**Framing Polish Migration to the UK, from the Second World War to EU Expansion**

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This chapter is about Polish migration to the UK since the Second World War and how academic authors have framed these different movements in their publications. Polish migration has, since 2004, become integral to wider discussions about migration in the UK. How this population, possibly the largest the county has ever seen in a single movement, has fitted into the British context has been fascinating to see - the widespread geographical distribution across the country, the closer ties afforded by new mobilities, but of course also the persistence of anti-foreigner sentiment. It makes a timely intervention then, to consider Polish migration in a wider temporal perspective, to remember the post-war movement of refugees, those who came during the Socialist regime and after its collapse, to think about how these two countries have been historically linked through these migrations, and, above all, to pay attention to how all of these developments have been represented in academic writing. Taking three broad eras of migration, post Second World War, socialist era and the post-socialist period, this chapter pays attention to the different tropes which have emerged in these representations - soldier, wife, worker - exploring what they tell us about Polish mobilities, and what they tell us about the limitations we face, and create, when writing about migration.

**World War Two and Afterwards**

Not surprisingly, most of the historical literature on Polish migration to the UK focuses on the Second World War and its aftermath. This migration was created initially by war-time displacement, and subsequently cemented by the resettlement of refugees in the UK through the government's European Volunteer Worker scheme, and by a specific programme which was established to resettle demobbed Polish troops, and their families, who had fought with the Allied forces during the war.[[1]](#footnote-1) As Holmes tells us, just over 160,000 Poles settled in the UK via these routes.[[2]](#footnote-2) Perhaps most famous in the early historiography of this migration is Zubrzycki's defining work on the Polish Resettlement Act in 1948, outlining in comprehensive detail what this act entailed, how it channelled the demobbed Polish soldiers into work across the country, and how from this a Polish community came to be established.[[3]](#footnote-3) Sword continued this work, investigating the creation of this highly nationally consciously Polish community and following its development over time, paying close attention to wider political and diplomatic dimensions, demographics and community structures especially.[[4]](#footnote-4) Although there is broad agreement over the facts and contexts of this migration and settlement, however, it is possible to discern different approaches in how this movement has been viewed and presented.

One of the most interesting aspects of the writing on this era of Polish migration has been how strongly the figure of the soldier has permeated the image and identity of both the population and the academic historiography. It has been the experience of the Polish soldier which has come to shape understandings of this movement and has been used to promote Polish identity in the UK subsequently. Even the infrastructure of the nascent community groups grew around demobbed troops meeting up and the emergence of 'Ex-Servicemen's Clubs', as well as, eventually, Polish churches and Saturday schools. Stachura, for example, places the experience of the soldier centre stage, focusing closely on the political dimensions of this migration movement and the sense of betrayal felt by the Polish soldiers at the Yalta peace conference, when Eastern Europe was 'lost' to the Soviet sphere of influence.[[5]](#footnote-5) Having fought 'for your freedom and ours' these soldiers were left without a free homeland to return to, and this loss comes through keenly throughout all the work on this migration.[[6]](#footnote-6) Since the war caused this migration, and shifting geopolitics shaped people's settlement, there is a strong thread weaved throughout most of the literature on generals, soldiers, military battles and high level diplomacy - General Anders, The Battle of Monte Cassino, The Battle of Britain, Yalta. Arguably, this literature simply mirrors the outward facing identity of the Polish community. As Garapich argues, political exile carries a revered status within Polish national identity, and this specific memory of the valiant Polish soldier is regularly and purposefully revitalized within the UK through an 'émigré culture of representation ... based on reminding British people about the sacrifice made by Polish soldiers'.[[7]](#footnote-7) If in the USA Polish migrants were essentialized as 'dumb Polaks', in the UK the brave but betrayed soldier became the more pervasive and cultivated trope.

