Polish collective consciousness (Ryszka 1967, p.107; Halecki 1978, p.43; cf. Molenda 1991). Moreover, many of the adolescents who participated in this study attend or have attended complementary schools, where alongside language learning, Polish history remains an important part of the syllabus (Howe 2015).

It may also be argued that, consciously or not, a person's identity is informed by the country from which she comes. As well as learning through more formalised schooling, an individual is often imbued with snippets of history that are blended into stories told during childhood. Radek Sikorski (1997), a former Polish foreign minister, notes how the sense of 'living in a zone of heightened political risks' was with him permanently, despite having been born into a post-war generation: he insists that 'I could not help

imbibing it [this sense] from stories told in my childhood at the family table' (p.92).
Tropes connected with Polish historical figures and wartime exploits also feature in
contemporary leisure pursuits: Sterczewski (2016) remarks on a notable recent
increase in the popularity of board games based on Polish historical events.

Given the above, it would seem unlikely that a sense of Polish history would not have
permeated in some way the lives of the young Poles in this study. Indeed, as will be
seen later in this thesis, in the stories these adolescents tell, historical tropes are
invoked not only implicitly but also overtly. In this chapter, therefore, I give an overview
of Polish history, and the extent to which it is moreover intertwined with Polish
migration. I also consider the importance of language in maintaining a tangible sense of
Polish identity, especially in the years when Poland did not exist as a geographical
entity. This is followed by a presentation of the situation in the UK; it is argued that
despite the linguistic diversity found there, a monolingual emphasis continues to
prevail.

The chapter concludes with a description of the contemporary situation in Britain with
relation to the ongoing debates on EU migration, especially that from Poland, and in
light of the June 2016 Referendum. This will include an account of the attitudes found
within the UK towards migrants from Poland, and the discourses in which such
attitudes are situated.

2.2 Early Poland to the late 18th century

As noted above, to understand the role of the Polish language in the construction of
Polish identity, it is firstly necessary to look at the history of Poland, and the interplay
between history, migration and language. Poland may be regarded as a country the
history of whose people has been dominated by waves of migration and exile (White

2017). It has been described as a territory which suffers from 'vulnerable geography' (Sikorski 1997, p.159; see also Lukowski 1985; Burrell 2002), and conflicts over its territorial borders have dominated Polish history from its inception as a state to more recent times. Notions of the need to fight, not just in a physical sense, to preserve one's country and its identity are recurrent themes in the history of Poland. Moreover, given the history of migration from Poland, Garapich (2008) stresses the need to remember that 'Poles have constituted a highly mobile and visible migrant workforce for more than a century in Europe' (p.736).

This section therefore provides a brief overview of the various waves of Polish migration throughout the country's history, and outlines the different historiographical circumstances and reasons for migration. In doing so, it also serves to provide a background to the particular period in which this current study is situated.

2.2.1 Polish migration in the 19th century

The first kingdom of Poland is deemed to have existed since the tenth century (Gieysztor et al. 1968; Halecki 1978; Prażmowska 2011). Its borders were consolidated as the kingdom also sought to steadily increase its power in the region. Catholicism became the main religion, a move as much political as it was religious (Prażmowska 2011): by allying itself with the Catholic Church, the Polish monarchy was able to avoid confrontation with the major force in Europe at the time, that of the Holy Roman Empire, thus leading to greater security for the kingdom.

Stability was also gained through an alliance with Poland's closest neighbour, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Originating from an arranged marriage between the two ruling families, this strategic partnership led to the creation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (see e.g. Davies 2005). Formalised at Lublin in 1569, the union 'was

certainly very advantageous to both sides' (Prażmowska 2011, p.47): it cemented their combined strength, and the Commonwealth 'quickly developed as an immense land power' (LeDonne 2009-10, p.180).

Yet despite the geographical size of the Commonwealth, its powers were in fact relatively limited (Halecki 1952; Miłosz 1959). The initial strength of the union was increasingly weakened by internecine jostling for power amongst the nobility, and efforts to build up a governmental infrastructure similar to those which could be found in other European powers of the time were stymied (Lukowski 1985; Wheeler 2011). Mired 'in a situation of political and military weakness' (Franzinetti 2008, p.366), and unable to protect itself adequately (Butterwick 2005, p.695), the Commonwealth was left vulnerable to outside influences and attacks. By the mid-18th century, many nobles had started to look abroad for support from foreign powers, which encouraged such powers to wield growing control over the increasingly enfeebled Commonwealth (Lukowski 1985).

In the late 18th century, the weakening power of the Commonwealth culminated in the partitioning of its lands by foreign powers. The erstwhile territory of the Commonwealth was split amongst the three ruling European powers: Russia, Prussia and Austro-Hungary,[1] and Poland ceased to exist as a geographical entity. Poland was not to regain its status as an independent country until the end of the First World War in 1918. By this point, however, many Poles had migrated from the region, and Polish communities had become established within several other countries, including Britain.

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[1] While the names of respective countries have been given here, it should be acknowledged that, as Kamusella (2015) emphasises, the Habsburg rulers controlled a greater territory geographically than the name 'Austro-Hungary' might suggest (p.60, footnote).

2.2.2   20th century Poland: fluctuating migration 1918-1989

While emigration from Poland was not completely unknown prior to the partitioning of Poland, it was from this period that Polish migration in its fuller sense may be dated (Zubrzycki, J. 1993). Large-scale migration from the partitioned territory occurred throughout the 19th century, the most significant wave of which was what became known as 'Wielki Emigracja' or the 'Great Emigration'. This followed the quelling of the November uprising of 1830 in the Russian partition, the largest of several rebellions which took place throughout the 19th century (see e.g. Davies 2005; Prażmowska 2011). During this time, a large number of intellectuals and artists, such as the Polish Romantic poets, including Adam Mickiewicz, chose to centre themselves in Paris (Zubrycki, J. 1979).

Yet while France remained one of the major places of exile, many Poles also chose to go to Britain (Trevena 2009), where sympathy for the Polish cause had been awakened (Kutolowski 1984). Following the 1830 revolt, organisations were founded with the aim of helping Polish exiles in Britain (Zubrzycki, J. 1979), and by 1867, both a Polish chapel and cultural centre had been set up in London (Trevena 2009). Emigration to the UK continued through the century; this resulted in the evolution of three major centres of the Polish community in the UK: London, Manchester, and the Scottish county of Lanarkshire (Trevena 2009). Britain also became home to some notable Polish émigré figures such as the writer Joseph Conrad (born Józef Teodor Konrad Korzeniowski in 1857). Thus by the end of the 19th century, a considerable Polish minority was living in the UK.

2.2.3   Poland post-1989: economic migration

Prior to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, efforts at revolution in the partitioned lands intensified. This, together with the defeat of the partitioning powers Prussia and Austria, meant that the revival of Polish independence became an integral part of the post-war settlement (Marks 2013, p.649), and Poland was re-established as a geographical entity through the 1918 Treaty of Versailles.

In the wake of this, Polish emigration to Britain declined sharply (Trevena 2009, p.3); the trend was however reversed following the invasion of Poland by German forces in 1939. That same year, the Polish government-in-exile was granted refuge in London, and during the Second World War, Polish forces were to fight alongside British ones (Cienciala 1995; Nocon 1996; also see Christensen 2007 on the Polish contribution to the code-breaking work done at Bletchley Park). Polish Army bases were formed across the British Isles (Trevena 2009); this extensive wartime connection has formed the basis for the thriving nature of many present-day Polish communities in the UK (Burrell 2002), and while later generations may appear to be removed from the war, many of the websites of contemporary Polish communities that have evolved from those of the 1940s continue to evoke their wartime connection.[2] Meanwhile, the Polish contribution to the Allied victory remains a narrative which is still drawn upon (see Gross, M. 2010; Sterczewski 2016).

Subsequent to the end of World War II, the British authorities recognised that many Poles wanted to remain in the UK following the establishment of a Stalinist government in Poland (Sword 1986, p.368). While Stalin had been perceived in positive terms in 1945, approbation for Soviet Russia was to evaporate through the late 1940s and

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[2] The Polish community in the town named Steadton in this study has a similar background (see section 5.2.2).

1950s as the Cold War took hold (Stachura 1997; Prażmowska 2011). It was also felt that the wartime Polish contribution should be recognised, and something done to help the large number of Poles who had remained in Britain (Sword 1986, p.385; Błaszczyk 2018). In 1947, the Polish Resettlement Act gave Polish nationals in Britain a legal right to abode and to work in the UK (Polish Resettlement Act 1947).

The ensuing decades saw a drop in the number of Polish migrants coming to Britain from Soviet-controlled Poland (Düvell 2004; Lacroix 2012, p.178) as migration was restricted by political shifts and passport restrictions by the authorities (Korcelli 1992; Morawska 2001; White 2017). In the 1970s, Soviet control of Poland diminished (Prażmowska 2011), while the late 1970s saw the rise of the *Solidarność* (Solidarity) movement, headed by Lech Wałęsa. However, the imposition of martial law in December 1981 and the apparent return to dictatorship under the rule of General Jaruzelski (Prażmowska 2011; Patton 2012), resulted in a large number of Poles migrating (White 2017), including those asking for asylum in the UK (Düvell 2004).

The reaction to the Polish contingent within local communities in Britain was ambivalent. On the one hand, several towns and communities had become fond of their Polish community during the war (Stachura 1997), and once it had ended, there was arguably 'little organised public resistance' to the appearance of Poles (Ford 2011, p.1020). However, opposition was also in evidence, mounting to a conspicuous 'hostility' from those who feared that the numbers of Polish workers were threatening their own livelihoods (Nocon 1996; Lane 2001). At the same time, those Polish arrivals coming from the Soviet Union through the 1950s coincided with a time of increased migration to the UK from the West Indies, that of the so-called Windrush generation. In comparison with these immigrants, the Poles were subjected to less racial discrimination at this time due in part to the fact that they were less visible through their Caucasian appearance (Lane 2001; Ford 2011).

Polish communities had also become well-established, aided in their attempts to settle into UK life by the Polish associations which continued to help those coming over from Poland. These included the *Stowarzyszenie Polskich Kombatantów* (the Association of Polish Ex-Combatants), or SPK, which had evolved out of an organisation of the armed forces (Paterson 1961; Suchcitz 2003), together with a number of other Polish organisations across the UK (Lacroix 2012). Newcomers were also assisted by those Poles already settled within local communities (see Lane 2001).

2.2.4   Poland post-1989: economic migration

Following the disintegration of the Soviet Union post-1989, migration from Poland was to increase as economic conditions in the country worsened and a new generation of migrants left Poland to seek employment. The movement of such individuals was aided by the removal of the need for entry visas for short-term visits, as had previously been required for those in Soviet states (Morawska 2001), and many Poles took immediate advantage of such freedom to travel (Trevena 2009).

The mass migration of the 1990s was comprised in the main of transitory migrants, frequently young (aged 18-34) single men (Ryan et al. 2009), who often took on manual work in order to earn money with which to return home (Morawska 2001). It has been argued that the 'circular nature' (Drinkwater & Garapich 2011) of this movement, rather than being seen as 'migration', should instead be termed 'mobility', given that many of these migrants had little or no intention of staying in the countries to which they had travelled to find work (Wallace 2002, p.603). Exact numbers of Polish migrants in the UK at this time are hard to determine, many visits being 'clandestine and transient' in nature (Trevena 2009, p.5), with the attendant difficulties of attempting to survive outside the official system (Düvell 2004). However, the demographic and

nature of Polish migration to Britain was to change in the wake of Poland's accession
to the EU in 2004.

2.2.5 EU accession 2004 and beyond

Subsequent to the collapse of Communism and the restoration of democracy in
Poland, the country instantly looked to be part of the expanding EU. It was seen as a
logical next step to the move towards democracy in Poland (Kucia 1999), although
public support for this reduced at the turn of the 20th century (Caplanova, Orviska, &
Hudson 2004). The accession of Poland to the EU on 1st May 2004 meant that Polish
nationals were now fully entitled to work in the UK (Trevena 2009). This led to an
exponential increase in Polish migration; following EU accession, Poles quickly were to
become the 'largest group of foreign-born UK residents' (White 2017, p.32; also
Trevena 2009, p.7; Lacroix 2012, p.152).

Garapich (2008) argues that the post-2004 migratory wave should be understood in the
sense of a continuum, and the arrival of Poles in the UK after 2004 seen 'as a
continuation of a process that began more than a decade' previously (p.736). As in the
1990s, economic reasons lay behind much of the post-2004 migration, especially of
younger Polish adults, driven to look for work elsewhere due to the high level of
unemployment in Poland, which was 21% at the beginning of 2004 (White 2017, p.33).
However, White also notes that further 'important motivations' included 'opportunities to
travel and improve English language skills' (p.33). The growing importance of English
language competency amongst Poles is discussed in section 2.3.6.

Political and logistical changes have meant that the modern-day Polish migratory
experience has taken on a different character. Zechenter (2015) draws several
distinctions between the experiences of modern-day Poles and those of earlier

generations. Membership of the EU bestows certain rights on 21st century Polish migrants not available in previous eras; there is also the ability to maintain a contact with Poland that was hitherto impossible. Travel has become easier with low-cost fares making it more accessible (Burrell 2011b). Contemporary Polish migrants 'are therefore not exiles, pilgrims, they are not emigrants, they do not have to long for the country hopelessly' (Zechenter 2015, p.16).[3]

Consequent to such developments, the migrant demographic coming to the UK also changed. Whereas before, single Poles had travelled to the UK, now families also began to come over (Ryan et al. 2009; White 2017), with the aim of seeking better conditions than those available in Poland. Some families came with the intention of settling in the new country, others considered the idea of returning home (Ryan et al. 2009). Despite a slight decline in the numbers coming in subsequent years, due in part to the improved economic conditions in Poland together with the worsening economic problems in the UK (Trevena 2009), nonetheless, a sizeable Polish minority remains resident in the UK. White (2017) notes how: '[b]y 2008, Polish-speaking children formed the largest group of 'non-English speaking newly-arrived migrant schoolchildren' in England' (p.1; also Trevena 2009, p.13).

However, even prior to the Referendum of June 2016, it was unclear how migratory patterns between Poland and the UK would evolve, given the many different individual motivations behind migration, together with the political developments across Europe (Ryan et al. 2009). As noted in Chapter 1, the principle of freedom of movement for citizens of EU member states was already under discussion prior to 2015-2016 (see Barbulescu 2014), when this current study was conducted. The position of EU citizens

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[3] 'Nie są więc wygnańcami, pielgrzymami, nie są emigrantami, nie muszą beznadziejnie tęsknić za krajem' (Zechenter 2015, p.16). All translations in this thesis are my own, unless otherwise stated.

living in Britain has been further complicated by the June 2016 Referendum; see Chapter 10 for an assessment of the potential impact of the Brexit vote.

One issue raised by the history of both Poland and Polish migration is the question of Polish identity, and how this has been understood through such turbulent times. This will be explored in the subsequent section.

2.3 Poland: ethno-linguistic identity

2.3.1   The importance of Polish

During the time of the partitions in the late 18th and 19th century, art – including music and literature – took on especial importance in the creation and maintenance of a sense of Polish identity (Ryszka 1967), as did the stage (Porter 2001, p.296). However, central to the establishment of such an identity was the Polish language: against the backdrop of the constantly changing geo-political status of Poland, and during times of prolonged occupation, language has remained key in the definition and preservation of Polish identity (Coleman 1934; Miłosz 1959; Janik 1996; Davies 2005). Smolicz (1981) argues that, as a result of linguistic suppression during the time of the partitions,

> an indissoluble link was forged between the Polish language and the
> perpetuation of the Polish people as a distinct social and cultural group (p.76).

The position of language as both an identity marker and a unifying force can also be seen as resonant of the region itself. Kamusella (2015) notes the 'rather indivisible and often necessary rapport between the histories of languages, societies and states' (pp.xi-xii) that prevails across Central Europe, including Poland. This is supported by

Corrsin (1998) in his work on censuses conducted in the region between the 1880s and the 1930s, and in Sayer's (1996) discussion of language use in 19th century Prague.

As will be explored in this section, the Polish language came to symbolise resistance in periods of brutal occupation. This emerged in the partitioning era (see e.g. Gammelgaard 2002; Schiffman 2006), and was to continue during the 20th century when Poland was subject to occupation by first the Nazi regime, and then the Soviet Union (Ryszka 1967; Garlinski 1975). The language may thus be seen as an integral part of the historical struggle to maintain Polish identity within Polish lands and communities, something which may also be seen to inform current attitudes towards Polish (Kasztalska 2014). The Polish Language Act of 1999 acknowledges the language as a central part of Polish identity, whilst a public opinion poll conducted in 2005 revealed that over a third of Poles viewed the Polish language 'as a national treasure that unites them' (Kasztalska 2014, p.245).

One group which has helped both historically and in contemporary times to promote and maintain the use of the language, is the Catholic Church. The role of the Catholic Church in maintaining the Polish language during the time of the partitions has been highlighted by Weeks (2001). In his study of the use of Russian in Catholic Churches in the late 19th century, Weeks notes that despite efforts to suppress the Polish language in the Russian partition (see section 2.3.3), even by 1914, 'the link between Polish language and culture and the Catholic Church in the northwest provinces remained' (p.109). The continuing importance of the Catholic Church in promoting the use of Polish can be seen in contemporary diasporic communities. In their exploration of migrant churches in London, Souza, Kwapong and Woodham (2012) explore the workings of a Polish Catholic Church and draw attention to the importance attached to speaking Polish. They observe that 'in Polish Catholic lessons […] religious, ethnic and linguistic aspects of identity are equally reinforced' (Souza, Kwapong & Woodham

2012, p.116). This emphasis on language maintenance also serves to underpin the strong association between Polishness and Catholicism (see section 1.5).

In subsequent sections, I describe the ways in which the occupying powers attempted to suppress Polish, and how this was defied. Before this, however, I start with a brief overview of the history of the language.

2.3.2   Development of Polish

The formation of Polish can be traced to 'a remote antiquity' (Gieysztor et al. 1968, p.31); whilst the language developed from a Slavic root, from the 12th century onwards the Latin alphabet was used (Kasztalska 2014). Polish subsequently grew into a well-developed language, as evidenced by the production of a Polish dictionary in the early nineteenth century (Elie 2000). Coleman (1934) suggests that the Polish language had come 'to symbolise the Polish cause' even as early as the 1400s, when the Poles wished to distance themselves from the Teutonic Germans, with whom they were frequently at war (p.157; also Komorowska 2014, p.20); while Jahr and Janicki (1995) note the early influence of the Church in promoting the language as a symbol of Polish identity, as it would continue to do in future centuries (see above).

Following the union with Lithuania in 1569, however, a notable feature of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was its multilingualism, the geographical area covered by the Commonwealth being such that it encompassed a multitude of languages (Davies 2005). At this time, Polish itself was actually more prevalent in the Lithuanian part of the Commonwealth, where the nobility used the language to distinguish themselves from the peasants, who would have spoken Lithuanian or Rusyn (Davies 2005, p.16).[4]

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[4] Rusyn is a Slavic language which was spoken by peoples in the Commonwealth region and beyond. Following a long-standing debate over whether Rusyn could be considered a separate

At the Polish court, meanwhile, use of the Polish language was eschewed in favour of French and Latin. Notwithstanding, '[t]he Renaissance […] saw the flourishing of Polish literature and the printing of dictionaries as well as grammar books written in and about Polish' (Kasztalska 2014, p.244), while 'the early beginnings of spoken standard Polish' can be traced back to the mid-16th century (Gammelgaard 2002, p.621). However, it was during the time of the partitions that the language took on greater resonance as a signifier of Polish identity (Jahr & Janicki 1995).

2.3.3   Suppression of Polish during the partitions

During the partitioning era of the late 18th and 19th centuries, the potential significance of the Polish language was recognised by the ruling powers, who attempted to suppress the language. The intent of the three partitioning powers – Russia, Prussia, and Austro-Hungary – was to purge any sense of Polish identity; they thus embarked on a policy of *wynarodowienie*, or de-nationalisation. While the sense of the term is somewhat diminished in English translation, G. Zubrzycki (2001) emphasises the 'very strong connotations' of the word in Polish (p.667). The term denotes the conscious endeavour made by Prussia and Russia in particular to destroy 'the sentiment of belonging to the Polish nation' of those living in the partitioned lands (Zubrzycki, G. 2001, p.667). Duszak (2002) draws attention to the reflexive verb *wynaradawiać się*, which she translates as 'to lose one's national roots, to forsake patriotic values, to lose one's native tongue' (p.216). One manifestation of the attempted *wynarodowienie* was through fierce language policies aimed at the eradication of the Polish language.

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language, or a 'series of dialects' (Magosci 1995), the language has since become an 'officially recognised […] minority language' (Baptie 2011, p.46).

Throughout the 19ᵗʰ century, such policies were put into effect with varying degrees of severity in each of the partitions.

The attempt to eliminate the Polish language was perhaps most rigorous in the Russian partition, where the Russian language was imposed upon the population. Russian became 'the primary language of administration and education' (Corrsin 1990, p.74), and a widespread ban on the use of Polish was enforced (Gordon 1996; Borzęcki 1999).

A similar clampdown on the use of Polish was enacted in Prussia, where Bismarck's policy of *Kulturkampf* (1871-79), or 'struggle for culture', (Rutherford 2007, p.19), included language laws aimed at restricting the teaching and use of the Polish language. This may be seen as what is now termed linguistic xenophobia (see Chapter 1): Michalski (1985) notes how the Prussians 'wished to see what were to them unintelligible syllables and threatening words erased from public life' (p.10). The Prussian authorities forbade the use of Polish in schools and workplaces (Molenda 1991), and German was instated as the language of use in the administration of most official and public matters (Zubrzycki, J. 1953; Nance 2008). Ultimately, however, such policies proved to be unsuccessful; although the Polish language was still not officially taught in schools, there was the establishment 'of two thousand Polish libraries' across Germany starting in 1880 (Davies 2005, p.91).

Relatively fewer curbs were placed on the Polish language in the Austrian Partition (Gammelgaard 2002), due in part to the fact that the issue of language was obfuscated by the 'hopelessly complicated' question of nationality caused by the fusion of the Hungarian and Austrian Empire (Coleman 1934, p.105). Here, most populations spoke their own language regardless of any official policy.

However, the strength of the Polish language was realised by those aiming to maintain a Polish identity, even deprived of a geographical territory. The attempts on the part of

each of the partitioning powers to stamp out the Polish language was therefore continually contested by Polish leaders. Closet teaching of Polish in public schools took place (Schiffman 2006), while extra schooling and study was conducted in underground Polish schools (Corrsin 1990), including the teaching of Polish history (Molenda 1991).

During the time of the partitions, the Polish language became 'the most important symbol of Polish cultural unity', and one through which a sense of 'linguistic continuity' could be developed (Gammelgaard 2002, p.608), leading to the crystallisation of a discrete Polish identity (see Jahr & Janicki 1995). Throughout the partitioned lands, Polish 'crossed all frontiers with impunity' (Davies 2005, p.16), in a geographical sense as much as across social class and even religions. Despite the many dialects of Polish that continued to be spoken throughout the nineteenth century (Gammelgaard 2002), ultimately, '[t]he homeland was indistinguishable from the language' (Davies 2005, p.17).

2.3.4   1918: An ethno-linguistically homogenous Poland?

In 1918, with the re-establishment of Poland as a geographical entity, debate ensued as to what the nature of the new state should be. Polish became unequivocally the national language of the newly re-established country (Kamusella 2004a, p.21). This was accompanied by an increasing 'interest […] in promoting "correct," Standard Polish' (Jahr & Janicki 1995, p.36). Neither was Poland immune to enforcing something of the language discrimination which Polish speakers had experienced during the partitions: following independence, proposals were put forward to remove the teaching of Ukrainian and Belorussian in schools (Holzer 1977, p.400). However, the ambition to create a homogenous Polish nation state (Corrsin 1998, p.145) was greatly complicated by the continuing multi-ethnic nature of the new geo-political state, which

drew together populations from each of the partitions. Beauvois (1985) notes that in the period 1918-39, '31 per cent of the population consisted of minorities: Jews (3 million), Ukrainians (c. 5 million), Belorussians (1.5 million), and Germans (c. 750,00)' (p.155), each of whom may have used minority languages instead of or alongside Polish.

Thus despite efforts to homogenise Poland linguistically, within the newly independent country a multitude of languages continued to be spoken, and language reaffirmed as a marker of identity. In his autobiographical work, *Native Realm*, Czesław Miłosz (1959) writes of linguistic demarcation occurring amongst his group of childhood friends. Miłosz (1959) describes how, while they would play together with no differences, when the day ended and the mother of two of the boys called them in, 'the similarity ended because she addressed them in Russian' (p.91); the story appears a telling illustration of how language continued to operate as a signifier of identity, and also of difference.

2.3.5   1939-89: A renewed threat to Polish

The outbreak of the Second World War and its aftermath was to result in a renewed threat to the Polish language. When in 1939, Poland was occupied by Nazi Germany, the linguistic oppression effected by the Nazi occupiers can be seen to echo that attempted at the time of the partitions (Burrell 2002, p.65). During the period of occupation, use of the Polish language was banned in all territory occupied by the Reich (Garlinski 1975, p.239). As during the time of the Prussian partition (Michalski 1985), this extended to renaming places with Germanic versions of the original names: thus Łódź became Litzmannstadt, while Poznań was turned into Posen (Mazower 1998, p.168). As in the time of the partitions, resistance to the prohibition of the Polish language was found in 'conspiratorial scholarly and educational activity' conducted through a network of underground schooling (Ryszka 1967, p.110), where classes and learning groups were set up, as well as numerous underground publishing groups

(Garlinski 1975). Once again, language became a reaffirmation of identity, and resistance to the occupying power was manifested through language maintenance. After the end of the Second World War, in accordance with the terms of the 1945 Yalta Conference, Poland was taken over by Stalinist forces (Applebaum 2012). There then followed a lengthy period of Soviet control, during which language once again became an issue of contention. Russian tuition was introduced into all official educational establishments; this was regardless of the ostensible official language policy of bilingualism in states under the aegis of the USSR (Schiffman 1996). In reaction, echoing the practices of the previous century, there was covert learning of Polish (Schiffman 2006).

Thus during the 20th century, as in previous times, the Polish language became a means through which Polish identity could be maintained, and came to represent a way of resisting the occupying powers. Despite the focus on Polish, however, throughout the country's history, even in 21st century Poland, various languages and dialects continue to be spoken in Poland by a sizeable number of ethnic minority groups (Moskal 2004).

The existence of such groups within the current territorial mass of Poland reflects the historically mixed nature of the geographical region, even as political rhetoric has often maintained the façade of a single national identity (Moskal 2004). Ethnic groups within Poland include the Szlonzoks, based in Silesia, an area comprising the current borders of Poland, Germany and the Czech Republic (see Kamusella 2004b for further distinction between the Szlonzoks and Slunzaks); and the Kashubs of north-central Poland. That each group has their own language further complicates the issue.

Alongside these other groups, the Jewish population within Poland has also frequently been treated as a discrete ethnic group. As noted in section 1.5, the question of how far Jews have historically been permitted to consider themselves Poles, has been the

subject of extensive scholarship (e.g. Gross, F. 1990; Gross, J.T. 2001; Michlic 2007; Teter 2011). This includes the question of language, with the Jewish population often being distinguished through speaking Yiddish and/or Hebrew. Safran (2008) argues that Jews

> were excluded from 'authentic' membership in the Polish nation for reasons of
> language as well [as religion], since the majority who practiced Judaism spoke
> Yiddish rather than Polish on a daily basis (p.183).

Despite the broad range of minority languages spoken throughout Polish territory, however, importance continues to be attached to the Polish language amongst the Polish diaspora and exilic Polish communities (Zielińska, Kowzan & Ragnarsdóttir 2014).[5] In addition to the aforementioned role played by the Catholic Church in the promotion of the language (see section 1.5), Polish is also maintained through a well-established network of complementary schools, the aim of such schools being to provide students with language tuition, together with classes pertaining to other elements of the life of the country of origin (Zielińska, Kowzan & Ragnarsdóttir 2014; Howe 2015). In Britain, many such schools were founded during or in the wake of the Second World War (Davies 2005), although the tradition dates back to 19th century Polish migration to Britain (Howe 2015); as will be seen in this study, these schools still have relevance in a modern setting.

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[5] I use the word 'diaspora' in this thesis to denote those born in Poland now living elsewhere; this is not however to overlook the differences which may exist within a diasporic community (see Anthias 2012, p.11).

Alongside continued efforts to maintain the Polish language, however, a more contemporary threat to the Polish language is seen by some to be that of the rapid encroachment of English (Duszak 2002). This will be discussed in the following section.

2.3.6   English in Poland

The changing attitudes towards English in Poland may be seen to reflect the wider political context of each era. When Poland was under Soviet control, English was viewed as a language of freedom. The language did not hold the same connotations of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992) as it did in former British colonies, for example (Śliwa 2008, 2010): rather, it was Russian and German that were traditionally viewed as languages of oppression (Reichelt 2005a; Komorowska 2014), although in the wake of the Communist era, German became seen as 'pragmatically useful' (Komorowska 2014, p.22).

Throughout the 1980s, to learn English was seen in Poland as rejecting Soviet domination and demonstrating 'an allegiance to the West' (Muchisky 1985, p.6); it was 'a counterbalance to learning Russian' (Duszak & Lewkowicz 2008, p.110). Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, English became the language of the future, of the upwardly mobile (Sikorski 1997), a language which represented 'a dream of freedom, democracy and wealth' (Komorowska 2014, p.22). Knowledge of English also gained additional importance in the context of Polish membership of the EU (Reichelt 2005a). At this time, therefore, rather than being viewed as a foreign tongue imposed by an invading power (Śliwa 2010), English appeared to be seen in Poland as a language that had been consciously adopted both in symbolical and practical terms.

More recently, however, attitudes towards English have become more nuanced. Studies often emphasise the perceived value of the language for the younger

generation (e.g. Reichelt 2005a; Enever 2007); it is seen as 'the language of professional and financial success' (Reichelt 2005b). While Duszak (2002) concurs that 'English is turning into an issue of high social and linguistic relevance for Polish society' (p.215), she sees it as serving to accentuate the difference in aspiration and opportunities. She sets out the duality:

> [f]or many Poles some knowledge of English is a precondition for a fuller participation in the modern life, and a better chance for prestige, promotion and higher social status. For many others who have no capabilities for, or interest in, the new developments, the spreading presence of English turns into a social and communicative barrier (p.229).

Questions around the threat to Polish have also arisen, due in part to the prevalence of English loan words used in Poland (Duszak 2002; Sztencel 2009), especially in the field of advertising (e.g. Planken, van Meurs & Radlinska 2010). There have even been moves by the Polish government to limit the increased use of English (Phillipson 2003).

While a wider examination of the issues concerning the hegemony of English (Phillipson 2003) lies beyond the scope of this thesis, it can nonetheless be argued that an ambivalent attitude towards English exists in Poland. English is seen as enabling access to an upward mobility (Sikorski 1997), yet there are attendant fears about its perceived dominance and the baleful influence it may have on the Polish language.

Having given a brief overview of Polish history and highlighted the importance of language in maintaining Polish identity, in the following section I address questions of British identity, and how language is implicated within this. The section will also set out the situation of Polish migrants living in contemporary Britain.

2.4 Britain: the contemporary context

This section describes the more immediate backdrop to the study. It presents the political context in the UK during the period 2015-2017; the UK is shown to be a country which, despite its linguistic diversity, places an emphasis on the need to speak English. The section also sets out the negative way in which EU migrants are often viewed, and the derisory attitudes with which Polish migrants in particular may be confronted.

It is important to reiterate that this study is situated within the context of pre-Referendum Britain, rather than in the 'hysteria' which was felt to have characterised the post-vote reaction (see e.g. Lynn 2016; Cooper 2017), and the ensuing confusion which continues to dominate debate. Fieldwork for the research finished one month prior to the Referendum, that is, in May 2016, when it was still thought that while a close vote was expected, the Remain side would win (Ipsos MORI 2016). That said, issues that were to emerge post-Referendum, not least the vituperative attacks on the Polish community, can be seen to have existed prior to the Referendum vote, and were indeed part of the 2015 General Election campaign.

2.4.1 British identity

It is firstly necessary to elucidate on the terms being used in this thesis. The title refers to individuals residing 'in the UK', that is, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. As clarified by the Ordnance Survey (OS), the UK is a sovereign state, with the constituent nations of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland also being countries in their own right (OS 2011). Yet, as the OS notes, there is a frequent confusion between the exact meaning of 'the UK' and of 'Britain'; given that

both terms are used in literature drawn upon here, there are also occasions where they are used interchangeably in this thesis. The term 'British Isles' will also be used.

A conflation between the descriptors 'British' and 'English' is also sometimes apparent in participants' stories reported here. Ryan (2010) observes a similar occurrence in her study of Poles living in London, where participants referred to 'English people' when talking of 'the indigenous population of London' (p.375).

Such confusion may occur because the term 'British' remains problematic: Garner (2012) notes that 'there is no clear consensus of exactly what being British entails' (p.456), despite attempts to evoke British values by politicians or within the media. One way that is used to define British identity, however, is that of language. This is made explicit in a piece written in 2014 by the then Prime Minister David Cameron, in which he spells out the correlation between British values and speaking English. Having set out what he considers British values to encompass, Cameron then states:

> [w]e are making sure new immigrants can speak English, because it will be more difficult for them to understand these values, and the history of our institutions, if they can't speak our language (Cameron, D.W.D. 2014, np).

The message is unequivocal: that only through speaking English can an individual gain access to understanding such values. How such a credo is further invoked in debates surrounding migration will be discussed below.

An initial point of interest, however, is that on the government website where the article was reprinted and may be accessed, links are given to translations of the article in Arabic and Urdu. There is a passing irony in this, given the tone of the piece and its emphatic insistence on English; yet it also demonstrates an implicit recognition of the multilingual nature of the UK.

2.4.2   A multilingual UK

The extent to which contemporary Britain is a multilingual society has been stressed by Blackledge (2002); however, the multilingualism that Blackledge characterises as a prominent feature of 21st century Britain is not a new phenomenon, but has always been present. This is highlighted by Nagy (2013) in her work on the indigenous languages of the UK, where she reiterates the point that 'the territory of the United Kingdom has never been a linguistically homogeneous one' (p.1). Her assertion is supported by several studies in historical sociolinguistics. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2017) note the presence of 'bi- and multilingualism, code switching and language policies in Anglo-Saxon England' (p.16). The trilingual nature of England (English, French and Latin) following the 1066 Norman invasion and well into the 14th century has also been highlighted (Wilson 1943; Baugh & Cable 1978; Turville-Petre 1996; McCabe 2011), while Putter (2010) notes the presence of such multilingualism in Wales.

In each of the regions that now make up the constituent countries of the UK, different indigenous languages were also spoken, including Welsh, Irish, and Scottish Gaelic, as well as other regional languages or dialects such as Cornish (Crystal 2003). These continue as living languages; their resurgence, especially following the devolution process towards the end of the 20th century, has often been led by the regional governments. The Scottish Funding Council (SFC) invests heavily in the promotion of Gaelic (SFC 2018); while in 2017, the Welsh government announced the allocation of £4.2 million to invest in the teaching of Welsh (Llywodraeth Cymru 2017). Significant efforts have also been made to revive Cornish, once feared obsolete (Ioan & Prys Jones 2015).

Alongside this, a plethora of minority languages are also in daily use across the UK. The 2011 Census states that overall, almost 8% of respondents in England and Wales

report having 'a main language other than English' (ONS 2011a, p.2). The principal languages spoken include Polish, listed as the second most widely spoken 'Other' language, followed by Punjabi and Urdu (ONS 2011a, p.3).[6] Certain concentrations of other languages were also found, such as a cluster of Yiddish speakers in Hackney, or a group of Krio (Sierra Leonean Creole) speakers in Wiltshire (ONS 2011a, p.7). Even allowing for the inevitable discrepancies in self-reported language use (see Corrsin 1990), such figures give a clear indication of the breadth of linguistic usage across the UK, encompassing both indigenous languages and those originating in other regions of the world.

Despite this wide linguistic diversity, however, and as will be argued herein (see Chapter 4), the dominance of English and the notion of a monolingual society prevails (Blackledge 2002). However, it must once again be remembered that this is not merely a contemporary phenomenon. The dominance of English and the endeavour to establish it as the principal language of the British Isles has a long history. Nagy (2013) notes the way in which the English language has been used in attempts to construct a national identity; she argues that 'British monarchs and governments had pursued an *English only* policy towards linguistic minorities' within the British Isles 'from the very beginning' (p.2, italics in original). Ager (2003) provides the example of King Alfred's effort in the year 800 to have educational materials translated into Anglo-Saxon as animated by a 'political aim […] to create an identity' and a 'kingdom […] coherent enough to lead' (p.63). Drawing on language to create a symbol of an ostensibly coherent identity is therefore not a new ambition.

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[6] Throughout this thesis I privilege the spelling 'Punjabi', following e.g. Hall (2002); Preece (2009), although the word is spelt as 'Panjabi' in the Census (ONS 2011); Rampton (1995, 2005) also favours 'Panjabi'.

In a contemporary setting, however, as noted above, such thinking about language and the inter-relation between English language and a British identity can be seen to animate current discussions about migration. How this was manifested during the election campaign of 2015 and the subsequent Referendum of 2016 will be discussed in the next section.

2.4.3   Election campaigns of 2015 and 2016

While the link between language and migration became more explicit during the 2015 General Election campaign, even before this, the question of English language competency had been evoked in discussions relating to the rights of migrants. In a speech announcing proposed government spending for 2013, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Osbourne, stated his intention to make social security claims dependent upon an individual's English language competency. For those who did not speak English, attendance at English language lessons was to be a prerequisite to receiving state benefits (Osbourne 2013).

Migration was central to the 2015 political hustings, especially migration from the EU. The Conservative Party pledged to hold a Referendum on Britain's membership of Europe before the end of 2017; while the right-wing UK Independence Party (UKIP) ran on an openly Eurosceptic and aggressively anti-migrant platform. UKIP campaign posters featured allusions to EU migrants taking British jobs, and Britons were urged to 'take back control of our country' (UKIP 2018).

English language competency was seized upon as an ostensibly valid argument in discussions over controlling migration. This was made clear in the rhetoric of politicians, as they stressed the importance of linguistic competency in deciding whether to allow people to stay in the UK. It was not only UKIP leader Nigel Farage

who drew on this, emphasising the need for those in the National Health Service (NHS) to speak English (Prince 2015), but also Labour leader Ed Miliband, in his insistence on the need for immigrants to learn English (Gayle 2015). Thus, such thinking did not just stem from the overtly nationalist parties, but also formed part of the mainstream political rhetoric.

Such political discourse can be seen echoed in the increasing prevalence of linguistic xenophobia. This may be defined as 'abuse directed to others who are speaking another language, or speaking with a 'foreign' accent', and includes banning a language from the workplace (TLANG 2016). While such discriminatory practices have attracted attention post-Referendum, such cases were occurring prior to the vote. In 2013, for example, a nursery teacher won damages in a court case she brought after being forbidden to speak Polish to colleagues at work (*The Telegraph* 2013).

Following the announcement on 20th February 2016 of the date of the EU Referendum (BBC News 2016), the tone of nationalist sentiments expressed during the General Election campaign hardened. The Leave campaign was based on the premise that EU membership signified a gradual erosion of UK sovereignty; this remains a principle argument of the 'Get Britain Out' movement, with one of the group's principal aims being 'to restore UK democracy' (Get Britain Out 2017). These expressions of British sovereignty often took the form of barely veiled attacks aimed especially at migrants coming from former Eastern bloc countries. Polish migrants, being the largest EU migrant group in the UK, became the subject of particular vitriol. It has been observed that expressions of anti-Polish sentiment increased leading up to the Referendum: Fitzgerald and Smoczyński (2017) report their respondents' comments that 'now it was not uncommon to be insulted in the community, on public transport and at work' (p.664). The topic of anti-Polish sentiment is addressed in the following section.

2.4.4   Attitudes to Poles in the UK

The complexity of assessing the exact number of Poles in the UK has been widely acknowledged (e.g. Sales et al. 2008; Gillingham 2010). The difficulty is due in part to the undocumented nature of Polish migration prior to 2004 (see Düvell 2004); it also stems from the confusion over defining 'Polish', such as whether this should include those of Polish birth who have since become naturalised British citizens, or children of Polish citizens who were born in the UK (Hawkins & Moses 2016). Various estimates have been made, ranging from 'at least 700,000' (CSM 2014, p.1), to possibly up to a million (McDowell 2009, p.26). Even allowing for the indeterminate numbers, the rise in the number of Poles resident in the UK in the ten years since accession appears indisputable. A recent UK government paper puts the number of Poles in the UK as having risen from approximately '69,000 in 2004 […] to around 853,000 in 2014' (Hawkins & Moses 2016, p.1).

The decade following EU accession saw a marked shift in attitudes towards Poles living in the UK. The initial image propagated had been that of the hard worker (Fomina & Frelak 2008); this was to prove a double-edged sword in that it could led to exploitation of such workers (Fitzgerald & Smoczyński 2017). However, the appreciation of hard working Polish employees was accompanied by a fear that such individuals were taking jobs and usurping the positions of British workers (McDowell 2009; Fitzgerald & Smoczyński 2017). Such sentiments were not unique to Britain but were echoed within other European countries – e.g. Pijpers (2006) in the Netherlands, and van Riemsdijk (2010) on Polish nurses in Norway – where similar concerns to those expressed in Britain had come to the fore.

Poles have also become the subject of derogatory portrayals in the British media. They have been perceived as criminals (Baker et al. 2013), depicted as the stereotypical manual worker (Spigelman 2013), or portrayed as benefit scroungers (Fomina & Frelak

2008; Sordyl & Janus 2013, p.17). Media vitriol was such that the Federation of Poles in Great Britain submitted evidence to the 2012 Leveson Inquiry on the conduct of the press (see Moszczyński 2008). While these complaints were recognised, with the inquiry upholding the argument that areas of the press were exploiting stories about EU migrants in support of their own opposition to Britain's membership of the EU (Leveson 2012, pp.671-2), it appears that such depictions have persisted. Newspaper headlines continue to draw on negative tropes (Fitzgerald & Smoczyński 2017), such as Polish migrants taking British jobs, e.g. *The Express* (Sheldrick 2016): 'Migrants being offered work AHEAD of Britons'. Another recent example focused on a booklet made available to Poles outlining the benefits system in the UK. The story appeared in *The Sun* newspaper under the headline 'Pole Chancers' (Earlam, Wells & Pasha-Robinson 2016). The closeness of the headline to the term 'pole dancers' may be seen to contain an indirect allusion to the stereotype of Eastern Europeans as sex workers; this follows the rise in the number of sex workers from Eastern Europe following 2004 accession (see Platt et al. 2011). Similar portrayals have also been identified in current affairs programmes (Rzepnikowska 2013), while Rydzewska (2012) detects ambiguity in the way that Polish migrants are depicted in contemporary British film, and the way 'it taps into the prevalent discourses in the British mass media' (p.218).

Notwithstanding, some contemporary Polish communities have attempted to establish themselves and made themselves known within their local society. McDermott (2008) and Kempny (2011) highlight the ways in which the Polish community in Northern Ireland has deliberately made itself visible through language. Community newspapers are now published (Kempny 2011), including *Glosik*, a Polish magazine 'produced in part to forge closer links with the local community in Northern Ireland', and the appearance of articles in Polish in some of the local newspapers (McDermott 2008, p.14). The Polish community of Belfast has also made itself 'increasingly visible and audible in the public space' of the city by way of festivals and cultural events (Kempny

2011, p.133; also McDermott 2008). That the community is trying to make itself noticeable in this way mirrors the efforts made in the London Borough of Lambeth, highlighted by Sordyl and Janus (2013) in their investigation into the Polish community there. The report suggests that local Polish residents want to 'share and celebrate' their culture with the local community (Sordyl & Janus 2013, p.3), to help 'break down negative stereotypes' (p.11). This may be seen as a demonstration of the way in which the Polish community in Britain is trying to assert itself.

However, in contrast to the active wish for visibility amongst some Polish communities, derogatory press coverage has been seen to deter other individuals from publicly acknowledging their Polish identity. As well as highlighting visibility in Lambeth, Sordyl and Janus (2013) also note how:

> [f]ears about being the object of negative stereotypes of Polish people have discouraged some of them from identifying as Polish, asserting their rights, or developing a strong Polish community representation (p.11).

The environment in which this study was conceived can therefore be seen as one of increasing antagonism towards the Polish community in the UK. Media coverage can be seen to thrust an unwelcome visibility upon Polish individuals, and to portray their presence in the UK as deleterious to British society. At the same time, the literature draws attention to attempts being made by Polish communities to resist such stereotypes (Sordyl & Janus 2013). Such active visibility may be seen as a way of challenging the dominant narrative, and establishing a valid Polish space within Britain. It remains a moot point how far this is available to smaller communities, however, such as the locations in this current study. At the same time, a tendency can be seen to have emerged towards the promotion of an emphasis on Britishness, however amorphous a concept that may be. Implicated within this is the question of language,

whereby English is seen as a gatekeeper and as such, has become integral to the debate on migrants and their position within the UK.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has explored the historical and contemporary context in which the study is situated. A brief outline of Polish history was given; also set out was the way in which migration may be seen as inexorably entwined with the history of Poland. It was argued that in a region where language is seen as a marker of identity, the Polish language has been exploited and maintained as a manifestation of Polish identity, especially during the era of the partitions and times of occupation in the 20th century. It needs to be remembered that where Poland was a highly multilingual entity during its earlier period, in the contemporary era there is far greater linguistic homogeneity (Komorowska 2014, p.23).

The chapter also outlined the contemporary political situation in Britain, and highlighted the way that learning and speaking English is seen as representing a commitment to becoming part of British society. This is despite the multilingual nature of the population, something which sits in stark contrast to the insistence on English language being equated with belonging to British society. The current atmosphere within the UK was also described here, wherein European citizens, especially those from Eastern Europe and Poland in particular, are frequently regarded with suspicion. It was in such a climate that the study set out in this thesis was conducted.

Where this chapter has presented the wider context of the study, the following chapters set out the theoretical framework used. The literature relevant to the research, in both applied linguistics and migration studies, will also be reviewed.

3 Literature Review: Constructions of identity

While the previous chapter provided a historical and political context, the following two chapters present a review of the literature on language and identity. Chapter 3 examines the poststructuralist theories that underpin thinking about identity, and which inform this current study. It also sets out the way in which these concepts have been used in the field of socio and applied linguistics to investigate questions of identity construction. Chapter 4 will then explore concepts of language which are to be drawn upon in this thesis.

3.1 Overview

In this current chapter, the theoretical framework for this study will be presented. The chapter starts with a short account of recent approaches to the understanding of identity. It then attempts to clarify the distinction between postmodernism and poststructuralism, before presenting poststructuralist approaches to the question of identity, wherein it is argued that identity may be understood as constructed through discursive practices and negotiation with others. This will lead to an exploration of the concept of positioning used in this thesis, and the way in which individuals negotiate subject positions in different settings.

Drawing on the notion that identity is multi-dimensional, the chapter then examines the notion of ethno-linguistic identity, which is key to this study. Leading on, there will be a discussion on how ethnicity may be made visible. This will be shown to link with notions of whiteness and the issue of racism, including that demonstrated in the form of anti-Polish sentiment. It will be suggested that socio and applied linguistics literature on whiteness and racism has focused mainly on certain communities, and that conceptualisations of whiteness need to be re-examined in a contemporary context.

3.2 Conceptualisations of identity

3.2.1   Changing notions of identity

The contemporary age has been termed 'the age of identity' (Bucholtz & Hall 2005, p.608). In a time of enhanced mobility, the present-day world has become one characterised by '[d]oubt' (Giddens 1991, p.3) and 'fast-moving uncertainty' (Frosh 2002, p.16), where identity stands fragmented and unstable. It is an era of extreme insecurity, a world in which mobility has become an expression of rootlessness, where there can be little certitude (Bauman 1997). '[I]dentity is constantly shifting' (Joseph 2010, p.14) as individuals move between different societies, and as society itself changes.

Within this context, identity has become seen as contingent, determined upon 'the context, which may change' (Hobsbawn 1996, p.42). Both 'derivative and accidental', identity is thus dependent upon and fluid across space and time (Frosh 2002, p.7). Drawing on Michaud's (1997) notion of 'contemporary identities' as having 'become more adaptable and flexible' (np),[7] Bauman (2000) has conceptualised the phenomenon of ever-changing identity as 'liquid modernity', whereby identity is perceived as fluid.

But while fluidity may evoke a 'lightness', a flowing smoothness, implying an ease of transition, it is also associated 'with mobility and inconstancy' which suggests instability, something fluctuating and indefinite (Bauman 2000, p.2). Moreover, as Bauman (1998) himself cautions, such liquidity does not necessarily equate with an individual's complete autonomy. For while increased mobility appears to afford the

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[7] 'Les identités contemporaines […] deviennent plus modulables et flexibles' (Michaud 1997, np).

individual an openness and a freedom to select an identity at random, this is not necessarily the case: rather than providing an opportunity for change and development, the contingent nature of identities can be considered a destabilising process. The perplexing nature of (re)finding identity is a recurrent theme in Eva Hoffman's (1989) memoir of migration from Poland to 1960s Canada, and then the US, where she describes the daunting choice of potential identities with which an individual may be faced.

The idea of identity construction representing an insuperable challenge to the individual has become especially pertinent at the turn of the 20th century and in the first decades of the new millennium, where enabled by technological developments in transportation and communication, individuals have become ever more itinerant on a global scale. Preece (2016) argues that:

> identity has become an altogether more complex phenomenon as a result of the mobility and diversity that has arisen in the social worlds of the physical and digital due to the processes of globalisation in late modernity (p.3).

At the same time, the displacement of people due to conflicts and economic crises have enhanced the sense of insecurity. The writer Dubravka Ugrešić (2007), born in pre-civil war Yugoslavia and as such, mindful of the changing nature of identity, suggests that as people have become all too aware of the frequency with which 'identities can be changed', there is a human yearning for palpable identities (p.73).

However, interest in and concerns over the (un)fixed nature of identity are not new. Emerging from the debris left in the aftermath of the Second World War, a landscape not of 'virgin territory but destruction' (Applebaum 2012, p.5), came a greater recognition of the fluidity of identity (Weedon 2004). In his seminal work on identity, Erikson (1968) notes the use of the term 'identity crisis' in being applied to traumatised

soldiers in the Second World War, individuals who 'had […] lost a sense of personal sameness and historical continuity' (p.17). This was not only relevant to soldiers: in a time of profound emotional and physical displacement, old certainties had become fragmented and with them, the human condition (cf. Eaglestone 2004).

At the same time, identity was increasingly being understood as not simply inherent to the individual, but as a social construction, which acknowledges the role played by society in bestowing an identity upon any given individual. Berger and Luckmann (1966) posited the notion that the identity of an individual was constructed through socialisation, that it was through interaction with those around them that an individual's identity became apparent. However, this focus on the reification of identity (Berger & Luckmann 1966, p.108), and its essentially immutable character (p.118), was at odds with the non-essentialist view that was espoused by the emerging poststructuralist movement. Poststructuralists challenged the essentialised notion of identity as something which could be 'objectively defined' (Berger & Luckmann 1966, p.152) and advanced an understanding which conceived of identity as more fluid. This current study takes the poststructuralist view of identity as mutable and contingent, as will be explored below.

In this study, I chose to adopt a poststructuralist perspective for a number of reasons. Firstly, in investigating the experiences of Polish-born adolescents now living in the UK, I became interested in the way that identity and subject positions can be seen to shift in different contexts. A poststructuralist lens through which identity is viewed as contingent – as will be expounded upon in the following section – allows for a deeper understanding of how identity construction varies according to the setting, and how an individual may find herself positioned differently within different societies.

Taking this perspective also allows for an investigation into the nature of identity itself, which here includes an exploration of how identity may be constructed through

narrative, and the way an individual chooses to position herself in the stories she tells (see section 5.1). Using a poststructuralist approach also serves to locate the current study within other identity work in the field of socio and applied linguistics situated within a similar framework (see section 3.2.4). A more detailed exploration of the poststructuralist view of identity and how it informs this current study is set out below.

3.2.2 Poststructuralism and discourse

To expound on how poststructuralism is understood and how it relates to a study on

language and identity, it is first necessary to distinguish it from postmodernism (Baxter 2003). The aim of the postmodernism movement may be seen to dismantle 'the grand Narratives' (Lyotard 1984, p.15), and to counter the view that there are fixed ways of knowing. Postmodernism argues that it is not possible to know the world absolutely (Baxter 2016, p.35); instead, postmodernism questions 'all grounds of authority, assumption, and convention' (Pavlenko 2001, p.318). Rather than being founded on a quest for absolutes, therefore, postmodernism allows for a multiplicity of understandings.

Like postmodernism, poststructuralism can be seen to question the notion of ostensibly objective, immutable answers and solutions (Morgan 2007). Yet where postmodernism is an overarching philosophy, poststructuralist interest lies in how language may be seen as a site for identity construction (Pavlenko 2002a; Baxter 2003, 2016), that is, how an individual is constructed through and by language.

This focus on language is attractive to the field of applied linguistics, given its preoccupation with the way that 'language, meaning and identity' are inter-related (Baxter 2016, p.34), and the way in which language is implicated in the identity

construction of the individual. Rather than seeing language as representing fixed meanings in the Sassurian sense (Weedon 1987, p.24), whereby language is seen as something concrete, defined as 'a self-contained whole and a principle of classification' (Sassure 2011, p.9), a poststructuralist perspective views language not as a rigid system of signals, but as something more mutable.

Central to poststructuralist thought on language, particularly in regard to the notion of discourse, is the work of Michel Foucault. For Foucault, knowledge is not absolute, but formed through discourses. Borrowing from Baxter (2003), the Foucauldian notion of discourse(s) is here understood as:

> forms of knowledge or powerful sets of assumptions, expectations and explanations, governing mainstream social and cultural practices (p.7).

Language is thus theorised as 'a collection of discourses', through which identity may be constructed and negotiated (Pavlenko 2002a, p.283). The notion of discourse has been drawn upon in research by Deborah Cameron (2001) to question the way gender is presented and viewed within society, with especial concern as to how this serves to subordinate women. Such work evokes questions of power that are integral to Foucauldian thinking.

Fundamental to Foucault's writing is the notion that embedded within discourses are relations of power. Foucault (1972) frames this in terms of prohibition and exclusion: prohibition refers to the way that only particular ways of speaking about things are permissible within any given society, while others are proscribed. This serves in turn to exclude ways of thinking and marginalise certain individuals, and thus to maintain power relations. It is through the reproduction of discourses that power is sustained and replicated, and that particular relationships between individuals are upheld (Preece 2009, pp.29-30).

In her exploration of discourse, Cameron (2001) cites the analysis conducted by the Glasgow Media Group on depictions of strike action. She draws attention to their observation that employers were portrayed as proposing 'offers', while employees were depicted as insisting on 'demands'; were these ascriptions to be reversed, it was argued, – i.e. describing employers as imposing 'demands' and the workers as requesting 'offers' – it would carry an ideological implication that the speaker supported the workers (Cameron 2001, p.122). As Cameron notes, this example thus demonstrates how the positions of power within the relationship between workers and employers is reinforced and maintained through discourse; that is, through the ways in which each side is being positioned through the language used to describe them.

This is not however to render the individual completely impotent, for if discourse is seen as the way that knowledge is created and sustained, then within it also lies the potential for resistance. From a Foucauldian perspective, 'discourses produce subjects within relations of power that potentially or actually involve resistance' (Weedon 2004, p.19). It is through discursive practices that an individual may challenge and resist certain discourses, or ways of knowing.

At the same time, this resistance is itself bound by restrictions: it is only within certain parameters that an individual may challenge the prevailing discourse to which she is subject. The prohibitive nature of discourse set out above (Foucault 1972), means that, while an individual may seek to defy certain discourses through discursive practices, that same individual is simultaneously constrained by the limited discourses which she may have at her disposal and to which she may be permitted access. Drawing on Foucault's conceptualisation of the relationship 'between knowledge and power', and the way power may operate within any given society, Norton and McKinney (2011) note how scholars interested in identity aim to 'understand how power operates within society, constraining or enabling human action' (p.82).

One example of where such power comes into play is in the notion of the 'legitimate speaker', the question of who may be allowed to speak in any given setting (Bourdieu 1977). The idea of the legitimate speaker has been explored in the context of language learning by Pavlenko and Norton (2007; also see Norton 1997). Here, learners of English are shown to be constrained in their attempts to adopt the position of English speaker by the potent discourse which surrounds the language (Pavlenko & Norton 2007). It is the power of such a discourse which serves to de-legitimise learners' attempts to position themselves as English language speakers. How these notions of power and language are implicated in everyday experiences is explored further in Chapter 4.

Identity work may thus be seen to encapsulate the way an individual is perceived as an actor within the social world, and how her ability to shape this changes depending on context. An implicit tension lies within the process of identity construction: the individual is seen to be engaged in a perennial tussle as she attempts to establish her agency in the (re)negotiation of her identity in different settings. The way that questions of subjectivity and agency impinge upon this (re)construction of identity are addressed in the subsequent section.

3.2.3   Subjectivity and positioning

If identity denotes the link between the individual and the wider social world, then subjectivity can be seen as referring to a more internal sense of being. This draws on Weedon (2004), for whom subjectivity consists of 'an individual's conscious and unconscious sense of self, emotions and desires' (p.18). Just as identity is seen as fluid from a poststructuralist perspective, so subjectivity is regarded as 'partial or incomplete in that discourses also create the possibilities for autonomy and resistance'

(Morgan 2007, p.1036). From a Foucauldian viewpoint, it is through the subjectivity, or agency, of an individual that she is able to engage with others' voices, through the use of discursive practices and thus negotiate her identity (Foucault 1972). However, as will be argued below, this agency may be limited.

Here I draw on Block's (2013) understanding of agency as that which makes 'the individual able to act on, control and even transform the social worlds that envelope him/her' (p.128-129). The agency of any given individual is, however, confined by the way in which that person is positioned by the wider discourses which surround her and in which she operates. The successful (re)negotiation of identities and the availability of subject positions available to an individual are thereby dependent upon how much agency that individual has. In their work on linguistic minority speakers' negotiation of identities, Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001) emphasise how certain situations can render the agency of an individual impotent. They remind us that 'certain identities may not be negotiable because people may be positioned in powerful ways which they are unable to resist' (Blackledge & Pavlenko 2001, p.250); they cite the example of Stalinist Russia where individuals were powerless to challenge the way in which the state chose to position them, and equally helpless to resist the consequences of such positioning.

