Polish Identity in Rural England.

Submitted by Kirstie Louise Bowden, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Geography, September 2012.

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

SIGNED:…………………………………………… DATE:................................

ABSTRACT

With Polish accession to the European Union in 2004 came an unprecedented wave of Polish migration to England. Marking it apart from previous waves of migration which settled in urban areas, this wave settled across the settlement hierarchy, resultantly described as geographically "ubiquitous" by Bauere et al (2007). This thesis takes as its inspiration a triad of influences; this migration wave; what the author deems seminal texts in rural geography (Philo 1992, Askins 2009, Panelli et al 2009); and personal circumstance (living in a rural area receiving Polish migrants for the first time) to chart that postulated as a lacuna (Burrell 2009); a study of the ways in which post-accession Polish identity is played out in rural areas. Wanting to focus on life in rural England as a whole rather than one specific strand, this thesis is by necessity broad, incorporating a number of strands of enquiry; the media migrant worker moral panic, community relations, Polish focussed service responses to Polish migration, and schemes delivered to the rural host population which aim to improve their encounters with migrant populations. What binds these themes together is the notion of hospitality, considering whether it is being extended or withheld, the reasons upon which such acts are predicated and the outcome upon those involved.

The thesis concludes that this grand wave of migration has rendered rural areas a thirdspace of possibility in both a physical (via service imprinting on the landscape) and social (via the forging of transnational friendships and in some instances, both Polish and migrant, hybridised identities) sense. It is postulated that the psychogeographies upon which relations are predicated – of which there are many, subtly nuanced and dependent upon the experiences of the individual - are in a state of flux and subject to revision with the passing of time, as are processes of hospitality extension (or indeed withholding). It is my belief that in detailing moments of hopeful engagement alongside moments of deep despair and reflecting upon their impacts upon identity, this thesis has heeded Askins (2005:53) call to embrace transrurality – a conceptualisation "that *both* encapsulates the specificities of place *and* is open to mobility and desire in order to displace rural England as only an exclusionary white space" and reposition it within transitional social imaginaries.

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Thank you to my Geography teachers at Queen Elizabeth's Community College, particularly Martin Wilmott who was quite simply the best teacher I ever had. He inspired and nurtured my love of Geography and much of my reaching this point is down to him.

I dedicate this thesis to the friends and heroes who passed away over the course of this process; Colin, Kelly, Adam, Dom and Colonel. Much loved, much missed, always remembered. Rest in peace.

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<u>Preface</u>

"So what do you do then?"

"I'm a student"

"What are you studying?"

"I'm doing a PhD"

"Oh wow! What is your project about?"

"It's about Polish migration to rural areas of England"

"Oh yes, there's definitely a lot of that. You're Polish then?"

"No"

[Taken aback] "Oh you have Polish parents, grandparents?"

"No, neither of those"

"You have lived in Poland?"

"No"

[Looking confused] "Why are you doing it then?"

This conversation is one which I have repeated as verbatim to friends, acquaintances, family, colleagues, and participants throughout the research process. It felt only right

that it was given an airing here. The answering of the final question requires a trip back in time. The story of this thesis begins some 10 years ago in the library at my 6th Form College where, in the first year of my A-Levels I happened across a book, 'Social Geography: an introduction to contemporary issues' by John Cater and Trevor Jones (1989). I read the final chapter "Contemporary Rural Society" with a sense of awe. Having lived in a small, isolated rural village all my life I could situate and understand the rural nuances to which they referred - the 'traditional' rural community, the transformation of rural society, accessibility problems, conflict, and the political economy of rural spaces. Such studies were substantively a far cry away from the A-level syllabus I was following in the classroom, a heady mix of development studies, natural disasters and global weather studies. A passion for rural geography was born.

This interest was retained and built upon during my studies for my undergraduate degree where module and coursework selection allowed me to grow as a researcher in a manner which reflected my personal interests, namely rural social geography. I became absorbed by the notion of the rural idyll, particularly in relation to the ways it was being perpetuated and consumed with specific reference to mediations and housing developments. My undergraduate dissertation typified this strand of interest, focusing upon the development and consumption of rurality at a new-build housing estate in my village. My interest extended also to the ways in which it was being problematised with reference to dystopic rural experiences. Here Chris Philo's review of neglected rural geographies was highly influential. I took heed of his belief that rural geography depicted the average rural dweller as "white and probably English, straight and somehow without sexuality, able in body and sound in mind, and devoid of any other quirks of (say) religious or political affiliation" and sought out the numerous studies seeking to move beyond "Mr Averages" (Philo 1992:200). I became particularly attentive to studies of rural 'otherness' predicated upon ethnicity. Reading Ingrid Pollard's 'Pastoral Interlude' for the first time was a seminal moment. Her portrayal of her sense of exclusion and unease in rural society, demonstrated in the words "feeling I don't belong, walks through leafy glades with a baseball bat by side" (Pollard 1989:43) resonated with me. Although I had no experience of black and ethnic minority residents living in my locale, I did however have memory of resident's attitudes towards the potential. One sunny day, for I remember it well, I was walking along the road and stumbled across a group of neighbours having a conversation about migrants. I have no

idea why this conversation was occurring or how it ended as I can't have been more than 8 or 9 at the time, but the imagery of one man's comment has stayed with me forever;

"We can't be having any of those blacks here. We'll have to get up the top road and head them off with a shot gun".

Even though one presumes (and hopes) it was a hollow threat that wouldn't have been carried out, the words resonated within me to this day. I remember being surprised, shocked, and scared. I couldn't understand why people disliked others purely because of skin colour. Moving forward in time and back to my reading of Ingrid Pollard in the library, I began to read extensively on issues of rural racism. The work of Agyeman (1989, 1995), Derounian (1993), Jay (1992), Kinsman (1995) and Phillips (1993) inspired me. Wherever possible I took opportunities to incorporate such readings into academic tasks, most notably in my second year where I wrote a tutorial essay entitled "Discuss the experiences of marginalised groups in rural society with reference to black and ethnic minorities".

My Master's degree saw my areas of interest diversify. Although I would still classify my main interest as rural geography, I became deeply interested in issues of mental health, the result of an intricate interlacing of personal circumstance and personal interest. Many coursework opportunities were dedicated to this subject matter including a course paper reflecting upon the role of nature in an urban Mind garden and a thesis considering the continuing histories of the Devon County Pauper Lunatic Asylum (Bowden 2012). However, one coursework opportunity stayed true to my rural geography roots, writing a course paper for my 'Identity' module entitled 'Invisible Ethnicities: Polish identity in rural England'. For this module we had been given 'free reign' to write a paper relating to an identity issue of personal interest to us. Almost immediately Polish identity propelled itself to the front of my consciousness. This paper was written 4 years after Poland's accession to the EU, a time when Polish migration was a new and noticeable wave of migration into rural areas previously untouched by migration. It was inspired by my own personal experiences of the movement of a Polish family into my village, an incident which was very much a 'hot topic' of

conversation at the time, and of a growing presence of stories relating to Polish migrants in the local and national media. In the paper I reflected upon the key issues pertaining to such a new trend. After a brief attempt (and discussion of accompanying problems) to quantify said migration, it reflected upon Polish migrants apparent conformance with social characteristics of the rural idyll, before moving onto consider the ways in which their rural placement was being problematized. It considered the ways in which Polish whiteness was marked, theorising their abjectification with reference to the theory of Slavoj Zizek and the 'theft of enjoyment' (1993). It closed with brief recourse to the institutional and organisational role in challenging rural exclusion.

The writing of this paper was a key moment in the research process. At the time I was thinking of doing a PhD and was deliberating potential areas of research. One idea was to build upon and broaden my Masters dissertation, another was to build upon and broader my Polish identity paper. I had equal interest in both areas. It was the issue of funding that made the decision for me. With funding sources few and far between I felt that a study focusing upon Polish identity had a greater chance of receiving external funding due to its contemporary pertinence, than a study considering the gentrification of mental asylums. To this end, I went with the former and used the course paper to formulate a research proposal which sought to refine and develop in greater depth the thematic areas detailed within it. I designated the aim, 'to investigate the notion of Polish identity within rural England'. It was my belief that Polish identity in rural areas was the cumulative outcome of interactions with Polish migrants, rural residents, and responsive service spaces and to that end I felt that methodologically my study could not rely 'just' upon the testimony of rural Polish migrants. I needed also to converse with residents of the rural host population. I here refer to both rural residents native to England and those long-term rural residents who have come to reside in the area as a result of migration. To this end I spoke with rural residents[1] regarding their attitudes and experiences of Polish migrants (to compare, contrast and situate the testimony of Polish residents), and community stakeholders and service providers regarding the rationale behind their service responses to Polish migration. Providing a discussion of the rural

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[1]My residents of the rural host population could be split into two groups – English residents (this is not a term ignoring the diverse nature of rural residency – simply all were of English nationality) and post-war Polish migrants - hence my referring in the text not to 'rural residents' but 'English residents' and 'post-war Polish migrants'.

experiences of a minority ethnic group my thesis is similar in output to my 2nd year tutorial essay. In this essay I concluded that the experiences of black and ethnic minority groups in rural society were predominantly negative, experiencing social, physical, cultural and economic marginalisation. Such marginalisation was deemed a reflection of a perceived need to preserve the bounded notion of rural and national identity implicit in the Anglo-centric conceptualisation of idyllic rural society. It will be interesting to note any similarities or differences with both the passing of time (8 years) and refined context (Polish specific).

In the conclusion I also suggested, drawing on Chambers (1990) that movements away from such conceptualisations of rurality towards more open-ended conceptualisations of rural society would enable the inclusion of multi-ethnic ideas and interpretations and possibly stop marginalisation on grounds of ethnicity, and allow black and ethnic minority groups to have increasingly positive experiences in rural society. Indeed, this suggestion has had particular academic currency. In a special edition of the Journal of Rural Studies entitled 'De-centring white ruralities: ethnicity and indigeneity', Kye Askins (2009:366) promoted a shift away from unsophisticated conceptualisations of rurality predicated upon the rural idyll, to a more progressive conceptualisation of rurality – transrurality – "a conceptualisation that *both* encapsulates the specificities of place *and* is open to mobility and desire – in order to displace rural England as only an exclusionary white space and reposition it as a site within multicultural, multiethnic, transnational and mobile social imaginaries". She argued that for this displacement to occur one must uncover, map and describe exclusions and be open to the ways in which diverse ethnic groups engage with and understand rurality. This thesis sets out to follow such conventions, heeding a warning in the same special edition that there existed a "profound and pressing need for studies that interrogate the production and negotiation of a sense of ethnic difference within the countryside" (Panelli et al 2009:361).

One can summarise the emergence of this research project as being reflective of an intellectual position (a passion for rural geography, which later specialised into a focusing upon issues of ethnicity and exclusion within rural locales) and phenomenon (my personal situation - living in an area where such issues were beginning to play out). That is not the end of the story however. Initially my intellectual position was borne out

of a critical interpretation of the extant readings I engaged with. These readings at the outset were not matched by my experiences and expectations of phenomena, my rural reality. Despite the resonating comment from my childhood, I observed 'all to be well' in my locale in a contemporary sense with the negative comments of the past just that, generational products of the past. I genuinely believed that Polish migrants had settled happily into the village. As the research process progressed, this changed and my rural reality was exposed. The testimony of the Polish migrants living in my locale was harrowing and deeply disturbing. I began to see my locale as less idyll, more dystopia. Through time spent with participants, through seeing the tears in their eyes when they reflected upon upsetting incidents, I came to understand phenomena not just from the outside looking in, but also from the inside looking out. An intellectual position predicated upon dystopic understandings of rurality borne out of the deconstruction of the rural idyll concept detailing dystopia collided and intermeshed with my previously positive perception of rural phenomena. My critical interpretation of extant readings was joined by a newly critical interpretation of my locale more befitting of my readings. My perception was exposed as flawed, irreversibly changed. A study considering the effect of migration upon both Polish and rural residents had unexpectedly affected me.

The change brought to bear upon myself was not the only change enacted. The project was somewhat characterised by change engendered by issues of a politicised nature. Firstly, I hoped to, on the basis of an altruistic aim to enact positive change in the life of those being studied, provide guidance on how best Polish migrants could be integrated into rural areas at the culmination of my research. As my time in the field progressed I realised that it was not integration that migrants sought but instead a state of accommodation in which their host communities are 'helpful and obliging' either in an initial, ongoing or 'on demand' sense, helping them to adapt to their new locale. My somewhat philanthropic aim, although positive in outlook was totally misplaced. I resolved to remove such aim from the thesis and remove usage of integration terminology. Secondly, my final research areas were not reflective of the areas detailed in my research proposal, with one – Ashvale – dropped as a result of a failure to negotiate access via the gatekeeper of the Anglo-Polish organisation with which I was hoping to work. It was a surprising development early on in the research process. Despite learning of my research through email and agreeing to a meeting to discuss my intentions, at the interview she told me that her community was over-researched and my

planned involvement could not proceed. Fair enough you might say, but then somewhat contradictorily she announced that the research could proceed if a) I paid her and b) the interviews were conducted by her. I declined. As will be detailed in greater depth in my research methodology I have retrospectively come to understand her actions. I found a new research area – my own locale - and I feel my research, and my aptitude as researcher, is all the better for its inclusion.

I now want to situate myself politically. I come from a family of staunch Labour voters. For some time I was too, but disillusioned by British involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan I defected to the Liberal Democrats, a move enacted by the promises offered in the lead up to the 2010 General Election. The Coalition Government that followed saw me disassociate myself with the Liberal Democrats. I became a voter unable to vote for any of the 'major' political parties and was lost in the fog of the numerous 'other' options. As it stands if one was to ask me whom I would vote for in an Election my answer would most likely be that I would not vote at all. I have a highly tuned tolerance of those positioned differently to myself, be it predicated upon ethnicity, gender, sexuality, religion, and so forth. What I cannot tolerate is any form of negative behavioural or attitudinal response predicated upon such difference. I am very much 'pro-Europe' and have no problems with the migration of EU members from Poland or indeed, any other EU country. This positioning underpins the reproduction and mediation of discourses and pictures that are racist in chapter 4 and the presentation of sensationalist headlines in chapter 6. Ethically, I am not wishing to support these, but instead using them to identify and elaborate upon the rural realities of Polish migrants.

Having introduced myself I now move onto introduce the thesis. The aim of my thesis is *"to understand the multiple interpretations and receptions of Polish migrants in rural England"*. It is thus a study of hospitality, of community relations, and of identity. It seeks to ascertain the ways in which relations between rural host population residents and Polish residents are happening, how normalised interconnections between Polish and English residents can be forged through interactions between people and through services, and what is lacking in moments of inhospitable relations. Incorporating both English and post-accession Polish migrant experiences of rurality this study is broad, focussing not on a 'specific' aspect of life as per extant studies relating to post-

accession migrants (e.g. family life (White 2011) or work life (Janta 2009)) but instead the experience of rurality as a whole.

The first three chapters of the thesis provide the necessary contextualisation. Chapter 1- **'Poles Apart: Situating the Post-Accession wave of Polish Migration'** - situates my research with recourse to academic literatures regarding rurality and ethnicity and extant statistical data pertaining to the wave of Polish migration upon which I am focusing, before moving to present the research aim and research questions. It is my belief that the documentation of experiences and emotional topographies of Polish migrants in rural areas required to meet the aim of my research cannot proceed without recourse to a theorisation of the notion of discursive encounters. To that end chapter 2 - '**The 'Polish migrant': theorising the encounter'** - theorises 'the Polish migrant' with reference to the different ways in which framings of Polish migrants by both English residents and Polish migrants can affect relations. Here the theme of hospitality is introduced. It is situated first within a governmental framework, before I move to put forward the concept of 'hospitable relations' to denote the valorised aim of community stakeholders and residents alike for community relations. The chapter moves onto consider the lack of hospitality (the negative responses to Polish migrants – with reference to psychoanalytical theory), before considering enactments of hospitality (the positive responses to Polish migrants by host population residents). This deconstruction of English identity is followed by a deconstruction of Polish identity considering, with reference to the constitutive cohorts of the Polish population noted earlier in chapter 1, notions of both inter and intra cohort contestation. The final contextualisation chapter - Chapter 3 – **'Research Methodology'** - provides details of my research methodology. Structured into four blocks, this chapter considers at length the epistemological foundations of my research, the research methods deployed, research design and positionality in research.

The substantive element of the thesis is divided into three distinct, yet interlinked, chapters focusing on encounters of and service responses to Polish migration. These chapter are complementary hence their identical prefix 'Communities of Difference'. This naming strategy represents an attempt by me to stress the interlinked nature of issue of Polish identity in rural England. Chapter 4 **'Communities of Difference (1)**

Attitudes and Encounters' sought to represent the voice of the community of each of my research areas, seeking to understand the impact Polish migration was having on the rural realities – both physical and social – on both sets of residents. It takes the theoretical reflections of chapter 2 and develops them via their application to my research findings, noting moments of hospitable relations (positive encounters), the emergence of psychogeographies and acts of ressentiment (negative encounters) and demonstrations of ambivalence, from the perspective of both English residents and Polish (both post-accession and post-war cohort) migrants.

Chapter 5, 6 and 7 consider mechanisms by which the sorts of encounters referenced in chapter 4 can potentially be made more hospitable. In chapter 5 - '**Communities of Difference (2) Responsive Polish Focussed Services**' - I consider the service response to Polish migration in rural areas, through three case studies - a statutory response, a voluntary response, and entrepreneurial retail responses. Examinations of these nodal points of encounter seek to ascertain the ways in which they offer encounter and the extent to which they can be positioned as hospitable spaces. It draws on the voice of service facilitators, seeking to understand the rationale underpinning their work, and the opportunities and challenges they face in doing so. It is very much a chapter from 'their' perspective as opposed to 'user' perspective.

In chapter 6 – '**Communities of Difference (3) Improving Host Population Attitudes via the Migrant Worker Myth Buster Leaflet'** - and chapter 7 – **'Communities of Difference (3) Improving Host Population Attitudes via the "I packed this myself" Participatory Art Project'**- I look beyond my two main research areas to consider artistic approaches to improving encounters and inculcating hospitality. The narratives of stakeholders, users and myself are interwoven to evaluate two aesthetic schemes – the migrant worker myth buster leaflet and the 'I packed this myself' participatory art project – in relation to the context of my thesis. Could these schemes work to improve rural community relations, facilitating a shift from the hermeneutics of suspicion towards reparative states of hospitable relations via the deconstruction of the sorts of psychogeographies detailed in chapter 4? Or is the potential to enact harm too great?

The analogy I use to describe, and somewhat justify these seemingly disparate elements of my thesis, is that of the meze. Each of my substantive chapters should be viewed as individual dishes which complement each other (hence their identical title prefixes) as part of a meze (the thesis), whilst also working individually (as self-contained chapters). I feel that this broad approach is both necessary to incorporate all that is required to suitably convey the rural realities of Polish migrants and one which offers great potential through the opening up of further channels of research.

In the final chapter - '**<u>Conclusions'</u>**- I bring the diverse voices of the thesis together to reflect methodologically and substantively upon the research process. Methodological reflections relate to my experiences of researching an 'other' group whilst positioned as 'other' myself whilst substantive reflections see the themes which build through the thesis and link each chapter through rich narrative threads set out and reflected upon. Such reflection builds to the drawing of the thesis to a close with a strong and thought provoking conclusion.

I feel the study has raised many questions in each of the specific strands of investigation, and as such the study should be viewed as a precursor for further work in each of these areas. My study responds to the request of Panelli et al (2009:361) for interrogations of the production and negotiation of a sense of ethnic difference within the countryside, but as yet in relation to the rural Polish case such studies are few and far between. The uncovering, mapping and describing of exclusions and engagements with rural spaces by Polish migrants has only just begun….

<u>Chapter 1 - Poles Apart: Situating the Post-Accession Wave of Polish Migration</u>

<u>1.1 Introduction</u>

The Treaty of Accession which came into operation on the 1st May 2004 saw Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Slovenia (known collectively as the A8 group) accede to the European Union. Polish migrants made up the largest cohort migrating to the UK, with Polish migrants the largest national group (up from 13th place in early 2004) resident in the UK in 2007 (Pollard et al 2008).Its Polish-born population had increased from 75, 000 in December 2003 to 532, 000 in December 2010 (Office for National Statistics 2011). This chapter will chart this phenomenon at the broad national level to provide the necessary theoretical, empirical and conceptual understandings to enhance and nuance later empirical reflections at the rural level. First post-accession Polish migration is theorised with reference to rural geography, focusing on the traditional focus of studies of rurality and ethnicity - black and ethnic minority groups –before moving onto the post-millennial focus – minority white groups. The second section of this chapter reflects upon the specificities of Polish migration, drawing on pre-extant data and studies to detail 5 areas of particular pertinence to my study, namely migration waves, quantification, distribution, demographic profile, and employment profile of post-accession Polish migrants. Before a conclusion is drawn my research aim and research questions will be introduced to highlight the specificities of what exactly this thesis strives to address and achieve.

<u>1.2 Rurality and Ethnicity</u>

1.2.1 The Traditional Focus – Black and Ethnic Minority Groups

Previous studies of minority ethnic groups and their experiences have tended to be urban in focus, areas which typically contained larger minority ethnic populations. In rural areas racism has seldom been recognised as a significant problem due to the small or at times seemingly 'invisible' minority ethnic population in these areas. Indeed, Chakraborti and Garland (2004) found that the studies of rural life detailed in their 2004 book 'Rural Racism', engendered surprise, complacency, and in some cases overt hostility from stake-holders in rural affairs who have questioned the legitimacy of

researching racism in a rural context. Drawing on key reports by Derbyshire (1994) and Jay (1992) they spoke of a "'no racism here' mentality" permeating much popular imagery surrounding the rural which has shaped public opinion over the years (Chakraborti and Garland 2004:1). This apparent invisibility of minority ethnic residents amongst rural stakeholders and service providers is in many ways exacerbated by their simultaneous high level of visibility among local residents, the result of being one of few (or increasingly in some areas, one of many) from a different ethnic background. This "double-bind" situation (Chakraborti and Garland 2004:8) serves to reemphasise the need to develop an accurate portrayal of the experiences of rural minority ethnic households.

Why does this problem of acknowledgement exist? The rural landscape has been identified as a landscape of privilege which promotes and defends the dominance of particular white identities (Hubbard 2005). The physical characteristics, upon which rurality conceptualisations draw heavily, provide the foundations of national identity for to many "England is the country, and the country is England" (Baldwin 1926, quoted in Paxman 1999:143). Through the parallels drawn between rural and national identity, constructions of rurality have endeavoured to highlight the 'timeless' and 'quintessential' national virtues deemed to constitute a priceless part of the nation's heritage (Sibley 1997, Murdoch and Pratt 1997). The purity of rural areas has long been promoted in comparison to urban industrial pollution. In attempts to maintain the foundations of national identity "uncontaminated by racial degeneration" (Howkins 1986:69), black and ethnic minority groups have thus been marginalised in rural spaces, deemed "'polluting' human 'aliens'" (Agyeman 1989:336), out of place (Duncan and Ley 1993).

Evidently, English national identity reflects "a concern with the reproduction of a mythical and nostalgic white heritage" (Agyeman and Spooner 1997:197) in which less nostalgic multidimensional and multicultural incidences of rurality are ignored. Black and ethnic minority groups have been deemed a transgressive presence in rural areas, with non white groups and their role in English history excluded as a corollary (Pollard 1989). Effectively they are excluded from both the rural landscape and the nation such is the inextricable linkage between the two. The normalisation of English whiteness

inherent here has been deemed resultant of "the circulation of social power, which creates an illusion of objectivity", namely a de-racialised rural landscape which "obscures the constitutive nature" of ethnic groups (Popke 2004:304). Such an understanding of rurality is paradoxical, with it exposed as both de-racialised (in the sense that black and minority ethnic groups are excluded) and heavily racialised (in the sense that white ethnic groups are privileged) at the same time. These constructions persist despite a growing emphasis upon multiple conceptions of identity which cast doubt upon both the relevance and validity of singular notions of nationality (Chakraborti and Garland 2004).

'Otherness' has been studied with vigour in rural geography since Philo's review of neglected rural geographies in 1992 (Philo 1992). His belief that rural geography focused upon "white, male, middle class narratives" (Cloke and Little 1997:2), with the average rural dweller "white and probably English, straight and somehow without sexuality, able in body and sound in mind, and devoid of any other quirks of (say) religious or political affiliation" led to studies moving beyond "Mr Averages" (Philo 1992:200), focussing instead upon othering predicated on numerous axes of social differentiation. Such studies strove to expose the concept of the rural idyll, a social construction which presents rural spaces as "happy, healthy, and problem-free.... nestling within both a close social community and a contiguous natural environment" (Cloke and Milbourne 1992:359), as an anachronistic fallacy. To a certain extent this worked, with a plethora of rural problems highlighted - poverty (Cloke 1997), gender (Little 2006), sexuality (Kirkey and Forsyth 2001), mental health (Parr 2008b), crime (Yarwood and Gardner 2000), religion (Ray and Reed 2005), age (Harper 1997), and homelessness (Milbourne 2006) - all of which served to destabilise the nostalgic veneer of the rural sphere bound up to the rural idyll conceptualisation which permeated television and radio broadcasting (Bunce 1994).

One particularly important strand was ethnicity, with studies (Pollard 1989 and Agyeman and Spooner 1997) and reports (Jay 1992, Derbyshire 1994), emerging, looking to the importance of the rural idyll conceptualisation considering how its consumption and reproduction ensure the maintenance of traditional representations of rural society, therefore reinforcing the marginalisation of black and ethnic minority

groups. Here the work of black photographer Ingrid Pollard is particularly iconic. Her series Pastoral Interlude (see Kinsman 1995) comprised of self-portraits and portraits of friends (also black) against rural backgrounds. In these images – a stone wall in front of an extensive landscape, a country churchyard, a stream – the placement of a black person in a rural setting intends to be unusual, unsettling, transgressive, an interlude to pastoral norms. The captions (Pollard undated) detailed their experiences:

It's as if the Black experience is only ever lived within an urban environment.

A visit to the countryside is always accompanied by a feeling of unease, dread…

… feeling I don't belong. Walks through leafy glades with a baseball bat by my side…

Death is the bottom line. The owners of these fields; these trees and sheep want me off their GREEN AND PLEASANT LAND. No Trespass, they want me DEAD. A slow death through eyes that slide away from me

Such photographs of wistful resignation combined with their angry and ironic captions, protest against the white ownership of land which Pollard believes is seeking to evict, repatriate or even destroy black 'intruders', even though their labour was crucial in the economic development underpinning land ownership histories. Pollard forges a connection between the historic death of black slaves with what she terms the slower 'death' of black people in contemporary Britain, a death which is enacted through racialised surveillance by the rural host population which engenders and entails feelings of unease, dread, and fear (Cloke 2006). Their feeling of being out of place is compounded by negative social behaviours, namely physical and verbal abuse. Indeed, with regards to the latter Phillips (1993) found that as one third of white people interviewed in rural areas expressed attitudes indicative of racial prejudice in a village of 500 residents you could expect 150 hostile neighbours. Such abuse serves not only to socially exclude black and ethnic minority groups from rural spaces, but it also serves to make them feel unsafe and expect racial abuse even if it hasn't been previously experienced (Malik 1992). With negative actions deemed a resistance to in-migration and uncritical acceptance of stereotypes (Agyeman and Spooner 1997), the former

rationale has been deployed by the British National Party who recognised the ideological potency of rural society as a white space, and consequentially target rural areas for recruitment. Jay (1992) deems this a powerful and frightening development in rural society that will maintain black and ethnic minority group marginalisation.

The breadth of work discussed highlights how idyllic representations of rural society are being challenged, continuing the questioning and contestation of the concept that Chris Philo began. By highlighting the social and spatial complexities of rural life, such studies have cast doubt upon the relevance of traditional representations of rurality. Rural England has been exposed as an imagined community held together by historical narratives featuring only certain actors (generally those in positions of power), and is rife with distinct boundaries (in this instance ethnic boundaries) perceived to be under threat from the incursions of others.

1.2.2 The Post-Millennial Focus – Minority White Groups

White studies have problematic foundations. It emerged in the late 20th century in the USA in the wake of political and intellectual challenges offered by anti-racism and radical versions of multiculturalism. These challenges enabled a shift of focus within race equality work and debate away from non-white behaviour and attitudes, towards white racism. Although white identity became a pressing issue, it was not without contestation. As Bonnett wrote in the introduction to his book 'White Identities', "it has not always been easy writing a book about a subject that most people think they know all about already" (Bonnett 2000:1). He argued that the white and non white people with whom he spoke believed that whiteness was 'common knowledge' and as such it was felt that there was nothing 'new' to write about. As such whiteness and 'white studies' were consigned an emergent specialism. This common sense 'brush off' is something I have encountered. In a 6th Form lesson discussing racism, my teacher laughed at my suggestion that there was such as thing as white racism. She had placed herself within a racist system of colour privilege in which white people are deemed unable to experience 'real' racism. White was cast as a-racial and thus immune from racism. Such a response appears to correlate with the view of James Saynor (1995) who argued that white people

believe they are the natural order of things, and thus do not consider themselves part of a race that needs examining.

However, academically white studies have received attention. A wealth of literatures have accrued surrounding colonial and racist anthropologies and histories of the superiority of white civilisation (Darwin 1899, Semple 1903, Huntington 1924, Hooton 1926, Stanton 1960), and also surrounding the reproduction, identification and overturning of white racism (e.g. Katz 1978, Wellman 1977). Saynor's statement also inspired work (Dyer 1997, Roediger 1992, Ignatiev 1995, Frankenberg 1993). Broadly speaking, white identities were not as invisible as first feared. How then has work on white identities been deemed to be so invisible? The main reason has been a tendency to treat whiteness as naturalised, ahistorical and presented as a geographically undifferentiated racial norm. A taken for granted concept, discussions of whiteness fall foul to generalisation and cliché. Although work on white identities has existed, its history and geography have been presented as invisible. Much like Philo's call to arms over 'Mr Averages', such implicit racial essentialism was deemed problematic, and worthy of identification and challenging (Bonnett 1999). As deconstructionist theories and themes took hold within social science it was increasingly felt that whites needed to be 'outed' with their invisibility in social science debates no longer deemed acceptable. The privileged centre, whiteness, was deemed worthy of interrogation and analytical unpacking.

Slowly but surely, sophisticated considerations of white identities have been incorporated into the race debate. Geographers have sought increasingly to unpack the concept of ethnicity, exploring the notion of whiteness as a historically and spatially situated discourse (Bonnett 2000, Dwyer and Jones 2000) and as a lived ethnic identity made through the intersections of class, place and gender (Nayak 2003, Haylett 2001). Within rural geography this aim is no different. Here, rural geographers are seeking to disrupt the image of the countryside as a homogenous white space free from racial conflict (Askins 2006). Aware of the criticism that to equate 'race' merely with discussions of minority non-white groups ignored a significant dimension of contemporary racism (Nash 2003), post-millennial work on rural whiteness has shifted from a focus on black residents as the "single dominant Other" (Kalra et al 2005:184) to

instead examine the "highly differentiated and highly contested nature of whiteness" (Hubbard 2005:52-53). This is an incredibly important shift in focus for "the whitening of rural spaces has not been about whiteness per se" (Neal and Agyeman 2006:6). White identities are heterogeneous (Bonnett 2000) and thus rural belonging cannot simply be equated with whiteness. The English rural landscape is a landscape of privilege which promotes and defends the dominance of particular white identities, those who possess "unmarked whiteness" (Hubbard 2005:53). A number of "undesirable forms of 'ethnic whiteness'" are identifiable as falling into this category (Neal and Agyeman 2006:9), including for example, gypsies and travellers (Bhopal 2006, Connolly 2006), asylum seekers (Hubbard 2005) and new age travellers and ravers (Cresswell 1996, Sibley 1995, Hetherington 2006) all of whom have received extensive academic coverage.

White studies have both problematic foundations and problematic futures. Bonnett (2000:125) spoke of the term 'white studies' being "assailed almost as soon as it is uttered" with a "nervousness about being seen to set up a specialism 'for whites', that 'indulges whites'" hovering over the debate. Likewise Dyer (1997), in his book 'White' spoke of his blood running cold at the thought of his discussion leading to the development of white studies whilst Fine (1997: xii) requested that her book 'Off White' be the last on the matter as it had exhausted all potential avenues of study. Her fear seemed rooted in a failure to be able to distinguish between ways of talking about whiteness. Not all work reifies the dominance and essentialism of white as a concept. Much serves to destabilise its hegemonic positioning, providing important insights into the ways whiteness is faring in the 21st century. My work particularly seeks to demonstrate the intricacies of whiteness predicated upon nationality, and the impacts that such intricacies have when played out in the rural sphere. In seeking the white response to those whose whiteness is marked as different, far from reifying superiority, my work seeks to challenge hegemonic whiteness.