Such a dominant focus in both writing and practice, however, brings with it a danger of eclipsing other experiences of being Polish in the UK beyond being a soldier. It is important to remember that a great number of resettled Poles had not been in the forces at all and that many had endured different paths as refugees and deportees. While there are no figures to enumerate how many of the Polish population who settled in the UK who had experienced such trauma, it is well documented that a large proportion of those who left Poland during the war had been living in the eastern part of the country and were forced out through Soviet deportation to Siberia.[[8]](#footnote-8) A number of academics have focused directly on these 'alternative', more difficult and less publicly shared narratives and the ongoing work that has had to be done to preserve and honour them. Temple has investigated the way these journeys are recounted in oral history interviews, Winslow has explored the long lasting psychological trauma endured by these refugees and exiles, and in my work I wrote about the salience of these memories at different scales - individual and embodied biography, inherited history and 'postmemory', and wider community identity, highlighting the emotional significance attached to the vast array of exile literature which had been produced.[[9]](#footnote-9) It is also important to note that such heavy focus on military bravery could also have had the effect of sidelining the depth of trauma that the soldiers themselves endured during and after the war - a trauma that could not fit into this performance of valiant masculinity.[[10]](#footnote-10)

Gender then is another key limitation of this soldier focus. It is worth reasserting first here that women also served in the armed forces, a fact that can get lost in some of this imagery but is underlined by Kushner and Knox with their inclusion of a quote from a woman who fought with the Air Force in their chapter about Polish refugees.[[11]](#footnote-11) This issue of inclusion in the armed forces also has an important age dimension, because many of those who ended up in the UK came as children or teenagers and so were not old enough to fight; again, such a focus can occlude their experiences. For Temple, moreover, this highly gendered reading of the Polish community more fundamentally neglects the role of women, often left 'behind the scenes' but undertaking crucial, though less glamorous and acknowledged, work to sustain national traditions and social networks - cooking Polish food, making national costumes, organising events, teaching the next generation about their Polish roots.[[12]](#footnote-12) If in many accounts everyday life is considered, in less detail, towards the end of the volume, her history puts this centre stage, teasing out the day to day workings, tensions and struggles of life in the UK rather than writing about famous generals and key battles. The limits of the soldier trope are clear - it has been a useful and needed tool, harnessed to promote the population externally and strengthen internal bonds, but it could never account for all of the nuances of the experience of being Polish in the UK.

The last theme to consider here is one which has great contemporary resonance, and that is how the Polish population, as' foreign' but white newcomers, were received in those early years, and how this migration fits into the broader picture of Britain as both an evolving multicultural and postcolonial society. In some of the wider discussions about the racialisation of immigration policy in the post-war years European migration has tended to be overlooked, with the focus instead being on new Commonwealth movements.[[13]](#footnote-13) The most arresting and critical work on whiteness and immigration, furthermore, can be found in the array of discussions of race and migration policy rather than in those studies which focus on Poles directly.[[14]](#footnote-14) There is a recognition of the relevance of this issue scattered throughout the Polish migration literature of course - while Lane discusses the hopes that the British government had for the Poles to 'assimilate', and its related misunderstanding in assuming race to be the most relevant factor for 'fitting in' and underestimation of the strength of national identity held by an exiled population, Nocon investigates the limits of the UK's 'welcome', showing the discrimination faced by Polish immigrants.[[15]](#footnote-15) Along with the legacy of post-war trauma, the pain of not being able to return home, the struggle to build new homes, the difficulties adjusting to the labour market and often working below qualifications, and suspicion, lack of understanding and hostility from local populations, Polish migrants did not have an easy early settlement. There is scope yet, however, for academic writers to take a more critical view on what whiteness meant for Polish migrants in post-war British, and on how othering and orientalism worked in this context, and to update understandings and steer the focus away from the now rather dated and limiting interest in assimilation and acculturation, something which runs through many of the texts.

