'I Want to Stay Here Forever': Narratives of Resistance amongst Polish-born Adolescents in the UK

SARA YOUNG[1]
UCL Institute of Education, University College London

Polish accession to the European Union in 2004 saw migration to the UK increase exponentially. However, the recent climate in Britain has become one of a harsher anti-immigrant discourse. This paper is based on findings of my doctoral study exploring identity construction amongst Polish-born adolescents in the UK in the light of such negative discourses. Here, I see identity as contingent, (re) negotiated in different contexts; I also draw on the theory of positioning, whereby individuals adopt certain subject positions even as they are positioned differently by others. Fieldwork for the study took place in January-May 2016. A narrative inquiry approach was used; interviews were held with eleven participants aged 11–16, living in small Polish communities. Findings suggest that while the adolescents report having been subjected to anti-Polish bullying, they refuse to tell stories of victimhood. Rather, they present themselves as agentive individuals who respond to attacks by asserting their Polish identity and reinforcing their right to be in the UK. Thus, despite the antagonistic discourses surrounding Polish migration to the UK, these adolescents demonstrate the positive way that they are confronting their present difficulties and approaching their future.

Keywords: Polish migration; adolescents; identity; narrative inquiry

1. Introduction

The accession of Poland to the European Union (EU) in 2004 was followed by an exponential increase in Polish migration to the UK (Drinkwater and Garapich 2011). The inability of statistical data to provide an accurate picture of the Polish population in the UK has been highlighted by several researchers (e.g. Ryan et al. 2009; Trevena 2009);

---

[1] Contact: sara.young@ucl.ac.uk

however, it does appear that post-2004 saw a rise in the number of Polish families coming to the UK to the extent that, '[b]y 2008, Polish-speaking children formed the largest group of 'non-English speaking newly-arrived migrant schoolchildren' in England' (White 2017: 1; also Trevena 2009: 3). This shift in the Polish migratory demographic, both in the UK and elsewhere, has led to recent research that examines the experiences of younger migrants. This paper aims to contribute to such work on teenage migrants and places the emphasis on adolescents' own perceptions of their experiences (e.g. Moskal 2014; Slany and Strzemecka 2016).

Subsequent to 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 dominated by an increasingly harsh anti-immigrant discourse, often aimed against EU migrants and Poles in particular. As a researcher in applied linguistics, I became interested in how Polish adolescents who had come to the UK as children of economic migrants were adapting to such an environment, and how this impacted on their sense of identity. These children are the so-called 1.5 generation, regarded as those individuals who have undertaken most of their secondary, and perhaps primary, education in the host country (Benesch 2008: 294). This paper is based on the findings of my doctoral work where I explored ethno-linguistic identity construction amongst Polish-born adolescents in the UK (aged 11–16) in a study conducted in early 2016.

The findings of my research suggest that despite the explicitly hostile tone of the prevailing discourses to which they are subject, the participants do not tell stories of victimhood. Rather, these adolescents endeavour to present themselves as agentive, and to assert their right as Poles to be in the UK.[2] This paper is organised as follows: first, it provides a brief outline of the socio-political context; it then sets out the theoretical framework. This is followed by a description of the study, comprising the methodology, and participant details. The findings of the study are then presented, leading to a discussion of how these findings remain pertinent to the current situation of the Polish-born youngsters living in contemporary Britain.

2. Socio-political context in the UK

As noted above, the issue of migration has become increasingly problematic in the UK over recent years. Even prior to the 2015–2017 period, opposition to migration had been growing in Britain, and especially in regard to the question of cross-European mobility (Ford 2011), with the EU principle of freedom of movement coming under question (Barbulescu 2014). In the 2015 UK General Election campaign, the Conservative Party pledged to hold a Referendum on Britain's membership in Europe

---

[2] This point was originally highlighted in a paper exploring the experiences of this group in relation to Brexit (see Young 2018).

(Conservative Party 2015), while the right-wing and aggressively Eurosceptic UK Independence Party (UKIP) campaigned on a strong anti-migrant platform (www.ukip.org).

During this time, EU migrant communities in Britain found themselves subjected to increasingly negative media attention (Rzepnikowska 2018). The 2012 Leveson Inquiry into the conduct of the press received evidence from the Federation of Poles in Great Britain that illustrated the extent to which Poles had been the subject of such hostile reporting (see Moszczyński 2008; Leveson 2012). Stories evoked negative tropes such as Polish migrants stealing British jobs, e.g. *The Express* (Sheldrick 2016): 'Migrants being offered work AHEAD of Britons'; or taking state benefits, as in *The Sun* article 'Pole Chancers' (Earlam et al. 2016), which focused on a booklet made available to Poles outlining the benefits system in the UK.

While such stories may be seen to concern adults, I wondered what effect such attacks, often made visible through the media, would have on adolescent Poles living in the UK. Adolescence is seen as a particularly susceptible period of an individual's life-stage (see Harklau 2007), during which questions of identity become paramount (Erikson 1968; Marcia 1980). I aimed to explore how Polish-born adolescents responded to the negative discourse with which they were confronted, and how this impacted on the construction of their identities.

3. Theoretical framework

Similar to much identity work in the field of socio and applied linguistics (e.g. Norton 1997; De Fina 2016), the study takes a poststructuralist perspective where identity is seen as mutable and fluid (Bauman 2000). Since identity is viewed as contingent: changing across time and space (Frosh 2002), it must be renegotiated in different contexts.

The study is also underpinned by Foucault's conceptualisation of discourse, whereby knowledge is created through 'discourses', or 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1972: 49). For Foucault, each individual is subject to the discourses by which s/he is surrounded; as discourses are reproduced, power is sustained and replicated, and relationships between individuals are upheld (Preece 2009: 29–30).

An individual may attempt to challenge the prevailing discourse(s) through his/her own language practices; however, such individuals are also likely to find their efforts hampered. In a Foucauldian understanding, any given society permits only certain ways of speaking about things, while other ways are prohibited. Migrant individuals, who find themselves in a new society and confronted by a new set of discourses, thus face a challenge as they try to renegotiate their identity in the new setting.

In examining identity construction amongst migrants, I also draw on the theory of positioning, as developed by Davies and Harré (1990). Positioning is 'a discursive practice' (Harré and van Langenhove 1991: 398): it may be understood as the way in

which individuals attempt to position themselves and are positioned by others, both within discourses and through the discursive practices to which the individual is allowed access. Given the contingent nature of discourse (Foucault 1972), the subject position (or identity) of an individual is not static but is constantly being (re)negotiated through discursive practices, that is, through language (McKinney and Norton 2008).