In the editorial to a special edition of the Journal of Rural Studies entitled 'De-centring white ruralities: ethnicity and indigeneity', Ruth Panelli, Phil Hubbard, Brad Coombes and Sandie Suchet-Pearson argued that there is a "profound and pressing need for studies that interrogate the production and negotiation of a sense of ethnic difference within the countryside" (Panelli et al 2009:361). In the same edition Kye Askins

(2009:366) suggested rurality is understood as *transrurality*, a conceptualisation encapsulating both the specificities of place and open to mobility and desire – "in order to displace rural England as only an exclusionary white space and reposition it as a site within multicultural, multiethnic, transnational and mobile social imaginaries". Moving away from a focus upon the rural idyll, exposed as an unsophisticated view of rurality, she argued that for this displacement to occur a process of descriptive mapping of exclusions, incorporating openness to the ways in which diverse ethnic groups engage with and understand rurality, needs to be undertaken. In an increasingly globalised world characterised by increased migrant flows, attention therefore needs to now turn to white migrants who lack "unmarked whiteness" (Hubbard 2005:53) as a result of their ethnic identities. Much like the gypsies and travellers before them, they are deemed divergent from the dominant white norm, neither black nor white, with 'invisible ethnicities'. They occupy an exclusionary middle ground which transcends the simplistic 'excluded black, included white' dichotomy.

An attempt to uncover, map and describe Polish exclusion has notably occurred recently in 'Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union' (Burrell 2009a). With contributions from key Polish Studies scholars such as Anne White, Ayona Datta, Louise Ryan, Rosemary Sales and Maruska Svasek the pertinent themes of emigration contexts, strategies, discourses and experiences were covered in depth. Similarly a special edition of the journal Social Identities published in 2010 considered similar themes with reference to the most contemporary research foci, the notion of normality negotiation and acquisition for post-accession Polish migrants (Rabikowska 2010). However, both texts, much like work in a similar vein has paid little sustained attention to the plight of post-accession Polish migrants located rurally. This represents a clear deficiency in rural geography as the increased visibility of Polish residents can, like other ethnic minorities, represent to some rural residents "unusual intrusions into the conventional norms of rural life" (Cloke 2006:379). Indeed, this need was referenced by a paper by Burrell (2010:304) in the special edition, who argued that a lack of consideration of hostility towards recent migrations outside metropolitan area was painting a picture of post-accession Polish migration that is "strangely benign".

Many of the studies mentioned thus far have served to highlight how black and ethnic minority groups are ostracised from mainstream society due to a variety of social characteristics bound to their race which are deemed 'undesirable' and alien to conventional rural society. The interests of such rural 'others' risk being marginalised within the apparent rural hegemonic condition that is central to romanticised constructions of the countryside. My work, by documenting the experiences and emotional topographies of Polish migrants who are 'other' to dominant notions of rurality [and the interlinked experiences and emotional topographies of residents of the rural host population], will seek to de-centre white-Anglo imaginaries of rurality moving towards a more nuanced concept of transrurality. Panelli et al (2009:358) argued that the papers within that special edition of the Journal of Rural Studies "encourage a diligence to report the messy, plural and overlapping meanings, politics and material realities that situate any one rural experience within other possible sets of cultural practice, economic relations and political abuses and opportunities". It is my hope that my work too will achieve this.

1.3 The Accession of Poland to the European Union

1.3.1 Migration Waves – The Constitutive Cohorts of the UK Polish Population

EU enlargement was not "a zero point of departure" (Garapich 2008:128). The current population of Polish migrants in the UK has developed in line with four notable migration movements - post-war refugees, Communist regime émigrés, pre-2004 transition migrants, and EU accession migrants (Burrell 2008). Of course, to suggest that the Polish population of the UK has grown via four neatly definable moments is unacceptable[2]. Movements have been fluid, transgressing delineation. The purpose of using this categorisation is to merely illuminate that there have been 4 main notable

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[2] Historical waves preceded these four waves. Firstly, small scale migration from Poland to the UK in the sixteenth century by Polish Protestants to study the doctrine and tactics of the post-Reformation church, which was followed by further migration for refuge as the Counter-Reformation movement in Poland, grew in the second half of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century. Secondly, the end of the eighteenth century saw the emergence of political migration in response to the political disintegration of the Polish state in 1795, a trend which continued for most of the nineteenth century. Thirdly, the latter years of the nineteenth century saw large overseas emigration from the Prussian partition, as vast numbers of ethnic Poles were expelled from their homes as the result of Bismarck's colonisation policy. This trend continued until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. The inter-war period saw numbers of new migrants dropping, with the extant Polish community consolidating (Trevena 2009).

moments of migration into which many individual pathways loosely fit. I appreciate that many pathways do not.

This first key movement, that of post-war refugees, typifies how "the very existence of a Polish population in Britain is testament to the ruptured relationship between Polish migrants and the Polish national territory" (Burrell 2003:325). The 1947 Polish Resettlement Act saw the British Government make two favourable steps towards Polish settlement in Britain (Kushner and Knox 1999). Firstly, Polish soldiers and their families were permitted to remain in the country. Secondly, a policy of bringing in displaced people from the labour camps of Europe was introduced to fill labour shortages. Few migrated voluntarily, with the majority of the 160, 000 Polish migrants to Britain arriving as refugees, with many having been forcibly removed from their homes during and after the war (Lebedeva 2000). Indeed, the post-war redrawing of Poland's borders, incorporating a significant shift westwards, saw numerous settlements in what had been Eastern Poland now fall within the national boundaries of Russia, Belarus and the Ukraine (Davies 1984). The homeland relationship became doubly problematised, both exiled from it as a refugee and unable to ever return to it as it was. The homeland physically remained but, with repatriation, was at the same time lost. The traumatic experiences they had shared gave rise to an active diaspora, "a population created predominantly by war, invasion and occupation" (Burrell 2003:324) whose members shared a relationship to Poland characterised by loss and fear (Burrell 2006a).

The second key movement was that of communist émigrés. Thousands of Polish solidarity dissidents migrated to London as the result of the martial laws imposed by General Jaruzelski in the winter of 1981 (Garapich 2008). The migration was facilitated by the substantial diasporic structures set up in the UK at the end of WWII and because London was the home of the government-in-exile. It was however still a movement fraught with difficulties. The political divide of the Cold War period made migrating difficult and strained transnational activities. Letters could be monitored and censored, as could telephone calls, although these were expensive and required sufficient access in Poland. Furthermore, returning across the border was generally unpleasant (Burrell 2008). However, despite this, visiting Poland was a less daunting prospect than for post-war refugees as they had experienced Communist Poland prior to departure. Thus, their

relationship with their homeland was maintained to a greater extent via transnational technological links that improved with time.

The fall of Communism in Poland in 1989 gave rise to the next key movement, with departures from Poland found to be much easier than their predecessors. Recession and unemployment, particularly youth unemployment, served as further rationales for migration. However, immigration to Britain was still controlled by strict visa requirements.[3] Short-term economic migration increasingly emerged as a strategy to combat this, especially in the time preceding Poland's accession to the EU where the strategy was deployed as a mechanism to cope with the forthcoming transition (Iglicka 2001). Indeed, a large Polish labour force began to spread across areas of western and southern Europe following the opening of labour markets following the fall of communism (Burrell 2008). For these migrants technology permitted extensive and diverse transnational connections with the homeland, more so than any previous movement.

The fourth movement, and the focus of my research, is migration to Britain engendered by Poland's accession to the EU in 2004. With accession the unfavourable conditions for Polish migrants seeking work abroad which characterised the pre-accession period were lifted, enabling large scale migration of "postsocialist actors" and their legalised access to labour markets previously inaccessible from socialist national boundaries (Datta 2009:354). Cheaper travel facilitated migration to and from Poland, whilst developments in mobile phones, text messaging, e-mail and the internet permitted an "ongoing dialogue" with those in the homeland (Galasińska 2010:310).

These literatures have been included to provide an appreciation of the distinctions between migratory waves in both constitution and rationale. The Polish population of the UK is not homogenous.

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[3] Polish migrants were deemed one of the immigrants groups most commonly associated with illegal employment and visa overstaying (Bill and Duvell 2002) which effectively denied migrants the chance to stay permanently (Burrell 2008).

1.3.2 Quantifying Post-Accession Migration

The wave of Polish migration permitted by Poland's accession to the EU was unprecedented in terms of sheer volume. Quantification of A8 migration at the individual country level has proved problematic, the result of the dynamism and circularity of migratory flows and statistical inadequacies. No conclusive authoritative statistic on the number of Polish migrants since 2004 is available as the UK does not count individuals in and out of its borders. The IPPR report "Floodgates or Turnstiles? Post-EU enlargement migration flows to (and from) the UK" (Pollard et al 2008) attempted to quantify post-accession Polish migration. In an attempt to move beyond statistical inadequacies of extant datasets, it triangulated a group of them[4]. At the time (Spring 2008) it estimated the population of A8 and A2 (Bulgaria and Romania, who joined the EU in January 2007) nationals to be 665, 000, an increase of around 550, 000 since early 2004. Home Office statistics (drawing upon WRS data) suggested that a minimum of 540, 000 Polish citizens have been working in the UK labour market since 2004, constituting 67% of the total of A8 migrants (Border and Immigration Agency et al 2008). This figure is likely to be larger with the IPPR survey suggesting that 42% of Polish migrants who have worked in the UK since 2004 and returned to Poland were never registered on the WRS (Pollard et al 2008). Most recently (August 2011) the Office for National Statistics (ONS), drawing on Annual Passenger Survey and Labour Force Survey data, estimated the Polish population the UK to have been 532, 000 when framed as non-UK born residents, rising to 555, 000 when framed by nationality in 2010[5]. The difference is framing is pertinent. The ONS state that nationality refers to that stated by the respondent during the interview whereas country of birth is the country in which they were born. Whereas there is potential for an individual's nationality to change, the same cannot be said for a respondent's country of birth. To

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[4] The datasets drawn upon were the 2001 Census, the Office for National Statistics' International Passenger Survey, Accession Monitoring Statistics, and the Labour Force Survey. All are flawed in different ways. The 2001 Census, predating accession, can only provide background information. The Office for National Statistics' International Passenger Survey (IPS) collects annual data from passengers entering and leaving the UK, but data is only available at the aggregated level of EU A8 Nationals. Accession Monitoring Statistics rely on voluntary registration to the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) and thus large swathes fail to register. Furthermore, large numbers of migrants (the self-employed, students, dependents of workers) are exempt from registration. Finally, the Labour Force Survey (LFS), based on population samples, has a 95% confidence level. Thus, every 500, 000 the standard error is a substantial 138, 000, with a confidence interval of +/- 27 100.

[5] Accessible here http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcm%3A77-222711

this end the ONS argue that country of birth statistics give a better estimate of change over time.

Looking at statistics from Poland, the picture is somewhat different. Polish Labour Force data highlights a rapid increase in Polish nationals staying abroad since 2004. In May 2002 the estimated number of Polish citizens staying in the UK for longer than two months was 24 000. This rose to 150, 000 at the end of 2004, 580, 000 at the end of 2006 and 690, 000 at the end of 2007 (Kępińska 2007, Central Statistic Office 2008). This statistic of 690, 000 is somewhat larger than the 540 000 estimated by the IPPR.

The population estimates, be it the 540, 000 Polish migrants (according to the WRS) or 690, 000 (according to the Polish LFS), regardless of their difference and flawed nature (in the sense that both consider only adults, and are thus deemed underestimates) are important when considered in the context of other historical migration movements to the UK. Counting only first generation migrants, as the WRS has done since 2004, the 2001 UK census found 466, 000 people born in India and 321 000 in Pakistan (Kyambi 2005). Although these populations enlarge somewhat when considering their second and third generations, such statistics highlight the sheer scale of Polish migration. One must remember of course that said population statistically owes much to the longer established Polish populations who migrated between the end of WWII and Poland's accession to the EU.

1.3.3 The Geographical Distribution of Post-Accession Polish Migrants

Migration is in the main a rational reaction to difficult economic times, with high levels of unemployment (20% in 2003) in Poland engendering migration to England for work purposes (Drinkwater et al 2006). This work rationale has engendered a movement of Polish migrants across the UK, with their geographical distribution described as "ubiquitous" (Bauere et al 2007:11). Popular locations included South West England, North Wales, and the Scottish Highlands. Although this figure is dated in terms of data collection (2004-2006), more contemporary statistics indicate a persisting state of pertinence. Post-enlargement migrants continue to settle beyond traditional migrant

clustering in London and the South East. Returning to ONS statistics pertaining to Polish born residents living in the UK, although the two most popular areas were indeed London and the South East respectively (with estimated populations of 122, 000 and 52, 000), all other regions contained sizeable Polish populations. Indeed, in 2007 Polish National Insurance recipients were registered in every local authority in Britain (Rabindrakumar 2008).

Few migrant groups have established themselves so quickly and so widely in British history (Burrell 2009b). A significant number of A8 migrants have moved to rural areas to provide labour in areas where recruitment can be difficult. The Commission for Rural Communities emphasise this by highlighting how 120, 000 migrant workers registered in rural areas of England between May 2004 and September 2006, constituting 23% of WRS registrations during that period. In key agricultural areas there is a high degree of seasonality evidenced, with September the peak registration month (Commission for Rural Communities 2007a). This citing, with recourse to the studies of problematic black and ethnic minority relations with rural spaces cited earlier, is potentially (and as we will later see, actually) problematic.

1.3.4 The Demographic Profile of Post-Accession Polish Migrants

Polish migrants to the UK, of which 57% are male and 43% are female, are a group distinct to post-accession Polish migrants heading to other destinations for two main reasons. Firstly, they are very young. 72% are aged 20 to 29, whilst only 16% are aged 35 and above. The median age of those in Britain is just 25, the youngest of all destinations of Polish citizens. For example, the median in Belgium is 29 and 46 in the US (Fihel and Kaczmarczyk 2009). The age profile of this wave is of particular pertinence. Prior to accession in 2003, just 55% of Polish born people in the UK were aged 16 to 64. This statistic had risen to 86% by 2010, a figure far removed from the 65% statistic for the UK population as a whole (Office for National Statistics 2011). With regards to marital status the Labour Force Survey found in 2007 that 58% of UK based A8 and A2 nationals were married, cohabiting, or in a civil partnership (Pollard et al 2008). With regards to dependents, 7% of workers who registered on the WRS between May 2004 and December 2007 declared that they had dependents living with

them in the UK, with a total of 85, 270 recorded, 55% of which were aged under 17 (Border and Immigration Agency et al 2008).

The communist legacy of Poland goes some way to explain migration and its specific age profile. Appiah (2006) speaks of a 'cosmopolitan curiosity', openness to a different way of living that has developed through their transnational histories. This cosmopolitan curiosity has increasingly seen "individuals with limited choices deciding to enter into something larger than their immediate cultures" (Malcomson 1998:235) via migration. With young people clearly the most significant demographic component of post-accession migration this notion of curiosity is particular pertinent. Eade et al (2007:34) liken the highly educated young migrants as "searchers" seeking a new way of life, meeting new people and improving English language skills.

A similar theme of searching has been identified as applicable to family groups by White (2009). She has found that accession changed family migration strategies, making it more feasible for migrants to contemplate a more permanent move with their families rather than leaving them behind. Much reference here is made to 'livelihood' with migrants placing great importance upon the wider quality of children's lives in making their plans, and the new family life afforded to them by such a move. In many cases migrants are electing to abandon their higher status jobs for better remunerated ones in the host country, a choice termed contradictory social mobility (Parreñas 2001). Such a choice is deemed reflective of the innate high work ethic amongst migrants which Buchowski (1994) attributes it to the deeply embedded cultural patterns in the minds of Polish migrants which have ensured that Communism as an idea has never settled. This new way of life alluded to in both instances is facilitated by the gaining of knowledge and familiarity with other cultures by working-class cosmopolitans through "specific kinds of focused networks" (Werbner 1999:20), with information passed between families who have had experiences of migration. Migrants thus often migrate and embed through parochial associations (Hiebert 2002). Migration is a movement forward in time in the personal biographies of migrants, a life progression, rather a simple spatial journey (Burrell 2006b).

The second reason for distinction is that the UK attracts the largest proportion of Polish university graduates. The Polish LFS details that 24% of Polish migrants have a university degree, with that figure falling to 19% in the US and 6% in Germany. Indeed, Eade et al (2006), using the age variable of the LFS and World Bank education statistics, found that on average Polish migrants in the UK have 13.6 years of full-time education, whereas the average for other A8 migrants is 11.9 years. Resultantly, of the 25 largest immigrant groups in the UK, Polish migrants rank sixth in terms of length of time spent in full-time education (Sriskandarajah et al 2007). Education is being continued whilst in the UK. Polish students are the 6th largest national group of EU students in the UK, with the IPPR finding many migrants to be enrolling on part-time courses to learn new skills and explore creative subjects, opportunities not economically viable for them in their home countries (Pollard et al 2008).

Fihel and Kaczmarczyk (2009), citing the work of Kacmarczyk (2008) as evidence, believe that with the post-accession flow of highly skilled migrants to the UK and consisting mainly of young people this suggests that many university graduates are leaving Poland straight after finishing their education and not seeking jobs in their homeland. However, they argue that this does not constitute brain drain. The change of main destination countries, and particularly the dominance of the UK, Ireland and Sweden in attracting university graduates, has inspired a rise in the number of highly skilled migrants. Post-accession migration from Poland is deemed a key pathway for well educated people, with their migration reflective of the structure of the wider population and not a greater propensity to leave Poland.

1.3.5 Employment Trends

Post-accession Polish migration has been heavily linked to labour emigration, with the share of those who worked whilst abroad rising from 70-80% in the 1990s to 94% post-accession (Fihel and Kaczmarczyk 2009). Indeed, the LFS found that 84% of A8 and A2 nationals of working age living in the UK to be in work in December 2007, compared to the British statistic of 76%. Only 10% were economically inactive, a statistic deemed representative of the aging post-war cohort of Polish migrants (Pollard et al 2008). Such statistical trends have continued, with in 2011 the A8/A2

economically active statistic remaining high (84.6%) whilst the British statistic fell (70.4%) (Office for National Statistics 2011). Of course it is pertinent here to question the accuracy of numerical estimates pertaining to employment. One cannot ignore the clandestine economy, in which it is widely acknowledged (Jordan 2002, Drinkwater et al 2006) that large numbers of Polish migrants who entered the country on other premises (i.e. student or tourist visas) are working illegally. Their dominance in the British employment structure has engendered a recent wealth of research considering employment as its broad theme[6].

In terms of employment contracts, of A8 migrants registered with the WRS between May 2004 and March 2009, 51% were in temporary employment (predominantly employed in the agricultural sector) and 49% were in permanent employment (Home Office UK Border Agency 2009). Traditionally for all workers, short stays were the norm. The number of migrants who were staying abroad for less than 12 months more than doubled between 2000 and 2005, and the share of short-term migrants increased from 48% in 1995 to 60% in 2004. However, the number of long-term migrants has recently increased so much that in 2007 the ratio of short-term to long-term migrants became 1:1, a situation similar to the 1990s. Whether this trend will continue remains unclear (Fihel and Kaczmarczyk 2009).

A8 nationals have, in the main, been employed predominantly in low-skilled jobs. The top four sectors of employment have been consistent since accession, namely hospitality and catering, agriculture, manufacturing, and food, fish and meat processing (Trevena 2009)[7]. Indeed in some sectors, notably manufacturing, construction, distribution, hotels and restaurants, and transport and communication, A8 nationals are overrepresented in

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[6] The political economic geographies of temporary migrant agricultural work has been considered by Rogaly (2008, 2009), whilst experiences of Polish employment within the hospitality sector are being considered by Janta (Janta 2009, Janta and Ladkin 2009, Janta et al 2011). Datta has considered Polish masculinities on building site in London, detailing how their gendered performances signify their identities as both men and Polish nationals (Datta 2008, 2009), whereas Dewhurst has considered issues surrounding migrant worker employment equality (or lack thereof) (Dewhurst 2009). This list is by no means exhaustive but I feel its inclusion is justified in the sense that it gives a flavour of the breadth of work going on.

[7] Like Trevena 2009, I chose to omit the statistically greatest category 'administration, business and management (39%)' as the workers employed here work for recruitment agencies and are thus employed in a variety of industries, often the four noted above.

comparison to the native population. In terms of occupation, the most popular six (again, consistent since accession) are process operative/ factory worker, warehouse operative, packer, kitchen and catering assistants, cleaner/domestic staff, farm worker/farm hand (Home Office UK Border Agency 2009). Statistically, A8 migrants have been found to work long hours for poorer pay than the native population. In 2005/2006 Polish migrants were on average working 41.5 hours per week, compared to 36.5 hours per week worked by the native population, paid an average of £7.30 gross per hour as opposed to the £11.10 earned by British nationals (Trevena 2009).

Discrepancies have been exhibited between educational attainment and occupation. A survey by the Fife Research Coordination Group (2008) found that 70% of A8 workers were not making use of their skills in their current jobs. Indeed, an IPPR survey of return migrants found that educational attainment had no significant impact on respondents' earnings. Those with vocational skills were more able than those with higher educational qualifications to find employment aligned to their career pathways (Pollard et al 2008). However, some professional areas of employment have been buoyed by Polish migrants utilising their qualifications. The General Medical Council recorded a 25% increase in the number of registered doctors from A8 and A2 countries, principally Poland, between 2005 and 2007 (Pollard et al 2008).

A further key employment trend emerged from the late 1990s as Polish migrants took advantage of a provision granted by the Europe Agreement of 1991 between the EU and candidate states permitting nationals to establish their own businesses in the UK. With no minimum capital requirement, Polish migrants were able to set up low-income businesses (Spencer et al 2007). Indeed, there was a significant increase in numbers entering the British labour market via the self-employment route. In 2003 a growth of 156% in the number of Polish migrants granted an extension to stay in the country as a person of independent means or as a businessman took place (Drinkwater et al 2006).

1.4 Research aim and research questions

The studies of ethnic experiences of rurality detailed in section 1.2 indicated to me the existence of two interlinked lacunas - studies of life as a post-accession Polish migrant living in a rural area from a *Rural Geography perspective* and studies of life as a post-accession Polish migrant living in a rural area from a *Polish Studies perspective*. There exists a need for studies of this nature; ones which reflect upon the ways in which the themes (e.g. constitutive cohorts of the Polish population, the geographical distribution of post-accession Polish migrants, and the demographic profile and employment trends of post-accession Polish migrants) detailed in section 1.3 can influence rural life as a Polish migrant. This thesis aims to address the two identified lacunas via the addressing of the following research aim - *"to understand the multiple interpretations and receptions of Polish migrants in rural England".* Here I seek to excavate community relations to ascertain the ways in which hospitality (extension of, or withholding of) is proceeding between the host population and post-accession Polish migrant residents, and how such exchanges can (or indeed cannot) be seen to be promoting transrural imaginaries in residents. Such planned excavations have given rise to the following research questions:-

1. **What are the experiences of Polish migrants in rural England?**
    a. How is Polish identity scripted and performed?
        i. Do migrants seek to 'fit in' or to 'stand out'?
            1. What strategies do they employ to achieve this?
            2. Do migrants seek to position themselves with or apart from other migrants?
            3. What relationship do migrants have with pre-existing Polish migrant communities?
        ii. Is it deemed important to maintain a transnational sense of diaspora consciousness? If yes, how is this achieved?
    b. To what extent has life for Polish migrants in rural England become normalised?

2. **To what extent are Polish migrants viewed as white ethnic other by rural residents?**
   a. What role are mediations playing on attitudes towards Polish migrants?
   b. To what extent is hospitable relations discernible as an aim and to what extent is this aim achieved?
   c. Have psychogeographies been mobilised?
      i. How do they differ by research area and what rationale underlies such difference?
   d. Has normalisation of Polish migrants occurred in any way, or are signs of such a shift in the offing?

3. **What difficulties and opportunities in fostering hospitable relations between Polish and the host population in rural areas exist?**
   a. What role do statutory responses, voluntary/third sector responses, and entrepreneurial responses to Polish migration targeted towards Polish migrants primarily play in maintaining Polish identity and facilitating hospitable relations?
   b. What role do statutory responses and voluntary/third sector responses to Polish migration targeted towards the rural host population play in facilitating hospitable relations?
   c. What difficulties and opportunities does each approach face in maintaining Polish identity and facilitating hospitable relations?

1.5 Conclusion

Following Philo's (1992:200) seminal battle cry for studies of rurality to move beyond "Mr Averages" a multitude of studies of rural difference predicated on numerous axes of identity emerged, expounding notions of idyllic rurality. Ethnicity has and continues to be a key strand of investigation, with studies exposing the rural landscape as one of privilege serving to defend and promote white identities possessing "unmarked whiteness" (Hubbard 2005:53). Despite studies emerging detailing the rural realities of a plethora of white ethnic groups – e.g. gypsy travellers (Bhopal 2006), asylum seekers (Hubbard 2005) and new age travellers (Hetherington 2000) - as yet this process of deconstruction has not been extended to Polish migrants residing in rural areas. This is a considerable oversight for with their migration the heterogeneity of rural whiteness is

being nuanced further as English residents, post-accession Polish residents, and in some cases with reference to Burrell's (2008) notion of cohort waves, Polish residents from 'other' migration waves live side by side. This thesis seeks to address this lacuna. This chapter, in charting the phenomenon of post-accession Polish migration with recourse to two key elements - developments regarding the study of ethnic 'others' in rural geography and the statistical specificities of the post-accession Polish migration wave - has laid a series of theoretical and substantive foundations for the thesis. These foundations will be complemented by those provided in the following two chapters, the first which reflects upon the key theme of hospitality and the second which details my research methodology.

Chapter 2 – The 'Polish Migrant': Theorising Encounter

2.1 Introduction

Polish identity, like any form of identity, is something constructed, produced, practiced and encountered. This chapter focuses upon this latter theme - the notion of encounter. In line with my thesis aim *"to understand the multiple interpretations and receptions of Polish migrants in rural England"*, it will consider the ways in which people perceive and encounter Polish migrants, from both English and Polish perspectives. Reflections will radiate around the theme of hospitality, seeking to ascertain how and why encounters can or cannot result in hospitality. The chapter will begin by considering literatures relating to hospitality. Here the term 'hospitable relations' is put forward to define the valorised position of interactions between host and migrant populations as sought by community stakeholders. This conceptualisation was borne out of my involvements with rural residents (both English and post-war Polish migrants), migrant residents and community stakeholders, and with extant literatures, and will become a key term in the empirical chapters which follow. Attention will then turn to the theorisation of negative responses to Polish migrants – moments of an absence of hospitality - with reference to psychoanalytical theory. Next, evidence of rural residents being hospitable will be charted to suggest the potential for positive responses to Polish migrants to emerge. In order to pay due diligence to the notion of Polish identity being multifaceted, the chapter will then consider encounters from the Polish perspective, deconstructing the often homogenised group with reference to the numerous migratory waves that constitute the Polish population as detailed in the preceding chapter, to consider intra-cohort and inter-cohort contestation. Part of this section is speculative, drawing upon emerging normality literatures to consider if the post-accession wave should expect to occupy a similar 'normalised' societal position as that afforded to post-war Polish migrants.

2.2 Hospitality

2.2.1 Hospitality: A Governmental Framework

Fincher and Iveson (2008) argue that the creation of hospitality as a state of encounter should be an intent of planning. Indeed this has long been a Government aim. In 1997 the New Labour government vowed to promote active citizenship and community engagement in all policy areas. Enhancing community involvement was deemed vital for supporting the legitimacy of local government, developing community leadership and improving service delivery, which in turn were deemed to facilitate civil renewal. These themes of devolution, democratic decentralisation and community engagement gained growing currency over the coming years.

A series of race riots in Bradford, Leeds and Oldham in 2001 provided evidence that fears that 'super-diversity' (Commission on Integration and Cohesion 2007) effected by mass migration would, by virtue of its accompanying social dislocation, have a negative impact upon social cohesion were well grounded. Fears were associated particularly with whether newcomers could be expected to make additional demands on public services that were already deemed overstretched (Blake et al 2008). A need for cosmopolitan citizenship (Beck 2002), where individuals can imagine, through dialogue with others, alternative ways of living which are then incorporated into their own sense of beings (Thorp 2009) thus emerged.

Although the global context was here relevant, the important placed upon the notion of encounter meant that it was at the local level that many felt these identities could be best cultivated (Held 1992). Indeed, the Local Government White Paper 'Strong and Prosperous Communities' (Department of Communities and Local Government 2006) encouraged local government to involve communities and devolve power to communities as part of strategies to improve service delivery and strengthen democratic engagement more generally. It encouraged local service partners to reach out to the disadvantaged, marginalised or socially excluded, for where such groups (notably migrant, mobile or new communities) were not recognised as citizens, residents, or service users, their needs and views were unlikely to be taken into account effectively (Yarnit 2006).

The importance of place was further emphasised the following year. The Lyons Inquiry into Local Government advocated a wider role of local government as the voice of community and as an agent of place (Lyons 2007). This place shaping role would include building and shaping local identity, representing the community, maintaining community cohesiveness, understanding local needs and preferences and making sure that the right services are provided to local people, and working with other bodies to respond to complex challenges.

With much similarity to the importance placed upon encounter in Becks notion of cosmopolitan citizenship, the Commission for Integration and Cohesions 2007 report 'Our Shared Future' called for the development of a locally shared vision to be enacted through participatory dialogue, the benefits of which should be shared out so as to enhance community solidarity and engagement. As per the name, the report focussed upon the idea of 'shared futures' which would include new migrants in a notion of citizenship. To this end, cohesion as opposed to integration was stressed:

> *"... cohesion is principally the process that must happen in all communities to ensure different groups of people get on well together; while integration is principally the process that ensures new residents and existing residents adapt to one another"* (Commission on Integration and Cohesion 2007, para 3.2)

The main tenants of its policy of community cohesion aimed to develop shared values via personal and community development; social inclusion by supporting individual needs and opportunities; and by using myth busting to dispel corrosive social divisions. It emphasised an importance not to produce a 'one size fits all' approach which exaggerated the degrees of separation found between different communities, and to recognise efforts to promote community cohesion and solidarity within and between communities. The outcome of these reports has been the emergence of a wide range of publicly funded bodies to impact on the life chances of local populations with governance arrangements at a regional and local level that engage and involve service users and residents. The latter will be considered in later chapters, but for now it is reference of the former that would be pertinent.

With my case study areas both located within South West England, at a regional level the South West Forum for Migrant Workers is here important. South West Councils, with funding from the Home Office, established a Strategic Migration Partnership. The

Regional Strategic Co-ordination Board for Migration it includes is tasked with providing a strategic lead on the diverse range of issues affecting migrant workers, refugees and asylum seekers. The Board oversees the work of the South West Forum for Migrant Workers, a group consisting of local authority representatives and regional stakeholders[8] brought together to share information and highlight examples of good practice regarding migrant worker issues. Its most recent seminal act has been the development and publication of the South West Migrant Workers Action Plan 2010-2012 (South West Forum for Migrant Workers 2010). The document draws on some of the recommendations of the Regional Scrutiny and Strategic Review of Migrant Workers undertaken in 2008/09, a review which scrutinised the policies pertaining to migrant workers of the South West of England Regional Development Agency, alongside those from partner agencies. The plan includes 54 actions grouped into four key areas, the latter of which are listed in table 2.1 with examples of key priorities listed alongside.

Table 2.1 - South West Migrant Workers Action Plan 2010-2012: Priorities

Area	Priority
Regional and Local Structures	➢ Develop the capacity of the Regional Forum for Migrant Workers to lead on the issue at a regional level ➢ Encouragement the establishment of new multi-agency Forums in all areas of the region and support development of existing Forums
Economy, Skills and Employer Engagement	➢ Understanding of economic issues for the region ➢ Ensure that the business potential of migrant workers is realised ➢ Ensure migrant workers can participate in the labour market at the right skills level, with their potential is fully utilised by employers ➢ Provide information and guidance to employers regarding the employment of migrants

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[8] They included South West Chambers of Commerce, South West Regional Employment and Skills Partnership, EURES, South West Councils, South West Observatory Skills and Learning, Business Link, South West RDA, Equality South West, Learning Skills Council, Citizens Advice Bureaux, TUC, NHS South West, Wiltshire Council, and Job Centre Plus.