**Socialist Era**

It is more difficult to write about Polish migration during the era of the Socialist regime; not only is there far less material out there investigating this, but in reality migrations during this period do not fit easily into an organising narrative. In my own research I interviewed people who left Poland to come to the UK throughout the duration of the regime, and I ended up talking to people who left at different times, in different circumstances, for different reasons. It is still possible to discern some underpinning themes in how movements from this time are discussed however.

The first point to think about here is again the significance of gender to discussions of Polish migration, because, as Sword asserts, about three quarters of those who came after 1956 (when there was a thaw on prohibitions on moving out of the country) and before the 'Solidarity era' of the early 1980s, were women coming to marry either Poles already settled in the UK, or second generation British-Polish men.[[16]](#footnote-16) According to Patterson, *Dziennik Polski*, the Polish daily newspaper, even carried numerous matrimonial adverts from Polish women keen to come to the UK to marry.[[17]](#footnote-17) This has meant that these women migrants have tended to be defined by their marriage prospects and choices, rather than by any deeper individual migratory agency. If the Polish immigrant of the war era was the soldier, by the late 1950s this had changed to the wife. In my interviews with women who came during this time, however, I was able to flesh out the experiences women had in moving from Poland to the UK. I did not interview anyone who had migrated purely to marry, and I found instead that marrying was sometimes a bi-product of migrating - meeting someone once here, or marrying sooner in a relationship in order to be able to stay. The most interesting material which emerged, rather, was about the differences in day to day life between the two countries, and for those women who migrated with husbands and families, the stark differences in household provisioning they found here - going from a situation where, due to the shortage economy, you had to be an active expert in managing, networking and the art of getting by, to having to learn a new and sometimes bewildering consumer landscape, and inhabiting a new, more passive, relationship with public space in the process.[[18]](#footnote-18) My interviews from this era also shed light on the emotional experience of migrating across the Iron Curtain - from anxious border crossings to sustaining family ties in the face of geopolitical barriers. The experience of mobility during the socialist period is an important one to assert because even though it was difficult to move, and most people were not able to keep their own passports at home and had to apply to be able to leave Poland, it emphasizes the porosity of this Iron Curtain and the strength of the links that reached out across it.[[19]](#footnote-19)

The other theme which does emerge in some of the historiography is the salience of the political nature of some of this later migration as thousands of people left due to their activities or links with the Solidarity movement. This brings an interesting juxtaposition, because this migration, which unfolded on a much smaller scale to the UK than to the US, could easily be framed in terms of political integrity, resistance, activism and exile, and could be read as a moral successor to wartime movements.[[20]](#footnote-20) In that respect, it might be expected that they would be welcomed as new generation 'soldiers'. What some research has suggested, however, is that 'on the ground', newcomers from Socialist Poland were more likely to be treated with suspicion for being from a Socialist regime than heralded as heroes.[[21]](#footnote-21) Social interactions between these new migrants and the existing population seemed to amplify the differences between the lived experiences and socialisations of the two countries, rather than offer a renewed community narrative.

**Post-Socialist Period**

The collapse of the Socialist regime in 1989 gave new impetus to Polish emigration (to the UK, but also to southern Europe especially), and with this change the site of mobility tensions relocated from the difficulties of leaving Poland to the complications of being in the UK and grappling with visa and border arrangements.[[22]](#footnote-22) This post-socialist period has an obvious dividing point in the form of the 2004 expansion of the European Union which enshrined the legal right to live and work in the UK for people from Poland and the other accession countries. Taking the 1990s and early 2000s era first, the research that has been done does emphasize the uncertainty and precarity of being a Polish immigrant in this context. Rogaly's work, for example, investigates the difficult working conditions and wider vulnerability of Eastern Europeans in the agricultural sector, many of whom came over through the Seasonal Agricultural Workers' Scheme.[[23]](#footnote-23) Düvell researched Polish migrants' experiences of being both documented and undocumented in the UK at this time, underlining the extent those without the right papers were open to exploitation.[[24]](#footnote-24) My interviews from this era also explored the problem of a sense of perceived illegitimacy, because even though the people I interviewed had all the appropriate documents to live and work here they still faced hostility and suspicion at the UK border when travelling to and fro, being made to feel like second class, or non, citizens.[[25]](#footnote-25)