As noted above, the subject positions that an individual is permitted to occupy may be restricted by others. In the case of migrants, the positions allowed to them are often those viewed as inferior. This has been highlighted by Pavlenko (2001: 319), in research on second language learners, where she notes the way that such individuals may be 'positioned as incompetent' whether as parents, employees, or just as adult members of society (also see Blackledge 2001). Such positioning can present a challenge to migrant individuals as they endeavour to negotiate new positions within British society. Yet I argue here that the adolescents who participated in this study sought to resist the positions which they were assigned and to challenge the discourses around Polish migrants in the UK.

In doing so, I also draw on Bakhtin's (1986) notion of 'voice', whereby an individual is seen to 'borrow' the words, or voice, of another. Such appropriation is not 'neutral' (McKinney and Norton 2008: 193), for it also implicitly adopts the 'particular social, cultural, and ideological practices' which shaped the original utterance (Kamberelis and Danette Scott 1992: 363). Here, it may be seen that in the process of creating their own identity positions, the adolescents adopt the voices of those around them. Similarly, the negative attitudes with which they find themselves confronted, and the way that others position them may equally be seen as 'borrowed' from wider discourses.

Drawing on the conceptualisations of identity and positioning as set out above, my aim was therefore to investigate the stories of Polish-born adolescents living in the UK. My interest lay in what their stories suggested about how these adolescents negotiate and construct their ethnic and linguistic identities, in the light of the prevailing anti-immigration and anti-immigrant discourses which surround them.

4. 'Big' and 'small' stories

In order to explore the adolescents' perceptions of their experiences in the UK, I used narrative inquiry as the primary methodology. By encouraging participants to tell their stories, the narrative approach aims to privilege the individuals' viewpoint (Labov 1997) and their 'positionality' (Riessman 2002: 696). Narrative is moreover often seen as revelatory of an individual's identity (Bamberg 2005): it is through the act of telling stories that 'identities can be inflected, reworked, and more or less variably and subtly invoked' (Georgakopoulou 2006: 125). Thus a narrative inquiry may be seen not only as a valuable way of investigating how individuals understand their experiences, but is equally helpful in the examination of identity construction.

I also drew on the notion of 'big' and 'small' stories, a more recent conceptualisation within the field of narrative inquiry, developed initially by Bamberg (2004b) and Georgakopoulou (2006). 'Big' stories can be understood to encompass longer narratives, consisting of 'specific life shaping episodes' (Phoenix and Sparkes 2009: 222). Such stories are usually told within the context of a formal research interview (Freeman 2006), where the participant is invited to provide an oral portrait of his/her life. In contrast, 'small' stories may be defined as 'snippets of talk': rather than being completely formed narratives, they are seen to be part of everyday talk (Georgakopoulou 2006: 123). It is these elements which make the gathering of small stories particularly appropriate when investigating the experiences of younger participants. Bamberg (2004a) argues that younger narrators are not often able to construct overarching stories about their lives, nor to maintain a sustained formal interview. Extracting narratives from briefer interactions appears a more helpful way of exploring the lived experience of younger participants.

For other scholars, putting slithers of narrative information that emerge from informal exchanges alongside data collected in the context of a formal research interview, allows a fuller picture of the individual to emerge (e.g. Phoenix and Sparkes 2009). Thus, an analysis of both big and small stories can be seen as a useful way of investigating identity (Norton and Early 2011).

In order to capture both types of stories, I used a Dictaphone to audio-record interaction in the room where the sessions were held. I thus recorded informal chatter with participants, from which larger stories often emerged. One example occurred with 14-year-old Krystyna. In response to an apparently inconsequential question about the forthcoming Easter holidays Krystyna alluded to her parents' separation, something she had not mentioned when asked earlier about her family. I thus mined the smaller stories from the data gathered and set these alongside the longer accounts the adolescents gave so as to build up a picture of their experiences.

5. Locations and participants

Many studies in applied linguistics, and in migration research, focus on urban populations (Rasinger 2012), exploring communities located in the ethnic and linguistic 'superdiversity' found in cities (Vertovec 2007). However, being more interested in the experiences of Polish-born adolescents living in a region with a less diverse demographic, I recruited participants from schools in two semi-rural locations in South East England, both with relatively small Polish communities.

These were Grovesham School, a state secondary school which offers GCSE Polish lessons; and St. Ferdinand's, a Polish Saturday school.[3] Grovesham is located

---

[3] The names of locations and participants in the study have been anonymised.

in Fieldstone, a town of 60,000, and with a post-2004 Polish community. St. Ferdinand's is located in nearby Steadton, with a population of 15,000; the Polish community of Steadton dates back to the Second World War. According to the 2011 Census, both towns have a predominantly 'white' population of over 85%, 'white' here denoting 'English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British' (www.nomisweb.co.uk).[4] This is in sharp contrast to cities such as Birmingham, Coventry or Manchester, where the 'white' population is nearer to 55%–65% of the population. In the Referendum of June 2016, Fieldstone voted Leave by a slight margin of 50.5%, while Steadton had a Remain majority of 55% (The Electoral Commission). The exact number of Poles living in the towns is not currently recorded; however, at Grovesham School, there are around 20 Polish students out of a total of 1300 pupils, while at the state schools attended by the two girls interviewed at St. Ferdinand's, the number is fewer still. Grovesham is located in a working-class/lower-middle class area, while the schools attended by the girls at St Ferdinand's are found in a more affluent area.

Participants were chosen through purposive sampling (Ritchie et al. 2013). The main criteria were that participants were Polish-born, and were attending UK secondary school. The rationale behind this was firstly linguistic. I felt that if the adolescents had been born in Poland, they were more likely to participate in speaking Polish at home, and their knowledge of Polish would have come from this prior to any Polish language classes they were currently attending. The second criterion, that of attending secondary school in the UK, meant that the adolescents would also be accustomed to functioning in English. The participants could thus be seen as bilingual, here understood as individuals who are able to converse in both languages and do so regularly, regardless of their competency in each language (Li Wei 2007).

At this point, it is also important to acknowledge the position of the researcher, and the potential impact of this on the research. While the participants may have positioned me as Polish, albeit with limited knowledge of the Polish language, as a British-born second generation immigrant of mixed Eastern European ancestry, I saw myself as something of an 'insider by proxy' (Carling et al. 2014: 50), that is, an individual who shares commonalities with the participants.