	➢ Ensure that regional economic circumstances are reflected in migration policy changes at a national level
Supporting Migrant Workers	➢ Promote awareness of employment rights ➢ Support enforcement agencies to combat exploitation ➢ Encourage employers of migrants to comply with legal obligations and take a responsible role in supporting employees ➢ To inform and empower migrant workers to understand both their rights and their responsibilities ➢ Involvement of migrants in policy development ➢ To promote a positive response to migrants in local communities and to counter harmful myths and stereotyping ➢ Research the demand for and supply of English provision for migrants ➢ Increase access to and encourage uptake of ESOL support ➢ Develop and promote non-mainstream English courses
Responsive Public and Voluntary Services	➢ Provision of appropriate public service information ➢ Ensure that public and voluntary service providers are aware of the needs of migrant workers ➢ To share good practice on developing links between migrant communities and the emergency services ➢ To integrate the needs of the children of migrant workers into mainstream education and training provision ➢ Ensure the health needs of migrant workers are met in the same way as the host population ➢ Address the issues of deprivation faced by migrant workers ➢ Ensuring that public sector agencies are fully funded to address needs

The Forum acted as the steering group for the Equality South West Migrant Worker Project, undertaken by Equality South West and funded by the South West Regional Development Agency, operational from May 2008 to March 2010. Its aims were to map migration trends in the region (culminating in the publication of research reports and

statistical briefings[9]), develop links with employers of migrants and engender better skills training provision for migrant workers. One of the key activities of the project which fed into the achieving of the four project objectives was the formation and maintenance of the South West Migrant Workers Network. This network was developed to afford a regional voice to migrant worker community groups in the region, and to give regional bodies a source of information on the issues migrant workers were facing. Through this network links were forged with migrant worker employers via the running of 11 dedicated events. Such events provided information on immigration and employment regulations and good practice, with specific reference made to the benefits to be acquired from the provision of English language provision. One of these was held on the 23rd January, 2010 in Taunton. Organised collaboratively by Equality South West and the Migrant Workers Network, it was focused mainly at migrant workers and migrant community group members. Linking to the Action Plan, it aimed to develop the capacity of migrant worker community groups to support their communities and provide information on how migrants could set up their own businesses. The event was well attended (40 migrant workers and 15 delegates) and feedback was positive.

The network was established as a result of a migrant worker service mapping exercise which culminated in the publication of a 'Directory of Migrant Workers Support Services in the South West' document (Stennett and Dorr 2010). The comprehensive document detailed migrant worker support groups, interpretation and translation services, English classes, and advisory services. Such provision of information ensured that priorities of the South West Migrant Workers Action Plan grouped under the 'Supporting Migrant Workers' and 'Responsive Public and Voluntary Services' were addressed. The capacity of migrant groups is enhanced both directly (through their engagement with the document) and indirectly (through service providers engagement with the document). This however does not represent the sole benefit of the mapping approach. It was felt in the years immediately following A8 accession that efforts to accommodate migrant workers lacked coordination, leading to a duplication of efforts in trying to understand and develop services. With resources stretched, such an approach was inefficient and not cost effective. Mapping at the regional or indeed local level[10],

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[9] Collated at the following web link
http://www.equalitysouthwest.org.uk/informationandlegislation/information/migrantworkers/useful-research

[10] E.g. Devon Black and Minority Ethnic Service Directory http://www.devon.gov.uk/bmedirectory-2.pdf

permits the sharing of resources, cohesion in approach, and perhaps most importantly in this current time of austerity, minimised expenditure of resources.

The new Coalition governments' decision to bring an end to regional government and announcement to abolish the Government Offices and the Regional Development Agencies are problematising migrant service delivery at the regional level. Whilst no decision has yet been made on the future of Strategic Migration Partnerships, such changes in governance bring into doubt the future of regional organisations – such as South West Councils - that support them. The Migrants' Rights Network believe that cuts in funding to Regional Development Agencies is already having an impact on delivery of the Regional Action Plan, and that although Regional Development Agencies will be replaced by a number of Local Enterprise Partnerships, their remit and resource bank will be limited (Migrants' Rights Network 2011). Impact too will be felt at the local level, with reduced funding leading to the 'squeezing' of projects delivered at this level.

2.2.2 Defining Hospitable Relations

For the first year of my PhD I deemed integration, 'the act or instance of combining into an integral whole', the 'holy grail' for migrants. Encounters in the field highlighted to me that I was wrong. The transiency of migrants' planned stay meant that they were not seeking integration and full immersion in their host communities; instead they sought accommodation so as to adapt and become suited to their new situation. I here refer to a desire for the receiving host communities to be 'helpful and obliging'. Sources of such accommodation are diverse; friends and family members already resident in the host country, local residents and service responses. The level of accommodation sought is ambiguous. For several it related solely to their initial arrival, for some it was more a 'when required' notion whilst for others they hoped for it at all times. The social configuration of this sought notion of accommodation was such that migrants did not want to make friends with all they came into contact with. Instead they merely wanted to live amicably side by side in communities where antagonism and fear were minimal. Such sentiment was also shared by responsive service providers. This led me to develop the notion of hospitable relations; 'friendly and welcoming social interactions with

strangers', to use as an organising concept to describe the aim of both migrants and community stakeholders, over the concept of integration.

Hospitable relations depend upon the notion of encounter; the coming together of migrant and host population residents in the contact zone. Laurier and Philo (2006) speak of the encounter as moments of low level sociality, interpersonal relationships between two or more people that can range from fleeting to enduring. They cite examples in the city where diverse actors – from customers to shopkeepers, cab drivers to beggars - come together in moments (Laurier et al 2002). These moments vary and can be positioned on a continuum ranging from 'basic' exchanges such as the holding open of doors to more 'complex' exchanges such as the opening up of one's home for use by an 'other'. Occurring within micro-publics, spaces of interdependence, these incidences represent moments of togetherness and facets of mutual acknowledgement. Here intercultural understandings can develop, and thus represent sites of cultural exchange, destabilisation and transformation (Sandercock 2003).

The conceptual origins of the term 'hospitable relations' lie in poststructural ethics, with particular influence gleaned from the work of Emmanuel Levinas. To Levinas, the 'other' refers to no specific group of 'others' with specific social and cultural characteristics, but is instead the face, "bareness without any cultural adornment" (Levinas, in Peperzak et al 1996:53) which invokes an "ethical epiphany" (Pinchevski 2001:75). The relational existence of the other means a commitment to responsibility cannot be made by an autonomous subject as all are exposed to responsibility "from the start, like a hostage" (Levinas 1989:243) with the ethical relationship characterised by a "surplus of my duties over my rights" (Levinas 1981:159). Levinas thus posits ethics as first philosophy with our responsibility to the other ontological (Barnett 2005). Such an ethics of otherness posits us all to have an innate responsibility to the other and thus potential to action hospitable relations.

At its heart, hospitality is an exchange that constitutes the categories of host and stranger. The work of Derrida is pertinent. "Is not hospitality an interruption of the self?" he postulates (Derrida 1999:51). Much of his work considers how this

interruption cannot be served by absolute, unconditional hospitality – hospitality given by host to guest with no thought of reciprocity – as this itself is a paradox. As he suggests: 'If I welcome only what I welcome, what I am ready to welcome, and that I recognize in advance because I expect the coming of the hôte as invited, there is no hospitality' (Derrida 2002: 361). To be the perfect host is to offer hospitality unconditionally, unreservedly, and without end. The idealized form of unconditional hospitality, just hospitality, is thus locked in a "non-dialectizable antinomy" with conditional hospitality, termed hospitality by rights, or hospitality in the ordinary sense (Derrida 2000:77) for its consideration of rights, duties and obligations. Indeed, Barnett promotes a movement beyond discussion of the "pious and irresponsible desire" (Barnett 2005:17) for unconditional hospitality, to instead consider the ways of relating to and *acknowledging* otherness and others in their specificity. Such a Derridean perspective opens up the analysis of moments of hospitality, emphasising the ways that different theorizations and enactments of hospitality might be read alongside and against each other. Through such considerations of "the gifts, exchanges, or compensations that make hospitality possible" (Chan 2005:12) the geography of responsibility is being rewritten.

Here the notion of 'moral selving', defined by Barnett et al (2005:30) as "the mediated work of creating oneself as a more virtuous person through practices that acknowledge responsibilities to others" is important. Schwalbe argues that the moral self is the part of the self that might be described as the will to moral responsibility. It comprises "a set of self-related cognitive elements": the impulse to role-take, the range of role-taking opportunities, the understanding of the self as containing moral characteristics, and a feeling of self-efficacy (Schwalbe 1991:288). Role taking is important; in imagining others' beliefs the individual can assess conflicting beliefs with concern for their impact upon others. Malleable, the moral self changes as the individual encounters the 'moral situation' (Dewey 1932), the point at which self and action converge in worthy ideas. People work hard to create their moral selves, a point demonstrated by Allahyari in her work on volunteer involvement with the poor and homeless (Allahyari 2000). She found that volunteers expressed a desire to change their moral selves, but not their identity as it was inhered in social status or structural position within society.

The city has long been the focus of work on hospitality, a reflection of city life being deemed "a being together of strangers" (Young 1990:240) and a space of "throwntogetherness" (Massey 2005:181). Despite the urban focus, it is my belief that such literatures provide ideas that can enlighten and nuance debates on rural hospitality. Kahn (1987:12) argues that "cities are to be judged by their welcome". It is my belief that with increasing migrant populations being found in rural spaces, 'spaces of living with others' (Laurier and Philo 2006) much like urban spaces, they too need to be judged by the welcome they are giving. The same continuum of courteous actions in the city can, and from my own personal experiences of living in a small village, and do occur in the rural sphere. Much like in urban spaces, within rural spaces hospitality can provide a way of placing the unknown and thus of being with others (Tregoning 2003).

In this thesis I will take the broad theme of hospitality and refine it solely with reference to hospitality in the rural context. Any incident of hospitality is situated within a system of tensions; tensions between hospitality and hostility, proximity and distance, inclusion and exclusion (Friese 2004). To this end Dikeç (2002:239) deems hosts and guests "mutually constitutive of each other, and thus, relational and shifting", with relationships fraught with ambiguity and uncertainty. Indeed, relations between migrants and the host population are inherently ambiguous and in a state of flux. Rurally, the migrant desire for accommodation over integration is raising a problem; that of reception. Immigration is a highly contentious issue, evoking strong reactions. Many outright decry immigration whilst others call for the enforcing of strict conditions upon migrants often typified around their integration as opposed to accommodation. Being 'helpful and obliging' to migrants, assisting them to achieve a state of accommodation via the extension of hospitality, be it in an organisational or individual sense can thus become problematised. In the forthcoming chapters I seek to explore further the tacit limitations placed on the guest by the host and the slippage between host and hostage in the sense of the obligations inherent in giving and receiving (Tregoning 2003).

2.3 Theorising Negative Responses to Polish Migrants by the Host Population

2.3.1 Psychoanalysis, 'Others' and Boundaries

Psychoanalysis has been used to examine the anxieties surrounding social mixing. Within the rural context, the work of David Sibley (1995, 2001) on socio-spatial boundary formation has proved highly influential. Drawing on the work of Segal he discusses how splitting, "an action undertaken in phantasy (in the unconscious) which can be used to separate things which belong together" (Segal 1992:34), is used to defend the body, the home, and the neighbourhood in response to incursions of abject others who threaten boundaries of individual and collective identity. Drawing on Kleinian object relations theory, splitting is a coping mechanism that constitutes part of the paranoid-schizoid position. Within infancy splitting is important for "a phantasy of a nipple which is loving…..at first needs to be kept quite distinct from phantasies of a nipple which is biting" (Segal 1992:33) to ensure a distinction is made between love and cruelty. However, in adult life processes of splitting, idealisation and projective identification serve to create rudimentary structures comprised of idealised good objects kept apart from persecutory bad ones (Steiner 1987). Although allowing people to cope with anxieties about chaos and disorder (Sibley 2003), termed psychotic anxieties by Klein (1993), social relations become problematic. Fear of otherness is projected onto those depicted by hegemonic society as deviant and dangerous. These groups can become fixed here through processes of structuration, with potential existing for attitudes and beliefs to be reinforced by institutional rules or laws[11].

Sibley (2006) argues that rurally resistance to difference stems from a definition of a rural community in which, through processes of splitting, sources of anxiety have been removed and projected elsewhere. Through such a process the boundary between country and city is sharpened, with rural space 'losing' its ambiguous and anomalous elements. To this end an essentially agricultural landscape is promoted which lacks stratification predicated upon class and ethnicity. A conservative and regressive rationale, such processes of selective inclusions and omissions ensure that rural space is purified. Attempts to preserve symbolic rurality and its inherent (perceived)

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[11] Take the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act which instituted stringent spatial controls to police the rural-urban boundary, with actions directed at Travellers, 'disruptive trespassers' and people on route to raves (Sibley 1995, 1997) as a notable example.

homogeneity and harmony are engendering a rural society that is becoming increasingly insulated and capsular. Here, 'no entry defences' (Williams 1997) are enacted, whereby anxieties are projected onto those threatening to invade the self to cope with the fear of being invaded[12]. Fears of a loss of control, of another taking from them, mean that people have difficulties establishing relationships with those marked as different, thus reinforcing their anxieties. In such instances, Williams argues that psychotherapy is needed to work towards a more porous self, one which does not resist so much the presence and introjections of others. Instead, a process of 'cocooning' (de Cauter 2000) to provide vain attempts at security is occurring, which paradoxically in turn produces threatening others.

Here the home becomes a particularly important space. Sommerville (1992) identifies seven meanings associated with the home; shelter, hearth, heart, privacy, roots, abode and paradise. Although not one to comment on the 'ranking' of each meaning, I would argue that within this discussion the notion of privacy is important. The home provides a safe space into which one can retreat, secure from an alien outside world often deemed disordered and threatening. From this space, unlike rural space in general, the individual is able to control who they permit in their *private* rural space, controlling who crosses the boundary from public space into private space. Such acts strive to maintain the Heimlich, the "intimate, friendly, comfortable; the enjoyment of quiet content, etc., arousing a sense of agreeable restfulness and security as in one within four walls of his house" (Sanders (1860), cited in Sibley 2005:155). Yet, as shall be seen later, the valorised qualities of private space hold the potential to be disturbed by someone or something beyond the home conjuring feelings of not Heimlich, but unheimlich. The boundary between home and outside can be transgressed, with the safe becoming unsafe and the public invading the private.

It is possible to theorise the postulation of migrant groups, particularly post-accession Polish migrants, deemed 'other', deviant and dangerous with reference to the broad ambiguous Freudian notion of the Uncanny, a construct pertaining to feelings, sensations and emotional impulses;

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[12] This manifests primarily as anorexia, but with the basis of 'no entry defences' being the projection of fears onto groups and individuals who threaten boundaries of self through movement, contact and touch, 'no entry defences' can have outlets other than anorexia.

"The uncanny is ghostly.... The uncanny involves feelings of uncertainty, in particular regarding the reality of who one is and what is being experienced. Suddenly one's sense of oneself … seems strangely questionable. … It is a crisis of the natural, touching upon everything that one might have thought was 'part of nature': one's own nature, human nature, the nature of reality and the world. But the uncanny is not simply an experience of strangeness or alienation. More specifically, it is a peculiar commingling of the familiar and unfamiliar. … As a crisis of the proper and natural, it disturbs any straightforward sense of what is inside and what is outside. The uncanny has to do with a strangeness of framing and borders, an experience of liminality." (Royle 2003:1)

The uncanny is predicated upon the impact of the return of something which was once familiar, but has been long repressed. Such repression may be the result of childhood complexes, or remnants from an earlier stage of cultural development (e.g. a belief in the return of the dead, the supernatural, and parallel worlds as real possibilities) which have since been discredited by contemporary accounts of the rational (Bayne 2003). As alluded to by Royle, one such way in which the uncanny can become known is by the questioning of the nature of selfhood engendered by the 'doppelganger'. Freud argues that "a person may identify himself with another and so become unsure of his true self; or he may substitute the other's self for his own" (1919:141). Coming face to face with the doppelganger and associated feelings of unfamiliarity and yet familiarity such a meeting inspires can trouble the individual, in turn troubling the individuals involvement with the doppelganger. The doppelganger is thus a nodal point with multiple implications, meanings and sources. It is the archetypal figure of the uncanny serving to embody the return of the repressed to haunt the individual.

In the context of this thesis the doppelganger is the Polish migrant, unfamiliar in the sense they are Polish yet familiar in the sense that they are not immediately outwardly identifiable as Polish. Their white ethnicity renders them different (Polish) yet the same (conforming to dominant rural whiteness). This mobile ethnic stranger holds the potential, through the very act of movement, to disrupt the routinized, cognitive ordering of everyday rural life (Hetherington 2000). The co-presence of mobile ethnic minority groups in rural areas challenges the sedentary culture associated with rural spaces (Morley 2000). With reference to Royle's (2003:1) "strangeness of framing" Polish migrants as uncanny inducing 'doppelgangers' problematise the belief that rural space is bounded and in possession of exclusive social and cultural qualities. Such

processes of destabilisation of framing are resisted both in relation to migrant groups and more widely. The contemporary state of fluxing peoples and cultures is giving rise to "flash-point events", (Cooper 1998:4) which in turn are inspiring the development of psychogeographies; "geographies that reflect deep seated anxieties about change and social mixing" (Sibley 2003:220). This process, and the accompanying postulation of boundaries, is dependent upon the perception of a potentially transgressive other.

Here the notion of the imago is important. The imago is an idealised mental image of someone that influences a person's behaviour when confronted with that which is deemeed not to conform, positioned outside boundaries of inclusion. Feelings of repulsion can be engendered and processes of rejection, in the form of action, mobilised. Such action can be deemed an example of ressentiment (vengefulness), defined by Nietzsche (1887) in terms of a desire to deaden pain by means of affect – through the production of a more violent emotion, directed outward;

> "Every sufferer instinctively seeks a cause for his suffering, more exactly, an agent; still more specifically a guilty agent who is susceptible to suffering – in short, some living thing upon which he can on some pretext or other, vent his affects, actually or in effigy" (Nietzsche 1989, cited in Brown, 1995:214).

Distinct to its opposite adiaphoria (the ability to suppress reaction), Bennett (2007) argues that the politics of ressentiment represents the extreme of identity politics, and as such, requires urgent analysis and intervention at the level of affect. I respond to her request in section 4.3.2.1 of chapter 4.

Hetherington (2000) argues that boundaries and the communities which they enclose are recognised only by those occupants of rural space who feel threatened. To a certain extent this is correct, but I would add that such boundaries, when defence mechanisms (acts of ressentiment e.g. protest, graffiti, violence) are enacted the boundaries are clear for all to see. Indeed, examples of work considering NIMBY opposition to facilities designed for stigmatised groups, such as the homeless (Brinnegar 2003), the disabled (Wilton 2002), and asylum seekers (Hubbard 2005), abound. Later in chapter 4, section

4.3, I complement these studies by providing examples of defence mechanisms enacted against Polish migrants.

Despite his influence within psychoanalysis debates, the work of Sibley has been criticised. Young (1999:24) argues that he mistakenly makes the error of "believing the rhetoric of the time for the reality" and although it is "easy to mistake the siren voices of basic values for current melody" the songs of discontent being sung by disgruntled parties refer to "a world which will never return" and are thus "signs of a world being lost rather than hegemony triumphant". Whilst I agree that the songs being sung are at best anachronistic, I do not feel that Sibley has made the mistake suggested. Rhetoric or reality, from a psychoanalytical perspective, the importance of either in the context of the purification of rural space in relation to rural race issues specifically persists. Indeed, psychogeographies can emerge in response to rhetoric as they are products of the unconscious at the same time that they are realised by social and cultural processes. Such psychogeographies can surface at particular times when people feel threatened. To this end then, rhetoric, as much as reality, can produce others. Indeed, Sibley himself responded with a counter criticism, arguing that Young was demonstrating an unduly optimistic progressive view. He detailed how centrist governments have striven to accommodate the 'siren voices' of the rural lobby to demonstrate conservative credentials. He cited the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, which sought to circumscribe the actions of protestors and people who wished to contribute to the creation of a culturally diverse countryside, as a key example (Sibley 2003).

2.3.2 Theorising Contestation: Zizek, the 'thing' and the 'fantasy of racism'

It is possible to theorize the contestation detailed thus far with reference to Slavoj Zizek (1993). He argues that the bond which holds a given community together is a shared relationship to a 'Thing', only accessible to 'us', but tirelessly sought after by the 'Other'. The placement of Polish migrants in rural areas can thus be seen to be contested as, lacking unmarked whiteness, they are deemed to 'menace' the 'Thing' (rurality) they as 'Others' can't grasp, that is, their normalised rural placement as a white other. This 'Thing' is not a clear set of values from which we can refer, but a set of contradictory properties that appears as 'our' Thing. Zizek argues that the 'Thing' exists because people believe in it; it is an effect of belief itself. This is true of rurality - rurality can be

seen as an effect of belief in rurality – it is a social construct. Acts such as increased housing development and planning protection, undertaken in line with understandings of rurality based upon the academically criticised rural idyll social construction, serve to protect and perpetuate the construct. They accommodate increasing movements towards rurality as a lifestyle choice and part of individual identity, movements which in turn emphasise the intrinsically plural nature of identity; constructed in relation to external spatial and social conditions, neither ascribed nor stable. The relationship to the 'Thing' is therefore structured partly by fantasy, and constitutes what people talk of when they refer to a threat to 'our' way of life. Threats can engender resident politicisation rurally, as in line with aspirational ruralism, in-migrant and like-minded actors mobilise to defend their emotional and fiscal investments and resisting developments that threaten or distract from this imagined white (unmarked) rurality (Woods 2005).

With rurality a constitutive part of national identity, politicisation surrounding the placement of Polish migrants within that rurality can be seen in relation to "the possession of the national Thing…..he wants to steal our enjoyment" (Zizek 1993:203). With rural spaces, as noted earlier in section 1.2.1 of chapter 1, traditionally infused with a singular discourse of white (English) rurality, publicly accessible displays of transnationalism (inscriptions of white Polish rurality) serve to destabilise the social and physical characteristics of the normative white English rural landscape. Thus the realms of Polish transnationalism – the ethnoscapes (Appadurai 1990) grounded in specific public spaces (such as Polish shops and community centres) and the virtual nonplaces (Urry 2000) accessed through the home, where mediated communications permit the development of relations with an absent other (Georgiou 2006) - as practiced places, become imbued with a plurality of social meanings. To those who do not subscribe to a notion of bounded rural (national) identity Polish migrants and their markers are accepted and embedded within a transrural imaginary. From such an open, inclusive standing there exists the potential for hospitality to be offered and hospitable relations to thrive. To those who do subscribe and fear a 'theft of enjoyment' Polish migrants and their markers are 'split off' as transgressive elements of the rural landscape. With the position of Self/Other here strongly defined and bounded the potential for hospitality to be offered and hospitable relations to thrive is somewhat reduced. Indeed, greater is the potential for acts of hospitality directed towards Polish migrants to inculcate ethnic tension and be subjected to processes of resistance. This problematic reception (and

transmission) of hospitality can serve to problematise the Polish experience in rural England.

Developing these ideas further, Zizek argues that racism is produced by a clash of *fantasies* rather than by a clash of *symbols* vying for supremacy. Fantasies are produced as a defence against the desire of the Other manifest in the 'che vuou?' - the question of what the Other wants from me. They provide a framework through which reality is viewed (e.g. a framework of white English rurality), and are anamorphic in that they presuppose a point of view, denying us an objective account of the world (e.g. a multi-ethnic sense of transrurality). There has been a marked rise in racial tension and ethnic nationalism over the past decade, a rise which Zizek, following Lacan and Marx, ascribes to the process of globalization. Here, the spread of capitalism has served to dissolve the efficacy of national domains, dissipating local values and traditions in favour of universal ones. This is problematic. Zizek argues that fantasies, the way in which we organise and domesticate our enjoyment, are the one unique thing about us. They make us individuals, permitting us a subjective view of reality and are therefore extremely sensitive to the intrusion of others. Those attempting to avoid being dissolved in the multicultural mix of globalisation by sticking to traditional ways of organising their enjoyment inevitably court the risk of succumbing to racist paranoia. As Zizek (1991:168) states, "fantasies cannot coexist peacefully". Thus, he proposes that the state should be supported in opposition to civil society as it could act as a buffer between the fantasies of different groups, mitigating the worst effects of those fantasies. Unrestrained civil rule would result in a rapid spread of racist violence; currently the forces of the state keep it in check.

In the long term, Zizek argues that the individual needs to learn to 'traverse the fantasy' by acknowledging that fantasy merely functions to screen the inconsistency in the other. Zizek believes that the argument underlying racism is a belief that if the Others 'weren't here' life would be 'perfect' and society 'harmonious'. He deems this argument flawed as it fails to appreciate that the subject of racism is only a fantasy figure; it is only there to make us think that such a harmonious society is actually possible. Thus, in traversing the fantasy, "all we have to do is experience how there is nothing 'behind it' and how fantasy masks precisely this 'nothing'" (Zizek 1989:126). In reality society is always

already divided. Thus, the fantasy racist figure exists merely to cover up the impossibility of a whole society or an organic symbolic order complete unto itself;

> "What appears as the hindrance to society's full identity with itself is actually its positive condition: by transposing onto the Jew the role of the foreign body which introduces in the social organism disintegration and antagonism, the fantasy-image of society qua consistent, harmonious whole is rendered possible" (Zizek 2000: 90)

To this end, if the Jew qua fantasy figure was not there, it would have to be invented in order to maintain the illusion that a perfect society could exist. The scapegoating of Polish migrants evident thus far in the thesis serves not only to maintain the 'Thing' (as rurality) but also maintains the ethnic stratification of society and the illusion of a potentially perfect society. All the fantasy racist figure does is embody the existing impossibility of a harmonious or complete society. By learning to traverse the fantasy the idea that the characteristics attributed to the fantasy figure of racism are merely products of our own system, figures which embody the truth of the failure of our society to constitute it as complete will become clear. Instead of denigrating other cultures Zizek suggests uniting in the "'solidarity' of a common struggle, when [we] discover that the deadlock which hampers [us] is also the deadlock which hampers the Other" (Zizek 1999:220).

2.4 Progressive Rural Relations?

This section takes heed of the need to reflect upon the complexity of relations by offering 'another way', speculating as to the potential for more progressive community relations to emerge predicated upon openness. The ideas of devolution, localism and volunteerism upon which progressive community relations can be founded have been long promoted by both British Government policy (dating back to 1999) and civil society organisations (the third sector) which have been promoting these principles for some time (Smith 2011). Indeed, with regards to the latter notion the Rural Community Action Network (RCAN), the collective name for 38 Rural Community Councils (the first of which – Oxfordshire Rural Community Council – was founded in 1920), county based organisations and their national umbrella body, Action with Communities in

Rural England, has long been operational. RCAN seeks to support community led action and strong local governance, increase the long-term sustainability of local community life, and influence policies and services, particularly striving to achieve equity for rural communities. There has thus been a long history of the rural communities collaborating to certain extents to solve local challenges in novel and locally tuned ways, including the use of village halls as a space for service delivery, the community-ownership of minibuses to provide community transport and the emergence of village shops and pubs run as social enterprises (Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs 2012).

Such examples provide examples of a progressive form of rurality open to helping itself *collectively* via community action. But what of actions of openness to help *specific* 'othered' rural groups whose experience of rurality could be improved? I here refer to the potential for progressive relations to be mobilised towards those rural residents whose rural realities were exposed as a result of Philo's (1992:200) request for rural studies beyond "Mr Averages". One cohort with particular pertinence here is the rural homeless. Cloke et al (2010) in their monograph 'Swept up Lives? Re-envisioning the homeless city' included a chapter detailing rural responses to homeless people. One such response – Nightstops – saw trained volunteers offering their own homes as a place of short-term refuge for young people experiencing an emergency form of homelessness. The extent of hospitality involved – the opening of the home for temporary residence – represents somewhat of a going beyond Allahyari's (2000) notion of 'moral selving' for as Cloke et al (2010:23) detail "desire for a simply positive moral identity-coding would seem to be achievable without the potential fears and challenges of welcoming a young vulnerable stranger into your own home, and dealing with the emotional charge of a short-term caring relationship". It very much represents one of Laurier and Philo's (2006) extreme moments of encounter, an extreme example of rural openness and hospitality extended towards a rurally 'othered' group.

Can the progressive ideology that underpins such performances of care be extended to another 'othered' group; migrant workers? Their situations are of course very different yet the themes of invisibility and transgression link them both, with each group suffering from problems of institutional visibility and deemed transgressive in

traditional discourses of rurality. The simple answer to this question is yes. Later in chapters 5, 6 and 7 I detail both organisational and individualised spaces of care to aid and assist migrant communities. Such spaces of care have been created by social actors, activists of sorts, motivated by their own progressive ideology borne out of personal experience, to enact social reform. These individuals hope to inculcate a more hospitable community in which hospitable relations as opposed to relations predicated upon antagonism, resentment and fear can flourish? Their ideology is progressive to them, but not to all. This, as we shall see, is where their key problem – that of reception – lies. Their ability to bring about hospitable relations is dependent upon whether or not rural residents perceive a need to extend hospitality towards rural migrants.

2.5 Deconstructing Polish Responses to Polish Migrants

Rural community relations do not proceed solely between English and post-accession Polish migrants. To focus solely on this set of relations would be to ignore inter-generational relations between Polish migrant cohorts. The diverse groups and typologies of Polish migrants detailed in the preceding chapter reveal multiple patterns of mobility and diverse diasporic identities. The Polish migrant population is not a cohesive group with distinct cohorts identifiable. Complex cultural, generational, social and structural differences exist, resulting in distinct power relationships between groups where ethnicity, class and national ideologies often clash. Such is the level of difference amongst this diverse group, notably between émigrés (long established political migrant community) and Polonia (all other migrants, including the second generation), that to suggest that there is one universal Polish community is a case of misplaced homogenisation (Gill 2010), and as such, an exercise in social exclusion (Garapich 2008). This section will proceed to step away from such misplaced homogenisation, deconstructing the Polish response to post-accession Polish migrants with reference to inter-cohort contestation and intra-cohort contestation.

2.5.1 Inter-Cohort Contestation

In terms of migration, Poland has long been considered a sending country. The act of migration is a widespread archetypical notion bound to a national narrative of land, belonging, family and loss and is present in literature, arts, religion, and political

thought. Migration motivations thus constitute and define the individual's relationship with land, ancestors and the wider whole, thus being an important element in Polish identity construction since it fixes individual relationships with the nation. A specific set of cultural meanings around the act of migrating developed, values which can be broadly termed an 'emigration ideology' (Garapich 2008). This ideology is constituted by a dichotomy between migrating for political as opposed to economic reasons. In official Polish historical discourse emigration is perceived in moral terms (Erdmans 1992) with political migration afforded higher moral status than economic migration. Political exile is seen as a sacred fight for freedom whilst economic migration is, in turning away from the fate of the nation, deemed an act of weakness. Nationalistic discourses are thus rife with strong notions of 'sedentarist metaphysics' (Malkki 1997) which emphasise nostalgic feelings towards 'motherhood' and naturalises attachment to the land. Migration, with its inherent breaking of the link between morality and homeland, is deemed to equate to moral collapse. Mobility is thus seen as pathological and against human nature. Such ideology draws upon a Christian/Platonic dichotomy between the ideal and material, the soul and the body, patriotism and narrow particularism and egoism. Garapich (2008) speaks of a sacred and profane opposition in Polish emigration ideology; despite millions of people emigrating in the nineteenth and twentieth century due to economic conditions, Polish diaspora discourse tends to concentrate on political refugees.

It should come as no surprise that the result of this economic/political migrant dichotomy is conflict between pre and post-accession Polish migrants. Joly (2002) uses the term 'Odyssean refugees' to denote a refugee identity that may come into conflict, based on class difference, with people from the same ethnic group. She defines such actors as victims of the structure of conflict in their homeland and positively committed to the political struggle and project of society. This project was taken with them into exile to ensure their commitment to the collective project in the homeland. Return is deemed their objective in order to continue the project. She acknowledges that not all nationals are of the same origin, but stipulates that all are engaged in the same political struggle. Political migrants from earlier waves of Polish migration, notably WWII migrants can be termed Odyssean refugees. As discussed earlier the post-war redrawing of Poland's borders saw numerous settlements in Eastern Poland fall within the boundaries of Russia, Belarus, and the Ukraine (Davies 1984). Their relationship with

the homeland became doubly problematic; exiled from it as a refugee of war, and unable to ever return to it as it was. Evidently possession of the ojczyzna (fatherland) means different things to their cohort (as political migrants) than later cohorts (as economic migrants) hence inter-cohort conflict (Janowski 2004:18).

Rabikowska (2010) argues that inequality (in terms of economic and social capital) amongst migrants increases the need for them to be recognised as a unified group within the host culture to afford them empowerment. Estranged from their roots and seeking to consciously reinforce their Polishness in daily practices, a need to be defined within a Polish framework emerges. To this end, ethnicity and nationality, neutralised features 'at home', become mobilised in the host culture. They offer an element of solidarity to mobilise around and thus provide a degree of coherence to be countered against the host culture. However such solidarity is, at best, a pipedream. The dichotomy between political and economic migrants ensures that with regards to the former, the diasporic community invests time and effort to make internal distinctions clear. The self-definition of Polish émigrés has been recognised by the Polish consular authorities and on official papers from the Polish Embassy the group is referred to as Emigration of Independence. This established diaspora is a 'victim diaspora' (Cohen 1997), ageing with their services in decline. Their attitudes and beliefs are different to that of new migrants[13]. The old émigré symbolism and ideology, reflected in these organisations, is alien to entrepreneurial newcomers who are driven by individualised attitudes, market orientated values, consumerism and success. Leading transnational lives they do not see themselves as victims with a myth of return, nor do not put their ethnic or émigrés identity at the forefront. Thus attempts at horizontal ties between new Polish migrants and the established community are often refuted. To accept would, for the émigrés, mean losing their sacred status as bearers of an emigration ideology by being dissolved in the sea of economic migrants. Interaction between diasporic waves within established groups is thus low with segmented assimilation dominant.