With this context in mind, it is easy to see why 2004 has been identified as a watershed moment in Polish-UK mobility.[[26]](#footnote-26) There has been such phenomenal, and multidisciplinary, academic interest in Polish migration to the UK since EU enlargement that it is impossible to cover all the main arguments here, but there are some themes once again which seem to have had particular traction. Sticking with this concept of mobility first, there has been considerable attention paid to the type of migration movement this might turn out to be - temporary, permanent, circular - and the extent to which this new mobility regime might fundamentally change the nature of intra-continental migration.[[27]](#footnote-27) A lot of studies have focused on migration strategies and intentions, finding fluidity in these over time.[[28]](#footnote-28) For some commentators too, this new mobility did seem to signal a new and qualitatively easier type of east-west migration, and a more widely symbolic dismantling of internal European borders. [[29]](#footnote-29) The timing of Internet, Skype and smart phone developments have also been key for the experiences of these migrants who can keep in touch with home much more readily now.[[30]](#footnote-30) In my work I looked at other new infrastructures which have supported this increased mobility, such as the low cost airlines and courier services sending parcels back and forth, but, as with most studies, I found that this freedom and movement does come with monetary, physical and emotional costs, and has its own frictions.[[31]](#footnote-31) This focus on mobility issues is likely to persist with the unfolding of 'Brexit', as travelling itself becomes a different experience for Polish-UK migrants once again.

Another discernible trope to emerge from research on post-accession migration has been the consistent framing of Polish migrants as 'workers' - many of the early accession migration reports focused predominantly on the impact of this migration on the UK labour market and on the encouraging occupational mobility of Polish migrants over time.[[32]](#footnote-32) Other studies, however, have pointed to the 'brain drain' that the young highly skilled migrants experienced in the UK, taking jobs well below their qualification levels.[[33]](#footnote-33) The high levels of precarity many Polish and other accession migrants face here has also emerged as an important theme; Anderson, for example, highlights the high numbers of migrants in agency and temporary work and the low wage levels, uncertainty and anti-social hours that much of this kind of work entails.[[34]](#footnote-34) Work place identities and interactions have also been investigated, such as Datta's work on the lives of Polish builders in London and their 'cosmopolitan' encounters.[[35]](#footnote-35) Taken together, these kinds of studies illustrate the diversity of work experiences, the stratification of skills and qualifications among the migrant population, and by revealing vulnerabilities, hint at more continuities with the pre-2004 period, and particularly the experiences of Polish agricultural workers, than previously assumed.

There is a danger, however, that too much focus on work - on the labour market, and occupational changes - can define Polish migrants too narrowly. For many of the young people who came, adventure was a stronger allure than the prospect of work itself. Some of the most interesting discussions on motivations also take a longer term view, exploring ideas about 'normalcy' and the desire to find a 'normal life' in the context of post-socialist transition in Poland.[[36]](#footnote-36) The focus on jobs, therefore, cannot account for the whole experience of being Polish in the UK. It also misses the rest of the lives that people have been living here - family life, transnational connections, local home making, social life, networks and encounters, leisure and fun, discrimination and fear - as well as their histories beforehand.[[37]](#footnote-37) There have been many rich projects which have teased out these different aspects of the migration experience: Gill on place-making, White on families, Ryan et al. on social networks, McGhee et al. on housing, to name just a few.[[38]](#footnote-38) Different aspects of gender, race and ethnicity have also been reflected on, drawing out the impact of migrating on the performance of gendered norms, and on the particular position that Poles hold, once again, as a white but 'foreign' presence.[[39]](#footnote-39) It would be difficult to find another group as closely researched as post-accession Polish migrants now, but it is clear, in light of the 2016 'Brexit' result and its aftermath, where research will need to go next; if anything has been missing in the historiography it has been a sufficiently nuanced appreciation of the depth of anti-Polish sentiment in the UK. There is still more work to do.