In investigating the negotiation of identity, this current study therefore also draws on the notion of positioning as set out by Davies and Harré (1990), and further developed in Harré and van Langenhove (1991). Seen as 'a discursive practice' (Harré & van Langenhove 1991, p.398), positioning may be understood as the process by which individuals situate themselves and are situated by others, both within discourses and through discursive practices to which the individual has access. As has been explored in the section above, an individual is seen as subject to and embedded within certain discourses, which are themselves contingent (Foucault 1972). The identity or subject

positions of an individual are not fixed but are constantly (re)negotiated through discursive practices, that is, through language (McKinney & Norton 2008).

The concept of positioning has been likened to that of 'the military meaning of a 'position'', whereby 'a position is always taken against the position of the enemy' (Harré & van Langenhove 1991, p.395). Implicit in this is the idea that the position of one is relational to that of the Other; based on Hegelian thought which proposes that it is only through being refracted through and acknowledged by others that individuals can ever see themselves (Hegel 2007). An individual can position herself, but she may also be positioned: potentially ever-fluid, the (re)positioning of an individual requires a constant process of negotiation. Drawing on Davies and Harré (1990), Pavlenko (2002a) notes how

> individuals may be collaborating in as well as resisting their own positioning and are continuously involved in the processes of producing and positioning selves and others (p.284).

The question of positioning is examined by Gergana Vitanova (2004) in a study of second language (L2) use amongst Eastern European migrants to the US. Vitanova describes how the participants react to this positioning, at times accepting it whilst at other times resisting it. The participants show themselves to be aware of how others see and thus position them in terms of their lack of L2 competency: Ukrainian-born Sylvia feels that her limited skills in English render her 'different and, thus, "funny"' to an assistant at the grocery shop (Vitanova 2004, p.273), while Russian-born Vera remains painfully aware of how her co-workers position her due to her limited English language skills (p.265). At the same time, each woman displays a determination to use

the new language and thus 'to claim a space of resistance' against the way she is being positioned by those around her (p.269).

From a Foucauldian perspective, the way an individual may be positioned is influenced not only by the Other in the form of another individual, but with reference to the wider society and the positions accepted within the discourses embedded in that society. Identity may therefore be seen as 'always in process, a site of struggle between competing discourses in which the subject plays an active role' (McKinney & Norton 2008, p.194).

Davies and Harré (1990) maintain that a 'particular strength' of the positioning paradigm lies in its ability to recognise 'the constitutive force of discourse, and […] discursive practices', while simultaneously realising the element of choice which may be available to the individual (p.46). However, in keeping with Foucault's idea of 'historical specificity' and subjectivity 'as always socially and historically embedded' (McKinney & Norton 2008, p.194), the subject positions available to an individual are highly contingent and remain dependent on context, and this must be taken into account in any discussion of identity (Wetherell 1998, pp.400-401). That is, the ability to negotiate the taking up of a particular subject position is constrained by the agency allowed to an individual in any given setting.

The extent to which a person can be agentive may be seen as dependent on the wider structures in which she operates; in taking up subject positions, she may often find herself restricted to those which are dictated by the social and political structures of the surrounding society. As discussed in section 3.2.4, migrants may find their agency constrained through their lack of fluency in the host language. Certain subject positions such as being a figure of expertise or authority might be denied to migrant individuals if the dominant social and political discourses that surround them deem such positions to be non-commensurate with what is perceived as a lack of linguistic competency.

Such constraints are highlighted by Pavlenko (2001) in her examination of autobiographies by L2 writers. Here, Pavlenko explores how, despite their own attempts to position themselves as writers, these individuals are shown to have limited agency in their ability to take up such subject positions. That is, the discourses around language use are such that their attempts to negotiate subject positions as L2 writers are constantly being called into question by those around them. Pavlenko illustrates this with the example of Vladimir Nabokov who, regardless of his accomplishments in the field of English literature, may still be positioned as 'deficient and incompetent' (p.326), even by prominent linguists, such as Stephen Pinker, whose criticism of Nabokov Pavlenko cites. Thus, however much these writers try, their agency is compromised by the discourses that prevail in the new society, and by the subject positions made available to them.

The way that a poststructuralist perspective through which identity is seen as contingent, together with notions of positioning, underpins much identity work in applied linguistics is explored in the subsequent section.

3.2.4   Identity in socio and applied linguistics research

In his work on stories of identity construction in London, Block (2006a) notes that:

> poststructuralism seems to be the default epistemological stance for sociolinguistics […] who focus on identity as a key construct in their work (pp.34-5).

The poststructuralist understanding of identity as fluid and shifting can be seen to underpin the work of many scholars within socio and applied linguistics in studies investigating identity construction. For Block (2006a), 'identity is seen not as something

fixed for life, but as fragmented and contested in nature' (p.26), while for Pavlenko (2001), the self is 'fluid, fragmented and multiple' (p.339). Bonny Norton, whose innovative work on identity construction in second language learners brought the notion of identity to the fore (Preece 2016, p.4), also underlines the contingent nature of identity. In Norton's (1997) study on the ownership of English, identity is understood as 'complex, contradictory, and multifaceted' (p.419); fluid across space and time, it fluctuates in response to 'changing social and economic relations' (p.410). This is echoed in Early and Norton's (2012) overview of multiple learners' stories; the authors assert that:

> 'identity' is not a fixed construct but must be understood with respect to a learner's relationship to the broader social, political and economic world. In this perspective, identities, which are frequently sites of struggle, change across time and space, and are reproduced in situated social interactions (p.195).

Understandings of identity as unfixed and ever-shifting are especially useful when investigating the experience of migrants. As Block (2006a) posits,

> people who have migrated from one geographical location to another find that their sense of self is destabilised and that they enter a period of struggle to reach a balance (p.26).

The notion of space and time as disorienting has also been highlighted in work by De Fina (2003a) investigating the experiences of Mexicans crossing the US border. A similar emphasis is key to Baynham (2003), who invokes notions of 'space/time orientation' in his study of Moroccan migrants living in London.

Scholars within socio and applied linguistics have also drawn on the theory of positioning in work on identity. In her discussion of autobiographies, Pavlenko (2007) discusses the way that individuals position themselves in the stories they tell; this borrows from Davies and Harré (1990), where positioning is taken as:

> the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines (p.48).

This is also drawn upon in Pavlenko (2003) on the identity construction of language teachers, while – as described in the preceding section – Vitanova (2004) uses the concept of positioning to investigate how individuals situate themselves in relation to L2.

As outlined above, the extent to which an individual can place herself and take up a particular subject position (Wetherall 1998; Preece 2009) is also central to the notion of positioning. Questions of limited agency and the limits on how far an individual can (re)negotiate her subject position have been invoked in socio and applied linguistics work on migrant identities. Pavlenko (2002a) notes how migrant individuals find themselves having to renegotiate their identity within the new society, which may afford them a subject position they view 'as unacceptable or incompatible with those they occupied previously' (p.285). In her work on second language learners in the US, Pavlenko (2001) recognises that there are only a certain range of identities 'available for them in the L2' (p.319), which are often viewed in terms of inferiority. Migrants may also find themselves 'positioned as incompetent', be this in their roles as employees, parents, or simply as adult members of society (Pavlenko 2001, p.319; also Pavlenko 2002a, p.285). Blackledge's (2001) investigation into how Bangladeshi women are positioned by teachers within a mainstream school, highlights the way these women

are viewed as 'inadequate language and literary instructors' and as such, are considered unable to support their children's learning (p.364).

The limits upon an individual's agency may also be seen in terms of socio-economic, or (il)legal status. This is demonstrated in Norton (1995), who cites the example of Eva, a Polish woman in Canada who felt herself unable to contribute to a discussion at work owing to her ascribed social identity as a migrant. The agency of an individual to participate in her identity construction may also be understood in terms of linguistic competency (e.g. Early & Norton 2012), echoing the cases cited by Pavlenko (2001, 2002a) and Blackledge (2001) as discussed above; or in relation to the age of an individual (Andrew 2010). Thus even as identity is being (re)negotiated, the role of the subject may be seen to function under constraints.

From a poststructuralist perspective, therefore, identity is seen as fluid in its construction, dependent on the situation and circumstances of any given individual. Such a conceptualisation has been shown to be especially useful when investigating the experiences of migrants. Thus, this current study similarly draws on the concept of 'melting identities' (Bauman 1998, p.212), and the contingent nature of identity construction; it will at the same time consider the conflicting way in which individuals find themselves positioned in relation to dominant discourses.

This section has set out how identity is being understood in this study. It has explored how from a poststructuralist perspective, identity is considered contingent and is negotiated through discursive practices. Yet identity is also seen to be multi-dimensional; those aspects of identity which I consider to be especially pertinent here are examined in the following part.

3.3 Dimensions of identity

From a poststructuralist standpoint, identity is not only seen as unfixed, but is also viewed as being multi-dimensional; it is made up of multiple strands, such as gender, age, ethnicity and so forth, each of which intersect and are inexorably intertwined with the other. Block and Corona (2016) highlight the need to acknowledge that while different dimensions of identity cannot be considered in complete exclusion, neither can any one study examine every element of identity. This has been noted by Pavlenko (2001) who, in her work on identity (re)invention in autobiographical writing, emphasises that while 'multiple facets of multilinguals' selves are inseparable' for the most part, sociolinguistics research also examines the way in which individual identity elements are constructed in different settings and how they may be renegotiated (p.326).

This section therefore focuses on the dimensions of ethnicity and of ethno-linguistic identity with which this study is concerned. It first briefly looks at intersectionality in identity work, before examining how ethnicity may be understood. It then moves on to explore ethno-linguistic identity, that is, the way that language is used to index ethnicity (Fought 2006).

3.3.1   Identity as multi-dimensional

The multi-dimensional nature of identity has been underlined by many scholars working in the field of socio and applied linguistics (e.g. Norton 1997; Pavlenko 2001; Block 2006a). Block and Corona (2016) argue that, given the way that dimensions of identity are seen to overlap in a poststructuralist understanding of identity, much identity work in applied linguistics thus involves 'a default intersectionality' (p.518). As noted in

section 1.4, while this study does not aim to take an intersectional stance by examining race, class and gender specifically, it does acknowledge that the notion is implicated in work which views identity as multi-dimensional. It is therefore necessary here to give a brief overview of intersectionality and its relevance to identity studies in socio and applied linguistics.

Intersectionality may be understood as the examination of 'the inter-connections between social divisions, such as those of gender, ethnicity and class' (Anthias 2008, p.5); it is a concept which purports 'to make visible the multiple positioning that constitutes everyday life and the power relations that are central to it' (Phoenix & Pattynama 2006, p.187). The notion of intersectionality stems from studies in sociology, notably work by Crenshaw (1989) exploring racial studies and feminism. Leading on from Crenshaw's work, intersectionality was subsequently adopted in late 20th century activism; it has since been used to cast light on the experiences of minority and under-represented groups in terms of gender, sexual orientation and race, and of marginalised individuals (Nash 2008). Hence Bowleg (2008), for whom intersectionality allows for an investigation of 'how distinctive social power relations mutually construct each other' (p.313), draws on the notion in her discussion of the experiences of black lesbians. In an examination of gender inequality, Bose (2012) also highlights the association of intersectionality with marginality: she notes how the use of intersectionality has been extended 'beyond the original foci on race, ethnicity, gender, and class' to explore elements such as age or religion, and 'other dimensions of subordination' (p.67).

In the field of applied linguistics, in her exploration of the construction of ethnic identity, Vally Lytra (2016) alludes to the intersection of language and ethnicity. However, Lytra does not address the notion of intersectionality itself; rather, she explores how language may be used to index ethnicity. In this current study, while I recognise the

intersectionality implicit in identity construction (Block & Corona 2016), and the way that different dimensions of identity intersect, the central focus here is not on the points of intersection but on the construction of ethno-linguistic identity. Following Lytra (2016), my interest lies in how ethnicity may be displayed through language, although other dimensions of identity such as class and gender will be alluded to where I have considered it appropriate.

In order to examine how ethnicity may be indexed by language, it is firstly necessary to explore the nature of ethnicity. How a distinction between ethnicity and race may be drawn, is subsequently discussed in section 3.4.1.

3.3.2 Ethnicity

Described as an 'elusive' concept (Kubota & Lin 2009, p.4), ethnicity remains difficult to define (Fought 2006; Block 2010, p.484). As Joseph (2004) notes, there is also often a conflation between ethnic and national identity; indeed, some scholars choose not to differentiate between them (e.g. Dragojević 2005). Such confusion may, however, be seen as a reflection of the mutability of ethnicity, which may be viewed as contingent (Esman 1994; Cornell & Hartmann 2007) and 'potentially malleable' (Khilkhanova & Khilkhanov 2004, p.86). Chiming with the poststructuralist notion of identity as changing across space and time, so too, ethnicity 'changes both temporally and spatially' (Ryan 2010, p.359). '[S]ocially constructed' (Fought 2006, p.4), ethnicity thus needs to be negotiated (Lytra 2016, p.132): individuals are obliged to reconfigure their ethnic identity once in a new setting, and to be cognizant of how others see, or position them.

This need for (re)negotiation reflects the 'relational' nature of ethnicity (Kubota & Lin 2009, p.4). Ryan (2010) asserts that ethnicity 'cannot emerge in a vacuum', but is

based on difference and 'oppositionality' (p.360). This echoes the useful definition provided by Kellas (1998) that is drawn upon in this study, according to which 'the term "ethnic group" is frequently used to describe a quasi-national kind of "minority group" within the state' (p.5). This understanding of ethnicity is also supported by Cornell and Hartman (2007), who describe an ethnic group as 'a subpopulation within a larger society' (p.20). When the members of a group that may be considered the dominant nationality in one geographical region migrate elsewhere, they can find themselves considered a minority ethnic group in relation to the majority population which is there viewed as the national group. Hence members of the Polish community in the UK may on the one hand be regarded as Polish nationals, a 'national' being an individual who holds, or is entitled to hold, a passport of that country. At the same time, the Polish community also constitutes an ethnic minority within the UK in contrast to the dominant British nationality, and its members thus considered as outsiders (Ryan 2010, p.365).

Two broad types of ethnic groups may be seen to exist within the UK. The first comprises those communities that come under the umbrella of the national identity whilst at the same time maintaining their own discrete characteristics. An individual may be a British national, yet may also consider her identity in terms of belonging to one of the four nations which make up the UK: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. (The frequent conflation of a British and English identity has been noted in Chapter 2.)

The second broad grouping is that of individuals positioned as being members of minority ethnic groups. Such groups within Britain include that of the BAME (Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic) communities. Members of these communities are primarily characterised in terms of skin colour (see section on race below), yet they may also identify with a British identity (Harris 2006), as well as belonging to one of the

constituent four nations of Britain. How Poles sit in relation to such categorisations will be debated within this thesis.

The way that ethnic minority groups are rendered different from the dominant majority feeds into the question of how such groups are made visible. Visibility has been defined as meaning that 'some information about an individual's ethnic identity categories […] can be obtained through superficial observation' (Chandra 2006, p.399). Such markers encompass physical characteristics such as skin colour; or modes of dress, which may demonstrate a religious identity, such as in the wearing of a hijab, or in the dress code of Hasidic Jews (see Endelstein & Ryan 2013). An individual's identity may also be indicated by that person's name (Weinrach 1990; Joseph 2004; Chandra 2006; Finch 2008; Zhu Hua & Li Wei 2016). However, using such external symbols to assume an individual's ethnicity may also be seen to carry an implicit 'banal racism' (Zhu Hua & Li Wei 2016), which serves to emphasise the sense of difference highlighted above. This can be seen to chime with the Polish experience and the aforementioned 'outsider status of Poles within British society' identified by Ryan (2010, p.365).

In socio and applied linguistics studies, visibility has often been conceptualised through a focus on skin colour; in a UK context much work has investigated the experiences of members of the BAME community (e.g. Rampton 2005; Harris 2006; Preece 2009). For members of the Polish community, however, who are largely Caucasian and predominantly Catholic, with no outward sign of their religious affiliation, other markers may serve to render visibility. The question of skin colour is discussed in section 3.4.

Visibility may also be foisted upon individuals through media representations, be this through the press or popular culture. The negative depiction of Poles in the UK media (Moszczyński 2008; Rzepnikowska 2013; Spigelman 2013; Fitzgerald & Smoczyński 2017) has already been described in Chapter 2. Applied linguistics literature has also

explored the importance of popular culture in rendering a particular community visible. In his investigation of the identity construction of British Asians, or 'Brasians', Harris (2006) has emphasised the affirming role played by the creation of television series and films in which British Asians may begin to see positive and varying portraits of other Brasians, portrayals with which they might identify (p.2). For Harris, this can contribute towards maintaining a hybrid identity, and also being able to present a varied image to other consumers of popular culture. Rampton (2011, p.279) draws on similar representations, in illustrating the popularisation of a certain vernacular (see section 9.2.1, p.259). It should be underlined, however, that despite Harris's optimistic approach, problems with the under-representation of BAME communities on television persist (Henry 2014), that is, members of such groups remain invisible.

While a wider discussion of the (mis)representation of BAME and other minority groups in the media and popular culture lie beyond the scope of this study, the viewpoints of Harris and Henry cited above imply that such representations (or the lack thereof) have a significant impact on the identity construction of young individuals. In contrast to the varying portrayals of British Asians emphasised by Harris, fictional depictions of Polish characters in contemporary British culture often focus on an examination of their migrant status (see Rydzewska 2012).

While it is visibility which has been considered a problem, attention has also been drawn to the issue of invisibility noted above. This has often been discussed in regard to the BAME community: it has been argued that although ostensibly visible through skin colour or dress, many ethnic minority groups may actually be considered invisible by their lack of representation (Garner 2006; also see Toni Morrison 1993). Questions of invisibility are also pertinent to the experience of Polish migrants. Studies investigating the lives of Polish children in Norway have noted the way that due to having 'similar racial features and similar clothing' to Norwegians, Polish children are

regarded as 'relatively invisible' (Strzemecka 2015, p.84). A similar point is made by Wærdahl (2016), who argues that the way in which Polish children are often absent from statistics on school performance may mask problems such children are having with the transition to life in Norway.

Another marker of ethnic identity is considered to be that of language; this will be addressed in the following section.

3.3.3 Ethno-linguistic identity

The understanding of ethno-linguistic identity which informs this study is seen as the way in which individuals may index their ethnic identity through language. Block (2007a) privileges the term 'language identity' in place of 'ethno-linguistic identity'; he defines this as

> the assumed and/or attributed relationship between one's sense of self and a means of communication which might be known as a language […], a dialect […], or a sociolect (pp.46-47).

In his discussion of language identity, Block highlights the notions of language 'expertise', 'affiliation' and 'inheritance' as conceptualised by Leung, Rampton and Harris (1997). While these concepts are discussed in greater depth in Chapter 4, here they may be summarised as relating to, respectively: proficiency in a language; the extent to which an individual feels connected to a language; and 'being born into' a particular language community (Block 2007a, p.47). In referencing these notions, Block argues that language identities may thus be liable to shift: while an individual may find herself born into a certain linguistic community, she may acquire expertise in another language; this may potentially signal a transfer of allegiance to a different community.

Block also draws attention to the multi-dimensional nature of identity indexed in speech; he cites Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), for whom 'all utterances can be interpreted as an index of the speaker's identity' (Block 2007a, p.47). Drawing on this, Block sees the multi-dimensionality of utterances as 'simultaneously' indexing 'ethnicity, nationality, social class, gender and other dimensions of identity' (p.47). According to this understanding, therefore, ethno-linguistic identity cannot be seen as a discrete category, but interlinked with other dimensions of identity.

While this current study acknowledges the multi-dimensional nature of identity (see section 3.3.1), its primary concern is that of ethnic, or Polish, identity and the associated significance of language in maintaining Polish identity. Given this, I move away from Block: rather, the understanding of ethno-linguistic identity I draw on here follows Fought (2006), who notes how '[a] language may have a highly important symbolic value for an ethnic group' (p.23). Gatbonton, Trofimovich and Magid (2005) reiterate the point, noting that for individuals who 'belong to ethnic groups for whom language is a symbol of identity', language is used 'to reflect, reaffirm, renegotiate, or reconstruct these identities' (p.492). The significance of language is perhaps particularly moot in the case of Poland, given the way language became a rallying point during the time of the partitions, embodying a defiant symbol of resistance to the linguistic policies imposed by the ruling powers during the 19th century (see Chapter 2).

Yet the use of a language to symbolise identity is not unique to Poland. Language has often been requisitioned in pursuit of confirming the dominance of a certain group; this includes within the UK (see section 2.4). Indeed, for Rajagopalan (2001), '[l]inguistic identity is largely a political matter' (p.17). Kamusella (2001) notes how language was utilised to justify the incorporation of Austria into Nazi Germany in the 1938 Anschluss (see Rusch 1989 on the subjugation of Austrian German following this); while an accentuation of the discrete nature of the Serbian and Croatian languages

accompanied the collapse of Yugoslavia in the 1990s (see Rajagopalan 2001, p.24; Tollefson 2002; Dragojević 2005; Jovanovic 2017). Hence use of a particular language may be seen as a conscious act, and 'a way of explicitly asserting ethnic identity' (Fought 2006, p.31).

Drawing on the theory of language as the symbol of a certain identity also underpins thinking in cases where visible language use is exploited to establish the rights and validate the presence of minority ethnic groups in a particular space. Examining linguistic landscapes in South Africa, Kotze and du Plessis (2010) define linguistic visibility as 'written language in the public space' (p.72). They draw attention to the way that language may thus be utilised to signal to the wider society the legitimate presence of certain communities. Examples of such linguistic displays include those whereby a minority community might choose to make itself noticeable through the establishment of speciality shops or restaurants, the signage of which may be in a different language to that of the dominant majority. Work highlighting the way that contemporary Polish communities have done this in the UK (e.g. McDermott 2008; Kempny 2011; Sordyl & Janus 2013) has been set out in Chapter 2.

However, as Fought (2006) notes, 'the role of language in constructing ethnicity quickly becomes complicated' (p.19). For the way that an individual actually uses a particular language may not correspond to such notions of identity. Work in socio and applied linguistics has highlighted this complexity. Building on Rampton's (1990) work on language affiliation, Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997) question the way that '[l]anguage use and notions of ethnicity and social identity are inextricably linked' (p.544). They examine the way such assumptions lead to subject positioning whereby an ethnic identity is imposed on an individual, without taking into account that individual's relationship with the language. In her investigation of L2 writers, Pavlenko (2001) questions the assumed correlation. She explores the way in which such writers

may feel they have changed their linguistic allegiances in the course of their writing, yet continue to be positioned by others in terms of their first language (L1). Pavlenko (2001) sees this in terms of 'linguistic membership and ownership' (p.328), and where others' positioning of them does not correspond to the writers' sense of belonging in a certain language. This brings into focus the question of the right to claim a language as one's own. Attendant questions of legitimacy (Bourdieu 1977) and who may be able to claim ownership of a certain language, together with further discussion of issues of language affiliation and inheritance, are addressed in Chapter 4.

The extent to which language may automatically be seen as a sign of ethnicity together with the idea of ethno-linguistic identity is questioned by other scholars. In her study of linguistic use in Ukraine, Fournier (2002) observes that Russian, while officially considered a minority ethnic language, is used as a main language by many individuals who consider themselves Ukrainian. This is echoed by Kulyk (2011), also writing in a Ukrainian context, who notes a 'large-scale discrepancy between language practice and identity' (p.631). Kulyk maintains that individuals may 'identify with more than one language' (p.629), and thus argues against the use of language as a 'proxy for ethnicity' (p.628).

However, it is the tendency to see language in this way which underpins linguistic xenophobia (see Chapter 2), where language is utilised as a proxy either for ethnicity (Simpson & Cooke 2009), or for race so as 'to exclude people' (Weber 2015, p.2). This is reflected in an experiment reported by Duff (2012), where listeners were asked to respond to different types of language. Findings suggested that assumptions made about 'the sociolinguistic groups' of which the speakers were apparently a part 'indirectly revealed attitudes and biases toward particular linguistic identities' (p.411).

Such attitudes are seen not only to apply to the language used, but also to the way in which it is spoken. Ryan (2010) observes how 'accent [and] languages skills […] may

influence the extent to which people define and are defined by their ethnic identity' (p.369). Blommaert (2005) also highlights how linguistic visibility and assumed identity may be demonstrated through a speaker's particular accent, not simply in terms of ethnicity; he notes the way in which a certain accent will 'suggest places and rankings on several other highly sensitive scales in society' (p.222). This is echoed in variationist linguistics research, where Drummond and Schleef (2015) note the prevalence of 'prejudice, and accent and dialect discrimination' (p.8); for Gatbonton, Trofimovich and Magid (2005), accent is 'the most "visible" aspect of pronunciation' (p.491). The way that language use and accent may lead to prejudice is especially pertinent in the case of L2 speakers. In a study on identity construction by language learners, Norton (1995) reports how one participant, Felicia, 'resisted speaking English in front of strangers because she did not want to be identified as an immigrant in Canada' (p.20). This links back to the idea of negative subject positioning as a migrant, and how an individual might wish to avoid such identification.

A reluctance to speak English and thus reveal a certain identity in doing so may be seen as relevant within a UK context, also. In their study comparing participation in leisure pursuits by migrants from Poland and Africa to the UK, Long, Hylton and Spracklen (2014) found that while the Africans suffered more racism because of an instantly visible difference, Poles could pass unmolested until they spoke. That participants were aware of this is illustrated by the example of one young man whose 'Polish accent makes him more apprehensive', as it compromises his ability to blend in with the majority population (Long, Hylton & Spracklen 2014, p.1791).

Thus, ethno-linguistic identity may be seen as a source of pride, and language use viewed as a valid manifestation of ethnic identity; yet it can also be seen that there are complications implicit within such positioning. That language can be used as a marker ties in with questions of linguistic xenophobia; as suggested in the example of African

and Polish migrants given above, it also raises the issue of whiteness. This is addressed in the following section.

3.4 Whiteness

3.4.1 Ethnicity and race

In order to explore questions of whiteness (as discussed below), it is first necessary to clarify the way that ethnicity and race are being understood in this study. The two can be seen to overlap (Block 2006a; Cornell & Hartman 2007); both ethnicity and race are seen as 'socially constructed' (Block 2006a, p.29; Kubota & Lin 2006, p.473), they are taken to be 'historically emergent and in some respects mutable' (Brubaker 2009, p.28; also Kubota & Lin 2006). However, notwithstanding their similarities, a distinction may also be drawn between the two.

The nature of ethnicity has been explored above (see section 3.3.2); how it may be considered as distinct from race may be defined as follows. For Block (2006a), ethnicity suggests a 'shared history, descent, belief systems, practices, language and religion, all associated with a cultural group' (p.37). This chimes with Finney and Simpson (2009), for whom ethnicity is founded on, amongst other things, 'family origins, beliefs (including religion), and practices (language and culture)' (p.15). Ethnicity has thus been understood as a 'self-adopted identity' (Finney & Simpson 2009, p.15). Race, on the other hand, is seen more often as an ascribed category (Cornell & Hartmann 2007, p.28). This is based on a 'racial phenotype' (Block 2006a, p.37), or 'phenotypical features' which may include 'skin colour, eye shape, hair texture, [and] facial features' (Kubota & Lin 2006, p.473). Thus, rather than being a form of self-identification, as with ethnicity, race may be seen as a category which is imposed by others.

As integral to a study concerned with experiences of anti-migrant sentiment, the notion of racism also needs to be defined here. In this present study, racism is not necessarily understood as discrimination based solely on race, but as a form of prejudice which may be directed against both racially and ethnically defined groups (Finney & Simpson 2009, p.15). In the understanding of racism used here, I also draw on Fox (2013), who defines racism as:

> an exclusionary practice and ideology that essentializes and valorizes phenotypical and cultural differences to defend and advance the privileges of its users (p.1872).

This definition is useful in that it alludes to 'differences' which are both 'phenotypical', which suggests race, and 'cultural', thus evoking questions of ethnicity, as defined above. The notion of privilege here highlighted by Fox will be shown to be especially important in the subsequent exploration of whiteness below.

3.4.2   Problematising whiteness

The presumed homogeneity of whiteness as a category has been challenged in a range of work over the past twenty or so years (e.g. Bonnett 1997; Jackson 1998; Garner 2006, 2009; Twine & Gallagher 2008). This has been coupled with a recognition that

> British racism has often been conceptualized in polarized black-white terms, with insufficient attention to the complexities of both 'black' (Asian, Afro-Caribbean, etc) and 'white' (English, Irish, Scots, Welsh, etc) identities' (Jackson 1998, p.102).

More recently, Myślińska (2013) has emphasised 'the artificiality of the concept of "whiteness"' (p.560), and consensus is growing amongst certain scholars that whiteness is 'variegated' (van Riemsdijk 2010), and 'socially contingent' (Satzewich 2000). This current study draws on the notion that whiteness is a 'conglomerate category' (Hickman et al. 2005, p.165), namely, there are sub-sections of whiteness which allow different degrees of privilege. This resonates with Sealey & Carter (2004), who have noted how '[a]ll social categories' are fundamentally 'forms of descripton', emphasising that it is the role of the researcher to be alert to the 'claims embedded in such categoriations' (p.110).

One white category that has been examined in recent scholarship is that of Eastern Europeans. As noted in Chapter 2, following the accession to the EU of several Eastern European countries, a hierarchy emerged in relation to older and newer members of the EU, those who joined pre-2004, and those who joined after (van Riemsdijk 2010). Essed and Trienekens (2008) also highlight the distinction 'between 'real' Europeans – members of the European Union – and 'aspiring to be' Europeans' (p.57); while in a study investigating the denial of discrimination by victims in the UK, Fox, Moroşanu and Szilassy (2015) note how members of EU states are awarded 'different statuses of EU citizens' (p.734), dependent on when their country of origin joined the EU.

In a study of Polish nurses in Norway, van Riemsdijk (2010) ties issues of EU membership and the ostensible threat posed by new members, to notions of whiteness. She asserts that:

> [i]n contemporary Norway, Norwegianness is implicitly coded as encompassing a kind of whiteness that cannot be achieved by immigrants from CEE [Central and Eastern Europe] in most situations (van Riemsdijk 2010, p.132).

Whiteness here is being used as a way of denoting a privileged position, gauged in terms of length of EU membership. There is an implied hierarchy, whereby older members have access to such privilege that newer members do not.

Van Riemsdijk asserts that hitherto there has been an implicit conceptualisation of race that has focused on traditional understandings of visibility (p.120), one which does not allow for the acknowledgement of discriminatory treatment experienced by different EU citizens. This is echoed by Fox, Moroşanu & Szilassy (2015), who argue that in order to acknowledge the inequality in positioning of different European citizens in the post-2004 context, the concept of whiteness needs re-conceptualising. Whiteness per se cannot be seen as necessarily affording protection against racial attack, especially in the contemporary context of EU migration. While it is important that different categories of whiteness be drawn, as noted above, it is also necessary to understand how visibility is being manifested.

In such discussions, the way that individuals have been rendered visible must therefore go beyond questions of skin colour and outward symbols. Noting the development of 'an increasingly negative political discourse on migration', Myślińska (2016, p.1) maintains that:

> [t]here is a popular tacit belief that any prejudice against white migrants cannot be deemed racist because Poles are Caucasian and predominantly Christian (p.3).

This echoes Brown (2003) in work on the London Polish community, and Dawney (2008) in her study of Poles in Herefordshire. That is, living alongside a dominant Caucasian majority, Poles are ostensibly not visible, and as such, not targeted. Indeed, in terms of racial abuse, Brown and Jones (2013) note how certain studies have suggested that 'the whiteness of some immigrants offers some protection against

abuse', provided that 'separateness isn't reflected outwardly' (p.1010). However, as argued throughout this study, this has not prevented racial attacks against individuals of Polish origin.

3.4.3   Whiteness in socio and applied linguistics

In contrast to the above cited studies, however, work in socio and applied linguistics does not yet appear to have addressed this new conceptualisation in regard to identity construction. Notions of whiteness have rarely been analysed (Bucholtz 1999), while the need for 'more critical analysis of white racial identity' has been emphasised by Liggett (2009, np).

Hence, much work in socio and applied linguistics has been underpinned by a focus on skin colour and understood through the prism of a black/white dichotomy. In an examination of identity construction amongst Italian Americans, De Fina (2007, 2008) draws on work by Vecoli in noting the efforts of Italians to align themselves with the white side of the black/white dichotomy. Vecoli (1995) notes that while Italian immigrants to America initially did not necessarily want to identify themselves as 'white', when they realised the disadvantage of being positioned as 'black', they were anxious 'to be accepted as white' (p.156). Similar research looks at Mexican and Latino communities, where distinctions are drawn between Hispanics and whites, e.g. DaSilva Iddings and Katz (2007); or Mexicans and whites, e.g. De Fina (2003b); Wortham and Rhodes (2013).

Such work thus suggests at a continuing black/white dichotomy whereby white appears to be understood as a homogenous category. One exception is Bucholtz (2001), who attempts to examine degrees of whiteness in a study on 'nerds' in an American High School. Kubota and Lin (2009) emphasise the 'discursively constructed' nature of

whiteness (p.10), as they investigate how whiteness is manifested within in second language education, in relation not only to students but to teacher identities also. The need to recognise questions of race within teacher-student relations, and to address such questions within the English language classroom is similarly asserted by Liggert (2009).

Such work thus purports to problematise whiteness, and to investigate how it may be constructed and perpetuated within the settings explored. Yet while this is a legitimate call for greater criticality in the analysis of white racial identity, it remains situated within the black/white paradigm; it does not extend to investigating the complexities of within-white categories and how members of such groups may also be subject to subordinate positioning and discriminatory practices.

In a British context, questions relating to race and racism have similarly focused on a black/white binary, with questions customarily having been considered in relation to the BAME communities. The term BAME has been criticised for implying a uniformity across many diverse groups (Ipsos MORI 2010); Blackledge (2002) draws attention to the 'incorrect' homogeneity implicit in the term 'ethnic minority' (p.8). However, one shared characteristic of BAME individuals is that of immediate visibility through skin colour. In his study of British Asians, Harris (2006) argues that the question of 'race' has dominated debate in Britain, that:

> [w]hile purportedly being about culture and ethnicity, these debates have never been about the arrival in Britain since World War Two of migrants deemed 'white', such as Poles, Lithuanians, Italians, Cypriots, Australians, Americans, New Zealanders and so on (p. 91).

While Harris does note that there has been an effort to move beyond this, it may be argued that in a contemporary context of increased migration and more widespread

xenophobia, it has become imperative to consider such groups, and to apply wider criteria to notions of visibility in order to do so.

This is not to say, however, that work which focuses on the experience of BAME communities is entirely irrelevant to the Polish context. Brown (2003) has acknowledged that the problems of Polish migrants 'overlap with those of black migrants' (p.3). Harris (2006) notes how 'being a brown skinned person of South Asian descent in Britain', regardless of individual and ethnic/religious differences, made such individuals vulnerable to police attention following the terrorist attacks of 2001 in America and 2005 in London (p.178). The way in which people may be categorised through stereotypes associated with one group can also be seen as relevant in the context of discourses concerning Polish migrants, as discussed in section 9.4.3.

Given this, and the lower status afforded to Eastern Europeans in the hierarchy of citizens of EU member states, and the discrimination they encounter (e.g. Dawney 2008; Fox, Moroşanu & Szilassy 2015), there is a need to broaden investigations of the category of whiteness. It needs to be seen not merely as a counterpoint to black, but as a complex classification in itself, one which acknowledges degrees of whiteness rather than merely denoting a homogenous group.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has set out the theoretical framework to the study. It has discussed poststructuralist conceptualisations of identity, according to which identity is seen as flexible and contingent. The notion of positioning to be drawn upon in this study has been explained: that is, as a discursive practice through which an individual can (re)negotiate her subject position in relation to the environment in which she finds herself.

Dimensions of identity considered relevant to this study were then presented. A definition of ethnicity as used here was given; this led to a discussion of how ethnicity might be made visible, and the potential effect on an individual's identity construction. The question of ethno-linguistic identity was subsequently addressed. It was acknowledged that while ethnicity may be indexed by language, such a correlation may be problematic.

Concepts of whiteness were then reviewed, together with the way in which studies on whiteness might be considered relevant to the experience of Polish migrants. It was suggested that socio and applied linguistics literature often draws on conceptualisations of whiteness based on skin colour, but that a broader understanding of whiteness is needed in order to investigate identity construction of Polish individuals.

This chapter has thus focused on theorisations of identity, including that of ethno-linguistic identity which is pertinent to this study. Chapter 4 will focus more specifically on the way that the relationship between language and identity has been conceptualised in socio and applied linguistics.

4 Literature Review: Language and identity in socio and applied linguistics

4.1 Overview

Chapter 4 comprises the second part of the literature review. Where the previous chapter set out the wider theoretical framework which underpins this study, and examined questions pertaining to ethno-linguistic identity, and to whiteness, this chapter focuses on language. Its aim is to explore those conceptualisations of language which are drawn upon in this study.

The initial section looks at the work of Bakhtin, in particular his concepts of heteroglossia and voice. Drawing on these allows for an examination of the way that an individual may have different ways of speaking at her disposal, and how others' voices may be appropriated in the construction of identity. This is followed by a discussion on conceptualisations of language use. One powerful notion is that of the 'native speaker', which invokes the question of who may be considered a 'legitimate speaker' (Bourdieu 1977); this links to the positioning of an individual as a learner/user of a language. A further concept explored is that of bilingualism, and the way it is regarded and frequently seen a threat to a dominant monolingualism; the related ideas of a separate and flexible bilingualism are also addressed. The final section of the chapter then examines how identity construction in migrant adolescents has been explored by scholars in the field.

This chapter also sets out the way in which this current research sits in relation to such work. It will be argued that the migratory experience and linguistic practices of younger migrants are different to those of adults, and that this has not always been fully recognised. In work done on identity construction and related issues, Polish adolescent

migrants are a group which is frequently overlooked and under-researched; their unique situation warrants investigation.

4.2 Bakhtin

The linguistic philosophy of Mikhail Bakhtin has been drawn upon by several scholars in socio and applied linguistics working on identity and language learning (e.g. Vitanova 2004; Pavlenko 2007; McKinney & Norton 2008; Creese & Blackledge 2012). Bakhtin's philosophy of language and the self can be seen to chime with a poststructuralist framework (see Chapter 3), while his perceptive conceptualisation of dialogics and multilingualism provides a valuable way to approach questions relating to identity and language. This study draws on such work, in particular, Bakhtin's concepts of heteroglossia and voice. A brief overview of Bakhtin's thinking, together with an exploration of his principal notions of heteroglossia and voice, and their pertinence to this current study, will be explored below.

4.2.1   Philosophy of language and self

Bakhtin was born in Russia at the end of the 19th century; his work was informed by an adolescence spent in Odessa and Vilnius, both extremely 'heterogenous in their mix of culture and languages' (Holquist 2002, p.1). It was also shaped by the peripatetic nature of his later life, spent in the midst of a multitude of intermingling cultures (Eagleton 2007).

Bakhtin's work was first introduced to Western scholarship by Julia Kristeva and Tzvetan Todorov, Bulgarian linguistics who formed part of the French intellectual circle

of the 1960s, and the wider poststructuralist movement (see Kristeva 1986). There has

been some discussion as to how far Bakhtin was, as Kristeva would have him, 'a post-

structuralist thinker *avant la lettre*' (cited in Angermuller 2012, p.119; also see Lesic-

Thomas 2005). Nonetheless, several strands of Bakhtin's thinking about language and

the self can be seen to accord with his later philosophy on his view of the self, which he

saw as 'a relational concept' and 'an essentially dynamic and unfinalisable

phenomenon' (Lähteenmäki 2010, p.25). Thus Eagleton (1982) emphasises the

poststructuralist nature of Bakhtin's thinking: he highlights

> how Bakhtin's work seems to recapitulate, long before they had started, many
>
> of the dominant motifs of contemporary post-structuralism (p.78).

This may be seen in Bakhtin's overarching philosophy of language. Unlike Sassure, for

whom language is rigid and whose thinking 'does not account for the plurality of

meaning or for changes in meaning' that may occur 'over time' (Weedon 1987, p.24),

Bakhtin's theories conceive of language as dynamic and relational. Eagleton (2007)

argues that:

> [w]hereas Saussure and his disciples reduced language to a formal, contextless
>
> system, Bakhtin is seized by everything in language that cannot be formalised:
>
> context, intonation, implication, the materiality of the word, the non-said, the
>
> taken-for-granted, ideological evaluations and the social relations between
>
> speakers (np).

Bakhtin's understanding of language is, moreover, one which 'celebrates the diversity

and 'messiness' of languages and cultures and questions the idea of monolingualism

as a norm' (Lähteenmäki 2010, p.23). While Sériot (2007) argues that the subversive

nature of Bakhtin's work has perhaps been over-emphasised, Bakhtin's thinking about

the 'inherent unfinishedness and unpredictability of language' (Eagleton 2007, np)

nonetheless put him at odds with the view of language espoused in Soviet linguistics of

the time as 'a technology that is rightly the object of human engineering' (Gorham

2010, p.139). At a time when language was increasingly tied ideologically to the

concept of the nation state and monolingualism, Bakhtin 'critically examined the notion

of a unitary and unified national language, and its role in nation-building in Europe'

(Blackledge & Creese 2014, p.2). He suggested that while '[n]ational languages aspire

to be monological', they 'are in fact thoroughly 'heteroglossic', spawning a multiplicity of

dialects and speech styles' (Eagleton 2007, np).

For Bakhtin, moreover, language is inevitably implicated in the construction of identity.

The self and an individual's identity are constructed dialogically, that is, through

dialogue or discourse with the Other, understood as both the immediate interlocutor

and also the wider society in which the individual finds herself (Bakhtin 1981). This

understanding of the relation between language and the construction of self has made

Bakhtin's work especially useful in socio and applied linguistics work on identity.

Pavlenko (2007) points out that 'Bakhtin's (1981) theory of the dialogic nature of

language' occupies '[a] notable place in the field' (p.17), while Vitanova (2004) argues

that, due to the 'complex and multifaceted' way in which Bakhtin conceived of language

and of the self, his work has 'much to offer to researchers of immigrant communities'

(p.275).

In work on multilingualism, moreover, Bakhtin's aforementioned notion of heteroglossia

has also proved valuable. This will be explored in the following section.

4.2.2 'Heteroglossia'

One key notion in Bakhtin's philosophy of language is that of 'heteroglossia', or '*raznorechie*' (разноречие). The Russian phrase – which in English literally translates as 'different speech' – and the precise way in which it is used by Bakhtin, has been open to slightly different interpretations (Blackledge & Creese 2014). In its broadest sense, however, heteroglossia can be seen as the overarching way in which Bakhtin sees language and the use of language, a view which encompasses a variety of linguistic concepts and language practices, including multilingualism. Bailey (2007) privileges the translation of the original Russian term as used by Bakhtin 'as 'the social diversity of speech types'' (p.258); he thus argues that the concept of heteroglossia also 'captures the inherent political and sociohistorical associations of any linguistic form', meanings which 'are not explicit or static' but need interpreting: '[s]uch meanings are thus shifting, subjective and negotiated' (p.258). This chimes with poststructuralist thought on the contingency of meaning, and how meaning can remain uncertain.

The usefulness of the notion of heteroglossia in the field of socio and applied linguistics has been emphasised by scholars such as Lähteenmäki (2010), who identifies the way that Bakhtin's conception of language may be applied in studies investigating linguistic diversity and work exploring bilingualism (p.18); while for Blackledge and Creese (2014), the 'concept of heteroglossia offers a lens through which to view the social, political, and historical implications of language in practice' (p.1). It is this which makes the concept of heteroglossia such a useful tool for exploring contemporary linguistic diversity. Blackledge and Creese (2014) further suggest that 'a heteroglossic lens on linguistic practice expands our understanding of social diversity' (p.18), given Bakhtin's (1981) view of language and the individual as constructed through a dialogic process. Drawing on heteroglossia allows us to recognise how an individual's speech and way

of speaking interacts with that of another; this in turn has implications for work on identity.

One way of understanding how this interaction occurs is through Bakhtin's concept of voice, integral to heteroglossia, and which also incorporates his ideas on the dialogical construction of the self. The notion of voice will be explored in the next section.

4.2.3   'Voice'

The notion of 'voice' in the field of socio and applied linguistics has been explored and conceptualised in several ways. For Blommaert (2005), 'voice' is an eminently social issue (p.68), that is, it is tied to questions of the 'linguistic resources' available to the individual, be this in terms of the language(s) an individual speaks, or the way in which she speaks any given language. Drawing on the notion of 'function' as explored in the work of Dell Hymes (see Hymes 1980), Blommaert posits that voice is linked to audibility: without access to certain linguistic resources, the individual cannot make herself heard. This may be seen to link to the notion of legitimacy (Bourdieu 1977) which is addressed in this study (see sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2), and the question of who has the right to speak.

In this study, however, in keeping with the idea of heteroglossia, as set out above, I chose to draw on Bakhtin's understanding of voice and the related notion of the appropriation of others' words. The idea of taking on the voices of others also chimes with the overall approach taken in this study which sees identity as formed dialogically. Just as identity is seen as forged in conjunction with the Other, so too language is seen here as having a dialogical nature, an understanding which is fundamental to the Bakhtinian notion of language and which underpins his conceptualisation of voice.

Bakhtin's concept of 'voice' may be seen as part of his 'theory of the dialogic nature of language' (Pavlenko 2007, p.179), and refers to the way in which an individual can be seen to appropriate the words, or voice, of another. According to Bakhtin, no utterance can be made in a void but inevitably borrows from what surrounds or what has preceded that utterance; speech is also in dialogue with future utterances. In Bakhtin's (1986) understanding of language, it is impossible for anyone to speak without drawing on others' words, or on other discourses. Moreover, borrowing or appropriating another's voice cannot be 'neutral' (McKinney & Norton 2008, p.193), since '[a]ll utterances derive from and reconstitute particular social, cultural, and ideological practices' (Kamberelis & Danette Scott 1992, p.363).

This is not to accuse an individual of unoriginality, however, for every utterance is also understood to be unique due to the subjectivity of the individual. It is how the individual employs these words within her own service that confirms the distinctiveness of that individual (Kurban & Tobin 2009, p.27). Rather, the concept of voice stresses the dialogic, or polyphonic, nature of the act of speaking. Park-Fuller (1986) observes that that polyphony does not mean 'a number of voices', but

> refers […] to the collective quality of an individual utterance; that is, the capacity of my utterance to embody someone else's utterance even while it is mine, which thereby creates a dialogic relationship between two voices (p.2).

Furthermore, Bakhtin sees an individual as being in dialogue with herself; and her speech informed by what may be to come. As noted above, embedded within any speaker's utterances are implicit references to the future (Holquist 2002): an individual is in this way constantly dialogically engaged with a predicted version of herself and the

future she perceives for herself. This continual reference through speech to past, present and future reiterates the essential dialogic nature of language.

The concept of voice, of appropriating the voices of others, is thus a way of understanding how an individual makes sense of the world and her own subjectivity within it. As such, the concept has been drawn upon in several studies in applied linguistics. Creese and Blackledge (2012), who have used the concept of heteroglossia in much of their work, also refer to the notion of voice in their study exploring the practices of a team of ethnographers working on a multilingualism project. In this instance, voice is used to examine how different people engage in meaning making, in the way that individuals take on the voices of others both to represent and evaluate those voices and the meaning embedded within them (Creese & Blackledge 2012, p.310).

The idea of adopting others' voices has also been applied in studies investigating learning and second language identities. Norton and Toohey (2001) take the notion of 'the social nature of learning' (p.311) to examine how a learner may adopt the language of another in order to take on another subject position within the new language:

> [a]s people initially appropriate the utterances of others and bend those utterances to their own intentions, they enter the communicative chain and become able to fashion their own voices (p.311).

In a later work, Norton and Toohey (2011) also draw on Bakhtin to caution how the ownership of language is influenced by social positions, which 'might affect any individual's speaking privilege' (p.417). An individual might thus be prohibited the use of certain voices. This resonates with the aforementioned idea of the 'legitimate speaker' (Bourdieu 1977).

The work of Bakhtin therefore lends insight into the process by which language is implicated in the construction of the self, and the dialogic nature of this construction. Where heteroglossia refers to an overarching view of language as inherently diverse and fluid (Lähteenmäki 2010), the concept of voice suggests that the language of an individual is 'always laden with the language of others' (Thesen, cited in Norton 1997, p.421). Appropriating the speech of another allows the individual to explore different identities and from this, to fashion her own self. This identity is then in turn (re)created through an ongoing dialogue with herself and others. At the same time, however, it must be reiterated that the refashioned self must be acknowledged by others, an acceptance which is not always forthcoming. In her account of attempted identity (re)formation by L2 language writers, Pavlenko (2001) draws attention to the way in which an individual may be 'stuck in particular identity' positions (p.318). She warns that an individual's 'freedom' to choose any given identity 'is rather deceptive', as '[c]ertain subjectivities may be rejected or simply not understood by the interlocutors' (p.326). This serves to recall the relational nature of identity as posited by Hegel (2007): that an individual's identity remains contingent on that individual being recognised by the Other.

4.3 Conceptualisations of language use

Where Chapter 3 explored the theoretical underpinnings of how identity will be understood in this study, the focus in the current chapter is on the way that language may be seen as a dimension of an individual's identity, and how language use has accordingly been theorised and addressed in the relevant literature. Key concepts that will be addressed in this present section are those of the native speaker; positioning as a learner/user of a language; and understandings of bilingualism. These are explored below.

4.3.1 Native speaker

One identity positioning in relation to language is that of the 'native speaker', which has been critiqued as problematic. Piller (2001) highlights the difficulty of defining a native speaker; rather, she identifies certain qualities which are attributed to such an individual. The native speaker, Piller suggests, is assumed to have 'privileged access' to the language, whereby she is endowed with a level of knowledge that is in some way taken to be instinctively acquired (p.2). This notion of privilege, also highlighted in Kramsch (1997), serves as a powerful subject position which establishes the native speaker as the authentic source of linguistic production. At the same time, a dichotomy is established according to which the dominant position of the native speaker, as someone who speaks the authentic version of the language, is not permitted to a 'non-native' speaker.

The idea that there is an 'authenticity' embedded in the language of a 'native' speaker (Piller 2001, p.8) connects to the idea of there being a standard version of any given language. This is echoed in Creese, Blackledge and Takhi (2014), who note that the frequent perception of the native speaker is that of 'the authentic embodiment of the standard language' (p.939). Butcher (2005) questions the validity of such a supposed standard in English, given the breadth of World Englishes currently used across the globe. Yet aligned to the question of a standard language are issues that pertain to perceptions of competency, and of legitimacy. As will be seen in section 4.3.2, notions of inadequacy often underpin much official discourse about language learning; in relation to the native speaker, the non-native speaker is positioned as never able to achieve full competency, as highlighted by Pavlenko (2001). In terms of legitimacy (Bourdieu 1977), therefore, the native speaker is regarded as a 'legitimate speaker', a position which gives her the inherent right to speak, while the non-native speaker battles for legitimacy (Pavlenko & Norton 2007).

This can be seen quite clearly in the struggle that so-called 'non-native' language teachers often have in attempting to obtain recognition from their students and fellow professionals, and to challenge their positioning as 'second-class citizens' (Pavlenko 2003, p.251). Perceptions of such English language teachers can be seen as informed by the native/non-native speaker ideology, where learners appear to assume that those teachers positioned as native speakers have an automatically superior knowledge of English (Creese, Blackledge & Takhi 2014). More than this, there is an attendant assumption of whiteness (see section 3.4). In her discussion of the ownership of English, Norton (1997) explores 'the extent to which English belongs to White native speakers of standard English' (p.409). Here, Norton (1997) cites studies concerned with the issue 'of problematic assumptions about the authentic ESL (English as a Second Language) teacher'; this includes the supposition that 'only White people can be native speakers of English and that only native speakers know "real" English' (p.423). This is echoed in Pavlenko (2001), who sees a situation whereby 'standard English is equated with whiteness' (p.330). In a similar vein, Kubota (2002) asserts the need to acknowledge racism within TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), wherein she sees 'Whiteness and the native speaker construct' to be 'in a complicit relation' (p.87). The link between whiteness and the native speaker paradigm is also highlighted by Kubota and Lin (2009) in their joint work on racism within TESOL: like whiteness, the classification of native speaker is one of the 'socially dominant categories' (p.25). The assumption is that standard English is thus the privilege of white speakers only.

While much of the literature on standard language cited here concerns English, it must at the same time be remembered that the term 'native speaker' is not unique to an English language context, but is also drawn upon 'to refer to languages other than English, similarly suggesting a 'perfect' standard' (Butcher 2005, p.15). This has been highlighted in the case of Japanese: Pavlenko (2001) cites memoirs which emphasise

the belief that 'no foreigner can ever learn to speak Japanese in a native-like fashion' (p.332), something also alluded to in Kramsch (1997, p.364). Kramsch argues against such positioning: she asserts that where once, individuals were seen as 'born into a language', '[t]he native speaker is in fact an imaginary construct' (p.363), and sees the belief in the supposedly inherent nature of 'native' language acquisition to be a tenuous one.

Questions of language acquisition also tie in with work on alternative ways of describing the individual's relationship with language. In his seminal study on what he then termed 'language loyalty', Rampton (1990) suggests that the term 'expertise' allows for a more comprehensive assessment of an individual's linguistic competency rather than merely an assumption of knowledge by dint of birth. This is echoed in Piller's (2002) study of highly proficient L2 users of German and English, where these speakers sometimes found themselves able to pass for native speakers in both languages, due to their extensive knowledge of each.

Rampton's (1990) critique of the native speaker paradigm was built upon in Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997), where alternative terms were presented: those of language expertise, language inheritance, and language affiliation. While expertise denotes levels of competency, the interrelated concepts of inheritance and affiliation refer to the way language works 'as a symbol of social group identification', and are thus 'negotiated' (Rampton 1990, p.99). Language affiliation relates to 'the attachment or identification' individuals may have with a particular language, regardless of 'whether or not they nominally belong to the social group customarily associated with it'; while language inheritance denotes the way that an individual may 'be born into a language tradition' but does not necessarily 'claim expertise or affiliation to that language' (Leung, Harris & Rampton 1997, p.555). These concepts have been drawn upon in work on language and identity. Block (2007a, 2007b) considers language affiliations in

his examination of aspects of identity in second language learners; while Preece (2009) draws on both inheritance and affiliation in her study of the linguistic practices and identity constructions of undergraduate students following an academic writing course.

While the idea of a 'native speaker' has therefore been questioned at length in socio and applied linguistics literature, the notion has nonetheless proved hard to dislodge. The use of this 'short toxic phrase' (Butcher 2005, p.22), and a belief in the ideology underpinning it, continues to prevail in English language teaching settings (Cook 1999; Butcher 2005; Creese, Blackledge & Takhi 2014).

This continuing allusion to the native speaker paradigm can be seen to link back to the aforementioned question of who may be considered a 'legitimate speaker' (Bourdieu 1977). Not only are 'native speakers' assumed to be experts in the standard language, but to 'have privileged access to the language community: they belong while non-native speakers do not' (Piller 2001, p.2). To occupy this subject position gives the individual a powerful voice; thus, regardless of the questioning of the native speaker paradigm within the field of socio and applied linguistics, the idea of the native speaker remains a difficult notion to displace. Linguistic status thus influences what claims of ethnicity or nationality an individual is entitled to make, and from which categories such individuals may find themselves excluded. In the context of the UK, there is an ironic contradiction that while an individual is supposed to speak English as part of visa and residency requirements in the UK (see Chapter 2), the native speaker ideology and its implicit positioning of non-native speakers as incompetent, limits such an identity position. Questions of belonging and ownership of language are thus also integral to the idea of the learner/user and how these positions are juxtaposed. The positions of language learner and user are explored below.

4.3.2 Learner/user positions

In his research on the native speaker, Cook (1999) notes the inevitable crossover between the positions of language learner and language user. While a learner may be broadly described as someone who 'is still in the process of learning the L2', this is, as Cook concedes, an imperfect distinction, given the 'difficulty in defining the final stage of L2 learning', and the case that many so-called learners may be using the language outside the classroom (Cook 1999, p.188).

The blurred line between learner and user has also been acknowledged by Armour (2004), who draws on the notion of 'identity slippage' to describe the overlap. To draw some distinction, Armour describes a language user as 'an individual who can *freely* access the resources available in the language to make meaning *in situ*' (p.104, italics in original), a definition which implies a high level of independent use of a language. Armour further distinguishes the relative positions of language learner and user by drawing on the notion of power: a position of greater power is implicit in the identity of user but lacking in that of the learner (p.104). This relates in turn to questions of language ownership (Norton 1997) and Bourdieu's (1977) notion of the 'legitimate speaker', that is, an individual who is considered to have the right to speak. Norton (1997) argues that:

> [i]f learners of English cannot claim ownership of a language, they might not
> consider themselves legitimate speakers […] of that language (p.422).

Thus the right to speak is extended to users but not necessarily to learners.

While being positioned as a user gives the individual the right to speak, the learner is delegitimised. A learner has limited agency (Early & Norton 2012), and is positioned 'in terms of less knowledge or less skill and no credentials' (Armour 2004, p.105). This chimes with studies that show how learners may be positioned in terms of inadequacy,

a positioning underpinned by the idea of deficiency (see Mehmedbegović 2012). Consequently, a learner may find certain subject positions proscribed, and find herself relegated to inferior positions. In their study of language learners, Norton and Toohey (2001) present the example of Eva, a Polish immigrant to Canada (also see Norton 1995). Working in a café, Eva was allocated the job of cleaning floors, apparently 'seen as a suitable job for an immigrant […] and an English language learner' (p.315). Here, the link between learner and a subordinate position is made explicit. Embedded within Eva's struggle to make herself heard, is the way that an individual positioned as a learner is shown to have less agency in the attempted negotiation of her identity.

This is echoed in Vitanova (2004), who describes a migrant couple from Eastern Europe as being acutely aware of 'an overt loss of their standing as intellectuals' on arriving in the US, due to their lack of competency in the new language; while Vera, an experienced journalist in Russia, perceives how her social position has fallen in her new job as a kitchen manager (p.265). The way in which an individual may be declassed on arriving in the new country is similarly highlighted by Block (2006a) in his exploration of migrants to London. Here, Block describes the example of Carlos, who, prior to moving to London, was 'a philosophy lecturer at a university in Colombia' (p.153). However, as Carlos spoke little English when he first arrived in Britain, his immediate employment prospects were limited to those of manual work. Carlos thus found himself 'effectively declassed […], falling from professional middle class to unskilled low-level service' almost instantly (p.154).