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[13] Temple (1999) for example, found the conservatism of established female migrants within the Polish Catholic Church in England engendered attitudes of condescension towards newer female migrants who lived with men or took the contraceptive pill.

2.5.2 Intra-Cohort Contestation

Polish migrants have been noted to have a complex, often problematic, relationship with the wider Polish community which has been perceived in negative terms as a source of competition, pressure or danger (Williams 2006). Despite the high levels of practical and emotional support received from their Polish friends and relatives, many Polish migrants exhibited a sense of distrust towards the wider Polish community. Studies by Kelly and Lusis (2006), Eade et al (2006) and Ryan et al (2008) were dominated by notions that Polish migrants do not help each other, with Polish networks perceived to be rife with exploitation, cheating and competition for employment by members. With the slip into recession a solidification of Polish groups as they shared information and friendship in a toughened economic climate could have been expected. Yet, evidence seems to suggest that the opposite has been happening; "far from compensating for lower levels of economic capital by producing high levels of social capital, socially disadvantaged groups may be divided, wary and distrustful as they compete for scarce resources" (Ryan et al 2008:680). Jordan (2002) went so far as to describe Polish migrants as sharks which fed on other organisms, unaffected by anything they encountered.

This sense of internal tension is problematic. There is perhaps a need for Polish networks, especially among newly arrived migrants for whom such an informal co-ethnic network may be their only route to employment, accommodation, practical assistance and even companionship. To some extent this problem has been reconciled with moves towards segmented assimilation (Zhou 1997) through the drawing of a binary opposition between Polish networks deemed helpful and the broader Polish population which was constructed as unhelpful and dangerous" (Ryan et al 2009). Svašek (2009:129) found evidence of this binary at work amongst Polish migrants in Northern Ireland. Although many were happy to befriend other Polish migrants and attend Polish associations, especially on arrival, many had distanced themselves from misbehaving Polish migrants as their behaviour was deemed to spoil "the reputation of 'Poles' and 'Poland', feeding anti-Polish feelings amongst the local population". In these cases a process of palimpsestual othering is evident. Polish migrants are othered in the first instance for their marked whiteness, and then layered on top is another layer of othering predicated on their negative reputation and administered by their national

cohorts. Rabikowska (2010) deems such separation from Polish migrants a reaction to the pressure they feel from a need to adhere to the dominant order absorbed in the original Polish habitus (i.e. to 'behave') and the prevailing order of the host culture to which they want to adapt (i.e. to 'fit in'). Stigma, through its ability to engender distancing between and within groups, serves to act as a tool of social regulation (Ryan 2010, Lopez Rodriguez 2010). Further evidence of segmented assimilation here comes in the purposeful withdrawal from Polish social networks by Polish migrants. Their desire for distance is increasingly being reflected in Polish migrants seeking non-Polish groups of friends, and particularly English employers, who carry a higher status in society (Garapich 2008). Fewer Polish migrants are maintaining ties with Polish networks and more are trying to move away from a collective formation of Polishness (Rabikowska and Burrell 2009). Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) notion of 'selective acculturation' here comes to the fore, with migrants rejecting and modifying prevailing rules of conduct. This acculturation process leads to a creation of socially acceptable and reliable appearances to permit functioning within the desired community.

Earlier waves of migration (defined by Burrell (2008) as post-war migration, Communist regime émigrés and pre-transition migration) too have had a bearing on levels of internal tension and again, given rise to processes of segmented assimilation. Particularly important has been the relationship of the current Polish population with the more established post-war refugee Polish population. The creation of their group, their history and their needs are very distinctive to those of the current population. To this end many members of the Polish population are wary of these groups and interaction between migration waves within established groups is low. Segmented assimilation, in this instance bound to issues of temporality, is deployed with the groups deemed "closed to them and not relevant to their needs or situation" (Ryan et al 2009:163). This selective withdrawal of Polish migrants from the Polish population in general can be theorised with reference to De Certeau and his work on strategic and tactical behaviour (De Certeau 1984). Strategic behaviour is borne out of strategies associated with institutions and structures of power. They are physically manifested in their site/sites of operations (e.g. headquarters) from which they generate relations with an exterior (e.g. competitors/clients) through their associated products (e.g. laws and language).Thus, "every 'strategic' rationalization seeks first of all to distinguish its 'own place', that is, the place of its own power and will, from an 'environment' (....) it is an effort to delimit

one's own place in a world bewitched by the invisible powers of the Other" (De Certeau 1984:36). Within the Polish context, the strategy can be seen to refer to actions at the national, regional and local level (e.g. policy and group/organisation development) that shape the migrant experience in England.

Tactics, on the other hand, are utilized by individuals to create space for themselves in the very territories defined and imposed by strategies. These transverse tactics are opportunistic, always on the lookout, and involve combining disparate elements to gain a momentary advantage. This momentary advantage does not seek victory for "what it wins it cannot keep (.....) (it) must accept the chance offerings of the moment" (De Certeau 1984:37). The tactic is thus deemed "the space of the other" (De Certeau 1984:37), deployed to fulfil its needs beyond an appearance of conformity. To this end Polish migrants that seek to disassociate themselves from Polish networks can be seen to be deploying a tactic of 'opting-out' to fulfil a sense of ethnic distancing deemed advantageous to them. Here through palimpsestual othering Polish migrants have channelled a sense of negativity to other Polish migrants who have consequentially been abjectified. Mental maps of avoidance emerge to avoid places of Polish congregation, notably the groups and organisations established to aid integration, and thus avoid mixing in the contact zone.

Research would perhaps suggest that this retreat and shift to segmented assimilation is a good step. Although social networks are deemed vital sources of social capital which can aid the mitigation of the negative effects of migrants' socio-economic disadvantage, this notion is criticised. Wierzbicki (2004) argues that migrants whose social networks are exclusively made with groups of co-ethnics may be socially disadvantaged, whilst Griffiths et al (2005) argue that immersion in ethnic-specific networks can foster ghettoization. Here Putnam's (2000) discussions of social capital, particularly the distinction drawn between bridging and bonding social capital, prove particularly important. Bonding social capital is somewhat inward looking, tending to reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups. It can thus emerge out of engagement in such groups as ethnic fraternal groups or Church based groups. Bonding social capital is good for fostering specific reciprocity and mobilising solidarity, bolstering a somewhat narrow sense of self. Problematically, such strong in-group loyalty can inculcate strong

out-group antagonism. Conversely, bridging social capital is outward looking and as such, encompasses people from diverse social backgrounds emerging through engagement in such groups as civil rights service groups or youth service groups. Bridging social capital better permits information diffusion across boundaries, and thus inculcates broader senses of identity and reciprocity. Putnam (2000:23) summarises the differences between the two with reference to an adhesion analogy; "Bonding social capital constitutes a kind of sociological superglue, whereas bridging social capital provides a sociological WD-40". Although a distinction is drawn between bridging and bonding capital, Putnam is quick to point out that such categories are not "either-or", with groups simultaneously bonding along some social dimensions and bridge across others. This conceptual technicality aside, Xavier de Souza Briggs (1998) argues that whilst bonding social capital is good for 'getting by', bridging social capital is crucial for 'getting ahead'. Indeed, Granovetter (1973) argues that when seeking employment it is the bridging social capital – the weak ties with distinct acquaintances that move in different circles - that prove more useful than the strong ties – the bonding social capital - that link to relatives and friends. There thus exists a need for migrants to depend less on bonding ties and develop greater bridging ties. The process of network building depends on, and in turn reinforces, relationships across space, linking migrants and non-migrants (Boyd 1989). Within these networks the systems of support traditionally filled by co-ethnics can instead be provided by the wider community, with whom bridging ties are established, aiding integration beyond ethnic clustering. The crux of the argument, however, remains whether these bridging ties can be forged given the potential for, following Putnam's 'Conflict Theory' (Putnam 2007), increased diversity to reduce levels of trust and community participation.

2.5.3 Normalised Polish Positioning?

With 8 years having now passed since the expansion of the EU, for many migrants life has become more organised, predictable and for some routine. To a large extent their lives are becoming normalised (Rabikowska 2010). Normality can be seen to be representative of a set of conditions that enable home against the backdrop of differences and abnormalities in a given group, be it national, cultural or social. Of course, deploying this concept of 'normality' is fraught with conceptual problems. Its meaning is often incredibly individual with many different meanings thus discernible.

Rabikowska attempts to move through this complexity by offering a broader conceptualisation. She argues that it symbolically represents stabilisation in the lives of migrants which imitates home to a certain degree though a different kind of normalcy; different repetitive acts or rituals in the transnational spaces which signify belonging in material, psychological, cognitive or somatic senses. However, these often transnational acts complicate their striving for normality, often serving to undermine them through their forging of new normalities. For example the consumption of Polish foods alongside English foods represents a chiasm between migrant attachment to Polishness and their aspirations to become Western. On all levels, the perpetuation of old habits and settling with new ones opens up a new version of normality which challenges its preceding formulation. This opening up of a hybridised 'third space' of normality is somewhat inevitable as both the host and home culture become affected since they cannot avoid confrontation and change[14]. James Clifford's (1994) double consciousness pervades the porous space; a paradoxical space in the sense that the diaspora empowers migrants whilst estranging them at the same time. As Rabikowska (2010:288) states "as abstract a category as normality is, however, in Eastern Europe it evokes very concrete responses today and provokes changes in both the reality which migrants leave behind and the one in which they currently live".

The working hypothesis of Rabikowska regarding migrants and normality is such that the West has long been an aspiration to Eastern Europeans, with their everyday experiences in the UK bound to bridging the gap between their reality and that which is experienced. They migrate to experience an aspiration, and in the process in which home and host country become mixed a third space of normality is opened up. Such a hypothesis has been given credence through a plethora of extant literatures. The preceding chapter considered how a series of waves of Polish migration meant that EU enlargement was not "a zero point of departure" (Garapich 2008:128). Throughout the post-war period and beyond, Eastern Europe lived with an inferiority complex towards the West; what was normal in the West was forbidden in the East, what was lacking in the East was available in the West. The transnational period that followed with the fall of Communism in 1989, was driven by normative conceptions of what is 'Western', 'modern', 'European', or 'normal' (Outhwaite and Ray 2005:32) and a desire to 'catch-

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[14] This is considered further in chapter 4.

up' with the West. The Communist legacy of Poland gave rise to a 'cosmopolitan curiosity', an openness to a different way of life developed through their transnational histories (Appiah 2006) and which is intricately bound to migrants striving for normality.

Rabikowska (2010) suggested that settled waves of Polish migrants such as those post-war Polish migrants who were physically displaced by War were received with a sense of authenticity, with such migrants certified as having a 'valid' claim to placement. This certification allowed, with the passing of time, their placing in their local host communities to become normalised, their initial marking of whiteness receding to the point that their nationality became a by-line as opposed to headline. They shifted from being hostages to hosts. With just 10 years having passed since accession full retrospect is yet to be provided. However, the case of post-accession Polish migrants is already very different. With no 'desperate times' to escape from they were viewed with suspicion and social circumspection both from English residents, and established Polish migrant communities – post-war Polonia (Garapich 2008), the latter of which demonstrate considerable resentment towards those who have chosen to leave Poland. The sedentarist metaphysics' (Malkki 1997) upon which their estranged relationship with their homeland is forged stands in direct contrast to the 'cosmopolitan curiosity' (Appiah 2006) of the post-accession cohort. For many post-war migrants they had no choice; their homeland was taken from them by the redrawing of borders. The post-accession migration rationale could only be understood in terms of seeking a better life. As such, the post-accession claim to authenticity lack the certification bestowed upon the post-war cohort. The question to thus pose here, and return to later, is to what extent this cohort of Polish migrants can expect to achieve a similar shift to a normalised community positioning akin to that of the post-war cohort? The contact hypothesis of Gordon Allport (1954), although dated and not explicitly referring to ethnic difference, has pertinence here. He argued that prejudice between 'minority' and 'majority' group members (perhaps discernible in a contemporary sense as Polish and English people respectively) results directly from generalizations and over-simplifications made about an entire group of people based on incomplete or mistaken information. Allport's theory states that the best way to reduce prejudice and promote social integration was to bring different groups together and cultivate, with reference to Putnam (2000), a sense of bridging social capital. Such interpersonal contact with a culturally distinct category can

serve to engage a cognitive process by which individuals beliefs are modified. Rothbart and John (1985) argue that such modification could occur if three conditions are met. Firstly, an appreciation that the minority group members' behavior is not consistent with their stereotype must emerge. Secondly, contact between group members must occur often and in a variety of social contexts. Thirdly, minority members must be perceived as representative of their cultural group.

This theory would thus decree that yes, assuming the necessary conditions are met, through contact prejudices could be removed, postulations of difference eroded, and migrants reconfigured merely as members of the community as opposed to *Polish* members of the community. But is this really true? Can contact foster a civic culture out of difference? Valentine and MacDonald (2004) believe that contact between social groups alone is not enough to represent or produce respect. The 2001 race riots in Bradford, Leeds and Oldham that emerged as a result of contested ethnic mixing affirm this notion. The opposing theory to the contact hypothesis, 'conflict theory' decrees that distrust between ethnic groups will rise with diversity, but not within ethnic groups (Putnam 2007). A sense of mutual regard is difficult for groups perceived as an economic or cultural threat. To this end, Valentine (2008) argues that there is a need to move beyond what she terms an obsession with the contact hypothesis to acknowledge the relationships between individual prejudices and the processes through which communities become antagonised and defensive in the competition for scarce resources and in the debate about conflicting rights.

Some believe that for migrant group stigma, and hence othering and postulation of 'abnormality' will always perpetuate (Lopez Rodriguez 2010).Conversely, Anthony Browne (cited in Lopez Rodriguez 2010:347) argues that "the New Europeans are hard-working, presentable, well educated, and integrate so perfectly that they will disappear within a generation". The picture is complex; the future unclear. Evidently, Stuart Hall's (1993:361) notion that "the capacity to live with difference is, in my view, the coming question of the 21st century" is a pertinent one.

2.6 Conclusion

The negotiation of Polishness is both an individual **and** group battle for recognition (Rabikowska 2010). This notion of a 'battle' is pertinent. As noted thus far, being an ethnic 'other' of any type within the UK, and particularly rural spaces, is fraught with difficulty. With many deemed 'out of place', their placement serves to reinforce the concept of 'normality' as merely personal perception, revealing the arbitrary character of rules and norms differentiating the normal from the abnormal. The processes by which in the 'battle', to which Rabikowska refers, normality is reconfigured and their placement becomes normalised in a rural sphere are of great interest to me and will be returned to later.

The infra-political dimensions of migrant community dynamics, its internal heterogeneity, inner conflicts and identity politics impact upon migrants civic participation and community construction, and in turn notions of inclusion and integration in the host society (Garapich 2008, Bousetta 2000). Polish migration inspires unique responses, both at the individual and planning level; whilst some English residents may extend hospitality to post-war Polish migrants, the same process may not occur for post-accession Polish migrants; pre-extant services devised for earlier waves of Polish migration may be deemed irrelevant by the recent cohort, with any provision needing to be finely tuned so as to minimise the risk of alienating the host community. Hospitable relations is a clear aim of much government policy, with potential for expressions of it perpetually existent given the broad range of actions it encompasses, from the simple opening of a door, to the complex offering of shelter. However the transition from concept to actuality is chequered with, as shall be seen in the following chapters, responses to Polish migrants from both Polish migrants and English residents not always hospitable.

The case of the 'white ethnic other' although well versed in rural studies in relation to gypsies and asylum seekers (see Bhopal 2006 and Hubbard 2005 as examples), lacks consideration in relation to A8 migrants. I hope to reinvigorate and compliment extant understandings of 'white ethnic other' by taking the conceptual understandings detailed in this chapter and considering their pertinence in contemporary rural society by

applying them to my research findings in the empirical chapters that follow. Particular attention will be paid to identity scripting and performance of Polish migrants in rural spaces, the deployment of psychogeographies in response to actual or theoretical [threatened] social mixing that can occur between English residents and Polish migrants as a result of their migration, and the extent to which post-accession Polish migrants are being, or can expect to be, normalised. Before detailing these findings I move first in the next chapter to present my research methodology.

Chapter 3 - Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

I felt that my research aim, *"to understand the multiple interpretations and receptions of Polish migrants in rural England",* could not be suitably serviced by the use of one research method. To just use interviews would be to potentially yield data dependent upon a staged research 'moment' and lacking in contextualised understandings (on my part) of the issues raised. To just use ethnography, although affording a more 'lived' understanding of key issues and themes, would be to potentially yield data lacking the level of specific detail afforded by the interview. To deploy discourse analysis without using interviews in conjunction would potentially result in the highlighting of discourse but the failure to understand the rationale behind its creation or its effects.

I decided to deploy research method triangulation. Thurmond (2001:254) argues the benefits of triangulation to be "increasing confidence in research data, creating innovative ways of understanding a phenomenon, revealing unique findings, challenging or integrating theories, and providing a clearer understanding of the problem". For me this choice was predicated not on maximising confidence in the validity of the data but instead complementing and widening my understandings of the broad issues and themes at play. Indeed, my incorporation of three research methods, detailed in table 3.1, yielded a diverse range of data, so diverse I was unable to reflect upon all emergent themes in the final thesis.

Table 3.1 – Research methods

Research Method	Detail of Use
Interview	➢ 45 interviews with English residents (30 regarding experiences of Polish migration, 15 regarding migrant worker myth buster leaflets) ➢ 17 interviews with post-accession Polish migrants ➢ 5 interviews with post-war Polish migrants

	➢ 10 interviews with community stakeholders
	➢ 27 interviews with Council representatives regarding migrant worker myth buster leaflets
	➢ 4 interviews with key figures regarding the "I packed this myself" participatory art project
Ethnography	➢ Viewing the whole research process as a source of ethnographic reflection.
	➢ Specific 'moments' of ethnographic involvement offered to me (not sought by me) e.g. walking tours, attendance at a multi-faith day in a school, attendance at a private viewing of the "I packed this myself" exhibition (see table 3.3 for full details)
Discourse Analysis	➢ Analysis of media reports and articles (and responses to them) on issues relating to Polish migration
	➢ Analysis of migrant worker myth buster leaflet

The South West (SW) of England has been classified the most rural English region, covering the largest area of the 9 English regions. Migration to the area has a long history, benefitting its economy and cultural diversity (Migrants' Rights Network 2011). However, the migration which followed EU enlargement in 2004 has been exceptional. Department for Work and Pension figures indicate that at least 170, 000 migrants, the majority coming from A8 countries, have arrived in the SW since enlargement. The government has estimated that migrants contributed between 8.1% and 10% of SW Gross Value Added in 2008, of which 2.00-2.4% was from migrants who arrived in the region after 2004 (South West Forum for Migrant Workers 2010). According to recent NINO and WRS statistics, the inflow of migrant workers to the SW appear to have declined in 2007/08 (to about 38, 900), falling further (to a little over 30, 000) in 2008/2009 relative to its post-accession peak in 2006/07 (at 41, 230). Inflows remain high by historical standards, and do continue to increase in some areas. This continued inflow is accompanied increasingly by a trend towards settlement. A study by the Equality South West Migrant Workers Project in Autumn 2008 found only 6% of

respondents to be leaving within the next 6 months, 44% having no clear idea on when they would return, and 28% stating that they intended to stay (Dorr and Stennett 2010).

My two sites of sustained data collection were Tidbury (Wiltshire), and Fordstone (Devon)[15]. Tidbury, a town of 28163 residents[16] in Wiltshire, has a large Polish population comprised of both post-accession and post-war cohorts, the latter the result of a Polish resettlement camp being formerly located close-by. Tidbury has a specialised service infrastructure, with the town acting as a hub for Polish migrants residing in the wider area. The town emerged to me as a research area as the result of generic internet research on Polish migration which suggested the area to be one of notable reported tension. Multiple incidents of graffiti had been reported, a case of racial violence had just gone through the courts, and some residents were mobilising online in protest at the mere presence of migrants. Through my research I wished to trace this tension trajectory.

The small rural village of Fordstone (1093 residents[17]), was chosen to develop a village based case study of rural life of rich detail that could contrast with the more developed rurality evident in Tidbury. Further contrast was provided by there being no pre-established Polish community present. Whereas Tidbury was a hub, Fordstone was positioned on the outskirts of a hub network in which the nearby towns of Ashvale and Oketon played a key role[18]. The positioning of Fordstone within this network permitted me to explore the provision of such services within a geographically diverse network (as opposed to the geographically specific network found in Tidbury) and to consider what role such a network plays on the Polish experience of rurality. A resident of Fordstone myself, experiential engagement here had inculcated a perception that 'all was well' with regards to ethnic diversity, especially that concerning Polish migration. My wish to trace this 'ease' trajectory brought a different, somewhat startling, reality to bear.

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[15] Pseudonyms are here deployed to protect the anonymity of participants.

[16] Statistic taken from 2001 Census

[17] Statistic taken from 2001 Census

[18] Ashvale had a migrant group - International Social and Cultural Organisation of Ashvale (ISCOA) – which at the start of my research was in its infancy whilst Oketon had a specialised Polish Saturday School and Polish Organisation, the former flourishing and the latter declining over the course of my research.

Data collection was however not confined to these two research areas. Case studies are notably drawn from the cyber realm (to be discussed in chapter 6), from across the country (in the case of myth buster research to be presented in chapter 6) and from Cornwall. Actions within this county have often been drawn upon by other counties, and indeed regions, as national examples of best practice in accommodating Polish migrants rurally. I investigated two case studies - the role of religion on the rural lives of Polish migrants and the role migratory aesthetics plays in promoting hospitable relations. Whilst the latter forms part of my thesis, the former does not, the result of ethical issues raised by disclosure (discussed in section 3.4.3) and a belief that another case study of voluntary/third sector approaches to accommodation (a migrant led support group, ISCOA) had greater pertinence within the context of my thesis.

The process from research proposal to submission took four years. My first year (2008/2009) was dedicated to discourse analysis, undertaking both my migrant worker myth buster leaflet research and media reporting research. Both research areas were however returned to throughout the rest of the research process to keep them 'up-to-date'. My second year (2009/2010) saw me undertake my Tidbury research (where I spent 26 research days), my Bridging Arts research and develop my service response case studies. My third year (2010/2011) saw me undertake my Fordstone research (the notion of 'research days' is difficult here as I reside in the area although I am able to put a figure of 20 on the days spent interviewing) alongside sustained periods of data analysis and writing. My final year (2011/2012) was dedicated to writing. This chapter will detail the data collection aspect of this process in more depth. It begins by detailing how and why each research method was deployed. I move then to detail research design, considering my use of a pilot study and recruitment and sampling strategies. After this necessary grounding of the specificities of my research is provided I move to reflect upon the epistemological framing of my research, considering how the flex inherent was bound to the fluidity of the research process. The final section of the chapter, a discussion of my positionality in research is, as will be seen, a natural progression from the discussions of epistemological foundations which precede it.

3.2 Epistemological Foundations

My research sought to consider how through "the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contracted proximities" space, in this instance rural space, becomes a "practiced place" (De Certeau 1984:117). I sought to highlight the myriad ways in which rurality is perceived and experienced in relation to ethnic different by host and migrant populations alike. At the outset, following Ellis and Bochner (2000) I wanted to produce meaningful, evocative and accessible research grounded in personal experience that could sensitise readers to issues relating to identity politics, inculcating and broadening capacity to empathise with those who are different. With one of my research areas being the village in which I live the need for grounding research in personal experience became further nuanced. I felt it essential for me to demonstrate transparency regarding the impact of research findings upon myself. To this end I needed to frame my research in a manner that accommodated research as process *and* research as outcome. I needed autoethnography;

> "Autoethnography is an autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural. Back and forth autoethnographers gaze, first through an ethnographic wide-angle lens, focusing outward on social and cultural aspects of the personal experience; then they look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract and resist cultural interpretations" (Ellis and Bochner 2000:739)

Autoethnography is an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze personal experience in order to understand cultural experience (Ellis et al 2011). It is not one single approach to ethnography but instead a family of research and representational practices. My approach is aligned with a branch termed 'autoethnography as reflexive or narrative ethnography' by Butz and Besio (2004). This approach understands those being researched not as bounded and temporally static, but instead as part of flows, assemblages, and networks. The research field to which scrutiny is applied is expanded (Hyndman 2001) to incorporate positioning and practices at home in 'the office' alongside practices in the field. It is a study of affect, emotion and embodiment, looking to ascertain how social life is constituted through interactions across space, and how space is constituted through social interactions.

Much emphasis is placed upon the serendipitous sensory learning of 'being there', and the ethnographer becoming sensory apprentice and joining with others, embodied, emplaced, sensorial and empathetic. In such an approach, "ethnographers open themselves up to others and absorb their worlds" holding the potential to "be consumed by the sensual world" (Stoller 1997:23). The aim is, with reference to Geertz (1973:10), to produce a "thick description" of a culture, one which can foster understanding of the issues under investigation.

It is an approach which emphasises the 'story' of research, incorporating research inspirations, research design, data collection, data analysis and 'writing up' into one indivisible whole. The process of 'doing' ethnography is thus very much a process of autobiography as it is ethnography. It involves a retroactive and selective writing about past experiences, moments of lingering epiphany in the research process (Bochner 1984). Such an approach acknowledges and accommodates subjectivity, emotionality, and the researcher's influence on research (and vice versa) as opposed to (falsely) claiming a position of objectivity. In order to facilitate the writing of this story field notes relating to both planned and unplanned moments in the research process were collated in a research diary. The inclusion of the research diary permitted me an autobiographical space in which I could be reflexive about the research process, reflecting upon power relations and politics and notions of responsibility (to self, participants, the thesis, and institutional ethical review approval) which pervaded the daily lived experience of the fieldwork. Through the "rhetorical auto-ethnographic strategy" in which I acknowledged both my own voice and that of others I forged an "enlivened geography" (Bailey et al 2008:3). Incorporating sustained introspection into the research process provided a broader understanding of my own interactions, which in turn allowed a broader understanding of respondent attitudes, understanding them as knowing, reflexive and dynamic, acting upon systems of knowledge framed by their own biographies.

Autoethnography is not without criticism. The most vocal see practitioners accused of being self absorbed navel gazing narcissists who fail to conform to the scholarly obligations of social science pertaining to hypothesizing, analyzing, and theorising (Madison 2006, Ellis 2009). According to Van Maanan (1988) such reflection upon

your own life gives rise to a 'confessional tale' and can lead to solipsism. Criticisms of autoethnography are also couched in terms of a belief that the small scale nature of studies precludes the potential for generalisation (Buzard 2003, Fine 2003, Delamont 2009); whilst for others the emphasis upon personal experience brings bias into the research process which detrimentally affects claims to validity (Atkinson 1997, Gans 1999, Anderson 2006).

Ellis et al (2011) believe these criticisms to be misplaced, arguing instead that research can proceed in a rigorous, theoretical, analytical, emotional manner and can be written in an aesthetically engaging manner without literary or performance training, or recourse to citing fiction. Indeed, in opposition to criticisms of autobiographical writing predicated upon a belief that they promote an illusion of simplicity (Eakin 1999); Bailey et al (2008) argue that processes of self-conscious ordering are inevitable within autobiographical writing and need not invalidate the introduction of reflexivity into the research process. Issues of accuracy, validity and generalisation are not of paramount importance for, as Holman Jones (2005:764) detail "the goal is to produce analytical, accessible texts that change us and the world we live in for the better". Different views regarding the use of ethnography are "not issue(s) to be resolved" but instead, "difference(s) to be lived with" (Rorty 1982:197).

Having sufficiency established that ethnography (auto-ethnography) represents the epistemological foundations of my research approach I move now to briefly reflect upon the epistemological foundations of my approach to interpreting findings – psychoanalytical theory. The influence for this incorporation comes from my reading of the work of David Sibley (2006). According to him if the central problem in rural areas inspiring rural race conflict is anxiety about social difference, movement, and transgression then a methodology that incorporates psychoanalysis with ethnographies that focus on both questions of identity and place and feelings about others is required. He argues that this could facilitate a clearer understanding of the processes of exclusion and provide knowledge that could be used in the production of more socially just geographies, providing inclusion does not simply mean incorporation and domination. To this end, for this study of identity and community relations I have deployed a purposefully eclectic research methodology, one which emphasizes an ethnographic

approach to data collection and draws upon psychoanalytical theory in its interpretation. In the forthcoming empirical chapters I deploy psychoanalytical theory to excavate participant attitudes, striving to understand how and why boundaries are constructed in relation to those positioned 'other' (be they Polish or 'host') and the impact this in turn has on community relations and hospitality in a rural setting. The seeds for this approach were sown in chapter 2 (sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2) where I introduced key notions of splitting, the Uncanny, the 'Thing', and ressentiment.

Although stating psychoanalytical theory to be integral in interpretation of findings, in line with my notion of eclecticism it should be noted that new lines of theoretical enquiry not previously referenced emerge in forthcoming chapters. In chapters 4 and 5 I draw on Thirdspace to develop understandings regarding identity hybridization and the reception of service responses to Polish migration respectively, understandings which were then worked into discussions surrounding hospitality and transrurality. In chapter 7, some 240 pages into the thesis, I take the bold step of introducing three new strands of inquiry - aesthetics, citizenship education and postsecular rapprochement – to provide the contextual foundations for the discussions of the efficacy of a participatory art project as a mechanism for garnering hospitality and inculcating transrural understandings that follow. This eclecticism is about paying due diligence to my aim "*to understand the multiple interpretations and receptions of Polish migrants in rural England*". I drew on anything I felt would best service my drive to, with reference to Panelli et al (2009:361), develop a study interrogating "the production and negotiation of a sense of ethnic difference within the countryside". Some may suggest that my theoretical eclecticism is too much, the theoretical noise obfuscating attempts to develop understandings. I do not share this sentiment. I have worked hard to ensure the key themes of this thesis – hospitality and transrurality – do not get lost and instead remain at the heart of theoretical discussions.

3.3 Research Methods

3.3.1 Interview

The interview, "conversations with a purpose" (Burgess 1984:102), has long been considered an important qualitative research method for the way in which deployment offers participants a space in which to represent their lives, experiences, and opinions

(see Silverman 1993, Steinar 1996, and Pink 2009 as just three examples). The interview has been deployed as a research strategy by a number of Polish studies scholars, including Anne White in her work considering migration as a family livelihood strategy (White 2009, 2011), Louise Ryan, Rosemary Sales, Mary Tilki and Bernadetta Siara's work on social networks, support and social capital (2008), and Ayona Datta (2009) in her work on Polish masculinities on London building sites. A marker of the popularity of the interview is evidenced by six of the ten empirical chapters of the key monograph "Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union" (Burrell 2009) referencing the use of interviews in research.

My research strategy saw 98 interviews deployed in either a planned (90) or spontaneous (8) manner. These interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 3 hours in length. Table 3.2 details the breakdown of my interviews by research area. It should be noted that interviews were also undertaken with 27 Council representatives and 15 English residents of a mixed rural Mid Devon area sample in relation to my migrant worker myth buster research, and with 4 people involved with my Bridging Arts case study[19].

Table 3.2 - The breakdown of interviews by research area

Research Area	English Interviews	Post-accession Polish migrant interviews	Post-war Polish migrant interviews	Community stakeholder interviews
Tidbury	15	15	5	4
Fordstone	15	2	N/A	6

Following Sixsmith (1999) I understood the interview process to be a dynamic relational interaction. The interview is very much a social construct with the relationship between researcher and participant dyadic. I was implicated from the off in the way my questions structured the interview. To each planned interview I took an

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[19] Full details of all interviews are given in the appendix.

interview schedule to elucidate the meanings, experiences, and participant narratives pertinent to the thesis:

⇨ **Post-accession Polish migrants** - migration pathways, employment, the banal everyday experience, service usage, perception of local attitudes, involvement in communities, contact with home, the media, and aspirations for the future.

⇨ **Rural host population residents (both English and post-war Polish migrant residents)** - resident histories, experiences of migration, attitudes to migration, perceptions of Polish migrants, awareness and attitudes of Polish services, and hopes for the future.

⇨ **Community stakeholders/migrant service providers** - date of emergence, reasons for emergence, delivery, population change, and evaluation (basic schedule broadened with specificity to those being interviewed).

⇨ **English residents [myth busters]** – awareness of myth buster, reflection on personal impact, reflection upon potential impact upon others

⇨ **Council figures [myth busters]** – rationale behind development, delivery, evaluation, future

For 'spontaneous' interviews questions were posed 'in the moment' with answers committed to memory and noted after. In all instances other questions were asked where I felt appropriate. Such a semi-structured approach emphasises the interview as an "interpersonal drama with a developing plot" (Pool 1957:193) where both the interviewee and interviewer are implicated in meaning creation, moving from a conceptualisation of interviews as a 'vessel of answers' (Holstein and Gubrium 1997).