**Conclusion**

Appraising the historiography of Polish migration has necessitated taking a long temporal perspective, considering work which has appeared over the past sixty years. It has been possible to not only chart the different movements from Poland in these texts, but also academic trends and priorities as they have shifted over time. The initial interests in assimilation and acculturation have given way to more varied readings of migration experiences, for example, as the wider research field has matured. Taking a long view also makes it possible to see how these different waves of migration piece together, what is common, and what is different. What is interesting is that although the circumstances of the different eras change, there are continuities which pull them together, not least the vulnerability Polish migrants have perennially faced, albeit in different manifestations. This raises an important point because it reminds us, as academics, of the responsibility we bear when writing about migration. We choose how to frame these people's lives - whether through statistics, archives or interview quotes - and we choose which questions to ask, which facets to play up, and which aspects to sideline. Do we celebrate the freedom and hope of migration, or do we illustrate the risks and costs to the migrants? Do we run the risk of disempowering whole populations when we foreground difficult experiences? There is an embedded power in academic writing here which bears more scrutiny. There is also an inherent limitation, as this chapter has shown, because the human experience can never be easily categorized into boxes or typologies. When we enforce order onto these histories we risk eclipsing important parts of them. So, for Polish migration, we can understand why the key tropes of soldier, wife and worker have been so salient, but we can also see their limitations, and, ultimately, grasp what these categories themselves tell us about the wider production of academic knowledge.