At Grovesham, participants were recruited with the help of Jo Malinowska, the Polish Teacher at the school. The School Director of St. Ferdinand's, Alina Rudawska, also helped find potential participants. Nine participants came from Grovesham, and two from St. Ferdinand's; there were five girls and six boys, aged 11–16. While the adolescents had all arrived in the UK post-2004, each had a different migratory journey; their time in the UK ranged from nine to two years.

Ethical approval for the research was granted by the UCL Institute of Education before fieldwork was conducted; information sheets and consent request forms

4 Exact details of the web page cannot be given for reasons of maintaining confidentiality.

were sent to participants and their parents, as well to the school heads in their role as gatekeepers and as *loco parentis* (Matthews 1998). Fieldwork for the study took place in January-May 2016.

6. Data collection and analysis

At both settings, the process of data collection was subject to restrictions imposed by the school timetable.[5] At Grovesham, I interviewed the participants during Polish lessons, allowing for a break while their teacher Jo was away on maternity leave. At St. Ferdinand's, due to a delay in receiving their signed consent forms, I could only hold two interview sessions before the Easter break. I therefore organised the data collection into three blocks, and scheduled the interviews at St. Ferdinand's for March during the hiatus at Grovesham.

The first block of data collection at Grovesham in January and February 2016, consisted of three, hour-long sessions. The first session was an observation of the first Polish class of term. A primary observation can help in establishing rapport prior to the interviews (Eder and Fingerson 2002); it also allowed me to observe the way language was used in class.

In session two, I held a group interview with all the participants attending that day. Drawing on Ryen (2006), I hoped to build further trust between myself and those taking part. Group interviews may also be seen to help broach potentially sensitive issues with participants (Eder and Fingerson 2002). Here, I felt that the topic of anti-Polish sentiment the adolescents may have encountered could be considered a sensitive issue. Interviews were conducted in English; although the participants had been given the option of using Polish, none decided to do so. In the third session, I held another large group interview, and also a smaller interview with some of the older students.

The second block comprised of two 50-minute interview sessions at St. Ferdinand's in March, held with the two participants, Anna and Krystyna. This was likewise conducted in English.

The third block of data collection at Grovesham was in May. I held three, hour-long sessions during which I interviewed the adolescents in pairs, or individually. Habermas and Paha (2001) suggest that shorter interviews are more appropriate for younger participants: these interviews conducted at Grovesham lasted between 10–25 minutes.

The interviews were audio recorded and the files transferred to my laptop. During the breaks in between sessions, I transcribed the data and begin preliminary analysis.

Initially, a thematic coding was done: the stories told were grouped under broad headings such as 'family' or 'anti-Polish sentiment'; these were distilled into

---

[5] For a more detailed discussion of the challenges this presented, as well as unexpected benefits, see my account in Naveed et al. (2017).

sub-headings such as 'bullying at school' or 'language brokering'. This was followed by a close reading of the data, using discourse analysis. Here, I followed van Dijk (2000), for whom discourse analysis allows the researcher to examine the way that talk is structured, together with the linguistic strategies used by the speaker, and how this might correspond to a wider political and social context. I also drew on Bamberg (2004a), who describes analysing narrative as paying attention to details such as the tense or aspect used, or the use of pronouns. The use of in-depth analysis allowed me to examine the language used in the adolescents' stories more closely; this facilitated my exploration of the ways that the narrators positioned themselves within the stories they told, and how they found themselves positioned by others.

7. Findings of the study

Prior to the study, I had anticipated that the adolescents would be aware of the anti-Polish sentiment which had recently intensified in the UK. The study appeared to confirm this: one of the major findings was to reveal the extent to which the adolescents had been confronted by anti-Polish sentiment. This had been experienced first-hand. What became telling, however, was the way that in recounting these stories, the narrators endeavoured to present themselves as agentive and rejected the notion of victimhood.

7.1. Bullying at school

Bullying at school emerged as a recurrent theme in the narratives told. Yet in the framing of these stories, the adolescents often resist positioning themselves as passive victims. Rather, they take an active role in attempting to change their situation and refuse to let such negativity affect plans for their future.

In an interview with 13-year-old Filip, and Sylwia, aged 11, I raised the topic of any anti-Polish sentiment they might have encountered. Filip is a relative newcomer, having lived in Fieldstone for just over a year. Prior to starting at Grovesham, he attended a nearby Junior school; this had been a difficult experience:

> Filip: Um, before I went to this school, I was in a different school and people there were just terrible. I was getting bullied […]
> Sara: What sort of things were they saying? Can you tell me?
> Filip: Um, they were telling me to go back to Poland. Like, they don't want me here and um, yeah they just bullied me physically.

In a later interview, Filip states that his experiences at school contributed to his parents' decision to move towns. He explains that there were a couple of reasons for the move: 'the first one is because we couldn't find a house […] er, the second one is because I was getting bullied a lot'.

I asked whether his negative experiences had affected Filip's desire to stay in the UK:

Sara: *So do you plan to stay here, or would you like to go back to Poland?*
Filip: *Um, I want to stay here. Forever.*
[…]
Sara: *When you first came though, cos it was quite difficult at school, did you want to go back to Poland then?*
Filip: *No, no, I wanted to stay.*

Filip is adamant in his reply, that his unhappy encounters at his first primary school have not diminished his determination to build a future in the UK. Nor have they undermined his sense of his right to stay in the country.

Sylwia left Poland at the age of 2, when her family migrated to Ireland; she came to Fieldstone at the age of 6 and attended one of the local primary schools. The question of bullying was discussed across two sessions. In the first, Filip has just been talking of his own experiences, and I ask Sylwia if she has encountered anything similar.

Sara: *Have you had anything like that, Sylwia? [i.e. Filip's experiences]*
Sylwia: *No.*
Sara: *Ok, cos you were much younger when you came I guess?*
Sylwia: *Yeah.*
Sara: *Yeah?*
Sylwia: *Everything was ok. But I also had an old school before my – I had two primary schools. Because the first one I didn't like, I don't know why, I don't remember now, but – I just didn't like the people there, I don't know what for and then, then I moved to Treetam Primary School.*
Sara: *Ok.*
Sylwia: *Then, um, I'm up here now. I liked Treetam, it was a really good school and I really like Grovesham now, it's – I have new friends, everything.*

In a later, individual interview with Sylwia, I asked again about her first primary school.