The interview represents an experienced reality rather than a realist or authentic account of an objective reality. This is not to say that the creation of knowledge represented in my interview narratives in unreliable, it is merely to stress the notion that the interview is a social construct in which both participant and researcher are implicated. The topic of my thesis is contentious. Did social desirability and, perhaps political correctness expectation tropes introduce bias? Sometimes I felt as though participants were holding back, a feeling borne out of subtle markers in their faces and uncomfortable shifting in

their seats. The topic was emotive and at times it was these nonverbal responses that conveyed more. I can never quantify the extent of my interviewer effect. It cannot be avoided, all data is essentially collaborative (Alaasutari 1995). I must settle for hoping that the narrative presented by participants was an account with a semblance of honesty involved, one with which they were comfortable to author[20].

3.3.2 Ethnography

Ethnography involves the extended involvement of the researcher in the social life of those with whom they are studied. The researcher is cast as 'inquisitive insider' (Herbert 2000), joining in with events of the moment to become further involved in the lives of research participants. The researcher as ethnographer becomes entangled in the place events of the participants, part of their banal place ballets. Through attending to other people's practices, subjectivities and explanations it is possible to arrive at a multisensorial and emplaced understanding of other people's lives. Much like the interview, this qualitative approach has been used to great effect by Polish studies scholars. Marta Rabikowska (Rabikowska and Burrell 2009) conducted an in-depth ethnographic study of different types of shops selling Polish food in London which saw her interview 8 shop owners in their shop and 20 Polish immigrants chosen at random in the shop. The shop-owners were asked to give a tour of the shop and speak about the items they stocked whilst customers were asked why they shopped there. Rabikowska also became a customer, taking notes on the decor, layout, place settings and, atmosphere of the shop whilst also reflecting upon the behaviour of customers. A more immersed approach was utilised by Marta Kempny (2012) in her ethnographic study of Polish migrants in Belfast. In order to investigate the processual nature of the individual's sense of belonging she spent 12 months immersing herself into the socio-cultural worlds of Polish migrants. This included sharing accommodation and participating in social activities such as attending Polish Saturday school classes and Polish Catholic Mass.

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[20] The problem of interviewer effect was circumvented somewhat through the use of a reflexive research diary into which I recorded recollections and 'soundbites' of everyday conversations relating to the issues pertaining to my research that I had encountered in everyday life in each research area, outside of the research moment. Their organic occurrence side-stepped issues and provided me with supplementary data to draw from in each research area.

Unlike these examples, ethnography as a research strategy was very much unplanned, emerging to me in serendipitous moments throughout the research process, listed in table 3.3. Such moments were not based upon long-term daily interaction as in classic approaches. Indeed, involvement was not something initially sought. I didn't want to become involved within organisations for a prolonged amount of time for fear of confusing my insider/outsider positioning by taking on a 'working status' (Reiner 2000). I wanted to stay clear of the troubles such complex placement engendered, detailed by Reeves (2010:326) as "manifestations of simmering confusions or discontents within the staff population". In the main this fear was not really an issue to me. My lack of Polish language skills meant I had little leverage to acquire voluntary positions within the organisations I was researching. Instead, ethnography was something offered to me during the interview setting or, in the case of my involvement in Fordstone, a pre-extant given. I participated in things that I wouldn't normally do (e.g. travelling by police car with Police officers), played roles in events (e.g. becoming observer in an inter-faith day) and daily routines (e.g. walking around Tidbury with research participants). I reflected upon my experiences in a research diary at their cessation. Not all moments are reflected upon explicitly in the following chapters of the thesis although that is not to discredit their pertinence. It is my belief that this thesis is the cumulative outcome of all research experiences, stated or not.

Table 3.3 - Ethnography case studies

Case Study	Description	Reason for use
Walking tour of 'The Polish Quarter' (Tidbury)	Guided walk by English residents Phil and Sally, visiting Polish businesses, Polish signage and Polish service spaces.	An unplanned event, I acquired deep understanding of Polish spaces and attitudes towards them that I would not have uncovered independently.
New Police recruits community engagement training (Wiltshire Headquarters,	Participated in a two day training course run by the West Wiltshire Multi Faith Forum that was compulsory for new Police recruits. A	To understand how those on the statutory front line are being trained to cope with the issues of ethnically diverse

Salisbury)	mix of lectures, practical tasks and field trips.	rural communities.
Multi-faith day at Secondary School, Tidbury	Attended a day of lessons (acting as observer) delivered by the West Wiltshire Multi Faith Forum as part of Interfaith Week.	To understand how children are being taught to understand and accommodate diversity on numerous levels, not just ethnicity.
Ashvale International Social and Cultural Organisation	Time spent speaking with key figures, and attendance at events.	To reflect upon the challenges and opportunities for inculcating hospitable relations by a new and emerging voluntary migrant group.
Residency in Fordstone	Living in Fordstone.	To provide reflection on my experiences and reflections of Polish migration in Fordstone and of issues faced in the wider local area.
"I packed this myself" travelling exhibition (Truro)	Attendance at a private viewing and correspondence with co-ordinators regarding other installations.	To provide a case study of a novel approach towards inculcating hospitable relations between host and migrant populations.
Voluntary work in Tidbury Primary School	Helping in key stage 1 classes.	To provide understanding of how Polish children are accommodated into the school system.

3.3.3 Discourse Analysis

Discourse refers to that way in which a particular set of linguistic categories relating to an object and the ways of depicting it frame the way the object is comprehended. Using this Foucauldian schematic the discourse forms a version of an object and the version of

the object comes to constitute it. Discourse is thus much more than language itself, and is constitutive of the social world that is a focus of interest. Discourse is not a neutral device to impart meaning, instead an action orientated approach in which people seek to accomplish things when they talk or write. Indeed, it is an approach to language that can be applied to forms of communication beyond conventional 'talk' and is thus applicable to a plethora of 'texts' – be they newspaper, forum responses, blogs, documents and so forth. Examples of extant studies of a Polish vein utilising discourse analysis include Bernadetta Siara's (2009) work on UK residing Polish migrants and the negotiation of gender and ethnic identity in cyberspace, Aleksandra Galasińska and Olga Kozlowska's (2009) consideration of discourses of a 'normal life' in interview transcripts of post-accession Polish migrants residing in Britain, and Joanna Fomina and Justyna Frelek's (2008) in their study of the presentation of Polish labour migrants in the British press.

Discourse analysis "emphasises the way versions of the world, of society, events and inner psychological worlds are produced in discourse" (Potter 1997:146). It is an important approach to consider the strategies and attempts to engender effect through discourse. Through discourse analysis I hoped to uncover the dominant discourses surrounding rural Polish migrants and consider the ways in which individuals or groups can be seen to be "establishing one version of the world in the face of competing versions" (Gill 2000:176). Questions – 'what is this discourse doing?' and 'how is this discourse constructed to make this happen?'– are posed and reflected upon. Interrogating the inner psychological worlds of my participants, my approach owed much to discursive psychology, a form of discourse analysis developed to explore the ways in which people's selves, thoughts and emotions are formed and transformed through social interaction, and to examine the role of these processes in social and cultural reproduction and change.

Discourse analysis was deployed in chapter 6 to show how the individual is both products of discourse and producers of discourse. Here questions were asked of the mass media and migrant worker myth buster leaflets to emphasise how participant views are produced in discourse. I will now briefly reflect upon the finer details of these two strands of discourse analysis.

3.3.3.1 Migrant Worker Myth Buster Leaflet

Early on in the research process when I serendipitously came across a migrant worker myth buster leaflet – a leaflet that sought to improve community relations by presenting popular 'myths' relating to migrant workers, then expounding them via the presentation of the 'reality'. I became deeply interested in them. Although presented as a vector to challenge and deconstruct discursive mediations of migrant workers, I felt that their linguistic content held the potential to do the very opposite, reifying and perpetuating discursive mediations, constituting a psychogeography in itself. Following my initial serendipitous engagement with a leaflet I contacted all County Councils in England seeking an interview regarding their use of migrant worker myth buster leaflets.[21] 24 councils accepted my request and 16 declined. Through suggestions for contact made during the course of the interviews I added engagement with 3 further councils; a City Council (Coventry), a Welsh example (Wrexham Council) and a Scottish example (Perth and Kinross Council). Although these areas are somewhat removed from my original focus upon English county councils I included them to provide depth of analysis and discussion. From my conversations with the 27 councils, and independent searching, I acquired 16 migrant worker myth buster leaflets, with one coming from one of my research areas (Wiltshire). Of the 16 leaflets 69% were produced at the broader, larger end of the population settlement hierarchy (County Council (5), unattached to any 'one' council as a result of partnership working (2), Unitary Authority (1), Local Authority (2) and County Borough (1)) and as such deemed to have pertinence across the area in general. In contrast the remaining 31% were developed at the more local, specific and smaller end of the settlement hierarchy scale (District Council (2), and Borough Council (3)), a focused response to specific trends of migration and settling within their areas. The pertinence of this distinction in approach is considered in discussions of motive.

Seeking to ascertain how the aesthetic interface of the migrant worker myth buster leaflet could foster hospitable relations via the (attempted) deconstruction of discursive

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[21] It should be noted here that the structural changes to local government in England came into force on 1st April 2009 during my research period. A number of new unitary authorities were created in areas which previously operated a 'two-tier' system of counties and districts, in two counties the powers of the county council became absorbed by a reduced number of districts, and in five shire counties (one of them being Wiltshire) the functions of the county and district councils were combined into a single authority. Data was thus collected in some instances from areas that no longer exist structurally. Its inclusion herein is predicated upon a belief that its pertinence to the thesis extends beyond this structural shift.

migrant worker mediations and accompanying psychogeographies I subjected these 16 leaflets to a dualistic approach of analysis. Firstly I conducted content analysis to ascertain the average format of the leaflet, and the ways in which the expounding of myths was proceeding. To this somewhat simplistic descriptive analysis I adjoined a more sophisticated process of discourse analysis, seeking to highlight and unpack the discursive mechanisms deployed to attempt to enact positive attitudinal change. Here I also reflected upon the discursive mechanisms that held the potential to enact the opposite: attitudinal entrenchment. Secondly I conducted an efficacy analysis, asking 15 participants to read a migrant worker myth buster leaflet (figure 6.6) and answer a short number of questions after. These participants were purposely drawn from the rural mid Devon area, an area which I knew not to have a migrant worker myth buster leaflet in circulation, so as to acquire their first hand responses to such a leaflet.

3.3.3.2 Mass Media

In order to contextualise my chapter 6 discussions of the migrant worker myth buster leaflet I felt it necessary to reflect upon the role of the mass media (print and online) in forging and perpetuating such misinformed beliefs. To this end I conducted broad media searches (using Google news and Nexis UK) using generic search terms such as 'Polish migration' and 'Polish problems UK' to great success. A large swathe of media – positive, negative, and informative (devoid of value judgement) - emerged to me which initially was problematic. I needed to devise a way to structure my findings in a manner that was both coherent and useful within the context of my thesis. I wished to retell the story of Polish migration as played out in the media, making specific reference to the way it which it assists and perpetuates a Polish migrant moral panic. To this end I grouped my findings into four thematic sections I designated vital to this process, namely 'British workers for British jobs', 'negative discourses of Polish migrants, 'negative discourses enacted against Polish migrants, and 'return migration'. In each of these sections I reflect upon the discourses inherent in the mediations, broadening said reflection with recourse, where applicable, to spaces of discursive antagonism such as comments facilities on news stories and blogs where distinct migrant worker discourses emerged in response to the stories under discussion. The decision to incorporate these latter elements, anonymous focus groups 'delayed in time' (Ignacio 2005:171), was to provide evidence of the ways in which mediations are fuelling perception, the rationale behind the inclusion of the section in general.

The discussions of chapter 6 draw heavily, although not exclusively, upon stories taken from right-wing newspapers such as the Daily Mail, the Sun, and the Star. Whilst some could argue that such a focussing is biased and fails to fully reflect the breadth of media beyond the sensationalist tabloids which I draw upon – the left wing tabloids, the broadsheets, and the numerous local as opposed to national newspapers - I would dispute this on the grounds that a discursive analysis of *all* media was not my aim. I have incorporated these stories to illustrate the popular mediations which are fuelling popular perceptions and elaborate upon the key discursive themes that underpin the creation of the migrant worker myth buster leaflet.

3.4 Research Design

3.4.1 Pilot Study

"Do not take the risk. Pilot test first" (De Vaus 1993: 54)

I took heed of the notion that pilot studies are a crucial element of good research design and incorporated one. Its focus was of feasibility and to this end, over a two week period I attempted to ascertain the viability of my original planned suite of research methods - the interview, photovoice, discourse analysis and the research diary - as methods to help me achieve my research aim. This "trial run" (Polit et al 2001:467) was fruitful, engendering changes to application of my research methods (detailed in table 3.4) which I feel were of great benefit to my research. Van Teijlingen and Hundley (2001) argue that conducting a pilot study does not guarantee success in the main study, but it does increase the likelihood. This is a notion I would agree with. My work to arrange access during the pilot period was at the time beneficial, but later fell through. Conversely adaptations to research methods I believe benefited the quality of findings and as a corollary, the success of my research project.

Table 3.4 – Pilot study evaluation of research methods

Method	*Positive Evaluation*	*Negative Evaluation*	*Outcome*
Interviews with English (2) and Polish (1) people	Interviews provided good detail and I was competent at conducting them.	Interview schedules were not detailed enough - 'extra' questions were asked each time.	Interview schedules were made more detailed.
Discourse analysis of online media[22]	Provided good practice at analysing data.	No discernible negative element emerged.	No change
Entries (4) into a *research diary*	Provided me with a means of reflection.	Not completed often enough, nor was it detailed enough.	Resolved to make more detailed entries more regularly.
Photovoice[23]	Provided a visual space of representation within my thesis.	Not in possession of enough cameras. Problem of interpreting images. Too time consuming for participants.	Omitted from final study

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[22] In this instance, responses to online media stories regarding migrant employment.

[23] This method was originally included in my upgrade report with the aim being to ask Polish participants to photograph significant elements in their rural landscapes and ask them to reflect upon their significance, a method term 'photovoice' (Wang 1999). With the control of composition resting with them, it was hoped that the photographs would invoke "an ideologically constructed image of place" (Bender et al 2007:289) and thus reveal elements of participant ontologies. Ethically, the inclusion of this participatory research method would permit a visual space of self representation (Herman and Mattingly 1999) in which participants told 'visual stories', expressing themselves in their own images, words and reflection (McIntyre 2003).

3.4.2 Participant Recruitment

Any research project requiring access to people or a site to proceed requires the careful negotiation of access (Murphy and Dingwall 2001). Such processes of negotiation are often more complicated than that alluded to in completed studies, many of which represent a "reconstructed logic" which brings an illusion or order to a 'messy' process (Buchanen et al 1988:54). Van Maanen (1998:144) eloquently summarises such issues when he refers to the process of gaining access as a "continuous push and pull between fieldworker and informant". Increasingly however, the traditionally variable coverage of issues of access in the broader qualitative research literature (Scourfield 2012) is being superseded by reflective accounts of such problematic issues of access in research (see Duke 2002, Mulhall 2003, Hill 2004, Reeves 2010). In the following reflections upon my own personal experiences regarding access, I too hope to build upon these reflective accounts.

Gatekeepers can be beneficial to research. Their local influence and power can add credibility and validity to a research process by their acceptance of it (Seidman 1998). However, they can also erect barrier and prevent access, effectively shutting down research projects before they have even begun (Berg 1999). Indeed, Wolff (2004) argued that gatekeepers should be seen not as enablers but rather as controllers. It is a suggestion which experience has led me to agree. My two original research areas were planned to be Oketon, Devon and Tidbury, Wiltshire. Whereas the latter remained, the former did not. Oketon, an area local to me, contained a large Polish population which I hoped to access through the established Anglo-Polish Organisation. However, a visit to the group in the very first week of my PhD proved unexpectedly disappointing. E-mail contact with the group organiser in which I had detailed why I was contacting her (with a view to interviewing members of the group) and what I hoped to achieve (a study into the rural lives of Polish migrants) had been fruitful and the meeting established. Yet when we reached this point in discussion the rug was pulled from beneath me somewhat. The gatekeeper told me that she had grown tired of requests by researchers. This came as a great surprise to me for my intentions had been covered in our email conversations. Furthermore another PhD student in the department had been recently working with her. I could see her rationale and I understood it. She was protecting those

for whom she appeared to position herself protectorate. Research was cast as disturbance;

> "Research is a disturbance, and it disrupts routines, with no perceptible immediate or long-term pay off for the institution and its members. Research unsettles the institution with three implications: that the limitations of its own activities are to be disclosed; that the ulterior motives of the "research" are and remain unclear for the institution; and finally, that there are no sound reasons for refusing research requests" (Flick 2006:116)

Morrill et al (1999) argue that a failure by a researcher to gain access can in some instances be as illuminating about the field under investigation as research successes. This was evident in relation to the Oketon case, where initial understanding couched with regards to impact upon the community became problematised by a 'compromise' offered. The gatekeeper stated that I could work with them should I provide her with financial remuneration and understand that it would her who undertook the research on behalf of me. I was somewhat taken aback. Without money her 'members' were over-researched, yet with money they were not. Furthermore, in our discussions she had lamented that the group was overstretched. Her offering to conduct research for me seemed somewhat at odds with this notion. The following extract from my research diary details my reflections later that night.

> *"The whole notion of helping has become politicised, plagued by issues of motive and money. Poles are politicised – this is nothing new, but evidently now so too are the services emerging to help them, and more so, they are being politicised by the organisers themselves. Research on hospitality here is not receiving hospitality." (Research diary 12/11/2008).*

Sixsmith et al (2003) warned that gatekeepers often work to their agenda, with some attempting to influence the research process with their own version of 'reality' by indicating only participants approved of by themselves. In this instance this notion was being taken to the extreme and it was me that, lacking approval, was removed from the research collection process. It was an almost maternal sense of protection, not wanting her 'family' of Polish migrants to be burdened by me. I wasn't even permitted a chance to offer my voluntary services to an organisation she repeatedly stressed was overstretched. A reciprocal relationship between me, as researcher, and the Anglo-

Polish Organisation, as researched, was not going to develop. In this instance I feel that this was bound to my positioning, as white ethnic other to 'her group'. It took some time and lengthy reflection after meetings with other migrant groups for me to understand the events that day. I lamented my offer of voluntary work not being taken up but pragmatically, without Polish language skills what could I offer them? I had little, if any leverage. As per the work of Flick (2006) there were no obvious benefits for being involved in the project that would suitably reward and recompense their facilitation. Likewise with regards to the issue of funding, although I stand by my belief that it was dealt with badly on the part of the gatekeeper – offering help ONLY with the provision of funding should have been stressed from the outset - I understand her rationale. It's not about exploitation, it's about systematic practicalities. Funding sources are few and far between and the organisation is plagued by problems of low staffing and high demand. Too much is at stake for these groups to offer their help freely. Perhaps I was naive not to expect the issue of research becoming couched in terms of monetary transactions. Then again I was not asking them to do the research for me – I merely wanted a request for participation to be put to members.

Research tactics were here evidently at play. Wolff (2004) defines six such tactics, many of which can be applied to moments in the research process, beyond the Oketon case study. The first tactic *'pass upstairs'*, sees the request passed to a higher level. This happened regularly with Council or organisation based enquiries regularly passed between departments before I received an answer. The second tactic *'cross-question'* sees the researcher repeatedly ask for new presentations of the research aim and methodology. I experienced this regularly, asked to provide such information via e-mail prior to meeting, and then repeating again often at the start and cessation of meetings. In some instances cross-questioning extended to the writing stage with some requesting a copy of any literature involving their organisation for approval prior to submission. A further resistance tactic emerged in relation to this feature, that of passing responsibility (see Wanat 2008). Here gatekeepers spoke on behalf of their communities to discredit my intentions. For example, when putting my research to one group organisers were quite quick to respond telling me that *"they will not want to speak to you, they are shy"*. The third tactic *'wait and see'* sees the matter referred for resubmission. This was a frustrating tactic, one in organisations appeared to cooperate ("get back to me in a couple of months, I'll be able to speak to you then" but later reneged on arrangements

by means of further delays ("I'll get back to you when I'm in the area" or simply failing to return calls). A line of similarity with Wanat (2008:204), who argued in relation to her experience of gatekeepers in her study of public schools that "it became obvious that forgetting was a method of telling researchers no while appearing to be cooperative", was struck. The fourth tactic *'make an offer'* sees the request accepted but with a 'catch', being that the organisation offers its own data or agrees to a mode of collection that was not originally foreseen. This was the crux of the Oketon case where access was to only continue with the payment of money and the relinquishing of control in data collection. The final two tactics, *'allocate'* (times, roles and research opportunities provided by the organization, deemed suitable and appropriate) and *'incorporate'* (the organisation incorporates the researcher into organisational matters and use the collected data for their own means), were not experienced by me. This occurrence can be deemed a reflection of cooperation by a number of organisations (qualified by the aforementioned deployment of tactics) in relation to discussions of community stakeholders and services and the decision to move away from organisations to seek out interview participants (the result of my Oketon experience).

As time passed and I gained more experience in dealing with these research tactics, particularly learning to realise when yes meant no and the point at which to 'give up', I came to appreciate the sentiment of Wanat (2008:192) who argued that "negotiating access is based on building relationships with gatekeepers, which is an ill-defined, unpredictable, uncontrollable process". Although problematic at the time, retrospectively I feel the problems I encountered to have been enabling incidents. It was very much a case of 'when one door closes, another one opens', with a new case study area - Fordstone – replacing Oketon, one which yielded rich detail and thematic insights that would otherwise have been absent in the thesis. Such substantive nuances were accompanied by methodological ones. The problematic process of research demanded a deepened position of reflexivity out of me, a reflection upon my position as researcher and the politicised process of research, as this section is somewhat tantamount to. Such incorporation enabled me to build an autoethnographic thesis detailing research as process as well as outcome.

Lorimer (2007:57) argued that "the simplest inquiry might unfold by serpentine sequence, carried along on links of the most delicate relation, sometimes reflecting little else than personal whim". This was deeply pertinent in relation to the choice of my final research areas, which as preceding discussion has detailed, was evidently coloured by engagements with gatekeepers. My original aim was to recruit participants though contact with organisations. When I found that such contact was not forthcoming I changed tact. I was fortunate to have contacts in each research area to enable initial snowball sampling. In Tidbury, where I felt that owing to my not residing in the area I may have trouble recruiting participants, this strategy was complemented by processes of active recruitment. I sought participants through contact the Women's Institute, but this was not a successful endeavour with my request for participation denied. I also placed an advert seeking participants in the 'Tidbury Magazine'. Discussions with participants had informed me that this free magazine had greater popularity than the local newspaper, hence its selection over the newspaper. This was much more successful with 8 Tidbury participants contacting me as a result of this advert. Attracting a wide range of respondents, and not just those attending services provided in an organisational setting as was my original aim, my back-up plan served to enhance the breadth of responses I acquired. Indeed, initially I had no intention to speak with post-war Polish migrants. When meeting with an English Tidbury couple I was introduced to their Polish friends who agreed to also be interviewed. A whole new strand of community relations was unearthed, inspiring me to seek out other post-war Polish migrants to speak with. Criticisms that snowballing engenders a restricted, tautological sample (Kaplan et al 1985) seem in this context misplaced.

3.4.3 Qualitative Sampling

My qualitative sampling strategy was quite straightforward. Put simply, I spoke with all who put themselves forward for participation. My belief was such that if a potential participant was willing to give up their time for me I would give up my time for them. For some this approach would be considered a grave error due to the time constraints such a decision may necessitate. For me, a researcher not besieged by offers of participation, this approach was both necessary (to increase participant numbers) and sensible (planning had ensured that time was not a constraint).

The topic of my study threw up a specific issue with regards to sampling. I spoke solely with Polish migrants who could speak English. What impact does this have on my thesis? Am I offering a partial geography? My answer to this question would be no. My speaking to English speaking Polish migrants was a practical solution to a practical problem. The only alternative offered to me was to pay others to do my research, something, which as stated earlier was something I did not feel comfortable due the monetising of the research moment it entailed and the loss of control over questions posed. Data would be second hand and devoid of autoethnographic understandings. Some would argue that my sample is unrepresentative resultantly. I beg to differ. Firstly, my study is not one that actively sought a representative sample at the outset. I merely sought a flavour, an understanding of the essence of rural life in my research areas. The broad nature of my research project meant that Polish migrants were not the sole focus, with attention also focussed upon English residents and key community stakeholders. If my focus had purely been on Polish migrants then yes I feel that this issue would have been somewhat heightened. Secondly, as it was I was able to use others - gatekeepers and community stakeholders - to speak on behalf of those that didn't speak English and as such, give me an insight into the lives of those whom my lack of linguistic currency precluded my engagement.

This notion of speaking solely with English speaking Polish migrants can be theorised further. A key feature of the ethical turn has been the discussion surrounding the ability to represent these 'others' being studied. Despite an ethical demand to hear the testimony of others (Levi 1979), "there are not enough words or the right words" (Felmand and Laub 1992:78). The ability to speak is constrained by the inability to assimilate words and to also comprehend, understand and translate without loss. This represents a "double bind" whereby correspondence whilst necessary "will always fall short" (Harrison 2007:593). Attempts to fill in epistemic fractures are deemed to represent an act of epistemic violence (Spivak 1988) which fails to account for the "quasi poetic" performance of testimony (Derrida 2000a:40). Spivak is thus suspicious of the referential value of language, deeming the ability to speak within textual conventions and modes of representation which characterise contemporary academic texts, questionable.

Temple and Koterba (2009) found that Polish language was seen by participants as not only a means of communication, but also an important aspect of identity and culture. To this end, the problems of testimony discussed take on additional complexity. Where research participants speak another language to the researcher a process of translation, internal to the participant (through self translation processes inherent in bilinguists) or external (by translators) is required. To those who are bilingual "languages may create different and sometimes incommensurable worlds for their speakers who feel that their selves change with the shift in language" (Pavlenko 2006:27). Each language is linked to different linguistic repertoires, cultural scripts, frames of expectation, autobiographic memories, and levels of proficiency and emotionality. To this end, the presentation of themselves via the use of different repertoires can, through the loss of meaning in their processes of internal translation, lead to them being received in ways different to that which they had hoped.

External translation is fraught with complexities. The translator, the "honest and detached brokers who operate largely in the 'spaces between' cultures" (Baker 2005:11) faces tough decisions. At the outset they must decide the extent to which they foreignize or domesticate a text according to context. To translate a word or keep it in its original format is a point often pondered. How do you decide which words to translate and which to leave, and furthermore how can texts be fully contextualised and processed if only partially translated? Potential exists for meaning to be lost in the translation of a single word for no word will have the same evocative impact every time, in every culture or county in which it is deployed (Eco 2003:7). The task is thus to translate with a hope, as opposed to an expectation, to maintain an essence of what is meant.

It is the former (internal) rather than the latter (external) process of translation that has been most important in my research. The Polish migrants I came across spoke English. To this end, problems regarding my translation did not actively come into play. It is my hope that the Polish people I spoke to were competent enough linguistically to feel that they had represented themselves in the manner which they had hoped. This hope is tempered with an appreciation that translation is not infallible. The text is, as ever, a rhetorical device (Spivak 1992). Harrisons (2007) 'double bind', notably the notion that correspondence will always fall short, needs a constant bearing in mind. I needed to

broach and perhaps make up any sense of loss in the research moment engendered by linguistic difference, and ethnographic reflection in the research moment aided this. Through working through moments of linguistic confusion together with participants, through recourse to both the non-verbal (gestures) and verbal ((wrong) words), a sense of meaning deemed acceptable to the research participants was reached. In such games of interview charades the acoustic mirror of the participants was translated and replicated. Yes, it may have been a poor replication but as Bal (2007:33) suggests "we can produce, that is, an acoustic, indeed an integrated sentient mirror that would be not a mother tongue but a friendly tongue: a linguistic, sonoric environment of friendliness and welcome, interest and collaboration". Such replication permitted me, and my participants, engagement with the soundscape of displacement which was in essence, the aim of my research.

3.4.4 Data Analysis

My analysis system has been inspired by grounded theory. Spearheaded by Glaser and Strauss (1967), this approach is diverse in content and structure, a diversity which emerged as a result of the two aforementioned authors taking different paths following the publication of their monograph. No one conclusive definition of the approach exists, although the definition provided by Strauss and Corbin (1998:12) - "theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process" - I feel gives an acceptable broad scope. Despite the definitional complexity, grounded theory continues to be the most widely used framework for analysing qualitative data (Bryman 2004) In this iterative, recursive approach data collection and analysis proceed in tandem, repeatedly referring back to each other. In such an approach coding is key. Traditional coding schemes, such as the tripartite scheme put forward by Strauss and Corbin (1990) have been criticised for closing off the open-endedness and exploratory character of coding in qualitative data analysis (Bryman 2004). Charmaz (2004) attempts to move beyond this criticism by incorporating just two categories, open/initial coding and selective/focused coding. The former refers to a very detailed process in which it is crucial to be open-minded and generate as many codes as possible to encapsulate the complexities of the data. The latter refers to emphasising the most common and revealing codes. Here new codes may be developed by combining initial codes, which in turn are re-explored and re-evaluated in terms of these selected codes.

With the social encounter of both the interview and ethnography emplaced, a product of place with both material and sensorial components, coding needed to accommodate the sensorial modes of meaning making - such as tone, facial expression and gesture – through which communication takes place (Dicks et al 2006). Thus, I reviewed my transcripts and field notes and labelled the elements which were salient relative to my research aims, using coding conventions that showed adherence to Charmaz's categories. Such a 'sceptical reading' (Gill 2000) permitted the division of transcripts and field notes into thematic areas, allowing linkages to be made across all to inform responses to my research questions. This analysis system assisted me in uncovering the interpretive repertoire, "discernible clusters of terms, descriptions and figures of speech often assembled around metaphors or vivid images" (Wetherell and Potter 1992:90) of individuals and groups involved.

3.5 Situating Myself within the Project

In research framed by ethnography there exists a need to reflect upon the autoethnographic characteristics of what is learnt from research participants, and personal situatedness in relation to that which is being studied (Butz 2009). Besio and Butz (2004:433) stressed the existence of a need to "understand the dimension of my unruly, garrulous, over determined, transcultural research experience in my field site in terms of these uneasily intersecting positionings: as gendered and within a context of colonial and postcolonial knowledge edge making". Indeed, my research was undertaken with a sense of constant mindfulness radiating around two needs, a need to reflect upon my positionality relative to my research participants, and a need to address reflexively my own role in the production of knowledge. The heightened sense of normative self-criticality fashioned as a result of the deployment of a complex suite of ethical practices in regard of this mindfulness is, I feel, discernible in the following discussions of the key ethical issues I faced. It is a discussion which answers the following 'call to arms';

"Writing about research conducted in the more fully reflexive mode... requires that the researcher identify and locate herself, not just in the research, but also in the writing. She must be willing to write and so relive discomforting experiences, to look awkward and feel ill at ease. She must commit to paper and thus to the scrutiny of peers and others that which she might prefer to forget" (Falconer Al-Hindi and Kawabata 2002:114).

3.5.1 Me: White 'Other'

At all times I worked in adherence with the University of Exeter's ethical guidelines, and aimed to form a research alliance (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995) between myself and research subjects. Taking reference from Standing (1998) in order to establish trust and rapport, the foundations of the interview process, I ensured that the aims of the project and the participant's role in the research process were explained. Informed consent was always gained and confidentiality stressed, traditional ethical issues with increased importance given potential language differences. The inclusion of a research diary as a research method enabled me to complement these standard ethical practices through sustained ethical introspection. All this withstanding, key ethical issues pertaining to positionality remain and need reflecting upon. The dominant ethical issue related from my study of an ethnic group distinct from my own white English (not Polish) positioning. At the outset I strove to conduct research in a manner which showed understanding and respect for Polish cultural belief systems. Prior to my research I spoke to key community stakeholders about key cultural differences that my positionality might lead me to overlook. As perennial outsider to the Polish community this tactic enabled me to address the psychosocial distance (Sixsmith et al 2003) between myself and my participants, in turn permitting me insights into their experiential rural realities that might not have been acquired had the psychosocial distance not been bridged. Building rapport became my strategy, trying to, with reference to Reeves (2010:321) persuade participants that "the project and I were worth investing time in".

Throughout the research process I was aware that I ran the risk of inducing scepticism in the Polish population for two reasons, for being English and for not speaking Polish. The psychosocial-linguistic distance between us could lead to my positioning as a figure to be wary of or exclude, with my research deemed an unjustified 'outside' invasion. This wariness appeared well founded in my aforementioned experiences with the Oketon Anglo-Polish group. For those who accepted the psychosocial-linguistic difference the potential for such difference to engender responses different to that that would have been acquired had I been Polish still existed and disclosure may not have been full or honest.