Thus the positions of learner and user are shown to be loaded; they are interlinked with questions of power and legitimacy. Similar issues of power are discussed in the following section, which focuses on bilingualism.

4.3.3   Understandings of bilingualism

As noted in Chapter 1, the use of bilingual in this thesis borrows from Grosjean's (1989) 'wholistic' view of bilingualism, which conceives of bilinguals not as 'two monolinguals in one', but as 'an integrated whole' (p.6). The notions of 'flexible' and 'separate' bilingualism (Creese & Blackledge et al. 2011) are also used. This draws on Cummins (2008), who describes separate bilingualism as 'the two solitudes', whereby the languages an individual speaks are kept separate, and the individual is actively discouraged from drawing on one language when using another. Flexible bilingualism can therefore be understood as 'the simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs' (Creese & Blackledge et al. 2011, p.1197). Separate bilingualism appears to be a long-standing principle in language classrooms (Cummins 2008; Hall & Cook 2012). In their study of language use in complementary schools, Creese and Blackledge et al. (2011) suggest that while a belief in separate bilingualism appears to underpin classroom practices encouraged by the teacher, a flexible bilingualism is nevertheless found amongst students, who draw on their multiple linguistic repertoires (Gumperz 1964) in their communicative practices.

In his seminal work, Gumperz (1964) defined 'verbal repertoire' as 'the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction' (p.137), that is, when an individual draws on different language and codes. More recent scholars have extended the meaning to include a wider range of signs. In their work on heteroglossia, Creese and Blackledge (2014) talk of 'linguistic practices in which meaning is made using signs flexibly' (p.2); they assert that such an exploration of diverse linguistic practices thus necessitates 'a view of language as a social resource without clear boundaries' (p.2).

Whilst acknowledging the debates around the concept of 'repertoire' and how it may be understood, I chose not to draw on notions of linguistic repertoires in the current study.

To do so would have necessitated a more ethnographic approach to the research, with a closer focus on the participants' linguistic practices and communicative practices. Rather, while I recognise the presence of other languages in their lives and interactions, I chose to explore questions of bilingualism as Polish and English appeared to be the dominant languages in which the adolescents operated.

One linguistic practice which is commented upon here, however, is that of code switching, broadly defined as using 'varied combinations of two or more linguistic varieties' (Gardner-Chloros 2009, p.4). Code switching can be seen to denote the way monolinguals switch between registers of speech, or dialects; it may also be linked to the notion of repertoire. For Benor (2011), in her work on the linguistic repertoire found amongst American Jews, the term 'repertoire' denotes 'linguistic resources at all levels of language, including […] among bilinguals, code switching' (p.142). In describing the language use of the individuals in this current study, I draw on Gardner-Chloros' (2009) definition of code switching as the way in which individuals use different languages 'in the same conversation or sentence' (p.4). I also differentiate between code switching and code mixing (see section 9.2.1).

As with the question of repertoire, as highlighted by Creese and Blackledge (2014), so too any mention of switching prompts 'questions about what a language is' (Gardner-Chloros 2009, p.117). This includes the extent to which language and languages may be seen as bounded, or whether they are regarded in a more fluid sense. While the understanding of language in the Bakhtinian sense described here is that of something less fixed, language is often treated by those in this study as bounded and to be used in discrete spaces, as will be explored later. This leads onto notions relating to space and spatialization, discussed below.

Overarching notions of space refers to the way that, being contingent, identity construction is also dependent on the space in which an individual finds herself.

Varying linguistic practices may be utilised in different spaces, and individuals can find themselves occupying multifarious subject positions as they move amongst different spaces and employ different linguistic codes. The notion of space has been addressed in a study on Somalis living in Britain by Sporton and Valentine (2007), who note how several of the women to whom they spoke,

> managed their identities differently in different spaces according to the people they were with, or whom they may be seen by (p.19).

The notion of creating a space for certain linguistic practices has also been discussed in relation to language acquisition and maintenance. In a study of language planning and policy in the US, Hornberger and Johnson (2007) assert the need to make space within educational settings for bilingualism. In a similar vein, Conteh and Brock (2011) talk of the importance of safe spaces where young children can assert their bilingual identity, something which in turn facilitates their overall learning outcomes.

Each of these studies relied on ethnographic data to explore language use and the settings in which language was used. Thus, while the conceptualisation of space may be considered as pertinent to the idea of fluid identities, a notion which underpins this current study, an examination of space would have entailed visiting such spaces and conducting a type of observation which observed participant interaction and language use within those spaces. As noted above, such a focus did not chime with the overarching purpose of the study as an investigation of the adolescents' experiences.

In regard to bilingualism, there are also different attitudes to how this is itself perceived. In an examination of assumptions about bilingualism, Block (2007b) highlights the contradictory ways in which bilingualism is understood, and how bilinguals may be positioned. Here, I adopt Block's use of the term 'bilingual' to denote both bi and multilinguals (p.81). Block argues that while bilinguals may often find themselves

positioned as problematic in some settings, in others, bilingualism is actively encouraged.

Like other subject positions, that of the bilingual reveals itself to be contingent. This is dependent not only on the social context, but also on the languages spoken by the bilingual individual. On the one hand, bilingualism is seen as a threat to the supposed unity of the nation state. This is highlighted by the Yugoslav writer Danilo Kiš (1996 [1978]), who implies that a suspicion of bilingualism ties in with a belief in nationalism: Kiš makes the connection between a nationalist credo and language, asserting that '[u]sually a nationalist neither speaks any foreign language nor knows a variation of his own' (p14). In Kiš's portrayal, the nationalist is ineluctably monolingual, and attached to a single variety of 'his own' language.

How the imposition of monolingualism has been used in an attempt to suppress peoples has been touched upon in Chapter 2; however, a bilingual individual may find herself positioned as a threat in any setting where monolingualism is promoted as the norm. In his work on the native speaker, Cook (1999) speaks of the difficulty faced by bilinguals within 'a society that is dominated by monolinguals and where bilingualism is a problem but monolingualism is not' (p.196). Even within multilingual environments such as the UK (see section 2.4.2), this monolingual ideology can be detected. In their study of both private and public sector settings within Southampton, Cadier and Mar-Molinero (2012) see operating in such sites 'a position of default monolingualism', even while their research indicates 'that in all the sites the *de facto* linguistic situation is one of multilingualism' (p.162).

The way that bilingualism is regarded within such settings appears to pervade educational institutions also. In her investigation of London primary schools, Bourne (2001) highlights the way in which 'the dominant culture perceives bilingualism as exotic and extraordinary', in contrast to the bilinguals themselves who see it as

commonplace (p.112). A chary attitude towards bilingualism can also be seen reflected in prevailing practice within schools, which appears to be underpinned by a monolingual ideology (Karrebæk 2013; García & Li Wei 2014). Section 4.4.3 provides a further discussion of school settings, and the effect that such linguistic thinking may have on school students.

Yet even while underlining this negative attitude towards bilingualism, Block (2007b) also provides a more nuanced approach, where he sees the distrust of bilingualism as related to socio-economic status. Block cites the example of the UK government reaction to the riots of summer 2001, where in trying to find reasons for the riots, the government appeared to draw a link between the behaviour of the rioters and their language skills. Block thus identifies 'a monolingual bias at work that views bilingualism with suspicion, as a characteristic of the poor (both people and nations)' (p.67). The mention of 'poor […] nations' alludes to the way that the language(s) of less affluent nations is often regarded as less prestigious; this invokes the question of language hierarchy, which will be discussed below. At the same time, however, Block juxtaposes this example with that of a school website which promotes the minority languages spoken by its pupils. This would indicate, Block argues, that there is also an acceptable face of bilingualism, and where the bilingual is awarded a more powerful subject position.

However, such acceptance is frequently a qualified one. It is not the blanket acceptance of unfettered bilingualism; rather, emphasis is placed on the acquisition of 'powerful 'foreign' languages', a focus which at the same time acts to 'delegitimize or ignore other languages' (Pujolar 2007, p.78). This taps into the hierarchy of languages and notions of linguistic capital whereby languages have differing market values (Bourdieu 1982); it relates back to questions of linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1977, 1982, 1997), and the acquisition of a language perceived to have greater hierarchical status.

Pujolar (2007) observes that in the contemporary world, 'languages increasingly acquire their value as a function of their economic significance' (p.75). A 'high-status' language is thereby considered to be one that is 'used by groups who possess economic, social, cultural and political power and status in local and global society' (Morrison & Lui 2000, p.473). There is an implicit dichotomy between minority languages, those spoken by immigrants and thus seen to have a secondary status, and the studied bilingualism of the elite. Bilingualism is thus only approved if it entails the acquisition of certain high prestige languages.

This becomes apparent in the linguistic ideology found within educational settings. Here, even as the monolingual ideal is promoted as normative (Karrebæk 2013), schools are at the same time encouraging pupils to study foreign languages. The implicit paradox in this is highlighted by Wiley and Lukes (1996) in their investigation into the ideology of English monolingualism in the US. The authors point out the irony of a situation whereby one (migrant) group is encouraged to lose their language, and replace it with English, whilst the English-speaking majority are required to acquire another, sanctioned one (Wiley & Lukes 1996). This replicates the notion of a linguistic hierarchy.

Linguistic prestige and an implicit hierarchy of languages can also be detected within the milieu of youth culture, where certain languages are seen as 'cool' to acquire and draw upon. This is most clearly shown in the adoption of hip-hop and black slang. Bucholtz (2010) explores the acquisition of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) by non-blacks in America, and how this vernacular becomes sanctioned by peers in the context of music and youth identity. In a British context, similar patterns have been observed in Hewitt (1986), who notes how 'the distinctive language of black youth culture is in fact a 'prestige' variety amongst many young people' (p.102); Hewitt also draws attention to prestige youth languages in other contexts. This is echoed in

Rampton (2005) and his 1980s study of language crossing amongst adolescents in the South Midlands in England, where elements of different languages are combined in the adolescents' playground talk. Bilingualism and the use of different languages thus becomes acceptable within youth peer groups, although once again, this linguistic capital seems limited to certain languages.

It can thus be seen that the status of bilingualism and the positioning of the bilingual remains contingent, both on social setting and peer group, and also on the status of the language spoken by the individual. Such positioning also applies to adolescents; the next section examines the wider experience of adolescents and how this has been tackled in the literature.

4.4 Adolescents in socio and applied linguistics

4.4.1   Adolescent migrants

A further dimension of identity pertinent to this study is that of adolescence. This section therefore aims to provide an overview of research in socio and applied linguistics relating to adolescent identity construction, and to identify the gaps in the literature. The nature of adolescence is set out below; it is followed by an examination of studies conducted with adolescents in school settings. The final part explores the question of hybrid and transnational identities, and the extent to which such identities may be available to younger migrants.

As set out in section 1.4, the term 'adolescent' is used here to describe the participants in this study, who are aged between 11 and 16 years old. Adolescence is a very particular time (Birman & Trickett 2001; Harklau 2007): it is 'a sensitive and formative phase of life' (Wen Ma 2010, p.120). While poststructuralist thinking maintains that

people are not static, fixed beings, and that identity development continues throughout an individual's life (see Chapter 3), yet it is in adolescence above all that 'one's identity is challenged' (Beyers & Çok 2008, p.147). Drawing on Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1966, 1980), adolescence is seen as characterised by a search for identity: it is a time when 'concerns about the self are more salient' (Goodenow & Espin 1993, p.173; also Drummond & Schleef 2015). For adolescents still more than adults, therefore, the context of a new environment may be especially testing.

Scholars who have explored the experiences of younger migrants have highlighted the sense of confusion young migrants may feel, as they find themselves forced to negotiate new subject positionings, both in the way they situate themselves and in how they may be regarded by others. Chow (2007) notes that while immigrants may eventually feel as though they belong in the new country, they 'may feel out of place initially' (p.512). At the same time, however, just as the adult immigration experience is different for each person (Arredondo 1984), neither can it be assumed that all adolescents will have the same experience merely by token of their age: the construction of adolescent identities are also contingent, and there may be different ways of 'doing' adolescence in each setting. In her study of young migrants in London, Cooke (2008) feels adolescence in itself provided some point of alignment between her participants and 'their London-born urban teenage peers' (p.24), with their interlocking interest in 'sport, music, [and] popular culture' (p.27). However, this is undercut by the inability of one of the boys' friends 'to read the important adolescent sign of "correct" clothing' by wearing a style of trousers deemed inappropriate by his peers (p.28). This chimes with the experience described by Eva Hoffman (1989). Talking of her own circumstances as a teenage migrant, Hoffman recalls her younger self feeling quite alien: 'I think that I've found myself among a strange tribe of adolescents' (p.131), as she encounters alternative ways of 'doing' adolescence in Canada in comparison with

Poland. The contingent nature of the construction of adolescent identities thus becomes apparent to her.

The examples cited above therefore suggest at the difficulties that adolescents may encounter when attempting to (re)construct their identities in a new setting. How the experience of identity (re)negotiation and (re)construction amongst adolescents has been addressed in socio and applied linguistics literature will be explored in more detail in the subsequent section.

4.4.2   Previous studies

Despite the existence of a 'large body of research into adolescents in the fields of anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, and sociolinguistics' (Cooke 2008, p.24), less attention has been paid to Polish adolescent migrants, both in the field of socio and applied linguistics (Schleef, Meyerhoff & Clark 2011), and within migration studies (Moskal 2014; Pustułka 2014; Slany & Strzemecka 2016), although as I have noted elsewhere, interest in younger EU migrants has increased since the 2016 Referendum (Young 2018). In socio and applied linguistics, while identity construction of adolescents has been investigated, much of the work has been centred on specific areas. Attention has often concentrated on members of the BAME communities, investigating individuals who are second generation or later, and based predominantly in urban settings.

Much work on adolescents has focused on language learning practices, where studies have often been school-based. In a UK setting, Catherine Wallace (2008) explores the way that individual migrants in two London schools bring their experiences to bear on literary studies, and in doing so, index their various identities. Studies also examine how power relations are negotiated within the classroom, and how such relations are

informed by an '[o]fficial discourse [which] legitimates the teacher as the source of power and authority' (Bourne 2001, p.103). In a US study, Chen (2010) focuses on the lack of agency available to Evan, a nine-year-old Chinese-speaking student. In each setting within his school – maths class, English classes, and the main classroom – different learner identities come into play, yet in each Evan finds himself unable to challenge the way he is positioned by his teachers. Also within a US context, McKay and Wong (1996) argue that the 'asymmetrical power relations' (p.603) implicit in the school environment are informed by discourses external to the school setting, including those of race and colonisation. The student is thus positioned through these wider discourses, and may find herself negotiating identities that are 'multiple, dynamic, and often contradictory' (McKay & Wong 1996, p.580). Salient findings from studies based within school settings are explored in more detail in section 4.4.3.

Another factor common to many of the adolescent-focused studies based in the UK is their emphasis on members of BAME groups. Such work includes that by Rampton (1995, 2005), who investigates language crossing practices amongst adolescents of Anglo-Punjabi and Anglo-Caribbean backgrounds. Rampton suggests that in their incorporation of the use of Creole and Punjabi with that of English, these adolescents are thus engaged in constructing hybrid identities. In his study of adolescents of South Asian descent living in West London, Harris (2006) similarly highlights the creation of hybrid identities. Here, Harris explores how the adolescents' linguistic practices enable them to establish and display a hybrid 'Brasian' identity that fuses both British and Asian elements.

Polish teenagers have, however, been the focus of research in variationist sociolinguistics, where work which explores questions of identity is relatively recent (Drummond & Schleef 2015). Studies suggest that the acquisition of certain local variables in speech may indicate identity positions that the speakers are adopting. In

work investigating the pronunciation of 'ING' by Polish adolescents living in Manchester, Drummond (2012) argues that acquiring 'local speech features could be viewed […] as indicative of a growing sense of local identity' (p.112). This is reinforced by Newlin-Łukowicz (2015), who, in her study of Polish immigrants in the US and the UK, suggests that speakers' sense of their own Polish identity influences the extent to which they adopt regional speech variations in English (p.332). Meyerhoff and Schleef (2012), exploring the speech patterns of Polish teenagers in Edinburgh and London, also propose that the pronunciation of certain variables indexes the adolescents' social affiliation with their peers. That these studies focus on first-generation migrants, as well the participants being Polish speakers, contrasts with much of the UK-based work in applied linguistics, which often concentrates on individuals from the second or later generation (e.g. Rampton 2005; Harris 2006; Preece 2009).

Another feature of studies on migrant identity construction is that the majority are situated in urban settings, with relatively little attention given to 'those outside large conurbations' (Rasinger 2012, p.33). A strong rationale lies behind this emphasis, seeing that contemporary 'urban centers are being transformed into super diverse sites of encounter of peoples from a variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds' (De Fina & Perrino 2013, p.510; also see Simpson & Cooke 2009). Cadier and Mar-Molinero (2012) have turned the spotlight on language practices within Southampton, where 'the *de facto* linguistic situation is one of multilingualism' (p.162), while London is perhaps the epitome of the modern city as a multi-ethnic, multilingual space (Block 2006a; Blommaert 2008). Cooke (2008) highlights the city's cosmopolitanism amongst urban youths: drawing on Hewitt, she suggests that London is a place where 'young people [can] share local multilingual vernaculars' (p.25); this is echoed by Preece (2009) in her study of linguistic practices amongst young undergraduates in the city.

It has been argued that in such urban areas, an individual may choose between remaining 'relatively anonymous' or displaying an 'outspoken identity', thanks to the profusion of networks enabling this (Blommaert 2008, p.87); it may also be easier for individuals to view themselves as 'multicultural citizen[s]' (Norton 1995, p.25) when a multitude of identities are on display around them. The negotiation of linguistic identities may accordingly be easier in such settings. Nonetheless, as Moskal (2014) notes, while '[c]ities remain the main centres of concentration, […] rural areas are increasingly affected by migration' (p.282). Non-urban environments may therefore also be sites of multilingualism, yet such locations remain less addressed in the literature.

It can thus be seen that, while research in applied linguistics has investigated linguistic practices within urban settings, with a particular focus on experiences of members of the BAME communities, less attention has been paid to migrant adolescents living in other regions, and from other backgrounds. The experiences of first or 1.5 generation adolescents, such as those in this study (see section 1.4), also feature less in the literature.

The following section will examine work done on school-based studies and how the school environment may be implicated in adolescent migrant identity construction.

4.4.3   School settings

In research on mainstream school settings, a contrasting picture emerges in regard to the space allowed for identity construction. Several studies report that the way an individual constructs her identity may be implicitly restricted at school (DaSilva Iddings & Katz 2007; Cooke 2008; also see Chen 2010). The new pupil may perceive herself in a certain light whilst the school places the same student in a different category (see

Hawkins 2005). This reflects Michaud's (2000) notion of identity: 'I am a prisoner of the image others have of me' (p.397).[8]

Even within an urban, multilingual context, pupils may perceive a 'difference between their experience and the linguistic and ethnic categories imposed on them' (Leung, Harris & Rampton 1997, p.551). Newcomers to a school or individuals from minority communities may find themselves constantly being defined in terms of their country of birth or ethnic community; consequently, they may feel they have 'to represent [their community] in the most accurate manner' (Altman et al. 2010, p.168). While teachers may wish to encourage students to discuss their differing cultural traditions and customs, this unfortunately often only serves to reinforce the notion of otherness such children may feel (McEwan 1995; Morgan 2007), bestowing upon them an unwelcome visibility (see section 3.3.2).

Linguistic identities may also be severely constrained at school. Karrebæk (2013) maintains that despite the increasingly diverse nature of European societies, a monolingual ideology persists in mainstream schools in Europe (also see García & Li Wei 2014). In the UK, the language used as a medium of instruction (MOI) within state schooling remains primarily English. Commenting on documents from the 1980s, Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997) note that while 'ethnic and linguistic diversity' is recognised, English is still promulgated 'as the universal medium defining the nation-state and as a principal instrument achieving social cohesion' (p.553). More recent National Curriculum guidelines also stress the importance of this: 'English has a pre-eminent place in education and society' (Department of Education 2014). The continued prevalence of this approach is also noted by Temple (2010, p.287).

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[8] 'Je suis prisonnier de l'image que les autres ont de moi' (Michaud 2000, p.397).

Attitudes to language use and teaching within the UK are still influenced by the 1985 Swann Report (Swann 1985), which, despite its apparent support for the maintenance of minority languages, maintains that 'essential to […] participation on equal terms as a full member of society, is a good command of English' (p.426). Conteh and Brock (2011) note that the 'model of 'transitional' rather than 'additive' bilingualism has become normalised in educational policy and practice in England' (p.348), which stems from the support framework introduced in the Report. That is, students are encouraged to move from their first language(s) to the dominant one.

Yet this approach is not confined to a UK setting. Writing in a Canadian context, Cummins (2005) highlights the prevailing tendency to see 'students' knowledge of additional languages […] as either irrelevant or as an impediment' (p.585). A similarly 'monolingual/monocultural ideology' is seen to underpin the US educational system (Benesch 2008), whereby instead of utilising the linguistic repertoires of students, 'institutions pathologize their differences' (p.296). Studies also highlight the ''deficit' approach' (Mehmedbegović 2008, p.6) prevalent in English language educational settings. In a study focusing on the experiences of a young Mexican girl in the US, Wortham and Rhodes (2013) criticise 'the familiar American emphasis on monolingualism and deficit models of those who do not speak English' (p.545); a point also made by Gunderson (2000) in his work on migrant high school students in America. Such a model also appears to be a feature of the education system in the UK. Mehmedbegović (2012) describes the thinking whereby 'not being able to speak English yet, is a deficiency' (p.68).

At the same time, school has also been seen as a site where linguistic repertoires can be exploited. Rampton (2005), exploring teenagers' language use, sees the school playground as a space for 'language crossing', whereby individuals intertwine snatches

of their different linguistic repertoires to create their own ways of communication and to fashion a discrete identity.

Heritage languages may also be used by minority speakers within school as a way to delineate and reassert their ethnic group membership. In Hall's (2002) study of language use amongst Sikh adolescents in Leeds, participants reported using Punjabi as 'a useful weapon for fighting back' against their classmates (p.113). Zielińska, Kowzan and Ragnarsdóttir (2014) note the use of Polish amongst school students in Iceland and England, where 'Polish turns into a 'secret language' which can be used […] to help one another during classes' (p.411). This use of language can be seen as a means of subverting the authority of the teacher, which can cause friction: Valentine, Sporton and Bang Nielsen (2008) note how 'many teachers regard such practices as conspiratorial or as a threat to their own fragile authority in the classroom' (p.383).

Other studies highlight the racism which migrant students recount having experienced at school. This can be seen to draw on wider discourses relating to migrants. Harklau (2007) notes that many migrant adolescents will 'enter societies in which images of immigrants are largely unfavourable' (p.643). Gunderson (2000) reports on the frequency of racism experienced by adolescents of different nationalities in schools in Canada, while Juang and Syed (2013) focus on discriminatory behaviour experienced by 'Asian American, Latino, and European American' students in schools in America (p.309). In the UK, Ruck, Tenenbaum and Sines (2007) find that attitudes of British adolescents towards asylum-seeker children are frequently negative.

Overall, therefore, the literature suggests that school is often a place of contested identity. It can be an environment where pupils are encouraged to embrace their cultural and linguistic differences; yet for those individuals who wish to remain less visible in terms of their ethnic identity, this can also be a source of complication. At the

same time, there may be greater pressure to conform linguistically to an English language ideal due to the dominant monolingual ideology.

While within school settings, it thus seems that there is limited scope for ethnic and linguistic identity construction, adolescent identity construction through hybridity or transnationalism has also been addressed in the literature. This will be discussed in the following section.

4.4.4   Hybrid and transnational identities

Hybridity may be understood as the way in which an individual draws on two or more cultures 'to create a new identity that is distinct' (Cuninghame 2008, p.29). However, the ability to create a hybrid identity appears to be contingent. The literature on so-called 'third-culture kids' (TCK), broadly defined as 'children who accompany their parents into another society' (Useem 1993) and who create a third, hybrid identity, suggests such individuals belong to higher socio-economic backgrounds. In their respective studies, Moore and Barker (2012) cite 'children of missionaries, […] of business employees, and […] a diplomat's child' (p.556), while Fail, Thompson and Walker (2004) focus on children attending international schools. Children whose parents have lower status jobs, however, may have a different experience. Darvin and Norton (2014) compare the accounts of two adolescent Filipino newcomers to Canada in different socio-economic situations; the authors conclude that due to 'varying levels of economic, cultural, and social capital, migrant students are positioned in society in unequal ways' (p.112), which in turn allows for fewer opportunities to create a hybrid identity.

Drawing on Stuart Hall's notion of 'cultures of hybridity', Harris (2006) has investigated the creation of hybrid British Asian identities. Here, Harris describes how 'traditions

derived from the Indian subcontinent' have been infused with elements of Britishness, from which a hybrid 'Brasian' identity has been fashioned (p.1). Harris vehemently rebuffs the idea that the Brasian adolescents he presents in his study 'are in any way 'caught between two cultures'' (p.2), despite the changing climate in mid-noughties Britain. However, the adolescents in Harris's study are second or later generation immigrants; it is perhaps easier for such individuals to create hybrid identities than for relative newcomers.

Where hybridity is understood as the way in which individuals combine different identities, transnationalism refers to the way that individuals attempt to maintain their identity across two or more countries and cultures, and how such transition is managed. While transnational practices and identities are not new (Morawska 2001; Vertovec 2009), they have changed in a contemporary context (Levitt, De Wind & Vertovec 2003). Migrants have often maintained 'some form of contact with family and others in their homelands' (Vertovec 2009, p.13); yet the speed at which people may now be in contact either physically or virtually (Block 2006a) has had a major impact on transnational practices (De Fina & Perrino 2013).

Contemporary transnational practices encompass a range of activities such as staying in contact with home or following events there (Vertovec 2009); Bell and Erdal (2015) also include transnational parenting. However, as Block (2006a, 2006b) argues, transnational identities may not necessarily be relevant or even available to all individuals. These identities might also vary, both in manifestations and in 'strength' (Levitt, De Wind & Vertovec 2003, p.569); moreover, until recently, less attention has been paid to the experiences of younger individuals (Duff 2015, p.57). Duff feels that younger migrants' experiences of migration are distinct from those of adults, and that transnationalism will therefore have a different meaning to them. Migrant children are likely to have been educated in different countries; they may have moved 'with or

without intact nuclear families' (Duff 2015, p.66). Such experiences will inevitably impact on the children's ability to create transnational identities, or their wish to engage in transnational practices.

In terms of the Polish migrant experience, it has been argued that transnationalism plays an integral role (Engbersen, Snel & de Boom 2010; Erdel & Lewicki 2016). Maintaining links with Poland is encouraged by Polish organisations based in the UK (see Zechenter 2015). Freedom of mobility and the advent of cheap flights have allowed Polish migrants living in the UK 'to fly back and forth so quickly and cheaply' (Burrell 2011b, p.1025). It has been cautioned, however, that in the wake of the ongoing Brexit negotiations the ease of travel currently enjoyed by EU citizens coming to and from Britain may be at 'an end' (Viña 2016, np).

Other difficulties of maintaining a transnational identity are mentioned in the literature. One is through loss of language, be this through language attrition (cf. Köpke & Schmid 2004), or through the manner of speaking the 'home' language. Hoffman (1989) describes the realisation that the way she would speak with her peers in Poland was quite a different style of conversing than that which she might hope to enjoy with her classmates in Canada. Bell and Erdal (2015) also report how many individuals found that, despite the various technological means of staying in touch with family, 'the lack of physical contact would make their everyday life-worlds diverge' (p.91).

Thus while notions of transnationalism can go some way to understanding the situation in which migrants find themselves, it is also argued here that the creation or maintenance of a transnational identity is not always relevant to the individual experience. Nor is it necessarily a significant part of that individual's identity construction; at the same time, adolescents may have differing transnational practices from those available to adults.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has examined how language has been conceptualised as a dimension of identity. Two key concepts of Bakhtin's thinking on language – heteroglossia and voice – were set out; the way they have been drawn upon in socio and applied linguistics studies were described, followed by an explanation of how they help to understand elements of this current study. Notions of monolingualism and bilingualism were then explored, together with the ways in which different types of bilingualism have been understood in the literature.

The final section of the chapter discussed the literature on adolescents, and how their identity construction may be constrained or facilitated within a school environment. It was argued that an adolescent can be viewed as having less agency; this can be seen reflected in an adolescent's process of identity construction. Hybrid and transnational identities were also explored, together with the extent to which these may be relevant or available to younger migrants. For some adolescents, the ability to create a third space, or hybrid identity, is curtailed by socio-economic positioning, while it appears that second or later generation British Asians have been able to establish a hybrid identity more successfully. The literature suggests that a greater variety of transnational activities are available to the current generation thanks to the developments in technology and communication; however, it has been argued that not all individuals are necessarily involved with transnational practices.

The relevant literature having been reviewed in these two chapters, the following chapter sets out the study which is the focus of this thesis, and explains how the research was conceived and conducted.

5 Methodology and ethics

This chapter sets out the methodology for the project, and how the study was conducted. The ethical considerations are also presented, together with a brief discussion of researcher reflexivity.

In recognising the need to protect participants' identity, especially that of adolescents (Heath et al. 2009), the exact locations and names of the schools attended by the participants have been anonymised. Pseudonyms have been given to the adolescents in the study, as well as to any individuals to whom the participants referred.

5.1 Research design

5.1.1   Qualitative research

The methodology chosen in any research project is necessarily driven by the theoretical perspective in which the study is situated (Gray 2014). Hence the choice of a qualitative research methodology here, given the poststructuralist paradigm in which this current study is located. As with poststructuralist thinking, which sees knowledge as necessarily incomplete (Baxter 2016), so qualitative research does not search for absolutes, but rather, ways of understanding the 'lived experience' (Denzin & Lincoln 2011, p.2), with all the contradictions which that implies. In any qualitative study, the overarching aim is to gain an insight into the social world by exploring how participants understand their experiences (Bryman 2015, p.375). This often involves investigating an individual's life story (Silverman 2013), or – as will be explored in this study – elements of that story.

Given its focus on the individual, questions of generalisability are not the underlying principle of qualitative research: those who are the focus of such a study are not

intended to be 'representative of a population' (Bryman 2015, p.399). Nonetheless, possible similarities between their experiences and those of others may be detected. However, as for 'the participants and the data they provide', so too the researcher is seen to be implicit in the qualitative research process (Corbin & Strauss 2014, p.4). My own presence as researcher in this current study is examined in section 5.4.5.

The usefulness of the interview in qualitative research has been highlighted (e.g. Atkinson & Silverman 1997; Miller & Glassner 2016), while there has been increased contemporary interest in the narrative interview and narrative research (Atkinson & Delamont 2006; Squire, Andrews & Tamboukou 2008; De Fina 2009). It is this methodological tool which was used for the current project, the rationale for which is discussed below. However, in planning the study, I also drew on the notion of bricolage as a further element in qualitative research, whereby a researcher may employ different methodological tools and weave them together in order to form a fuller picture of the phenomena under investigation (Denzin & Lincoln 2011). I therefore also used observation and fieldnotes, together with a short written questionnaire as a way of collecting supplementary data. Section 5.3 provides more detail on this.

5.1.2   Narrative inquiry

As set out above, the main methodological tool used for this study was narrative inquiry. The aim of this section is therefore to provide an overview of how narrative has been understood, and the elements which make it an appropriate methodology for this current project. The study also draws on the notion of 'big' and 'small' stories (Bamberg 2004b, 2006; Georgakopoulou 2006b), a more recent conceptualisation within narrative research. In the subsequent section (5.1.3), I explore how these may be understood, and why an analysis of the 'big' and 'small' stories identified in the adolescents' accounts are useful in the context of this study.

A recognition of the value of narrative inquiry for social research grew out of work by Labov and Waletsky (1967); much of this explores the linguistic structure of narrative, with particular reference to the way that the sequencing of clauses helps create and convey the temporality of the narrative being recounted. In later work, Labov (1997) reiterates the sense of temporal structure as being key to narrative; he also highlights the way that the narrator's viewpoint is privileged in narrative inquiry. As narrative research has developed, so this seminal work has been built upon, and there has emerged a multitude of ways in which narrative inquiry may be interpreted (Squire, Andrews, & Tamboukou 2008).

In broad terms, narrative inquiry may be understood 'as a way of making sense of the world' (Georgakopoulou 2006b, p.122). It is often employed in work which aims to investigate the individual experience: drawing on the way narrative inquiry privileges a particular person's viewpoint (Labov 1997), such studies attempt to construct a view of reality as seen by that individual (Galasiński & Galasińska 2007, p.49). That narrative 'privileges positionality and subjectivity' (Riessman 2002, p.696) makes it an appropriate methodology in regard to the theoretical framework of this current study. Here I also draw on Flum and Lavi-Yudelevitch (2002), whose investigation of adolescents' relationships with others uses narrative so as to emphasise the point of view of the adolescent. Flum and Lavi-Yudelevitch note how taking a narrative approach enabled them

> to work with the story of the relationship as being told by the adolescent, and focus on the relational experience as perceived by the young person (p.531).

Paying particular attention to the adolescents' perspectives was the aim of my own research project also.

A further relevance of narrative inquiry to this current project lies in the intertwined relationship between narrative and identity. Narrative is often perceived as revelatory of

an individual's identity (Schiffrin 1996; Bruner 2004; Bamberg 2005; Georgakopoulou 2006a); for Ochs and Capps (1996) there can be no separation between narrative and the self. It is through story telling that an individual's identity is expressed (Squire 2005, p.103), where knowledge of the self emerges through the recounting of 'actions and experiences' (Schiffrin 1996, p.194).

Narratives are, moreover, understood as a way in which individuals 'make sense of their experience' (Holloway & Wheeler 2002, p.202). Organising events in narrative form through the (re)telling of a story allows the narrator to give coherence to events that may appear incoherent (Georgakopoulou 2006a) or as a way of understanding problematic situations (Bamberg 2005). This links back to Labov and Waletzky's (1967) initial understanding of the temporal nature of narrative; it equally draws on Ricoeur (1988), for whom narrative and time are inexorably linked. Investigating notions of temporality becomes especially apposite when focusing on individuals who have experienced the 'disorienting experiences' and 'displacement' of migration (De Fina 2003a, p.367), and the sense of 'dislocation' created (Baynham 2003, p.347). The temporal aspect of narrative can also be seen to incorporate the notion of chronological disturbance and broken narratives, as explored by Langer (1991) in his collation of Holocaust testimonies, which are seen to possess neither a coherent temporal ordering nor any sense of resolution at the end of the account related.

Narrative research has also been described as emancipatory, in that story telling allows respondents to express themselves and share their experiences (Bold 2012); giving voice to potentially vulnerable individuals such as members of minority groups or migrants, whose experiences may be less frequently heard (Atkinson & Delamont 2006; also see Riessman 2002). Yet care must be taken to add nuance to the 'simplistic tendency […] to treat the narrative form as empowering' (Brannen 2013), and the assumption of an automatic correlation between narrative and agency (Squire,

Andrews, & Tamboukou 2008). For a narrative is also 'coauthored' (Ochs & Capps 1996, p.36; also Riessman 2012). That is, the narrative is not composed solely by the participant reciting the story, but through the interaction and interrelation with the researcher, who in turn 'becomes an active presence in the text' (Riessman 2008, p.105).

That a story cannot and should not be taken as an authentic representation is emphasised by Atkinson and Silverman (1997), who stress the need for a researcher to remain aware of 'the artful and constructed character of lives and experiences' (p.312). It is important to acknowledge the way a narrative has been created, how it is shaped not only by the interview setting, but also fashioned and crafted by the narrator herself (Mishler 1999).

It must also be recognised that any narrator's story is inevitably reshaped to some extent by the way in which the researcher reports the narrative. In detailing his (re)construction of his father's account of his experiences in Auschwitz, Bourgois (2005) provides a poignant illustration of how, in the retelling of any given story, the agency of the narrator may be compromised. Bourgois traces how he and his father often disagreed vehemently over how the story should be told, from the words used to describe the experience, to the way his father positions himself and is subsequently positioned within the (re)telling of the story. For Bourgois, his father emerges as a heroic figure; for his father, heroism is an empty word. In this present study, it needs reiterating that while I have aimed to focus on the experiences of the adolescents, their accounts are inevitably overlaid by my own interpretation of these stories, as well as by the way in which the narratives have been edited and juxtaposed.

Such limitations notwithstanding, the use of narrative research in recent years has increased exponentially in a variety of fields (Riessman 2008; Shopes 2008; De Fina 2009; De Fina & Perrino 2011; Bold 2012). In applied linguistics, studies have drawn

on narrative to explore identity construction. Hence Pavlenko (2001, 2007) analyses the autobiographies of first-generation immigrants in America in an investigation of second-language identities, while De Fina (2009) examines the sense of disorientation experienced by Mexican immigrants in crossing the US border. Notions of 'dislocation and relocation' are also key to Baynham's (2003, p.347) work on Moroccan migrants in London.

Narrative has also taken on more importance in migration studies (Flick 2014, p.41). Barkhuizen and de Klerk (2006) employ narrative inquiry to explore the migratory journey itself; in Polish migration, Galasiński and Galasińska (2007) explore the stories of post-1989 Polish migrants disillusioned with their move to the UK after the fall of communism. More recent research includes Bell's (2012) investigation of post-2004 Polish migrants to Northern Ireland, and work by Pustułka (2016) on the narratives of Polish migrant mothers.

A more recent development in narrative research has been the conceptualisation of 'big' and 'small' stories. Developed by Bamberg (2004b, 2006), and built upon in work by Georgakopoulou (2006b, 2016), and Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) as an alternative to the 'longstanding tradition of *big stories*' (Georgakopoulou 2006b, p.123, italics in original), the notion of small stories may be seen as especially useful when exploring the narratives of younger participants (Bamberg). How big and small stories may be defined and the way they are being used in this current study are explored in the following section.

5.1.3   'Big' and 'small' stories

As noted above, the notion of 'small' stories as developed by Bamberg (2004b, 2006) and Georgakopoulou (2006b), was devised in part as a counter to the 'big' stories

which had hitherto constituted narrative research. Where Bamberg (2006) sees big and small stories as representing 'very different approaches to narrative inquiry' (p.139), other scholars are less concerned as to the difference between them (Squire, Andrews & Tamboukou 2008, p.4). Here, I have chosen to follow the notion that the qualities found in small stories complement and 'enrich traditional narrative inquiry' (Norton & Early 2011, p.417), which has customarily focused on big stories. That is, the analysis of both big and small stories provides a useful way of investigating identity. The way in which such stories may be understood to differ from each other is discussed below.

Big stories may be understood as narratives elicited from 'interrogative venues', such as a formalised interview setting (Freeman 2006, p.132), whereby individuals construct accounts of their life, or produce narratives of significant events within it. To construct such stories, a narrator aims 'to connect events into episodes, and to connect episodes into a life story' (Phoenix & Sparkes 2009, p.222). Implicit in such narrative accounts is the idea of reflection (Freeman 2006; Phoenix & Sparkes 2009); and the ability to 'construct' a 'retrospective representation of the self' (Watson 2007, p.374).

In the context of this current study, big stories are therefore taken to refer to accounts of 'specific life shaping episodes' (Phoenix & Sparkes 2009, p.222), such as the adolescents' migration trajectory, and their arrival at school in England. While the accounts these adolescents tell may incorporate some element of reflection, this is not necessarily found in narratives produced by adolescents, as will be discussed below.

In contrast to the idea of a lengthy life story told in a more formalised context such as an interview, small stories are seen as those which 'we tell in passing, in our everyday encounters with each other' (Bamberg 2004b, p.2). Building on Bamberg's work, Georgakopoulou (2006b) identifies small stories as 'snippets of talk': these stories are not necessarily 'fully-fledged' (p.123), but form part of everyday talk. As such, they may

be seen as 'talk-in-interaction' (p.126), thereby emphasising the collaborative nature of such stories between teller and listener.

Drawing on Georgakopoulou (2006b), the small stories gathered in the context of this current project were therefore seen as 'stories told during interaction' (p.222), and which occurred outside the formal confines of the interview schedule. Such interaction included informal talk as students were coming in and out of the room, or putting their things away after the session, when we might be chatting about the weather or the forthcoming holidays. Analysis of such impromptu conversations revealed fragments of narrative, which were then classed as small stories. These snatches of conversations were usually captured on the audio recording, as I turned the Dictaphone on once students started arriving in the room, and left it on throughout the sessions. Impromptu conversations were subsequently transcribed in the same way as the interviews (see section 5.5.1 for transcription conventions).

There are several reasons why paying attention to small stories is appropriate to this current study. Firstly, it may be seen as more appropriate for examining the narratives told by adolescents. It has been argued that narrative is implicated in the formulation of adolescent identity (Flum & Lavi-Yudelevitch 2002); that adolescents have 'an increasing competence' in developing narratives about themselves (Dunlop & Walker 2013, p.240), and a growing 'awareness of the inferential, interpretive nature of reconstructing the past' (Habermas & Paha 2001, p.38; also see McLean 2005). However, scholars also emphasise that such abilities are in the process of evolving rather than being fully matured (Habermas & Paha 2001; Reese et al. 2014). Bamberg (2004a) maintains that younger participants are not necessarily able to construct such lengthy accounts as those privileged in traditional narrative research. Nor are they always able to engage in the 'reflective' (Freeman 2006) nature associated with big stories. Given the age (11-16 years old) of the participants in this study, it therefore

seemed appropriate to mine the data for smaller stories which might offer further insight into these adolescents' experiences.

Moreover, rather than necessarily possessing the overarching coherence suggested in the telling of a longer history, the narrative slivers which constitute small stories suggest at the 'contradictions' and 'divergences' of the narrator (Bamberg 2004b, p.3). This echoes Frosh (2007), who asserts the need to recognise the fragmentary nature of any given individual as reflective of an essential 'multiplicity' inherent to the human condition. This can be seen to sit with the poststructuralist view of identity as multi-dimensional that underpins this study (see Chapter 3). It is through piecing together small stories that a researcher can begin to understand the way an identity is being constructed (Bamberg 2004b).

At the same time, however, given that many of the accounts related by the adolescents did involve large stories of life changing events, and could thus be understood as 'big' stories (Phoenix & Sparkes 2009), I did not want to neglect such narratives. Rather, I drew on the notion that big and small stories can work alongside each other and thus produce a more complete picture (Freeman 2006; Phoenix & Sparkes 2009).

In their study of Fred, a seventy-year-old man, and his narrative of heath and ageing, Phoenix and Sparkes (2009) juxtapose big and small stories in order to present a fuller picture of Fred's situation. In their exploration of Fred's life and attitudes, Phoenix and Sparkes highlight the value of 'informal interactions' in allowing them to perceive 'the small stories that circulated within his everyday life', and from which themes emerged that appeared to run through both Fred's 'big' story and through tales of his quotidian life (p.224). Thus Fred's daily routine, which emerges through such stories, can be seen to complement the broader narrative of his life story. Drawing on both types of story allowed the researchers to present a fuller picture of Fred's life and activity routine, and his approach towards health and ageing.

In this current study, putting together both big and small stories enabled me to form a more detailed picture of the adolescents' experiences. Additionally, given the limited amount of time I spent with the adolescents, it was important to draw on as much of the data gathered as possible. Examples of such stories and how they were identified from the transcripts are presented as part of the data analysis in section 5.5.2.

Having set out the methodological tools used in this study, in the following section, I turn my attention to the participants and location of the research.

5.2 Participants and location

This section provides a brief description of the participants in the study and how they were selected. It also presents background information about the towns where the participants live, and the settings in which data was collected.

5.2.1 Participants: Polish-born adolescents

Participants were chosen for the study using purposive or 'criterion-based' sampling (Ritchie et al. 2013), that is, they possessed particular features which would enable investigation of the principal themes of the research. The basic criteria were that participants had been born in Poland and were of secondary school age. The rationale for the adolescents being Polish-born was primarily linguistic. The adolescents having been born and possibly partially educated in Poland, even only at nursery school, I felt that they would therefore have some level of Polish that was spoken at home, and that had been acquired aside from any current Polish language classes they were attending. As secondary school students in the UK, they would be expected to function in English. The participants could therefore be considered bilingual in the sense of

having access to both languages (see Chapter 3), regardless of their levels of competency in each.

In order to identify participants, I emailed schools in the area where the study was situated. I received positive responses from two schools: Grovesham School, a state secondary school; and St. Ferdinand's, a Polish complementary school.[9] The Head of Grovesham passed me on to Jo Malinowska, the Bilingual Teacher at the school responsible for Polish classes. Jo offered to recruit participants from amongst her students. Similarly, Alina Rudawska, the School Director at St. Ferdinand's, helped to recruit potential participants and a preliminary meeting was arranged where I explained the proposed research to those interested.

Eleven participants were recruited: three girls and six boys from Grovesham, and two girls from St. Ferdinand's (see sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4 below). There was marked variation in the circumstances of the participants, such as family situations and migratory experiences. Table 5.1 (overleaf) sets out brief details of each of the participants; see Chapter 6 for further biographical information.

The small number of participants involved in the study raises the question of appropriate sample size. It has been suggested that qualitative research does not necessarily require larger numbers of participants. Mason (2012) argues that qualitative studies demand 'a more interpretive and investigative logic', and that it is possible to 'tease out incisive flashes of insight from only a few [interviews]' (p.29), while Denzin (2012) posits that even a single interview may suffice if examined in enough detail. Crouch and McKenzie (2006) also maintain that a smaller number of

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[9] As noted at the start of the chapter (see p.122), the names of locations and participants have been anonymised.

Table 5.1 Participants – brief biographical details

Students	Gender	Age	School	School Year[10]	Family
Greg (Grzegorz)	Male	16	Grovesham	Yr. 11	Father: factory worker (UK). Mother: (UK) occupation not given.
Beata	Female	15	Grovesham	Yr. 10	Father: builder (UK). Mother: doesn't work (UK). Brother: aged 8.
Anna	Female	14	St. Ferdinand's	Yr. 10	Father: sells vinyl records and CDs (Poland). Mother: English-Polish translator (UK). Older brother: about to go to university.
Marek	Male	14	Grovesham	Yr. 9	Father: factory worker (Poland). Mother: nurse (UK).
Krystyna	Female	14	St. Ferdinand's	Yr. 9	Father: electrician and fitter (UK). Mother: beautician, currently works in a factory (UK). Brother: aged 4 (born in UK).
Janusz	Male	13	Grovesham	Yr. 9	Father: 'inside builder'/fitter (UK). Mother: cleans houses (UK).
Filip	Male	13	Grovesham	Yr. 9	Father: kitchen porter (UK). Mother: hotel cleaner (UK). Two sisters in their 30s: (UK/Poland).
Tomasz	Male	12	Grovesham	Yr. 8	Father: lorry driver (UK). Mother: works at the post office (UK). Sister: aged 5 (born in UK).
Ryszard	Male	12	Grovesham	Yr. 8	Father: welder (UK). Mother: surveyor (UK).
Yamina	Female	12	Grovesham	Yr. 7	Father: works in Burger King (UK). Mother: doesn't work (UK). Brothers: aged 8, 5, 3.
Sylwia	Female	11	Grovesham	Yr. 7	Father: currently unemployed (UK). Mother: worked in a Polish shop, now cleans houses (UK); sister: aged 9.

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[10] Secondary schools in England start at Year 7 (age 11) and continue to Year 13 (age 18).

respondents 'will facilitate the researcher's close association with the respondents' (p.483), which was certainly a consideration in this study.

While small sample numbers may appear to sit uneasily with 'issues of representativeness' (Adler & Adler 2012, p.8), as noted in section 5.1.1, qualitative research is not necessarily about generalising (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2011; Bryman 2015); neither is narrative inquiry (Chase 2011). How far the adolescents here may be seen as representative of a wider group, and the extent to which working with so few participants may be considered a disadvantage is discussed in Chapter 10.

The adolescents were offered no incentive to participate; a report was promised to the teachers following successful completion of the thesis. This was to comprise a condensed version of the findings, and would be made accessible to everyone involved. An ethics application form for the research was approved by the UCL Institute of Education, and consent forms were sent to all those involved in the study, as well as to gatekeepers (see section 5.4 for further details).

5.2.2 Locations: Fieldstone and Steadton

Data collection took place within settings located in the towns which I have named Fieldstone and Steadton, situated in the South East of England. Fieldstone has a population of 60,000, while Steadton is a small, affluent market town of 15,000. Thus, despite their relative proximity to London, neither could be considered one of 'Britain's multilingual global cities' (Simpson & Cooke 2009, p.60). Figures accessed at the time of the study, taken from 2011 census figures for the towns (ONS 2011b), suggest an overall homogeneity: there is a predominantly white population of over 85% (Fieldstone: 85.2%; Steadton: 89.2%), wherein 'white' is defined as 'English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British (Persons)' (ONS 2011b). This shows a

marked contrast with the percentage of the white population in urban areas such as Birmingham 53.1%, Manchester 59.3% and Coventry 66.6% (ONS 2011b).

As regards languages spoken, in the district covering Fieldstone and Steadton, English is reported to be the dominant language, with almost 95% of those in the household aged 16 and over having English as a 'Main Language' (ONS 2011a). However, as noted in Chapter 2, self-reporting census data are not wholly reliable, especially on matters of language (Corrsin 1990). Moreover, the 2011 census takes no account of other languages spoken in a household.[11] Notwithstanding, the overall picture of the area remains one of a predominantly white, English-speaking environment, and certainly less diverse than in the urban areas which are the focus of much work within applied linguistics.

In the June 2016 EU referendum, Fieldstone and Steadton came under different district councils. In Fieldstone, the Leave side had a narrow majority of just over 1,000 votes, (50.5%) while in Steadton, there was a Remain majority of almost 5,900 (55%) (The Electoral Commission 2017). A wider discussion of the reasons for this lies beyond the scope of this thesis, but it may be related to the area's relative proximity to London, where almost 60% voted for Remain (The Electoral Commission 2017).

The Polish community of Fieldstone has developed from those who arrived post-2004. There is a Polish Saturday School which teaches children up to the age of eleven; the local church holds a Polish mass. In contrast, the community in Steadton has a history that dates back to the Second World War. During that time, there was a large Polish military camp situated nearby; following the 1947 Resettlement Act (see Chapter 2),

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[11] Sebba (2017) sees the language question on the 2011 UK Census as underpinned by both monolingual and anti-immigrant ideologies. Meanwhile, attempts are currently underway to amend the wording of the language question on the 2021 census to take account of the multilingual nature of many households in the UK (Multilingual Manchester website 2018).

the Polish community there thrived. When the camp closed in the 1960s, many of the families dispersed and moved into larger neighbouring towns. Nonetheless, Steadton has maintained its Polish connection: it is twinned with a town in southern Poland, and has an active Polish Club which hosts various cultural events.

5.2.3   Grovesham School, Fieldstone

Grovesham School is a non-selective co-educational secondary school. Approximately 1350 pupils attend the school; out of these, there are around 20 Polish students. While not as diverse as the cities cited above, Fieldstone is nonetheless home to a sizeable Asian minority, and a small immigrant population. This is reflected in the student body of Grovesham School, and in facilities at the school. Much attention is paid to 'students for whom English is not the main language spoken at home' (Grovesham School website 2015-2016). There is a separate English as an Additional Language (EAL) department, consisting of a large classroom and quiet study room, partitioned from the main room by a glass wall. Polish classes take place in the main classroom; pair and individual interviews for this research project were conducted in the small study room.

The handbook for the academic year 2015-16 states that the Modern Foreign Languages (MFL) curriculum at Grovesham offers French, Spanish and Urdu. The inclusion of Urdu suggests at the ethnic mix of the student body of Grovesham. However, Polish classes are categorised as 'extra-curricular activities'; as such, these classes are held after school. This may be less to do with the way that Polish is regarded within the school, but rather a question of pragmatics. Jo Malinowska is a fully qualified Maths teacher from Poland, and has taught in Polish complementary schools; however, she gave me to understand that she is not a UK-qualified language teacher (see Appendix 4). Offering Polish as an extra-curricular subject may have allowed the school to facilitate such lessons. The classes appear to be attended only

by those students whose parents are Polish. Unlike school-time classes, Polish classes are mixed age groups: the GCSE classes are open to years 7, 8 and 9, although it is school policy not to allow students below Year 9 to sit the exam; the AS and A level classes are for years 10 and above.

5.2.4   St. Ferdinand's Polish School, Steadton

St. Ferdinand's Polish School is a complementary school, that being a school which 'serve[s] specific linguistic or religious and cultural communities, particularly through community language classes' (Creese, Blackledge, & Takhi 2014, p.941). It is based at Steadton Secondary School, where it has been situated since November 2005, and attracts students from surrounding towns and villages.

The school offers language lessons at all levels; classes are held between 9.30am and 1pm on Saturdays during state school term times. According to St. Ferdinand's website, students are also taught about the history and geography of Poland; attention is paid to Polish culture and traditions. The school also provides religious education lessons, in keeping with the Catholic ethos of the school, and the website emphasises the 'strong links with the local Polish community'. The dominant language at the school is Polish: on arrival at the school, I was automatically greeted in Polish and the conversations amongst parents waiting to take their children into classes were also conducted in Polish. It should be noted here that the two girls from St. Ferdinand's attend state schools which have a less varied demographic and appear to have fewer Polish students than found at Grovesham.

Fieldwork was arranged provisionally at both settings; the process of data collection is described in the subsequent section.

5.3 Data Collection

The first part of this section discusses the data collection tools used, and the rationale behind these choices. The latter part describes the process of data collection, including the issues that arose during the course of the research.

5.3.1 Interviews

As noted above, interviewing was the main data collection tool used. Consistent with the idea of narratives as co-constructed (Ochs & Capps 1996; Riessman 2012), as explored in section 5.1, interviews are here seen as interactional (Block 2000). Data collected may be shaped as much by the interviewer as by the respondent, be this in the way the questions are asked or through the responses given by the interviewer. Yet interviews occur in a particular context, and as such, may be seen as a type of 'speech event', or discourse (Mishler 1991a, p.13). Those participating are often aware of the expected ways of speaking about certain topics; they draw on these as they seek to position themselves within the interview (Block 2000). Interviews are treated here therefore not as wholly 'authentic' (Atkinson & Silverman 1997), but as providing an insight into how the participants attempt to construct their narratives and to present themselves in the world in which they operate.

The interviews were designed as semi-structured, whereby an interview schedule was used to 'guide' the conversations (Kvale 1996, p.129). Brinkmann (2014) suggests that less structured interviews allow for more open and flexible conversations; this was certainly of benefit given the changing nature of the process of data collection. Questions were mainly open-ended, bar those asking for specific information such as dates or names of towns. I also included the use of prompts such as images or

newspaper stories relating to Poles in the UK. (See Appendix 2 for interview schedules and related material.)

I decided to interview participants at Grovesham initially as a whole group before holding pair or individual interviews. Eder and Fingerson (2002) advise that starting with group settings and then progressing to individual interviews may be preferable when discussing sensitive issues with younger participants (p.18); this is reiterated by Punch (2002), who also notes how group interviews may be helpful for establishing 'rapport' (p.48).

Group interviews have both drawbacks and advantages (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2011; Robson & McCartan 2016). Punch (2007) suggests that some children experience 'slightly less pressure' due to the exchange of ideas within the group setting (p.222). This can also aid in 'the discussion of taboo subjects' as more confident participants 'may break the ice' (Robson & McCartan 2016, p.299). I thought the subject of anti-Polish sentiment the participants may have encountered could be a delicate issue, but that the presence of other group members might embolden quieter members to discuss such experiences. At the same time, however, more forceful persons may 'dominate' any group discussion (e.g. Fontana & Frey 2003, p.73; Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2011, p.432; Robson & McCartan 2016).

Participation in group discussions also raises the question of performativity, and how a person will instinctively, albeit subconsciously, perform when part of any group (Goffman 1959; Butler 2005). Individuals may feel obliged to perform a certain identity when surrounded by peers, especially adolescents (Bamberg 2004a), or compatriots (Kurban & Tobin 2009). In an attempt to offset the possible domination of any single person, and to alter the dynamics in each grouping, attempts were made to vary the composition of each group or pairing.

Studies suggest that interviews with younger participants should be shorter than those with adults. In work with 8-12-year-olds, Reese et al. (2010) designed interviews to last under 30 minutes; while Habermas and Paha (2001), interviewing older adolescents, having allowed some preparation time, gave participants 15 minutes to recount their life story (p.40). In this current study, the whole group interviews and those at St. Ferdinand's lasted up to 50 minutes, while pair or individual interviews at Grovesham were kept to a maximum time of around 10-25 minutes, in light of the younger age of some of the participants (see Table 5.3 for details).

Given my own limited knowledge of Polish, interviews were conducted in English. Participants were advised that a translator could be used if necessary; however, none of the adolescents chose to speak in Polish. I was careful to make notes immediately after each session; this draws on Kvale (1996), who suggests spending a little time reflecting on an interview that has just taken place (p.129).

All sessions were audio recorded on a small Dictaphone (see Robson & McCartan 2016, p.305); the MP3 files were then transferred onto my laptop. I transcribed the recording immediately following each session. Transcription of the first session at Grovesham, conducted mainly in Polish, was undertaken by a professional Polish translator (see section 5.4.4).

5.3.2   Supplementary data collection

As noted in section 5.1.1, supplementary data was also collected, following Denzin and Lincoln's (2011) concept of bricolage.

During the first set of interviews at Grovesham, I gave the participants a short questionnaire (Appendix 3). This consisted of open-ended questions that followed the main points in the interview schedule. The idea of a questionnaire as supplementing

interviews borrows from Phellas, Block and Seale (2012), who note how this might allow participants to answer 'socially embarrassing' questions which they may not wish to discuss verbally (p.182). I therefore felt a questionnaire might encourage those adolescents who were shy about speaking, especially in a large group interview, to express their thoughts in another way.

Data collection also occurred in the form of informal discussions with Jo Malinowska, the bilingual teacher at Grovesham. These conversations often took place as we were walking to the classroom, or after the class had ended. As such, they were not always recorded; I therefore documented them in my fieldnotes after finishing each afternoon at the school. These brief discussions furnished me with some background information about the school and the students in Jo's class, as well as the wider Polish community in Fieldstone.

5.3.3 Data collection: timetable and changes

Table 5.2 overleaf sets out an outline of the timetable for data collection. Interviews at St. Ferdinand's were to be held with the two participants at 8.30 on Saturday mornings before classes started. Arranging sessions at Grovesham, however, required greater negotiation.