Sara: *Ok, was it good, or –*
Sylwia: *<speaking quietly> No, cos um, I don't know exactly, but the people there weren't so nice and they were annoying me, and they, they just weren't nice to me. And then I asked Mum to move school. And then we found another school, Treetam.*

On both occasions, Sylwia, normally vivacious, becomes hesitant when recounting these incidents of bullying. At first, she is reluctant to say why she did not like the first school, professing 'I don't remember now, but – I just didn't like the people **117**

there'. In the second interview, Sylwia is more forthcoming: she suggests, 'the people there weren't so nice and they were annoying me'. On both occasions, she reiterates how she was far happier at Treetam Primary, where she transferred. Sylwia also mentions Grovesham, where she seems much happier.

Like Filip, Sylwia can thus be seen to reject her position as victim; she presents herself as taking action against this, asking her mother if she can change schools. What is also of note is the way that Sylwia attempts to reframe her story in terms of her experiences at each school. Rejecting her first uncomfortable encounter, Sylwia turns the conversation back to Treetam, which was 'a really good school', and her subsequent experiences at Grovesham, which she 'really like[s]'.

7.2 Negative stereotypes

Other students had found themselves having to confront stereotypical prejudices, such as accusations that their parents were 'stealing jobs'. Here too, the adolescents present themselves as attempting to challenge such prejudices. One example comes from 16-year-old Greg (Grzegorz), who recalls a recent incident from his geography class.

Greg had moved to the UK at the age of 5; he lived in South-West England, moving to Fieldstone 6 years later. While not denying his Polish origins, Greg considers himself to have taken on more of a British identity; he explains early in the discussion: 'I feel a bit both – but I'm obviously Polish, on my certificate and everything in Polish but I think I'm kind of more British, I'm used to this like environment'.

Greg's adoption of a British identity may also be seen in the way he has chosen to use an anglicised abbreviation of his Polish first name.[6] He also appears heavily invested in his school studies and his future career. Following school, Greg is hoping to study sports science or coaching at university in the UK, and he talked at some length about the qualifications required for employment prospects in the UK.

Yet despite the way that Greg positions himself as being part of the UK, the story he tells about the geography class suggests that such a position is not allowed to him. Part of the GCSE Geography syllabus focuses on the topic of migration, especially that from Eastern Europe. It is this which prompts the incident described in the following extract.

Greg: 'Stealing jobs', I've had that personally […]. In my geography, we study Polish immigrants […] it was like, last week we had it and there was like loads of, like we got turned against. Basically the whole class were against us, like it was so bad. There's like two of us in the Polish class and we just got bombed, basically, there were like jokes and references, 'don't steal my jobs', and all those things. And my friend couldn't hold it in, I mean, he like, just gave them all the facts that

6 This has been reflected in the pseudonym given here.

it's not really true exactly. […] I find it wrong like when people don't understand and I find that I want them to know, try and tell them the facts, like this is wrong, and like the truth about it!

Here, Greg describes the way his classmates repeat stereotypical complaints aimed at Polish workers, and depicts the situation in the geography class where he and another Polish boy feel compelled to defend themselves against the other class members. According to Greg's account, the other students were aggressive in their attacks: he and his friend were 'bombed'. In response, his friend 'couldn't hold it in' and 'gave them all the facts' in an attempt to explain the situation for Poles. Greg also voices his own wish for others to 'understand' the circumstances in which Polish migrants find themselves.

Greg's account of resistance is echoed by 15-year-old Beata, who had been in the UK for around 18 months at the time of the study. Beata also tells a story about being challenged by people around her.

Beata: *Some of them actually always asking us why we moved here and most of the answers are because of the job. Because in Poland we've got big unemployment and in here it's really easy for Polish people to find a work because they are really hard-working people […] for example, my Dad. He moved here to job and he's been really hard-working and he got higher and higher […]. He's a builder, so, yeah – hm. He's moving from position to another and another, he's been higher and higher, so yeah.*

In her account, Beata highlights the way that people are 'always asking' why her family have moved to the UK. Like Greg and his friend, she wishes to account for the situation, and to explain the difficulty of finding employment in Poland. At the same time, Beata also describes how her father, working as a builder, is constantly being promoted. Here, she may be seen as attempting to reposition her father: she repeats that he is going 'higher and higher' in his professional field. In doing so, Beata is aligning her father with the traditional trope of the hard-working Pole, using this positive discourse to challenge the negative perception of Poles in the UK.

A similar attempt at repositioning her parents is demonstrated by 14-year-old Krystyna, who has been in the UK since the age of 9. In a discussion about the issue of anti-Polish sentiment, Krystyna describes her own experiences at school.

Krystyna: Sometimes I guess when I'm at school people are a bit insulting when they talk about how Polish people are builders and stuff […].
Sara: *Can you give me an example?*
Krystyna: Well because now my Dad's changed jobs and he's kind of a builder recently I was in my class and the teacher asked 'so are any of your parents builders?' […] and I said 'yeah my Dad kind of is' and I could just hear them giggling in the background, so yeah.

Here, Krystyna depicts her embarrassment at portraying her father as a builder, as she is aware of others 'giggling in the background'. Her classmates' reaction can be seen to echo the discourse that sees Polish migrant workers as low-skilled employees. While the burgeoning number of Polish manual workers in Britain has been noted by Datta and Brickell (2009) in their investigation of London construction sites, the image of the 'Polish plumber' and of the manual worker in general has become a frequently-used stereotypical image (see McDowell 2009).

In what may be seen as an attempt to move away from the stereotype, Krystyna tries to reposition her parents professionally. This is demonstrated in her response to my more direct question about her parents' jobs.

> Sara: What does he [your Dad] do?
> Krystyna: Well, now he's switched and right now he's kind of working as an electrician and – but then he kind of helps to like do stuff around like – when you like make houses or like do stuff around.
> Sara: And what about your Mum, does she work?
> Krystyna: Well, she's a beautician but, erm, right now she kind of just works at some kind of like small factory, but sometimes she does do like nails privately.