There existed the potential for gender to also impinge upon the research process. Sultana (2007) for example spoke of the ways in which some male elders in the villages she lived and worked in refused to answer questions, an act predicated on a belief that women had too much power, whilst noting conversely that her being a deshi girl enabled her to speak to fellow deshi girls with ease. Gender did not overtly impinge negatively upon my research, a feature I feel owes a great deal to the 'cosmopolitan curiosity' (Appiah 2006) of the Polish participants with whom I conversed. Living in the shadow of Communism they appeared to appreciate the diverse raft of opportunities open to all regardless of gender, age, or indeed any other axes of differentiation. That is not to say of course that gender did not impinge covertly upon my research. Maybe those who declined invitations to participate in my project were predicated upon gender? I will never know.

My being English and female were not the only axes of positionality requiring reflection. With one research area being my home village, and the other not, I faced issues of being 'insider' and 'outsider'. In Tidbury I was a Western (English) white female researcher, 'outsider' to the locale. Here in my engagements with the Polish community I was doubly displaced, neither local nor Polish. Although many welcomed me it felt at times, perhaps quite rightly, that I had to justify both my presence and my research to a greater extent than in Fordstone. In this locale I was a Western (English) white female researcher, 'local' to the locale. Here you would think engagements would be easier, and admittedly they were. However, the outcome of research was far more impacting than experienced in Tidbury as noted in the preface.

3.5.2 Fear of Research as Exploitation for Personal Gain

> "The reality is that policy-making of one kind or another is a prominent and pervasive feature of modern society, affecting the daily lives of us all. As geographers we should be striving to inform and shape the process and improve the outcomes" (Martin 2001:190).

At the outset I struggled with a perceived need for my research to serve more than myself. I felt uncomfortable with rapport establishment being disingenuous (Funder 2005) in the sense that it was being cultivated to foster data collection. I feared my

participants were being used as mere native informants (Spivak 1999) to be data 'mined'. Altruistically, I wanted my research to help people and make a change. I felt that if I could do this my incursion into participants' lives would be justified. To this end my original research proposal saw me include the following research question, "How can Polish migrants be beneficially integrated into rural England?"Initially I did not perceive this question to be a problem and believed that its inclusion would help achieve that which the quote at the beginning of this section alludes to. Indeed, the notion of my research having wider use was a belief that others were buying into. The chair of the Northumberland Migration Task Group Rob Strettle was keen to receive feedback on my research stating *"I'd be interested to hear about your research as it develops as there may be things we can learn from for our practice locally"*. However, as time passed and I spoke to Polish migrants it became apparent to me that the use of the word integration was a naive oversight on my part. Put simply, for many it was not what they were aiming for. To persist with integration as an organising concept would, as discussed earlier, see me get caught in Shukra et al's (2004:192) conundrum: "how to challenge the weaknesses of multiculturalism without reinforcing conditions for the rise of a new assimilation". To this end a focus on integration was 'dropped' in favour of the notion of hospitable relations, 'friendly and welcoming social interactions with strangers'.

Fuller and Kitchin (2004:6) argue that geographers have been "somewhat restrained" in policy and community engagement with critical praxis consisting "of little else beyond pedagogy and academic writing". They would probably be disappointed with my decision to not reconfigure the research question, and instead omit it. I felt it was churlish for me to assume that I could provide policy guidance at such an early juncture. I was honest with my participants. I never made claims that my research would change their lives. I resolved however to keep the notion of policy guidance at the back of my mind throughout the research process should key potentially beneficial findings emerge. Praxis proceeded in the much maligned 'restrained' fashion to which Fuller and Kitchin referred.

3.5.3 Problems of Disclosure

At the outset, in accordance with Barnes (1979) belief that data should be presented in such a way that enables respondents, but not readers, to recognize themselves I used pseudonyms for both places and participants and made participants aware of this. Indeed, in some instances participants even chose their own! Further stand-alone case studies were given anonymity, be it partial or full, wherever I felt such an action was applicable. For example, I decided not to issue a pseudonym when discussing the work of Bridging Arts as I felt their work so important it deserved publicizing. But is anonymity enough? Throughout the research process I have faced a recurring dilemma – how to deal with 'off the record' comments. I have experienced a number of situations in which information was disclosed to me under the proviso that it remained 'off the record'. I'm going to briefly detail 2.

1. "I shouldn't have told you that"

The first came from a paramedic when being rushed to hospital with suspected meningitis. My response to the obligatory what do you do question sparked off a lengthy conversation. He proceeded to tell me the location of a place where as he put it *"there are loads of illegal Poles there. All hush hush. We treat them but they won't ever go to hospital".* Details of numerous other places where they had been to treat Polish migrants followed. This was followed swiftly by *"I shouldn't have told you that should I?"*

2. "This mustn't go any further"

The second came whilst speaking to a Reverend regarding the work with migrant workers that was being undertaken in her Parish. She told me that the biggest success of their welcome evening scheme was the uncovering of migrant worker exploitation by the local gangmaster, and the criminal proceedings that followed. The complexity was however this; the gangmaster nor locals had been aware of their involvement. No one bar them and the police knew about it. She stressed that the information mustn't get out as they feared reprisals.

The information accrued in the examples put me in a quandary. They were both incredibly pertinent to my work. The information disclosed in the first alerted me to the existence of illegal migrants clustering in local areas. The second provided evidence of both gangmaster exploitation and the power of voluntary approaches in caring for migrant workers and effecting change in their lives. Yet inclusion of these research encounters would see me betray the trust of those who disclosed such information to me, and as a corollary, seriously problematise the positions they held. The details I have provided here have been intentionally vague for it is no stretch of the imagination to suggest that should their identities be uncovered they could all find themselves suspended at the very least. At the most extreme, full disclosure of the gangmaster story could lead to life changing reprisals for those involved.

I discussed these matters at a workshop on Polish Migration to the UK and Ireland held at the University of Bath in June 2010. The outcome of such discussions served to affirm what I had already suspected, writing the following in my research diary on the train home;

> *"There is no ethical, moral, or indeed safe way in which I can reconcile a betrayal of trust and the complex implications that that could entail for what is merely, personal gain – the writing of my thesis. The 'off the record' must stay 'off the record'." (Research Diary 11/6/2010)*

My very mentioning of the issue indicates an element of reneging on such a notion. This section has been included for I felt that to totally omit such an important ethical issue from my thesis would prevent the cultivation of a full sense of "normative self-criticality" (Sayer and Storper 1997:11). Ethical obligation means that by means of compromise however, neither case study plays any further part in this thesis.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has considered at length my research methodology, offering detail of the specificities of research (reflecting upon epistemological foundations, research methods and research design) alongside reflection upon the process of research. With regards to the former strand the incorporation of ethnography alongside the interview and discourse analysis with reference to Scourfield (2012:2) "proved to be very satisfactory for generating 'thick' description, allowing for a fine-grained analysis" of the production and negotiation of ethnic difference within rural locales as requested by Panelli et al (2009). Problems of access regarding gatekeepers led to my research strategy becoming increasingly exploratory in nature. Such an approach offered serendipitous opportunities for data collection that arose that I feel brought great benefits to the thesis. With regards to the latter strand it is my hope that my attempts to situate myself within my research helped emphasise my maturity as a researcher, whilst also emphasising (my) knowledge as partial and embedded "within broader social relations and development processes that place me and my respondents in different locations" (Sultana 2007 382).

In summary, it is my belief that my autoethnographic research methodology incorporates the six main tenants of traditional ethnography (Cloke et al 2004:169);

1. It treats people as knowledgeable, situated agents;
2. It is an extended, detailed 'immersive' and inductive methodology;
3. It can involve a 'shameless eclectic' and 'methodologically opportunist' combination of research methods, the core of which involves an extended periods of participant observation;
4. It is interested in what people say they do and why, and what they are seen to do and say to others about this;
5. It includes negotiating the spaces between standard field settings and the academic setting of the researcher;
6. Its main research tool is the researcher

Chapter 4 – Communities of Difference (1) Attitudes and Encounters

4.1 Introduction

Earlier in chapter 1 the English rural landscape was noted to be a landscape of privilege promoting and defending the dominance of those who possess "unmarked whiteness" (Hubbard 2005:53). Polish migrants with their invisible ethnicities were noted to occupy an exclusionary middle ground which transcends the simplistic 'excluded black, included white'. Here the ways in which Polish identities become exposed, their ethnicities rendered visible and their whiteness 'marked', or indeed as the case may be, not will be considered. Behavioural responses will be traced, looking to the ways in which attitudes are predicated upon encounters of migration, be they actual or theoretical. This dichotomy is important for the way in which the 'other' (be they English or Polish) is perceived can be filtered by reality (actual encounter) or expectation (theoretical encounter), or indeed a mix of both, for example in cases where theoretical encounters are challenged or affirmed by actual encounter.

This chapter will excavate the community relations between the post-accession Polish migrant and rural host population[24] in my research areas. In order to promote balance, the chapter will proceed by means of a tripartite scheme of discussion. It will begin by considering positive attitudes and encounters regarding Polish migration from both the host population (where applicable –post-war Polish migrant cohort narratives could be positioned only in one category of discussion) and migrant perspective, noting how initial moments of encounter can give rise to hospitable relations, which can in turn lead to repeated and reciprocated extensions of hospitality. Here I discuss the role migration is playing on the ongoing processes of identity hybridisation, with regards to both the migrant and host populations, the notions of hospitality and transrurality as corollary. The chapter will move to consider negative attitudes and encounters surrounding Polish migration, again from both the host population and migrant perspective. It is here where evidence of racism - "the physical or psychological maltreatment of people because of

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[24] As noted earlier the rural host population in the context of this thesis refers to two groups – English residents and Polish post-war migrants. The majority of discussion will relate to the narratives of English residents, the result of the focus of my research. Post-war Polish migrant narratives will be refereed to only in section 4.3.1.3.

their specific otherness" where "otherness may be defined in biological or cultural terms and expressed in inferiorization or insurmountable difference, of both" (Clarke 2003:41) – emerges. This section draws on psychoanalytical theory, particularly the work of Zizek and Nietzsche, to understand why psychogeographies as opposed to hospitable relations, are here discernible. The final area of consideration is indifference to Polish migration, responses which give credence to literatures cited earlier in section 2.5.2 of chapter 2 which suggested that with the passing of time post-accession Polish migrants could occupy a normalised position not too dissimilar to that occupied by the post-war cohort of Polish migrants.

Statistically, in the Fordstone host cohort, 8 English participants displayed broadly positive responses, 3 were negative and 4 were ambivalent. In Tidbury that statistics were 7, 5, and 3 respectively. For the Polish cohort, both of the Fordstone residents detailed broadly negative responses, whilst all 15 Tidbury residents detailed broadly positive responses. Use of the word 'broadly' is vital for the potential exists for such statistics to obfuscate rather than illuminate. Subtle nuances adjoined each grouping which means that each statistic should not be absorbed without critical reflection. For example, the negative host cohort in Fordstone predicated their opinions upon migration not the migrants per se, whilst the Polish cohort valorised the rural landscape aesthetic. These all-important nuances form part of the discussions which follow.

4.2 Positive Attitudes and Encounters

4.2.1 Positive Attitudes towards People

4.2.1.1 English Attitudes towards Polish Migrants

Positive couching of Polish migrants' by English rural residents occurred in relation to experience or attitude. Through these vectors Polish whiteness became marked and their invisible ethnicities exposed, deemed to possess admirable, valorised traits which distinguished them from the host population. With regards to experience, although more dominant in the narratives of Tidbury participants – the reflection of their having a larger Polish population residing in their locale – Fordstone residents too reflected upon their own personal experiences of Polish migrants in their village;

"My husband works with some Poles in the city. They were lovely to him. When he retired the company brought him nothing. Magda – one of the Polish ladies – who he had been working with for just a few months made him this lovely cake and a card. It was such a lovely touch!" Marge, 65, Fordstone.

"There is a rented 3 bedroomed house at the end of our cul-de-sac, and a couple of years ago a Polish family moved in. I went to meet them as part of my neighbourhood watch duties and found out that Mum and Dad did not speak English and the son's knowledge was sketchy. They seemed to fit in well with no problems. Dad always came outside to smoke a cigarette, he was always standing by the door when I went to work and every morning we exchanged 'dzien dobry'. We took them some wine at Christmas and they came back to us on Christmas day with a huge sponge cake that Mum had made with a bottle of some heady Polish vodka. In the two years they were there we all got on very well and were the only household who seemed to communicate with them." Michael, 52, Tidbury.

It is interesting that in a thesis which reflects upon acts of hospitality extended to Polish migrants, here positive attitudes were based upon the extending of hospitality by Polish to English residents emerging out of banal, unplanned spaces of encounter. The ordinary everyday spaces of the cul-de-sac and the workplace became liminal spaces of potential encounter, a potential evidently cultivated in the narratives of hospitality, sometimes reciprocal, which followed. These notions of banal encounter are important to bear in mind in the discussions of schemes of hospitality which follow later in the thesis.

With regards to attitude positive attitudes towards Polish migrants were couched in a number of ways, for being religious, family focused, friendly, beautiful and hard working. It is the latter example that was the most vociferously demonstrated in both areas with Polish migrants deemed to possess a 'hard work ethic';

"I have been told that Polish migrants work very hard and do more hours than they should in their work places." Lewis, 35, Fordstone.

"I'd say 99% of the families are working really, and their children are at school." Sarah, 39, Tidbury.

> *"Rural migration I think is good because there are people who will come and do the jobs that lazy people won't do and would rather draw the dole and not do any work." Kathryn, 48, Fordstone.*

Indeed, resonance was here struck with my Polish participants in both research areas. All had migrated in search of work, and of the 17 migrants with whom I conversed, 16 were employed in full-time jobs – from bar staff, to petrol station attendants, nursery workers to factory workers. The unemployed migrant – Anna from Tidbury – was a housewife seeking employment, a search problematised by her lack of transport, reduced transport infrastructure of the locale, and the need for working hours to combine with school hours. Many noted that their lives were full of work and little free time, but that this was not a problem but instead planned;

> *"We do not have much free time, it is work work work but that is why we are here, to work and to return home. We came here to make better life in Poland." Ewa, 25, Tidbury.*

4.2.1.2 Polish Attitudes towards English Residents

Positive Polish attitudes towards members of the host population people encountered were predicated on having received help from them when arriving - from helping access services via stakeholders, receiving guidance from neighbours regarding 'local ways', or similar help in the workplace. All participants received help in some way, to differing extents and with different outcomes. To some Tidbury residents the help was abundant and appreciated, enabling them to ease their way into life into their new locales. In isolated Fordstone the story was different with help not so freely given. Fortunately, having migrated from another area within Devon this lacuna was not detrimental as they were able to seek out help themselves. That said, the potential problem inspired Piotr (35) to act as 'helper' himself;

> *"One friend from Poland he said to me "Piotr you can help me to get to England yes?"Now I am going to help to do that. But I am going to be honest and explain what life is really like. I can't promise them that they can earn lots of money here but I've got everything what I want and what I love. I know from my past lots of people which blame the people that help when things go wrong– you know they haven't got lots of money or something because they expect much more than reality."*

Earlier reference made to the studies of Kelly and Lusis (2006), Eade et al (2006) and Ryan et al (2008) that suggested that Polish migrants do not help each other seems problematised. Such a notion will be explored further in the next chapter which sees my research areas take on a progressive edge in case studies whereby Polish migrants have mobilised to help their contemporaries via the extension of diverse and distinct suites of hospitality.

Positive attitudes towards members of the host population people encountered were also predicated upon the forging of new social networks with them. The majority of Polish participants referenced having English friends (13 out of 17), with a small number having an English partner (4);

> *"I like it here very much. I have my friends, my Polish friends and my English friends and my fiancé – he is English. This is my home now." Aliana, 22, Tidbury.*

> *"My partner is British as well and when we have any parties or Christmas we have a mixture of people." Asia, 25, Tidbury.*

> *"To be honest we have mainly English friends, and some from other countries that we have met from international group in Ashvale, and some nice friends from College, Polish people, and they live in Exeter." Anna, 35, Fordstone.*

> *"We don't really have Polish friends around here. There are a few I met working at petrol station I say 'Hello' to, nothing more." Piotr, 35, Fordstone.*

4.2.2 Positive Attitudes towards Rural Place

4.2.2.1 English Attitudes Regarding the Impact of Polish Migration

The belief of English participants that Polish migration was enacting a positive impact upon rural space was predicated upon a notion of 'need'. Just over a third of English participants in both areas (5 participants in Fordstone, 6 participants in Tidbury) deemed migration to rural areas 'needed' (contrasting with the figure of 15 overall deeming migration to the *UK* needed). Such notion of 'need' was couched solely in relation to employment shortages, with migrants perceived to be filling jobs that the host

population was not willing to undertake, making key contributions to their local
industries (factory work in Tidbury and agriculture in Fordstone);

> *"Being multicultural and economically active is very important and actually
> Britain has actively thrived over the past decade. All these decriers like the Mail
> and the Express "they're taking our jobs" it's iniquitous – because they're not!
> They're doing the jobs that people don't want to do! If you stop immigrants
> coming you stultify your economy, not the other way round." Phil, 59, Tidbury.*

> *"We need the migrants to do the jobs. Tidbury has been in such decline with
> closures. The migrants have provided a much need injection into both the
> workforce and the economy. They live here and spend their money here after all.
> They are helping Tidbury survive." Nicole, 29, Tidbury.*

> *"I think migration is a good thing. The Poles they come here and work hard.
> Look at all the farms around us. Without the Poles and other such migrants I
> fear the farms would go under and then where would we be?" Dominic, 45,
> Fordstone.*

In Tidbury, where there existed a large visible Polish population in terms of both
numbers and service responses, positive impact upon space was also couched in terms
of migration making rural spaces more multicultural;

> *"I just think it is great that children are growing up seeing the Polish shops and
> people in Tidbury. I hope that the outcome will be that to them Polish people are
> normal and nothing different." Iris, 45, Tidbury.*

Indeed, it was not just children that were posited to benefit from the multicultural
environment in which they living. A number of adults reflected upon their encounters
with Polish migrants noting an experience in which they had learnt something. Here I
take the narrative of Mike (60) from Tidbury as example;

> *"We have a flat for rent over our office and a young Polish couple rented it. We
> had a problem in that they would not put their old bread in the dustbin only
> leave it outside the bin on the ground, and when I asked them why they did that
> they said it was their religion. Not understanding this I spoke to a Polish teller
> who worked at the bank, who told me that some Polish people see bread as the*

body of Christ and cannot consign it to the dustbin but leave outside for animals and birds to take away. It is amazing what you simply overlook because you do not understand. People, who to all intents and purposes look the same, are in fact very different."

In such instances of something unexpected being learnt, traditional English framings of Polish migrants, often predicated upon English expectations of what is 'normal' in an English sense (i.e. putting bread in a bin) were destabilised, and exposed as simplistic. New multicultural framings emerged. Predicated upon nuanced and more attuned sense of understandings, it is from these framings that one could surmise that hospitality could best emerge.

4.2.2.2 Polish Attitudes Regarding their Experience of Place

Positive Polish attitudes towards place were couched in two ways: specifically in relation to rural spaces, and broadly in relation to the UK. With regards to the former, much was made of the physical attributes of the rural spaces in which they resided, heavily valorised and set in contrast to their urban equivalent;

"I do not wish to live in the City. It is too busy and too noisy. I like that here people are not in a rush, life goes slow. Yes it is boring sometimes but I think this is normal for small towns." Zyta, 25, Tidbury.

"I am happy here. The city it is too dangerous, too crowded, too noisy and too polluted." Erek, 26, Tidbury.

"I think this size of the town is absolutely wonderful for me. I visit my friends which they live in the villages around here. It is wonderful, very similar to where I lived in Poland. I do not wish to live in City. Many people do in Poland, but not me." Maggie, 33, Tidbury.

"I like the beauty of the place, it's quieter, the air quality is better. Cities are so fast and dirty." Aggie, 30, Tidbury.

This said none of my participants of either research area *planned* to reside in rural areas, with their coming to be in the area result of employment agency orchestration (7), or

joining friends and family in the area (8) in Tidbury, or mere chance in Fordstone (2). When I put the question to participants "Do you ever wish that you lived in the city?" 10 of the 15 Tidbury participants said no. The 5 that responded yes predicated their answer not on a disavowal of rural areas per se, but instead their coming from a city in Poland. As one participant put it *"I'm born to live in the big city"* (Artur, 28, Tidbury). In Fordstone both Anna and Piotr answered yes. For them much was made of their former habitation in the medieval city of Toruń. I remember distinctly the look of loss in Anna's eyes and the haunting pause when reflecting upon her town;

> A: *"I miss my town. It's very nice, a beautiful, magical place my home town. It is very old. [Pauses] I think I'm a city person. I wouldn't have thought about living in the country, never, **never**. Everything is close in the city – schools, shops, education, **people**! [Laughs]."*

> K: *"Yes Fordstone is a very isolated place. You could go for days without seeing people."*

> A: *"Sometimes it feels like I am the only person who lives here!"*

They repeatedly expressed a wish to move to a city. This, as will become clear later, was predicated upon their experiences of racism and as such a planned move predicated upon people rather than place. For the moment they remain for the sake of their children who are settled at their school, with their social isolation placated to a certain extent by the opportunity for engagement with the physical landscape around them, which they evidently valorised;

> A: *"We talk about the things people say but we try not to think of it too much. We live in such a nice place, Devon is so beautiful. Life is too short……"*

> P: *"There are lots of places to discover all around your house…."*

> A: *"Wonderful places, beautiful places, the hills, the fields, the sea….."*

> *P: "There are lots of places around where you can drive, walk, something and we discover every single week, we just drive off somewhere, everywhere, to lots of lots of places. I think that lots of people from here know less nice places around this area than I know!"*

With regards to attitudes towards the UK, every Polish participant with whom I conversed couched England as a land of possibility. Their rationales underlying migration noted this possibility: seeking to learn English (2), acting on an intrigue surrounding life in England (2), seeking employment (6), or seeking change (7). Here Appiah's (2006) concept of cosmopolitan curiosity - openness to a different way of living developed through transnational histories – is evidenced. My participants can be seen as "individuals with limited choices deciding to enter into something larger than their immediate cultures" (Malcomson 1998:235) via migration. They are "searchers" seeking a new way of life, meeting new people and improving English language skills (Eade et al 2007:34). Indeed, England was set in direct contrast to Poland, a country deemed fixed in the shadow of communism. As Adrianna who arrived in Tidbury shortly after accession in 2004 put it *"It's easier to live in England and it is possible for dreams to come true"*. Many participants spoke of feeling constrained by Poland. Tidbury resident Artur, who also migrated in 2004, recalled how he had come to realise that *"I needed to change my life"* for *"running my own business in Poland was becoming too difficult"*. For some this cosmopolitan curiosity engendered fast decision making processes. Just under half (8) detailed how migration had been decided on a whim (with 6 following a long term plan, and 3 following family or friends). For the majority then migration was tinged with risk. All participants migrated independently. In Tidbury just 7 participants migrated with a job pre-arranged although all had accommodation planned, whilst Piotr experienced accommodation problems when he first arrived in England;

> *"In 2004 when all borders were opened for Polish people I just decide "yes we have to move there for long time, forever", I just decide I don't know on the Thursday or the Friday and I was here after couple of days from when I decided. I came to Cullompton because I knew some Polish people already here, I rung them up and asked if they could give me for couple of weeks a roof over my head just to survive. They said yes and I stayed with them for 2 weeks. Then I left because I could only stay there short while so I lived for 2 months in my car working in McDonalds learning language and saving money for deposit for accommodation. Then after 4 months Anna came with my son Wiktor and we start from beginning. After a few years we end up here in Fordstone."*

For those four months Piotr's family were divided by migration. Skeldon (1997:229) refers to this as the "astronaut syndrome", with the wife and children of a family unit left behind whilst the male head of household migrates. They kept daily contact via phone and Skype. The transnational social morphology of the astronaut family indicates how social relationships are able to operate across national borders, and thus reducing the importance placed upon face-to-face contact in personal interaction (Waters 2002). Piotr works, Anna does not. To a certain extent during the day when she looks after the children by herself the astronaut family is replicated at a small temporary scale. Kelly and Lusis (2006) argue that for members of the astronaut family who find themselves in a host nation, contact with parents, especially mothers, is deemed highly important to many. This was particularly true of Anna who phones her mother every day. She acts as a lynchpin (Williams 2006) connecting Anna more personally with her homeland and providing emotional support through transnational communications.

Indeed, transnational communications were a key strategic accompaniment to the cosmopolitan curiosity of all participants. Within the home "habitus has now to be painstakingly reinforced in the face of lifeworlds that are frequently in flux" (Appadurai 1996:56). A desire to feel at home (Parutis 2007) led migrants to seek and construct familiarity in their immediate environments to enable them to attempt to cope with being in a new country (Metykova 2010). Most predominantly, microelectronic transnationalism (Spivak 1989) has allowed migrants to sustain transnational networks, and strive to root, albeit temporarily, their fluxing lifeworlds, providing emotional, social and cultural support. This contact was predominantly sought on a weekly basis (7 participants), with a slightly smaller number (6) seeking just monthly contact. The smallest group (4) of participants sought daily contact. Interestingly, with reference to the lynchpin notion this cohort was entirely female and seeking contact with their mother. The most popular connection mediums were those that permitted an engaged moment of communication in which one could see or hear the other – Skype (used by all participants), and the telephone (used by 15 of the 17 participants). These means were followed by less engaged forms of communication - Facebook (14), e-mail (10), and letter (4).

For migrants, the words of Mahler (2001:584) ring true. "Times have changed; they are still physically distanced, but they can now feel and function like a family", albeit spatially dispersed in 'virtual neighbourhoods' (Elkins 1999). My Polish participants cultivate transrural imaginaries to honour the specificities of migration, that is, the desire to incorporate elements of the home country whilst in the host country. Communication technologies serve to redefine space, accommodating the trail of collective memory that projects with migration, ensuring a sense of attachment elsewhere, whilst creating new maps of desire and attachment in the host nation (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1989i). A "diaspora consciousness" persists (Vertovec 2009:6) with rurality recast as transrurality, situated within "multicultural, multiethnic, transnational and mobile social imaginaries" (Askins 2009:366).

Although all participants were underemployed to a certain extent, typically in manual or service industry jobs that bore little correlation with their education and training in Poland, this was not deemed a negative thing by participants. The sentiment I perceived was that 'a job was a job', a means to an end – a method to earn money to return home, or to stay - which as such precluded value judgement on its nature. Originally the planned length of stay was either short term (anything from 3 months up to 12 months – 8 participants), open (participants were unsure about the planned length of stay intended to return at some point– 6 participants), or indefinitely (3 participants). With the passing of time intentions stayed, with all but one of my participants planning to stay in England indefinitely, with the 'one' having to return to Poland due to the ill health of her father. [I say "stay in *England*" as overall, 8 participants (6 in Tidbury and both in Fordstone) expressed a wish to move to a city]. The change was a reflection of the forging of careers and new rural realities in England unimaginable in Poland;

> *"I was supposed to come here for 3 months in 2004 just to earn money for university - I already had a place to do psychology. I decided to stay here for year to improve my language. I have been here ever since! I have worked up in factory to supervisor level and I love my job. If you were ask me when I was 18 if I would work in factory I would probably say that you are joking! But, that was the life I took, I'm really happy, I don't have any regrets. I don't plan at all to go back to Poland. My partner is English; I have great friends and great job. I will probably settle permanently here." Martyna, 26, Tidbury.*

4.2.3 Identity Hybridisation

Bhabha (1994:231) argues that there is "a profound temporal distinction – the translational time and space – through which minority communities negotiate their collective identifications". The Roma woman – a designated economic migrant – was given as an example of someone "categorised as an undifferentiated Other with an invisible history" (Bhabha 1994:239). To that example I would add Polish migrants. They too have been homogenised, cast as economic migrant in an oft problematic discursive mediated configuration yet the reality of their individual and diverse personal histories necessitates a move beyond "the lure of binarism" (Soja 1996:61), the sorting and division into simplified categories – in this instance Polish/English – that contribute to the shaping of social space and expectations of what is right and wrong in said spaces. Instead one should look towards the more progressive notion of 'thirding' occurring within the 'thirdspace'. One such example of work in this vein is provided by Soja (1996:61) who developed the thirdspace thesis of Bhabha, nuancing the process of translation with reference to the notion of struggle. Here, "the third-as-Other [which] begins an expanding chain of heuristic disruptions, strengthening defences against totalising closure and all 'permanent constructions". Of particular interest to Soja are the individuals who embody thirdness in the sense that they reject conventional categorisations of themselves, seemingly living simultaneously in different worlds.

Bhaba's concept disallows the existence of any kind of original essential identity. Identities are always hybridised, always emergent, always shifting. Thus, the processes of identity hybridisation – examples of embodiments of 'thirdness' - detailed herein should not be viewed as exclusive trends, as examples of hybridisation from a 'norm'. There is no 'norm' and hybridisation is ever ongoing. I detail identity hybridisation here with specific reference to the impact migration has had on the process. My use of the terms Polish and English identity should be seen not as essentialist frameworks but instead mechanisms to structure discussion, umbrella terms to incorporate the infinite intricacies that abound within.

I found evidence of identity hybridisation enacted by post-accession Polish migration for all of my Polish migrants and 6 of the 30 English participants (all of whom were from Tidbury). I viewed such embodiments of thirdness – the collaboration of cultures

and the forging of hybridised identities bound to migration - as the corollary of positive attitudes towards both people and place. These processes of hybridisation were predicated along key identity module lines. For Polish migrants I identified these modules to include food and drink, social networks, and media use and reception. For English residents I identified these modules to be similar, including food and drink and social networks. In the following discussion of identity hybridisation I structure my observations into three categories which reflect the varying degrees of separation and collaboration between cultures inherent in identity hybridisation I observed. Such a tactic should be seen as a mechanism to structure *discussion*, not *identity hybridisation* per se. Identity is fluid and plural. To attempt to bound the ever-unfixed nature of identities via categorisation would be a grave error. Identity hybridisation cannot and should not be limited to a small number of categories. It is beyond my remit to discuss the full plurality of identities observed. Instead, I hope here to give a sufficient taster of the processes of identity hybridisation that accompany migration.

4.2.3.1 Separation

The first example of identity hybridisation refers to more fleeting hybridisations of identity, isolated moments of cultural collaboration predicated upon the modulation of singular as opposed to multiple identity modules. Here 6 of the 15 Polish participants in Tidbury could be positioned. Polish participants here experienced modulation of social network strands of identity, acquiring English friends through work or their place of residence. They strove to maintain the split between Polish and English strands of identity, emphasising and privileging the former. To this end no shift in food and media modules was discernible with their home set up to replicate a 'Little Poland' via the speaking of Polish, the consumption of Polish food and drinks and media sources. Hybridised identities were very much deployed and cultivated *outside* of the home, an organic happening rather than something actively sought;

> *"We watch only Polish TV and we read Polish newspapers too. It is very important to keep knowledge of life back in Poland. Polish food too is important. Every Friday or Saturday we go shopping just for Polish sausages. The shops here - I thought when I move that this may be difficult - but it is a dream now! My friends are mainly Polish yes, with 2 English friends from work who I only really see at work. My husband is critical of my Polish friends. He tells me*

"they are people who you met here, they are close to you because they are not in Poland and you are from Poland, you would not be friends if you were in Poland". Maybe he is right but for now, they are my friends and important to me." Maggie, 33, Tidbury.

I am here reminded of Dramaturgy and the work of Erving Goffman (1959). Goffman argues social interaction to be akin to a performance in a play. Individuals put on a performance for others to convince them about who they are. Important here are the concepts of status – the part in the play – and role – the script which supplies dialogue and action. Before an individual interacts with another they typically prepare a role which suitably conveys the impression they seek to present. Like an actor, they have to believe in the role in order to be convincing. In each series of everyday performances, like on the stage, people manage settings, clothing, words and non-verbal actions to give a particular impression to others. Through this process of 'impression management' they may become the person they are trying to project an image of. Important here is the distinction Goffman makes between 'front stage behaviour' – actions which are visible to the audience and are part of the performance - and 'back stage behaviour' – the performing of actions in the absence of an audience, enabling the 'stepping out of character' of front stage performances. Through presenting ourselves in particular roles in particular settings the individual develops a plurality of ever-changing identities. Those Polish migrants who can be positioned within this category of separation provide a clear example of this distinction, working to different scripts for their front and back stage performances. Front stage is here represented by the public sphere of work where they have to cultivate an English identity predicated upon language in order to meet the perceived requirements of others, which is to speak English to communicate, and hence succeed at work. Back stage represents the private sphere, the home. Here, free from the demands of external identity constructions, migrants can actively focus on cultivating their Polish identity via the speaking in Polish, the eating of Polish food and the consumption of Polish media and entertainment sources.