1. See John Allan Tannahill, *European Volunteer Workers in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1958). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 1988), 212. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff 1956). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Keith Sword*, Identity in Flux: The Polish Community in Britain* (London: SSEES, University of London 1996); Keith Sword with Norman Davies and Jan Ciechanowski, *The Formation of the Polish Community in Great Britain:* *the M. B. Grabowski Polish Migration Project report* (London: SSEES, University of London 1989). On community see also Kathy Burrell, *Moving Lives: Narratives of Nation and Migration among Europeans in Post-war Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2006), 141-179; Thomas Lane, ‘Victims of Stalin and Hitler: the Polish community of Bradford’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, vol. 20, no. 3, 2001, 43-58; Sheila Patterson, 'The Polish exile community in Britain', *The Polish Review*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1961, 69-97. More generally see Tony Kushner and Katharine Knox, *Refugees in an Age of Genocide* (London: Frank Cass 1999), 217-240. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Peter D. Stachura (ed.), *The Poles in Britain 1940-2000: From Betrayal to Assimilation* (London: Frank Cass 2004). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. See also Burrell, *Moving Lives*, 50-1, 82; Kathy Burrell, 'Male and female Polishness in post-war Leicester: gender and its intersections in a refugee community', in Louise Ryan and Wendy Webster (eds), *Gendering Migration: Masculinity, Femininity and Ethnicity in Post-war Britain* (Aldershot, Ashgate 2008), 71-88. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Michał P Garapich, 'Odyssean refugees, migrants and power: construction of “other” and civic participation within the Polish “community” in the United Kingdom', in Deborah Reed-Danahay and Caroline B. Brettell (eds), *Citizenship, Political Engagement, and Belonging: Immigrants in Europe and the United States* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press 2008), 124-143 (131-2). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Thomas Lane, *Victims of Stalin and Hitler: The Exodus of Poles and Balts to Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2004); Burrell, *Moving Lives*, 42-8; Keith Sword, *Deportation and Exile: Poles in the Soviet Union, 1939-48* (Basingstoke: Palgrave 1996); Natalia S. Lebedeva, ‘The deportation of the Polish population to the USSR, 1939-41’, *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, vol. 16, no. 1-2, 2000, 28-45. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Bogusia Temple, ‘Time travels: time, oral history and British-Polish identities’, *Time and Society*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1996, 85-96; Michelle Winslow, ‘Polish migration to Britain: war, exile and mental Health’, *Oral History*, vol. 27, no. 1, 1999, 57-64; Kathy Burrell, ‘Personal, inherited, collective: communicating and layering memories of forced Polish migration’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2006, 144-63. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. See Burrell, 'Male and female Polishness'. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Kushner and Knox, *Refugees in an Age of Genocide*, 224. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Bogusia Temple, ‘Constructing Polishness: researching Polish women’s lives’, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1994, 47-55; Bogusia Temple, ‘“Gatherers of pig-swill and thinkers”: gender and community amongst British Poles’, *Journal of Gender Studies*,vol. 4, no. 1, 1995, 63-72; Bogusia Temple, ‘Diaspora, diaspora space and Polish women’, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, vol. 22, no. 1, 1999, 17-24. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. There is very little discussion of this in Ian R. G. Spencer *British Immigration Policy since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain* (London: Routledge 1997) for example. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. See Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era* (New York: Cornell University Press 1997) and Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire, 1939-1965* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005), along with Linda McDowell on Latvian women, Europeans and whiteness: Linda McDowell, *Hard Labour: The Forgotten Voices of Latvian Migrant Volunteer Workers* (London: UCL Press 2005). 98-99, 195-6; Linda McDowell, 'Old and new European economic migrants: whiteness and managed migration policies', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 35, no. 1, 2009, 19-36. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Lane, ‘Victims’; Andrew Nocon, ‘A reluctant welcome? Poles in Britain in the 1940s’, *Oral History,* vol. 24, no. 1, 1996, 79-87. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Sword, *Identity in Flux*, 204. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Sheila Patterson, 'Polish London', in Ruth Glass (ed.), *London: Aspects of Change* (London: MacGibbon & Kee 1964), 309-342 (338). [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Kathy Burrell, 'Managing, learning and sending: the material lives and journeys of Polish women in Britain’, *Journal of Material Culture*, vol. 13, no. 1, 2008, 63-83. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. See also Becky Taylor and Martyna Śliwa, 'Polish migration: moving beyond the Iron Curtain', *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 71, no. 1, 2011, 128-146; Kathy Burrell, 'The enchantment of western things: children's material encounters in late socialist Poland', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* vol. 36., no. 1, 2011, 143-156. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. See Garapich, 'Odyssean Refugees'. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. On this see Aleksandra Galasińska, 'Gossiping in the Polish club: an emotional coexistence of ‘old’ and ‘new’ migrants', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 36, no. 6, 2010, 939-951; Sword, *Identity in Flux*, 207-213; Garapich, 'Odyssean Refugees'. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. See Kathy Burrell, 'Materialising the border: spaces of mobility and material culture in migration from post-socialist Poland', *Mobilities*, vol. 3, no. 3, 2008, 353-373. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Ben Rogaly, 'Intensification of workplace regimes in British horticulture: the role of migrant workers', *Population, Space and Place*, vol. 14, no. 6, 2008, 497-510. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Frank Düvell, *Polish Undocumented Immigrants, Regular High-skilled Workers and Entrepreneurs in the UK* (Warsaw: Institute for Social Studies, Warsaw University 2004). [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Burrell, 'Materialising the border', 358. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. See Kathy Burrell, ' Introduction: migration to the UK from Poland: continuity and change in East-West European mobility', in Kathy Burrell (ed.), *Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union: After 2004* (Farnham: Ashgate 2009), 1-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. For example John Eade, Stephen Drinkwater and Michał P. Garapich, *Class and Ethnicity: Polish Migrant Workers in London: Full Research Report. ESRC End of Award Report, RES-000-22-1294* (Swindon: ESRC 2007); Naomi Pollard, Maria Latorre and Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah, *Floodgates or Turnstiles? Post-EU Enlargement Migration Flows to (and from) the UK* (London: Institute for Public Policy Research 2008). [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. See Stephen Drinkwater and Michał P. Garapich, 'Migration strategies of Polish migrants: do they have any at all?', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 41, no.12, 2015, 1909-1931. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. For example Adrian Favell, ‘The new face of east west migration in Europe’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 34, no. 5, 2008, 701–16. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Kathy Burrell, 'Time matters: temporal contexts of Polish transnationalism', in Michael Peter Smith and John Eade (eds), *Transnational Ties: Cities, Migrations, And Identities* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers 2008), 15-38 (29-33). [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. See Kathy Burrell, 'Going steerage on Ryanair: cultures of air travel for migration from Poland to the UK', *Journal of Transport Geography*, vol.19, no. 5, 2011, 1023-1030;Kathy Burrell 'The recalcitrance of distance: exploring the infrastructures of sending in migrants’ lives', *Mobilities,* 2016 on-line first. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Martin Ruhs, *Greasing the Wheels of the Flexible Labour Market: East European Labour Immigration in the UK. Centre on Migration, Policy and Society Working Paper No. 38* (Oxford: University of Oxford 2006); Stephen Drinkwater, John Eade, and Michał P. Garapich, *Poles Apart? EU Enlargement and the Labour Market Outcomes of Immigrants in the UK. IZA Discussion Paper No. 2410* (Bonn: Institute for the Study of Labor 2006); Bridget Anderson, Martin Ruhs, Ben Rogaly and Sarah Spencer, *Fair Enough? Central and East European Migrants in Low-wage Employment in the UK* (London: Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2006). [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Agnieszka Fihel and Pawel Kaczmarczyk, 'Migration – a threat or a chance? Recent migration of Poles and its impact on the Polish labour market', in Burrell (ed.), *Polish Migration*, 23–48. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Bridget Anderson, 'Migration, immigration controls and the fashioning of precarious workers', *Work, Employment and Society*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2010, 300-317 (304-5). [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Ayona Datta, 'Places of everyday cosmopolitanisms: East European construction workers in London', *Environment and Planning A*, vol. 41 no. 2, 2009, 353–70. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Aleksandra Galasińska and Olga Kozłowska, 'Discourses on a ‘normal life’ among post-accession migrants from Poland to Britain', in Burrell (ed.), *Polish Migration,* 87–105. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. See Sarah Spencer, Martin Ruhs, Bridget Anderson and Ben Rogaly, *Migrants’ Lives Beyond the Workplace: The Experiences of Central and East Europeans in the UK* (York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2007). [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Nick Gill, 'Pathologies of migrant place-making: the case of Polish migrants to the UK', *Environment and Planning A*, vol. 4, no. 5, 2010, 1157-1173; Anne White, *Polish Families and Migration Since EU Accession* (Bristol: Polity Press 2011); Louise, Ryan, Rosemary Sales, Mary Tilki, and Bernadetta Siara, 'Social networks, social support and social capital: the experiences of recent Polish migrants in London', *Sociology*, vol. 42, no. 4, 2008, 672-690; Derek McGhee, Sue Heath, and Paulina Trevena, 'Post-accession Polish migrants—their experiences of living in ‘low-demand’ social housing areas in Glasgow', *Environment and Planning A*, vol. 45, no. 2, 2013, 329-343. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Bernadetta Siara, 'UK Poles and the negotiation of gender and ethnic identity in cyberspace', in Burrell (ed.), *Polish Migration,* 167–187; McDowell, 'Old and new'; Violetta Parutis, 'White, European, and hardworking: East European migrants’ relationships with other communities in London', *Journal of Baltic Studies,* vol. 42, no. 2, 2011, 263-288. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)