Krystyna's answer can be interpreted as an effort to resist describing her parents in terms commonly associated with Polish migrants and in doing so, to reposition herself as a child of economic migrants. She insists that her father is 'an electrician'; and then gives a convoluted explanation of the other work he does, explaining that: 'he kind of helps to like do stuff around like – when you like make houses'. As in the story recounted above, where she awkwardly describes her father as a 'kind of builder', Krystyna appears uncomfortable using the specific word 'builder'. Aware of the connotations of the word, partly through the reactions of others at school, Krystyna does not want to position her father – and by extension, herself – as a stereotype to be laughed at by others. Nor does she wish to perpetuate the stereotype of Polish migrants as manual workers. Instead, she resituates her father: he is not merely a builder, or manual labourer, but an electrician, a skilled profession. Krystyna's repositioning of her father can be seen to reflect Datta and Brickell (2009), who talk of the 'skills hierarchy', whereby manual workers are perceived as having a lower status in terms of this hierarchy, and skilled workers such as electricians are considered to hold a higher position.

Krystyna also endeavours to reposition her mother by alluding to the job she had practised in Poland: that of 'a beautician' rather than a factory worker. Here, Krystyna's efforts can be seen to echo work by Parutis (2011), who identifies the way that individuals may tell their employers about their past positions in their home countries, so as to create a different, higher-status image of themselves.

What is interesting about these stories is that the anti-Polish sentiment to which the adolescents describe themselves being subjected draws on discourses more

commonly associated with adults. This suggests that these young people are being positioned through the way their parents are perceived. Yet in their attempts to defend themselves, the adolescents can also be seen to rely on tropes which relate overtly to adults. Such 'borrowings' will be discussed in the following section.

8. Discussion: resisting victimhood

In each of the accounts discussed above, the adolescents can be seen as rejecting the position of victim. They endeavour to present themselves not as passive victims, but as agentive beings as they describe their efforts to repel the manifestations of negative discourse with which they are confronted. Here, agency is seen not only as the facility to resist (Ahearn 2001: 115), but also the narrator's ability to fashion a story whereby she can demonstrate agency through the way she presents herself (Pavlenko 2007: 177); the narrator can also exert control over the way she depicts others.

In the stories of bullying recounted by Filip and Sylwia, rather than dwell on the unpleasantness they encountered, both adolescents present themselves as taking action against the bullying they encounter. The way Sylwia describes this: 'I asked Mum to move school. And then we found another school' positions her as taking charge of the situation. Sylwia also attempts to reframe her story in terms of her positive experiences at her second primary school, Treetam, 'a really good school', and her current happy situation at Grovesham, which she 'really like[s]'. Likewise, Filip does not remain silent about his experiences, but tells his parents, and this becomes a factor in the decision to relocate the family.

In his story of prejudice and stereotypes expressed in the geography class, Greg describes his Polish classmate as his 'friend', by dint of their joint resistance. He positions himself and his classmate as a unified 'we' that is set against 'them', that is, the other students in the class. In response to others' repeated questioning as to why her family is in the UK, Beata portrays her father as a conscientious worker, and thus an asset to society; while Krystyna describes her parents as engaged in skilled professions, thus repositioning her parents professionally in order to challenge stereotypes about Polish migrant workers being involved in only manual work such as building or factory work.

As noted above, what is especially interesting here is the way that these exchanges draw on discourses relating to adults. The negative discourses which the adolescents' classmates are echoing in their bullying of the Polish children rely on stereotypes of economic migrants; yet it is directed at individuals who are not themselves economic migrants, but rather, children of such migrants. Yet the same time, in their responses, the Polish adolescents also draw on discourses which relate to adults. The appropriation of adult voices and discourses apparent in these stories may be understood by referring to Bakhtin's (1986) notion of 'borrowed voices', whereby the narrators can be seen to appropriate the voices of others.

Thus, in Greg's account of the incident in his geography class, those who are presented as questioning the adolescents' right to be in the UK can be viewed as echoing discourses which position Polish migrants as unwelcome. By making jokes about 'stealing jobs', these students are appropriating the negative view of EU and Polish migration that has become part of political and public discourse. As Bakhtin (1986) suggests, such borrowing is infused with the same ideological underpinning as the original discourse. Fox et al. (2015: 729) note how 'politicians and the media have constructed East European migrants as different and at times threatening', noting that such 'anti-immigrant rhetoric […] has contributed to a general climate of hostility' (Ibid.: 730), an argument also posited by Spigelman (2013) and Rzepnikowska (2018). McDowell (2009: 20) notes how the stereotypical image of the 'Polish plumber' has become 'a spectre to be feared in France, Germany and the UK alike'. This is reflected in the response of Greg's classmates. Similarly, the reaction of those who apparently snigger at Krystyna's admission that her father is a builder can be seen as borrowing the discourse that positions manual workers as having lower status in the worker hierarchy, and that regards such migrant workers with disapprobation. Again, the young people who are voicing such accusations may be seen as appropriating the voices of discourses around them.

These 'borrowed voices' which position the Polish migrants as unwelcome and/or inferior are seen to be challenged by the adolescents, who in turn lean on alternative discourses in their attempt to negotiate different subject positions. One trope upon which they draw is that of the industrious character of the Polish worker. This is seen in the account given by Beata, who repeats how it is the 'hard-working' nature of her father which has enabled him to move 'higher and higher'. In their study of builders in London, Datta and Brickell (2009) note how Polish builders attempt to assert their own specific characteristics. This firstly serves to distinguish them from others, particularly 'English' builders; it also works to demonstrate the superiority of Polish builders and thus reverse the way in which they may find themselves positioned by others. This narrative is echoed in Beata's story, where she appears to suggest that Polish builders have particular qualities which allow them to progress. Thus Beata may be seen as appropriating a discourse that places Poles in an affirmative light in order to challenge one which positions them negatively.

Polish individuals may also assert themselves in the new setting through repositioning themselves professionally. This is something on which Krystyna draws in describing her mother as a 'beautician': even though Krystyna's mother is currently working in a 'small factory', she still 'does do […] nails privately'. Through this, Krystyna appears to emphasise that her mother has not relinquished her previous professional identity. Krystyna's account chimes with Parutis (2011: 273), who notes similar strategies employed by East European migrant workers so as to enhance their current individual social status.

Parutis identifies how this may be done through such workers apprising those around them of their position in their home country, whether as a graduate student, or as member of a particular profession. These workers thus endeavour to become agentive as they negotiate their identity through the way they reposition themselves, and attempt to push their professional identities to the fore. Krystyna's efforts to reposition her parents in terms of their professions can similarly be seen as a refusal to accept the stereotypical position which has been imposed upon them, and through that refusal, to challenge the dominant narrative of Polish migrant workers. In this way, Krystyna can be seen to echo Beata's attempt to stress the fact that her father, while a builder, is constantly achieving promotion. Thus both girls resituate their parents in terms of their identity as workers to underline their status as valid members of UK society. Here, the adolescents can once again be seen to 'borrow voices' in the way they appear to draw on a discourse connected with adult migrants in order to assert their own positioning. These individuals become agentive in negotiating their identity, in trying to change the way others see their parents, and by extension, them.