It is in relation to this notion of identity hybridisation that I observed intra-cohort contestation, discussed earlier in section 2.5.2 to be at play. I found that a number of those with hybridised identities believed that Polish migrants should cultivate similar

identities, embracing and incorporating their English experiences into their identities. To this end, negative attitudes were extended to those migrants whose back stage performances focus on the forging of cultural and social enclaves, adjudged to be replicating a 'Little Poland' in their homes;

> *"Some people, some people try to make some Little Poland in England and we are not those kinds of people." Anna, 35, Fordstone.*

> *"My point of view is quite hard for some, if you can't fit just get back to Poland. If something is wrong with this culture or this community or if learning English is too hard, if the English television is crap or something, I can buy you ticket and just return. Why you are here, what is the point? You just milking England like a stupid cow for money and sending money to your country? I think fair, I don't send money to Poland, I spend money here." Piotr, 35, Fordstone.*

The notion of acting purely as temporary economic migrants jarred with Piotr even though relatives (Anna's cousin and Piotr's sister and mother) had trodden that same path. He felt that if migrants felt the need to directly replicate their lives in Poland in England then they might as well return home. Indeed, he even expressed such sentiment towards his own sister;

> *"My sister she lives in Oketon but it looks as though she is in Poland. Polish television, Polish newspapers, Polish magazines, and Polish fridge! I don't think she even knows what is going on in England. I say these things but it is not my business really. She is happy person but I wonder sometimes you know if she should just go back to Poland."*

4.2.3.2 Collaboration

More engaged processed of identity hybridisation were predicated upon the modulation of multiple identity modules. Whereas previous discussion referred to separation, this category refers to processes of collaboration. Polish migrants – 1 Fordstone resident and 9 Tidbury residents - here sought to bring together both the Polish and English elements of their life, giving them equal weighting. Social networks were typically mixed, as were food and drink consumption patterns, with a mix of English and Polish media and TV watched in the home (with the former typically 'dominant', with the latter accessed

via the internet). I found this version of hybridised identities to be particularly prevalent amongst those Polish participants with English partners, emerging naturally as a result of the time-deepened repetitive broadening of social networks facilitated by the interlinking of two people;

> *"My fiancé is English so we have a big mix of friends who are English and Polish. We generally don't eat Polish food at home but sometimes I will cook special dishes for him. It is similar situation with Polish TV. We watch English TV at home – I love it, some of the programmes they are so different – but I will sometimes watch programmes I have watched in Poland on internet. We speak English to each other, but I am trying to teach him some Polish. He is not very good, but I am trying! My life is very different than it was when I first arrived in 2005, and very different to life in Poland. It is just a big mix of everything now!"* Romana, 25, Tidbury.

Collaboration was also discernible from the English perspective (all 6 of those noted to have hybridised identities), predicated mainly upon the hybridisation of social networks and food modules. Tidbury couple Phil and Sally provide a good example. A chance meeting with a Polish couple has led to a deep friendship being forged, regular visits to the local Polish cafe, the consumption of Polish foods and the choosing of Poland as a repeated holiday destination. They are English but their passion is very much all things Polish. Much has been made of this thesis being a mix of ethnography and auto-ethnography so I feel it pertinent to here declare that I too have a hybridised identity characterised. This is predicated on the hybridisation of my social networks, the result of the forging of friendship with a Polish family involved in my research. This friendship was not sought but instead emerged naturally as a result of an unnatural research induced collision.

4.2.3.3 Renouncement

With a certain parallel to the earlier cited work of Goffman, the social psychological concept of the 'looking-glass self' (Cooley 1902) argues that person's identity grows out of society's interpersonal interactions and the perceptions and reactions of others. Through imagining the way others see us, our personal or subjective sense of identity is linked to the external identity that others have of us (Mead 1934). For some this external identity is something the individual strives to change, deemed at odds with

their personal sense of identity. This section, devoted to 35 year old Polish Fordstone resident Piotr, will reflect on such a notion. By his own admission working as a sales manager in Poland he had *"a flash job, a flash car, and a flash suit"*. However, his life was miserable - *"I was tired, working all day earning very little, sometimes having not enough for petrol"*. He had grown to hate Poland and the constraints living there placed upon his life. He was particularly aggrieved to have little free time in which to practice his true love, producing reggae music. Migration to England was couched as a strategy to cultivate a new identity via tactical behaviour that would afford him a more comfortable positioning. Here the hybridisation of identity modules was intentional as opposed to an organic happening. Piotr approached his life in England with the 'When in Rome, do as the Romans do' mantra, proactively seeking cultural collaboration by predominantly eating English food (reserving Polish food consumption for special occasions) watching English TV, listening to English radio and reading English newspapers. The hybridisation of social networks also occurred, acquiring a broad suite of friends from a variety of countries in the wider area, but not in Fordstone. Here social isolation is a key problem experienced by him and his family, to be discussed later in this chapter. Although the hybridisation of these identity modules was important, it was a wider tactical behaviour that was most important to the development of Piotr's extreme hybridised identity. Piotr revealed to me that shortly after arriving in Fordstone he legally changed his surname. When asked why he responded;

> *"I have become who I want to be. I changed it because Wierzynski doesn't work in the reggae world and so I chose then English surname - Jones. Pete Jones it sounds very English yes? (Laughs) For all my life it has been really difficult to pronounce my surname and I said no I have to change something. I have to. It is easier in Reggae world – Piotr Jones. It works. People do not know that I am Polish. That helps me be accepted in reggae world, especially when much of what I do is sent on-line. People never see me. To them maybe I am black person?"*

I am here alerted to the work of De Certeau (1984), detailed earlier in section 2.5.2 of chapter 2, regarding tactical behaviour. Migration to England is an expression of tactical behaviour, an opportunistic tactic predicated upon Piotr creating a space for himself in which he could more fully cultivate his identity. This process was affirmed by his name change, a tactical opting-out of his Polish identity in order to attain a nuanced sense of conformity - in the reggae music world – which serves to further the very cultivation of

identity that migration afforded. His tactical suite combines disparate elements – migration from Poland, the acquisition of a number of jobs, the choosing to work part time, the hybridisation of key identity modules, and a name change – to afford him an advantage, the potential to cultivate as opposed to suppress the identity to which he aspired in Poland but felt unable to fully pursue. His suite of tactics thus becomes "the space of the other" (De Certeau 1984:37).

It became clear to me that Piotr prior to migration had been experiencing a double identity burden, renouncing Poland due to the constraints exerted on his life and renouncing his white Polish identity. Earlier I noted how Polish migrants within the English rural landscape of privilege could be viewed as a 'white other' lacking 'unmarked whiteness' (Hubbard 2005:53). Here Piotr is trying to achieve not a position of 'unmarked whiteness' within rural space, but instead 'unmarked Polishness' within international space, changing his name to eradicate a visible marker of Polishness and work towards an identity more receptive to the reggae community. Indeed, 'unmarked whiteness' is not something sought for the very notion of 'whiteness' is to him problematic and something actively renounced;

> *"You know some people are born like a woman, just they feel like a man? I don't feel like a Polish person or even a white person, I'm white but feel black. I'm strange [Laughs]. Yeah I'm different."*

Although the valorised position of 'unmarked blackness' is physically impossible for Piotr to achieve he seemed happy with the hybridised identity he had cultivated in England. He had found somewhere where he could live comfortably without feeling constrained, successfully hybridising his identity to enable him to be better received as a reggae performer and producer;

> *"Now I'm just returned to my normal mental condition and I'm happy for that. England I think accepts me. You know I'm here and now I feel free because I escape from the narrow minded. Reggae in Poland was not accepted. You cannot do proper reggae there. I have escaped outside of Poland into the motherland of reggae and it's alright."*

Another strand of intra-cohort (and indeed inter-cohort) contestation can be discussed here in relation to the discussions of both identity collaboration and renouncement. This strand of contestation represents somewhat of a disavowal of hybridised identities, and can be positioned as a response to the strand of intra-cohort contestation – "integrate or go home" – detailed earlier. Here it is postulated that migrants should strive to protect and perpetuate their Polish identity, with negative attitudes extended to those migrants who acquire hybridised identities, cultivating and prioritising English aspects of identity in the 'pick and mix' process of identity cultivation inherent. Such prioritisation was noted to have caused particular social problems in reception, both with reference to the Polish (both post-accession and post-war) communities in England and on their potential return to Poland. With regards to the former a belief was exerted that a Polish migrant in England can never be anything other than Polish. Although one is capable of enacting a change in their self-identity, it is not possible to change the way identity is externally received and perceived;

"It's like I always said, once a foreigner, always a foreigner. You can't get rid of that." Adam, 70, post-war Polish migrant, Tidbury.

"I have a friend, well he is not my friend anymore, and he tried to make himself English. He learnt English, he watched English TV, and he said to us "I am English now". We laughed at him. He cannot be English. He is not Polish anymore. He is nothing." Ewa, 25, post-accession Polish migrant, Tidbury.

*"I'm a really annoying person for my wife because I say I am not Polish but she always reminds me "but you **are** Polish and you can't change that"". Piotr, 35, post-accession Polish migrant, Fordstone*

The comment from Piotr is particularly salient. To his wife a complete denouncement of Polishness is impossible. A slippage in his actions indicated to me that complete denouncement is not actually sought by him. Although he stresses a hatred of Poland and proudly proclaims that he has carved a new identity he continues to speak Polish in the home and keeps 'watch' on his home City via a webcam, even showing me it during an interview. Evidently Piotr is betrayed by a personal history he is clearly unable to totally distance himself from. It would be interesting to learn how, with the passing of

time and the continued development of English aspects of his identity, the importance of these Polish aspects of identity are affected.

With regards to the second strand of contestation attention should be drawn back to chapter 2 (section 2.5.1), where the relationship between migration and morality in Poland was discussed. Here a nationalistic discourse of sedentarist metaphysics (Malkki 1997) emphasising nostalgic feelings towards 'motherhood' and naturalising attachments to land was noted to be in action. With political migration afforded a higher moral status than economic migration, deemed an admirable fight for freedom (Erdmans 1992), economic migration is deemed a turning away from the nation, a severing of the link between morality and homeland which equates to moral collapse. The reception of migrants on return to Poland thus becomes problematic. Such sentiment became apparent in the narratives of post-accession Polish migrants who were unsure of their return to Poland;

> *"Going back to Poland area would be difficult because people in Poland don't like people that came here or to other countries. They don't like that we left our country. To them we are no longer truly Polish. We have changed." Anna, 35, Fordstone.*

Adjudged to be willing protagonists of the abandonment of their homeland, potential re-embedding is unclear. A reconfiguration of dramaturgy will be necessary, perhaps one which actively emphasises their Polishness front of stage and limits expressions of the English aspects of their hybridised identities to back of stage.

The discussions of this section raise important points in relation to the key themes of my thesis – transrurality and hospitality. Askins (2009) argues transrurality to be a conceptualisation encapsulating both the specificities of place and open to mobility and desire. I believe the processes of identity hybridisation detailed herein to be predicated upon these notions of specificity, mobility and desire. Identity hybridisation – the process of incorporating the senses of rural ethnic difference into identities (to a greater extent via collaboration or renouncing the old and emphasising the new and a lesser, strategic extent via separation) – is to me, transrurality in practice. The extension of

hospitality is a scalar process and in no means a given. Despite this qualification I am able to make a brief statement regarding hospitality extension and identity hybridisation. Earlier in chapter 2 (section 2.3.2) I noted the potential for hospitality to be extended and hospitable relations to thrive to be somewhat reduced in those individuals who practice 'splitting'. To this end, for me, the greatest potential for hospitable relations comes from those individuals who strive to develop transrural identities via collaboration both front and back stage, in all aspects of life. That is not to say those who strictly delineate Polish and English identities do not extend hospitality. For these individuals it proceeds in a more strategic way with the extension of hospitable relations 'front stage' very much a staged encounter, a means to an end as alluded to by the comment made by Maggie's husband. In the main hospitality is reserved for fellow Polish migrants.

This section has emphasised the ever unfixed nature of identity. With migration new geographies of identity are negotiated as individual and collective memories meet and hybridise (Kalra et al 2005). These diasporic identities are local and global, bound into "networks of transnational identifications encompassing 'imagined' and 'encountered' communities" (Brah 1996:196). Identification is not equal for "while some migrants identify more with one society than the other, the majority seem to maintain several identities that link them simultaneously to more than one nation" (Glick Schiller et al 1992:11).Thus, Polish identities can become hybridised to differing extents by English influences and vice versa. Hybridised identities should be viewed as emerging through a strategic (or organic) 'pick 'n' mix' process in which a thirdspace beyond strict delineation of 'Polish' or 'English' identities is cultivated to permit life to proceed in a valorised manner. At the extreme level they can be viewed as intentional in the true thirdspace sense, sought processes of identity hybridisation definable as heuristic dispositions which strive against totalising categorisations which delimit behaviour along national identity lines. Thirdspace is thus a politics of inclusion rather than exclusion with the hybrid identity positioned within and emergent from the thirdspace thus acting as lubricant (Papastergiadis 1997) in the combining of cultures. Hybridised identities are about making the best of the situation, including aspects from both cultures where total submersion in one is perhaps not wanted or indeed possible.

4.3 Negative Attitudes and Encounters

4.3.1 Negative Attitudes towards People

4.3.1.1 English Attitudes towards Polish Migrants

The body as "the geography closest in" (Rich 1986:212) is of vital importance, representing the key boundary between self and other. Our bodies are entwined in multiple power relations predicated along multiple axes of identity, "performed, resisted, disciplined and oppressed not simply in but through space" (Longhurst 2005:93). The old adage decrees that one must not "judge a book by its cover" yet for many, given that as the body is the most visible carrier of the self (Featherstone 1991), initial judgement of others is often predicated purely on appearance. Following these ideas I posed the question 'how can you tell if someone is Polish?' to English participants. The majority– 28 of 30 English participants (15 in Fordstone and 13 in Tidbury) - argued that there was no bodily difference and hence no outward way of 'knowing'. A minority however shared the opposing view, detailed in the following excerpt of a conversation between me and 18 year old Tidbury resident Tom;

T: "By looking. It's nothing to do with language for me. You can tell a polish person from a mile off – they've got big square heads and walk like twats!"

K: "Could you describe this for me?"

T: "They walk with a swagger, a sort of limp. It's different from everyone else."

K: "Are you sure that it was not just a Polish person with a problem walking?"

T: "No, it is all of them."

Earlier in chapter 2 (section 2.3.1) I discussed the process of splitting. Here, Tom has 'split' Polish migrants off from the host population in a manner that although observational (acting on experience) is also judgemental (extending the attribute to all Polish migrants). Such a response troubled me. The idea that Polish migrants were identifiable by facial composition and gait struck alarming similarity with environmental determinism. This belief in the moulding power of the physical environment on human culture and constitution proved popular in the early 20th century

with notable proponents Ellen Semple (1903) and Ellsworth Huntington (1924). Here with racial typecasting [a different physicality] bound to environmentalist explanation [being from Poland] detailed, the arguments appeared recast in the 21st century. Indeed, through such processes of judgemental physiological splitting a very distinctive psychogeography predicated upon essentialist and derogatory tropes has emerged. Initially I thought this discussion would proceed in a simple manner, with me detailing the quote, qualifying it as being the minority and exposing the identity politics as essentialist, but then a problem arose. Polish resident of Fordstone Piotr detailed a similar sentiment regarding bodily difference;

K: *"Do you ever feel a need to try to hide that you are Polish?"*

P: *"No, it was just impossible because everyone knows who I am. I do not want to hide anyway, even if people look at me differently before they hear my language and then after. We cannot hide. Polish people they look different to English people. Many, the men they are bald or have short hair, and they wear the puma or Adidas sport wear and a backpack. They walk with a swagger [demonstrates]. The women, they have greasy hair and the dodgy dye, the two colours the white and the black. Not all. We are not like them but many yes, they are like this."*

I had a problem. Like Tom, processes of splitting were evident although in this instance it was intra-cohort as opposed to extra-cohort. Splitting was both observational and judgemental with the latter not as extreme as Tom. At the moment of 'reveal' I was left confused and questions coursed through my head to the extent that temporarily I lost track of the interview. Was Piotr's narrative critique or derogatory essentialism also? After reflection upon my time spent with Piotr the answers emerged. It is my belief that his comments were critique. Judgement came only in relation to the hair dye ("*dodgy dye*"), with the rest of his narrative predicated upon observation. Although he too suggested a different style of walking his narrative differed in the sense that no value judgement was attached nor extended. Piotr was quick to stress how his observations, although enabling one to identify Polish migrants, were not identifiable to all. He showed me an old picture of himself in which he had dreadlocks and Rasta clothing to prove that not all Polish migrants look the same. Negative resonance was not discernible in his identity politics.

Negative attitudes towards Polish migrants were also couched in other ways. There existed in a minority of Tidbury residents a belief that Polish migrants were prone to negative traits - of being arrogant, unfriendly, alcoholic, violent, and unlawful. Here the notion of encounter was important in two respects. Firstly, similar sentiment was not discernible in Fordstone where most participants, with few exceptions, were yet to engage directly with a Polish migrant and as such did not frame them negatively at the personal level, choosing instead to have a negative opinion of migration in general. Secondly, for some Tidbury residents an experience with one migrant framed their experience with all migrants. Take the following narrative from 37 year old Sam, as indicative of such processes of attitudinal generalisation;

> S: "Oh they've all got chips on their shoulders haven't they? I mean, don't you just find them all terribly arrogant?"

> K: "That is not something I have found. You believe all Polish migrants to be this way?"

> S: "Yes, without doubt. It is my experience definitely."

This negative framing of Polish migrants was a contentious one. Those displaying a positive attitude towards Polish migrants seemed readily aware of such framing, rationalising the absence of hospitality extension or the committing of unlawful acts on which some readings are based as cultural misinterpretation;

> "There is a culture misunderstanding with friendliness. I had young Polish couples sharing my flat complex with my boyfriend and we always tried to say hello and smile but the few couples we met never smiled back. I wonder if they have had a bad experience with other Tidbury people not being friendly to them. The trouble is this lack of communication can breed mistrust in the local people of 'unfriendly' Polish whether they are or not!" Megan, 30, Tidbury.

> "The law in Poland is different, it is the Napoleonic Law, and our law is different so it's difficult for them to understand. They come over here thinking that we are in Europe and every country in Europe does everything the same." Sally, 60, Tidbury.

Such postulations were borne out of readings (first or second hand) of actions in the public sphere. However, this is not the only scale at which negative attitudes towards Polish migrants were formed. Roger and Linda, a retired 75 year old English couple from Tidbury who have lived in the town for 25 years, having heard of my research through another participant, contacted me offering *"a different slant on the integration of the Polish people in the town… our experience of a small minority is not something that the majority of the good Polish migrants would wish to know about"*. Their story was quite startling. Prior to purchasing their house in 2009 they had been warned by the estate agent that the house had been let, with one tenant on the register but 8 Polish men having been known to live there. This they expected for all rooms except the kitchen were equipped with a bed and a television. What they never foresaw were the problems that followed;

> *"On the day that we moved in there was old mail on the doormat and one, addressed to the Occupant, contained a final demand from the gas supplier for an unpaid bill of over £600. The gas would be discontinued in one week if the bill was not settled. The mail kept on coming, all addressed to one of the eight men. Most had return addresses so every day I 'returned to sender'. As the months passed there have been new names appearing on the mail - names of men who most certainly have never lived here. It did not take me long to establish that, without exception, the mail originated at the offices of debt collecting agencies. The men were using our address when seeking financial services and these providers weren't verifying."* Roger

In section 2.2.2 of chapter 2 I discussed the complexity of hospitality. Here I noted how Friese (2004) deemed any incident of hospitality to be situated within a system of tensions between hospitality and hostility, proximity and distance, inclusion and exclusion. This is clear in relation to this case study. Roger and Linda are inextricably and unwittingly bound into a system of hospitality exchange predicated on distance. They are both hosts (the anonymous guest 'uses' their address to obtain financial services) and hostages (they can neither control nor remove themselves from the process). It is a one way process of hospitality couched in terms of exploitation which has resulted in experiences of inhospitality and hostility for the couple. Indeed, the repercussions have been severe. The property was blacklisted by domestic service providers and they found it difficult for suppliers, particularly of gas, to take them on as customers. Bailiffs have visited attempting to recover a car on which £4000 was owed, whilst 2 police officers and a civilian court officer armed with warrants for the arrest of

two former residents have also arrived at the property. Although Roger has worked tirelessly to find a resolution, the issue is yet to be resolved. The local Post Office sorting office intercepts any mail not addressed to him or his wife but this does not stop the issue at hand, that is, the using of their address to acquire funds. To a certain extent there is little that can be done. Whilst those offering financial services continue to fail to verify addresses, the problem will continue. Roger and Linda keep a file noting the problem mail and return it to the sender. A marker of the severity of the problem they face, in the last 2 years they have logged the details of over 250 items of mail addressed to Polish men arriving through their letter-box.

Earlier, in section 2.3.1 of chapter 2 I considered the importance of the home as a space of privacy and retreat. For Roger and Linda, achieving a sense of Heimlich within their home is problematised by a peopled (they have names) yet simultaneously and somewhat paradoxically anonymous (they have never met, nor are they likely to) other who seep into their private sanctuary through the letter-box. Sanders sense of "agreeable restfulness" (Sanders (1860), cited in Sibley 2005:155) is irreversibly damaged as they live in fear of the arrival of the unheimlich - receiving another letter and the repercussions it could bring. Sanctuary is stolen. My earlier statement that the boundary between public and private can be transgressed is given credence. Jay's (1995:23) notion that "no interior can be made safe from the incursion of the alien other" seems pertinent. Yet, despite their experiences, the couple maintain a positive attitude toward Polish migrants. *"I know that our experience concerns only a minority of Polish residents, with the majority carrying on genuine business activity in the town and integrating into the life of Tidbury" (Roger).* I found this heartening. Their experiences were not preventing the development of transrural understandings of their locale. Negative postulation had occurred, but not en masse. Attitudinal extension was absent. This was a key distinction, one all too often absent from the narratives of those who negatively framed all Polish migrants on the basis of an encounter with one.

4.3.1.2 Post-War Polish Migrant Attitudes towards Post-Accession Polish Migrants

It is here where I can introduce the narratives of post-war Polish migrants. With Fordstone not having an extant Polish community, I here refer to Tidbury where a Polish community has been present locally since 1947[25] A small number of this cohort, 5 individuals, became aware of my research and contacted me suggesting I hear *"another side, the unheard side, to this recent migration trend"* (Jarek). From the post-war perspective the main difference distinguishing the cohorts is their emigration ideology (Garapich 2008). The post-war cohort migrated for political reasons – a choice somewhat devoid of freedom - whilst the post-accession cohort migrated for economic reasons – a choice predicated upon freedom. Resentment bound to this dichotomy oozed through narratives with inter-cohort contestation clearly at play. Much reference was made to the expectation of post-accession Polish migrants that hospitality would be extended to them by the pre-extant Polish community;

> *"These people, I don't know whether it was the media in Poland telling them that the streets were paved with gold or whatever, but they came over here and a lot of them said "oh I heard it would be better". They expected us to put them up you know, they thought we would welcome them with open arms. Why should we? They are Polish like us yes, but we are from different nations." Adam, 75, resident in Tidbury since 1960.*

> *"I do think they've got chips on their shoulders. They came over here and they expected us that are over here that have worked our lives to get what we've got to open our door to them. If it's family of course you are going to do it, but it's very difficult. We are older now you know, and it's difficult for people like my sister in law who lives on her own. She's 80, how is she supposed to take a lodger in that she doesn't know anything about? It's dangerous." Magda, 70, resident in Tidbury since 1947.*

Earlier in section 2.2.2 of chapter 2 I discussed hospitality. I noted how, according to Tregoning (2003), hospitality can provide a way of place the unknown and thus of being with others. Here, post-accession migrants are seeking hospitality from post-war migrants as a means to placing themselves in the unknown (in this instance rural

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[25] This population was established as a result of the Polish Resettlement Act when members of the Polish Army were resettled near to Tidbury at a former RAF base. It quickly became a 'Little Poland' containing its own school, Chapel and Priest. Throughout the 1950s members began to move out and into Tidbury, leading to its eventual closure in the early 1960s.

England), positioning them as hosts who will give hospitality freely to facilitate their being with (rural) others. The inter-cohort contestation such an expectation has engendered gives credence to Friese's (2004) belief that hospitality is situated within a system of tensions. These tensions can be theorised with reference to the emigration ideology that underpinned their migration to England. Coming to be in England as the result of a political struggle, this cohort was committed to the project of their homeland which they carried with them, forging links to maintain connections to their Polish heritage from which they were exiled. The post-war cohort actively sought to establish and perpetuate their 'little Poland' in Tidbury and as such, heavily invested both financially and emotionally in the community that emerged. The expectations of the post-accession cohort to be helped jarred heavily with the experiences of the post-war cohort who did not share this expectation. They were forced to work hard to build their place in the community, both physically (via the development of service spaces) and socially (via community activities that furthered their Polish identities *and* helped integrate them into the host community). The former element was of vital importance. The closure of the Polish camp left the Polish population service deficient especially with regards to religion. This prompted the community to purchase a property collaboratively and turn it into a Polish Church which continues to operate to the present day.

Post-accession migrants have not shared such a level of involvement and as such, lack that level of attachment with services, and the extant community as a corollary. Resent has emerged. Magda believed post-accession migrants to be *"creating their own little enclaves"*, preferring to start their own groups, be it choir or dancing club, than join pre-extant groups. The pre-extant groups were established by post-war migrants as a means to maintain a link to their homeland, a way of fostering and perpetuating their Polish identities that were problematised by their, often forced and in some cases permanent (for those whose 'homeland' was lost in the redrawing of borders (see Davies 1984)), physical estrangement from their homeland. The recent cohort are less interested in partaking in group activity predicated purely upon fostering Polish heritage, for to them Poland is easily accessible through mind, media and telecommunications. For the older cohort, many of whom who have resided longer in England than Poland, engagement becomes necessary to foster a sense of belonging in the face of prolonged exile;

"They've had their country all their lives, we haven't. We're Poles and we have never had our country so we needed it, we wanted it, we needed to belong somewhere. My blood bones and flesh are Polish but I'm a British subject – where do I belong? So I needed that Polishness because I either become British and ignore all that, which I couldn't do, or I embrace both cultures." Magda, 70.

"I have been here since 1969. Through things like Polish social club we can share our stories and lives and keep our traditions going. We have a traditional dancing group called Kujawi, running since the war and they still practice every Friday. The new migrants they are not interested in our dancing. They prefer ballroom. They are not really interested in us. We are different people." Andrei, 74.

Such perception of difference was shared by post-accession Tidbury migrants. When prompted to discuss the similarities and differences between their cohorts the weight of evidence fell into the latter category rather than the former. The best illustration of this was provided by 24 year old Jola, resident in Tidbury since 2008, who framed her understandings in a similar manner to that detailed by post-war migrants. Here attitudes and identity practices are deemed bound to a perceived difference in citizenship self-identification - Polish for post-war migrants and European for post-accession migrants;

"Regarding old and new Polish immigrants, as I call them, these seem to be two different groups of people. The post-war immigrants are people who may have never been to Poland, as they were born during the war or straight after and, because of the situation, they just had to migrate. However even if they lived in Poland, this is a generation of different values. They treasure their tradition, their history and I think they are more integrated as they valued, and still do, their identity, therefore being together strengthens the sense of community they constitute here in Tidbury. New immigrants are different, they tend to assimilate easily, they do not treasure they traditions (well not all of them but majority) and they do not see the importance of having their own national identity, at least as much as the old immigration. This is partly because young generations was brought up in different values, which were strongly influenced, still are, by the idea of the EU, thus new immigrants are rather citizens of Europe than citizens of Poland."

4.3.1.3 Polish Attitudes towards English Residents

The predominant negative attitudes demonstrated by Polish participants towards English people were couched around the theme of work. There existed a strong belief in my Polish participants of both areas that English workers were lazy, workshy, and not capable of providing a quality service;

> *"In England people have different attitude to work, Polish are more accurate and take greater responsibility for work they do. The quality of service in offices, hospitals and other public places is much better in Poland, people in Poland seem more knowledgeable, hence can offer better service." Adrianna, 27, Tidbury.*

> *"I have had 20 jobs maybe since I came here. The English they annoy me. There are jobs, I look on Job Centre Plus website everyday and there are always jobs. The English they do not want them I think. They are not good enough for them maybe?" Piotr, 35, Fordstone.*

Polish residents – both post-accession and post-war cohorts - appeared aware of the sentiment of them being perceived to have 'taken jobs' but they stressed how these jobs were ones that the host population, in line with their workshy attitudes, did not want;

> *"The Poles will do any job you give them. If they can't get British workers to gut chickens and the Poles we will do it, then, you know, or tannery – we've got a tannery not far away from here and that's nearly all Poles. But the jobs there, I wouldn't want to do it – it stinks to high heaven – but they go in and they do it." Magda, 70, Tidbury.*

It would appear that employers too shared and perhaps abused this notion of Polish migrants doing 'any job', leading to problems. Exploitation at the hands of employers was a theme regularly reflected upon by the service response stakeholders with whom I conversed, as will be detailed in the following chapter. But what of exploitation at the individual level? Only one Polish migrant – Piotr from Fordstone - revealed experience of (potential) exploitation, whilst another reflected upon their second hand experiences in their workplace;

> *"It is interesting, the employers, many they come to me and say "Piotr I have more hours for you". They think because I am Polish I want more hours. Yes, many Poles they come here to work minimum wage for maximum hours and go*

home but that is not me. I came here to be myself, to do my music and support my family. I did not want those extra hours." Piotr, 35, Fordstone.

"English people are good at exploiting people at work, but at the same they allow others to do so, they can't stand for their rights. This is, however, only my opinion based on my experience in factories. I do not know of other places but I think it will be the same." Artur, 28, Tidbury.

Piotr was able to deal with the situation himself. Wishing to develop his own new rural reality in which work was not main focus, permitting him time to develop his music career, he declined their offer. Listening to his narrative inspired me to find out what organisational assistance to employment exploitation was being provided. Chapter 5 will detail a voluntary approach at the local level, whilst here I refer to work done at the regional level by the GMB Union. I interviewed a representative - Olga - who coincidentally was a Polish migrant from Tidbury, at their Swindon offices. Her coming to work for the Union was the result of her experiencing exploitation herself;

"When we were recruited in Poland they promised us higher wages, and accommodation with 2 people, 2 girls, in each room. When we got to the flat, it was 2 bed flat and 11 people lived there. We were forced to work 12 hours for 90 days on night shift without any breaks because they said that they didn't have to provide us. We had been paid minimum wage - we didn't get paid any extra allowance for being on night shift. When I started working directly for the company my employer tried to exploit me as well - when they moved me to the night shift I had to coordinate migrant workers, 50 people, still doing production operative job and still expected to do translation so really it was like 4 jobs for the minimum wage! And that's how I got involved with the Union - I always promised myself that if I went to a different country, I'm happy to work hard but I'm not happy for other people to exploit me just because, you know, my nationality is not British because that it not fair."

Through training and courses the GMB seeks to make migrants and employers aware of their rights in the workplace. The former strand is particularly pertinent. Olga revealed to me that membership of the Union has traditionally been low amongst migrant workers due to low awareness, fear, and a belief that it was the reserve of older people;

"Initially in my workplace all the indigenous workers had been part of GMB and we as migrant workers wasn't even aware about that and there was about 25 migrant workers employed permanently there! I have found over years that

many have been scared that if they mention something they might get dismissed. Some also think that they have to join Union when they got problem. Now they know that it's like insurance to protect themselves, especially young people."

Their work is thus very much about empowering migrants, via the changing of perceptions surrounding the Union, to challenge any future exploitation they may face. But it is also about educating employers about migrant rights, and challenging practices that should be viewed as exploitative. To this end, the GMB strive to eradicate the existence of the physical and social separation of the host population and migrant workforce enacted through the provision of separate (typically substandard in the case of migrant provision) staff room and canteen facilities. In breaking down physical divisions in the workplace and offering training courses which promote the breaking of social divisions it is hoped that such integrative sentiment would diffuse out into community.

In addition to this negative couching of host population residents predicated upon work there existed solely in Fordstone a negative reading borne out of experiences of racism. This case study, due to the unsettling impact it had upon my understanding of my locale, will here be considered at length. The rural reality of Anna and Piotr was one of covert struggle. The only Polish migrants in their village, the wider community although aware of their presence, were unaware of their struggle. Racism is impossible to stomach in any formation, but it was the ways it played out in this locale, my locale, that I found deeply harrowing. Before providing details of their experiences I first, for contextualisation purposes, draw your attention to figure 4.1. Piotr sent me this image to me via email, telling me that it "*sums up what I think of Fordstone and the monsters that live here*". The imagery was of particular interest to me, with the figure to the far right holding a weapon striking similar to that conjured by the over-heard conversation regarding responses to black migrants detailed in the preface. It saddened me deeply, but aware of their struggles I understood the underlying rationale.