Table 5.2 Data collection timetable

June 2015	Initial approach made to schools.
September 2015	Preliminary meeting with Jo Malinowska at Grovesham School.
November 2015	Original translator became unavailable; new translator found. Preliminary meeting with Alina Rudawska and potential participants at St. Ferdinand's.
December 2015	Consent letters sent to schools. Signed letters returned from Grovesham.
January 2016	Fieldwork commenced at Grovesham (Block 1). Three sessions held (S1, S2, S3): Weds. 6th & 20th January, 3rd February.
February 2016	Consent letters received from St. Ferdinand's. Jo on maternity leave; fieldwork suspended at Grovesham.
March 2016	Two sessions held at St. Ferdinand's (Block 2): Sat.12th & 19th March (S#1, S#2).
April 2016	Break for Easter holidays.
May 2016	Data collection recommenced at Grovesham (Block 3). Three sessions held (S4, S5, S6): Weds. 11th, 18th & 25th May.

Jo Malinowska, who was helping to organise the sessions at Grovesham, informed me that no school time was available for interviews; she also felt that students might be reluctant to attend sessions held outside lesson hours, such as during the lunch break. Instead, Jo suggested interviews could be conducted during the GCSE Polish classes held after school. She was happy to allow students to leave the lesson to participate in interviews, as she believed a study involving discussions about Polish identity could potentially be of as much value to the adolescents as a regular Polish class.

However, due to Jo's pregnancy, Polish classes only took place fortnightly that term. Jo was scheduled to go on maternity leave in mid-February, with lessons due to resume in

the summer term. A further complication was that, Polish being an extra-curricular activity, not all the students always attended the lessons. This meant that the time spent with each participant was unevenly spread.

The initial research design had included a pilot study to be conducted at St. Ferdinand's prior to the main data collection at Grovesham. One reason why pilot studies are considered particularly helpful is that they can allow for revisions to the interview schedule (Kvale 1996). I was also aware of the need to gain experience in interviewing (see Oppenheim 1992; Kvale 1996; Roulston, Demarrais & Lewis 2003; Robson & McCartan 2016). However, there were delays in sending out consent letters, while signed consent forms were not received from St. Ferdinand's until mid-February. It was therefore impossible to conduct the pilot study as planned.

Mindful of the need to retain a flexible approach when conducting research (Janesick 1994; Bryman 2015), I then devised the idea of three blocks of data collection. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 overleaf set out the structure of these sessions; these are followed by a brief description of each of the three blocks.

Table 5.3 Data collection sessions: Grovesham School

Students	Age	Block 1 Jan/Feb 2016			Block 3 May 2016		
		*S1: 6 Jan	S2: 20 Jan	S3: 03 Feb	S4: 11 May	S5: 18 May	S6: 25 May
Greg (Grzegorz)	16	X	X	Y	X	X	X
Beata	15	X	X	Y	Y	Y	X
Marek	14	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	Y
Janusz	13	X	Y	Y	X	Y	X
Filip	13	Y	Y	X	Y	X	Y
Tomasz	12	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	X
Ryszard	12	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Yamina	12	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	X
Sylwia	11	X	Y	X	Y	Y	Y

Y = a participant was present   **X** = a participant was absent

S1: Observation of Polish lesson (55 min).

S2: Whole group discussion (55 min).

S3: Whole group discussion (25 min); group interview: Janusz, Greg & Beata (30 min).

S4: Pair interviews: Sylwia & Filip (15 min); Tomasz & Ryszard (20 min);

Sylwia & Yamina (10 min); Beata & Marek (10 min).

S5: Pair interview: Beata & Janusz (15 min); individual interview: Marek (22 min);

group discussion (8 min).

S6: Individual interviews: Sylwia (6 min); Filip (10 min); Ryszard (10 min); Marek (15 min).

Sessions at Grovesham lasted approximately an hour each. Timings of each interview (noted in brackets) are to the nearest minute, as there were frequent overlaps between interviews as participants came in and out of the room. The remaining time in each session, either before or after the interview, was spent either in general conversation with those present in the room, whilst we were waiting for everyone to come in and settle down, or chatting to Jo when students had left.

Table 5.4 Data collection sessions: St. Ferdinand's Polish School

Students	Age	Block 2 March 2016	
		S#1: 12 Mar	S#2: 19 Mar
Anna	14	Y	Y
Krystyna	14	Y	Y

Sessions at St. Ferdinand's (**S#1** & **S#2**) lasted approximately 50 minutes each, and consisted of pair interviews with Anna and Krystyna.

i) Block 1: Grovesham, Jan-Feb 2016

The first block of data collection was held at Grovesham School in January and February; three hours of data were collected. The initial session (S1) took the form of an observation of the first Polish class of term. Eder and Fingerson (2002) suggest that such 'observation sets the ground for the interviews' (p.11). My being present for the

Polish lesson allowed the students to be introduced to me; I also had the opportunity to gather some preliminary impressions and to note the language used during the class.

Session two (S2) comprised a group interview held with all those present, which Jo also attended. The aim was to build up trust; here, trust is understood as 'the relationship between the researcher and the participants' (Ryen 2006, p.222), an understanding which is crucial to a research project being carried out. Jo's presence during this session and her potential impact on the research, is discussed in section 5.4.5.

The third session (S3) consisted of a smaller group interview conducted with some of the older students. This took up most of the hour. During this time, the remaining participants were also asked to complete the questionnaire.

ii) Block 2: St. Ferdinand's, March 2016

The sessions held at St. Ferdinand's comprised two 45-minute interviews with the two participants, Anna and Krystyna. Interviews were conducted before lessons began at 9.30am; the interview schedule was similar to that which had been drawn up for sessions at Grovesham (Appendix 2).

St. Ferdinand's being a Saturday school, the setting was relatively informal. Both the participants and myself as researcher dressed more casually. Here, I drew on the idea of how a researcher might choose to present herself (Delamont 2002; Fontana & Frey 2003). That the participants and I were on first-name terms throughout may also have served to lessen the formality of the interview setting and allowed the interview to develop into more of an open discussion. By the second interview, the girls appeared comfortable enough to interrupt both each other and the interviewer, and even to pose their own questions to each other (Appendix 5, Extract A.1).

iii) Block 3: Grovesham, May 2016

The gap between the blocks of data collection at Grovesham was ultimately longer than anticipated: Jo's maternity leave was followed by the Easter break. Polish lessons were then taken up with intensive revision for the GCSE oral exams which three of the students were sitting. Following this, however, normal weekly lessons resumed, and three interview sessions were conducted in May.

In these sessions, the atmosphere seemed more relaxed than previously. It appeared that the students had become used to my presence as researcher and were enthusiastic about continuing the study. During the three hour-long sessions, the pair format which had worked effectively in the interviews at St. Ferdinand's was used, whilst one-to-one interviews were also held with those participants who had been present at all or almost all the sessions.

5.3.4 Summary

While the initial research design had to be adapted and modified throughout the process of data collection, this can be seen to have ultimately benefited the study. The breaks between each fortnightly session enabled the translation of Session 1 at Grovesham and interview transcriptions from S2 and S3 to be completed before the next block of interviews. I was also able to undertake a preliminary analysis of the data, where key themes emerged, and from which I could develop further interview questions. This draws on Flick (2014), who advises examining the initial interviews to think about possible forms of analysis and how later interviews may be approached differently. In subsequent interviews, therefore, discussions were data-driven and accordingly became more purposeful. As I have described elsewhere (Naveed et al. 2017), one example was the way the adolescents at both Grovesham and St. Ferdinand's spoke quite early on about the emotional difficulties experienced when

their parents had separated, be this temporarily or not, such as when one parent went to England alone. The respondents' apparent openness on this topic allowed me to explore further potentially sensitive questions about their emotional response to other events, including expressions of anti-Polish sentiment experienced at school, or their thoughts on the Referendum. Themes which surfaced in the initial sessions held at Grovesham School led into discussions held at St. Ferdinand's, which then influenced the final block of interviews at Grovesham, such as the topic of returning to Poland. As I argue in Naveed et al. (2017), data collection at each setting was thus informed by the other, giving the project an overall cohesion that it might not otherwise have had (p.12).

Ethical considerations, including issues of transcription, are discussed next.

5.4 Ethical considerations

5.4.1 Transparency

Ethical considerations are fundamental to the conceptualisation and planning of any piece of research, together with transparency regarding the ethical decisions made (Rossman & Rallis 2010; Webster, Lewis & Brown 2013). Integral to this is reflexivity on the part of the researcher (Roberts 1997; Fontana & Frey 2003), addressed in section 5.4.5.

The study was conducted in accordance with British Educational Research Association (BERA) guidelines (2011). As required for those who work with minors, I hold an enhanced DBS certificate, which is updated annually. I applied for ethical approval from the UCL Institute of Education in autumn 2015, and this was granted prior to the fieldwork being conducted.

Confidentiality being another essential aspect of research (Webster, Lewis & Brown 2013), stringent efforts were made to ensure anonymity as far as possible. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, I fictionalised the names of the locations where the research was conducted. In the thesis, it has occasionally been necessary to quote from school websites and Ofsted reports; due to reasons of anonymity, direct citations cannot be given for these. I also anonymised the names of participants, for whom I decided to choose the pseudonyms used here. This draws on Delamont (2002), who cautions that young people may inadvertently select a name by which they may be identified. Morrow (2008) notes the 'careful thought' which choosing pseudonyms requires (p.58): I attempted to find pseudonyms which reflected the participants' use of their name, whether the adolescents had anglicised their name in any way, such as through an abbreviation (e.g. Greg, for Grzegorz) or whether they retained the original Polish. In the case of Anna, the pseudonym I have given her reflects the way her name is spelt identically in English and Polish (see section 9.4.2, p.280 for the significance of this).

5.4.2   Obtaining Consent

In adherence to BERA (2011) guidelines, consent was sought both from gatekeepers and participants. The heads of each school from which the participants were recruited and where the interviews took place were approached in their position as *loco parentis* (Matthews 1998). The Director of the Polish School, Alina Rudawska, was approached; consent for the research to be conducted at Grovesham School was obtained from the headteacher. Jo Malinowska, the teacher who helped directly with the research at Grovesham, was also asked for her consent to being interviewed. Similar forms and accompanying information sheets were given to the participants and their parents. The letters explained the nature of the study and how the research might be disseminated;

gate keepers and participants were informed that they were free to withdraw from the research at any time (see Matthews 1998; Alderson 2004). Examples of information sheets and consent forms can be found in Appendix 1.

To minimise the risk of linguistic misunderstanding, following Koulouriotis (2011), letters sent to parents and participants at Grovesham were written in Polish and English. At St. Ferdinand's, consent letters were given in English only to the participants, as it was felt the two girls were sufficiently competent in English to understand the content. Letters to their parents were in Polish and English. Polish versions of the letter were composed with the aid of a Polish professional translator. Gatekeepers and participants were asked to state their written consent via either a signed hard copy of the consent form, or through their personal/professional email.

5.4.3   Sensitive aspects of the research

The sensitive nature of the project was also recognised. There were two major elements: the research involved adolescents; and the topics to be addressed might be considered sensitive and thus upsetting for participants. This echoes Hydén (2008), who sees a sensitive topic as one where participants might be discussing incidents which may have resulted in them feeling exposed (p.4).

There is an argument against regarding younger participants as 'essentially vulnerable' (Christensen & Prout 2002, p.479), and many of the ethical issues which arise in projects with minors are to be encountered in studies with adults (Thomas & O'Kane 1998). However, it is nonetheless advised that research involving those under the age of eighteen necessitates detailed consideration of certain ethical questions which pertain more specifically to younger participants (Morrow 2008; Gallagher et al. 2010; Pinter 2014). In addition, following Baker and Plows (2015, p.197), the adolescents in

this study may be considered especially vulnerable in that they belong to a minority group.

One particular concern is that of consent. BERA (2011) reiterates the imperative of seeking 'voluntary informed consent' from children involved in the research (p.6). The problematic nature of consent has been highlighted (e.g. Warren & Vincent 2001; Rossman & Rallis 2010); in the case of children, it is still more acute. Accustomed to complying with instructions from adults, children may feel obliged to give consent (Gallagher et al. 2010; Powell et al. 2012). This may also be seen to have a 'social nature', especially if the research is to be done in a setting such as a school where children may feel pressured by their peers or implicitly by teachers into consenting to participate in a research project (Gallagher et al. 2010, p.475; also Morrow 2008). Drawing on Alderson and Morrow (2011), and Powell et al. (2012), I therefore periodically reminded the adolescents verbally of the voluntary nature of participation in the project, and emphasised they were free to withdraw at any point if they wished. That there were certain students in the classes at both Grovesham and St. Ferdinand's who had decided not to take part in the research, may have helped indicate to the participants that involvement in the study was not compulsory.

In her research on children, Morrow (2008) has argued that a qualitative methodology has been highlighted 'as having the potential for most intrusion' into participants' lives (p.58). Similarly, in work on nursing, Holloway and Wheeler (2002) admit that by their very nature, '[q]ualitative interviews […] can provoke distressing memories'; however, the researcher must be sensitive to this and take care that the participants are not left 'anxious or worried' (p. 64). Given the potentially upsetting nature of the topic of anti-Polish sentiment, it was possible that participants might become distressed. It was therefore agreed in the ethics form that a gatekeeper would always be available if needed. At Grovesham, Jo was present in the adjoining room throughout the sessions;

when occasionally she was absent for part of the time, another staff member was present in the adjacent office. At St. Ferdinand's, Alina was always present in the building. I also tried to remain mindful of any signs that an interviewee was becoming uncomfortable during the interviews.

As I had anticipated, issues of anti-Polish sentiment in the guise of bullying experienced by several of the participants did arise. From the hesitancy with which the adolescents spoke of this, I surmised that it was a difficult topic for them to discuss. This draws on Mishna, Antle, and Regehr (2004), who remind researchers of the

> need to be aware of more subtle signs that the child may wish to no longer
>
> discuss a particular issue in an interview, such as suddenly falling silent (p.455).

Such 'signs' occurred in discussions about the bullying that some of the adolescents had experienced at previous schools (see section 6.4.1). I had attempted to broach the subject with delicacy, using prompts to suggest that I was sentient of the topic; I then rephrased questions, such as turning an inquiry about anti-Polish sentiment into a more general question about the schools where participants had enjoyed more positive experiences (Extract 6.11). I also endeavoured to move away from the topic if I felt that the adolescents were becoming too uncomfortable. This follows Hydén (2008), who, in research with abused women and girls, describes how she intervenes to stop one girl recounting a story, hoping to prevent 'another painful experience' (p.16) in the retelling.

5.4.4   Translation and transcription

Temple and Young (2004) emphasise the need to acknowledge the ethical implications of language choices taken in conducting research where more than one language is being used, or where researcher and participants do not share a common first language (also see Koulouriotis 2011; Miller 2011). As explained in section 5.3.1,

interviews were held in English; data collected from the observation lesson at Grovesham (S1) was predominantly in Polish.

Another linguistic consideration therefore concerned the use of a transcriber/ translator, and the potential impact of her role (Temple & Young 2004, p.164). The Polish language transcriber and translator who worked on data from the observed Polish lesson (S1) was required to sign a confidentiality agreement prior to working on the transcript (see Appendix 1). The MP3 audio file of S1 was emailed to the Polish transcriber as a protected file. Once she had returned the transcript to me, I made slight amendments, including repetitions or hesitations which she had not noted (see section 5.5.1). I then translated this revised transcript into English, and sent it back for verification of the translation. I did not ask the translator to interpret data, although she did offer advice pertaining to irregularities in the language used by some of the adolescents (see Appendix 5, Extract A.12).

5.4.5   Reflexivity

Echoing the need for transparency in qualitative research, reflexivity on the part of the researcher is a fundamental part of any such study (Fontana & Frey 2003; Mauthner & Doucet 2003; Tracy 2010; Powell et al. 2012; Corbin & Strauss 2014). Throughout the study, I was aware that how I positioned myself would not necessarily correspond to the way I was seen by the participants (Norton & Early 2011). I was also mindful that the primary impression of a researcher may embed itself in the participants' minds (Fontana & Frey 2003, p.77), including through the way the interviewer is dressed (Delamont 2002). At Grovesham, I adhered to the dress code expected within a state secondary school, which I felt served to align me with Jo Malinowska, the class teacher, and thus position me in a more teacher-like role. The way that Jo introduced me reinforced this. At St. Ferdinand's, however, I was able to dress more casually and

could be on first-name terms with the two girls, which I felt allowed the conversation to feel less formal.

Initially, I perceived myself as an 'outsider', being someone born in Britain; however, when I explained my family background (see Chapter 1), Jo and the girls at St. Ferdinand's instantly positioned me as Polish. This made me something of an 'insider by proxy' (Carling, Erdal & Ezzati 2014, p.50), seen as someone who shares commonalities with the participants. Berger (2015) notes how a change in position from outsider to insider can result in a more sympathetic reading of data, citing her own experience of becoming a step-parent during her research on step-families. While nothing tangible changed in my situation to transfer me from outsider to insider, as I undertook the data analysis, I became aware that the change in how I was being positioned led me to be more conscious of my own story of coming from a migrant family. I recognised how a researcher's own life experiences may resonate with those of a participant and colour her reaction to that individual and the stories recounted (Mauthner & Doucet 2003; Denzin & Lincoln 2011). In my case, I found the adolescents' narratives of adapting to their new life echoed stories I had grown up hearing; accounts of language brokering and language use were equally familiar to me, as were incidents of being told to 'go back' home (see Extract 6.11).

Reflexivity also includes an awareness of how other factors may be impacting the data collection. At Grovesham, Jo's presence evidently had some effect on the adolescents, especially during the group interview in S2. While this may have diminished in subsequent sessions when I interviewed the adolescents in an adjoining room, I felt the adult/student relationship implicit in a school setting could not be overcome in the way that it may have been at St. Ferdinand's.

5.5 Data analysis

This section sets out how the data was analysed. Consistent with the methodological framework of the study, I drew on both narrative and discourse analysis at different stages of working through the data.

5.5.1   Transcription conventions

The initial stage of analysis concerned the transcription. The interpretative nature of transcription has received growing attention (e.g. Mishler 1991b; Lapadat & Lindsay 1999; Fraser 2004; Davidson 2009). Green, Franquiz and Dixon (1997) see transcription as a 'situated act', shaped by the epistemological underpinnings of the study of which it is a part. In transcribing the data here, I included pauses and repetitions, while non-verbal utterances such as laughter or sighs were also included. As noted in section 5.4.4, the Polish translator provided the main transcript of S1; however, I revised this initial version so that the transcript style corresponded with those from other sessions. Given the focus on discourse in this study, I drew on transcription conventions used by Coates (1996), who sees interview data as discourse in her examination of the characteristics of women's conversation (see Appendix 2 for conventions used).

5.5.2   Identifying 'big' and 'small' stories

Having transcribed the sessions, the next stage was to identify the 'big' and 'small' stories embedded in the interview data. As outlined earlier (see section 5.1.3), big stories are here understood as accounts of major life events described in lengthy arcs (Watson 2007; Phoenix & Sparkes 2009), such as accounts of the adolescents'

migration trajectory. Stories detailing such events were often prompted by a direct invitation to talk about the experiences, such as 'Can you tell me about when you came to the UK?' (see Appendix 2).

By contrast, small stories were taken to be tales of everyday occurrences which could emerge from more informal conversations (Georgakopoulou 2006b). One example of this comes from a conversation at Grovesham School about school reports and whether the adolescents translated their reports for their parents. This prompted the remark from twelve-year-old Ryszard that his parents knew nothing about his reports:

Extract 5.1 (S3: group interview at Grovesham – Ryszard (**R**))

877 **R:** my parents don't even know when the reports are out so I have to tell them/

878   or. someone else's parents tell them

In this short 'snippet of talk' (Georgakopoulou 2006b, p.123), Ryszard may be seen to tell a small story about his parents, whom he appears to portray as ignorant of or indifferent towards school practices such as issuing student reports. According to Ryszard, his parents have to be informed either by himself or 'someone else's parents' (line 878) as to when the reports come out. Ryszard can thus be seen as presenting himself as the knowledgeable and responsible person in the family: 'I have to tell them' (line 877). This extract does not represent a fully formed story of family interrelations; yet when put alongside other accounts from Ryszard, this short narrative about the school reports serves to enhance Ryszard's portrayal of himself as an expert (see Chapter 8). Drawing on Phoenix and Sparkes (2009), this small story can thus be seen to complement the bigger story of Ryszard's migratory experience and to suggest something about the role he has taken on within the family.

Following Georgakopoulou (2006b), small stories were also understood as 'refusals to tell', or 'deferrals of tellings' of larger stories (p.123). One such narrative emerged from a general chat with the girls at St. Ferdinand's about their plans for the upcoming Easter holidays. In the midst of the conversation, fourteen-year-old Krystyna reveals that her parents are separated.

Extract 5.2 (S#2: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Krystyna (**K**))

14 **SY:** have you got any plans for the Easter holidays?

15 **K:**   um. my Nan from France is coming over

16 **SY:** that's your Polish Nan from France. basically?

17 **K:**   yeah! <both laugh>

[…]

55 **SY:** where are you going to take her?

56 **K:**   um. I don't know it's quite difficult. cos my Dad doesn't live with us anymore

57   and my Mum doesn't drive […]

This extract shows how a far larger story – that of her parents' separation – is embedded in Krystyna's smaller story about her grandmother's visit. In the previous session, Krystyna had said nothing about her parents' situation, even in answer to a question about her family; and despite the fact that her co-interviewee had spoken openly about her own parents' divorce. It is only here, and as part of a conversation about her grandmother's visit, that Krystyna alludes to the separation. The way that Krystyna divulges her story can thus be seen to chime with Georgakopoulou's (2006b) aforementioned notion of small stories as encompassing 'allusions to tellings, [and] deferrals of tellings' (p.123).

Having broadly thus identified the types of stories that emerged from the transcripts, drawing on Phoenix and Sparkes (2009), I subsequently set the big and small stories alongside each other in an attempt to build up a fuller picture of the adolescents and their experiences. I then proceeded to code the data.

The stories were initially coded using a thematic approach (Riessman 2005). I read through the transcripts from each session at the two schools and collated them with the questionnaire answers and fieldnotes, searching for key words and phrases so as to identify 'common thematic elements across research participants and the events they report' (Riessman 2005, p.3). Some clearly correlated to my explicit invitation as interviewer for the adolescents to recount an incident, such as when I asked them to describe any examples of anti-Polish sentiment they had encountered, or to discuss experiences of language brokering. Others, however, emerged from apparently unrelated topics, such as Krystyna's story about family separation post-migration as presented above (Extract 5.2). Stories identified included accounts of the adolescents' migration trajectory, their recollections of learning English on arrival in the UK, or tales of bullying at school. I coded such stories with phrases such as 'family' or 'anti-Polish sentiment'; these broader themes were then refined into narrower codes such as 'sibling interaction' or 'bullying at school'. Drawing on Basit (2003), I made a diagrammatic representation of preliminary categories and codes which allowed me to see the interlinking themes that emerged from the data. This can be found in Appendix 2.

Having coded the data, I then progressed to a closer discourse analysis of how each individual was creating their story. I also explored the patterns which linked them, and elements that made each adolescent's story distinct.

5.5.3 Discourse analysis

In analysing how the adolescents' stories were constructed, I drew on methods of discourse analysis. This chimes with the way that narrative may be understood as 'a discursive practice' (De Fina 2003a, p.369; also see Riessman 2002). In my analysis, I partially drew on Van Dijk (2000), 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' (p.35). This allowed me to examine the way the adolescents positioned themselves within and were positioned by the wider context in which they operated.

The detailed analysis of interview data also borrowed from Bamberg (2004a): in his study of adolescent narratives, he undertakes

> [a] detailed analysis of the story particulars […] such as tense, aspect and modality markers, spatial transitions, or the particulars of the pronoun use and character attributions (p.3).

Using such in-depth analysis, I was able to examine more closely the language used in the adolescents' stories, through which I could explore ways in which positions were indicated by the narrators. One example is that of the use of the us/them dichotomy which was used by a number of the participants in constructing stories of discrimination, or in positioning themselves in relation to other minority groups. I also looked for discourse markers used, such as the adolescents' use of 'like'; or lexical markers such as conjunctions, as in the importance of 'but' in signalling a shift in opinion.

Such detailed analysis also allowed for any pauses in speech or longer silences to be considered, as 'they too, are likely to have meaning' (Fraser 2004, p.187). The potential significance of silence is also emphasised by Poland and Pederson (1998),

and Mazzei (2003). Here, hesitations when discussing bullying or describing the feeling on arriving in a new school, for example, were seen as indicative of the emotional difficulty implicit in the situations described. Thus each element of the analytic process, from transcription onwards, allowed me to create a fuller picture of how the participants were creating their narratives and through them, attempting to construct their identities.

5.6 Summary

This chapter has outlined the design of the research, together with the way that the data collection was organised and conducted.

The paradigm of qualitative research was set out, alongside the rationale for choosing narrative inquiry as the methodology for the study, highlighting the way that identity is inevitably implicated in narrative research (e.g. Ochs & Capps 1996; Schiffrin 1996; Bruner 2004; Bamberg 2005, 2011; Squire 2005; Georgakopoulou 2006a; Phoenix 2008). The chapter also explored notions of 'big' and 'small' stories (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008), and underlined how 'being attentive to both' types of stories (Phoenix & Sparkes 2009, p.219) was useful in the context of this current study.

The locations chosen for the research were described briefly, and details were given of the participants in the study, together with the criteria for selecting the locations and the individual participants. The chapter then explored questions of how the data was collected, together with the challenges this presented.

Ethical considerations of the project were also considered. This encompassed an assessment of the potentially sensitive nature of the research, and how this might be approached. Also included here was a brief examination of my own position as researcher.

Lastly, the method of data analysis was described. This set out the way that discourse analysis was drawn upon in order to analyse the data collected.

This chapter thus concludes the first part of the thesis, which has presented the background to the project, and how the study was conducted. The following chapters explore the findings of the research.

6 Migration Stories

6.1 Introduction

The following three chapters present the findings of the study; these draw on stories that emerged from interviews held with the adolescents, together with the observation class and fieldnotes (see Appendix 4). The current chapter investigates stories pertaining to the adolescents' migration trajectory; while Chapter 7 examines the adolescents' accounts of language use when at school, and Chapter 8 explores their reports of language use in a home setting, both in the UK and Poland.

The participants in this study may be seen as belonging to the period of Polish migration between Polish accession to the EU in 2004, and the 2016 UK Referendum (see section 2.2.5). Accordingly, the themes I focused on during the interviews also positioned the adolescents as migrants; more specifically, as Polish migrants. I therefore asked the adolescents about their experiences of migration: how and why they had come to the UK, their feelings about moving, and how they felt they were viewed by other people living in the country. In my questions, I also assumed that they were aware of anti-Polish sentiment present in the UK. Questions asked in one interview were often repeated in another; as a result, data pertaining to a particular issue were sometimes gathered from two or more sessions. The interview schedule and prompts can be found in Appendix 2. Brief family biographies of the participants are found in Chapter 5 (Table 5.1).

The discussions revealed several common elements, and these are presented in three sections: i) the adolescents' migration trajectories; ii) their experiences of acting as language brokers; and iii) anti-Polish sentiment which they had experienced.

In each extract, the number of the session is given thus: S#1 and S#2 denote the sessions held at St. Ferdinand's; those numbered S1 etc. refer to those at Grovesham (see Tables 5.3 and 5.4 for details). Line numbers follow those in the original transcripts. Supplementary data which has been omitted for reasons of space can be found in Appendix 5.

6.2 Migration trajectories

I initially asked the adolescents about why their families had come to the UK, and their migration journey. These trajectories are shown in Table 6.1 overleaf. The findings which emerged from the adolescents' accounts have been grouped into two sections: i) the reasons for migration, and any separation that their families had undergone; ii) the unsettling nature of moving, especially for those who had undergone multiple moves.

The stories the adolescents told about leaving Poland can be seen to echo previous migrant stories telling of the disquieting nature of migration, for both young and older migrants (see Block 2006a). At the same time, their stories differ from those of adults in that adolescent migrants usually do not have the choice, or agency, to migrate in the way available to those over the age of eighteen.

It is also important to acknowledge that given the young age at which some of the participants migrated, in constructing their stories, they may be drawing more on others' accounts than on their own memories of moving. The notion of borrowing voices (Bakhtin 1984, 1986), is further discussed in the following chapters.

Table 6.1 Migration Journeys

The names of towns (except for London) have been changed.

Students	Age	Migration journey
Greg (Grzegorz)	16	Left Poland age 5; 7-8 years in South-West England. 3 years in Fieldstone. Father migrated first: 2 years before family came.
Beata	15	Left Poland age 13. 18 months in Fieldstone. Father migrated first: 7 years before family came.
Anna	14	Left Poland age 5; 3 years in London. 6 years near Steadton. Came with mother and elder brother; father stayed in Poland.
Krystyna	14	Left Poland age 9. 6 years near Steadton. Father migrated first: 3 years before family came.
Marek	14	Left Poland age 5; America: age 5/6; Sweden: age 6/7; East England: age 7-8. 5-6 years in Fieldstone. Came with mother; father stayed in Poland.
Janusz	13	Left Poland age 7; several months in Essex living with his aunt. 6 years in Fieldstone.
Filip	13	Left Poland age 11; some months in Hometon (14 miles from Fieldstone). 2 years in Fieldstone.
Tomasz	12	Left Poland age 4. 8 years in Fieldstone. Father migrated first: 1-2 years before family came.
Ryszard	12	Left Poland age 6. 6 years in Fieldstone.
Yamina	12	Left Poland age 6; 9 months in Algeria; 5 months back in Poland. 5 years in Fieldstone. Father came to UK first.
Sylwia	11	Left Poland age 2; 4-5 years in Ireland. 4 years in Fieldstone. Father came first to UK while family was in Ireland.

6.2.1 Reasons for migration: 'We didn't really have money'

Literature on Polish migration suggests that individuals are prompted to move by financial concerns or employment prospects (e.g. Fomina & Frelak 2008; Sales et al. 2008; Ryan et al. 2009; White 2017). The adolescents' accounts of why their parents had moved mirrored such reasons.

In the two sessions at St. Ferdinand's, I asked the girls about their coming to the UK. The following account is that of Krystyna, a fourteen-year-old who has been in the UK for six years.

Extract 6.1 (S#2: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Krystyna (**K**))

207 **SY:** […] do you know why your parents came.

208   or your Mum?

209 **K:** um. yeah. it was because of work my Mum didn't work at this point of time 210   and my Dad worked at a place where like it was like damaging his. well it

211   wasn't damaging his back. but he was kind of getting injured in his back and it

212   was getting like too heavy for him/ and at that stage he couldn't find another

213   job in Poland so the like money situation was getting like = worse –

214 **SY:** = ok

215 **K:** = and then my Dad's cousin called him up and said if you came to England

216   this week you would be able to get a job at where I work/ and so it was a very

217   quick like choice/ and my Dad came because obviously we didn't really have

218   money so he came/ and then my Mum and me we wanted to come a year

219   later so we'd give my Dad some time to like earn the money and like save

220   and stuff/ but then I had my Holy Communion so my Mum said I might as well

221   stay in Poland for that/ so we ended up staying in Poland for around three

222   years and then we came to my Dad

Krystyna's account of the family's move to the UK presented above contains certain elements which chime with the literature. Firstly, the move was prompted by a lack of money and employment prospects, and happened quite suddenly. The way it was facilitated by a family member, echoes findings which emphasise the role played by social or familial networks in the decision to migrate and in finding work (Ryan et al. 2009; East European Advice Centre 2013). Another aspect of the move is that her father came first, with Krystyna and her mother following some time later: this reflects the pattern of family migration cited in Lopez Rodriguez (2010, p.339). Krystyna's account also reflects the idea that Polish migrants often migrate with uncertain plans (Drinkwater & Garapich 2013).

A similar story to that recounted by Krystyna is told by respondents at Grovesham. The following exchange is from an interview with Tomasz and Ryszard, both aged twelve, and friends since attending the Polish Saturday school in Fieldstone when they first arrived.

Extract 6.2 (S4: interview with Ryszard & Tomasz – Sara (**SY**); Ryszard (**R**); Tomasz (**T**))

629 **SY:** ok. do you know why your parents moved to this country?

630 **R:**   financial problems. probably/ because in Poland they don't usually – it's. it's

631   like you've got enough just to live/ you don't have enough. like good = car –

632 **T:**   = yeah

633 **SY:** same reason. or –?

634 **T:**   er. my Dad came here cos his friend was coming to England and then my

635   Dad was like. yeah. it's just a year. nothing more/ yeah. a year! he's ten years

636   in England now!

637 **SY:** are you glad that he came. or –?

638 **R:** (…)

639 **T:** er. I think genuinely I am glad. cos it's like we have some more money. now

Ryszard appears quite clear as to why his parents moved to the UK: 'financial problems' (line 630); this also appears to have been a motivating factor in the migration of Tomasz's family (line 639). Tomasz condenses the account of the move into a few utterances, yet unpicking them gives a certain insight into the story. While the move was motivated by economic reasons, Tomasz explains that his father was incited to come by a friend who was also migrating (line 634); the move was initially seen as temporary, but then extended. Tomasz exclaims: 'a year! he's ten years in England now!' (lines 635-636). This resonates with the idea that 'transient migration can become extended to long-term stay' (Ryan 2008, p.66).

Yet Tomasz also appears to mock the way the stay extended from the originally intended 'just a year' to 'ten years' (line 635). Given that Tomasz was only four at the time of the move, it may be that he is replaying a story, borrowing from the voices of older members of the family as they respond to his father's migration: 'it's just a year. nothing more/ yeah. a year!' (line 635). However, when I ask him if he is happy about having moved, Tomasz insists that he is 'genuinely' pleased with being in England, as the family have some more money (line 639), although again, it is unlikely how much he would have been aware of the family's lack of money when they were living in Poland.

While the stories above highlight the father's role in making the preliminary move to the UK, in other accounts, it is the mother who appears to have initiated the migration. This

reflects the shift towards female-driven migration noted by Pavlenko (2001), also echoed in Polish studies (see Ryan 2008; White 2017).

Fifteen-year-old Anna, whom I interviewed at St. Ferdinand's with Krystyna, moved to England at the age of five with her mother, Dagmara, and her older brother. Anna tells the following story about her migration:

Extract 6.3 (S#2: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Anna (**A**))

169 **SY:** […] ok. um. can I ask about

170   why your parents decided to come to England? do you have any ideas why? I

171   mean do they talk about it?

172 **A:** my Mum studied English in university in Poland and she. she always liked

173   England and she always wanted to come here/ so she came here with some

174   friends for a few weeks. to like earn some money and. erm. she didn't really

175   wanna – like after seeing what England was like. she didn't really wanna stay

176   in Poland so she came – she. she ended up staying about a year here = and

177   –

178 **SY:** <interrupting> sorry do you know when that was?

179 **A:** it was. erm. 2004

180 **SY:** ok. sorry!

181 **A:** and then she came back to Poland and my Dad didn't wanna come to

182   England. he wanted to stay in Poland. so then we came to England

183 **SY:** ok fine/ so are they sort of separated. or –?

184 **A:** yeah. I think it was partly because she wanted to go to England he wanted to

185   stay in Poland

In Anna's story, her mother acts on her own initiative. Having 'always liked England' (line 172-173), Dagmara came to the UK 'with some friends' (lines 173-174) in 2004, the year that Poland acceded to the EU. Although Anna gives few details, it appears that Dagmara travelled without her family to look for work in the UK. On returning to Poland, Dagmara noticed the difference between the countries; within a couple of years, she had moved to London with the children, and separated from her husband, who still lives in Poland.

It therefore seems that both the more traditional trend of the father coming first, and the more recent practice of mothers making the move from Poland are reflected in the accounts given by the adolescents. Another key aspect of their stories was that of moving several times, and this is explored next.

6.2.2   Multiple moves: 'Can we just settle down somewhere?'

As illustrated in Table 6.1, many of the adolescents had moved several times, both among different countries and within the UK. While this chimes with findings that suggest at uncertainty, it runs contrary to Trevena, McGhee and Heath (2013), who suggest that mobility of families once in the UK is relatively limited.

One adolescent who had experienced such multiple moves was fourteen-year-old Marek. An only child, he left Poland with his mother at the age of five; as in the case of Anna, Marek's father remains in Poland. Marek has lived in several locations: moving from Poland to America and then onto Sweden before coming to the UK, where he and his mother lived in a one-room flat above a pub in a large town before settling in Fieldstone. When I interviewed him individually, I was able to explore a little more with Marek how he felt about his experiences. Part of that discussion is presented below.

Extract 6.4 (S5: individual interview – Sara (**SY**); Marek (**M**))

506 **SY:** um. have you found it quite difficult moving around all the different places?

507 **M:** no. most. most of my life I spend in a car! pretty much/ travelling with my

508   Mum most of my life/ quite a lot of my life.

509 **SY:** <laughing>

510 **M:** literally! I was like – and sometimes I just got fed up and I'm like. Mum. when

511   will we settle? I don't want to move all the time! and it was like. I remember

512   some of those – I kept asking questions like. when will we move? can we just

513   move somewhere where we will stay? seriously. I'm just like tired of all my

514   stuff being moved EVERYwhere. then we sort it out. and then we have to

515   move again and buy this thing all over again! unless we can have the space

516   to – move the stuff I own. like my desk and stuff/ and then we set it up again.

517   and then we just put it back in the truck again. and then. then – I'm like.

518   what's the point! can we just settle down somewhere? seriously. I don't want

519   to – <laugh a little together> – spend the rest of my life in a car! seriously.

520   come on!

Marek initially gives a literal answer to my question, wryly noting that 'no', travelling is

not difficult, and that he has been in a car for 'pretty much' his whole life (line 507).

However, Marek's tone changes as he starts to talk about the constant moving:

'sometimes I just got fed up' (line 510). This shifts into agitation as he recalls the

questions he kept asking his mother: 'when will we settle?' (lines 510-511); 'when will

we move?' (line 512), by which point Marek sounds weary and frustrated: 'I'm just like

tired of all my stuff being moved EVERYwhere' (lines 513-514). His voice drops as he

pauses briefly in his account, unsure how to continue: 'and then. then –' (line 517)

before starting again: 'I'm like. what's the point!' (lines 517-518). By this stage, it

appears that Marek's words are directed less to me than to his mother: 'can we just

settle down somewhere?' (line 518). Marek's account can thus be interpreted as

indicating his frustration at moving, and arguably at his lack of agency in the process.

His story can also be seen to encapsulate the disruptive impact of moving around,

where, it appears, there is not always even the possibility of keeping the same

possessions, but having to 'buy this thing all over again!' (line 515).

Another problem faced by Marek is that his parents have divorced, with his father

staying in Poland. In the extract below, Marek hints at the sense of disjuncture he faces

when returning to England at the end of the summer spent in Poland.

Extract 6.5 (S6: individual interview – Sara (**SY**); Marek (**M**))

789 **SY:** ok. um. when you go to Poland. do you miss England. or when you come

790   back to England. do you miss Poland?

791 **M:**   hm – honestly. it's just I go to Poland then I. it's – I don't know. I miss Poland

792   and then I get over it and then it's back to normal/ it's just. you know – every

793   year's similar/ I've learned to deal with it. I'm just like. ok. I'll go and come

794   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.' (line 791) 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' (line

793) every summer is suggested by Marek's final jaded exclamation 'and next year will

be the same!' (line 794).

Eleven-year-old Yamina has a still more complicated migration trajectory, having moved between Poland and Algeria – her father's country of origin – and then several times in the UK (see Table 6.1). In an interview with Sylwia, one of her best friends at Grovesham, Yamina describes her situation. The following extract leads on from a discussion about how Yamina's parents met.

Extract 6.6 (S4: interview with Yamina & Sylwia – Sara (**SY**); Sylwia (**S**); Yamina (**Y**))

928 **SY:** […] and then they decided to come to this country?

929 **Y:** actually. we – I was born in Poland. and then my brother – I was alone. like

930 with no brothers. no siblings for four years. or five actually/ my – not. no four

931 – my brother was born –

932 **SY:** yeah

933 **Y:** he's now nearly nine. he's going to be nine in September/ and then we

934 decided to visit Algeria when he was about two/ we lived there with my – like.

935 we didn't have a house. we lived with my grandma and went to (…) school.

936 and my brother –

937 **SY:** um-hm

938 **Y:** I forgot what I was going to say now/ and we lived there for nine months. only

[…]

952 **Y:** and then. erm. we came back. we went back to Poland/ actually. my Mum

953 became pregnant with my brother who is now five years old

954 **SY:** yeah

955 **Y:** in Algeria. and then we decided. actually. that. er – we decided to go back to

956 Poland/ and then we lived there in my grandma's house for five months whilst

957 my Dad was in England/ he went back to Poland with us but literally straight

958 went to England. he went straight away

959 **SY:** ok

960 **Y:** and. yeah. I went to school in Poland for five months

961 **SY:** ok

962 **Y:** and we moved to here/ but actually. we moved to a house. then to another

963 house. now. and then we moved to another house

964 **S:** <laughing> that's –

965 **SY:** wow. ok and where are you going next? <laughter>

966 **Y:** I don't know! I. I don't want to move/ my Mum says that we're probably not 967

going to be moving again

Yamina's account provides an illustration of the father migrating first, and also of the uncertain nature of migratory plans as highlighted in the literature (Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich 2006; Drinkwater & Garapich 2013). The story of Yamina's family is also affected by questions of religion; her father was born into a Muslim family, while her mother had converted around the age of nineteen, prior to meeting Yamina's father. While this study does not focus on religion as an element of identity (see Chapter 2), it is possible that religion may have played a role in the migration trajectory of Yamina's parents. The increase in anti-Muslim sentiment in Poland has already been noted (see section 1.5); Pędziwiatr (2011) notes the differing reactions to this amongst the Muslim community: while some wish to conceal their Muslim identity, others appear to have little problem in self-identifying as Polish Muslims. It may be that Yamina's family experienced difficulties in Poland, hence the choice to migrate, but while she describes the various journeys made by the family, Yamina does not expound on the reason for leaving. Not wanting to explore issues of religion in Poland (see section 1.5), I chose not to probe further. What is however also of interest to this current study is Yamina's

reaction to the multiple moves: like Marek, she is tired with moving, concluding her story with an emphatic sigh: 'I don't want to move' (line 966).

The stories of Yamina and Marek suggest that these adolescents do not necessarily experience multiple moves as positive, but as disruptive, something which chimes with Block (2006a). Another potentially discomforting element relevant to the younger migrant experience is the practice of language brokering; this will be explored in the next section.

6.3 Language brokering

Acting as a broker, that is, as a translator or interpreter for parents or other members of the family (Bauer 2016), is common amongst younger migrants (see e.g. Degener 2010; Corona et al. 2012; Bauer 2013). The topic was therefore something I raised with the adolescents, and included on the questionnaire (Appendix 3). I used phrases such as 'helping your parents' or 'translating', the latter being a term often used interchangeably to cover all aspects of brokering (Weisskirch 2005). As the literature would indicate, most of the adolescents recalled occasions on which they had been asked to help with matters of translation. Below I present certain elements of the brokering experience which were common to the adolescents' accounts.

6.3.1   Frustration: 'She should really know the language better by now'

The feelings the adolescents reported on being asked to translate for parents also echoed findings from studies on brokering. These suggest that such activities provoke contradictory emotions ranging from frustration and embarrassment to a sense of deep

responsibility, encompassing feelings of pride but also uneasiness (Corona et al. 2012; Phoenix & Brannen 2014; Bauer 2016).

Answers noted on the questionnaire suggest that while several of the adolescents felt proud at their knowledge and being able to help, they were nonetheless irritated at being asked to translate things for their parents. Tomasz writes: 'I always translate for my parents. I feel good about myself and inoying [sic]'; Ryszard also evinces a sense of pride mingled with annoyance:

I felt good because I helped someone that knew more English than me. It is annoying that my dad tells me to translate as he has a phone and can use it as a translator.

A strong sense of resentment also appeared evident in Krystyna's story. In a discussion about brokering, Krystyna speaks of her irritation at her mother's requests for help; I then ask her whether she finds brokering difficult.

Extract 6.7 (S#1: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**S**); Krystyna (**K**))

267 **SY:** […] and you sometimes have to translate for your

268   Mum or your Dad?

269 **K:** yeah. for my Mum mostly

270 **SY:** ok. when for example?

271 **K:** um. when it comes to like talking to doctors or something she needs my help

272 **SY:** um-hm

273 **K:** or when she's – just –/ she has a problem with her accent as well so

274   sometimes people don't understand her or because some English people

275   have a different accent she can't always understand it as well/ and she has a

276   problem with pronouncing some of the letters

277 **SY:** ok. ok. so how do you feel if you have to go and help her?

278 **K:** um. sometimes I feel like I help her too much because she's lived here for five

279   years so she should really know the language better by now/ and I'm not like

280   saying it out of spite but she really like needs to start learning it more of

281   herself because she's not going to get to know the language if she's going to

282   keep on asking me for help

[…]

288 **SY:** ok. um. can you think of a particular example when you've had to do

289   something for her when it's been a bit difficult?

290 **K:** well. yeah. like going to the doctors. I usually come with her. it depends –

291   well. not usually. but it depends what it's about cos if it's like a bigger thing 292

    then she asks me what this means like maybe what. like a rash or something

293   like that is and I have to come with her to the doctors so she knows what the

294   doctors are saying to her

295 **SY:** <laughs> so in the future you could just be a translator in hospitals basically!

296 **K:** yeah! <laughs>

297 **SY:** have you any ideas what you'd like to do in the future?

298 **K:** um. I was thinking of being a = journalist –

299 **SY:** = ok.

300 **K:** = or may be something to do with teaching. I'm not really sure

Krystyna's story of brokering indicates that she can find it frustrating. According to

Krystyna, it is her mother, Marta, for whom she usually brokers. She explains that her

mother has problems making herself understood and in understanding different English

language accents. When I ask how she feels about this, Krystyna demonstrates exasperation at the situation – 'I feel like I help her too much' (line 278): she asserts it is her mother's responsibility to learn English and that if she continues to rely on Krystyna, Marta will not learn the language.

However, the position changes slightly as I ask Krystyna if she remembers any particularly 'difficult' experience (line 289). Krystyna now becomes more hesitant as she mentions her mother's visits to the doctors: 'it depends – well. not usually. but it depends what it's about cos if it's like a bigger thing then she asks me what this means like maybe what' (lines 290-291). At this point, Krystyna begins to look a little uncomfortable, so I laughingly suggest she could take up translating (line 295) and then move the discussion onto one about the girls' future plans (line 297). This echoes Hydén (2008), who, in researching abuse against women and girls, interrupts one girl's story which she feels might be excessively painful to recount (see section 5.4.3). Here, Krystyna and I both laugh at my half-joking suggestion about her becoming a translator, and the conversation moves onto a different topic.

That Krystyna demonstrates discomfort when recounting her mother's visit to the doctor resonates with studies noting that when adolescents, usually girls, are asked to discuss intimate medical issues, they often feel uncomfortable (see Hall & Sham 2007; Guske 2010). Krystyna's annoyance with her mother could therefore also be seen as a manifestation of the underlying embarrassment she feels when having to translate medical matters (see Hall & Sham 2007). Yet Krystyna may feel equally awkward at her mother's lack of English; this would echo work by Weisskirch (2005) and Cline et al. (2010), who note that children can be embarrassed by their parents' limited language skills.

6.3.2 Responsibility: 'I feel like I take the responsibility for all the things I will say'

The element of responsibility implicit in Krystyna's narrative is present in other accounts given by the adolescents. Fifteen-year-old Beata has a similar story about the difficulty of accompanying her mother to the doctor. However, medical brokering constitutes only one of several brokering activities in which she is involved. Beata arrived in the UK about eighteen months prior to the start of my fieldwork; she waited for six months to start at Grovesham, and her level of English was limited. Nonetheless, Beata is often called upon to help the rest of the family with activities that require a certain level of English language competency. The extracts presented below are taken from different sessions in which the subject of brokering was raised, and are then discussed together.

Extract 6.8 (S3: interview with Beata, Greg & Janusz – Sara (**S**); Beata (**B**))

522 **SY:** ok. \<to Beata> can you think of a time when you've had to translate?

523 **B:** I think it's every day because I'm helping my brother and he's just eight years

524   old so he really need my help in school and my Mum as well/ every note I

525   have to send to school. or to my brother or my school. I have to write it a bit

526   for myself/ also for example messages when my Dad's sending them to his =

527   boss –

528 **SY:** = um-hm

529 **B:** = I have to write them \<laughing> because he doesn't know how to actually

530   write it in a formal way! I actually learned that in here and I think that. yeah.

531   like every day […]

Extract 6.9 (S5: interview with Beata & Janusz – Sara (**S**); Beata (**B**))

275 **SY:** ok. do you still have to translate for your parents?

276 **B:** yeah! <laughing>

277 **SY:** oh. ok! um. with your Mum. do you have to go to the doctor with her and

278   things like that?

279 **B:** ah yeah. sometimes/ I mean. sometimes my Dad is with her but sometimes I

280   have to really go. yeah

281 **SY:** and what's that like?

282 **B:** it's kind of weird because the doctors and the people are talking to her and

283   she just uh you know. they say it particularly to HER and I'm just like. my

284   Mum can't understand anything so can you talk to me and I will translate it to

285   her! and that feels so weird because I feel like I take the responsibility for all

286   the things I will say and the things they saying. so I feel like I'm adult. and

287   that's quite weird but I get used to that

288 **SY:** do you like it. or –?

289 **B:** not really. I just feel weird and I don't know. I just don't like it

From the account she gives, it appears that Beata undertakes a number of different brokering activities for her family. She can be seen to be assuming a quasi-parental role in writing notes for herself or her brother to take to school (Extract 6.8, lines 524-526); and that of an adult in composing her father's messages to his boss (lines 526-527). Beata expresses a deep sense of responsibility; in her questionnaire answer, she explains that if she cannot help with the translating, then no-one is able 'to solve the problem' (Appendix 3).

What also appears to upset Beata is that while she is positioning herself as the responsible party in her encounters at the doctors, the medical staff do not seem to

recognise this. Rather, they insist on addressing her mother only and ignoring Beata: 'the doctors and the people […] say it particularly to HER and I'm just like. my Mum can't understand anything so can you talk to me and I will translate it to her!' (Extract 6.9, lines 282-285). This is reminiscent of Dorner, Orellana and Jiménez (2008), who note the way that adults sometimes treat young brokers with suspicion.

Beata thus has conflicting feelings about her brokering: while she has a sense of pride in the role she has been asked to play (see Bauer 2016), this is accompanied by the uneasy feeling of taking on responsibility for the affairs of the family. Fourteen-year-old Janusz also speaks of feeling uncomfortable when brokering. In the interview with Beata, Janusz reports that he is sometimes asked to translate his parents' letters, something he does not enjoy.

Extract 6.10 (S5: interview with Beata & Janusz – Sara (**S**); Janusz (**J**))

290 **SY:** ok. um. <to Janusz> have you got any occasions where you've had to –

291 **J:**   like. well. like. a couple of times that I have to translate like erm letters like

292   from the er. bank. for example. or other letters

[…]

296 **SY:** ok. so you know all their financial situation with the letters from the = bank?

297 **J:**   = yeah. yeah!

298 **SY:** do you like that or not so = much?

299 **J:**   = I don't like it

300 **SY:** ok. why not?

301 **J:**   it's a bit annoying. like. erm. because I. I want to like erm do my own things

302   and they just like asked me to like translate it but. yeah/ especially like when

303   it's like a long letter or something/ it takes energy!

Janusz explains he dislikes having to translate official letters because it interferes with his own time, and that 'it takes energy' (line 303). While this phrase could emphasise Janusz's reluctance to spend his own free time on his parents' business, it might suggest that he finds it difficult to translate the language used in such letters. It may also indicate that Janusz feels awkward having to undertake a task that involves him in his parents' financial matters. Such involvement is noted by Weisskirch (2005), who highlights how through similar activities, youngsters become aware of 'adult interactions' of which they might customarily remain unaware (p.287).

As illustrated by the above extracts, accounts given by the adolescents suggest that being asked to participate in such activities causes conflicting sentiments, something which echoes findings of previous research into brokering (e.g. Phoenix & Brannen 2014). Participation in brokering practices also positions young people as experts in the host language or practices. Questions of language competency and the way adolescents might find themselves positioned as expert users of English when they do not have such a level will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Dorner, Orellana and Jiménez (2008) also note that brokering activities can expose adolescents to prejudice, stemming from linguistic xenophobia. While this was not mentioned by those in this study, they did describe other forms of anti-Polish sentiment they had encountered. These experiences are presented in the following section.

6.4 Anti-Polish sentiment

Given the presence of anti-Polish tropes in public discourse (see Chapter 2), one of the aims of this study was to understand whether and how the adolescents had been impacted by such sentiment. Questions were therefore designed to draw out such stories; care was taken to approach the topic in a sensitive manner (see section 5.4.3).

6.4.1 Bullying: 'They were telling me to go back to Poland'

While many of the adolescents had experienced some form of bullying at school, they were often hesitant to describe such experiences, as the literature suggests (Reynolds 2008). The stories told by thirteen-year-old Filip, and Sylwia, aged eleven, are constructed in a disjointed fashion, and across different sessions. Below is an extract from their joint interview, followed by excerpts from the individual interviews I held with each of them later.

Extract 6.11 (S4: interview with Filip & Sylwia – Sara (**SY**); Filip (**F**); Sylwia (**S**))

219 **SY:** […] do you – have you had any experiences of people like. people from

220   here. saying things about Polish people?

221 **F:**   not really. um. = no

222 **S:**   = no

223 **SY:** nothing. have you heard anything?

224 **F:**   no

225 **S:**   no

226 **SY:** nothing. ok. what were people like at school? did they help. or –?

227 **F:**   um. before I went to this school. I was in a different school

228 **SY:** ok

229 **F:**   and people there were just terrible/ I was getting bullied and –

[…]

232 **SY:** ok. ok. and what did the teachers do about it?

233 **F:**   er. they told them to stop. and they did. for few months. and then they

234   repeated it

235 **SY:** ok. what sort of things were they saying? can you tell me?

236 **F:**   um. they were telling me to go back to Poland/ like. they don't want me here

237 **SY:** um-hm

238 **F:** and um. yeah they just bullied me physically

239 **SY:** ok. ok. and here. was it ok?

240 **F:** here is. everything here is ok

[…]

248 **SY:** […] have you had anything like that. Sylwia?

249 **S:** no

250 **SY:** ok. cos you were much younger when you came I guess?

251 **S:** yeah

252 **SY:** yeah –

253 **S:** everything was ok/ but I also had an old school before my – I had two primary

254　　schools/ because the first one I didn't like. I don't know why. I don't

255　　remember now. but – I just didn't like the people there. I don't know what for

256　　and then. then I moved to Treetam Primary School

257 **SY:** ok

258 **S:** then. um. I'm up here now/ I liked Treetam. it was a really good school

259　　and I really like Grovesham now. it's – I have new friends. everything

Extract 6.12 (S6: individual interview with Filip – Sara (**SY**); Filip (**F**))

371 **F:** the school was horrible

372 **SY:** why?

373 **F:** er. people were bullying me. cos couldn't really speak English back then

374 **SY:** um-hm.

375 **F:** um. yeah. that's why

376 **SY:** ok. so why did your parents move to Fieldstone?

377 **F:** er – there are a few reasons/ the first one is because we couldn't find a house

378   that is in Miltville. or in Hometon

379 **SY:** um-hm

380 **F:** and. er. the second one is because I was getting bullied a lot

Extract 6.13 (S6: individual interview with Sylwia – Sara (**SY**); Sylwia (**S**))

216 **SY:** you went to two different primary schools. is that right. or just one?

217 **S:** erm. in England?

218 **SY:** yeah

219 **S:** yes

[…]

228 **SY:** oh. ok. was it [the first school] good. or –

229 **S:** <speaking more quietly> no. cos um. I don't know exactly. but the people

230   there weren't so nice and they were annoying me

231 **SY:** um-hm

232 **S:** <still quietly> and they. they just weren't nice to me/ and then I asked Mum to

233   move school/ and then we found another school. Treetam

At first, both Filip and Sylwia deny any problems (Extract 6.11, lines 221-225); when I ask about school, Filip opens up a little. Nonetheless, Filip needs prompting at each turn, and his story remains sparse on detail: he gives an example of things that were said (line 236), and also mentions being bullied 'physically' (line 238). Taking his hesitancy to indicate that this is a delicate topic, and not wanting to cause further discomfort, I choose not to ask Filip to elaborate, but instead refer to his time at Grovesham: 'and here. was it ok?' (line 239).

Sylwia then denies having experienced anything similar (Extract 6.11, lines 248-249). I suggest that might have been because she had been 'much younger' than Filip when she came to England (line 250); something about the hesitancy in her 'yeah' (line 251) makes me repeat the word almost as a question. Sylwia then mentions her first school in Fieldstone, and how she moved to another school because she 'didn't like the people' (line 255). In the individual interview (Extract 6.13), Sylwia remains hesitant; after some encouragement, she explains that 'the people there [at her first primary school] weren't so nice' (line 230). She then makes the link between the bullying and moving school more explicit (lines 232-233). Like Filip, however, Sylwia does not go into further detail; again, I decide not to press further. In the pair interview (Extract 6.11), Sylwia indicates that she prefers to focus on her second primary school, Treetam, and her positive experiences there and at Grovesham (lines 258-259).

The reluctance to talk about incidents of bullying may be understood in several ways. It must firstly be noted that Filip's hesitation could be explained by other factors. Filip is slightly uncertain of his spoken English (see Chapter 7, Extract 7.9); he also has a strong dislike of being recorded, which he does not divulge until the final session (Appendix 5, Extract A.2). However, Sylwia, who elsewhere is a chatty and vivacious participant, also evinces a reluctance to expound on the subject of bullying. Instead, she re-positions herself as a contented student by describing the schools where she felt happier, including Grovesham, which she 'really like[s]' (Extract 11, line 259).

It may be that Filip and Sylwia were embarrassed to talk about their experiences in front of each other, yet their hesitation continued into the individual interview. Although Filip volunteers the information that his school was 'horrible' (Extract 6.12, line 371), he does not elaborate on his experience of being bullied. Sylwia also appears reluctant to give details: she reports that the people 'just weren't nice to me' (Extract 6.13, line 232), speaking unusually quietly as she recounts her experiences (Extract 6.13).

Another possible reason for the adolescents' reticence is that they do not want to present themselves as victims of racially motivated abuse, for to do so would undermine their positions as citizens with a right to be in the country. This interpretation would seem to chime with Fox, Moroşanu and Szilassy (2015), and their exploration into reasons why Eastern Europeans may deny their experiences of racial discrimination in the UK.

Despite his painful experiences, Filip nonetheless has the intention of remaining in the UK. In the following extract, he explains his future plans.