Moreover, as one reviewer pointed out, this may also reflect the adolescents' recognition of the significance of social class in the British context. Demonstrating their resistance to the image of Polish migrants as low-skilled workers and emphatically (re)constructing the way such labels do not apply to their own parents, may be seen as a way that these adolescents are negotiating their own class identity.

The adolescents can also be seen to repel inferior positioning by rejecting the notion of victimhood. As Sylwia and Filip discuss their experiences of bullying, their reticence is palpable. This can be understood as them not wanting to recall occasions which they found upsetting. Yet another possible reason for the hesitancy shown by the adolescents may be that they do not want to position themselves as passive victims of anti-Polish sentiment: to do this would destabilise their vision of themselves as individuals who are entitled to be in the UK. This interpretation resonates with work by Fox et al. (2015), who explore why Eastern Europeans may deny their experiences of racial discrimination in the UK. They suggest that:

> [t]alking about discrimination, and sometimes denying it, can […] be an effective strategy for mitigating the stigmatising and dehumanising effects of the minority and/or migrant experience (Fox et al. 2015: 736).

To acknowledge experiencing racial discrimination may therefore be seen as appearing to accept such positioning as inferior. To deny such discrimination is to repudiate its effect. Thus even as Sylwia talks about her experience at primary school, she may be seen to rebut the impact of such bullying. She puts the emphasis on re-positioning herself as a happy student, rather than dwelling on her unhappy experiences at her first primary school. Likewise Filip, having stated that he was subjected

to physical bullying, then puts aside such incidents: he insists that despite his early unhappy experiences, 'I want to stay here. Forever'. In talking about these incidents, and in downplaying the effect they had on their situation, the adolescents are thus renegotiating their position as valid members of school society, rather than victims of racially-motivated bullying.

The reactions of Sylwia and Filip may also be interpreted as the adolescents rejecting another discourse: that of the Polish narrative of Pole as victim. This runs counter to findings by Kempny (2011) in her examination of discrimination experienced by Polish migrants living in Belfast. In noting the way that many of the stories are framed in terms of victimhood, she argues that this is related 'to the centrality of victimhood in Polish nationalist discourse' (Kempny 2011: 134), maintaining that 'often when Poles are abroad they adapt the stance of 'victim'' (Ibid.: 147). In the cases described in this current paper, however, it appears that these adolescents do not draw on such discourses. Where the narrators in Kempny's account construct narratives of victimhood, the adolescents use their narratives to re-establish themselves. As they do so, they appropriate other, more positive discourses which serve to reinforce their sense of themselves as agentive beings.

At the same time, however, it must be recognised that this agency is limited. For in drawing on Polish tropes, these adolescents show themselves as restricted to asserting themselves as Poles within a UK setting. Thus, while Greg may feel himself to be 'more British', having spent most of his life in the UK, the verbal attack by his classmates nonetheless firmly positions him as a Polish migrant. As he and his friend endeavour to reassert themselves, Greg does not attempt to position himself in terms of a British identity by drawing on the time he has spent in the UK; rather, the two Polish boys can only defend themselves by explaining things from a Polish point of view. Greg's use of the 'us/them' dichotomy in his account affirms this division. Likewise, Beata's positioning of her father as an industrious worker draws on a discourse which places Polish builders in relation to British ones (cf. Datta and Brickell 2009); while Krystyna repositions her mother in terms of her professional identity in Poland. Even Filip, who insists on his right to stay and build his future in the UK, does not necessarily talk of taking on a British identity. These examples would therefore suggest that even as these adolescents negotiate their identity in resistance to the anti-Polish sentiment with which they are confronted, the subject positions available to them remain limited. This echoes findings by Pavlenko (2001) and Blackledge (2001), who emphasise the difficulty that migrant individuals may experience in trying to move beyond such negative positioning.

It must be noted that my research was conducted in a small community with few Polish students at the mainstream schools attended by the participants. In a larger or more diverse setting, it may be possible for similar Polish-born adolescents to carve out a more British-Polish identity. However, the findings of this study suggest that for these adolescents, such identity construction is not possible. Yet this is not to detract

from the way that these individuals insist on rejecting positions which place them as victims or inferior and instead re-assert their right to be in the UK.

It is also important to reiterate the fact that participants in this study are attending Polish lessons, which suggests a particular investment in their Polish identity, either from their own interest or that of their parents. It may be that those who do not attend Polish classes view questions of identity differently.

9. Conclusion

This paper thus argues that, despite the prevailing antagonistic public and political discourses surrounding Polish migration to the UK, the stories told by these adolescents demonstrate the positive way in which they are confronting their present difficulties and approaching their future. In their narratives, the adolescents portray themselves as agentive. Rather than submit to the negative positioning with which they are confronted, the young narrators draw on positive tropes which serve to affirm their Polish identity, and reinforce their right as children of economic migrants to be in the UK.

What is of note, however, is that the discourses drawn upon in both the expressions of anti-Polish sentiment and the response of the adolescents borrow from discourses related to adults. Thus the adolescents' classmates appropriate the hostile discourses surrounding Polish migrants; while the adolescents evoke positive imagery connected with Polish workers.

At the same time, however, there are limits on the identity positions these adolescents are able to adopt. While they attempt to present themselves as agentive in their resistance of stereotypes, it appears that even as children they can only reposition themselves within the parameters of what it means to be a Polish migrant living in the UK. That is, by emphasising their right (as of the current time) to live and work in the country, and for their parents to have other professions than builder and factory worker. They do not seem to have the space to draw on a claim to a British identity, nor to attempt to create a hybrid identity.

Despite this, the stories told by these adolescents are not framed as stories of victimhood. Instead, their stories confound the narrative of Polish migrant as victim and instead position the young narrators as assertive individuals. It is to be hoped that these adolescents will continue to draw on such determined optimism as they endeavour to realise their future plans in the uncertain climate of a post-Brexit UK.

APPENDIX

Interview Guide

1. Personal Information

Could you give me some information about yourself: name, age, school year, and how long you have been in the UK?

Could you tell me about your family?

2. Migration

Can you tell me about when you came to the UK?

Do you know why your family chose to come here? Do you remember how you felt, and what your first impressions were?

3. Language Use

Why are you doing Polish GCSE?

Which language(s) do you use at home? And with your friends at school? Do you have a problem speaking Polish in the streets or outside home?

Can you tell me about occasions when you have had to translate for anyone (e.g. family member)? How did you feel about this?

4. Relationship with Poland:

Do/did you attend Polish Saturday school? Can you tell me about what you do there?

How often do you visit Poland?

How do you stay in touch with friends or family?

5. 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. *Participants shown examples of anti-immigrant headlines.*

Have you had any experience of this?

6. Future

How do you see your future? Would you like to stay in the UK/return to Poland?

References

Ahearn, L.M. (2001), Language and agency, „Annual Review of Anthropology", Vol. 30, Issue (1), p. 109–137. www.jstor.org/stable/3069211

Bakhtin, M.M. (1986), *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays,* red. C. Emerson, M. Holquist, Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bamberg, M. (2004a), Form and Functions of "Slut Bashing" in Male Identity Constructions in 15-Year-Olds, „Human Development" Vol. 249, p. 1–23. doi:10.1159/000081036

Bamberg, M. (2004b), Talk, Small Stories, and Adolescent Identities, „Human Development", Vol. 254, p. 1–4. doi:10.1159/000081039

Bamberg, M. (2005), Narrative Discourse and Identities, w J.C. Meister et al. (red.), *Narratology beyond literary criticism: mediality, disciplinary,* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. p. 213–237.

Barbulescu, R. (2014), EU freedom of movement is coming under increasing pressure in the UK and other European states, *LSE European Politics and Policy (EUROPP) blog*, http://bit.ly/1jI6XOG [Accessed 13.03.2018].

Bauman, Z. (2000), *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity.

Benesch, S. (2008), "Generation 1.5" and Its Discourses of Partiality: A Critical Analysis, „Journal of Language, Identity & Education", Vol. 7, Issue 3–4, 294–311. doi: 10.1080/15348450802237954

Blackledge, A. (2001), The wrong sort of capital? Bangladeshi women and their children's schooling in Birmingham, U.K., „The International Journal of Bilingualism", Vol. 5, Issue 3, p. 345–369.

Carling, J., Erdal, M.B., Ezzati, R. (2014), Beyond the insider–outsider divide in migration research. „Migration Studies", Vol. 2, Issue 1, 36–54. doi:10.1093/migration/mnt022

Conservative Party. (2015), *Conservative Party Manifesto*. https://www.conservatives.com/manifesto2015 [Accessed 01.03.2018].

Datta, A., Brickell, K. (2009), "We have a little bit more finesse, as a nation": Constructing the Polish Worker in London's Building Sites. „Antipode", Vol. 41, Issue 3, p. 439–464. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.2009.00682.x

Davies, B., Harré, R. (1990), Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves, „Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour", Vol. 20, Issue 1, p. 43–63.

De Fina, A. (2016), Linguistic practices and transnational identities, w S. Preece (red.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity,* London: Routledge, p.163–178.

Drinkwater, S., Garapich, M. (2011), *The TEMPO Survey of Recent Polish Migrants in England and Wales*, Wales Institute of Social and Economic Research, Data and Methods.

Earlam, K., Wells, T., Pasha-Robinson, L. (2016), Pole chancers: Migrants get guide to raking in thousands of pounds in benefits from UK-based newspaper. *The Sun*. 10-03-2016 [10th March 2016, updated: 19th April 2016] Retrieved from: https://www.thesun.co.uk/archives/news/1080272/pole-chancers-migrants-get-guide-to-raking-in-thousands-of-pounds-in-benefits-from-uk-based-newspaper/ [Accessed 19-01-2018.]

Eder, D., Fingerson, L. (2002), Interviewing children and adolescents, w J. B. Gubrium, J. A. Holstein (red.), *Handbook of Interview Research*. London: Sage. [Online] p. 181–202. doi:10.4135/9781412973588

The Electoral Commission, https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk [Accessed 09.01.2018].

Erikson, E. H. (1968), *Identity: Youth and crisis*, London: Faber and Faber.

Ford, R. (2011), Acceptable and Unacceptable Immigrants: How Opposition to Immigration in Britain is Affected by Migrants' Region of Origin, „Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies", Vol. 37, Issue 7, p. 1017–1037.

Foucault, M. (1972), *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language,* New York: Pantheon.

Fox, J.E., Moroşanu, L., Szilassy, E. (2015), Denying Discrimination: Status, 'Race', and the Whitening of Britain's New Europeans, „Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies", Vol. 41, Issue 5, p. 729–748. doi:10.1080/1369183X.2014.962491

Freeman, M. (2006), Life "on holiday"?: In defense of big stories, „Narrative Inquiry", Vol. 16, Issue 1, p. 131–138. doi:10.1075/ni.16.1.17fre

Frosh, S. (2002), *After words: the personal in gender, culture and psychotherapy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Georgakopoulou, A. (2006), Thinking big with small stories in narrative and identity analysis, „Narrative Inquiry", Vol. 16, Issue 1, p. 122–130. doi:10.1075/ni.16.1.16geo

Habermas, T., Paha, C. (2001), The Development of Coherence in Adolescent's Life Narratives. „Narrative Inquiry", Vol. 11, Issue 1, p. 35–54. doi.org/10.1075/ni.11.1.02hab

Harklau, L. (2007), The Adolescent English Language Learner, w J. Cummins, C. Davison (red.), *International Handbook of English Language Teaching*, Boston, MA: Springer, p. 639–653.

Harré, R., van Langenhove, L. (1991), Varieties of Positioning. „Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour", Vol. 21, Issue 4, p. 393–407. doi:10.1111/j.14685914.1991.tb00203.x

Kamberelis, G., Danette Scott, K. (1992), Other People's Voices: The Coarticulation of Texts and Subjectivities, „Linguistics and Education", Vol. 4, p. 359–403. doi.org/10.1016/0898-5898(92)90008-K

Kempny, M. (2011), Interpretative Repertoire of Victimhood Narrating Experiences of Discrimination and Ethnic Hatred among Polish Migrants in Belfast, „Anthropological Journal of European Cultures", Vol. 20, Issue 1, p. 132–151. doi:10.3167/ajec.2011.200108

Labov, W. (1997), Some Further Steps in Narrative Analysis, „Journal of Narrative and Life History", Vol. 7, Issue 1–4, p. 395–415. http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~wlabov/sfs.html [Accessed 09.03.2018].