Extract 6.14 (S6: individual interview with Filip – Sara (**SY**); Filip (**F**))

486 **SY:** […] so what about after school. have you got – I know it's early yet.

487   but do you have any thoughts about afterwards?

[…]

492 **F:** ah. um – I'm planning on following my sister. my sister Agnieszka's footsteps

493   and I'm going to be a vet

While Filip presents himself as 'following' in his older sister's 'footsteps' (line 492) in his ambition to become a vet (see section 9.3.1 for a discussion of the language Filip uses here), he is in fact intending to realise the dream his sister Agnieszka was unable to accomplish, due to family commitments. Filip explains this in an earlier interview:

Extract 6.15 (S4: interview with Filip & Sylwia – Sara (**SY**); Filip (**F**))

184 **F:** my. my sister. um. wanted to be a vet. but she's got a family. so she = can't

185 **SY:** = ok

186 **F:**   and she works at Tesco

Filip does not elaborate on the situation, yet even though Agnieszka is currently

working in a Tesco's supermarket (line 186), Filip is nonetheless anxious to position

her in terms of potentially being a vet, a higher status job. That Filip does this may

indicate how he is conscious of the discourse whereby Polish migrants are positioned

as low-skilled workers. While there is indeed an increasing number of Polish manual

workers in Britain, such as on London's construction sites (Datta & Brickell 2009), this

has also become a stereotypical image, something implied by McDowell's (2009)

allusion to 'the mythical figure of the Polish plumber' (p.20).

This clichéd imagery appears as an element of a story told by Krystyna in relation to

the anti-Polish sentiment she has faced. Krystyna's account is given below:

Extract 6.16 (S#1: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Krystyna (**K**))

340 **K:**   […] sometimes I guess when I'm at school people

341   are a bit insulting when they talk about how Polish people are builders and

342   stuff. and just – I think sometimes people are sometimes a bit unfair towards

343   where you come from

344 **SY:** um-hm. can you give me an example?

345 **K:**   well because now my Dad's changed jobs and he's kind of a builder recently I

346   was in my class and the teacher asked so are any of your parents builders?

347   because I do GCSE PE and it was a part of our. what we were doing. and I

348   said yeah my Dad kind of is and I could just hear them giggling in the

349   background. so yeah

Here, Krystyna resents the way in which her father is reduced to a risible stereotype through his job, and that an individual is judged by his country of origin (lines 341-343). Not wanting to see him in this way, she describes her father as 'kind of a builder' (line 345). Earlier in the interview, Krystyna attempts to reposition both her parents in a way that does not correspond to the 'insulting' (line 341) and stereotypical image with which she is confronted.

Extract 6.17 (S#1: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Krystyna (**K**))

59 **SY:** ok. what does he [your Dad] do?

60 **K:** well. now he's switched and right now he's kind of working as an electrician

61 and – but then he kind of helps to like do stuff around like – when you like

62 make houses or like do stuff around

[…]

67 **SY:** ok. and what about your Mum. does she work?

68 **K:** well, she's a beautician but. erm. right now she kind of just works at some

69 kind of like small factory. but sometimes she does do like nails privately

In her description of her father, Krystyna is keen to stress that he is an electrician, not a builder, thus a skilled rather than manual worker; she eschews the word 'builder' to describe the work he does (lines 61-62). In their study on Polish builders in London, Datta and Brickell (2009) note the 'skills hierarchy' which positions jobs such as 'fitting, carpentry, tiling, flooring, and general redecoration' as higher than manual building work (p.446). From the way she speaks of her parents, it seems that Krystyna is aware of such positioning; she also depicts her mother as a beautician rather than a factory employee (lines 68-69). Like Filip's positioning of his sister (Extract 6.14), Krystyna

appears to want to suggest that her parents cannot be defined simply by the work they are currently doing. A further example of this from Beata, who emphasises that although her father works as a builder, he is constantly achieving promotion, can be found in Appendix 5, Extract A.3.

Sixteen-year-old Greg also recounts an incident from school. In an interview with Greg, Beata and Janusz, I show them a newspaper article highlighting racist attitudes of schoolchildren (Appendix 2). This prompts Greg to recall an incident from his geography class.

Extract 6.18 (S3: interview with Greg, Beata & Janusz – Sara (**SY**); Greg (**G**))

195 **G:**   well. the last one's kind of like what I said/ things about. erm. stealing jobs.

196   I've had that personally. from my Dad. I've heard that from him. had that said

197   to him. that kind of thing. erm. in my geography. we study Polish immigrants

198   so – like. er. that's it – (… repetition he'd heard that from his Dad) <speaking

199   quickly and increasingly quietly, tailing off; audio unclear>

200 **SY:** yeah? what's that like?

201 **G:**   it was like. last week we had it and it's. erm. there was like loads of like we

202   got turned against basically the whole class were against us. like it was so

203   bad/ there's like two of us in the Polish class and er. we just got. er <laughs

204   slightly> bombed. basically. there were like jokes and references. don't steal

205   my jobs. and all those things/ and my friend couldn't hold it in. I mean. he

206   like. just gave them all the facts that it's not really true exactly. so

Even though he has volunteered the story, Greg's description of the incident is punctuated with hesitations and nervous laughter. At one point, he speaks so quickly

and quietly that it is difficult to make out his words on the recording (line 198-199). This can be interpreted as Greg's apprehension in re-telling the story and possibly as an attempt to dispel the tension that either he felt at the time or feels when recounting the event.

What is also noticeable, is the way that Greg abruptly shifts his own position within the story. When he first talks about the geography class – 'last week we had it' (line 201) – Greg is part of the collective 'we', a member of the class. However, within the disjointed explanation, 'there was like loads of like we got turned against' (lines 201-202), Greg suddenly becomes part of a different group: he has repositioned himself from being a class member to part of the 'we' being attacked. Greg then reaffirms this shift in position: 'the whole class were against us' (line 202).

At this point, it remains unclear who the attacked 'we' or 'us' refers to. It is only after reiterating the nature of the verbal attack – 'it was so bad' (line 202) – that Greg starts to reveal something about the other person implicated in the 'we'. The boy whom Greg knows from Polish class is not given by name, yet Greg describes him as 'my friend' (line 205). He thus positions the boy as an ally, and also as the one who resists the attack through verbal retaliation: 'my friend couldn't hold it in', his classmate 'just gave them all the facts' (line 206).

The shift in positioning is indicated by Greg's use of 'us' and 'them'. In his discussion on the way racism is implied through discourse, van Dijk (2000) highlights the use of 'our' as 'an ingroup designator', which serves to underpin the demarcation between the categories 'us' and 'them' (p.44). Where in van Dijk, 'us' refers to the dominant majority against the immigrant 'them', in the instance above, Greg is employing 'us' to denote the two Polish students, pitted against 'them', the others in the class. The us/them dichotomy was to reverberate throughout the adolescents' narratives; its import will be examined further in Chapter 9.

The way that Greg has found himself positioned in the geography class sits in stark contrast to the way he positions himself a little later in the interview, when I ask the adolescents how they perceive themselves. (A fuller transcript can be found in Appendix 5, Extract A.4.)

Extract 6.19 (S3: interview with Greg, Beata & Janusz – Sara (**SY**); Greg (**G**))

327 **SY:** ok – er. so do you feel Polish or British. or – how do you feel?

[…]

330 **G:** I don't know/ I've been living here quite a long time. so/ I only went like

331   infants' school in Poland. […]

[…]

334   […] I don't know/ I. I feel a bit both – but I'm obviously

335   Polish. on my certificate and everything in Polish but I think I'm kind of more

336   British. I'm used to this like environment. […]

Greg has been living in the UK for eleven years (Table 6.1); he uses an anglicised version of his Polish name, Grzegorz. Yet from the incident in the geography class described above, it would appear that Greg is not being allowed a British identity; however much he feels himself to be 'more British' (Extract 6.19, lines 335-336), he is still viewed by others as Polish, a position he then takes up when forced onto the defensive (Extract 6.18).

The above accounts thus indicate how the adolescents are being positioned by their classmates as Polish migrants, and their parents as posing a threat. This chimes with the results of a UK survey conducted by the charity Show Racism the Red Card (SRTRC) that reveals the antagonistic stance children have towards migrants (Taylor

2015). Such attitudes are also echoed in findings by Ruck, Tenenbaum and Sines (2007) on adolescents' hostility to asylum seeker children. Nonetheless, the adolescents' stories here suggest ways in which they challenge such positioning, be this in repositioning their parents professionally, or through direct confrontation as in Greg's account.

In an interview at Grovesham, Tomasz and Ryszard also defend their position as Poles with a right to be in the UK. However, as will be discussed in the subsequent section, they draw on other discourses.

6.4.2   Categorisation: 'It does matter if you're like a refugee or a migrant'

When I raised the subject of anti-Polish sentiment in an interview with Ryszard and Tomasz, the boys did not discuss any direct experiences. Rather, they attempted to distinguish their own positions as migrants from the status of other groups of newcomers in the UK. The following extract leads on from a discussion about the way their stories of migration made the boys feel.

Extract 6.20 (S4: interview with Tomasz & Ryszard – Sara (**SY**); Ryszard (**R**); Tomasz (**T**))

647 **SY:** yeah. does it make you feel a bit different from like the English people born

648   here? or not particularly?

649 **T:**   no

650 **SY:** no?

651 **T:**   I think everyone is equal

652 **SY:** um-hm

653 **T:**   that's my point of view

654 **SY:** ok

655 **T:**   doesn't matter/ well. it does matter if you're like a refugee or a migrant

656 **SY:** yeah

657 **T:**   that. that does just make a difference

658 **SY:** ok. why does it make a difference?

659 **R:**   um – let's not go into that

660 **SY:** no. no = really –

661 **T:**   = no. no!

662 **SY:** – I'm interested. why?

663 **T:**   cos. cos like a = refugee –

664 **R:**   = yeah

665 **T:**   – can bomb you and a migrant is –

666 **R:**   a migrant <correcting his pronunciation>

667 **T:**   yeah. comes for a better life. not – just peacefully/ that's my point of view

668 **R:**   it's like – some Polish people. they actually like – some people. like the. er.

669   refugees. cos after what they done in Paris and in Belgium. so we can't. we

670   don't like them and we. er. kind of get a bit angry that we have to work and

671   they just have to –

672 **T:**   they just come in here. they're on benefits = and –

673 **R:**   = everything and then we have to work for it and they just get it for free just

674   cos their country's in a war or something happened

I start by wondering whether the boys 'feel a bit different' in any way (line 647) from

others in the UK. While at first Tomasz expresses the view that 'everyone is equal' (line

651), that there is no difference between Polish people and others in the UK, he then

adjusts his stance slightly: 'well. it does matter if you're like a refugee or a migrant' (line

655). When I ask Tomasz to explain, both he and Ryszard become defensive, and Ryszard hurriedly tries to shut down the conversation: 'um – let's not go into that' (line 659). Ryszard's interjection here suggests that the boys are aware this is a potentially controversial area. This chimes with van Dijk (1992), who avers that individuals who express negative attitudes in relation to minority groups are quite 'aware of the fact that they may be understood as breaking the social norm of tolerance or acceptance' (p.89). Nonetheless, I persevere, telling the boys, 'I'm interested' (line 662), at which point they start to expand on their views. Tomasz posits the opinion that a migrant 'comes for a better life […] peacefully' (line 667), unlike a refugee who, he implies, does not. Ryszard then elaborates on Tomasz's comment by alluding to 'what they done in Paris and in Belgium' (line 669). The reference here is to the terrorist attacks on Paris and Brussels, in November 2015 and March 2016 respectively. Ryszard attributes these attacks to refugees and explains that this is one reason why 'we don't like them' (line 670).

His allusion to the terrorist attacks and the way in which Ryszard blames the refugees may be seen to draw on several sources. One of these may be the UK media discourse which conflated the potential threat of terrorists with the refugee crisis at the time, such as that found in newspaper articles e.g. Slack (2016) in the *Daily Mail*; Batchelor (2016) in the *Express*. It appears that Ryszard and Tomasz feel it necessary to distinguish themselves as Polish migrants from those who were purported to have perpetrated such acts. The boys' comments may be seen to echo tropes about terrorists and the increasing racism in Poland (see section 1.5); they can also be viewed in terms of racism and whiteness (see section 3.4). Fox (2013) notes the way in which individuals take 'recourse to local tropes on terrorism' which equate skin colour with terrorism (p.1876); this could also lie behind the comments made by Ryszard and Tomasz, and will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

The conversation with the boys then develops into a discussion about state benefits.

Extract 6.21 (S4: interview with Tomasz & Ryszard – Sara (**SY**); Ryszard (**R**); Tomasz (**T**))

687 **R:** and once. my parents told me that. well they once read in the. er. = paper –

688 **SY:** = yeah?

689 **R:** – or something. that. er. Polish people. lots of Polish people are on benefits

690   because they're scared to say it to. to refugees and those kind of people

691   because they might do something to do them or something probably

692 **SY:** ok

693 **T:** one time. er. my Dad told me. that Polish people didn't work – whole. well

694   maybe not all of them. but maybe mostly all Polish people in England stopped

695   working/ and it's like. they're earning much as in fabric income. or half. less/

696   so it's like. I think Polish. er English people should like be proud of Polish

697   people coming in/ cos Polish people come in to work. not like the other people

698   that just come here –

699 **R:** just to get money. as much money as possible –

700 **T:** <interrupting> exactly! and not do much

701 **R:** and also. it's like. er. last. on Polish news. last time. when there was the

702   Remembrance Day. erm. er. they didn't like. for the people that still lived. as

703   in the soldiers. they didn't actually. they never invite the Polish people or

704   anything/ so it's kind of. it's kind of like we. we. we helped them quite a lot in

705   that battle. and they don't actually thank us for that/ and now they're still not

706   thanking us for like working really well and being like normal people like

707   them/ and. er – it's something like that

Here, the boys appear to be conflating a mixture of differing grievances and discourses. One of these concerns the question of benefits. When the boys suggest that it is other people, not Poles, who are coming to the UK 'just to get money' (line 699), they can be seen to draw on the same discourse that is used about Polish migrants coming to the UK solely to take advantage of the benefit system (see section 2.4.4). Tomasz opines that 'English people should like be proud of Polish people' (lines 696-697); Ryszard then supports this by citing Remembrance Sunday and the Polish contribution to the allied victory in the Second World War. He conflates a lack of gratitude for this with the current situation where, he asserts, 'they're still not thanking us for like working really well' (lines 705-706).

The discussion above also suggests the boys are drawing on things they have been told at home. Tomasz tries to repeat something 'my Dad told me' (line 693), while Ryszard alludes to something his parents have seen in the newspaper – 'my parents told me that' (line 687) – although he does not note which papers his parents read, and whether these are Polish or English publications. There also seems to be a certain amount of confusion: Tomasz mentions a situation where 'Polish people didn't work – whole' (line 693); he later refers to something he calls 'fabric income' (line 695), without clarifying what he means. Thus the boys' comments may be understood as an amalgamation of views they have assimilated from other sources around them, be this the media or from family members.

In giving these accounts, moreover, the boys can be seen as seeking to assert their position as Poles. They demonstrate a pride in their Polish identity, and illustrate this through alluding to positive characterisations such as the hard-working Pole and the brave Polish soldier. Yet the boys also draw on ugly comparisons with others, be this through implying a link between refugees and terrorists (Extract 6.20), or in citing the threat 'those kind of people' allegedly pose to Poles over benefit claims (Extract 6.21,

line 690). In othering such individuals, the boys may be seen as drawing on similar practices to those identified by Fox (2013) in a discussion about racist practices amongst Hungarians and Romanians working in the UK. Fox argues that individuals draw on these tropes as a way of asserting themselves in response to the diminished status to which they find themselves relegated in the new country.

The question of how the adolescents view themselves in relation to other minority groups in the UK also emerges in discussions with Krystyna and Anna. Krystyna describes her reaction on first coming to the UK:

Extract 6.22 (S#1: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Krystyna (**K**))

612 **K:** […] there were like different cultures in the school whereas in Poland

613   literally <laughs> there's just Polish people! and you barely ever get to see

614   someone who's not Polish

615 **SY:** ok. did you find that strange when you first came here. that. to see other

616   cultures?

617 **K:** yeah I did

618 **SY:** had you expected that?

619 **K:** I didn't expect that. no

620 **SY:** ok. how did you find it?

621 **K:** I found it quite strange that there was different people because I've never.

622   like. I don't. I'm not meaning to be racist. but I'd never really seen like darker

623   people properly so I just found it weird that suddenly you come to a country

624   who's – cos I was smaller – who are a country of white people and then

625   there's black people here so I was just like. what's going on?

At this point, Krystyna is presenting herself as a younger, more naïve individual: she puts her reaction down to the fact that she 'was smaller' (line 624). Nonetheless, her assumption that Britain would be 'a country of white people' (line 624) indicates Krystyna's preconceptions about the place to which she was coming. This could be based on her own experiences within Poland, where she reports not having encountered 'like darker people properly' (lines 622-623). Similar comments made by Anna are found in Appendix 5, Extract A.5. Such accounts reflect literature which suggests that migrants from Eastern Europe are unlikely to have encountered in Poland the heterogeneity found in Britain (Sales et al. 2008; Parutis 2011).

Later in the same interview, however, in a discussion about the frequent accusation of stealing jobs, Krystyna can be seen to change her position in relation to those she perceives as non-English. Her comments are reported below:

Extract 6.23 (S#1: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Krystyna (**K**))

376 **K:** well I think it's quite unfair that they're blaming the immigrants cos. um.

377   there's jobs like doctors for example where I can't. I don't. I never really see

378   like much of English doctors/ they're usually Muslim dentists Muslim doctors

379   because they actually put up with the work you have to. go towards being a

380   doctor whereas peop – English people don't do that sometimes and I think it's

381   unfair that they're blaming us for it because we're putting the effort into being

382   in that career

Here Krystyna appears to have moved from othering 'different people' (Extract 6.22, line 621), as she does on arrival in the UK, to seeing them as individuals with whom she might align herself. In doing so, Krystyna draws on the us/them dichotomy

mentioned earlier: in this instance, 'us' (line 381) is taken to include Poles and others that Krystyna takes to be migrants, in contrast to 'English people' (line 380). Worthy of note is firstly the way that Krystyna has shifted in her positioning; and secondly, that she does not appear to countenance the idea that Muslims could also be English, but positions them as 'immigrants' (line 376).

The us/them distinction also prevails in discussions held about the forthcoming EU Referendum. These are presented in the following section.

6.5 EU Referendum: 'They're not going to throw them out, are they?'

While the forthcoming Referendum was not the focus of this study (see Chapter 2), once it appeared imminent, I incorporated the topic into the interview schedule. Some of the adolescents had heard very little about the campaign, whilst others appeared to be more aware of events. (Fuller transcripts of Extracts 6.24 and 6.26 below are found in Appendix 5, as Extracts A.6 and A.7). When I raised the subject in an early session, Greg explained how he had discussed the issue with his father.

Extract 6.24 (S3: interview with Greg, Beata & Janusz – Sara (**SY**); Greg (**G**))

447 **SY:** ok. um. do you know anything about what's going on in this country with the

448   = referendum –

[…]

465 **G:**   […] I had this topic with my Dad this morning and my Dad gave

466   me a thought that well. the people that've been living here a while. they're not

467   gonna like throw them out. they're not going to do that! like you're living here.

468   but I think that the people who like come in. who are going to be coming after.

469 coming in. they might have a bit more trouble getting in here/ but I think the

470 people that are here already. they won't just like throw em out. cos like that

471 would leave like loads of people with unemployment. like the companies

472 would just go bankrupt/ and people that have bought houses on credit. they're

473 not going to throw them out. are they? so

Although Greg does not explain how the topic of EU citizens having to leave Britain arose, his account suggests that this was a concern even prior to the Brexit vote, seeing that the interview took place a fortnight before the official date of the Referendum was confirmed. In the following extract, Ryszard also mentions the potentially precarious position of migrants living in the UK. This comes from the final session, conducted one month before the Referendum:

Extract 6.25 (S6: individual interview at Grovesham – Sara (**SY**); Ryszard (**R**))

568 **SY:** ok. so what do you think about what's going on at the moment with the

569 referendum?

570 **R:** um. oh. it's okay. but if we go out the EU. or if the UK goes out the EU. well. it

571 depends. er. if they will. because I heard that some people have been saying

572 that one third of the migrants have to. will have to leave. or something like

573 that

Again, there is a shift in Ryszard's positioning. Ryszard starts 'if *we* go out the EU', but then clarifies: 'if *the UK* goes out the EU' (line 570, my emphasis). This change may indicate that Ryszard is suddenly uncertain of his rights within a Britain that lies outside the EU.

Anna has a contrasting view of the Referendum, as illustrated in the following extract, taken from an interview in March.

Extract 6.26 (S#2: St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Anna (**A**))

503 **SY:** […] um. have you heard very

504   much about the referendum that's happening in June? with the European

505   Union? or not = very much?

[…]

507 **A:**   no. I just. I just know it's happening in June that's all = I know

[…]

527 **A:**   I think we should leave

528 **SY:** oh. ok

529 **all:** <laugh>

530 **SY:** debate! why?

531 **A:**   because all of our – we're getting something like budget cuts right now

532   because all of the. erm. cos we. um. our country's quite rich/ so we get. we

533   get a lot of money but then we have to like share it out with other countries/ to

534   help other countries in the European Union where that money could be used

535   to help us as well

536 **SY:** what. us like in Britain?

537 **A:**   yeah! um. and I think we're just like playing it safe by just staying/ I think one

538   day we'll just have to like get out by ourselves. like. like just be an indepen-

539   like not independent but like – just be like our own country […]

Initially, Anna professes to know little about the Referendum (line 507), yet then offers the opinion that Britain should leave the EU. When I ask 'why' (line 530), Anna cites the ostensible financial benefit of leaving the EU (lines 532-535) and that of the country becoming 'independent' (line 539). Such arguments may be seen to echo the discourses promulgated by both UKIP and the Leave campaign (see Chapter 2), suggesting that like Tomasz and Ryszard (Extract 6.20), Anna is picking up on the wider discourses around her. What is also of interest is the way that, throughout her account, Anna uses the personal pronoun 'we', a usage which contrasts with Ryszard's shift from 'we' to 'the UK' (Extract 6.25, line 570). This would suggest Anna is here more secure in her positioning as British, which may be because she has both a Polish and a British passport.

6.6 Conclusion

The accounts given by the adolescents suggest that they are quite aware of their position as migrants. They tell similar stories about their reasons for coming to the UK, reasons which chime with those identified in Polish migration literature. Their descriptions of moving appear to follow a trajectory which is also reminiscent of that traced in the literature, encompassing contemporary practices such as children migrating with their mothers as well as others following their fathers.

The adolescents also relate stories whereby they are involved in practices which can be seen to position them as migrants, such as brokering activities. Several of them also appear to have been subjected to forms of prejudice and anti-Polish sentiment. It seems they have combated this in various ways, drawing on different discourses which support their sense of being Polish. In discussing the Referendum, Greg and Ryszard both appear concerned about whether people may be asked to leave Britain. Such

insecurity is not voiced by Anna, who draws on arguments that reinforce a notion of British identity, and of staunch nationalism.

Themes of migration having been explored here, the next chapters investigate the adolescents' stories of school and home.

7 Polish and English in a school setting

7.1 Introduction

As explored in Chapter 4, school plays a large part in the lives of adolescents; the rising number of Polish students attending schools in Britain has been noted (Ryan 2015; White 2017). In the context of this present study, therefore, this chapter examines how the adolescents' bilingualism (see Chapter 4) was addressed within the school environment.

In each of the sessions, stories of language use at school emerged. These concerned the adolescents' bilingualism in their two main languages, English and Polish. It has been argued that such bilingualism is not always permitted to students within a school setting, but that actual linguistic practices often differ from the official policy. Hence, Bourne (2001) suggests that 'bilingualism is part of school life and part of school learning, whether that is officially accepted or not' (p.103). Meanwhile, in their discussion of primary education, Conteh and Brock (2011) note how: '[t]hough we may 'celebrate diversity', we take care that it does not disrupt the 'monolingualising' (Heller 1995) ethos that pervades the education system' (p.349). Indeed, Heller (1995) notes the 'ideology of institutional monolingualism', defined as the way that institutions, such as schools, privilege monolingual language practices so as to reinforce power relations (p.373). Even those institutions which may appear to welcome linguistic diversity or promote language teaching can be seen to adhere to a monolingual ideology. Schools are also often seen to follow the notion of viewing bilingual individuals as 'two monolinguals in one' (Grosjean 1989), entrenching the notion of the 'two solitudes' (Cummins 2008), and not allowing the two languages to interact within the classroom. As will be illustrated below, these viewpoints are echoed in the stories reported in this chapter.

The chapter is divided into two main sections, focused on each of the two principal languages of the adolescents' linguistic repertoires: English and Polish. These sections examine how the students position themselves (Davies & Harré 1990), both in terms of their language use when at school, and in how they feel themselves to be positioned by others.

The stories suggest that much of this positioning situates the adolescents as learners, of both English and Polish. At other times, however, the adolescents were positioned as competent users, especially of English. The adolescents' accounts often told of how they resisted such positions, but also suggest that they themselves often adopted dual positioning. The first section of this chapter focuses on English.

7.2 English language positions: learners or users?

The overlap between the positions of English language learner and language user has been acknowledged by Cook (1999) in his work on the native speaker (see Chapter 4). Notwithstanding, a broad distinction can made between the two, drawing on the notion of the 'legitimate speaker' (Bourdieu 1977).

Being positioned as an English language learner – rather than user – often has negative connotations (Early & Norton 2012). This stems from the notion of deficiency (Pavlenko & Norton 2007; Mehmedbegović 2012), whereby a learner may often find herself positioned as inadequate, and subject positions available to her are accordingly limited (Norton & Toohey 2001). In contrast, privileging the term 'user' implies a certain competency in and ownership of a language (Pavlenko 2001). Ownership of English allows an individual to be regarded as a legitimate speaker (Norton 1997); by shifting from a notion of deficiency to that of ownership, the term 'user' thus bestows validation on the speaker.

The positions of learner and user are often evoked in the adolescents' accounts of their language use. In regard to English, several of the adolescents positioned themselves as learners, yet it appeared that this positioning was frequently problematic within the context of a school where English was taken to be the dominant language. This was often part of the accounts of the adolescents' early linguistic experiences at school, as will be described below.

7.2.1 Arrival at school: 'Everyone was just talking to me and I didn't understand them'

While I have chosen to position the adolescents in this study as Polish-English bilinguals (see section 1.4), it is important to note that their bilingualism may be seen as 'achieved bilingualism', that is, acquired 'later than childhood' (Li Wei 2007a, p.511), as several of them had arrived in the UK with English not part of their linguistic repertoires. Even those who had some knowledge of English found they were at a far lower level than that required at school. They were thus positioned as learners from the point of arrival. This was a position which I also followed in the study, choosing to ask the adolescents – both on the questionnaire and in the interview sessions – about their experiences of learning English.

It appears that for several of them, their lack of English was seen as a problem. Tomasz, who arrived in the UK at the age of four, found it especially difficult. On the questionnaire, he noted:

> I felt akward [sic] because everyone was speaking in English and I was
> speaking in Polish. […] It was hard and I felt weird learning a language when I
> was 7.

I also asked Tomasz about this during an interview with Ryszard, where Tomasz gives more details about the situation.

Extract 7.1 (S4: interview with Tomasz & Ryszard – Sara (**SY**); Tomasz (**T**))

388 **SY:** do you remember anything about coming here? like when you first had to

389   learn English or anything like that?

390 **T:** I just remember that it was very hard for me

391 **SY:** ok. why?

392 **T:** cos it was like. it was just me and a girl who I met/ my Dad was like very good

393   friends with her Dad but it's like I was in one class and then she was like in

394   the other class and it's like I couldn't speak Polish to anyone and it's like

395   everyone was just talking to me and I didn't understand them

In his story, Tomasz presents himself as an outsider on arrival at the school, someone who speaks a different language from everyone else, apart from another girl – 'it was just me and a girl who I met' (line 392). When she is put in another class, Tomasz is left unable to 'speak Polish to anyone' (line 394). The whole situation is thus 'very hard' (line 390) for Tomasz, who describes himself as unable to understand what people are saying to him.

Anna provides a similar story. Even though English was part of her linguistic repertoire when she came to England, there were still problems with language at her primary school, as illustrated in the account below.

Extract 7.2 (S#1: St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Anna (**A**))

138 **SY:** ok. so do you remember very much about when you first came here?

139 **A:** um. not really/ but I remember I had. in my class I had. there was like one

140   person who could speak. um. Polish. and then –/ I'm still friends with her right

141   now/ cos she used to translate everything I say. cos I couldn't speak English

142   and then. um/ I remember. I remember the teachers were just annoyed

143   because I couldn't say anything/ but. yeah <laughs slightly>

144 **SY:** ok. so how long did it take you would you say to really pick up English?

145 **A:** um. I'm not sure/ I started learning in Poland but it wasn't a lot. Probably

146   about two years. three = years

Thus, although she had some English language knowledge (line 145), Anna positions herself on arrival in the UK as someone who 'couldn't speak English' (line 141). Like Tomasz, Anna has to rely on a Polish-speaking classmate, who would 'translate everything' (line 141); however, she found the teachers less understanding: they 'were just annoyed' by her inability to speak (line 142).

In these two stories, therefore, being unable to speak English in the classroom is presented as a problem. This may be due to the fact that many schools have 'little or no history of receiving such pupils' (Moskal 2016, np). The way in which Anna and Tomasz find themselves obliged to find another Polish-speaking student to help with the class as described in the stories cited above, appears to be a common phenomenon (Sales et al. 2008; Devine 2009). This is also noted by Cline et al. (2010), for whom the practice of students being asked or volunteering to help Polish-speaking newcomers is another form of language brokering (see section 6.3). When this resource disappears, in the case of Tomasz, he is apparently left to cope on his own.

However, Tomasz later finds himself in the reverse situation of helping another Polish newcomer to the school; he writes on the questionnaire:

In school I used to translate for a boy in year 3/ 4 [unclear which] when I was in year 6, I felt good for myself.

Here, Tomasz can be seen to be adopting a dual positioning: having been a learner himself, he is now taking on the position of a user, and one who is in a position to offer advice. Helping a younger student also situates him as an expert, something which makes Tomasz feel 'good' about himself (Questionnaire, Appendix 3).

Help given by the presence of another Polish speaker may also include staff members, as indicated in the account given by Janusz.

Extract 7.3 (S5: interview with Beata and Janusz – Sara (**SY**); Janusz (**J**))

209 **SY:** ok. how did you find it in Fieldstone when you first came?

210 **J:** um. it was quite cool/ I went to um. St. Benedict's. a Catholic school and I

211 think. I think there was like two er Polish people. like in the whole school/ so

212 they like helped me

213 **SY:** ok

214 **J:** and like. I think the head um of the whole school which. I think she was Polish

215 as well. so she helped

Beata, who arrived at Grovesham eighteen months prior to the fieldwork, describes a mixed experience. As part of a more general discussion about attitudes towards Polish people, Beata recalls the effort made by those around her at school:

Extract 7.4 (S3: group interview with Beata, Greg & Janusz – Beata (**B**))

160 **B:** […] there are just – a few people

161   in my form that actually don't care about me. they just let me live my life and

162   teachers don't talk even to me/ but some of the people are really nice/ on the

163   beginning. I just remember I came here. I didn't. I couldn't say a word. I didn't

164   understand anything! and they actually tried. you know. to speak to me. or 165

         write. even WRITE. to just let me try to understand what they're trying to say

166   me/ and I was. I think it's nice because I remember in my old Polish school

167   there were one person who moved from Russia. I guess. and everyone just

168   hate her/ and I think the tolerance in England is like much. much better than

169   in = Poland

The beginning of Beata's account, where she talks of the difficulties she initially faced,

corresponds with what she has written on the questionnaire:

> But I remember the first day at school, people tried talk to me and I was just
>
> keep saying 'I don't understand!' I felt really upset about that I couldn't talk to
>
> them.

Her story of starting at Grovesham, where people started talking to her even while

Beata 'didn't understand anything!' (lines 163-4), also echoes Tomasz's account

(Extract 7.1).

However, what is also of interest is the way that Beata then goes on to compare herself

with a girl she remembers starting at her school in Poland. In doing so, Beata appears

to be positioning herself as a migrant in a similar situation of potential vulnerability. She

expresses her gratitude at having found people who are attempting to help her, explaining that 'it's nice' (line 166) that they are doing so, even if she does not understand what they are trying to say to her.

Another source of assistance for Beata comes from Jo Malinowska. While Jo is responsible for the Polish classes (see section 7.3 below), her official role is that of the 'Bilingual Teacher'. Grovesham has a policy of using bilingual teachers in mainstream classes (Grovesham School website), whose job is to help with translation of the class. Such bilingual support teaching has been embedded within UK mainstream education since the 1980s; yet those who provide it have often been seen as 'low-status staff or 'bilingual teaching assistants'' (Martin-Jones & Saxena 1996, p.105). Sales et al. (2008) also draw attention to the lower status of teaching assistants, 'who are both low paid and often over-worked' (p.40), while Creese (2002) notes a similar positioning ascribed to EAL (English as an Additional Language) teachers. While I chose not to examine Jo's position at Grovesham explicitly, she was careful to explain that her role involved more than just providing language support (see Appendix 4, p.363).

For Beata, however, it appears that Jo's role in English GCSE lessons is invaluable. In the extract below, Beata depicts the situation she faces. She describes the way that Jo is able to help her in class, and how, when Jo is not present in a lesson, Beata faces difficulties.

Extract 7.5 (S3: interview with Beata, Janusz & Greg – Beata (**B**))

559 **B:** = because when we are analysing the text. and if she for example makes us

560   (…) our teacher is coming for some of the lessons. when she is not in. I have

561   to ask the English teacher what is. what the things mean. or check it in a

562   dictionary/ it's really hard. because you're losing the time they're doing

563   something – the rest of the students are doing that thing during you're

564   checking just that stupid word cos you can't understand a sentence because

565   of that/ and when you're for example um. writing an essay. it's really hard to

566   just. um – give the – write the thoughts you have in your mind in English

567   because you are just thinking in Polish something

In the account presented above, Beata appears to draw a distinction between 'the English teacher' (line 561), the 'she' referred to in line 559, and 'our teacher', the 'she' in line 560. The use of the possessive pronoun 'our' can be seen to indicate how Beata feels more aligned with Jo than with the English subject teacher; it can also be seen to echo the us/them 'polarization' (van Dijk 2000, p.44) implicit in Greg's account of the incident in his geography class, where 'us' denotes the two Polish boys, and 'them' refers to the rest of the class (Extract 6.18).

Beata's story also suggests that she is aware of her position as a learner. There is a sense that Beata dislikes the sense of being behind the other students: 'you're losing the time they're doing something' (lines 562-563), while her frustration is evident in the phrase 'that stupid word' (line 564). Here, Beata feels self-conscious about her position as a second language learner whose skills are not yet of the level needed to understand the whole lesson, and evinces annoyance that her lack of English language skills prevents her from making the progress she would wish in class. On the one hand, Jo's presence in class may be seen to reinforce Beata's position as a learner, yet Beata seems less bothered at being positioned as a learner than as a student who cannot keep up with the class.

Beata's account therefore appears to mirror that of other adolescents, whose stories suggest that their initial lack of English makes them instantly aware of their position as linguistically different from other pupils at the school. This can be an upsetting and

alienating experience, especially when others react negatively to them. It is seemingly often other Poles in a school who will provide the language support needed, be they students, or a particular teacher. While this assistance serves to help the newcomers adapt and follow the school lessons more easily, it nonetheless reinforces the sense of Poles as being separate within the school setting. That they are helped by other Polish speakers in the school chimes with findings by Moskal (2010), who, in her study of Polish children in Scotland, notes how 'teachers sometimes rely on those Polish pupils who have better English language skills' (np). This would appear to support Bourne's (2001) view that bilingualism is prevalent in school settings, whether or not it is actually recognised.

Yet, as set out in the following section, even when the adolescents are no longer new arrivals, they may still view themselves as learners, something which can conflict with how they are viewed by others.

7.2.2   Ongoing difficulties with English: 'I don't actually get the English wording'

Aside from being interested in their English language experiences on arrival, I wanted to know something about the adolescents' subsequent relationship with English. It appears that even while they may no longer be new arrivals, the adolescents nonetheless often (re)claim the position of learner. However, this can be a point of discord with others who suggest that the position is no longer allowed to them. This emerges in the first session at St. Ferdinand's, when I ask the girls about their English language learning experiences.

Extract 7.6 (S#1: St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Krystyna (**K**): Anna (**A**))

671 **SY:** ok. so when. thinking about when you first came here what did you find

672   hardest about English?

673 **K:**   um – I'm not. probably like the alphabet where it comes to spelling things out.

674   cos I feel like things are written out differently to how they're pronounced cos

675   the letters in Polish they're just like. they're written out how they're meant to

676   be said and that – I'm just used to it so much that I find it weird when I spell in

677   English. and I find it difficult to spell but. yeah

678 **SY:** ok. ok <to Anna> do you have the same thing, or –?

679 **A:**   erm. yeah. I think sometimes when I say some words that I've not seen

680   before I just say them really weirdly to like other people and they're like. why.

681   why are you saying it like that? like oh. I thought that's how you say it. but I

682   just can't. I can't just say words without hearing someone else say them

683   before

According to Krystyna, spelling is her main concern: her apparent difficulty is that unlike Polish, English is not a phonetic language, that is, a language where the written form (graphemes) reflects the spoken sounds (phonemes); Krystyna explains: 'the letters in Polish they're just like. they're written out how they're meant to be said' (lines 675-676). Krystyna's comment that 'I'm just used to it [i.e. Polish] that I find it weird when I spell in English' (lines 676-677), shows how she continues to position herself as an English language learner, and draws on Polish as a point of reference. Deacon, Wade-Woolley and Kirby (2009) note 'the language specificity of orthographic processing' (p.217), and how orthographic competency in one language is not necessarily transferrable to another.

Anna reports a problem with pronunciation. She recounts occasions when she has pronounced a word in a certain way and others have reacted with surprise: 'they're like. why. why are you saying it like that?' (lines 680-681). This would indicate that those

around Anna position her as part of their group and assume she shares their linguistic practice as a user of English. Anna's unexpected pronunciation of a word makes her friends reconsider their positioning of her.

This recalls an earlier conversation in which Anna talks about the way people at school regard her differently once they become aware of her Polish origins.

Extract 7.7 (S#1: St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Anna (**A**))

554 **A:** […] at school

555 everyone's like makes you feel more English than you are and you don't

556 really think about it that much. cos when people at school are like. oh (…). so

557 you're Polish and then. oh. you don't look Polish. you don't sound Polish. and

558 then. oh you speak Polish? well. I didn't. I wouldn't have known. and stuff like

559 that/ so you don't really think about it

560 **SY:** what do you think they mean when they say. oh you don't look Polish? what

561 do they expect you to look like?

562 **A:** I'm not sure. I think part of it. I'm not. I think is. erm – cos it's. cos it's near – I

563 dunno – near Scandinavia. so it might be like more blue eyes. blonde hair

564 might be part of it […]

In the above extract, Anna is referring to how her physical appearance – she has dark hair and green eyes – does not fit with the stereotypical image others seem to have of Poles, which Anna suggests might be 'blue eyes. blonde hair' (line 563). According to Anna, neither does she 'sound Polish' (line 557).

Certainly, Anna appears to have very few traces of Polish in her speech, but speaks with a southern England accent. Similar to many of the adolescents interviewed,

Anna's accounts are peppered with the word 'like'. Using 'like' as a discourse marker has been identified as being a common feature of contemporary youth codes in English: Romaine and Lange (1991) have highlighted its usage by American youth, while Tagliamonte (2005) notes its prevalence amongst Canadian adolescents. Where Andersen (1997) noted 'like' to be 'a highly pervasive feature' of youth speech in London two decades ago, Cheshire et al. (2011) note the way in which it has been incorporated into the vernacular of those for whom English is not a first language. The use of 'like' throughout the adolescents' accounts given in this current study would suggest that they have adopted features of the English language used by their peers. This reflects findings by Schleef, Meyerhoff and Clark (2011), who, in their variationist study of Polish teens in Edinburgh and London, note how these adolescents pick up their peers' way of speaking and 'replicate some of the linguistic and social constraints found in the speech of the locally-born teens' (p.206).

The story Anna tells above (Extract 7.7) about her own mispronunciation makes an interesting comparison with what she has said about her mother's English language pronunciation in an earlier discussion about language brokering.

Extract 7.8 (S#1: St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Anna (**A**))

256 **A:** [my mother] is a translator so she translates Polish to English. so

257 **SY:** ok so you don't need to help out for her at all when she's here?

258 **A:** no. it's just her accent –/ but it's fine

259 **SY:** ok. er – do you have a problem with the accent or does she have a problem?

260 **A:** erm. no. I think it's fine/ it's just some words. she just pronun-pronunciates

261   weirdly/ and then people just don't really understand her sometimes/ so then

262   she just comes to me/ and 'how do you say this word'. 'how do you say this

263   word'?/ and I help her <laughs slightly>

That Anna falters over the word 'pronounces' (line 260) would appear to support her claim that there are certain words with which she has difficulty, those she describes herself as saying 'really weirdly' (Extract 7.6, line 680). At the same time, that she helps her mother with her pronunciation positions Anna as an expert. The dual positioning adopted by Anna is found in other accounts given, and will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Filip also feels that he has a problem with pronunciation. At several times in his individual interview (S6), he stops to correct the way he has said certain words. The first is 'atmosphere' (line 390), where Filip changes his initial pronunciation of '/ˈætməsˌfɜː(r)/' to '/ˈætməsˌfɪə(r)/'; the second alteration is his stress on the word 'afford' (line 466), where he modifies it from '/ˈəfɔː(r)d/' to '/əˈfɔː(r)d/'. Later in the session, we discuss the English GCSE Filip is taking, and I comment on his English:

Extract 7.9 (S6: individual interview – Sara (**SY**); Filip (**F**))

418 **SY:** […] but your English is good. I guess

419 **F:** well. it's not that good/ but. it's not bad

420 **SY:** what do you think's 'wrong' with it? <giving inverted commas sign>

421 **F:** with English?

422 **SY:** yeah

423 **F:** <sighing> erm – <pausing> pronouncing words is really hard for me

424 **SY:** ok

425 **F:** uhm –

426 **SY:** what about spelling? cos I know English spelling can be a bit weird

427 **F:** it's. it's not that hard

428 **SY:** ok. ok. your pronunciation's fine/ it's not as bad as you think it is

429 **F:** really?

430 **SY:** yeah. no – really! really. I can actually understand you/ there are people who I

431   just – ok. so no. your pronunciation's lovely. really nice

432 **F:**   thank you

Filip rejects my suggestion that his level of English is 'good', insisting that 'it's not that good' although neither is it 'bad' (line 419). This allows me to ask what he feels is 'wrong' with his English (line 420). Like Anna, Filip cites his pronunciation. When I offer reassurance – 'your pronunciation's fine. it's not as bad as you think it is' (line 428) – and compliment him on his speaking, Filip flushes slightly and thanks me (line 432).

A further example of corrected pronunciation comes in the interview with Tomasz and Ryszard on migrants, where Ryszard corrects Tomasz's pronunciation of the word 'migrant' (Extract 6.20). When Tomasz pronounces the word '/ˈmɪgrənt/', Ryszard picks up on this and repeats it as '/ˈmaɪgrənt/' (line 667). Tomasz acknowledges Ryszard's correction – 'yeah' (line 668) – yet chooses not to repeat the word, and continues what he was saying before the interruption. In picking up on Tomasz's pronunciation in this way, Ryszard can be seen as positioning Tomasz as a learner, with himself as an expert, drawing on a style of corrective feedback he may have heard either in the classroom or at home (see Lyster & Ranta 1997 on styles of error correction). In refusing to repeat the word, and simply resuming his account, Tomasz can be seen to be resisting such positioning.

These examples concerning pronunciation may be interpreted in different ways. On the one hand, the emphasis on pronunciation may be informed by a wish to appear a good language student within the school community (see Kanno & Norton 2003). It can be understood in terms of the idealised native speaker and pronunciation. However, it may also stem from not wanting to sound different from others. Piller (2002) suggests that for some, aiming for a certain pronunciation does not necessarily come from wishing to

be seen as native, but from not wanting to be 'identified with a particular national group while overseas' (p.194). This may be especially pertinent in the case of Filip: given his experience of being bullied (Extract 6.11), it may be that he wishes his Polish identity not to be identifiable from the way he speaks. This is not necessarily a denial of his affiliation with Polish (Rampton 1990), seeing that Filip is attending the Polish class, but rather that he does not want to render himself visibly Polish, which may expose him to incidents of bullying or linguistic xenophobia (see Chapter 2). However, Filip's attention to pronunciation may at the same time also come from a desire to affiliate with English, given that he implies a wish to stay in England (see Extract 6.14).

I was also interested in how the adolescents saw English: I raised this in the second session with the girls at St. Ferdinand's. This led to a discussion about how they played with their position as language learners.

Extract 7.10 (S#2: St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Anna (**A**); Krystyna (**K**))

625 **SY:** […] with English – cos we were

626   saying you sometimes have a couple of problems with it – do you still see it

627   as a foreign language or do you see it as your first language?

628 **A:** English?

629 **SY:** yeah

630 **A:** I see it as my first language/ but if I'm. um. at school I put Polish down as my

631   first language because they help you more

632 **all:** <laugh>

633 **A:** if you put down Polish they'll help you with more stuff

634 **SY:** like what?

635 **A:** like. um. if I don't understand what I'm doing I can just blame it on the Polish/

636   I'll be like. oh yes. I always just think in Polish. can't. just don't really get the

637   English wording! but sometimes like I don't actually get the English wording

638   because some like questions and questions like in tests I just don't get how

639   they word the questions/ so I do sometimes blame it on that/ but. yeah

640 **SY:** ok. what about you. Krystyna?

641 **K:** um. I feel like. I think Polish is my first language but I wouldn't say like English

642   is like behind it I think they're quite equal but if someone was to ask me what

643   my first language was I would say Polish

644 **SY:** um-hm

645 **K:** but – yeah I know English as well as I know Polish. so

Anna admits that whilst she regards English as her 'first language' (line 630), at school she puts her first language as Polish 'because they help you more' (line 631). This provokes a laugh from the three of us: we are all in on the joke of exploiting one's position as a supposed learner. Anna then notes, 'but sometimes like I don't actually get the English wording' (line 637). It appears that while Anna is quite aware that she is able to play on her position as an L2 speaker, she feels there are also times when she is not completely comfortable with English.

Krystyna demonstrates similarly conflicting positions. That she sees Polish as her first language (line 641) links with questions of language affiliation (Rampton 1990): it could be understood as further indication of Krystyna's self-identification as Polish. Yet Krystyna's assertion 'I know English as well as I know Polish' (line 645) seems to undermine her comment in Session #1 about the difficulty of English spelling (Extract 7.6, lines 673-677), and her self-positioning as a learner of English. Later in Session #2, when I suggest that she is actually doing well at school, Krystyna again reports that she still feels herself to have a problem with the language.

Extract 7.11 (S#2: St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Krystyna (**K**))

726 **SY:** oh so you're doing ok

727 **K:** yeah/ although. I want extra time in my exams but they said I can't have it

728   which I think is unfair because – I do struggle in my science tests sometimes

729   and they don't want to give it to me/ but I think I'm going to talk to them again

730   about it cos in my last physics exam I struggled with time and sometimes I

731   find that questions are really weird. like weird. like weirdly said/ and especially

732   in English I know that we're going to have to be like remembering loads of

733   quotes for our exams and like we need to write like stories creative stories

734   narratives poems and I don't think I'll have enough time to do English

Krystyna's complaint: 'I want extra time in my exams but they said I can't have it' (line 727) indicates a contrast in the way she sees herself, and how she is viewed by the school (see Hawkins 2005; DaSilva Iddings & Katz 2007). According to Krystyna, the way she is positioned as a fully competent user of the language due to her place in the top set for English does not correspond with the way she situates herself. She justifies this latter position by explaining 'sometimes I find that questions are really weird. like weird. like weirdly said' (lines 730-731). However, it is unclear from Krystyna's account whether the problem she describes herself as experiencing is related to English language, or whether the difficulty actually lies with the subject of the exam, be this Physics (line 730), or English as a subject (line 732).

It must again be emphasised that data consists only of the girls' own reports; no other data on their use of English or school progress were gathered. Nonetheless, the accounts given by Anna and Krystyna can be read in different ways. On the one hand, the girls may well feel themselves to have certain gaps in their English language knowledge which are influenced by L1. They may also be concerned about their

exams, and are drawing on their positions as English language learners to obtain extra help. To position oneself as a learner is to relinquish responsibility: in the way that Krystyna rejects the positioning that comes with being in the top set for English. It might also be argued that Krystyna never feels wholly affiliated with the language (Rampton 1990; Norton 1997), and it is for this reason that she rejects being positioned as an expert user, a positioning she is awarded through her place in the top set. This question of affiliation also chimes with Preece (2009), one of whose participants, nineteen-year-old Geet, had begun his primary education in Kenya (p.117), and continued to position himself as someone for whom English caused difficulties as a second language, despite the fact that he was more competent in English than in his first language (p.121).

In their use of English at school, therefore, it appears that the adolescents occupy various positions. As newcomers, they feel themselves to be English language learners, and find that others position them similarly. However, as their level of English language competency develops, many find that the position of learner is no longer allowed to them, even as they try to reclaim it.

7.3 Learners of Polish

While the above section discussed the way in which the adolescents are being positioned and how they situate themselves in regard to English, a similar negotiation of positions also takes place in relation to Polish. For while the adolescents are at times seen as EAL (English as an Additional Language) speakers, and considered to have Polish as their first language, at Grovesham they are also being positioned as learners of Polish through their participation in Polish classes.

This is especially the case in the Polish classes run by Jo. As stated in the previous section, I chose to position the adolescents in this study as bilingual. However, it appears that at school, their bilingualism is seen in terms of being two (or more) monolinguals in one (Grosjean 1989), with their learning and use of each language often being discrete. This view of bilingualism may also be seen to echo the language ideologies underpinning state education, and the relation between language and state power (e.g. Lin 1996; Martin-Jones 2007; García & Li Wei 2014). Such connections will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Given that Polish classes only occur at Grovesham, much of this section will focus on Grovesham; however, the final part (section 7.3.3) also draws on the experiences reported by the girls at St. Ferdinand's. It is important to note that much of the data gathered relied on the reported use of language; I observed few interactions outside the classroom, or with students who did not have Polish in their linguistic repertoires. The findings suggest that while there is some space for bilingualism at Grovesham, this may not be the adolescents' experiences at other schools.

7.3.1   Poland in the Polish classroom: 'Gdybyśmy mieszkali teraz w Polsce' ['If we were living in Poland now']

As described in Chapter 5, the first session I attended at Grovesham was an observation of a Polish class (S1). Jo had informed me earlier that the medium of instruction was Polish, and this certainly appeared to be the case. Extracts from this lesson are thus presented below in Polish, with an English translation provided beneath each extract.

Session 1 took place on 6th January, which marks Epiphany in the Christian calendar. While not widely celebrated in the UK, it is – as Jo tells the students – a recognised

festival in Poland. Jo starts the lesson by holding a short quiz in which she attempts to elicit information about the festival.

Extract 7.12 (S1: observation lesson – Jo (**JM**))

16 **JM:** [...] quiz będzie na temat pewnego święta. które jest dzisiaj – obchodzone w

17   Polsce/ nie. nie. nie. żadnych odpowiedzi/ pierwsze pytanie. ja będę czytać

18   pytanie i oczekuję. że wy zapiszecie odpowiedź i wtedy kolejne pytanie

19   przeczytam/ pierwsze pytanie. jak nazywa się obchodzone dzisiaj święto.

20   obchodzone w Polsce? jak się nazywa święto. które jest obchodzone dzisiaj

21   w Polsce? szóstego stycznia/ ok. następne pytanie/ wymień imiona Trzech

22   Króli

[…] the quiz will be about a festival. which is celebrated today in Poland/ no. no. no. no answers/ first question. I'm going to read the question and I'd like you to write down the answer and then I'll read the next question/ first question. what's the name of the festival which is celebrated today in Poland? what's the name of the festival which is celebrated today in Poland? on 6th January/ ok. next question/ write the names of the Three Kings (the Magi)

Jo then continues with further questions on the religious history of the festival, before going through the answers with the students. She then explains the reason for the quiz.

Extract 7.13 (S1: observation lesson – Jo (**JM**))

96 **JM:** dobrze/ czyli na większość pytań znaliście odpowiedź/ więc – to było tylko i

97   wyłącznie dlatego. że dzisiaj jest ten dzień. że jest to święto/ i w Polsce. Nie

98   wiem. czy wiecie. ale to jest dzień wolny od pracy i od szkoły/ gdybyśmy

99   mieszkali teraz w Polsce. to mielibyście wolne/ […]

good. so you knew the answers to most of the questions/ so – that was just because

today is a day which is a celebration/ and in Poland. I don't know if you know. but this

day is a day off work and off school/ if we were living in Poland now. you would have a

holiday/ […]

That Jo spends around ten minutes of the 60-minute lesson on the topic of Epiphany would imply that she considers it an important subject for the students. This focus also shows the way in which Jo is situating the students as Polish, and at the same time, Christian. It is interesting to note that Yamina, who identifies herself as a Muslim, and wears a hijab, is not present at this particular lesson; as I had not yet met her, I was unfortunately unable to ask Jo about how Yamina's presence might have been acknowledged had she been there.

In explaining why she has held the quiz (Extract 7.13), even as Jo recognises the students' possibly limited knowledge: 'nie wiem czy wiecie' (I don't know if you know) (lines 97-98), she then positions them all as together: 'gdybyśmy mieszkali teraz w Polsce' (if we were living in Poland now) (lines 98-99). Poland is thus being constructed as a place which is part of the adolescents' present lives rather than just belonging to their past.

This can also be seen in the way that Jo draws on the students' knowledge of recycling practices as she conducts the lesson on the environment. She first elicits from the students their recycling habits within England, and then asks them to recall behaviours in Poland.

Extract 7.14 (S1: observation lesson – Jo (**JM**); Ryszard (**R**); Tomasz (**T**))

486 **JM:** [...] a teraz przypomnijcie sobie jak mieszkaliście w Polsce albo jak jedziecie

487 na wakacje do Polski. kto recyklinguje czy sortuje śmieci w Polsce z waszej

488 rodziny? jest trochę inaczej. prawda?

and now remember when you lived in Poland or when you go on holiday to Poland.

who recycles or sorts out the rubbish in Poland with your family? it's a little different.

right?

489 **F:** u mnie w Polsce jest zawsze tylko jeden kontener na wszystkie rzeczy

at my place in Poland there is always only one container for everything

[…]

492 **T:** u mnie jest tak. tam. gdzie mój dziadek mieszka. to. co nie. co da się spalić.

493 to spalimy[12]

at my place it's like. there. where my grandfather lives. this. what isn't. what can burn.

we burn it […]

Even though Jo has asked about the past – 'przypomnijcie sobie jak mieszkaliście w Polsce' ('remember when you lived in Poland') (line 486) – in the stories told by the students, the present tense is used. There is also use of the phrase 'u mnie' ('at my place'), first by Filip (line 489), and then repeated by Tomasz talking about his grandfather (line 492). It may be inferred from this that Poland is still very much part of the adolescents' lives. That Jo draws on this, asking them to contribute to the lesson stories that relate to themselves and to their families still living in Poland, suggests that she is trying to maintain this connection. Jo may thus be seen as an example of the

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[12] See Appendix 5, Extract A.12 for comments on Tomasz's irregular syntax in Polish.

model of Poles attempting to maintain their identity abroad through Polish classes, where students are taught other aspects of Polish culture alongside language (Zielińska, Kowzan & Ragnarsdóttir 2014); see Appendix 5, Extracts A.8 – A.10 for the adolescents' description of what they do at complementary school. However, that Jo encourages the students to compare their life in England with that in Poland would indicate that she is at the same time supporting a form of transnational identity (Vertovec 2009), that is, the way that individuals maintain their identity over two or more countries and cultures.

In her classes, therefore, Jo can be seen to position the students as Polish and to emphasise their position as Poles, reflecting the approach traditionally found in Polish complementary schools (see Zielińska, Kowzan & Ragnarsdóttir 2014; Zechenter 2015). That the students accept this positioning is suggested implicitly by the fact that they attend the class, but more overtly also by the way that they participate, by speaking Polish and in their contributions to the lessons. Jo also attempts to reinforce this sense of Polishness through her use of language in the class. This will be examined in the following section, where it will be seen how certain linguistic ideologies underpin the teaching of Polish observed in this class.

7.3.2   The monolingual ideal: 'Po polsku, jesteśmy na polskiej lekcji' ['In Polish, we are in a Polish class']

As noted above, Jo establishes Polish as the dominant language of the classroom. It is used in all interactions between Jo and the students, and is the medium of instruction. The classroom also appears to be a monolingual space, as illustrated in the following extract, when Jo asks for the date.

Extract 7.15 (S1: Observation class – Jo (**JM**); Tomasz (**T**))

7 **JM:** [...] dzisiejsza data. Tomasz. jaka jest?

Tomasz. what's the date today?

8 **T:** szósty January

sixth of January

9 **JM:** ale jak to powiedzieć po polsku?

but what is it in Polish?

10 **T:** stycznia. szósty stycznia

January. sixth of January

This segment presents an example of code switching and Jo's reaction to it. When Tomasz gives the date, 'szósty January' (*sixth of January*) (line 8), Jo immediately asks for a translation into Polish, which Tomasz promptly provides. Her reaction suggests that Jo regards this as an 'inappropriate' use of code switching (Li Wei & Martin 2009, p.117). It would also indicate that Jo sees her Polish classes as mirroring those held in complementary schools where the ideology of monolingualism within the classroom appears to prevail. Li Wei and Chao-Jung Wu (2009) have discussed such ideologies in relation to Chinese complementary schools, which are seen to adhere to a policy of One Language Only (OLON) or One Language at a Time (OLAT). That such thinking underpins the way Jo conducts her Polish classes is further reinforced when she announces the quiz on Epiphany (see Extract 7.12), and there is the following exchange:

Extract 7.16 (S1: Observation class – Tomasz (**T**); Jo (**JM**))

23 **T:** a możemy po polsku – po angielsku?

and can we [answer] in Polish – in English?