Leveson, B. (2012), *The Leveson Inquiry: An Inquiry into the Culture, Practices and Ethics of the Press*, p. 671-2. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20140122144906/http://www.levesoninquiry.org.uk/ [Accessed 01-02-2017.]

Li Wei. (2007), Dimensions of bilingualism, w Li Wei (red.), *The Bilingualism Reader*, 2nd edn, London: Routledge, p. 3–24.

Marcia, J.E. (1980), Identity in Adolescence, w J. Adelson (red.), *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*, New York: Wiley, p. 159–187.

Matthews, H. (1998), The Geography of Children: Some ethical and methodological considerations for project and dissertation work, „Journal of Geography in Higher Education", Vol. 22, Issue 3, p. 311–324. doi:10.1080/03098269885723

McDowell, L. (2009), Old and New European Economic Migrants: Whiteness and Managed Migration Policies, „Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies", Vol. 35, Issue 1, p. 19–36. doi:10.1080/13691830802488988

McKinney, C., Norton, B. (2008), Identity in Language and Literacy Education, w B. Spolsky, F.M. Hult (red.), *The Handbook of Educational Linguistics*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, p. 192–205.

Moskal, M. (2014), Polish migrant youth in Scottish schools: conflicted identity and family capital, „Journal of Youth Studies", Vol. 17, Issue 2, p. 279–291. doi:10.1080/13676261.2013.815705

Moszczyński, W. (2008), *80 ways to say „Welcome to Central European Workers" courtesy of the „Daily Mail"*, Submission to Inquiry from the Federation of Poles in Great Britain: Federation of Poles in Great Britain.

http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20140122145147/http:/www.levesoninquiry.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Submission-from-Federation-of-Poles-in-Great-Britain.pdf

Naveed, A., Sakata, N., Kefallinou, A., Young, S., Anand, K. (2017), Understanding, embracing and reflecting upon the messiness of doctoral fieldwork, „Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education", Vol. 47, Issue 5, p. 773–792.doi:10.1080/03057925.2017.1344031

Norton, B. (1997), Language, Identity, and the Ownership of English, „TESOL Quarterly", Vol. 31, Issue 3, Language and Identity, p. 409–429. www.jstor.org/stable/3587831

Norton, B., Early, M. (2011), Researcher identity, narrative inquiry, and language teaching research, „TESOL Quarterly", Vol. 45, Issue 3, p. 415–439. doi:10.5054/tq.2011.261161

Office for National Statistics (ONS), Nomis. www.nomisweb.co.uk [Accessed 30-05-2018].

Parutis, V. (2011), White, European, and Hardworking: East European Migrants' Relationships with Other Communities in London, „Journal of Baltic Studies", Vol. 42, Issue 2, p. 263–288. doi:10.1080/01629778.2011.569074

Pavlenko, A. (2001), "In the world of the tradition, I was unimagined": Negotiation of identities in cross-cultural autobiographies, „International Journal of Bilingualism", Vol. 5, Issue 3, p. 317–344.

Pavlenko, A. (2007), Autobiographic Narratives as Data in Applied Linguistics. „Applied Linguistics", Vol. 28, Issue 2, p. 163–188. doi:10.1093/applin/amm008

Phoenix, C., Sparkes, A.C. (2009), Being Fred: Big stories, small stories and the accomplishment of a positive ageing identity, „Qualitative Research", Vol. 9, Issue 2, p. 219–236.

Preece, S. (2009), *Posh talk: language and identity in higher education*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rasinger, S. (2012), "And Everything is Polish…": Narrative Experiences of new Migrants, „The European Journal of Applied Linguistics and TEFL", Vol. 1, Issue 2, p. 33–49.

Riessman, C.K. (2002), Analysis of Personal Narratives, w J.F. Gubium, J.A. Holstein (red.), *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*, Thousand Oaks, C.A.: Sage, p. 695–710.

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Elem, G., Tennant, R., Rahim, N. (2013), Designing and Selecting Samples, w J. Ritchie, J. Lewis, C. McNaughton Nicholls & R. Ormston (red.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, 2nd edn, London: Sage, p. 111–145.

Ryan, L., Sales, R., Tilki, M., Siara, B. (2009), Family Strategies and Transnational Migration: Recent Polish Migrants in London, „Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies", Vol. 35, Issue 1, p. 61–77. doi:10.1080/13691830802489176

Ryen, A. (2006), Ethical issues, w C. Seale, G. Gobo, J.F. Gubrium, D. Silverman, *Qualitative Research Practice*, London: Sage, p. 218–235.

Rzepnikowska, A. (2018), Racism and xenophobia experienced by Polish migrants in the UK before and after Brexit vote, „Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies". doi:10.1080/1369183X.2018.1451308

Sheldrick, G. (2016), WANTED workers...but ONLY if you're POLISH: Migrants being offered work AHEAD of Britons. *The Express*. 12-02-2016. Retrieved from: http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/643324/Economic-migrants-to-be-favoured-for-work-AHEAD-of-jobless-Britons [Accessed 11-11-2017].

Slany, K., Strzemecka, S. (2016), Who Are We? Cultural Valence and Children's Narratives of National Identifications, „Central and Eastern European Migration Review", Vol. 5, Issue 1, p. 13–34.

Spigelman, A. (2013), The depiction of Polish migrants in the United Kingdom by the British press after Poland's accession to the European Union, „International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy", Vol. 33, Issue 1/2, p. 98–113. doi.org/10.1108/01443331311295208

Trevena, P. (2009), "New" Polish migration to the UK: A synthesis of existing evidence. ESRC Centre for Population Change Working Paper Number 3.

UKIP. National billboard campaign (1993–2017), http://www.ukip.org/ukip_national_billboard_campaign [Accessed 10.12.2016].

Van Dijk, T.A. (2000), New(s) racism: A discourse analytical approach. „Ethnic minorities and the Media", Vol. 37, p. 33–49.

Vertovec, S. (2007), Super-diversity and its implications, „Ethnic and Racial Studies", Vol. 30, Issue 6, p. 1024–1054.

White, A. (2017), *Polish families and migration since EU accession*. Updated edn. Bristol: Policy Press.

Young, S. (2018), Experiences of Polish-born adolescents in Britain during the run-up to Brexit, w M. Fleming (red.), *Brexit and Polonia: Challenges facing the Polish Community during the process of Britain leaving the European Union*, London: PUNO Press, p. 63–82.