24 **JM:** nie. po polsku. jesteśmy na polskiej lekcji

no. in Polish. we are in a Polish class

Jo's insistence on the students giving answers in Polish, since they are 'na polskiej lekcji' (*in a Polish class*) (line 24) strengthens the idea that the Polish lesson is a monolingual space. However, it seems that this rule is relaxed in the classroom space outside the designated lesson. An illustration of this occurs in Session 6, where Ryszard informs Jo that Tomasz will not be coming to the lesson.

Extract 7.17 (S6: group discussion – Ryszard (**R**); Jo (**J**))

134 **R:** uh. Tomasz ma detention

Tomasz has detention

135 **JM:** um. ok

Here, Jo makes no attempt to give the Polish translation of the English word 'detention'. In other discussions in Polish outside of the lesson space, English words such as 'lunchtime' are also used. In these instances, it seems, code switching becomes acceptable. This may be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, since the terms 'detention' and 'lunchtime' as used in the context of a UK secondary school do not have direct Polish equivalents, it may be that Jo sees no need to find any translation. Moreover, in her (non)acceptance of code switching, Jo is drawing a distinction between different linguistic spaces: that of the Polish lesson itself and of the general discussion time in the classroom. That said, there are several occasions on which Jo

does pick students up on their use of Polish outside the context of the lesson itself. This includes during interview sessions, as illustrated below.

In Session 2, the first full group interview, for which Jo is present in her capacity as gatekeeper and teacher,[13] I firstly ask the adolescents about football teams they support, in response to which Tomasz mentions following his local team in Poland (see Appendix 5, Extract A.11). I then ask if they know of any Polish footballers who play in the English football league. Janusz, Tomasz and Ryszard start to whisper names amongst themselves, using Polish; Tomasz then calls out the name of the one-time Arsenal goalkeeper Wojciech Szczęsny. This prompts an interjection from Jo:

Extract 7.18 (S2: group discussion – Sara (**SY**); Janusz (**J**); Ryszard (**R**); Tomasz (**T**); Jo (**JM**))

818 **SY:** ok. what about Polish players playing in the English league?

819 **Boys talking together:** three of them. I think

820 T: goalkeeper. I think. Szczęsny

821 <the three boys start discussing who the three players are>

822 **JM:** <suddenly> how do you say that surname in Polish correctly?

823 **T:**   Szcz – ę – sny <exaggerating the 'ę' sound>

824 **JM:** <repeats> Szczęsny

825 **T:**   <making fun, exaggerating the first syllable> ę – sny!

826 **JM:** <laughing>

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[13] See section 5.4.5, which acknowledges the potential effect of Jo on the data collected during this session, and her influence in a more general sense.

With her question, 'how do you say that surname in Polish correctly?' (line 822), Jo is here picking up on Tomasz's anglicised pronunciation of the nasal Polish 'ę'. Tomasz repeats the name, exaggerating the nasal vowel sound. Jo then says the word without exaggeration, to which Tomasz responds with a comedic repetition of his own exaggeration. Jo accepts this joking response and laughs. While Rampton (2006) has interpreted students' exaggerated use of Cockney/posh to indicate something about social class, here, Tomasz's use of exaggeration may be seen in terms of a negotiation of power in the classroom whereby Tomasz is challenging Jo's authority as arbiter of which language is to be used in the space (see Li Wei & Chao-Jung Wu 2009; Chen 2010; Oral 2013). As shown in the example of his code switching (Extract 7.15), Tomasz does not necessarily have a lack of knowledge, rather, he draws on different ways of speaking. Tomasz first uses an anglicised pronunciation of the name, most likely that which fits with the variety of English that the children at Grovesham routinely use, given his own local accent in English (Appendix 4). His later exaggeration of the Polish pronunciation when mimicking Jo may be a way of Tomasz asserting his right to choose the way he speaks.

Jo also interrupts later in the discussion, when I ask the students about food preferences. The Polish speciality 'pierogi' (*dumplings*) is mentioned; when Janusz says his favourite type is strawberry, Jo asks whether the students know the Polish name for this.

Extract 7.19 (S2: group interview – Sara (**SY**); Ryszard (**R**); Janusz (**J**); Jo (**JM**); Marek (**M**))

838 **SY:** ok. what's your favourite [food]?

839 **R:** pierogi

dumplings

840 **J:**   the same

841 <there's general agreement: 'same!' being called out>

842 **JM:** what kind of filling?

843 **R & M:** potato! potato and cheese

844 **J:**   strawberry

845 **JM:** do you know how to call it in Polish?

846 **R:**   pierogi truskawkowe

strawberry dumplings

847 **JM:** yeah

Ryszard promptly answers Jo's question – 'pierogi truskawkowe' (strawberry dumplings) (line 846) – and the conversation then resumes in English.

Jo's interjections may be understood in several ways. Her correction of Tomasz's pronunciation of the surname 'Szczęsny', can be seen in terms of conforming to the notion of the idealised native speaker, that there is a particular way in which words should be pronounced (see Jahr & Janicki 1995 on the importance of 'standard' Polish pronunciation). Meanwhile, Jo's insistence on the monolingual use of Polish in class can be seen to reflect the ideology of monolingual language teaching, a pedagogical approach that has been challenged over the past decade (e.g. Cooke 2008, p.37; Littlewood & Yu 2011). Creese and Blackledge et al. (2011) have also argued for the use of 'flexible bilingualism' in the complementary school language classroom whereby students draw on their range of linguistic resources to aid their language development; see also Hall and Cook (2012). However, in her insistence on OLON (Li Wei & Chao-Jung Wu 2009), Jo may also be conscious of the fact that many of her students will need to use Polish in a monolingual context when they visit Poland (see Chapter 8).

What is interesting, however, is that Jo does not always pick up on every aspect of the students' speech in the lesson. While she may correct lexical items, for example, she does not always pay attention to certain grammatical irregularities, as in Tomasz's disjointed syntax when talking about refuse facilities at his grandfather's home: 'gdzie mój dziadek mieszka. to. co nie. co da się spalić. to spalimy' (*at my place it's like. there. where my grandfather lives. this. what isn't. what can burn. we burn it*) (Extract 7.14, lines 492-493). For further examples of irregularities in Polish which Jo chooses not to correct, see Appendix 5, Extract A.12.

It could be argued, therefore, that there is an inconsistency in the way that Jo approaches language teaching. This may stem from the fact that in Poland, she was a qualified maths teacher, rather than a language teacher, something which she discusses with me in informal chats before sessions (Appendix 4). Aware of my status as an experienced language teacher, Jo positions herself in contrast to this as someone who is untrained in the specifics of linguistic pedagogy. It is perhaps for this reason that her language teaching draws on different sources rather than necessarily following any particular approach. Notwithstanding, it may be argued that Jo's teaching is still informed by dominant language ideologies, possibly those promulgated in the Polish complementary school in which she worked prior to taking up the position at Grovesham.

Where this section has described students' use of Polish within a class setting, it is not only in Polish lessons that the adolescents at Grovesham have the opportunity to use Polish. The following section explores the use of languages outside the classroom.

7.3.3 Talking 'mixed': language positions outside class

In the context of Grovesham, therefore, it appears that bilingualism is sanctioned in certain settings – such as Beata's GCSE English class – while within Polish classes Jo maintains a policy of separate bilingualism (Creese & Blackledge et al. 2011). I was however also interested in how much space there was for the adolescents to display their bilingualism within the school environment. Again, data collected relies on stories told by the adolescents themselves as I was unable to witness much language use outside the classroom, since I usually visited the school out of normal school hours (see Chapter 5). The accounts given indicate that some of the adolescents do draw on their bilingualism outside the classroom, sometimes using Polish to discuss matters they consider private. This emerges from the group interview at Grovesham.

Extract 7.20 (S2: group interview – Sara (**SY**); Tomasz (**T**); Ryszard (**R**); Janusz (**J**))

343 **SY:** so when you're with Polish friends you speak only Polish?

344 **T:**   no!

345 **R:**   no. we speak mixed

346 **SY:** ok. when you speak mixed. do you speak mixed in the same sentence?

347 **R:**   sometimes

348 **T:**   yeah!

349 **J:**   yeah

350 **R:**   sometimes

351 **SY:** yeah. ok. why?

352 **T:**   it's easier!

[…]

354 SY: […] do you find it

355   quite good if other friends are around and they don't understand what you're

356   saying? do you like that – or not so much?

357 **T:**   no

358 **Boys:** <calling out various answers, contradictory: 'yeah'; 'sometimes.'>

359 **R:**   it depends what you're saying. <anxious to clarify> I mean – not about them.

360   but something that you don't want them to know

361 **Boys:** <audible agreement of 'hm'>

362 **SY:** ok. d'you do that a lot?

363 **JM:** Ryszard?

364 **R:**   no <defensively against the implicit accusation>

365 **T:**   <looks disbelieving>

366 R: what?

367 **SY:** <pretend whispering to Tomasz> does he do it a lot?

368 **Boys:** <whispering and nodding – vague suggestion that it goes on quite a lot>

369 **R:**   no. no –

In the extract above, the boys report that with Polish-speaking friends, they code switch between English and Polish. Ryszard refers to this as speaking 'mixed' (line 345), a descriptor which is frequently used in accounts of code switching by users (see Harris 2006; Preece 2009). I then ask the boys whether they use Polish to stop others from understanding them. While Ryszard admits that this sometimes happens, he is anxious to stress that what the boys say is 'not about them' (line 359), the non-Polish speaking students, but rather, something private. When I ask if this is a common occurrence, Ryszard denies this, perhaps not wanting to appear rude in front of Jo, who has prompted him: 'Ryszard?' (line 363). Tomasz's expression at this point makes me question Ryszard's denial; I do this by adopting the position of a co-conspirator, mock-

whispering to Tomasz: 'does he do it a lot?' (line 367). The murmured conversation which then ensues amongst the boys suggests that this is the case, although Ryszard continues to deny this – 'no. no' – (line 369).

In this way, the practices described by the Polish boys chime with Kathleen Hall's (2002) study of Sikh adolescents, which found that they sometimes used Punjabi as a way of keeping themselves separate from other students. Hall suggests such language use can at the same time be seen as a form of resistance and of students establishing their linguistic rights. This may also be applicable in the case of the Polish students at Grovesham, given the questions surrounding linguistic xenophobia in the wider environment and the anti-Polish sentiment which can occur at school.

When I raise the question of use of Polish at their mainstream schools with the girls at St. Ferdinand's, Krystyna describes a somewhat different situation.

Extract 7.21 (S#2: St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Krystyna (**K**))

702 **SY:** do you find in school if you're really angry about something then you can say

703   something in Polish and no-one's going to understand?

704 **K:**   no-o. I think I used to do that/ when someone used to annoy me I would call

705   them a word or something in Polish and they wouldn't know what it is but I

706   don't think I do it anymore because people would find I'm weird

Krystyna does not like using Polish, as she fears being thought 'weird' (line 706); this again echoes Hall (2002), who also found that use of Punjabi can 'prompt teasing' (p.113). Anna also mentions the way that it is her English identity which dominates at school (see Extract 7.7 where Anna notes 'everyone's like makes you feel more English than you are' (line 555)).

Implicit in the girls' stories appears to be the desire to fit in; both refer frequently to appearing 'weird' due to their use of language. Their constant use of the word 'weird' is similar to that of 'like', in that they have picked up on the increasing use of the word in British English vernacular to denote strangeness (Tagliamonte & Brooke 2014). At the same time, the repetition of the word reveals the extent to which the girls do not want to appear different from their schoolmates.

The way that Krystyna appears to feel the need to suppress her Polish identity at school contrasts with the experience depicted by the boys at Grovesham. Indeed, besides speaking Polish, the boys also feel able to discuss questions of identity. In response to a question as to how he viewed himself, Ryszard recounts a discussion held amongst himself, Tomasz and a third friend concerning the question of which of them is entitled to describe himself as Polish.

Extract 7.22 (S6: individual interview with Ryszard – Sara (**SY**); Ryszard (**R**))

528 **SY:** [...] ahm. I wanted to ask you. do you feel more Polish or British or both?

529 **R:** Polish

530 **SY:** why? – not that it's a bad thing. I'm just asking why!

531 **R:** well. I don't know actually/ well once my friend and me. erm. in the-this one –

532 **SY:** Tomasz?

533 **R:** we have like a small group with another – there's four of us – and. er. one of

534   our friends. one in the four. has er Polish parents. but he was born in

535   England –

536 **SY:** ok

537 **R:** so Tomasz –

538 **SY:** yeah

539 **R:** he kept on like telling him er yeah. he's half-English and half-Polish and then

540   he asked his Mum. is he Polish or English. or he's both. and she said Polish

541   because his parents are Polish. so – but that's probably why

Here, Ryszard offers the story as an explanation of why he sees himself as Polish, drawing on the discussion amongst the friends as well as on what one of the boys' mothers has said. The story suggests at the way that the boys are trying to position themselves in relation to each other, and how they refer to their parents to arbitrate in the discussion.

On the one hand, that the boys are able to have such a discussion stands in sharp contrast to the experience described by Krystyna, who is far more reticent about her Polish identity at school. That said, the discussion Ryszard describes is held amongst Polish friends. Nonetheless, unlike those at Grovesham, Anna and Krystyna attend state schools that appear to have very few Polish students (see section 5.2.4). It appears that, as a result, they are afforded less opportunity to use Polish, or to position themselves as Polish at school.

7.4 Conclusion

The stories told by the adolescents therefore suggest that while for the girls who attend schools with a less diverse demographic, there appears almost no opportunity to display their bilingualism, for those at Grovesham, bilingualism is part of their everyday experience. That this does not always sit comfortably with school practices, however, would reflect work by Conteh and Brock (2011).

It appears, moreover, that the type of bilingual identity allowed to the adolescents is that of being 'the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals' (Grosjean 1989, p.3) rather than a combined identity as bilinguals. It also seems that each language has its own space. This may be understood in terms of a 'separate bilingualism' (Creese & Blackledge et al. 2011), whereby the school as an institution sees a student's languages as separate, and to be drawn upon in specific prescribed settings.

Outside the classroom, however, the Grovesham adolescents depict themselves as speaking 'mixed', switching between Polish and English as they see appropriate, and often using Polish in order to talk amongst themselves when they do not want others to understand something personal or private. This would imply that they are able to enjoy a more flexible bilingualism when amongst their peers. Yet in contrast to the experiences described at Grovesham, for the girls at St. Ferdinand's, while they do not mention the use of Polish being prohibited at school (see Zielińska, Kowzan & Ragnarsdóttir 2014), neither does there seem to be any space for them to use the language at school.

In regard to English, while many of the adolescents were positioned as learners on first arriving, it seems that this position is no longer available to many of them as they progress, however they perceive themselves. The girls at St. Ferdinand's in particular, find themselves positioned as English, with no scope for using Polish.

On the one hand, therefore, Grovesham School presents itself as sympathetic to the use of students' linguistic repertoires, as evinced in the school's promotion of other languages, and through the use of a bilingual teacher in mainstream lessons. At the same time, the school does appear to be enforcing dominant language ideologies regarding language separation, and to present itself as an institution in which English is the dominant language (Heller 1995). This is particularly apparent in the way that Polish classes are positioned as being implicitly for those of Polish origin, and in the

way that the lessons themselves are conducted by Jo. This serves to reinforce norms about language and heritage (Blackledge & Creese et al. 2008). In contrast, the Grovesham adolescents report the use of flexible bilingualism amongst themselves. This choice is however not available to the girls from St. Ferdinand's, who find themselves positioned as English and either do not wish or do not feel able to challenge this.

The extent to which the adolescents are allowed different positions at home, and how far this contrasts with the way they are situated at school, will be explored in the next chapter.

8 Home and family

8.1 Introduction

While the previous chapter looked at adolescents' stories of school, this chapter presents their accounts of language use, and attitudes towards this at home. Where Fishman (1965) posited that language use amongst bilinguals is driven in part by setting, Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997) further suggest that identities which a young person has at home may differ from those that the same individual has at school.

Other identity positions which have been discussed in relation to a home setting include transnational identities (Vertovec 2009), that is, the extent to which an individual wishes to or is able to maintain a connection with his/her place of birth in conjunction with life in the host country (see section 4.4.4). Such issues were also addressed with the adolescents, and their responses are set out below.

In discussing home settings, questions I asked the adolescents did not address directly where they saw 'home' to be. Conceptions of what constitutes 'home' have been problematised and explored in a Polish context through autobiographical writings (e.g. Miłosz 1959; Hoffman 1989), as well as in migration studies literature (e.g. Kinefuchi 2010; Ralph & Staeheli 2011). In the field of socio and applied linguistics, ideas of disorientation have been examined (e.g. Baynham 2003; De Fina 2003a). However, the focus I privileged in this study was on geographical locations: England, where the adolescents were currently residing; and Poland, where they had been born and where they all had family still living.

Given the migration trajectory of several of the adolescents (see Table 6.1), the chapter also references other places where they have lived. It must be reiterated that no data

was collected in a home setting, and no observations were made there; the data analysed comes from the adolescents' reported use of language.

The chapter is divided into two. The first part is concerned with stories of language use in England, while the second section presents accounts of time spent in Poland.

8.2 Home life in England: a bilingual environment?

Several discussions with the adolescents centred on how they perceived the way language was used within their current setting in England. While some of them saw this as a monolingual environment, it emerged through our conversations that this was not necessarily the case.

8.2.1   'My house is all in Polish': assertions of monolingualism

When describing language use inside the family home, several of the adolescents initially suggested that this was a Polish-only space. Examples of this emerged from the following discussion about losing Polish:

Extract 8.1 (S3: interview with Greg, Beata & Janusz – Sara (**SY**); Greg (**G**); Beata (**B**) & Janusz (**J**))

278 **SY:** […] are you worried that you lose

279   your Polish by being here?

280 **G:** er. no. I'm not really. cos I speak Polish like full-time at home

281 **SY:** ok

282 **B:** yeah. me too. I'm speaking just with my parents and my brother and grandma

283   as well/ I'm reading books in Polish so I don't really losing it

284 **SY:** ok. Janusz?

285 **J:** me too

It appears that Beata and Janusz have a similar experience to Greg, for whom Polish is spoken 'full-time' in the home (line 280). This was also implied in the group interview (S2) held at Grovesham. One of the reasons why Polish dominated within the home may have been because parents spoke limited English, as suggested in the following extracts taken from the general discussion:

Extract 8.2 (S2: group interview at Grovesham – Sara (**SY**); Yamina (**Y**); Sylwia (**S**); Janusz (**J**))

416 **SY:** […] do your parents speak English at all?

417 **Y:** no –

[…]

420 **SY:** so what do you speak at. in home?

421 **Y:** Polish

[…]

432 **SY:** […] <to Sylwia> what

433   about your parents? do they speak English?

434 **S:** all over. but they know it. but they don't use it so much

[…]

452 **SY:** ok who else? Janusz?

453 **J:** me? er. erm. it dep – um. I dunno./ like. they're not – best at. you know. at. at

454   speaking English. but they're all right I guess./ like. yeah.

These reports of parents' limited English language knowledge and use resonate with the stories of language brokering (see Chapter 6), which the adolescents are often required to perform for their parents.

In part, the above echoes studies that suggest there is a generational difference in language use in the home (e.g. Li Wei, Milroy & Pong Sin Ching 1992; Tseng & Fuligni 2000; Harris 2006). Nonetheless, the implication in the adolescents' depictions that language use in the home is dictated primarily by parents contradicts findings by Tuominen (1999), who suggests that 'the children usually decided the home language in the families' (p.68). Rather, it could be argued that home is a site of language negotiation. Such negotiation can be seen in the following extract, where in response to a question related to code switching, Tomasz describes his own language use in different settings.

Extract 8.3 (S2: group interview at Grovesham – Sara (**SY**); Tomasz (**T**); Jo (**JM**))

370 **SY:** […] if you get angry about

371   something. which language do you use most?

[…]

384 **T:** depends on the people. if it's the teacher I just say Polish and then –

385 **JM:** <amid laughter breaking out> so they can't understand you!

386 **T:** I mean. er. English and then –/ it's like when I get told off by my family then I

387   speak in English as well

388 **all:** <general laughter>

389 **SY:** do they understand what you're saying?

390 **T:** no!

391 **JM:** so that's why you say it in English! <laughing>

The element of power negotiation that code switching may imply in a classroom setting (see e.g. Li Wei & Chao-Jung Wu 2009) has already been noted in section 7.3.2. In the extract above, Tomasz can be seen to be exploiting the linguistic difference between himself and others; at home he appears to play on the fact that his parents are unlikely to understand his comments if he replies to them in English (lines 386-387).

Access to language is also available via television, as indicated in the following discussion:

Extract 8.4 (S2: group interview at Grovesham – Sara (**SY**); Ryszard (**R**); Yamina (**Y**))

646 **SY:** […] do you watch TV in English as well or only in Polish?

[…]

657 **R:** […] I watch English

658   TV but usually I watch Polish unless my Mum wants to. is. unless my Mum

659   sees that there's a commercial. er. a documentary or something that she likes

660   that she wants to watch on English and she turns it on to English and we

661   watch it sometimes

[…]

684 **Y:** it depends

685 **SY:** on?

686 **Y:** my baby brother. he goes to pre-school and he needs. he like watches

687 CBeebies[14] on – and he needs to learn. so –

688 **SY:** so you have to = watch that?

689 **Y:** = and then my brother watches some things on the Polish TV

In the accounts given, Ryszard describes how it is his mother who wants to watch programmes in English, whilst he is happy to watch Polish television; for Yamina, it is her younger brothers whose television viewing habits take precedence. Her youngest brother 'needs' the television for English language learning (line 686), while another brother then takes over with his choice of Polish television (line 689). From the account she gives, Yamina herself appears to have little choice over viewing habits.

Overall, the above stories suggest that home is therefore not necessarily as monolingual an environment as some of the adolescents first describe. While one language may dominate, there is access to the other, be this is through code switching or television programmes watched.

Another example of bilingual language use at home is given by Anna, whose Scottish step-father uses English almost exclusively. The following extracts illustrate the situation. The first extract comes from a conversation about Anna's step-father, referred to in the extract as 'him' or 'he', while the second follows a discussion about the difference between language use at school and at home.

Extract 8.5 (S#2: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Anna (**A**))

193 **SY:** ok. and how's it with him? what do you – you speak English with him?

---

[14] CBeebies is a BBC television network aimed at younger viewers, with both entertainment and educational programmes. See http://www.bbc.co.uk/cbeebies.

194 **A:**　yeah. um – like we always speak English when he's around. obviously/

195　　　　sometimes I try and speak Polish to my Mum especially cos like with the

196　　　　exams coming up and stuff I'm trying to speak more Polish

Extract 8.6 (S#2: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Anna (**A**))

296 **SY:** I mean I know you speak English at home but –

297 **A:**　erm – my Mum sometimes. well. my Mum likes to speak Polish to me cos she

298　　　　prefers speaking Polish and I then like usually like talk back to her in English

299　　　　cos that's easier for me/ so – um. I always have to like translate. well. not

300　　　　translate. but I have to like listen to her speaking Polish when I come home as

301　　　　well

Here, Anna describes how the use of Polish and English are intertwined within her home setting. She notes that English is used with her step-father, but that she is trying to speak more Polish with her mother due to the upcoming Polish exams (Extract 8.5, lines 195-196). The account also suggests that Anna's mother does not actually use English that much. Anna's portrayal of her interactions with her mother described in Extract 8.6 echoes findings by Caldas and Caron-Caldas (2002), who noted 'entire conversations' in which a parent would speak 'only French, and the children responded only in English' (p.509). Harris (2006) also notes the different languages used by parents when talking with children. The use of the word 'obviously' (Extract 8.5, line 194) in describing language use with Anna's step-father also indicates that there is an understood language differentiation in the house, with the step-father positioned as an English language speaker. It does however transpire that the family is trying to teach him Polish (see Extract 8.12), as will be discussed later.

8.2.2 Talking Polish in the street

A further point which arose from the stories told by the adolescents in the discussion about language use inside the home was how it contrasted with language use outside in England. In the following extracts, Sylwia first mentions her use of Polish at home (Extract 8.7), and then contrasts this with language use outside (Extract 8.8).

Extract 8.7 (S2: group interview at Grovesham –Sara (**SY**); Sylwia (**S**); Jo (**JM**))

442 **S:** at home we say Polish more

443 **SY:** ok do you use any English at home?

444 **S:** no

445 **SY:** no

446 **JM:** even with your sister?

447 **S:** no

448 **JM:** no

449 **S:** only Polish

Extract 8.8 (S4: interview with Sylwia & Filip – Sylwia (**S**))

301 **S:** […] most of my life I spoke English. so/ in Ireland. I spoke English

302   too. here. everywhere. except in my house. yeah. I speak Polish

What is interesting here is the way that Sylwia depicts the wider environment in Ireland and England as being an English-language environment, and how it contrasts with her life at home: she explains that she speaks English 'everywhere. except in my house', where she uses Polish (Extract 8.8, line 302).

Given the context of linguistic xenophobia (see Chapter 2), I was interested in how confident the adolescents were about using Polish in the street. I addressed this directly with the girls at St. Ferdinand's.

Extract 8.9 (S#2: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Krystyna (**K**))

417 **SY:** […] do you find that other people stare at you if you're

418   speaking Polish in the street or you're helping to translate?

419 **K:** yeah but they're not always like – sometimes they just kind of look at you like.

420   oh. what language is it? but then they're – you find some people like staring at

421   you and like talk like you can just. you just know they're talking about you and

422   it's. I'm just standing there thinking do you really have to be talking about it?

423 **SY:** what do you think they're saying?

424 **K:** I don't know! cos I find some people on the streets. I can actually hear what

425   some people say and it's just –

426 **SY:** so what are they saying?

427 **K:** I don't know like – well. not that. that I can like hear but I can kind of like make

428   out what they're saying and stuff/ and like sometimes they laugh and – yeah

[…]

434 **SY:** um-hm. ok so do you find it difficult if you're talking Polish in the street?

[…]

440 **K:** um. I don't know. I don't think people would like lau- because people do like

441   – it's just I have English friends so I talk English anyway but when I'm on the

442   streets with my Mum I speak Polish fine. I don't. I don't really care what other

443   people think/ it doesn't bother me

In the above extract, Krystyna indicates that she sometimes feels self-conscious when talking in Polish outside the home. She senses that there are 'some people like staring' (line 420), and that 'sometimes they laugh' (line 428). She highlights how it makes her feel uncomfortable and suddenly visible: 'I'm just standing there thinking do you really have to be talking about it? (lines 422). Although Krystyna maintains that she 'can kind of like make out what they're saying and stuff' (lines 427-428), at the same time she appears loathe to elucidate on what such people actually say. This may either be because she cannot actually remember anything specific, or that she is embarrassed to repeat it. Nonetheless, Krystyna realigns her position to one of resistance, insisting that when she is out with her mother, she will speak Polish; she maintains: 'I speak Polish fine. I don't. I don't really care what other people think/ it doesn't bother me' (lines 442-443).

Following Krystyna's account, I ask Anna whether she has encountered anything similar. In the story presented below, Anna describes an experience which appears to run counter to the situation described by Krystyna:

Extract 8.10 (S#2: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Anna (**A**))

444 **SY:** ok. ok. <to Anna> do you have anything like that?

445 **A:** yeah. I don't really like notice anything. like. I just speak Polish if I have to

446   speak Polish/ I never really notice anyone saying anything/ I think. um. a few

447   times like if I'm at a restaurant I have to translate for someone then I think

448   they're more like interested/ like. oh. what are you. what. what lang- what

449   country are you from? and stuff like that/ but I never like heard any – like

450   anything rude about it

[…]

456   um. like last night we went to a restaurant/ my grandparents are over right 457

now. and then. um. my Mum's just translating everything on the menu for

458   them. oh. like. it took a while/ but all the waiters were like. that's okay we'll 459

just wait/ so I think it was fine

Here, Anna can be seen to present situations in which an 'additive bilingualism' is being displayed, that is, where a speaker's languages can come together 'in a complementary and enriching fashion' (Li Wei 2007a, p.511). The restaurant staff are shown as accommodating the bilingual identities of Anna and her mother: Anna interprets the questions from people around her as friendly curiosity rather than anything aggressive, opining, 'they're more like interested' (line 448).

The above extracts may be seen to illustrate how the adolescents attempt to renegotiate home in England, outside the family home as well as within it, as a bilingual space. Anna's story suggests she does not appear to have any difficulty with being heard to speak Polish outside her house; however, this is not the case for Krystyna, who reports experiencing responses she perceives as hostile. This chimes with the notion that negative reactions to the language an individual is speaking can be seen as a proxy for racist comments that would otherwise be deemed unacceptable (Simpson & Cooke 2009). Krystyna's reported experience thus supports the notion that while instances of linguistic xenophobia may have attracted greater attention in the light of the Brexit vote, they are not a recent phenomenon (Drozdowicz, cited in TLANG 2016).

8.2.3 Children as experts

Another element which emerged from the data was that of the roles which the children take on within the family. One such position they adopt and which is also bestowed upon them, is that of linguistic experts. Brokering practices, which situate the children as English language experts, have been explored in Chapter 6. As noted, there were mixed responses to such practices, echoing the literature on brokering. However, another role as expert which the adolescents report is that of quasi-language teacher, where they are involved in helping other family members with their language learning.

One account of this is given by Marek. In a story about his mother's relative Joszef who has come to stay with them, in anticipation of bringing his own family to England, Marek describes how he is trying to help Joszef learn English.

Extract 8.11 (S6: individual interview with Marek – Sara (**SY**); Marek (**M**))

779 **SY:** [..] does he work?

780 **M:** yup/ he does – I don't know what he does. he doesn't really speak English

781 **SY:** you don't speak to him in Polish?

782 **M:** I do. but still I tell him every day just go look at my encyclopaedia. just rewrite

783   a page or two because you memorise words and stuff

784 **SY:** ah. ok

785 **M:** he says I think he did this. this morning he said I think he did. but I don't

786   know. I don't – I never see him pick it up. so I'm just. I'm just like. ok

787 **SY:** ok

788 **M:** do what you have to/ I'm not even suggesting anything

Here, Marek is setting himself up as the expert in learning, explaining to Joszef how he

learnt English and proposing Joszef do the same. When Joszef does not seem to want to be making the effort, Marek evinces frustration. Marek decides to distance himself from further efforts: 'do what you have to/ I'm not even suggesting anything' (line 788).

In Anna's case, as noted above, she is part of the family's efforts to teach her step-father Polish. In the extract below, she describes this attempt. This discussion continues from the one cited earlier regarding Anna's language use at home (Extract 8.6); again, her step-father is referred to as 'him' or 'he'.

Extract 8.12 (S#2: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Anna (**A**))

197 **A:**   […] whenever we go to Poland to visit like grandparents we always have to

198   translate for him/ and we're trying to get him to speak like more Polish and 199

            like we've got him loads of like CDs like trying to get him to like learn Polish

200   but he's just not doing anything about it!

201 **SY:** <laughs> why not do you think?

202 **A:**   um. I think he says it's. um. the language is too hard

203 **SY:** ok

204 **A:**   um. yeah and the pronunciation and stuff

205 **SY:** ok. but you're still like trying at him

206 **A:**   yeah still trying! but nothing's going to work!

Anna cites her step-father's excuse that Polish is 'too hard' (line 202) as a reason why he feels unable to learn it, but she does not challenge this. Rather, it appears that this has become something of a good-natured family tussle between the attempts 'to get him to like learn Polish' (line 199), and the family's resignation suggested by Anna's exclamation 'but nothing's going to work!' (line 206). Whereas Marek demonstrates

frustration at his cousin, Anna appears amused by her step-father's resistance. It must be recognised here that different individual needs underpin the language learning described here, which may account in part for the different approaches. Marek's cousin is described as looking to live in the UK; Marek implies that Joszef will need English to make himself understood in his daily life and when looking for work. By contrast, Anna presents her step-father as needing to learn Polish so as to communicate with his wife and step-children's family in Poland. It may be that he does not consider this a priority, given that the visits to Poland are relatively infrequent.

Yet what is also interesting is that in offering to help teach her step-father Polish, Anna is setting herself up as an expert in a language in which she also says she often feels herself to be uncomfortable (see section 8.3.2, Extracts 8.22 and 8.23). This suggests a duality in positions; that Anna's confidence in speaking Polish is context specific (see Fishman 1965; Pavlenko 2001).

In other families, the adolescents also set themselves up as experts who help their siblings with their English language skills. This chimes with findings by Barron-Hauwaert (2011), who has investigated interaction amongst bilingual siblings and the way they are positioned. A sibling adopting the role of English language teacher is particularly apparent when a younger child was born in the UK, as is the case for Tomasz and Krystyna. Early in the first session at St. Ferdinand's, Krystyna starts talking about her younger brother:

Extract 8.13 (S#1: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**) & Krystyna (**K**))

72 **SY:** […] and have you got brothers or sisters?

73 **K:** yeah. I have a little brother but he was born here

74 **SY:** ok

75 **K:**   and he goes to nursery

76 **SY:** <laughs> and how old is he. then?

77 **K:**   um. he's turning four in July

It is telling that when talking of her brother, Krystyna notes 'but' he was born in the UK (line 73). In her study of bilingual Portuguese-English children, Obied (2009) describes how 'older siblings often have contrasting linguistic experiences to younger siblings because of a language shift' (p.705), and this can be understood in Krystyna's situation. The conjunction 'but' (line 73) that she uses may be seen to indicate a sense of a disjuncture she feels. This is echoed later in a discussion about language use at home, where Krystyna talks about the way in which she participates in her brother's linguistic upbringing.

Extract 8.14 (S#1: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**) & Krystyna (**K**))

313 **SY:** [...] when you're speaking with your brother – or brothers –

314   do you speak English or Polish?

315 **K:**   um. I speak both sometimes and my brother cos my brother goes to nursery

316   so I can already see him improving

317 **SY:** um-hm

318 **K:**   so I speak to him both so there's a balance between it

319 **SY:** ok. does your Mum speak to him only in Polish?

320 **K:**   usually yeah

321 **SY:** ok

322 **K:**   but sometimes they do say a few words in English but you can just see

323   sometimes my brother going 'one, two, three –'

324 **SY:** \<laughs\> ok! so you're responsible for teaching him English basically at

325   home?

326 **K:**   well not so much! but yeah I do help him a little bit sometimes but my Dad

327   speaks English to him sometimes and he goes to nursery so I think it's quite

328   good if we actually talk to him Pol-in = Polish

329 **SY:** = um-hm

330 **K:**   so he doesn't forget about that!

331 **SY:** ok. so will you be putting pressure on him to do the GCSE then?!

332 **K:**   um. I don't think I will I think it's up to him really/ I'm not really sure how he's

333   gonna cope cos he was born here and um – but because my parents are

334   Polish and we still talk Polish to him I think he'll be fine

Here, Krystyna positions herself as being jointly responsible with her parents for her brother's language learning; she offers the opinion that 'it's good if we actually talk to him Pol - in Polish' (lines 327-328). Krystyna's participation in language teaching echoes findings which indicate the important role played by older siblings in the language development of younger family members (e.g. Gregory 2001; Obied 2009). When I suggest that her brother might do Polish GCSE later, Krystyna expresses the concern that he may struggle: 'I'm not really sure how he's gonna cope cos he was born here' (lines 332-333), although ultimately conceding that 'he'll be fine' (line 334), given the linguistic support at home. Krystyna is thus situating herself as an expert, one capable of judging the extent to which her brother may have problems in tackling the Polish exam. At the same time, Krystyna is also distinguishing between herself as Polish-born and her brother who is not.

Like Krystyna's brother, Tomasz's sister Weronika was also born in the UK. When I ask Tomasz whether he helps her learn Polish, in contrast to Krystyna, he suggests there is no need.

Extract 8.15 (S4: interview with Tomasz & Ryszard – Sara (**SY**); Tomasz (**T**))

476 **SY:** […] do you help her [his sister] with Polish? does she speak Polish?

477 **T:** she – at learning. she's even better than me/ and I think at this stage. when

478 she's gonna be like seven she's going to be better than me now

479 **SY:** really?

480 **T:** she's a very good learner

481 **SY:** ok

482 **T:** she's like – well. she learns. I don't/ that's the difference between us two.

Here, Tomasz suggests that, given what he perceives as Weronika's linguistic and 'learning' ability (line 477), she does not need his help. He also appears to cast doubts on his own Polish language competency, repeating that his sister is 'better' than he is (line 478).

At the same time, Tomasz does not appear to be wholly comfortable with the way in which he finds himself positioned as an expert in English. In a conversation about brokering in an interview with Tomasz and Ryszard, Tomasz expresses his discomfort at the way he feels his parents – referred to here as 'they' – expect him to translate flawlessly.

Extract 8.16 (S4: interview with Tomasz & Ryszard – Tomasz (**T**))

602 **T:**   see. me – […]

[…]

605   […] it's like. if I don't know something. they just have a go at me/ that I'm

606   a good English guy. I should know this. cos I go to a school here and all that/

607   and it's like. well. I'm Polish as well/ so I don't know everything. cos teachers

608   don't teach everything/ every word. every sentence. so it's like that/ and it's

609   like. for me. it's hard to just like. there's a sentence. to translate it

In his story, Tomasz is seen to react negatively to what he reports as his parents'

positioning of him as 'a good English guy' (line 606). He resists the position by retorting

'well. I'm Polish as well' (line 607), and as such, feels he should not be expected to

have the full linguistic knowledge his parents appear to demand from him. Tomasz's

account chimes with work by King (2013) which investigates a migrant Ecuadorian-

American family. King describes how the mother is frustrated by the way her eldest

daughter Diana appears to struggle with aspects of her English language acquisition.

Having expected that her daughter would be 'fluent' in English within a year of coming

to America at the age of sixteen (p.54), and that, now aged seventeen, Diana 'should

be a fully proficient speaker' (p.55), her mother views Diana as 'unsuccessful' in her

English language learning (p.55). A similar expectation appears to be at play in the way

that Tomasz depicts his parents' disappointment when he does not know something in

English (lines 605-606). At the same time, in emphasising the role of his teachers –

they 'don't teach everything' (line 608) – Tomasz can also be seen to be relinquishing

responsibility for his apparent lack of competency in English. In rejecting the position of

expert ascribed to him by his parents, Tomasz also draws on his Polish identity – 'I'm

Polish as well' (line 607) – despite the fact that he seems to consider his younger sister

to be potentially more competent in Polish than he is (Extract 8.15). Thus Tomasz appears to feel uncomfortable at adopting the position of expert in either language. From the stories presented above, it thus appears that in several of the family settings, the adolescents appear either to take it upon themselves or are encouraged to teach language skills to other family members, be this English or Polish. This is in spite of the discomfort it may cause them in being positioned as linguistic experts.

8.2.4   Summary

The accounts described in this chapter appear to suggest that the home setting in England is often a bilingual environment, both within the family home, and in the wider environment. Within this setting, there are shifting positions which the adolescents negotiate and may also resist.

On the one hand, the findings do appear to echo earlier studies on language use in bilingual households, which highlight the difference in language use between generations. Nonetheless, there are notable differences with the current study. Where Li Wei, Milroy and Pong Sin Ching (1992) identified the way that children often respond to adults in the host language, that study involved children born in the UK. Caldas and Caron-Caldas (2002) also observed that English was frequently children's preferred language in family interactions. In their research, however, the parents as much as the children were 'balanced' bilinguals (Li Wei 2007a, p.511), with a similar level of competency in both languages. This contrasts with those in this current project where, from what the adolescents report, it seems that parents' English is often quite limited. Findings here do however chime with literature investigating the role played by adolescents in their siblings' language development. These aspects, and the extent to which such studies serve to elucidate the findings of this current research, will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

8.3 Linguistic experiences in Poland

As well as discussing their life in England, I also asked the adolescents about Poland. All the adolescents have family in Poland whom they visit; while for Anna and Marek, it is where their divorced fathers still live and work.

8.3.1   Visiting Poland

Much of the literature on Polish migration highlights the 'hypermobility' of contemporary Polish migrants (Burrell 2011a), emphasising the ease of travelling between the UK and Poland and the ability to experience 'circular migratory stories' (Ryan 2015, p.7). However, White (2017) points out that such mobility is not always possible in the case of families, citing school holidays and economic factors as the major reasons for this. The accounts given by the adolescents in this study echo these findings. Nevertheless, most of them did mention visiting Poland at least once or twice a year to see family, as indicated in the following extract:

Extract 8.17 (S2: group interview at Grovesham – Sara (**SY**); Tomasz (**T**); Ryszard (**R**); Marek (**M**))

112 **SY:** do you go back to Poland very much?

113 **T:** yeah

114 **R:** yes holidays. and if there's. a. um. wedding I usually go for like the weekend.

[…]

122 **R:** […] in Poland. there's like most of the family's there so you want to

123   visit them at least once a year/ […]

[…]

283 **SY:** […] <to Marek> ok. how often do

284   you go back?

285 **M:** I go on holidays. sometimes during the winter – sometimes if. like. when I

286   want to go to Poland like in winter or something. skiing or something I'll ask

287   my Mum and then I can go/ she will arrange things

288 **SY:** = ok

289 **M:** = but I usually go on holidays. like summer holidays

This overview of the situation put forward in the group interview at Grovesham seemed typical of the adolescents' experience overall: that visits to Poland are to see family members, and are annual or biannual occurrences. However, several other participants mentioned the constraints on when such visits could take place. Filip noted the dual restrictions imposed by his school timetable, and that of his parents' jobs.

Extract 8.18 (S6: individual interview with Filip – Sara (**SY**); Filip (**F**))

451 **SY:** […] how often do you go back?

452 **F:** it depends/ erm. if uh. my Mum gets um holiday on the day that I have half

453   term. then we go/ if. let's say. I get half term and my parents can't get

454   holidays. then we don't go

Another issue raised by the adolescents was that of money. In the two extracts below, Yamina and Sylwia describe how the economic situation has impacted on their visits.

Extract 8.19 (S4: interview with Sylwia and Yamina – Sara (**SY**); Yamina (**Y**))

815 **SY:** do you visit? have you been to Algeria?

[…]

818 **Y:** […] I go to Poland as well as Algeria and I go to Poland again and

819   then I go to Algeria again/ but this time. because we didn't have enough

820   money to get. cos we drive to Poland from England. we're gonna to go

821   Poland again this year/ even though we've been last year. because we didn't

822   have enough money to erm. get an airplane

Extract 8.20 (S6: individual interview with Sylwia – Sara (**SY**); Sylwia (**S**))

261 **SY:** how often do you go back to visit?

262 **S:** like every year. on a half term. like. if. in August. when it's – but now I think

263   we can't because we have too little money and – er. the aeroplane tickets are

264   now too much money/ every year it goes more and more money for the

265   aeroplane. so. we don't think we're gonna go this year

Sylwia's reference to the increase in air fares: 'every year it goes more and more money for the aeroplane' (Extract 8.20, lines 264-265) runs counter to the apparent availability of cheap air fares depicted by Burrell (2011a). Attempts by Yamina's family to alternate between visiting family in Poland and in Algeria are also restricted by economic factors. Poland is a cheaper option as they can 'drive to Poland from England' (Extract 8.19, line 820).

Thus, the adolescents' accounts suggest that while visiting Poland is a regular part of their lives, the frequency with which they can do this is, as White (2017) asserts, curtailed by school obligations in the UK and financial considerations. The impact this has on the adolescents is assessed in Chapter 9.

8.3.2 'I can't find the right words': speaking Polish

Having established the frequency with which the adolescents visited Poland, I then inquired about their use of Polish during these visits. Several participants described themselves as experiencing linguistic difficulties, such as in the joint interview with Beata and Marek presented below. I began by asking Beata about the visit she had recently made to Poland, and then turned to Marek.

Extract 8.21 (S4: interview with Beata & Marek – Sara (**SY**); Beata (**B**))

1057 **SY:** ok. and how's it going now. now back here?

1058 **B:** ah. I mean it didn't really change anything. so. erm – it just was normal. so I

1059   came back

1060 **SY:** ok

1061 **B:** I mean. my English. I mean. when I was in Poland and people were talking to

1062   me. sometimes I couldn't find the word in Polish. so I had to speak to them in

1063   English/ I don't know why. but I just forgot Polish like a little bit/ because I'm

1064   not talking to anyone in Polish much. so. just my family. but I don't speak to

1065   them a lot. so – <laughing> I know! I'm fine.

[…]

1080 **SY:** ok. and do you find it a problem speaking in Polish when you get back to

1081   Poland?

1082 **M:** sometimes. and then when I come back. I have problems speaking English in

1083   some ways

1084 **SY:** ok

1085 **M:** I have been here for six years. so my Polish isn't that great

Both Marek and Beata show themselves to be conscious of the way that they feel they are losing elements of their Polish language, something they notice when visiting Poland. Beata expresses surprise that she finds herself losing her Polish 'like a little bit' (line 1063), even though she has only been in England for just over eighteen months. At the same time, Marek describes himself as having difficulties in speaking English when he returns from Poland (lines 1082-1083). The pair's comments thus suggest at the unsettling nature of language attrition (see Schmid 2002, 2004; Köpke & Schmid 2004).

In the second session at St. Ferdinand's, Anna explains how she feels the way she speaks Polish affects the way she is perceived, and how this affects her:

Extract 8.22 (S#2: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Anna (**A**))

330 **SY:** […] so how do you feel when you go back to Poland? do you

331   feel more Polish or do you feel slightly different from being in England?

332 **A:**   um. I do – well. I feel a bit Polish. but I dunno. I just think. I just feel like –

333   more English. like with. like when I. when I talk. in Polish. it's not – like. proper

334   Polish. like I have an accent/ so when people listen to me. they can tell I'm

335   not Polish but I actually AM but – it's a different accent

336 **SY:** ok. how do you feel when –?

337 **A:**   um. I don't know/ just sometimes I just like stumble and then I can't. I can't

338   find the right words and I just have to like to ask my brother how do you say

339   this. how do you say this? and then he just doesn't help me so then it's just

340   really embarrassing/ and then it's really hard like trying to talk to people/ um

341   like I can't – like. it's hard to like when I go to Poland. to like make friends and

342   stuff because I just can't really like talk like their way of saying. talking Polish

343 **SY:** um-hm

344 **A:**   I just like use a different way I like – I think my. my – when I talk Polish it's

345   more like posh Polish. um. I think cos when it's – since I've been coming here

346   they've been like giving us all these like 'in my opinion' that – that, that 'that is

347   because of' something – I just keep thinking of that/ and it's just like. it doesn't

348   really work

In her account above, Anna can be seen to move between various subject positions, which appear to be shaped by the way she speaks Polish. While she initially positions herself as feeling 'a bit Polish' (line 332), Anna then re-situates herself to feeling 'more English' (line 333) once she starts talking in Polish. It is in part the reaction of others which leads Anna to realign her position. For whilst acknowledging that people 'can tell' she is not Polish (line 334), Anna also wants to assert her Polish identity: 'I actually AM but – it's a different accent' (line 335). At the same time, however, Anna seems to aver that she does not speak 'proper Polish' (lines 333-334) due to the fact that she speaks it with a certain accent. Anna's account of feeling uncomfortable at the way she speaks chimes with Jahr and Janicki (1995), who stress the importance attached to speaking standard Polish and adhering to rules of pronunciation (p.27).

While Anna is talking of experiences in Poland, her comments nonetheless also resonate with findings by Temple (2010), who notes the way that the type of Polish used by individuals within Polish migrant communities in England may be 'used to differentiate ways of being Polish and to make judgements about people' (p.294). Anna's comments suggest that a similar system of evaluating an individual through the way she speaks Polish operates in Poland, too. The sense that Anna has of being marked out by others in her country of birth is also reminiscent of the experiences described by Valentine, Sporton and Bang Nielsen (2008) in a study of Somali adolescents living in the UK, and their feeling of discomfort when visiting Somalia and being unable to speak the language as others expect them to (pp.380-381).

Anna also describes asking her brother to help her (lines 338-339). When he refuses, Anna finds it 'really embarrassing', and has difficulty in 'trying to talk to people' (line 340). She explains that she is unable to 'really like talk like their way of saying. talking Polish' (lines 342). It is interesting to note that, having initially claimed Polish identity and her right to use a different accent, here, Anna switches to the possessive pronoun 'their' in describing 'their way of saying. talking' (line 342). She then contrasts this with her own language use, categorising her spoken Polish as 'more like posh Polish' (line 345); that is, it is the sort of language she is learning for her Polish AS level exam, which requires a formal style of Polish appropriate for writing essays rather than more colloquial language (see Appendix 6 for an example of the Polish AS level exam paper).

The shifting positions which Anna takes throughout her account suggest that while she feels she should be able to claim Polish identity, she does not feel entirely comfortable in doing so, as she is too self-conscious about the way she speaks. Anna returns to this point later in the interview, when I ask the girls about future boyfriends:

Extract 8.23 (S#2: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Anna (**A**))

390 **SY:** […] so in the future are you thinking like your – when you have

391   boyfriends or husbands or partners or whatever would they – would you

392   prefer them to be Polish or English or –?/ whatever turns up?

[…]

398 **A:** I. I wouldn't mind. but if they were Polish I'd always feel like a bit of like an

399   outsider Polish person/ like I think I'd always – I'm not like. every time I'm with

400   someone else Polish I don't feel like completely Polish because of like the

401   way I talk. and like. my accent and stuff/ so I don't think it would really matter

402   like if they were English or Polish but they'd have to speak really good English

403   like and not Polish. not really good Polish and not speak English I wouldn't be

404   able to like communicate well

Anna's response further illustrates the way in which she appears to feel that access to a full Polish identity is compromised by her Polish language skills which, Anna maintains, prevent her from feeling fully Polish: she describes herself instead as 'an outsider Polish person' (lines 398-399). This would chime with the notion that often only certain people are permitted a particular linguistic identity. While the discussion of this by Gluszek and Dovidio (2010) focuses on non-native accents in English, their description of 'the stigma of accents' could be seen as equally applicable in Anna's account, where she presents herself as being perceived as less Polish due to her accent when speaking Polish. That certain subject positions thus appear to be inaccessible to Anna also resonates with work by Zhu Hua and Li Wei (2016), who investigate the way migrants in the UK are denied certain positionings due to others' perception of them. This also reflects literature on racism (e.g. Verkuyten 1997), which will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Filip also reports being aware of the shift that has occurred between himself and his friends due to the language difference.

Extract 8.24 (S6: individual interview with Filip – Sara (**SY**); Filip (**F**))

433 **SY:** um. do you feel Polish. or British. or both, or –?

434 **F:**   um. I think it's – I think I feel both […]

[…]

438 **SY:** ok. what about when you go back to Poland?

439 **F:**   um – I feel more British cos. um. I notice that. um. sometimes I forget some

440   words in Polish/ or I just can't pronounce them

441 **SY:** um-hm

442 **F:**   and then my friends are very good speakers. so

443 **SY:** ok. so do you feel a bit strange with them. or –?

444 **F:**   yeah

445 **SY:** ok. how are they with you?

446 **F:**   what do you mean?

447 **SY:** like your Polish friends – are they still ok with you?

448 **F:**   yeah!

Like Anna, Filip is aware of the way he now speaks Polish in comparison with his friends in Poland. While he reports that this has not affected their relationship – when I ask if his friends are 'still ok' with him (line 447), he replies 'yeah!' (line 448) – Filip does note the way in which he feels his identity to shift: due to the way that he forgets his Polish, Filip positions himself as feeling 'more British' (line 439). Thus, like Anna, Filip feels that pronunciation is an important marker of identity positions, something which is also apparent in the concern he shows over the way he speaks English (Extract 7.9). Filip's attitude can be seen to echo thinking about notions of the native speaker and standard ways of pronouncing a language (Chapter 4). Moreover, given that Filip attended several years of school in Poland, it may also be that he is transposing onto his English language learning the 'rigid' expectations of standard Polish which prevail in Polish education (Jahr & Janicki 1995, p.27).

In contrast to the accounts given by Anna and Filip, Ryszard provides a different narrative of his language use in Poland, where he appears to relish his position as English language expert. He tells the following story:

Extract 8.25 (S6: individual interview with Ryszard – Sara (**SY**); Ryszard (**R**))

623 **SY:** ok. what about when you go to Poland. do you feel different from Polish

624   people there?

625 **R:** um-hm

626 **SY:** = how?

627 **R:** = they. they treat me differently

628 **SY:** oh really? what's –?

629 **R:** I become everyone's friend!

630 **SY:** why is this?

631 **R:** oh. erm. let's go to the shops. can you buy me some ice cream? <laughs>

632 **SY:** <laughs> oh. cos you have the money?

633 **R:** yeah. so that's. oh – it's not most of them like that. but. it's like – they.

634   because they think that England is a good. is a good country than it is. and.

635   well. they ask me how it is. how to speak English. how to swear. um

Ryszard starts his story by relating the way that his friends, assuming life in England to be richer than it is, ask him to get them ice cream (line 631). However, Ryszard does qualify what he has said: 'it's not most of them like that' (line 633). He then goes on to describe the way he is asked 'how to speak English. how to swear' (line 635), whereby his friends are situating him as an expert user of English. Here, swearing can be seen as 'part of the banter between friends' (Dewaele 2017, p.341), used to underpin a sense of camaraderie. It may also be seen to function as an integral part of adolescent identity construction (Karachaliou & Archakis 2015; also see Stapleton 2010).

That Ryszard chooses to tell a story about Poland which focuses on his expertise as an English language user suggests he enjoys the position he is given. This may be seen to mirror the way in which Ryszard corrects Tomasz's pronunciation of the word

'migrant' in an earlier interview (Extract 6.20), thus positioning himself as an expert in English.

Ryszard's account also echoes his comment made during the group interview:

Extract 8.26 (S2: Grovesham group interview – Sara (**SY**); Ryszard (**R**))

331 **SY:** […] well in Poland I'm guessing you speak Polish. or –?
332 **R:**   yes. in Polish. sometimes English if they [his friends] want me to teach them

Here, too, Ryszard is positioning himself as an expert user of English, someone able to 'teach' (line 332) the language to his friends.

8.3.3   Thoughts of return

I was also interested in whether the adolescents thought they might return to Poland when they were older. Their responses suggested that whilst some, such as Janusz or Beata, saw their future as being based in the UK, or in other English-language speaking countries (Appendix 5, Extracts A.13 and A.14), others had contemplated a return to Poland.

In the initial group session at Grovesham, I put the question of retuning to Poland to the whole group. For Ryszard, this appeared to be something he had considered.

Extract 8.27 (S2: Grovesham group interview – Sara (**SY**); Ryszard (**R**))

892 **SY:** […] ok. I just want to ask you. what about in the future. do you think

893   you'll stay here. or d'you want to go back to Poland. or –?

[…]

901 **R:** well. I'd like to work here a few years like to get the experience. and then

902   maybe move to Poland. er. to like do. to do the same thing but like where I

903   live and so that I can. I can speak Polish and even if I'm a bit too old for the

904   job then I can be an English teacher. so – it's also better to find anything for

905   another ten years. so –

[…]

946 **R:** […] before I go to Poland. I want to first like. er build a house. er. let my.

947   er. let someone like build a house there so I have er somewhere to – [BELL] –

948   somewhere to live there. somewhere in Poland/ and if. er. oh I want to be an

949   architect. so. so I'll probably design my own house and probably that's all

Here, envisaging a future for himself in Poland, Ryszard positions himself as being in

an advantageous situation. He presents himself as able to exploit his knowledge of

both Polish – 'I can speak Polish' (line 903) – and English – 'I can be an English

teacher' (line 904) – as a way of allowing him to access job opportunities. This chimes

with the notion of language acquisition also being a form of cultural capital upon which

bilinguals can draw (Bourdieu 1972, 1982). In his imagined future where he is able both

to 'design' (line 949) and 'let someone like build a house' (line 947), Ryszard's account

can also be seen to invoke what Pavlenko (2002b) identifies as 'the trope of the self-

made man' in migration stories (p.215). Pavlenko describes such a trope as belonging

to the early 20th century, yet it is not the only time that Ryszard seems to draw on such

a historically based subject position, as shown by his allusion to Poland's role in the

Second World War during the discussion about migrants (see Extract 6.21). Ryszard's

comments could also be seen to draw on the way that Polish migrants often view

migration: even if it entails accepting low-paid work initially, it is seen as something

which allows them 'stepping-stones towards upward mobility in the UK – or in Poland, if they were to return' (Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich 2006, np).

In contrast to Ryszard, however, other participants suggested that they did not wish to return, citing current events in Poland as a reason for this. In the case of Tomasz, while he initially speaks of returning (Extract 8.28), the next time the question is raised (Extract 8.29), he answers differently. Tomasz's contradictory responses are presented below.

Extract 8.28 (S2: group interview at Grovesham – Sara (**SY**); Tomasz (**T**)

892 **SY:** […] ok. I just want to ask you. what about in the future. do you think

893   you'll stay here. or d'you want to go back to Poland. or –?

[…]

921 **T:**   erm. go back

922 **SY:** ok. because?

923 **T:**   it's like I want to be a lorry driver and there's pretty much loads of jobs for

924   lorry drivers [BELL]

925 **SY:** ok. so you're quite happy to finish here and then go back. when would you 926

       like to go? I mean. not like now <laughs> but you know!

927 **T:**   (…) maybe? just live a couple more years here

Extract 8.29 (S3: group interview at Grovesham – Sara (**S**); Tomasz (**T**))

738 **SY:** […] cos you want to go back you were saying before?

739 **T:**   not now. not anymore

740 **SY:** not anymore! that changed. ok. can I ask why – why it changed?

741 **T:**   erm. these people in the parliament have massive arguments

[…]

745 **SY:** yeah. what's going on there? cos I read it was all getting a bit. erm – what.

746   what have you heard?

747 **T:**   it's all about like the benefits

748 **SY:** um-hm

749 **T:**   it's like £500 plus for other kids. it's like. all people have arguments and –

On both occasions, Tomasz refers to events back in Poland which he cites as influencing his thinking. In the first instance, Tomasz explains that he would like to be 'a lorry driver' as 'there's pretty much loads of jobs for lorry drivers' (Extract 8.28, lines 923-924). In the following session a fortnight later, however, it appears that he has changed his mind. When asked why, Tomasz explains that 'these people in the parliament have massive arguments' (Extract 8.29, line 741). When I ask for more details – 'what have you heard?' (Extract 8.29, line 746) – Tomasz alludes to the proposed bill to give families 500 złoty monthly child benefit.[15] Yet he is vague on details, simply repeating that the politicians are having 'arguments' (Extract 8.29, line 749). This confusion indicates that Tomasz does not fully understand developments in Poland; it is more likely that he is repeating something which he has heard from others, possibly family members who have been discussing happenings in Poland.

Despite his confusion over details, Tomasz is nonetheless positioning himself as an expert on current events in Poland, something which Marek and Ryszard also do during a group discussion in a later session. Interested by this, I prompt them further:

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[15] The bill was proposed by PiS (Law and Justice), the ruling party in Poland, whereby families would be given a monthly allowance of 500 złoty for all second and subsequent children up to the age of 18. Put forward as an attempt to increase the birth rate, the proposal was criticised both as merely an attempt to gain the popular vote, and on economic grounds (e.g. Berardi 2016; Foy & Wasik 2016).

Extract 8.30 (S5: group interview at Grovesham – Sara (**SY**); Marek (**M**); Ryszard (**R**))

716 **SY:** what do you know about the politics?

[…]

720 **R:** it's – quite bad

721 **M:** yeah. pretty bad

722 **R:** they. they. er. always say. oh yeah. I'll. I'll pay. I'll do more. I'll give more

723   money for more children. things like – nope. that ain't gonna happen! they.

724   they –

725 **M:** they're pretty much lying about everything = they say

726 **R:** = yeah. yeah. and then. all they do is. all they care is just about money

727 **M:** and they care about themselves. pretty much

728 **R:** yeah. not about the country

729 **M:** yeah

[…]

738 **M:** yeah. my uncle just explains it to me. like briefly. so I actually understand

739   what's bad and good from there

Here, the boys present themselves as experts on contemporary Polish matters: Marek opines that the politicians are 'pretty much lying about everything' (line 725), to which Ryszard adds 'all they care is just about money' (line 726). This exchange between the two boys may be seen to draw on conversations they have either heard from or held with people around them. Marek acknowledges this, explaining that it is his uncle who allows him to 'understand what's bad and good' about Polish politics (lines 738-739).

A completely different response to the question about return was given by Krystyna, who gave other reasons for wanting to go back to Poland. Krystyna mentioned the

possibility of returning to Poland in the first session at St. Ferdinand's (Extract 8.31),

and I referred back to it the following week (Extract 8.32).

Extract 8.31 (S#1: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**): Krystyna (**K**))

297 **SY:** have you any ideas what you'd like to do in the future?

298 **K:** um. I was thinking of being a = journalist –

299 **SY:** = ok.

300 **K:** = or may be something to do with teaching. I'm not really sure

301 **SY:** here or in Poland?

302 **K:** I probably want to stay here/ but when I get older I would like to go back to

303   Poland so when I'm around fifty maybe <laughs>

Extract 8.32 (S#2: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**): Krystyna (**K**))

371 **SY:** […] you said you might go back when you're like fifty or something

372   like = that

373 **K:** = yeah <laughs>

374 **SY:** why are you thinking that?

375 **K:** I just think I want to like be there when I like – pass away <laughs>

376 **SY:** <laughs>

377 **K:** I mean like, I know I shouldn't be thinking about this right now. but like I also

378   like prefer the way that erm. people that have passed away are presented in

379   Poland with like. um. what's it called? um. not funerals. er – cemeteries/ like.

380   in England it's not very like neat. if. if you get what I mean. like the graveyard

381   in. in my town in Elmbry is just not very nice and like in Poland everyone

382   respects it and like there's no-one who's going to come along to the

383   graveyard and smoke and then you just find like drunk people in England/ I

384   just think I want to lay there in peace!

385 **SY:** <laughs> ok

386 **K:** yeah

387 **SY:** ok so that's what you're going back for basically?

388 **K:** yeah. and I just think – yeah. cos there'll be family there as well so I think I'd

389   want to be there

As with the boys' discussion on politics, Krystyna's view of return may be seen to draw on others' voices. Given that she is only fourteen, in expressing a wish to die in Poland, it may be that Krystyna has heard such a thought expressed by one of her older relatives who have been living for many years in other countries across Europe (see Appendix 5, Extract A.15). Yet whether or not Krystyna is drawing directly on such voices, her account of wanting to return also suggests in itself that Krystyna continues to position herself as Polish and sees her time in England as merely a temporary situation.

It thus appears that an eventual return to Poland, while not contemplated by some of the adolescents, is something which others see as a valid possibility. In discussing Poland, they often appear to borrow voices (Bakhtin 1984) from older family members. This is however inferred: it is not explicit and cannot be verified, given that no family members were interviewed. However, the adolescents do report conversations they have had at home, which may indicate the importance they attach to such discussions, and the influence these conversations have on the adolescents. These projections into the future may also be interpreted as the adolescents trying to envisage their 'possible selves', seen to 'represent […] individually significant hopes, fears, and fantasies'

(Markus & Nurius 1986, p.954) and understood to be an important part of identity construction (Dunkel & Anthis 2001).

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the adolescents' stories of language use in various settings where they or their families have lived or are currently living. It has also suggested that in some home settings, be this in England or in Poland, only certain positions are allowed to the adolescents. Their accounts further indicate that different languages are drawn upon in the various settings. In regard to English language use, it appears that while the adolescents' parents might try and encourage – and according to some, insist on – creating an English monolingual environment at home in England, this is not necessarily always reflected in actual language use.

Often, it seems that the English used at home is initiated by the adolescents themselves, as English takes over as their dominant language (see Tseng & Fuligni 2000; Caldas & Caron-Caldas 2002). This English language dominance and the adolescents' Polish language attrition becomes particularly apparent to them when they are visiting friends and family members in Poland, with several of the adolescents commenting on how their Polish language use in Poland creates a sense of difference. While some, such as Ryszard, exploit their assumed expertise in English, for others, like Anna, this leads to feelings of discomfort.

These three chapters having presented the findings of the study, Chapter 9 will discuss the findings and their implications for the process of identity construction by the adolescents.

9 Discussion: Ethnic and linguistic identity construction

9.1 Overview

In this chapter, the findings of the study will be reviewed. The sessions at Grovesham School and St. Ferdinand's will be revisited and interview data from the various participants compared in order to examine what the adolescents' experiences suggest about their ethno-linguistic identity construction. The chapter will also discuss how the adolescents' various identity positions are manifested through linguistic use. The literature review (Chapters 3 and 4) will be re-examined to assess how this current study builds on previous literature and how the research extends current thinking in identity work in the field of socio and applied linguistics.

Much of the work in migration studies and in applied linguistics pertaining to identity has focused on older migrants, or on younger, second-generation individuals. Studies in the US frequently concentrate on the experiences of Hispanic migrants, while UK-based research often investigates those belonging to the BAME communities. It will be posited here that the Polish origin of the adolescents in this current study gives them a certain positioning, which differs to that afforded other groups, and which has a strong impact on the adolescents' identity construction. Thus, while this chapter acknowledges those aspects of previous research which may be considered applicable to the findings of this current study, it will also argue that the group which was the focus of this research requires a somewhat different understanding.

The overarching aim of the study was to explore questions of ethno-linguistic identity construction in Polish-born adolescents living in the UK. Certain aspects identified in previous literature also emerged as key elements of this current research, and these will be addressed as follows. Firstly, the notion of bilingual identities will be discussed, as situated in a school and home setting. Emphasis will be given to the fact that, unlike

other studies, this research was conducted in a non-urban and arguably less linguistically diverse environment. The chapter will then examine the adolescents' attempted construction of ethnic and (trans)national identities, and how this is influenced by contemporary discourses in the UK. Finally, questions of (in)visibility will be addressed. This will incorporate a discussion of whiteness and how this has so far been overlooked in much socio and applied linguistics literature dealing with ethnicity and race in identity studies. The chapter concludes by suggesting that the subject positions available to the adolescents are limited by prevalent contemporary discourses surrounding Polish migrants in the UK, which in turn curtails the negotiation of identity. The adolescents nonetheless attempt to construct their identities through resistance to the way they are positioned by those around them.

9.2 Bilingual identities: two monolinguals or a flexible bilingual identity?

In Chapters 7 and 8, the experiences of the adolescents at home and in school were presented. The findings suggest that in each of these settings, different language rules are in place, and linguistic identities are under constant (re)negotiation as the adolescents switch from one location to another. This includes their identities as bilinguals.

As set out in Chapter 4, discussions of bilingualism often call into question the extent to which individuals are allowed bilingual identities. That is, whether they are perceived as 'two monolinguals in one' (Grosjean 1989), where theirs is a separate bilingualism, with each language regarded as wholly independent of or unrelated to each other (Cummins 2008), or whether a linguistic identity is conceived as a flexible identity. Here, an individual's various languages may be drawn together to create a bilingual

whole, allowing them to practise a 'flexible bilingualism' (Creese & Blackledge et al. 2011).

This section explores further how the adolescents' bilingual identities are understood in a school and home environment. While the adolescents report using both Polish and English in each setting, it appears their bilingualism is seen as the sum of different parts, and there is little scope for a flexible bilingualism; rather, a sense of a separate bilingualism is perpetuated.

9.2.1 Language ideologies in an educational setting

It has been suggested that the British school system is underpinned by a monolingual ideology (García & Li Wei 2014, p.47). Findings of this current study indicate that such an ideology prevails, however supportive the atmosphere at the individual school. This also has implications for the adolescents' ability to construct bilingual identities. While it must be reiterated that the adolescents' stories constitute self-reports of language use, the literature would appear to support their accounts, as will be explored below.

On their arrival in the UK, the students' lack of English is seen as problematic: several of the adolescents reported teachers having become impatient at their difficulty in understanding. Help often comes from other Poles, yet in Tomasz's case, this is denied him when the one girl with whom he could communicate is placed in another class (Extract 7.1). That Polish newcomers find help from other Poles already at the school is already acknowledged in the literature (Sales et al. 2008; Devine 2009; Cline et al. 2010). Such findings chime with research on English language educational settings where a lack of English language knowledge is regarded as a 'deficiency' (Mehmedbegović 2012, p.68; also see Gunderson 2000; Wortham & Rhodes 2013), and possessing other linguistic repertoires is viewed as problematic rather than

advantageous to a student's learning (Cummins 2005; Benesch 2008; Bailey & Marsden 2017). Here, language is seen 'as something to be overcome' (Safford & Drury 2013, p.70).

That said, it does appear that at Grovesham, efforts are made to embrace multilingual newcomers and to help those with limited English skills. Heritage languages are acknowledged through display work in the EAL classroom, and in an associated link on the school website. Students are encouraged to take heritage language lessons, which is not necessarily the case elsewhere. In research on approaches to bilingualism within London schools, Mehmedbegović (2008) reports how one respondent felt it was not within the remit of mainstream schools to teach heritage languages (p.13). This was not the case at Grovesham, where, through the Polish classes, a safe space is created for Polish speakers. In their study of nursery schools, Conteh and Brock (2011) emphasise the need for such spaces where young newcomers feel their identity is supported by those around them. This could equally be applied to older newcomers who may feel a similar sense of dislocation. Grovesham also provides language assistance through placing bilingual teachers within a mainstream classroom. While this could be seen as an example of encouraging ''transitional' rather than 'additive' bilingualism' (Conteh & Brock 2011, p.348), for Beata, when Jo – 'our' Polish teacher (Extract 7.5) – is with her during English GCSE classes, such support becomes reassuring. This echoes Martin-Jones and Saxena (2003), who emphasise the important potential of the role of such teachers.

However, in both the mainstream lessons where English operates as the medium of instruction, and in the Polish classes run by Jo Malinowska, who prior to working at Grovesham, also taught at Fieldstone Polish Saturday school, the monolingual ideal appears to dominate. The monolingual thinking which informs Jo's Polish lessons echoes the practice found in many complementary schools (Creese & Blackledge et al.

2011; Zielińska, Kowzan & Ragnarsdóttir 2014). Studies show how students at such schools may draw on their linguistic resources to challenge the monolingual ideal imposed by the teacher through code switching (e.g. Blackledge & Creese et al. 2008; Li Wei & Chao-Jung Wu 2009). Such behaviour can be seen in Tomasz's switching into English during the Polish lesson, and Jo's reaction to him (Extract 7.15). However, Jo does allow in Polish class the use of English words for those things which have no direct equivalence in Polish, such as 'detention' or 'lunchtime'. This may be described as an example of code mixing, rather than switching. Mixing here may be understood as the regular use of particular words or phrases in a certain language (Tay 1989, p.409) that mainly reflect 'social meanings' (Annamalai 1989, p.48), the society in this case being the school community.

The example cited above may therefore be understood as a situated use of language relating to a specific context rather than facilitating flexible bilingualism. It thus appears that for the students at Grovesham, while their bilingualism is respected, the use of each language belongs to different classroom spaces.

Outside the classroom, however, the boys at Grovesham appear to have the opportunity to use Polish amongst themselves. Tomasz and Ryszard report switching to Polish when discussing matters which they consider private (Extract 7.20). Here, rather than embracing and 'crossing' with other languages at the school, as found in Rampton (2005), the boys' use of Polish suggests a designation of a certain linguistic space which is not open to others (Hall 2002). Nor does there appear any sense that other students at the school wish to learn Polish. Unlike in other settings, there seems to be little linguistic cache in the language. In his study on teenage language use, Rampton (2005) suggests that 'crossing' amongst teenagers occurs in part because of the linguistic status that the 'crossed' languages carry; use of such language can gain peers' respect. This is reflected in De Fina (2011), who cites studies where young

people have adopted the speech patterns of others, either to 'express solidarity' or as an 'in-group code' (p.268). At Grovesham, however, while Polish may be respected within the official framework, the language does not appear to hold any 'symbolic capital' (Pavlenko 2002a) for the non-Polish students. This is also reflected in the way that Polish lessons are not attended by such students. For Anna and Krystyna, the girls at St. Ferdinand's, moreover, there appears no opportunity to speak Polish at school, as there are few Polish-speaking students at the schools the girls attend, and no provision is made for any students to learn the language.

At St. Ferdinand's Polish School, both Polish and English are used to a varying degree. The school website is in Polish and English; and code switching occurred as I was arranging interview dates with the girls and the school director, Alina Rudawska (Appendix 4). This would suggest that even while Polish may be the dominant language at the school, in keeping with many complementary schools (Zielińska, Kowzan & Ragnarsdóttir 2014), there is an implicit assumption of Polish-English bilingualism amongst those attending the school. This serves to acknowledge that students may come from ethnically and linguistically mixed families (see Zechenter 2015). That said, I did not observe lessons at St. Ferdinand's, where a different ideology may be in evidence within the Polish language classroom.

The findings of this current study thus chime with research which suggests that an ideology of monolingualism remains embedded in the state education system (Karrebæk 2013; García & Li Wei 2014). However, it must be recognised that from what the adolescents report, Grovesham attempts to create a supportive environment which aims to respect the linguistic heritage of different children. The girls from St. Ferdinand's, however, suggest there is little space for the use of Polish at the mainstream schools they attend. It also appears that within classroom practices, the 'one language only' or 'one language at a time' ideologies of monolingual and

traditional bilingual classrooms' (García & Li Wei 2014, p.67) predominate. Within a school setting, therefore, it seems that even where other languages are recognised, the adolescents' linguistic identity construction is constrained, and their language use constitutes a separate rather than flexible bilingualism.

9.2.2   Language positioning at home

The difference in identity positions available to individuals at school and at home has been noted by Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997), also see Fishman (1965), while Devine (2009) writes of 'the inter-change between 'home' and 'school'' (p.526). This shift also seemed to apply in the accounts given by the adolescents in this current study, where there appeared to be a separate bilingualism in home settings as well as within school.

For some of the adolescents, the change in setting allowed a re-assertion of their Polish identities, where subject positions as Polish speakers which were denied them at school became available at home. For Anna, home is a place where she is exposed to Polish when speaking to her mother. Anna also becomes positioned as an expert in the language as part of the family's attempt to teach her step-father Polish. Yet there is also a shift in home locations. Once in Poland, Anna feels that others do not allow her a full linguistic identity as a Polish speaker due to her accent, even as she tries to claim this identity for herself, insisting 'I actually AM [Polish]' (Extract 8.22, line 335). This indicates a change in linguistic identity position through space and time (Pavlenko 2001): in a different setting, Anna's identity position as expert is no longer available to her.

In terms of English, in contrast to the English learner position at school, at home the adolescents may frequently find themselves positioned as English language experts.

This is manifested in two ways: through language brokering practices, and as language teachers to family members.

While there is an increasing recognition in childhood studies of the part brokering practices play in many adolescent migrants' lives, such literature rarely touches on Polish children. Work in applied linguistics has also paid limited attention to the role of brokering in the identity construction of young migrants. Recent literature has, however, suggested the wide extent of brokering practices in which migrant children may participate (e.g. Cline et al. 2010; Degener 2010; Corona et al. 2012; Bauer 2013, 2016). That brokering is integral to their experience is apparent in reports by the adolescents in this current study, most of whom describe incidents where they have been asked to act as translators of some sort for their parents or other family members. It has also been argued that such brokering activities have an impact on the identity construction of younger migrants (Dorner, Orellana & Jiménez 2008; Hlavac 2014), and that it places them in a position of responsibility or intimacy with which they do not always feel comfortable. Here, Krystyna feels embarrassed when asked to accompany her mother to the doctor (Extract 6.7), while Janusz does not like having to read his parents' letters from the bank (Extract 6.10).

Brokers are also positioned as linguistic experts, yet this does not always sit comfortably with the adolescents here. Beata reports feeling awkward and frustrated when she is unable to access the appropriate language and so cannot help her parents (Extract 6.9; Appendix 3). Tomasz is more direct in his rejection of his parents' positioning of him as a language expert: he actively resists the position of 'good English guy' which is imposed upon him by reasserting his Polish identity (Extract 8.16, line 606). This appears to be a binary opposition: it does not appear there is space for him to be both.

Another position as expert which the adolescents experience within a home setting is that of teacher, of either of the main languages, Polish and/or English. While there is an emerging body of work investigating the way that children influence their siblings' language development (Gregory 2001), it nonetheless remains an under-researched area (Barron-Hauwaert 2011). Nevertheless, recent studies indicate the importance of the role played by older children in the language acquisition of younger siblings (Kibler, Palacios & Simpson Baird 2014; Kibler et al. 2016; Barry 2017; Kheirkhah & Cekaite 2017). Obied (2009) highlights research which indicates that this role is played to a greater extent by older sisters in helping their younger siblings, often brothers, with their language skills. This seems to be reflected in this current study. Krystyna describes taking on responsibility for her younger brother's learning (Extract 8.14), while Yamina is also conscious of the need to develop her younger brothers' English skills (Extract 8.4). In contrast, Tomasz seems to feel that his four-year-old sister is more adept at learning Polish than he is (Extract 8.15), while Anna reports her older brother's unwillingness to help her with her language difficulties when they are in Poland (Extract 8.22).

The need to recognise the gendered nature of migration has been highlighted by Anthias (2012). Often, it is expected that women will be 'the keepers of ethnic identity' (Ryan 2010, p.361). In a study focusing on female undergraduates in London, Preece (2008) cites the example of Sita, a young woman in her twenties from a Tamil family living in London. Even as the family establish themselves in London, Sita feels the obligation to take on 'a traditional subject position' as a mother who 'will have responsibility for transmitting heritage language and customs with her children' (Preece 2008, p.54). This is echoed in Temple's (2010) study of Polish migrants in North England, where she observes that 'Polish women […] were generally seen as responsible for […] passing on ways of being Polish, including the Polish language' (p.290). At the same time, it appears to be women who also shoulder the responsibility

for competency in the new language: in her study of immigrant couples to the US, Vitanova (2004) notes how 'the female participants […] were the [English] linguistic experts in the couples' and that their male spouses accepted them as such (p.272). Similarly, findings of this current study suggest it may be the female siblings who find themselves expected to take on the role of teacher to their younger brothers or sisters.

Several adolescents in this current study also report helping older members of the family. This is less addressed in the literature, which more commonly focuses on how parents can help their children become bilingual (e.g. Novak & Wyszewiańska-Langdon 1997; Caldas 2006; Zechenter 2015) rather than vice-versa. However, Devine (2009) acknowledges how children may also be occupied in 'teaching their parents English' (p.526), while King (2013) notes a growing interest in the effect children have on their parents' language use. This dynamic of child as teacher to older family members is reflected here. Marek recounts his attempts to teach English to his older cousin (Extract 8.11), while in Anna's case, she is also positioned as an expert in Polish, in that she participates in the family's attempt to teach her step-father Polish (Extract 8.12).

The position of expert and English language teacher is also adopted by Ryszard when he is in Poland, where he talks of instructing his friends (Extract 8.26). Yet while Ryszard enjoys the status his English language knowledge allows him, others sense themselves moving to a position of less competent Polish speaker and feel that this positions them differently in relation to those around them. Filip is aware of the linguistic difference that has developed between himself and his friends (Extract 8.24), although he does not see this as affecting his overall Polish identity. For Anna, there is a rupture in her positioning: she feels herself to be 'an outsider Polish person' (Extract 8.23, lines 398-399) due to the way she speaks Polish. In a Polish setting, therefore,

there is a shift in the positions the adolescents adopt and those which are imposed upon them.

The stories recounted by the adolescents thus appear to correspond to the notion of identity as contingent. Here, the adolescents can be seen to move amongst identities not only between school and home, but also between different home settings in England and Poland. Linguistic positions as learner and expert that are valid in one country become irrelevant in another (Pavlenko 2001). While many of the adolescents suggest that they would not feel themselves to be less Polish were they not to speak the language, once in Poland, several detect a change in the way their Polishness is constructed. It therefore appears that both their ethnic and linguistic identities require a renegotiation in each setting and are created from a 'continuous confrontation of the self with others' (De Fina 2011, p.271).

From the stories told by the adolescents, therefore, it becomes apparent that monolingual ideologies which influence ideas of a separate bilingualism and which operate as a cultural norm in the UK, are key in shaping the linguistic identities of the adolescents in this study also. This may be seen to occur to varying degrees both in a school and a home setting. The following section will assess the extent to which the adolescents' identity positions are restricted as they endeavour to create and negotiate their ethnic identity.

9.3 British Poles – or Poles in Britain?

This section explores how the adolescents attempt to construct their ethnic identity, and how far certain identity positions may be allowed to them. The study suggests that the adolescents are unable to construct either a British or a British/Polish hybrid

identity, and that efforts at ethnic identity construction are stymied by others'
perceptions, which may be seen in turn as underpinned by wider discourses.

9.3.1   Attempted affiliation with Britain

Work in socio and applied linguistics often depicts migrants as forging hybrid identities
that combine elements of their country of birth or origin with that of the place to which
they then move. However, it is argued here that while the adolescents may try to create
British identities, this is often undercut by the way they are positioned by others. This
runs counter to other studies examining identity. Harris (2006) asserts that individuals
do not move between 'two entirely separate, strongly bounded and homogeneous
cultures […] inhabiting first one sealed world and then the other' (p.1), but that they are
able to blend their identities fluidly. Other studies have also emphasised the nature of
hybrid identities; these include Creese et al. (2006) on Gujarati-speaking students in
Birmingham; Rampton (2006, 2011) on hybrid language use amongst adolescents; and
Block (2006a) on individuals living in London.

On the one hand, the idea of hybridity, the fusing of two cultures, may seem to sit
uncomfortably with the poststructuralist notion of identity as fluid; and would instead
appear to suggest an essentialisation of the idea of culture. It might be argued that if
hybridity is seen as drawing on and blending two (or more) cultures, then this
necessitates a conceptualisation of culture as essentialised.

Yet the notion of hybridity which is found in post-structuralist literature is that of a
fluidity; Pavlenko (2001) notes the way hybrid identities create and are created through
the 'deconstruction of links between language, ethnicity, and race' (p.332), that is, the
breaking down of such essentialised categories and notions. A view of hybridity being
part of the notion of fluid identities is echoed in Harris's (2006) work on Brasians. For

Harris, hybridity involves 'the rich and elaborate interwoven enactment of ethnicities' (p.13), that is, the way in which an individual blends of ways of being, be this through linguistic or other practices.

This is not to say that such blending, or fusion, is seamless. Pavlenko (2001) questions whether two (or multiple) cultures can sit easily with each other; she contends that '"bi-culturalism" is a problematic notion', noting how many bilingual writers highlight 'the impossibility of unproblematic biculturalism' (p.333). For such writers, Pavlenko avers, trying to marry two cultures remains challenging; an individual may feel herself as permanently lying outside each of them. This is echoed by Sime and Fox (2015), who talk of 'the conflict of living at the intersection of contrasting cultures' (p.2). The feeling of falling between two cultures has also been reported by Slany and Strzemecka (2016) in their study of Polish children in Norway, where a certain proportion of children interviewed felt themselves to be uncertain as to their identification. Other studies also emphasise the difficulty an individual may have in adapting. Both Chen (2010) and Wen Ma (2010) describe the problems faced by a Chinese student in the context of an American school.

In this current study, some of the adolescents present themselves as attempting to establish a British identity. Greg, who chooses to use an anglicised abbreviation of his Polish name Grzegorz, asserts that he is 'kind of more British' (Extract 6.19, lines 335-336), having moved to the UK eleven years ago, at the age of five. Although he has only been in the country for two years, Filip expresses a strong desire to remain in the UK, where he plans to become a vet (Extract 6.14). In positioning his imagined future self as a valid member of British society, Filip can be seen to be drawing on the experience of his elder sister Agnieszka, who has been living in the UK for around fifteen years. However, while Agnieszka also had ambitions of becoming a vet, she is now working in a supermarket (Extract 6.15). This can be seen as an example of the

way that migrant individuals often have to reposition themselves in relation to the new context in which they find themselves (Pavlenko 2002a). Filip's account of his sister's experience also chimes with Hoffman (1989), who shows her parents having to confront a change in their socio-economic status on arrival in late 1950s Canada. She describes her father, coming from a relatively comfortable existence in Poland, now facing the situation of having 'no money, no language, and no accredited profession' (Hoffman 1989, p.125).

The way that Filip echoes Agnieszka's wish to become a vet echoes Bakhtin's (1984) notion of appropriating the voices of others in order to create one's own. Filip is borrowing the voice of his elder sister in an attempt to establish his own position within Britain; at the same time, drawing on Bakhtin's (1981) notion of dialogics, Filip can be seen to be in dialogue with his possible future self (Markus & Nurius 1986) that he sees as living in Britain.

That Filip desires an affiliation with Britain can also be detected in the attention he pays to his use of English. This is reflected in his repeated concerns that his English is not good enough (Extract 7.9), together with the way he appropriates an English idiom to phrase his ambition (Extract 6.14). For Rampton (1990), and Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997), affiliation with a language denotes not only an individual's attachment to that language but also a wish to be identified with a certain social grouping (Rampton 1990, p.99). Filip's efforts also chime with work which draws on Norton's notion of investment in the target language as key to successful learning, that not only necessitates but also results in a repositioning of the self (Norton 1997; McKinney & Norton 2008; see also Pavlenko 2003; Block 2008; Norton & McKinney 2011). The issue of pronunciation is also mentioned by Drummond (2012), who highlights the 'clear connection between issues of identity and the context of L2 speech, particularly in relation to pronunciation accuracy' (p.111).

While Anna's attachment to Britain may be strengthened by the fact that she has a British passport, like Filip, Anna can be seen to demonstrate an affiliation to the UK through the language she uses. During a discussion on the EU Referendum (Extract 6.26), her use of possessive pronouns – Anna speaks of 'our country' (line 532) and 'us' (line 535) to refer to Britain – suggests Anna is positioning herself as British. However, given that Anna also admits to not knowing much about the Referendum (line 507), it may be inferred that the opinion she then proffers comes from other sources. Like Filip, Anna is borrowing others' voices in her construction of a new identity, those of the nationalistic discourse within Britain that was prevalent in much debate during the Referendum campaign.

Despite their efforts, however, each of these adolescents has been challenged in their attempts to create a British identity. The bullying to which Filip is subjected positions him as an unwelcome outsider: he is told 'to go back to Poland' (Extract 6.11, line 236). This recalls the 'outsider status' of Poles within Britain (Ryan 2010, p.365). Anna's mispronunciation of certain words instantly leads her friends to reposition her (Extract 7.6). For Greg, however much he sees himself as emmeshed in British customs, his account of the geography lesson where he and another classmate are verbally 'bombed' as Polish migrants (Extract 6.18, line 204) demonstrates that others do not necessarily view British as a valid identity position for Greg and the other Polish boy in the class.

In resisting others' positioning of them as unwelcome, Greg and his Polish classmate revert to describing the situation in Poland and reasserting their right as Poles to be living in Britain. This chimes with Tartakovsky (2009), who argues that discrimination influences identity construction, and that 'the resistance of the receiving society to accept them and validate their cultural identity' may 'encourage immigrants to increase their sense of belonging to their homeland' (p.666). Such a view echoes Verkuyten's

(1997) study of individuals of Turkish origin residing in the Netherlands which suggested that 'assimilation was […] impossible because of the existence of racism and discrimination' (p.577). Similar findings are present in Kurban and Tobin (2009), concerning Turkish migrants in Germany, and Strzemecka (2015) on the experiences of Polish children in Norway.

Stories told by several of the adolescents in this current study appear to chime with this, whereby they respond to others' positioning of them as unwelcome not by claiming a right to Britishness, but by drawing on their rights and identities as Poles. When Beata finds herself obliged to explain why her family came to the UK, she reverts to the stereotype of the hard-working Pole (Appendix 5, Extract A.3). Elsewhere, Ryszard evokes the debt owed by Britain to Polish participation in the Second World War (Extract 6.21), drawing on the image of the brave Polish soldier which still resonates in contemporary Poland (see Gross, M. 2010; Sterczewski 2016). In each of these examples, when the adolescents find themselves subjected to anti-Polish sentiment, they react by reasserting their Polishness, and drawing on tropes which underpin this identity.

How the adolescents understand Polishness and the extent to which they are invested in their Polish identity will be examined next.

9.3.2   Polish identity

It has been argued above that the adolescents resort to asserting their Polish identity in response to challenges; the way they draw on Polish voices and tropes in resisting others' positioning of them would imply that a Polish identity is important to them. However, as will be discussed below, it also appears that their Polish identity is relevant in other ways, too, with some mentioning the possibility of returning to Poland.

That the adolescents in this study are all to some extent invested in their Polish identity is indicated by the fact that they all attend regular Polish classes. These language lessons, both at Grovesham and St. Ferdinand's, incorporate other elements which may be seen as 'the basis or the core of 'Polishness'' (Slany & Strzemecka 2016, p.18). The adolescents mentioned learning about history or religious festivals (Appendix 5, Extracts A.8 – A.10), while the first observed session at Grovesham (S1) included the quiz on Epiphany conducted by Jo Malinowska (Extract 7.12). The adolescents' apparent willingness to follow these classes runs counter to studies which note resistance amongst adolescents to attending complementary language classes (Tuominen 1999) or maintaining the heritage language (Caldas & Caron-Caldas 2002).

The students investigated here also reported learning Polish for pragmatic reasons, seeing it as providing a useful qualification for their future, which the adolescents often envisage as being in the UK. Here, Polish can be understood as linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1997, 1982); that the adolescents saw it in this way echoes work by Francis, Archer and Mau (2009) on students' perceptions of the value of Chinese complementary schools. This is reflected in several studies on language learning at complementary schools. These include Tereshchenko and Grau Cárdenas (2013) on Ukrainian schools in Portugal; while in the UK, Lytra (2013) has similar findings on Turkish schools, as do Creese et al. (2006) on students learning Gujarati. In this current study, Anna viewed Polish in part as enhancing the other language competencies she was building upon, which included French and Spanish. However, Ryszard also felt his Polish GCSE would be useful proof that he could speak the language were he to return to Poland (Extract 8.27). For these students, therefore, attendance at Polish language lessons can be seen to serve a broader purpose; knowing Polish is not only a manifestation of their current identity, but is seen as part of their imagined future selves. This chimes with Norton (1997), and Early and Norton (2012), who see individuals' language learning as implicated in the construction of their

future identities. Again, this may be understood in a Bakhtinian sense, whereby the adolescents engage in a dialogue with their future selves and the individuals they envisage becoming.

The importance of Polish identity to the adolescents here is also implied in other practices. One of these is the way that several of them report debating questions of Polishness with their families, and the frequency with which they draw on these discussions. In the conversation about which of his group of friends had the right to call himself Polish, Ryszard draws on his mother's answer (Extract 7.22). Discussions of Polish politics also take place amongst family members, which the adolescents appear to cite when putting forward opinions about current affairs in Poland. Marek explains that he learns such things from his uncle in Poland (Extract 8.30). It may also have been from conversations amongst family members that Krystyna takes her ideas about wanting to return to Poland to die (Extract 8.32). Here, the adolescents may each be seen as appropriating the voices of those around them (Bakhtin 1984). For Bakhtin (1981), the self is also constructed in dialogue not only with the present and future, but with the past. Ryszard's allusion to the brave Polish soldier (Extract 6.21), an image which dates back to the time of the partitions in the 18th and 19th centuries (see Chapter 2), shows him engaging dialogically with older tropes. In all these instances, that these are Polish voices upon which the adolescents are drawing, and which they are appropriating, suggest that the adolescents are fashioning their identity as Poles within a British context rather than necessarily seeking to create a third space in which the two identities are fused.

Two students who present themselves as having a strong affiliation with Poland are Tomasz and Krystyna. As mentioned above, Krystyna expresses a wish to go back to die in Poland. Krystyna also hints at a disjuncture between her own ethnic identity and that of her younger brother. As she notes in her initial description of him: '*but* he was

born here' (Extract 8.13, line 73, my emphasis). This may suggest that Krystyna feels a distance between herself and her brother due to the different countries in which they were born. In a study of three sisters of Ecuadorian heritage, the youngest of whom was born in the host country, America, King (2013) highlights the way in which 'linguistic identities potentially vary within one generation of siblings' (p.61). It may also be that ethnic affiliations vary greatly, especially when siblings are born in different countries.

Tomasz appears to switch from one identity to another. On the one hand, Tomasz insists that he does not feel any different from the other, non-Polish students at school (Extract 6.20), yet – as cited above – he rejects his parents' positioning of him as 'a good English guy' when they criticise his translation skills (Extract 8.16, line 606). He also declares his wish to return to Poland (Extract 8.28). By the following week, however, Tomasz has decided he no longer wants to go back in light of the changing political situation in the country (Extract 8.29). Tomasz's uncertainty as to where he wants to settle reflects the thoughts of those in Slany and Strzemecka (2016) who 'are often unsure about where they would like to live' (p.21).

Tomasz's continued affiliation with Poland can also be seen in the way he continues to follow his local Polish football team (Appendix 5, Extract A.11). Such an activity can be seen as one of a number of ways in which maintaining a relationship with Poland is important for many of the adolescents as a continued manifestation of their Polish identity. These may also be understood in terms of transnational practices, and will be discussed below.

9.3.3   Transnational identities

As set out in Chapter 4, transnationalism is understood in this study as the way that individuals endeavour to maintain their identity across two (or more) cultures or countries, and 'involves simultaneous, social, political and economic ties with two or more nation states' (Block 2006a, p.19). In this current study, these states are taken to be Poland and the UK, and in the case of Yamina, Algeria also. It has been acknowledged that 'the nature of these [transnational] links may vary widely' (Staeheli & Nagel 2006, p.1603), depending on the individual's circumstances and setting (Duff 2015), and that the importance of maintaining transnational connections differs according to the individual (Levitt, DeWind & Vertovec 2003; Vertovec 2009). This variation in adopting such practices is also seen in the adolescents' stories, especially given their status as younger migrants.

Scholars have noted how transnational practices may be seen to vary between adults and minors, although 'the role of children is still to be fully understood' in discussing transnationalism (Sime & Fox 2015, p.2). The way that younger migrants may construct transnational identities is also less studied. Research on Polish migration has emphasised the mobility associated with Polish migrants; however, such work focuses on the experiences of those over the age of eighteen. Applied linguistics studies have explored transnational identities formed by young adults such as Chinese university students (Li Wei & Zhu Hua 2013) or educated Spaniards who have moved to London (Block 2008). For the adolescents in this current study, however, transnational activities as those described in such studies are not necessarily accessible.

One such area highlighted in studies is that of the 'liquid migration' (Engbersen, Snel & de Boom 2010) enjoyed by Polish migrants. The availability of cheap air transport has been cited as facilitating the mobility of Polish migrants (Burrell 2008, p.367, 2011; see also Bell & Erdal 2015) and as a way of doing transnationalism (Vertovec 2009, p.18).

However, this is not reflected in the experiences recounted by the adolescents in this current research. On the one hand, the adolescents all spoke of visiting Poland on a regular basis. They also described visits from family members from Poland to England. The frequency of the adolescents' visits to Poland was, however, restricted by a number of factors. The first was that of their families' economic situation, as noted by Sylwia and Yamina (Extract 8.19 and 8.20); this also curtailed Yamina's ability to form a transnational relationship with Algeria, her father's country of birth. Several of the adolescents explained that their parents are in low-paid work, or unemployed, and that the air fare often proves prohibitive.

On the one hand, this could be seen to reflect the noted rise in airfares over the past few years, which has also led to a reduction in the number of UK-Poland routes served (Starmer-Smith 2009). However, the experiences related by Yamina and Sylwia also echo Bauman (2000) who cautions that transnational qualities and freedoms are often restricted to the elite classes, who enjoy greater economic freedom. This in turn reflects the classed nature of migration, social class being seen here as 'the composite of wealth, occupation, education and symbolic behaviour' (Block 2006a, p.35). The difference between the 'lifestyle migration' for those 'relatively affluent individuals of all ages' (Benson & O'Reilly 2009, p.609), and migration prompted by the need 'for work or asylum' (O'Reilly 2007, p.281) thus becomes apparent, a distinction also made by Johansson and Śliwa (2016) in their investigation of social and organisational differentiation amongst Polish migrants in the UK. It may also be seen that those individuals who have greater capital – both financial and symbolic – have the advantage of possessing greater mobility, including the flexibility to travel back and forth (see Oliver & 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.

A further restriction on the transnational mobility of adolescents is that imposed by their school timetable. As noted in White (2017), unlike the single young adult migrants whose experiences are the focus of much work on migration and identity, adolescents are constrained by legal requirements of school attendance and cannot travel whenever they wish. Just as they had little say in the original migratory decision (Slany & Strzemecka 2016; Darlington 2017), nor are adolescents necessarily able to decide when trips to Poland can take place. Rather, this is more likely to be decided by parents.

An attendant difficulty faced by some adolescents is the emotional effect associated with having to travel between the two locations. Marek visits Poland every summer to see his father. They appear to enjoy a warm relationship, and Marek finds coming back to England difficult (Extract 6.5). This echoes findings by Slany and Strzemecka (2016), one of whose participants talks about missing her grandmother, explaining '[w]henever I visit Poland, I don't have the heart to leave for Norway' (p.24). It may be harder for younger migrants to live away from family members than it is for older individuals, and thus enjoy a transnational identity; this may be especially difficult for children whose parents have separated and are living in different countries, as in the case of Anna and Marek.

The adolescents are, however, able to sustain links with Poland through technology. While Vertovec (2009) cautions that not all individuals have access to the technology which can help facilitate a transnational existence, such as mobile phones or satellite television, the adolescents in this study have at their disposal a range of technological tools which allow them to maintain such contact. Communication with friends and family in Poland occurs through cheap telephone calls or texts, or through Skype; this reflects findings on the transnational habits of Polish migrants (e.g. Bell & Erdal 2015; Erdal & Lewicki 2016). Erdal and Lewicki also suggest that satellite television and

streaming programmes through the internet are further ways in which individuals can maintain links with their country of origin. Many of the adolescents here spoke of watching Polish television, often for entertainment but also to see the news from Poland.

As noted in the previous section, several of the boys also reported discussing the Polish political situation and current affairs with friends and family in the UK and in Poland. As mentioned above, Tomasz continues to follow his local Polish football team, while other boys show themselves aware of the Polish footballers who play for English teams (Extract 7.18). These all represent ways of maintaining links with the country of origin.

It can therefore be seen that despite the limitations on visiting Poland, many of the adolescents do engage in some sort of transnational activities, although this varies amongst them. This would chime with the literature cited above that suggests not all migrants will have – or want to have – any contact with the country of origin, dependent on circumstance or on each individual's own desires (Block 2006a), and that those who do participate 'do so with considerable variation in the sectors, levels, strength, and formality of their involvement' (Levitt, DeWind & Vertovec 2003, p.569). It also needs to be recognised that for adolescents, their experience of transnationalism differs from that of adults (White 2017).

Transnational identities thus allow migrant individuals to maintain a sense of who they are in each setting: in her study on home and migration, Kinefuchi (2010) notes the 'double consciousness' of migrants, as 'both embodied in and maintained through transnational relationships' (p.232). However, it will be argued in the next section (9.4) that such duality can also cause challenges: this was a key element to emerge from the adolescents' stories.

This section has discussed the complications encountered by the adolescents as they attempt to construct their ethnic identities, but find certain identity positions denied to them. Having argued that the manifestation of anti-Polish sentiment has impacted on the adolescents' ability to establish a British identity, in the final part of this chapter, I discuss how questions of racism and the positioning of EU migrants within a contemporary British context relate to identity construction by the adolescents.

9.4 (In)Visibility

9.4.1 (Re)conceptualisations of whiteness in a contemporary context

As set out in section 3.4, the ostensibly homogenous nature of whiteness has been problematised in wider literature (e.g. Bonnett 1997; Jackson 1998; Garner 2006, 2009; Twine & Gallagher 2008). That whiteness is now seen to be 'a relational concept rather than a singular unvarying category' (McDowell 2009, p.28) has become especially pertinent in the relationship between older and newer member states of the EU, witnessed in discrimination against Eastern European migrants (Fox, Moroşanu & Szilassy 2015). Nor is whiteness any longer seen as a guarantor of invisibility. The accounts given by the adolescents in this study suggest that they have been rendered visible as Polish migrants in a number of ways, and that this has exposed them to racial prejudice. Their stories indicate how they position themselves against this, and in relation to other minority groups in the UK.

On the one hand, the adolescents may be seen to take on a 'putative whiteness' (Fox 2013, p.1871), and to adopt the hierarchies around them in which white is a privileged category. Krystyna describes her initial surprise on seeing different cultures when she first arrived in Britain, explaining that she had assumed Britain to be 'a country of white people' (Extract 6.22, line 624), of which she evidently considers herself one. Like

Krystyna, Anna also comments that she never saw 'a Muslim or black person' in Poland (Appendix 5, Extract A.5, line 606). It would have been interesting to see whether similar comments would have been made at Grovesham, given the presence of Yamina, a self-identifying Polish Muslim, in the Polish class. While there did not appear to be any overt reference made to Yamina's presence, neither did I choose to investigate this (see section 10.3). The comments made by Krystyna and Anna echo Parutis (2011), who finds that many migrants from Eastern Europe 'come to the UK without any prior experience of the black community' (p.279).

In an investigation into racism perpetrated by Hungarians and Romanians in the UK, Fox (2013) describes how Hungarians may claim whiteness and engage in racist practices as a way of challenging their low status within the host country. He asserts that taking 'recourse to racism is […] a way that aligns them racially with the dominant majority', and with the 'privileged category of whiteness' (Fox 2013, p.1880). Tomasz and Ryszard may be seen to be using such strategies in their attempt to define the distinction between 'migrants' and 'refugees' (Extract 6.20). While migrants are portrayed as acting 'peacefully' (line 668) in moving to another country to improve their lives, refugees are associated with those responsible for the terrorist attacks of November 2015 in Paris, and March 2016 in Brussels. As cited in Chapter 6 (p.177), Fox (2013) highlights the implicit link made between skin colour and terrorism. Here, Tomasz and Ryszard appear to be situating themselves as white migrants. As such, they are distinct from refugees, who are positioned by media discourses as constituting a terrorist threat. In their study of Polish migrants in London, Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich (2006) note that just over half the Polish migrants they interviewed, emphasised the importance of being white in British society, and the position it affords them in the social hierarchy. For Ryszard and Tomasz here, positioning themselves as white leans on the discourse around terrorism, and serves to distance them from supposed attackers. The way the boys appear to adopt such attitudes would suggest

that they are borrowing these discourses (Bakhtin 1986) and appropriating them in the way they position themselves.

However, other adolescents who show themselves to be aware of their positioning as migrants choose to align themselves with others they perceive to be in similar circumstances. Beata offers the opinion that migrants in Poland would experience greater difficulties than Poles face in England: she gives the example of a Russian girl at her school whom 'everyone just hate[d]' (Extract 7.4, lines 167-8). While this attitude may stem from the continuing distrust in Polish-Russian relations (cf. Krzyżanowski 1983, p.19; Trenin 2007), it nonetheless shows Beata to be conscious of her own status as a migrant, and the way that she may be positioned by others. That Beata recalls an immigrant pupil in her school reflects Grzymała-Kazłowska (2009), who insists on the 'increasing diversity of the Polish society' since 1989 (p.58), and a growing 'visibility and awareness of immigrants' (p.59).

While Krystyna initially is surprised to find Britain to be a multicultural environment, and positions herself as white, her experiences of anti-Polish sentiment at school show her that a migrant identity does not necessarily allow her access to this category. In a discussion about accusations levelled at migrants in relation to taking jobs, she takes up another position. Krystyna firstly notes how the doctors she sees are not English, but 'usually Muslim dentists Muslim doctors' (Extract 6.23, line 378). She then draws on the trope of the hard-working migrant, as someone who will endure the work required to succeed in such professions, and criticises the 'English people' who 'are blaming us for' taking such jobs when 'we're putting the effort' in (Extract 6.23, lines 380-381). The use of 'us' and 'we' here marks the change in Krystyna's self-positioning; the way she is now aligning herself with a non-white minority group hints at an implicit recognition that the position of white is not permitted to her, regardless of her Caucasian skin colour. Yet Krystyna may also be seen to be drawing on a different hierarchy, one

which positions migrants as being more competent workers than English employees (see Datta & Brickell 2009). It is also telling that Krystyna sees the 'Muslim dentists Muslim doctors' as discrete from 'English people' (Extract 6.23); she does not appear to consider the creation of a hybrid identity in any sense.

The adolescents' stories thus show them trying to find their position within an often hostile community. Such hostility may in part stem from the low socio-economic status of their families and the perceived low status of the jobs which many of their parents have. Within this, the positions available to the adolescents are limited. It appears that the high-status category of whiteness, with its implicit nature of privilege, is not a position allowed to migrants, regardless of any Caucasian appearance. What I did not explore at Grovesham was the extent to which Yamina may have encountered racism, as a girl who wears a hijab and self-identifies as Polish and a Muslim. This may be regarded as a limitation of the study; reasons as to why this was not examined further are discussed in Chapter 10.

The accounts thus suggest that the black/white dichotomy which prevails in much socio and applied linguistics literature is difficult to apply in this instance. The way in which Poles may be positioned, and also position themselves, can be seen to go beyond the black/white understanding of race and racism. This feeds into the question of visibility, and of how visibility also extends beyond skin colour.

9.4.2 Becoming visible through language

One way in which Polish individuals become visible in a UK context is through language. Gaine (2008) notes how '[a]wareness of the new immigrant presence' includes 'hearing Eastern European languages spoken in the street or in shops' (p.70). However, language difference also appears to have become a legitimate target for

attack (see Chapter 2). While linguistic xenophobia is not in itself a new phenomenon, in recent years language has increasingly become a proxy for racism, and linguistic discrimination and xenophobia accepted in a way that traditional racism is not (Simpson & Cooke 2009). It has been argued that this is animated in part by the political discourse on migration which accentuates the need for migrants to know English, and equates speaking English with British citizenship (see Ager & Strang 2004; Cooke 2008; Mehmedbegović 2008, 2012; Hamilton & Hillier 2009; Courtney 2017).

While the debate over language may have intensified during the 2015 General Election campaign (see Chapter 2), and would do so again in 2017, discrimination against Poles based on linguistic grounds was not in any way new (Drozdowicz, cited in TLANG 2016; also see Long, Hylton & Spracklen 2014). This is reflected in the experiences recounted by the adolescents here.

Krystyna describes a feeling of discomfort when speaking Polish in public spaces, as she feels that people start to look at her in the street if she is using the language (Extract 8.9). Nonetheless, Krystyna adopts an attitude of resistance, refusing to stop talking in Polish when out with her mother. This was not reflected in any other accounts; in fact, Anna gave the example of a restaurant where she felt the staff had shown interest in the language she was speaking to her grandparents rather than any animosity towards the family (Extract 8.10). However, school did appear to be a site where language use became problematic. Krystyna again reported feeling uncomfortable speaking Polish: conscious of and embarrassed by the visibility it gives her, she has stopped using Polish at school (Extract 7.21). Krystyna's self-censorship in this instance can interpreted as her feeling the need to suppress her Polish identity at school.

Other adolescents suggest it is their use of English which causes difficulties. Filip accounts for the bullying he encountered at his first school as due to the fact that he could not speak English (Extract 6.12). For Anna, it is her pronunciation of certain words in English which suddenly renders her Polish identity visible to her friends (Extract 7.6). Language visibility at school thus appears to be linked to both use of Polish and perceived lack of competency in English. This appears to replicate the dominant linguistic ideology apparent in English language educational settings which are dominated by a 'monolingual/monocultural ideology' (Benesch 2008, p.296), and where emphasis is placed on 'deficit models of those who do not speak English' (Wortham & Rhodes 2013, p.545; also see Mehmedbegović 2012, p.68).

However, the adolescents also report a similar situation in Poland, where linguistic visibility can be seen to work the other way. When the adolescents visit Poland, here too they feel themselves marked out as different, but in this context owing to the way that they speak Polish. There, their accent and sometimes lack of competency in the language serve to signal to others that they no longer live in Poland. This disjuncture and the impact on identity has been noted in Valentine, Sporton and Bang Nielsen (2008, pp.380-381) in relation to a similar experience described by a seventeen-year-old girl resident in Sheffield, on visiting Somalia, her country of birth. The impact is made particularly explicit in the account given by Anna, who feels unable to defend her initial self-positioning as Polish: she has become 'an outsider Polish person' (Extract 8.23, lines 398-399). Thus, as much as in the UK, language becomes a visible identity marker in Poland, and acts to reposition the adolescents in the eyes of others.

A further way in which language may render an individual visible and act as an indicator of ethnicity is through names (Weinrach 1990; Joseph 2004; Chandra 2006; Finch 2008). In her study on London schools, Mehmedbegović (2008) cites one head teacher who self-identified as 'Polish-Scottish'. Despite the fact that half of his family

came from Scotland, it was through the man's Polish name that others invariably chose to categorise him, disregarding the Scottish element of his identity (Mehmedbegović 2008, p.10). Whilst none of the adolescents in this study had decided to change their names, Greg had chosen to take on an anglicised abbreviation of his Polish name Grzegorz, while Ryszard used the anglicised pronunciation of his name – 'Richard' – when speaking English (see section 5.4.1 on how pseudonyms were chosen). Although Anna did not mention this herself, part of the reason why her schoolmates do not associate Anna with a Polish identity may also be that her first name, while Polish, is spelt in an identical way to the English language version. Nor does Anna have a particularly Polish-sounding surname (see Stodolska 2000, p.46 on identifying 'Polish-sounding names'). In this way, it could be surmised that these particular adolescents remain confident enough in their Polish identity and in displaying it not to feel that changing their name is necessary. This is however in stark contrast to another child that Jo Malinowska had met, and who had decided to change her surname on starting secondary school. This would suggest that while the adolescents in this study do not feel the need to minimise their invisibility, there are others who feel quite differently. That this research does not include such individuals may be seen as a limitation of a study concerned with identity construction of Polish adolescents in the UK, and will be discussed in Chapter 10.

Where the focus here has been on how language use may render an individual visible, the following section discusses how the adolescents are made visible as migrants, both through school and in wider discourses.

9.4.3   Visibility as migrants

While the language they use may act as a marker of the adolescents' linguistic identities, their visibility as migrants emerges in part from the lessons they attend. This

pertains to the language classes at both Grovesham and St. Ferdinand's, and also to school geography lessons. Underpinning this is a wider discourse that positions migrants, particularly those from Poland, in a certain way.

Writing in 2003, Brown notes how Polish migrants 'lack visibility' due to the 'parallel universe' in which they are operating, that is, as illegal workers (p.22). Nicola Werenowska (2013) poignantly depicts the clandestine nature of pre-2004 migrant life in her play *Tu I Teraz* (*Here and Now*). Since 2004, however, Polish migration has been made visible through a heated political and public discourse, fuelled by representations of Poles in the media (see Rzepnikowska 2013; Spigelman 2013; Fox, Moroşanu & Szilassy 2015). Such positionings can be seen to impact on the way that Polish children view themselves and how they are perceived by others.

In her study of Polish children in Norway, Strzemecka (2015) argues that while the Polish migrants may appear 'indistinguishable' from their Norwegian classmates due to their physical characteristics and modes of dress, the Polish child 'remains "visible" for himself or herself', conscious of his/her position as a migrant (p.84). The findings of this current study indicate several ways that the migrant identity of the adolescents at Grovesham School are rendered visible. One way is through EAL assistance. Attending EAL classes marks students out as English learners, and can also underline their position as individuals who were not born in the UK. Investigating the identity construction of a Chinese child attending school in the US, Chen (2010) notes how even though the student was primarily positioned 'as an advanced math student', the school community also ascribed him 'the identity of an ENL [English-as-a-New-Language] student' (p.172). At Grovesham, visibility comes from the presence of Jo Malinowska, the bilingual teacher, in mainstream lessons (Extract 7.5). The language help provided at Grovesham, whilst valuable, thereby draws attention to the students'

differences from the dominant majority; it defines them in terms of their English language competency, and their non-British ethnicity.

The adolescents also become visible through attending Polish classes. The timetabling of the Polish lessons at Grovesham as an extra-curricular activity, and the way they appear restricted to students with Polish parents (see section 5.2.3), inevitably marks out those who attend the classes. Krystyna and Anna are also made visible by their attendance at St. Ferdinand's, in that they have to curtail the time spent with friends in order to attend classes (Appendix 5, Extract A.9).

For Greg, his identity as a Polish migrant emerges from the incident in the geography class. Included in the AQA GCSE Geography syllabus is a module on Polish migration. In this, EU migrants are positioned in a way that reflects the dominant discourse. They are shown as taking up low paid jobs such as fruit pickers, or discussing their decision to migrate, and whether to return to their country of origin (see Appendix 6 for sample papers). The discussion on Polish migration thus throws an unwelcome spotlight on Greg and his Polish classmate.

The way that the other children subsequently turn on Greg and his classmate, accusing their parents of 'stealing jobs' (Extract 6.18, line 195), can be seen as appropriating the negative view of EU and Polish migration that has become part of political and public discourse. Fox, Moroşanu and Szilassy (2015) note how 'politicians and the media have constructed East European migrants as different and at times threatening' (p.729), noting that such 'anti-immigrant rhetoric […] has contributed to a general climate of hostility' (p.730), an argument also posited by Rzepnikowska (2013) and Spigelman (2013). McDowell (2009) notes how the stereotypical image of the 'Polish plumber' has become 'a spectre to be feared in France, Germany and the UK alike' (p.20).

Such sentiments may also be seen to underpin the incident Krystyna recounts where girls in the class laugh when she says her father is a builder (Extract 6.16). The girls may be seen to be drawing on the prevailing stereotype of the Polish manual worker. The prominence of the image is acknowledged by Datta and Brickell (2009), who note the increasing visibility of Polish migrants on building sites, due to the large number of Poles working in construction. When talking about her family, however, Krystyna is keen to stress that her father is an electrician, not a builder, and presents her mother as a beautician rather than a factory worker (Extract 6.17). Krystyna's choice of how to describe her parents' jobs suggests her awareness of the skills hierarchy, whereby some jobs are positioned higher than others (Datta & Brickell 2009); skilled work such as that performed by an electrician is above that of manual building work. This also mirrors findings by Parutis (2011), who describes the way that 'East European domestic workers employ certain strategies' to enhance their social status in an individual sense (p.273). Parutis notes how one such method was for such workers to inform 'their employers about their 'true' identity and skills' in their country of origin, be this as graduate students or professionals (p.273). The workers thus become agentive in negotiating their identity, and in repositioning themselves in the view of others. Similarly, Krystyna's repositioning of her parents can be seen as a refusal to reduce them to stereotypes, and in that refusal, to reject the dominant narrative of Polish migrant workers.

The question of classed migration again arises here (see section 9.3.3); it is a moot point whether these adolescents would face similarly malign comments were their parents considered to be professionals, such as doctors or teachers, and whether they would be in a stronger position to resist such accusations. Nonetheless, in the stories they narrate, Greg and Krystyna each present themselves as agentive in their attempts to repel the prevalent discourse. This is not to see agency merely as a 'synonym for resistance' (Ahearn 2001, p.115), but as the ability to create a story whereby the

narrator has not only 'agency in the presentation of self' (Pavlenko 2007, p.177), but control over the presentation of others. Hence Greg repositions his Polish classmate as his 'friend' (Extract 6.18, line 205), while Krystyna chooses to emphasise the skilled nature of her parents' work.

On the one hand, the stories of resistance told by Greg and Krystyna run counter to the notion of victimhood that may be seen as central to 'Polish nationalist discourse', reproduced in stories from adult migrants (Kempny 2011, p.134). At the same time, however, their agency is shown to be limited. In challenging the anti-Polish sentiment they encounter, rather than attempting to re-establish a British identity, the adolescents resort to reinforcing and repositioning their Polish identity. Greg and his Polish classmate endeavour to explain the situation in Poland; they do not seem to have the space either to draw on a claim to a British identity, or to attempt to create a fused identity.

The subject positions allowed to the Polish migrants in this current study thus appear to be very different to those permitted to the adolescents in studies such as that of Harris (2006). This may partly be because, although Grovesham School has a diverse demographic (Ofsted Report 2015), the adolescents do not live in such a multi-ethnic and multilingual environment as the urban conurbations that often focus in applied linguistics studies (e.g. Block 2006a; Cooke 2008). It could also be that the participants in earlier studies belong to the second generation or later, whilst those in this current study are newer arrivals, and so feel themselves visible, as suggested by Strzemecka (2015). The importance of not being identified as a newcomer, even amongst those of the same ethnic origin, is highlighted by Creese et al. (2006) in their study of Gujarati-speaking adolescents in Birmingham.

It therefore appears that visibility as Polish migrants for these adolescents takes several forms within school, which can be seen as informed by wider discourses. Such

visibility impacts on their identity construction, for while the adolescents attempt to present themselves as agentive in their resistance of stereotypes, it appears that they can only reposition themselves within the parameters of what it means to be a Polish migrant. That is, by emphasising their right (at the time of the study) to live and work in another EU country, and to have other professions than builder and factory worker. This reiterates the link with work cited earlier on the difficulty faced by migrants in attempting to forge new identities (Verkuyten 1997; Kurban & Tobin 2009; Tartakovsky 2009; Strzemecka 2015). At the same time, however, it runs counter to literature in socio and applied linguistics which predominantly sees ethnic minority adolescents as able to create hybrid identities. The adolescents' stories cited in this study would suggest that identity work in socio and applied linguistics needs to re-examine notions of hybridity, and to acknowledge that the ability to take up hybrid identity positions is not necessarily available to all individuals equally.

This study thus proposes that visibility cannot simply be understood in terms of outward appearance. Rather, it has a variety of manifestations which are arguably no less potent than that of skin colour and which may lead to individuals being subjected to racial abuse or discrimination in varying forms.

9.5 Summary

It can therefore be seen that a discussion of the findings in this study chimes with literature in socio and applied linguistics scholarship which sees identity as contingent, changing across time and space (e.g. Norton 1997; Pavlenko 2001, 2003; De Fina 2003a; Darvin & Norton 2014). Findings here also suggest that there are constraints on the subject positions allowed to these adolescents as they attempt to (re)negotiate their positions.

In the UK, dominant discourses on migrants, especially Polish migrants, drive the way in which the adolescents are perceived by others. Due to the various ways in which visibility is foisted upon the adolescents, it becomes difficult for them to break away from the positioning implied by this and to create hybrid identities. Even as the adolescents try to resist this positioning and challenge the stereotypes, they revert to drawing on Polish tropes which serve only to underline their Polish identity further. Yet at the same time that the adolescents are seen to be restricted in their identity positions within Britain, they are also positioned as different back in Poland. This in turn can be seen to contribute to the sense of disjuncture that several of the adolescents report feeling.

Identity construction is therefore problematic in multiple settings. The limitations on the subject positions available to these adolescents suggest that there is little room for negotiation even as they find their identity shifting from one context to another.

In this sense, the findings of the study chime with previous studies in socio and applied linguistics; where this study differs from such work, however, is in relation to questions of (in)visibility and whiteness. Previous research investigating identity has customarily been underpinned by a conceptualisation of whiteness which relies on a black/white binary, and which sees visibility in terms of external markers such as skin colour. In contrast, the findings of this study suggest that visibility may be manifested through a variety of factors, including language. The study also highlights the need for research within socio and applied linguistics to see whiteness as a more diverse grouping (Hickman et al. 2005; McDowell 2009), and to recognise that within this there exists a hierarchy of categories.

Thus, while this current study suggests that although some of the experiences described in the literature on identity construction resonates with those of the adolescents here, it also indicates that in other ways, they are quite different. As

suggested by emerging research on Polish migrants, simply to align visibility to outward signs does not acknowledge the complexity of the phenomenon. To do so limits understanding of the experience of members of white minority groups within the wider society: such individuals do not always blend into the white majority, nor do they necessarily feel themselves to do so (Strzemecka 2015). Likewise, to lean on the black/white dichotomy, and to view white as a homogenous category does not allow for a nuanced investigation of the way that identity is constructed amongst different white minority groups, including how the privileged category of whiteness is used as individuals jostle for position. In an era of increased inter-European migration, this need to reassess understandings of whiteness may be seen to take on especial pertinence (van Riemsdijk 2010; Fox, Moroşanu & Szilassy 2015).

The final chapter will provide a general summing-up of the study, including its limitations. It will also discuss the contribution made to the field of identity construction in socio and applied linguistics, and set out the relevance of such a study in a changing political context.

10 Conclusion

This final chapter draws together the findings of this study, and highlights the implications for future research in socio and applied linguistics. It also includes an assessment of the limitations of the study. In the short time since this research project was first envisioned, a profound shift has occurred within the political landscapes of both the UK and Poland, as well as in the wider international context. The chapter therefore ends with a brief consideration of how such vicissitudes may guide and inform future research in identity work within socio and applied linguistics.

10.1   Summary of findings

The aim of this study was to investigate the following research questions:

1.   What do the stories of Polish-born adolescents living in the UK suggest about the way these adolescents negotiate and construct their ethno-linguistic identities?

2.   In the light of contemporary anti-immigrant discourses in the UK:

i) how do these adolescents position themselves in the stories they tell?

ii) how do the adolescents' stories suggest they are positioned by others?

The above questions were explored primarily through narratives elicited from the adolescents who participated in the study. Their stories suggest that the scope for these individuals to negotiate their ethno-linguistic identity is often restricted, and the discursive positions available to them are limited.

In their attempts to present themselves as valid members of British society, the adolescents frequently find themselves positioned as migrants, a subject position which carries negative connotations. They report their parents being described as people who are 'stealing jobs' and who, by implication, do not have the right to be in the country. This serves to position both the adolescents' parents and the teenagers themselves as unwelcome, something reinforced by the bullying that several of the adolescents recount having experienced.

In response to this, however, the narrators refuse to position themselves as victims; rather, they endeavour to challenge others' perceptions, and portray themselves as agentive in their responses. Hence, Greg and his classmate confront the prejudices expressed in their geography class; Filip and Sylwia make the decision to change schools; whilst Greg and Filip signal their determination to remain in the country by asserting their plans for future study and careers.

Resistance is also manifested in the way that the adolescents situate themselves in relation to other migrants. This is demonstrated in the attempt by Tomasz and Ryszard to distinguish between migrants, such as themselves, and refugees, whom they depict as posing a threat. The adolescents also challenge the negative way in which they are positioned by reiterating their pride in being Polish. In fashioning these positions of defiance, several of the adolescents appeared to draw on the discourses of those around them, be this the media, or from discussions within the family; they also reproduced self-affirming tropes connected with Polish identity, such as the brave soldier or the conscientious worker. However, that they resort to bolstering a sense of their Polish identity in their attempts to demonstrate resistance, suggests that the adolescents are limited in the discursive positions they are allowed to occupy.

At the same time, the adolescents find their Polish identity being challenged in home settings. In England, language brokering activities which they undertake for their

families serve to position the young brokers as experts in English, subject positions with which they often do not feel comfortable. In Poland, meanwhile, several of the adolescents report feeling awkward due to either a lack of Polish, or because the way in which they now speak the language does not correspond with that of friends and family back in Poland.

There is also a lack of space available for the use of Polish in a school setting in England. Here, rather than being recognised as flexible bilinguals, the adolescents are restricted to being positioned as separate bilinguals. On the one hand, Grovesham appears supportive of students who wish to learn their heritage language. While this is intended to be encouraging, at the same time, it can be seen to reinforce the positioning of the adolescents as Polish. Such positioning thereby confines them to a certain ethno-linguistic identity position also, and thus places limits on the adolescents' ability to construct hybrid identities. Nonetheless, the overarching ideology of monolingualism which can be seen to characterise the educational system overall inevitably influences the way that language is used within the school. For the girls interviewed at St. Ferdinand's, there is even less opportunity to use Polish at their mainstream schools, where they find themselves positioned as competent users of English. While the girls can be seen to challenge this position, they find their attempts to foreground their Polish identity is rejected. In a school environment, therefore, it seems that the only bilingual identity allowed is that of a separate bilingualism, that of the 'two monolinguals in one' (Grosjean 1989), rather than any acknowledgement of flexible bilingualism.

It can therefore be inferred from the stories of these Polish-born adolescents that there is little room for the negotiation of identities, and that ethno-linguistic identity construction is inhibited by the way in which such individuals are positioned. While the adolescents attempt to present themselves as agentive beings within their narratives, it

is apparent that others position them in relation to anti-immigrant discourses prevalent in contemporary Britain, and that the adolescents and their families are frequently perceived in terms of negative stereotyping and prejudice.

The implications of the findings of this study for the field of identity work in socio and applied linguistics will be addressed in the subsequent section.

10.2   Implications for applied linguistics

One aim of this study was to focus on a group of individuals as yet under-researched in socio and applied linguistics literature, that of Polish-born adolescents. Previous work on identity construction of migrants has identified certain elements which resonate with the experience of the participants in this current project, such as the destabilising effect of migration (e.g. Block 2006a; Cooke 2008) or feeling alienated within the school environment (Strzemecka 2015; Wærdahl 2016). However, the adolescents' narratives revealed other aspects of their experiences which need to be acknowledged within identity work. These are discussed below.

The first area is the notion of hybridity. Migrant individuals are often portrayed within socio and applied linguistics as being able to create hybrid identities, where various elements from different ethno-linguistic identities can be combined, such as in the case of the Brasians investigated by Harris (2006), or through language crossing practices (Rampton 2005, 2017). Yet it seems that the adolescents in this current study are less able to negotiate such identity positions. However much they may have endeavoured to take on different aspects of a British identity, the way in which the adolescents find themselves positioned by others makes it incredibly difficult for them to adopt such a subject position. Attempts are often met with a recrudescence of anti-Polish sentiment, be it in the geography class recounted by Greg, or in the stereotypical images of Poles

as manual workers described by Krystyna, encounters which serve to reposition the adolescents as Polish migrants.

These confrontations subsequently result in a reinforcement of Polish identity by the adolescents themselves as they draw on positive tropes of Polish identity in order to resist such negative positioning. In the adolescents' manifestations of resistance, rather than being migrants who steal jobs, Poles are portrayed as conscientious workers, or brave soldiers. In drawing on such imagery, the adolescents are, however, reiterating their own subject positions as Poles, which would in turn imply that hybrid positions are not available to them. This echoes work which suggests that the scope for the (re)negotiation of identity positions is often limited for migrant individuals (e.g. Pavlenko 2001, 2002a; Darvin & Norton 2014). What also needs acknowledging is that the scope for the creation of hybrid identities amongst Polish-born adolescents in the UK may be similarly restricted.

That certain subject positions become unavailable to the adolescents due to racial prejudice gives rise to the question of how racism has been conceptualised in socio and applied linguistics work. Previous research has often focused on the black/white dichotomy, which presumes that racism can only be understood in these terms. However, the majority of the Polish students in this current study were Caucasian and showed no instantly recognisable signs of difference from the dominant majority. This was with the exception of Yamina, of mixed Polish-Algerian ancestry, who self-identified as a Polish Muslim and wore a hijab. Nonetheless, the anti-Polish sentiment which several of the adolescents reported having experienced would indicate that whiteness, frequently seen as a privileged category and one which affords protection against racist attacks, can no longer be seen in these terms.

A more useful way of understanding the experiences of Polish migrants in the UK is to draw on a conceptualisation which encompasses the idea of degrees of whiteness.

This more nuanced understanding may be seen as especially useful for examining identity construction in the contemporary context of Eastern European migrants living in Britain, thus building on work from other disciplines (e.g. Fox, Moroşanu & Szilassy 2012, 2015; Garner 2012; Fox 2013). Eastern Europeans resident in Britain often find themselves positioned in terms of inferiority and subjected to forms of racial discrimination and negative stereotyping, something which appears to be supported by the accounts given by the adolescents here. A notion of race that does not acknowledge the different categories within 'white' overlooks the fact that racism can be directed at all groups of people. In order to examine questions of identity amongst such groups, the black/white binary which often underpins identity work in socio and applied linguistics thus demands reassessment, and the existence of prejudice against minority white individuals needs to be acknowledged more fully.

Related to the question of whiteness is that of (in)visibility. Reliance on the black/white binary means that the issue of the visibility of white ethnic minority communities has yet to be fully explored in socio and applied linguistics work on identity, as visibility has customarily been understood in terms of skin colour, or other external markers. However, the current study has demonstrated the need to take account of the different ways in which a person may be rendered visible. As suggested in the study findings, Caucasian Polish individuals are often marked out through language. While such visibility is sometimes exploited by an ethnic group in order to promote their presence (see McDermott 2008; Kempny 2011), the increase in linguistic xenophobia and racial attacks against minority whites within Britain means that linguistic visibility is more likely to be unwelcome.

In relation to language use, the findings imply that despite work in socio and applied linguistics on the nature of bilingualism, a monolingual ideology prevails within the educational system. English is either assumed to supplant the adolescents' L1, as in

the case described by Krystyna and Anna, or else to exist alongside Polish rather than in conjunction with the adolescents' first language. This would suggest that continual work is needed in the educational system to promote a greater understanding of flexible bilingualism rather than bilingualism being seen in terms of a separation of languages.

Engagement in language brokering practices also merits attention in identity work in socio and applied sociolinguistics. This current study reinforces findings that note the prevalence of brokering amongst migrant communities, yet it is an area rarely touched upon in the field. Through their participation in brokering, the adolescents frequently find themselves positioned as expert users of English, something which they resist, or which makes them feel discomforted. The impact of brokering on linguistic practices in and outside the home and how this relates to identity construction can be seen as an important element of adolescent linguistic identity construction, and as such, deserves greater scrutiny in identity work.

The findings of this study thus serve to reinforce the need to reconceptualise questions of race and racism within socio and applied linguistics literature. The work also suggests that young Polish migrants are members of a group whose stories diverge in several ways from those that have hitherto been the main focus of identity studies. While the adolescents in this study share certain similarities with other migrant groups to the UK as they attempt to construct their identities, such as confronting racial prejudice, elements such as the adolescents' ethno-linguistic background, and the way they are thus positioned in light of the contemporary political situation, render their experience different.

Potential for future research stemming from the study will be discussed in section 10.4. Before doing so, however, it is necessary to set out the limitations of the project.

10.3   Limitations

As in all research projects, the limitations of this current study need to be acknowledged. These are set out below.

One limitation was the amount of time I was able to spend with the participants, and the time available for interviews. Here, I was restricted by the exigencies of the school timetable, and the hours allocated for Polish classes. As set out in Chapter 5, access to the adolescents at Grovesham was through their Polish teacher, Jo Malinowska, the frequency of whose classes was impacted by her maternity leave. The difficulty of arranging interviews at Grovesham was compounded by the irregular attendance at the interview sessions by some of the adolescents. This made it difficult to follow up on some of the answers given, and to collect more detailed stories of those participants I saw less frequently. A larger number of interviews might have allowed me to explore certain aspects of the adolescents' experiences in greater detail. Data collection was also subject to similar constraints at St. Ferdinand's, where little time could be allocated for interviews to take place. Location and limited transport links made it impossible to interview the two girls from St. Ferdinand's in another setting, such as a local café.

The impact of the lack of a pilot study (noted in section 5.3.3) should also be noted. Conducting a pilot study may have enabled me to refine the interview schedule; as a relatively inexperienced researcher, conducting pilot interviews would also have allowed me to gain more experience, as well as more time with some of the participants.

Another major limitation may be seen as that of the self-affiliation of the participants. All the adolescents were attending Polish classes, which in itself implies a certain acknowledgment of and investment in their Polish identity. However, it must be recognised that the adolescents in this study are not necessarily typical of all Polish-

born youngsters. There may be a number of Polish-born adolescents who do not attend Polish classes; while others do not wish to draw attention to their Polish identity. Engaging with those adolescents for whom a Polish identity may have been more problematic could have provided the research with additional nuance.

An additional limitation of the study is that data collection relied almost exclusively on self-reports in interviews. That language use is unlikely to be reported accurately has been highlighted by Corrsin (1990) in his work on censuses. A more nuanced picture of the adolescents' language use at school and home may have emerged from a study using linguistic ethnography, which aims to observe and explore 'acts of communication in their contexts' (Wetherell 2007, p.661). However, such a methodology may thus have shifted the focus of the study onto the environment in which the adolescents were operating. The focus of this research was less on the settings themselves than on the adolescents' perceptions, hence the choice to employ narrative inquiry, which privileges the narrator's viewpoint (Riessman 2002; Galasiński & Galasińska 2007). At the same time, it is necessary to reiterate the limitations of narrative inquiry and acknowledge the 'constructed' nature of any narrative told (Atkinson & Silverman 1997, p.312), as noted in section 5.1.2.

10.4   Directions for future research

The findings of this study suggest at several potentially fruitful areas for further research in linguistic practices and identity construction amongst migrant and minority individuals.

The first of these could be further investigation into linguistic practices within educational institutions, both in complementary and mainstream school settings. As noted, this current project was not designed as a school-based study; data collection

took place on these premises for reasons of access and convenience. Based on the limited data collected, it was impossible to ascertain the full extent to which Polish may be used amongst Polish-speaking adolescents and other students at the school. While the adolescents' stories appeared to suggest that there were no instances of language crossing (Rampton 2005) and that languages were kept generally separate, a more in-depth study might add nuance to these findings. The position of Polish in the school may differ between settings where there is a large Polish-speaking contingent, and those where there is a much smaller group.

At the same time, studies on linguistic practices within Polish complementary schools would contribute to a greater understanding of how linguistic identity construction in Polish-speaking adolescents and children is facilitated in such settings. Again, it was not possible to understand from this current study how far the students at such institutions are permitted the space to develop their bilingual identities. Given the existing literature, together with the way in which Jo Malinowska conducts her classes as observed in this current study, it appears that a monolingual ideology prevails within complementary school classrooms. However, it would be of interest to see whether this remains the predominant approach, especially in the case of younger students born in the UK and who may not consider Polish as their first language.

Even within the context of this study, it still appears that much heritage language learning takes place in complementary schools rather than under the aegis of a mainstream state school. However, given that schools such as Grovesham are now offering Polish language provision (see Howe 2015 on the increasing demand for Polish language classes), it would contribute to work in language learning to investigate the teaching of Polish within the setting of a mainstream school. It would be interesting to see how such instruction sits alongside other languages offered as part of the Modern Foreign Language (MFL) curriculum, and to examine what position Polish

occupies in relation to BAME 'heritage' languages offered, such as in the provision of Urdu at Grovesham. It may be that a difference in approaches to Polish language teaching and learning emerges as the younger generation of Polish children born in the UK, and who view Polish less as their L1 and more as a heritage language, start attending Polish classes at school.

Away from a school setting, another area which merits investigation is that of the potential difference in the way that identity is constructed by adolescents who migrated from Poland and their younger siblings who were born in the UK. Findings from this project hint at a disparity in their experiences; further research could build on these intimations. So far, there is limited research on such dynamics, and how sibling relationships may affect identity construction. There has also been little work within socio and applied linguistics on the impact of language brokering, and how this serves to position young brokers as experts within the family.

As highlighted above, the way that whiteness has been understood in socio and applied linguistics work on identity requires re-examination. The changing status of Polish and other Eastern European citizens in Britain following the June 2016 Referendum makes such a re-conceptualisation particularly apposite. Work based on a more discerning conceptualisation of the way that whiteness may be understood, one which encompasses notions of the hierarchical nature of various white categories, would allow for a more perspicacious understanding of identity construction by members of white minority groups such as Eastern European communities. These individuals often face similar challenges to the Polish-born adolescents in this study, and have so far been the subject of limited research. Such work may be seen as increasingly relevant given the contemporary political and social situation, as set out in the final section below.

10.5   A post-Brexit future

Scholars concerned with contemporary phenomena 'often find themselves racing against a fast-moving reality' (Garapich 2008, p.736): this has proved to be the case in the current study. The aim of this research was to examine identity construction amongst Polish-born adolescents who had migrated to Britain in the period following Poland's accession to the EU in 2004. Yet since the study was initially conceived in 2014, the political landscape both in Britain and Poland has undergone a significant shift, as has the wider international context within which both countries operate. Britain is in the process of negotiating a withdrawal from the European Union, which will inevitably affect the position of individuals from EU member states living in Britain. Meanwhile, the extent to which the current Polish government is undermining democratic practices and the working of independent bodies within the country has become an urgent matter of concern within the EU and other international organisations (European Commission 2017).

As the situation continues to evolve amid growing uncertainty, it is unclear how the current generation of Polish migrants are dealing with the multifarious challenges. It is at present unknown whether anti-migrant sentiment in Britain will intensify, and what additional problems migrant adolescents may face as they grow up and attempt to realise their ambitions, such as those voiced by the participants in this research. As implied in this study, identities are contingent not only on social contexts but also upon the unpredictable turn of political events.

It is a moot point to consider that if the negotiation of ethno-linguistic identities by those in this study was subject to constraints prior to June 2016, how much harder it may become for such individuals in the future. Given the volatile character of the current political environment, and the staunchly inimical tone of political and social discourses, it is impossible to know what identity positions would remain open to those such as the

adolescents in this study, and which discursive positionings might be proscribed. In the context of the contemporary climate, therefore, the way in which individuals may negotiate the construction of their identity continues to warrant in-depth investigation. As argued above, such research needs to incorporate a more nuanced conceptualisation of how white minorities are perceived and the racial prejudice to which they may be subjected. Thus, in examining the stories of a group of Polish-born adolescents caught up in a fraught period of change, this study also aims to pave the way for future research on identity construction in a time of profound and disorientating instability.

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Appendix 1: Ethics

1(i) Sample information sheet and consent form given to adolescents (English)

December 2015

Dear Student,

I'm a PhD researcher at the UCL Institute of Education, University College London, and I'm doing a research project about the stories of Polish-born teenagers living in Britain. I'm writing to ask if you would take part in my research study which will be for my doctorate. The topics I'm hoping to discuss will include your stories about coming to the UK, your relationships with Poland, and how you think people from Poland are viewed in Britain. I'd also like to ask you something about the languages you speak and when you speak them.

For this study I'm planning to observe your Polish GCSE class through the spring term. I would also like to interview you, both as part of a group and individually. I'll be audio-recording the observations and the interviews. The interviews will mainly be held in English, but if necessary, Mrs X has said she will help with translation into Polish during the interviews. A professional English-Polish translator will help me transcribe and translate the audio-recording. She will have to sign a confidentiality agreement before doing any work.

I have already asked for consent from Mr X as head of the school, and from your parents/guardians. If you choose to take part in the study, you can withdraw at any point. This means that at any time during the study, you can decide to stop and not to participate; any data collected from you will be kept in a safe place. You also don't have to respond to any questions which you don't want to answer.

In order to keep all your information confidential, everything will be made anonymous. In my thesis, I will change your name and the name of your school, and also the exact location. The results are to appear in my PhD thesis which will be available in the UCL Institute of Education library and on the online thesis portal. A condensed report of the findings will be given to the school, and a copy of this will also be made available in Polish and English if required. Parts of the study will also be used for academic publications and for conference presentations.

If you agree to take part in this study, please could you sign the attached form and hand it in to Mrs X as soon as you can, and I'll come and collect the form by the end of term. My supervisor at UCL who is overseeing the research is Dr Siân Preece. She can be contacted at the UCL address given below, or via email at: s.preece@ucl.ac.uk If you've got any questions, for me or Dr Preece, either now or later on, please let me know.

Thank you very much for your time and help.

Best wishes,

Sara Young, PhD candidate
(Department of Culture, Communication and Media)
UCL Institute of Education, 20 Bedford Way, London WC1H 0AL

I give permission for Sara Young, as a doctoral candidate at the UCL Institute of Education, to:

1. observe Polish GCSE lessons that I attend and audio record the lessons;

2. interview me as part of a group and to audio record the interviews;

3. interview me individually and to audio record the interviews.

I understand that:

1. the school head will be required to give permission before any data are collected;

2. my parents' consent will also be required;

3. the results of the project will appear in a PhD thesis which will then be available to the public;

4. the results may also be used in academic publications and conference presentations;

5. my name and the name of my school will be kept anonymous.

I also understand that I have the right to withdraw my participation at any time.

Name ....   Date ....

Sample information sheet and consent form given to adolescents (Polish)

Grudzień 2015

Drogi Uczniu,

Jestem doktorantką w Instytucie Edukacji (Institute of Education) na University College London. Pracuję nad projektem naukowym o nastolatkach urodzonych w Polsce i mieszkających obecnie w Wielkiej Brytanii. Chciałam prosić Cię o udział w moim projekcie, który będzie częścią mojej pracy doktorskiej. Tematy, o których chciałam z Tobą porozmawiać, to Twój przyjazd do Wielkiej Brytanii, Twój związek z Polską oraz Twoja opinia na temat tego, jak ludzie z Polski są postrzegani w Wielkiej Brytanii. Chciałabym też porozmawiać z Tobą o językach, które znasz i w jaki sposób ich używasz.

W ramach projektu planuję w semestrze wiosennym przeprowadzić obserwację Waszych lekcji języka polskiego przygotowujących do egzaminu GCSE. Chciałabym również przeprowadzić z Wami wywiady indywidualne i grupowe. Obserwacje i wywiady będę nagrywać na dyktafon. Wywiady będą w języku angielskim, ale w razie problemów, Pani X pomoże przetłumaczyć moje pytania na język polski. Doświadczony tłumacz polsko-angielski pomoże mi zrobić transkrypcję i tłumaczenia wywiadów. Zanim tłumacz zacznie pracę, będzie musiał podpisać klauzulę poufności.

Poprosiłam już o zgodę Pana X, dyrektora szkoły, oraz Waszych rodziców/ opiekunów. Każdy uczeń, który zgodzi się na udział w projekcie, w każdej chwili będzie się mógł z niego wycofać. Oznacza to, że w każdej chwili możesz zdecydować, że nie chcesz brać udziału w projekcie. Możesz również odmówić odpowiedzi na pytania, na które nie masz ochoty odpowiadać. Dane, które zbiorę, będą przechowywane w bezpiecznym miejscu.

Żeby informacje, które zbiorę, pozostały poufne, wszystkie dane będą anonimowe. W mojej pracy doktorskiej zmienię Wasze imiona oraz nazwę i lokalizację szkoły. Wyniki badania zostaną zamieszczone w pracy doktorskiej, która będzie udostępniona w bibliotece Instytutu Edukacji UCL (UCL Institute of Education) oraz w internetowej bazie doktoratów. Skrócony raport zawierający wyniki badań będzie dostępny na żądanie w języku angielskim i w języku polskim. Wyniki badań zostaną również wykorzystane w publikacjach naukowych oraz referatach wygłaszanych na konferencjach naukowych.

Jeżeli zgadzasz się na udział w projekcie, bardzo proszę o podpisanie załączonego zaświadczenia i przekazanie je Pani X. Odbiorę od niej wszystkie zaświadczenia przed końcem semestru. Moim promotorem na UCL, który czuwa nad przebiegiem badań, jest Dr Siân Preece. Można się z nią skontaktować pod podanym poniżej adresem lub emailowo: s.preece@ucl.ac.uk. Jeżeli będziesz mieć teraz lub w przyszłości jakieś pytania dotyczące przeprowadzanych badań, bardzo proszę o kontakt ze mną lub Dr Preece.

Bardzo dziękuję za Twój czas i pomoc,

Sara Young, Doktorantka
Wydział Kultury, Komunikacji i Mediów (Dept of Culture, Communication and Media)
Instytut Edukacji UCL (UCL Institute of Education), 20 Bedford Way, London WC1H 0AL

Udzielam zgody Sarze Young, doktorantce Instytutu Edukacji UCL (UCL Institute of Education), na:

1. obserwację lekcji języka polskiego na poziomie GCSE, na które uczęszczam, oraz na nagranie tych lekcji na dyktafon;

2. przeprowadzenie ze mną wywiadu grupowego oraz nagranie wywiadu na dyktafon;

3. przeprowadzenie ze mną wywiadu indywidualnego oraz nagranie wywiadu na dyktafon.

Rozumiem, że:

1. dyrektor szkoły będzie musiał wyrazić zgodę na przeprowadzenie badań;

2. moi rodzice również muszą wyrazić zgodę;

3. wyniki badań zostaną zamieszczone w pracy doktorskiej, która następnie będzie udostępniana publicznie;

4. wyniki badań mogą zostać wykorzystane w publikacjach akademickich oraz referatach wygłaszanych na konferencjach naukowych;

5. moje imię i nazwisko oraz nazwa szkoły pozostaną anonimowe.

Rozumiem także, że mogę w każdej wycofać się z badania.

Imię i nazwisko: ....   Data: ....

1(ii) Transcriber Confidentiality Agreement

<div style="border:1px solid">

Transcriber Confidentiality Agreement

Re: 'Stories of Identity Construction amongst Polish Migrant Adolescents Living in the UK'. This research is being undertaken by Sara Young, PhD candidate at the UCL Institute of Education, who will hereafter be referred to as the Researcher. The aim of this doctoral study is to explore identity construction of Polish-born adolescents currently living in the UK. As a transcriber and a translator of data used in this research, I understand that I will be listening to recordings of confidential material, including interviews. The information given in the course of these recordings has been given by participants in the understanding that their interviews would remain strictly confidential. In view of this, I understand that I have a responsibility to honour that confidentiality agreement.

I therefore undertake not to share any information on these recordings with any individual except the Researcher of this project. I understand that any violation of this agreement or of the terms set out below would constitute a serious breach of ethical standards. I confirm that I understand this and that I will adhere to the agreement in full.

I, _____ agree to the following:

1. To keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the content of the interviews in any form or format (e.g. audio files, USB devices, transcripts) with any individual than the Researcher.

2. To keep all research information in any form or format (e.g. audio files, USB devices, transcripts) secure while it is in my possession.

3. To return all research information in any form or format (e.g. audio files, USB devices, transcripts) to the Researcher when I have completed the translation and transcription tasks.

4. Following consultation with the Researcher, to erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not returnable to the Researcher (e.g. audio files, information stored on my computer hard drive).

Transcriber:

_____ _____ _____
(print name)   (signature)   (date)

Researcher:

_____ _____ _____
(print name)   (signature)   (date)

</div>

Appendix 2: Interview material

An example of the interview schedule is given below, together with prompts that were shown to some of the participants. This is followed by the transcription conventions used in the presentation of data, and a sample diagram showing preliminary coding.

2(i) Sample interview schedule for participants

Focus 1:

a) Personal Information

i) Firstly, could you give me some information about yourself: name, age, school year, and how long you have been living in the UK?

ii) Could you tell me something about your family?

iii) What do you like doing in your free time? What about sport? What team(s) do you support? (e.g. Polish teams or English teams?)

b) Migration Story

Can you tell me about when you came to the UK?

Do you know why your family chose to come here? Were you consulted about it? How did you travel here? Do you remember how you felt, and what your first impressions of England were?

Focus 2: Language Use and Affiliation

a) Polish

Why are you doing Polish GCSE? Do you think you'll do Polish A level? Why (not)?

What do you think about the Polish GCSE? Is it easy/difficult?

Could you tell me something about a particular time when you use Polish? Do you mix the languages? Who do you do this with?

What about at home – which language(s) do you use? And with your friends at school? Which do you prefer using? Which do you think you're better at? Do you have a problem speaking Polish in the streets or outside home?

b) English

Can you tell me something about your English language learning? What do you think about the English language GCSE?

Could you tell me something about the times when you use English? How do you feel when you use English?

What language do your parents speak? Can you tell me about occasions when you have had to translate for anyone (e.g. family member)? How did you feel about this?

Relationship with Poland:

a) Within the UK:

Do/did you attend Polish Saturday school? Can you tell me about what you did there?

b) With Poland:

How often do you visit Poland? What about your friends in Poland?

How do you stay in touch with friends or family?

What do your friends/family in Poland think about England & English people?

Focus 3: Attitudes to Poles in the UK

What do you think English people think of Polish people?

I'm going to show you some headlines and I'd like your reaction to them. *Introduce examples of anti-immigrant headlines.*

Have you heard anything about the referendum on Britain's membership of the European Union?

Future

How do you see your future?

Prompts: Would you like to stay in the UK/return to Poland? Why (not)?

2(ii) Prompts

These were shown to prompt a discussion about anti-Polish sentiment. (Participants were not shown references.)

Newspaper Headlines

Boris Johnson: everyone in Britain should speak English

London mayor agrees 'passionately' with Nigel Farage that NHS staff should have good command of language. (Prince 2015).

Number of pupils taking Polish GCSE surges 867% in six years as schools use immigrants' children to boost league table performances

Schools are 'clocking up' easy exam passes to boost league table standings by encouraging the children of Polish immigrants to sit GCSEs in the language, it is claimed. (Levy 2012).

Racist and anti-immigration views held by children revealed in schools study

Survey of 6,000 schoolchildren finds many have a wildly distorted view of the number of immigrants in Britain.

The study, believed to be the largest of its kind to be carried out in the UK, found that 60% of the children questioned believed it was true that "asylum seekers and immigrants are stealing our jobs". (Taylor 2015).

Poster: IAAI (2015).

2(iii) Transcription conventions

Conventions for the transcription of interview data, adapted from Coates (1996, pp.xii-xiii).

(/) indicates the end of a chunk of talk, where this is not marked by a question mark or exclamation mark.

<> non-verbal utterance.

(.) a short pause; (–) a longer pause.

(…) denotes a word or phrase which was inaudible on the recording.
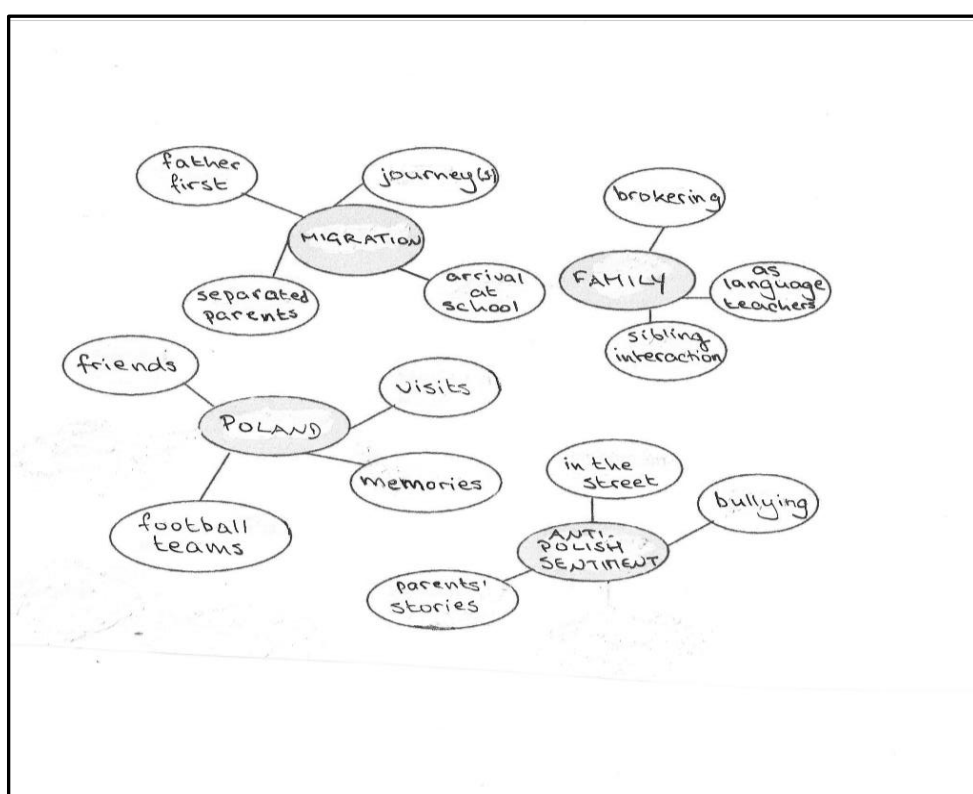
[…] marks an ellipsis in the transcript.

CAPITAL letters indicate where emphasis was given by the speaker.

[BELL] denotes where a school bell rang unexpectedly at several times during S2.

2(iv) Diagram of preliminary coding

Drawing on Basit (2003, p.148), this shows the preliminary coding following the initial rounds of data analysis (see section 5.5.2).

Appendix 3: Participant questionnaire

The questionnaire was completed during sessions at Grovesham School (Block 1) by Greg, Beata, Janusz, Tomasz, Ryszard and Yamina. Their answers are given as written, and retain grammatical and lexical irregularities.

3i) Questionnaire

1. Could you tell me something about when you came to the UK? What happened? How did you feel?

2. i) Did you know any English before you came to the UK?

ii) Could you tell me something about your experiences of learning English – positive or negative!

3. Could you tell me about an occasion when you had to translate for your parents or family, or to help with them their language (e.g. in a shop, at a school event)? How did you feel?

3ii) Student Answers

Greg (16)

I came when I was five years old, my dad moved here for a year to get a better wage but it turned into 2 years so my mum decided to move to England. I joined in year one and I was the first Polish student in my school history so they focused on how to teach me and in a years time I learned to speak English. I didn't feel much. When I moved here as I was too young to understand.

I didn't know any English but I quickly learnt english and quickly got along with the children. My learning of English language was quite positive.

Everyday I translate text messages, newspaper, websites and when talking with people in town e.g. Banks, Police, etc.

Beata (15)

I spent half a year at home when I moved to UK, because I was waiting for the decision from school, so I really didn't talk to English people. But I remember the first day at school, people tried talk to me and I was just keep saying 'I don't understand!' I felt really upset about that I couldn't talk to them.

I started learning English when I was 4 years old, but they were just basics. Then when I was in school teachers were learning us the basic conversation lines. But the thing are not really usefull in every day life.

I have to help my parents and my brother everyday. For example writing a note for my brother for school or go and talk withe the teachers. Also in shops when they don't know what particular thing is called and they can't buy it, because it's something they didn't see before. What I feel in that moments is that, I'm really glad that I can help them they need me for something, but on the other hand when I can't translate something I feel really upset and we just got a problem we can't solve.

Marek (14)

We went to live in a town called L. I felt normal it didn't really affect me.

I didn't know any English when I came here.
Well I am good at learning languages fast.

Actually even when I was asked to translate I refused because I find it quite challenging.

Janusz (13)

I felt a bit left out because most of my family was in Poland.

i = I knew all the simple English words.

ii = I think it's positive because you are learning something new everyday.

If I was in their position I would ask questions too. Put sometimes it's quite annoying.

Ryszard (12)

I felt ok, I felt strange however after a while it was ok. When I came to a city I felt weird as I lived on a farm before.

Yes my Mum taught me before I went to England. I Poland I did not go to school. When I came to Fieldstone I felt different as in Poland I lived in a small village.

I felt good and my parents thanked me. My dad was in England for 1 year more than me and my mum. I felt good because I helped someone that knew more English than me. It is annoying that my dad tells me to translate as he has a phone and can use it as a translator.

Tomasz (12)

I was 7. I went to school. I felt akward because everyone was speaking in English and I was speaking in Polish.

No.

It was hard and I felt weird learning a language when I was 7.

I think it was negative.

In school I used to translate for a boy in year 3 4 *[unclear which]* when I was in year 6, I felt good for myself. I always translate for my parents. I feel good about myself and inoying. When my mum always writes a message on her phone to english people I need to write because she doesn't understand.

Yamina (12)

I came to England in 2010 and I started year two here. I felt weird and different because when I came into our new house, it was almost empty but we already got some food.

i didn't know too much but I did know some main words like Hello or Bye because I used to learn some English in Poland.

ii My friend taught me most of my English but before I learnt some words like I hate you or your my best friend, I used to put my thumb down when I had negative feelings and put my thumb up when I had positive feelings. (That was in Yr 2.)

I don't remember any specific accasions but sometimes my mum or dad do ask me when they somtimes text someone and arn't sure what to write. I do remember when my grandma and grandad came here for a bit, they couldn't speak English so I talked for them in shops sometimes. I didn't have a specific feeling because I got used to it.

Sylwia (11)

I don't actually remember when I came to the UK because i was two but when i was a little bit older It was hard to me because I had to learn english find new friends and lots more.

i No because i was only 2.

ii Know I am really good at english because i learned it know 9 years.

Sometimes when my dad or mum were writing something they asked me how to write it
or the spelling but also if we are in a shop she sometimes asks me how to say it.

Appendix 4: Fieldnotes

I took notes each time I visited the settings, including initial visits made prior to the interviews commencing. Notes were made once I had left the premises; either waiting for the train home, or later that same evening. Notes were typed up in a clearer version the next morning, when I also worked on the transcripts, so impressions were relatively fresh in my mind. I sometimes added notes and impressions as I was working on the transcript.

The following are excerpts from notes taken from early meetings.

St. Ferdinand's:

i) Sat 10-10-2015 (preliminary meeting)

Informal drop-in, arranged through Alina Rudowska, the school director, to chat to potential participants.

Polish school: Approximately 60 students in total, classes held Saturday am 9.30-1.00. Takes place at local secondary school alongside other general non-school activities e.g. music group. Intensive: want to get their exams (though educational visit and Harvest Festival mentioned).

ii) Sat 01-2015 (meeting)

Meeting held to finalise arrangements; on arrival at school, I found the staffroom to ask for Alina, and was greeted in Polish 'dzień dobry' (*good day*). Two participants remaining. We arranged consent forms, interview dates etc; Alina and the girls were using both English and Polish during the conversation, most of which I could follow, given the context.

Grovesham School:

i) Thurs 24-09-2015 (preliminary meeting)

Appointment at Grovesham 3.15pm to meet Jo Malinowska. Jo: a young teacher in her early 30s; very enthusiastic about the project. Knows of about 20 Polish students in the school, though some might reject their Polishness and don't want people to know. Jo is pregnant and taking maternity leave from mid-February, therefore from January 2016, classes held only fortnightly. Lessons on Wednesday afternoon, 3-4pm. Arranged to attend these GCSE classes Jan-Apr, can take time out of class to chat to students. Start Wed 6 Jan and play it by ear a little.

ii) Wed 06-01-2015 (S1)

Polish lessons take place in EAL (English as an Additional Language) room. Warm, friendly atmosphere. Student work is displayed on the walls on coloured backgrounds. There's a world map with the question: 'Where do you come from?" A language poster, with: "Which language do you speak?"

Grey, drizzly January afternoon; the first lesson back. Jo explains not everyone may turn up, being the first lesson. 3.05pm: only four boys have arrived (Tomasz, Ryszard, Marek, Filip).

The students seem to respond to Jo warmly. Husband is Polish, although they met in England. She has been at the school for around three years, first as a volunteer, and then from September 2015 as the Bilingual Teacher. Her role is defined as a teaching assistant, not just a language support teacher appointment. Jo emphasises that the two roles are completely different; there is a distinction between learning support and work done as part of the EAL department. In Poland she originally trained as a maths teacher, graduating in 2007. Jo has ambitions to return to teaching maths, in England.

Researcher presence: sat at the back in the corner; a few glances towards me but boys generally ignored me. After a brief introduction (in English), Jo simply acted as though I

wasn't there (and went into Polish). I decided not to wear the 'visitors' badge issued to all visitors as didn't want to draw attention to my status. Occasional glances over to me to see if/how much I appeared to understand what was going on. I suggested by facial expressions that I could follow roughly what was going on.

iii) Wed 20-01-2016 (S2)

Bright, cold day, now three weeks into the term.

Students sat wherever they wanted, then shuffled round so we could sit in a group. Talked with them to create more of a general conversation rather than an 'official' interview session. They were chatty and enthusiastic, putting their hands up to answer questions. Adolescents seemed fairly engaged, they weren't looking at Jo especially for answers; she was trying to take part and perhaps side with me as two teachers in charge of a class, whereas I was trying not to rely on her. Many of them said "Bye Miss!" to me at the end of the session.

Silences: Jo wanted to make sure they were filled; she tried to answer some of the questions for them, or to supplement information.

Chatting with Jo: told her a little about my own family background, to which she responded: 'oh, so you're Polish'.

iv) Wed 03-02-2016 (S3)

Jo feels slightly embarrassed at the fact that she's not a teacher of Polish and worries that she doesn't do a proper language lesson but reassures herself with the thought that the students don't really appear to need much help.

Notes on adolescents: Janusz – participated willingly, despite stammer; Ryszard – enjoys opportunity to show he knows more than others; Tomasz – likes to talk, even if much of what he says doesn't always necessarily make that much sense. He has picked up the local accent: he pronounces 'I' [aɪ] as '[ɔɪ]', as in 'I'm [ɔɪm] twelve', or

'fight [fɔɪt]'. Sylwia – perky, bright, eager to participate. Filip – impressed by his willingness to participate, even though this causes him some discomfort. In his pronunciation and emphasis, has a certain accent, such as the hard sound of 'h' in 'hotel, and the stress on the first syllable. Yamina – wearing a head scarf in school uniform colours. I was surprised to see her, which demonstrates my preconceptions about the Polish kids all being Catholic.

Appendix 5: Supplementary data

5(i) Supplementary data to Chapter 5

Chapter 5, p.132: The following extract shows an example of Anna and Krystyna asking each other questions as part of a discussion on how they viewed Polish and English.

Extract A.1 (S#2: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Krystyna (**K**); Anna (**A**))

646 **A:** <to Krystyna> do you dream in Polish or English?

647 **K:** I dream in both! <laughs>

648 **A:** I was thinking about that cos I think I found out like that whatever language

649   you dream in that's like your first language or something

650 **K:** that's the thing though. I dream in both and I think in both

5(ii) Supplementary data to Chapter 6

Chapter 6, p.169: As part of a discussion about his Polish GCSE, Filip mentions that he became anxious during his speaking exam. This is because he does not like being recorded.

Extract A.2 (S6: individual interview at Grovesham – Sara (**SY**); Filip (**F**))

331 **SY:** why was speaking stressful?

332 **F:**   I really. um. stress when I am recorded –

333 **SY:** ok

Chapter 6, p.172: The extract overleaf comprises Beata's story about how she feels the need to stress the fact that her father, currently employed as a builder, is constantly being promoted. The story also draws on the trope of the hard-working Pole.

Extract A.3 (S3: interview with Greg, Beata & Janusz – Beata (**B**); Sara (**SY**))

432 **B:** […] some of them actually

433   always asking us why we moved here and most of the answers are because

434   of the job/ because in Poland we've got big unemployment and in here it's

435   really easy for Polish people to find a work because they are really hard-

436   working people/ not – I'm not saying that British people are not. but just – for

437   example. my Dad/ he moved here to job and he's been really hard-working

438   and he got higher and higher and just –

439 **SY:** what does he do?

440 **B:** he's a builder. so. yeah – hm/ he's moving from position to another and

441   another. he's been higher and higher. so yeah

Chapter 6, p.174: Below is a fuller version of the transcript cited when Greg is talking about how he views his own identity position. The parts which are cited in the main text of the thesis are highlighted in italics.

Extract A.4 (S3: interview with Greg, Beata & Janusz – Sara (**SY**); Greg (**M**))

327 **SY:** *ok – er. so do you feel Polish or British. or – how do you feel?*

328 **G:** me?

329 **SY:** yeah

330 **G:** *I don't know/ I've been living here quite a long time. so/ I only went like*

331   *infants' school in Poland.* cos my Dad was in the army and then he left here.

332   for like two years/ it was going to be like a one year and then he stayed for

333   another year and just moved on until – and then my Mum just decided to

334   move. so/ personally. *I don't know/ I. I feel a bit both – but I'm obviously*

335   Polish. on my certificate and everything in Polish but I think I'm kind of more

336   British. I'm used to this like environment. when I go to Poland. it's kinda hard.

337   I don't have any friends there and I don't know anyone pretty much there.

338   apart from my family. I only (…) say like hi to people like in the shops and

339   something like that

340 **SY:** yeah

341 **G:** so I don't really – I feel more British. like more in the British things than the

342   Polish

Chapter 6, p.18: The following extract relates to the discussion at St. Ferdinand's about minority groups in Britain; it leads on from a conversation about the homogenous nature of Poland as perceived by Anna and Krystyna.

Extract A.5 (S#1: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Krystyna (**K**); Anna (**A**))

600 **SY:** um-hm. so do you think if you were an immigrant in Poland it would be like

601   harder than being a Polish person in –?

602 **K:** yeah because the language is harder to learn and it would be probably harder

603   to pick up on the Polish culture and stuff

604 **A:** and I think not many. not many people go to Poland/ erm. there aren't any.

605   aren't any immigrants. haven't like – you don't see any Muslim people or

606   black people in Poland. I've never seen a Muslim or black person in Poland. I

607   don't. I don't know why. it's just a thing. like I never see them. so I think it

608   would be harder at school everyone would be Polish apart from you

Chapter 6, p.182: The following two extracts come from discussions about the June

2016 Referendum. The parts which are cited in the main text of the thesis are

highlighted in italics.

Extract A.6 (S3 Grovesham: group interview with Greg, Beata & Janusz – Sara (**SY**);

Greg (**G**); Janusz (**J**)). This is a fuller version of Extract 6.24.

447 SY: ok. um. do you know anything about what's going on in this country with the

448   = referendum –

449 **G:**   = yeah

450 **SY:** = on staying in the EU? <pause> nothing? whether = we're –

451 **G:**   = yeah. I do

452 **SY:** whether we're going to stay here or leave Europe

453 **J:**   I heard a bit. I heard about it. I think. I'm not sure. though

454 **SY:** ok. <to Greg> do you want to –

455 **G:**   yeah. basically. er. David Cameron has like had a group of a meeting with his

456   group. his parties and. er. he wants to decide if England – UK – should leave

457   the European Union. or should they stay/ that's really like the main topic now

458   on TVs and like the newspapers

459 **SY:** yeah. cos they haven't actually said. as far as I understand. what's going to

460   happen to all the = EU citizens –

461 **G:**   = yeah

462 **SY:** = living in this country. I mean. there are so many of all different European

463   nationalities and no-one's actually said. so if Britain's not in the EU. What

464   happens?

465 *G:* to them. oh yeah. *I had this topic with my Dad this morning and my Dad gave*

466   *me a thought that well. the people that've been living here a while. they're not*

467   *gonna like throw them out. they're not going to do that! like you're living here.*

468   *but I think that the people who like come in. who are going to be coming after.*

469   *coming in. they might have a bit more trouble getting in here/ but I think the*

470   *people that are here already. they won't just like throw em out. cos like that*

471   *would leave like loads of people with unemployment. like the companies*

472   *would just go bankrupt/ and people that have bought houses on credit. they're*

473   *not going to throw them out. are they? so*

Extract A.7 (S#2 St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Krystyna (**K**); Anna (**A**)). This is a fuller version of Extract 6.26.

503 *SY:* *[…] um. have you heard very*

504   *much about the referendum that's happening in June? with the European*

505   *Union? or not = very much?*

506 *K:* *= er. no*

507 *A:* *no. I just. I just know it's happening in June that's all = I know*

508 **K:** = I don't really know what it is

509 **SY:** you don't know very much about it. ok. like = for –

510 **A:** = so if we're staying in the EU or not

511 **SY:** yeah

512 **K:** like Poland or England?

513 **SY:** England. Britain

514 **K:** oh!

515 **SY:** yeah Britain's got to decide whether they want to stay in the European Union

516   or not

517 **K:** oh. I think they should

518 **SY:** ok why?

519 **K:** I don't know/ I just think like – it's just better when countries are in the

520   European Union. like – I don't understand why would they leave. like. what's

521   making them leave?

522 **SY:** um-hm

523 **K:** but then – I don't know/ it's just – I. yeah – cos like Europe –

524 **SY:** um-hm

525 **K:** if England's a part of Europe why should they leave the European Union?

526 **SY:** um-hm ok

527 *A:* *I think we should leave*

528 **SY:** oh. ok

529 **all:** <laugh>

530 *SY: debate! why?*

531 *A: because all of our – we're getting something like budget cuts right now*

532   *because all of the. erm. cos we. um. our country's quite rich/ so we get. we*

533   *get a lot of money but then we have to like share it out with other countries/ to*

534   *help other countries in the European Union where that money could be used*

535   *to help us as well*

536 *SY: what. us like in Britain?*

537 *A: yeah! um. and I think we're just like playing it safe by just staying/ I think one*

538   *day we'll just have to like get out by ourselves. like. like just be an indepen-*

539   *like not independent but like – just be like our own country* and that/ it'll be

540   easier to sort out all the like taxes and we could sort out what to do in our

541   country/ not like. oh this percent has to go to that country for some reason

5(iii) Supplementary data to Chapter 7

Chapter 7, p.207: The extracts below relate to what the adolescents report doing at the Polish complementary schools they attend or have attended.

Extract A.8 (S#1: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Krystyna (**K**))

187 **SY:** ok. what do you do [at Polish school]?

188 **K:**   um – = <laughs a little>

189 **SY:** = <laughs a little>

190 **K:**   – well. you learn a little bit about the history and do some geography/ but now

191   that you start to study for your GCSEs you just kind of go through the topics

192   that they expect you to do and. yeah

Extract A.9 (S#2: interview at St Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Krystyna (**K**))

138 **SY:** ok. do you like it [Polish School]?

139 **A:**   um – it's okay/ like. if I wasn't doing an exam I probably wouldn't but because

140   it's towards an exam. then I'd like. I'd rather go than not go

141 **SY:** uh-hm. <to Krystyna> do you feel the same, or – do you enjoy it anyway?

142 **K:**   um – I find it's quite annoying that it's on Saturdays! <laughs>

143 **SY:** <laughs> yeah!

144 **K:**   it's just – like – sometimes my friends are together on Friday nights and I'm

145   just there like I can't exactly be with them because I have to wake = up

146 **A:**   <interrupting> = um –

147 **K:**   = early

148 **A:**   yeah like – when. if I go to my friend's house on a Friday night I have to like

149   leave at like eight in the morning!

Extract A.10 (S4: interview with Ryszard & Tomasz – Sara (**SY**); Tomasz (**T**); Ryszard (**R**))

444 **SY:** what did you used to do there [at Polish school]?

445 **T:** learn – <simultaneously, then drops away as Ryszard continues speaking> –

446   history

447 **R:** um. learn about Polish history –

448 **T:** <boys talking simultaneously> language –

449 **R:** grammar – and the rest of that

Chapter 7, p.210: In a discussion about football during the group discussion at Grovesham, Tomasz mentions supporting his local team.

Extract A.11 (S2: group interview at Grovesham – Sara (**SY**); Filip (**F**); Tomasz (**T**); Ryszard (**R**); Jo (**JM**))

760 **SY:** […] what about Polish

761   teams?

762 **F:** they're bad

763 **T:** I support = one

[…]

769 **R:** only he supports one of the best

770 **T:** [gives name of his home town football team]

[…]

774 **T:** it's like my uncle's a very big supporter. my cousin's a very big supporter. it's

775   like all the family/ so it goes like nearly on all the matches

776 **SY:** ok

777 **JM:** and it's locally from where he lived in Poland

Chapter 7, p.213: The extract and brief analysis below demonstrate how Jo does not always correct grammatical or lexical irregularities during the Polish class. This comes from a discussion on rubbish as part of the lesson on the environment.

Extract A.12 (S1: observation lesson at Grovesham – Jo (**JM**); Tomasz (**T**); Ryszard (**R**))

107 **JM:** acha. że siedzisz jakby na górze śmieci/ o to ci chodzi. tak? że żyjesz w

108   nieporządku?

ah. that you sit on top of the rubbish/ is that it. yes? that you live in a mess?

109 **T:** = no w jakimś sensie, cały świat jest. jakby. najwięcej z tego. to śmieci ma

well. in a sense. the whole world is. like. most of it. it has rubbish

[…]

349 **JM:** [...] co można zrobić. żeby śmieci było mniej?

350   słuchamy

what can be done to reduce the amount of rubbish? we're listening.

[...]

360 **R:** używać rzeczy nie tylko w sposób do – w który zostały stworzone/ na

361   przyklad zepsute ciuchy można użyć jako szmatki do podłogi

use things not only as a – for which they were made. for example, worn out clothes can be used as a floor cloth.

In this extract, Tomasz's speech is shown to have scattered syntax and incomplete sentences, which Jo does not attempt to correct. The second part of Tomasz's sentence – 'najwięcej z tego, to śmieci ma' *(the most of it. it has rubbish)* (line 109)

would be almost incomprehensible in Polish, as there is no reference for the indexical 'it'.

There are also several irregularities in Ryszard's sentences, which Jo chooses not to correct. One example is 'W sposób do... w który zostały stworzone' *(as a – for which they were made)* (line 360). In Polish, 'do' should be followed by a genetive form of the relative wh-pronoun 'który'. 'W który' means 'in which' (rather than 'for which') and so slightly confuses Ryszard's intended meaning.

5(iv) Supplementary data to Chapter 8

Chapter 8, p.247: The following extracts show the adolescents talking about where they consider potential places to live in the future, apart from Britain and/or Poland.

Extract A.13 (S2: group interview at Grovesham – Sara (**SY**); Janusz (**J**))

892 **SY:** […] ok. I just want to ask you. what about in the future. do you think

893   you'll stay here. or d'you want to go back to Poland. or –?

[…]

933 **SY:** […] ok./ anyone else? Janusz?

934 **J:**   now I'll probably stay here and then after like. I don't know. after twenty.

935   twenty probably or yeah. around there. I'll. I would want to move to America.

936   probably

Extract A.14 (S5: interview with Janusz & Beata at Grovesham – Sara (**SY**); Janusz (**J**); Beata (**B**))

146 **SY:** <laughing> so in the future do you think you'll stay here. or would you like to

147   go somewhere else?

148 **J:**   maybe Canada

149 **SY:** wow!

150 **J:**   I think it would be a good country. I don't know

151 **SY:** why not

152 **J:**   yeah!

153 **SY:** yeah! no. it would be good to go and try over there/ Beata what about you?

154 **B:**   um. eh. I think it depends on the parents. because when I talk to my mother

155   about me being older. and an adult. I. I always think of me living in America/ I

156   don't really mind where. but I just want to like be there. maybe not live. but 157

       maybe travel there a lot. or something like that. […]

Chapter 8, p.252: This links with Krystyna's wish to return to Poland; here she explains where her older relatives live.

Extract A.15 (S#1: interview at St. Ferdinand's – Sara (**SY**); Krystyna (**K**))

501 **SY:** […] your Nans have moved as well from Poland?

502 **K:**   yeah! <laughs>

503 **SY:** how come? how did that happen?

504 **K:**   well my Dad's Mum went to Italy because of family stuff and she had to earn

505   money so she's been there for nearly twenty years

506 **SY:** = ok

507 **K:**   = and my Mum's Mum the one in France went because of family stuff too to

508   earn some money as well –

Appendix 6: Sample AQA exam papers

6(i) AQA Polish AS exam paper, June 2016

Unit 1: Reading and Writing, Section 3.

English translation: 'Write an essay of at least 200 words in answer to the following question.

'Each generation has different attitudes and is guided by other values. For our grandparents and great-grandparents, the most important was freedom and homeland.

What values are the most important in your life and why?'

6(ii) AQA Human Geography GCSE sample exam paper, June 2014

Paper 2 Higher Tier

9030ZH Specimen Question Paper / Version 1.0 / For First Teaching 2012

6

1 (c) Study Figure 3, a newspaper article.

Figure 3

Immigration into rural Lincolnshire

The streets of Boston in Lincolnshire are busy before dawn as people from Eastern Europe wait for vans to take them to pick or pack fruit and vegetables in the fields and factories. They can work for 12 hours a day, seven days a week for very little money.

Schools and hospitals are all planned and funded on the official population of Boston being 54 000. It is estimated that there are about 12 000 migrants from countries like Poland and Lithuania living in the Boston area.

1 (c) (i) Suggest why so many immigrants move to places like Boston.

(2 marks)

Areas outside the box will not be scanned for marking

Paper 2 Higher Tier

9030ZH Specimen Question Paper / Version 1.0 / For First Teaching 2012

7

1 (c) (ii) Describe the effect on the immigrants' country of origin of large numbers of people moving from one part of the EU to another.

(4 marks)

Extra space

Turn over for the next question

28

Turn over ▶

Areas outside the box will not be scanned for marking