Figure 4.1 - Piotr's pictorial representation of Fordstone and its inhabitants

Disclosures of racism came early in the first 20 minutes of my first interview with them and were unprompted, as the following excerpt details;

K: *"Are you members of any community groups in the village?"*

P: *"No."*

A: *"We wanted to do something but not in Fordstone because people are, people treat us like aliens."*

P: *"Aliens yes. Some people treat us like a piece of rubbish or something. Some of them."*

A: *"There are lots of nice people."*

P: *"Lots of nice people, it is just that some of them make my life harder. Even if I ignore them or something, if you have to ignore someone for 1, 2 years you are really tired having people talking behind my back about me......"*

A: *"Sometimes you lose your will to do something because if you are getting abuse by children, me, the playground [shakes head and pauses] Sometimes I, I'm just [sighs], I am going home crying because of some children. I can't fight with children and they say to me some awful words, horrible. [Pauses] I can't*

wait to move from here. Lots of nice people at school, teachers, some of my neighbours, but I can't let children abuse me."

[Pause]

P: "Even the nice people, they are not able to repair that kind of situation, that atmosphere. More than once we have found poo or things like that on our doorstop. Just what could we do?"

Interactions in public spaces are governed by moral rules of propriety and impropriety which define what is deemed acceptable and normal conduct. This informal web of civic relations that characterises our life between buildings (Gehl 1987) is of vital importance. The maintenance of public propriety necessitates involves careful supervision of the body, "miniscule repressions" that enable "the symbolic management of the public facet of each of us as soon as we enter the street" (Mayol 1998:17). Incorrect actions – be they in posture, gesture, appearance or action – are deemed transgressive within the public sphere and hence situationally inappropriate (Goffman 1963), potentially invoking insecurity and moral opprobrium. The placing of dog poo upon another person's doorstep is one such example of an act that is situationally inappropriate. This sentiment appeared not lost on the protagonist, with Piotr revealing that the perpetrator, someone who he identified as a business man with a well paid job, sought to minimise such inappropriateness by carrying out the action at night.

Despite this slight qualification, in such an act moral codes of deportment in public space are still transgressed with defilement clearly used to garner affect. Mary Douglas (1966) argued that dirt is matter out of place, an element whose placement is deemed a contravention of order. Dog poo constitutes an example of dirt, matter out of place requiring control and removal from public spaces, not as is the case here, to be collected and reused for purposes of debasement, cast as a symbol of discontent with an 'other'. With reference to Nietzsche (1989, cited in Brown 1995:214), the protagonists have identified their guilty agent and have chosen to vent their sense of affect actually, as opposed to through effigy, through the deployment of poo upon the doorstep. The irony here is that, not unlike the earlier graffiti case study, the act in opposition to the 'alien'

other is an alien act in itself. Matter becomes out of place in response to those who are positioned matter out of place.

Hate crime, defined by the Association of Chief Police Officers, as *"any criminal offence which is perceived, by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by a hostility or prejudice based on a person's race or perceived race"* (Crown Prosecution Service 2012) is broad in nature. It can include *physical attacks* (physical assault, damage to property, offensive graffiti, or neighbour disputes), *the threat of attack* (offensive letters, abusive or obscene telephone calls, physical intimidation, or unfounded malicious complaints) and *verbal abuse or insults* (offensive leaflets or posters, abusive gestures, dumping of rubbish outside homes or through letterboxes, and bullying at school or in the workplace). Piotr and Annas' experiences could be positioned within the first and third categories. They also spoke of property damage, and of their being subjected to verbal abuse from both adults and children, the latter vocalised in Polish by English children.

I reflected upon these experiences, with an obviously necessary veil of anonymity, with the Migrant Worker Support Officer for Mid Devon, Aggie, based at the Community Council of Devon. When I detailed my findings to her she was surprised, remarking *"I find the local communities really open and friendly. I really believe in people in Devon, and I think most of them let's say, they really are open to different nationalities."* Her surprise was however accompanied by an acknowledgement of incidences of problems, admitting *"you will get few cases where people were coming to us because of hate crime, discrimination at work, discrimination on the street, fights, that sort of thing though - it is not all good."* She told me of a Polish Police Community Support Officer – the only one in his rural Mid Devon area – who has striven since 2007 to challenge low levels of reporting and case resolution of hate crime incidences by becoming a point of contact for Polish communities. He is not alone in his emphasis on neighbourhood policing, Cantle (2008:226) noting how in recent years "the development of a consistent standard of neighbourhood policing to build points of contact and mutual trust has been seen as of particular importance". On Aggie's recommendation I contacted him for an interview. The officer, Stan, was unable for obvious reasons to go into any detail on his case work but still nonetheless spoke candidly. His remit is somewhat exhaustive,

working with the Polish community dealing with minor and major issues, getting involved with youth projects, and undertaking translation alongside all his traditional police officer roles. I asked him if there had been problems between or within the host and Polish communities. His answer was one predicated on the very rationale behind knowledge exchange - misunderstanding;

> *"There is constantly a problem with the understanding where Polish and English misinterpret what the other is saying causing neighbourhood disputes and sometimes leading to fights."*

In the main, the problems he experienced were not deemed serious. He suggested that hate crime and racism were not common, with bullying of Polish children by English children in schools more prevalent. When asked if there were any specifically 'rural' problems that Polish migrants were facing he replied *"not really"* stating that in such areas *"the Polish tend to keep themselves to themselves"*. They were very much positioned as a reclusive group that deal with their own problems, either through action or stoically 'ignoring' the issue. Predisposition to non-reporting follows the general trend of lower levels of reporting of experiences of hate crime by BME members of the population (see Bell 2002, Jansson 2006). Low report rates are often predicated upon a lack of trust between the police and BME communities, a belief that the crimes are trivial or 'expected' or a belief that they are to be dealt with privately[26]. These reasons correlate with the experience of Anna and Piotr. In the past they had contacted the Police regarding criminal damage to their property - a stone had been thrown at their car and destroyed the windscreen. The case was not resolved and they had been left to feel unimportant. It fostered in them a belief "not to bother" with the Police. Instead of seeking vengeance, or prosecution for the racism they experienced the couple rise above it. They are somewhat stoic in outlook;

> A: *"Some dog poo on your doorstep, it doesn't matter."*

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[26] Stan also noted that the reporting of crime is affected by a lack of knowledge about the differences between UK law and the Napoleonic Law under which Poland is governed. Many migrants are simply not reporting incidents as under Polish law they are not constitutive of a criminal act, particularly in relation to domestic abuse.

P: "That happens; it's the proof that stupid people live around here and anywhere you can find idiots. Why they hate me I do not know. I am different - I'm not the same like rest of people. People hate people if they are not the same. [pauses] It's just a few things wrong which happen with people, with narrow minded people. If I compare my life here to Poland I really appreciate that I am here. If we been in Poland now and you been working on that project as a Polish student I could only give you only 99% negative for example, 1% negative here."

For Anna and Piotr, the home is a place of 'attack' in the sense that the boundary is defiled and hence problematised, but it is also a space of retreat. With the mere act of opening the door leading, in some cases, to an immediate memory of their troubles, it is the shutting of the door which they find most therapeutic. Earlier, in section 2.3.1 of chapter 2 I considered the importance of the home as a space of privacy and retreat. Here such ideas become incredibly pertinent. Within the confines of their home Heimlich is cultivated not least in part by the coping mechanisms deployed to assist and improve their lives. The first mechanism is the television. Kubey (1986:110) noted that "television is an activity likely to be chosen by people wishing to escape from negative feelings and from the demands of reality". This was true of Piotr and Anna. Reflecting upon a particularly bad day, Piotr reflected how at *"10pm we just turn on television with Keith Lemon and then everything is alright [laughs]"*. To them English television was refreshingly different, with its consumption carving out an escape from both Poland (in terms of content) and Fordstone (in terms of 'forgetting'). A key relationship between Piotr and Anna (the audience) and their television (the media) is evident.

Putnam (2000) attributed considerable blame towards the decline in social capital in American society on the technological individualizing of leisure time enacted by engagements with television and internet. Although this perhaps is justified, one must appreciate that for the likes of Piotr and Anna, the television can be a great comfort when social capital is not forthcoming. The spatially dispersed nature of their social networks means their problems cannot be alleviated through meetings with friends and family. Instead, it is the television that provides them with an alternative reality in which to temporarily escape their lives. Here the words of Kuntsler (1994:167) become particularly pertinent;

"The television is the family's chief connection with the outside world. The physical envelope of the house itself no longer connects their lives to the outside in any active way; rather, it seals them off from it. The outside world has become an abstraction filtered through television, just as the weather is an abstraction filtered through air conditioning."

Through this process of 'sealing', television is cast as a diversion, a way to cope with the social isolation (in the sense that they lack social capital to engage with locals, *and* their physical separation from their families in Poland) born out of such restricted and problematic civic participation, forging a peopled connection beyond the confines of their home. Television also serves a secondary purpose, used as a tool to build a new hybridised identity. Initially, upon arrival both Piotr and Anna used the English media (both print and broadcast) to improve their English language skills in the hope that the possession of language skills would aid integration with locals. Despite the questionable success of this strategy both Anna and Piotr persist with the 'hopeful engagement', striving to continuously improve their English language skills whilst at the same time servicing their new viewing preferences that have emerged as a result of this process.

The second coping mechanism is food, and its acquisition represents a coping mechanism within a coping mechanism. Discussing the isolation experienced when living in the village we, as residents, reached a mutual point of experience in which a trip to the shop, a banal bind for many, was couched as 'something interesting to do'. Although the local shop played a role in this respect, it was a trip to the Tesco's in the local town which came as the greatest salvation to us, those, to all intents and purposes, 'living in the middle of nowhere';

K: *"It's quite funny, I often go Tesco's and when I reach the road sign I think "I'm escaping!""*

P: *[Laughing] "We do too!"*

K: *"Sometimes I don't need much but I'll go anyway!"*

A: *"We do that too!" [Laughs]*

P: *"Sometimes we don't need to do any shopping or something, right, its 7 or 8 o'clock right now, right we go Tesco's now! I love going to supermarkets. I can spend many hours there just looking. We love the chocolate and sweet things from Lidl."*

In her work on the experience of the aged in rural France, Okely (1994) detailed how through active participation you can find routes to knowledge and memories perhaps otherwise inaccessible. Her residence in their villages and work on a small farm similar to those experienced by her research participants permitted her a way to 'create correspondences' with their past experiences and her own embodied experience. My living in Fordstone permitted me a similar, but heightened, 'creation of correspondence'. Living in the area I understood the geography, both physical and social, or at least I thought I did. The rich narrative developed in my meetings with Piotr and Anna evoked an emotional response in me. I was deeply unsettled and left their house ashamed to be from the area. I had not expected to hear of such hostility rather, expecting the existence of hospitable relations. My transrural imaginary of Fordstone was challenged by the lack of hospitality and abundance of hostility they experienced. I had had too much faith in my village. In my inability to expect racism in my locale I had outed myself as NIMBY. From this point onwards I was consumed, emplaced in a newly problematic home world. I became infinitely entangled in their rural experiences and as a result of the sense of unshakeable disappointment that accompanied it my own rural experiences were reframed in a harsh light.

4.3.2 Negative Attitudes towards Rural Place

4.3.2.1 English Attitudes Regarding the Impact of Polish Migration upon Place

Earlier in chapter 2 (section 2.3.2) I introduced the work of Slavoj Zizek (1993). He argues that the bond which holds a community together is a shared relationship to a 'Thing', only accessible to 'us' yet sought after by the 'other'. Zizek argues that the relationship to the 'Thing' is structured partly by fantasy, and constitutes what people talk of when they refer to a threat to 'our' way of life. Such fantasies – the way in which we organise and domesticate our enjoyment – are the one unique thing about us and are hence extremely sensitive to intrusion by those deemed 'other'. Globalisation has, due to its accompanying trends of dissolution of national domains, dissipation of local values and traditions in favour of universal ones, served to foster such 'intrusions', giving rise to racial tension and ethnic nationalism. As Zizek (1991:168) notes "fantasies cannot coexist peacefully". Such a notion is given considerable credence by the vandalising of a road sign welcoming people to Tidbury with anti-Polish graffiti (figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2 – Anti-Polish graffiti in Tidbury (Source: Ballard 2007)

The act, on the 27th March 2007, coincided with an event taking place at Tidbury library to celebrate the end of 11 drop-in sessions for migrant workers that had been ongoing since October. Such timing would suggest this act - the creation of an effigy suggesting at best satirical and at worst negative attitudes towards Polish migration - to be negative. Indeed, speaking to the Wiltshire Times (Ballard 2007), the Tidbury Mayor registered his disgust, arguing that *"I just think it is very, very sad because we should be congratulating ourselves on how we make migrant workers feel welcome, and it must be remembered they put so much time and effort into the local economy and are deserving of our support"*.

He argued that the event was a one-off with Tidbury a welcoming community not predicated on a Polish/English fault line. Indeed a spokesman for the Polish community took this sentiment further, suggesting that the graffiti was the result of an alcohol fuelled prank rather than racism as *"everybody seems to be getting on, we don't have any problems. I don't think it was anything to do with resentment"* (This is Wiltshire 2007). Within an hour the graffiti was removed. However, a year later (March 24th 2008) more anti-Polish graffiti emerged questioning earlier rationalisation of such actions as a one-off prank. This time the graffiti was more overtly racist. The phrase "Polish Out" was daubed across multiple locations whilst posters detailing a boat on the sea below the white cliffs of Dover flying a Polish flag and the words "Piss off we're full" were put up on buildings (Parkes 2008). It was at this time that the British National Party began focussed canvassing in the area. Fantasies of rurality were clearly clashing.

Cresswell (1996), drawing on the work of Douglas (1966), likened graffiti to dirt. Portrayed as the untamed voice of the irrational other its ability to disgust lies in its transgression of order, transgression which has led to resistance and condemnation. Such processes were evidenced by this case study, with the graffiti removed immediately and the unknown protagonists condemned. In such a response graffiti was likened to a disease, the intrusion of 'othered' alien objects that do not belong, to be eradicated. This notion of graffiti being 'other' is interesting. In Tidbury this intrusion of alien objects (graffiti) that do not belong were themselves pre-empted by the (perceived) intrusion of alien objects that were perceived to not belong (Polish migrants). The acts of graffiti in Tidbury seem to correlate with Cresswell's (1996:40), belief that "graffiti as dirt is seen as a permanent despoiling of whole sets of meanings – neighbourliness, order, property, and so on". The graffiti transgressed the normative landscape by its very placement. In turn its placement enforced another boundary which served to drive an ethnic wedge through the community by highlighting the existence of the Polish population.

This 'ethnic wedge' was discernible in Tidbury participant narratives. All either displayed a negative attitude towards Polish migration or simply acknowledged the existence of such mind-set, whilst maintaining a positive or indifferent outlook themselves. Negative attitudes were predicated upon a belief that migrants were 'taking' employment opportunities, services and benefits from host residents;

> *"I can tell you about the Polish. There are thousands of them here, them and the Moroccans. I can tell you where they all work too – LP Beauty and Airsprung They work for 6 months, get pregnant then stay here forever living off the benefits from taxes they don't pay in council houses that locals can't get. They don't speak English, well they do, they know "take me to the pub." Geoff, 54, Tidbury.*

> *"Migration is ok yes, but it needs to be controlled. I think perhaps there is a little too much of it and in this climate opportunities are being taken away from English people which isn't right. There needs to be a balance." Ray, 60, Fordstone.*

A key difference existed between my research areas. In Fordstone attitudes were hypothetical, speaking broadly and not in relation to their isolated rural locale. In

Tidbury however they were much predicated upon an actual experience of detriment, detriment that had become particularly nuanced as the tentacles of the recession have reached out and touched Tidbury. A number of businesses employing large numbers had closed in recent years, with many of those remaining operational making numerous redundancies. A perception existed that such redundancies were decided along ethnic lines, with Polish staff kept on and English staff released. This sentiment, in conjunction with unemployment created a state of discord in Tidbury, particularly amongst the young male English cohort. Narratives from cohort members and non-members alike emphasise this;

"Migrants have taken all the factory work and almost every general job. It's annoying because I can't get a job now because of them." Tom, 18.

"Services that are being provided for them means that money is being spent on them when it could be spent on us. It's hard for local people to get a job. Some of my friends are starting to leave Tidbury because there is no hope for us here anymore." Ewan, 18.

"There is a bad feeling amongst the young men of Tidbury who feel threatened and I must admit a real divide socially." Megan, 30.

"I think the difficulty is that youth unemployment is really high and they do see Polish people taking jobs. And that's the difficulty – I think when there's full employment there's not a problem. I'm disappointed but I'm not surprised." Sally, 60.

Scourfield et al (2012) argue that traditional male social roles relating to employment, sexuality and personal relationships are being challenged and transformed by rising rates of divorce and changing work patterns (the rise in feminised jobs in service industries and a decline in manual labour employment opportunities) to the extent that a crisis of masculinity has emerged. My engagements in Tidbury suggested to me that one such crisis had been enacted there. Ni Laoire (2000) argues that there exists a need to understand this phenomenon in contingent and contextual circumstances. One can attempt this in relation to Tidbury. In terms of context, here traditional social roles relating to employment (i.e. acquiring and maintaining a position of employment deemed 'suitable' by the job-seeker) are challenged and transformed by social

restructuring (in-migration increasing the number of people seeking an ever decreasing (due to recession) number of jobs) enacted by Polish migration. Perceiving economic dispossession to be the 'fault' of Polish migrants in employment, participants paradoxically detailed disdain at their problematised desire to stay in the area due to the 'theft' of employment opportunities by Polish migrants on the one hand, and a desire to move away on the other hand. This latter trend is nothing new with youth out-migration a longstanding feature of rural areas [see Jamieson (2000), Matthews et al (2000), Stockdale (2004), and Glendinning et al (2003)]. In this instance however it becomes nuanced, prompted by the feelings of being marginalised and disenfranchised engendered by processes of ethnic in-migration.

Earlier in chapter 2 (section 2.3.2) I noted the potential for hospitality to be extended to Polish migrants and hospitable relations to thrive to be somewhat reduced in those individuals who 'split' Polish migrants and their migrants from understandings of rurality based on the 'theft of enjoyment' they were deemed to enact. I argued that greater potential existed for the inculcation of ethnic tension and processes of resistance. I found this to be particularly true in Tidbury. Here the 'Tidbury' imago - the mental image of the *host* resident – is influencing the behaviour of those who subscribe to the image when confronted with that which doesn't confirm – the converse, the '*Polish*' imago. Feelings of repulsion are being engendered and processes of rejection – acts of ressentiment (discussed earlier in chapter 2, section 2.3.1.1) - are being mobilised. The act of graffiti which opened this section represents one such act. I move now to consider another. On the 28th January 2010 the aforementioned disenfranchised Tidbury resident Tom set up a group on Facebook entitled "Tidbury is Tidbury not Tidburyzyki polish nobs FUCK OFF" (figure 4.3).

With Polish migrants lacking "unmarked whiteness" (Hubbard 2005:53), they are deemed to 'menace' the 'Thing' (in this instance rurality as a white English space offering a space to live and work) they as 'others' can't grasp, that is, their normalised rural placement as a white other. This menacing proceeds in two ways, via their imprinting upon, and hence destabilisation of, both the physical landscape (via service imprinting, as will be detailed in chapter 5) and, with particular pertinence here, the social landscape. With regards to the latter, post-accession Polish migrants are perceived, particularly by the young English male cohort, to be threatening "to steal our enjoyment" (Zizek 1993:203). . The 'che vuou?' – the question of what the Other wants

Figure 4.3 – Tom's Facebook Group [Screengrab, link since expired]
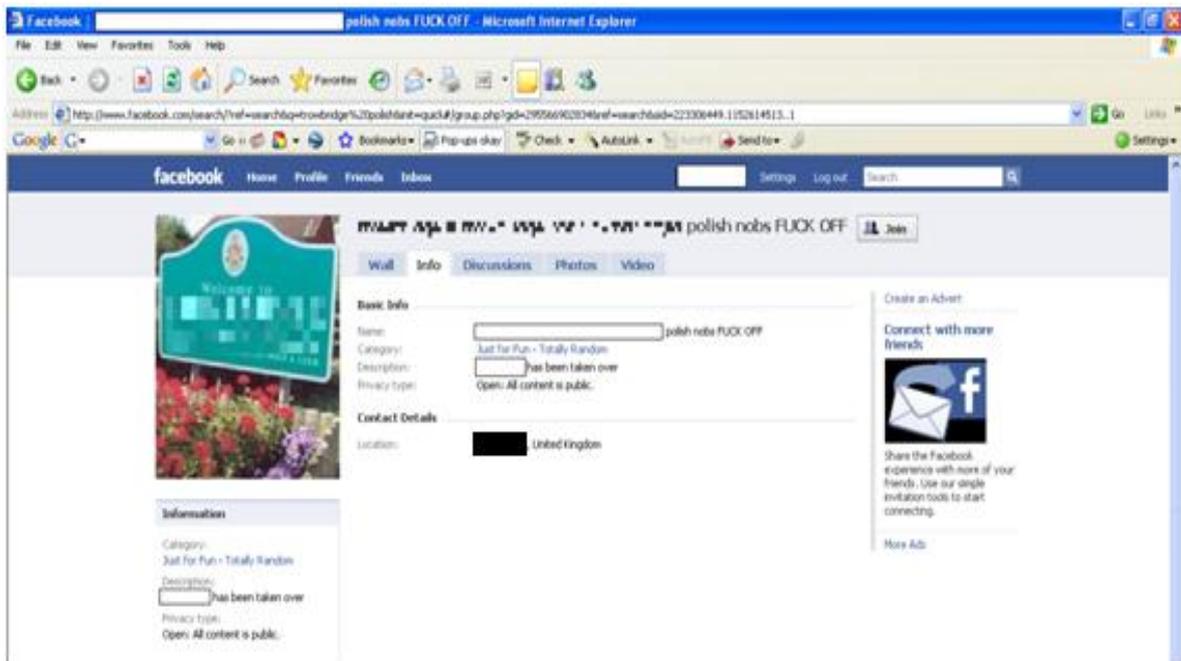
from the individual – is here defined in terms of 'taking' employment opportunities and as corollary a future in their rural locale. Indeed, the rationale for construction of the group given by Tom was bound to his unemployment, a position he deemed the blame of Polish migrants. Yet, when asked what job he wanted he somewhat paradoxically responded *"a decent one, I don't want to be doing the crap jobs that all the Poles are doing - they're welcome to them."* He was adamant that Polish migrants had 'taken' his chance of employment, yet he didn't want to undertake the jobs they did. Evidently Polish migration was enacting a crisis of masculinity in him, which was in turn vented in the form of the groups' creation. Indeed, when asked to detail why he established it he responded *"Tidbury is changing because of these Poles. I hate it. It feels like they're taking over. This is England, not Poland. I set the group up because people need to know how we feel"*.

This form of the effigy (social media) bore the potential to promote his ideology and garner further support. Indeed, he was not a lone voice with his use of the term 'we' seemingly justified. 47 other people joined the group at its peak with many leaving supportive messages such as *"so true", "love it",* and *"it's brilliant and true!!!! They piss me off"* which served to emphasize their shared subscription to a non-Polish conceptualization of the 'Thing'. Evidently Putnam's (2000) bonding social capital was in action amongst the 48. The inward looking group promoted an exclusive

representation of Tidbury predicated upon strong notions of in-group (host) loyalty and out-group (Polish) enacted antagonism. A chain reaction was implicit. Tom's anxiety predicated upon access to employment had led to the forging of binary oppositions, which through their public placement could strike similarity with others, feeding back into and perpetuating the very anxieties which led to creation. The group became a strange platform. On the one hand it mobilized solidarity, becoming a space of mutual support for those likeminded individuals. On the other hand said platform was used to demonstrate and perpetuate negative views towards Polish migrants that could serve to problematise interactions between the host and Polish populations both in cyber-space and within Tidbury. Evidently social capital, just like any other form of capital, can be directed toward malevolent, antisocial purposes promoting in this instance, sectarianism and ethnocentricism.

Tom felt that more shared an outlook of ressentiment and wanted to join but feared the consequences and thus maintained a position of adiaphoria. He argued that *"I reckon the group has a small amount because they're scared of being accused of discrimination but I ain't".* Indeed, on the day the group was established one poster had a word of caution, posting *"you might get done for racism lol"*. It was a pertinent point. Shortly after being established, Tom was contacted by Facebook and told that the group would have to be shut down. The rationale was bound to point 3.7 of their Statement of Rights and Responsibilities, which decrees that *"You will not post content that: is hateful, threatening, or pornographic; incites violence; or contains nudity or graphic or gratuitous violence"* (Facebook 2011). Indeed, it was not the first anti-Polish group to appear on Facebook. In April 2009 the Federation of Poles in Great Britain managed to get a group entitled "Get the Poles out and say no to asylum" shut down for its racist content. At the time they noted distinct unease and questioned whether their call for Facebook to responsibly manage the content of the site would be adhered to. The case of the Tidbury group somewhat confirms their fears as although the group was removed it was not done immediately. Facebook justify their actions by stating that *"We do our best to keep Facebook safe, but we cannot guarantee it. We need your help to do that"* (Facebook 2011). One could argue that such reliance is no longer prudent, and instead, systems need to be put into place to vet groups before they 'go live'.

The belief that Polish migrants were having a negative impact upon rural space was also couched in relation to behavioural problems. There existed beliefs, borne out of both experience and perception, that Polish migrants were unfriendly, arrogant, prone to drinking, and violent. The most damaging negative postulation came in relation to the latter, and it is this trend that attention now turns. Jones (2002) argued that aggressive behaviour can erupt as youths contest the dynamics of social restructuring bound to youth out-migration, with conflict predicated upon the lines of 'locals' and 'newcomers'. In this instance, social restructuring is couched in relation to in-migration with Jones' notion of conflict nuanced along ethnic axes, with the lines revised as 'host' and 'migrant'. Much like any other larger rural town, in Tidbury night-time alcohol related violence has and continues to be a problem. The migration of Polish migrants into the town has seen attempts to blame this problem upon the Polish population. The aforementioned Tom was particularly vocal in this respect. He argued that migration was *"changing Tidbury for the worse"*, arguing that those residing in the area were *"very violent"* with a propensity to *"cause a lot of fights on the weekend"*. He deemed Saturday nights *"fight nights"* and wondered *"if it's a national tradition or something"*. This alluding towards causality was interesting. On May 9th 2009 three English young men assaulted three Polish men during a fight outside a Tidbury town centre takeaway. Two were jailed for 6 months in January 2010, whilst the other received a 12 week jail term suspended for a year and was ordered to complete 100 hours of unpaid work (This is Wiltshire 2010). Tom refuted this outcome. *"I couldn't believe the outcome"* he said *"some locals got sent down for being attacked by Poles"*. He took this rebuttal further by justifying the violence that had occurred - *"too right they should be able to protect themselves. It's an invasion"*.

The use of the term invasion is an interesting one. It harps back to a notion of ownership, of rural spaces being perceived as bounded spaces worthy of defence from 'alien' incursions. The notion of an ethnic group being deemed alien links back to the work of Ingrid Pollard cited earlier in chapter 1. She spoke of the placement of herself - a black person – being unusual, unsettling, transgressive, and an interlude to pastoral norms. With the passing of time and the movement of different peoples, evidently the simplistic black: bad white: good dualism has been challenged with white groups, notably those lacking "unmarked whiteness" (Hubbard 2005:53) – here Polish migrants - being afforded the negative positioning traditionally afforded to black and ethnic minority groups. An interesting nuance in discussion regarding this feeling of 'invasion'

is provided by the difference in attitude discernible toward the post-war and post-accession cohorts in Tidbury;

> *"The established Poles they are just normal really. They've been here so long they're as Tidbury as the people born here. They're different to the new wave, more quiet, more community minded. It's a shame this new wave isn't more like them." Nicole, 29, life resident of Tidbury.*

> *"I was told by a young English man who I didn't know, I knew his Mum, and he said, my friend who was with me said "Olga is Polish" and he said "Oh God, don't talk to me about them". I said "Oh why not?" He said "Not you people you that came after the war, you're fine. I've worked with them and I've got on with them really well. The modern generation they are so arrogant." Olga, 62, Polish resident of Tidbury since 1959.*

To me it appeared that that the post-war cohort appeared closer to "unmarked whiteness" (Hubbard 2005:53) positioning than their post-accession counterparts, the combined outcome of processes of normalisation (the passing of time), investment (their engagement in the community), and notions of authenticity (having earned their placement via the fighting to protect the 'national Thing' in war). The post-war cohort were not deemed to threaten the thing for these reasons, and perhaps even more so due to generational difference in life positions, that is approaching retirement versus entering the world of work. The post-accession cohort was couched very differently. Of a similar generation, they represented clear competition to the host population of Tidbury for jobs. Having no link to the war, they were not imbued with justification, and instead couched as being undeserving of their place and employment, this despite the EU membership rights which suggest otherwise. But will this always be the case? Dikeç (2002) deems the relationship between guest and host implicit within hospitality exchanges one that is fraught with ambiguity and uncertainty. There exists the potential for with the passing of time, similar processes of normalisation to be extended to the post-accession cohort. With this cohort incorporated into transrural imaginaries, hospitality may be extended to them more widely than at present as a result. They may switch from being 'guest' to 'host'. This is a section of mere speculation. It will be interesting to see how things progress in this respect.

4.3.2.2 Polish Attitudes Regarding their Experience of Rural Place

Negative attitudes towards rural place were couched mainly in the more isolated locale, Fordstone. Here, such sentiment appeared not striated by nationality, with Polish and host population residents alike detailing their dissatisfaction with local service provision;

> *"We need more frequent bus services, we need a post office. We used to have both." Julie, 40, life resident.*

> *"The level of services in the village really is woeful. We need a post office, we need better bus services at weekends, we need facilities for teenagers. Really we have very little. I suppose when you look at the other villages around here we are lucky to have that!" Frankie, 19, life resident.*

> *"We need more for young teenagers and children to do after school like Brownies or Scouts or a coffee shop where the teenagers could hang out. Fordstone can be a very isolating place for them to live, especially if their friends live in other areas." Caroline, 48, lived in village 20 years.*

> *"The most annoying thing for me is you have to drive – even if you need a box of eggs you have to drive. Even if you want to go to a party in Exeter or somewhere you have to order taxi which is not good deal if you have to pay 40 pounds. Everywhere from here is so far and we have to count all our money to spend for fuel. Fuel is like the ticket to escape from here. Once my car was broken and I had problem to get to work because I started at 5.30am and there were no buses from here and the owner said "Alright Piotr I can give you a late night shift, you will finish at 10pm" – I said I can't get back home!" Piotr, 35, Polish, lived in village for 4 years.*

> *"I have no driving license and it is a problem to get job because I need hours which could be difficult for some employers to offer me. Some work starts at 6, some work require me to work at 9 pm. Piotr can drive me but not always because he is working as well." Anna, 35, Polish, lived in village for 4 years.*

Woods (2005:96) argues that "the rationalization and closure of both private and public services in rural communities has been one of the most visible manifestations of contemporary countryside change". Being a lifetime resident of the village, the themes discussed here resonated with me. I have seen the overarching tentacles of global social

and economic forces tighten their grip around the village, enacting notable change. In my childhood a complex suite of retail services were offered, including a bakery, bank, hairdressers, 2 petrol stations, post office, and 3 shops. Slowly but surely all these independent ventures succumbed to Capitalism, with all citing upon closure that they could no longer compete with the price and variety of retail opportunities to which the mobile population of Fordstone now subscribed. One shop remained, yet it too couldn't escape Capitalisms grasp, being bought out by a large corporation (Spar). After a number of years this shop too was closed, again like the services that once accompanied it, deemed to be unprofitable. The current retail suite provided in the village is one shop, a Cooperative, itself positioned outside of the village boundaries. The three other main services provided in the village are a Primary school, play group and doctor's surgery. As referenced by participants, services for children have notably declined. Although fortunate to have a large primary school, the youth club, Brownies, and Scouts groups have all disbanded the result of the space they used to occupy being sold and gentrified into housing. With regards to the transport infrastructure, it has never been extensive. The village is not served by a train line, and has never had an extensive bus services. Although improved in terms of service numbers from my childhood, Fordstone is currently served by an hourly (generally - 60 minutes is the average time between buses, although it can range from 40 to 80 minutes for some services) bus service which makes just 14 return services to Exeter on a weekday and 15 on a Saturday starting at 7am and ending at 10pm at a cost of £6.80 for an adult return. This relatively early end to the service notably prohibits evening excursions. The situation worsens on a Sunday when no buses run, leaving those without access to a car isolated in Fordstone.

Negative attitudes were also couched in relation to a perceived lack of community. Again, this notion was most vociferous in Fordstone. Here, almost half of participants (7 out of 15) believed there to be no community in the village, with 9 out of 15 deeming it to have declined particularly over the last few years. The building of new housing estates across the village was seen to be destabilising the sense of community previously deemed implicit in the village, with 12 out of the 15 participants believing the village now to be a disjointed mix of separate housing estates as opposed to a united whole. The following quote from life resident Arthur (78) typifies this sentiment;

"There used to be a time not so long ago when you could walk around the village and everyone would say hello and you would know each other. The village would join together for the summer fete. Community spirit has disappeared now – events are poorly attended nowadays. All these new housing estates have split themselves off. Some that live in the top estate I doubt have ever seen the bottom estate. Many people I think they just sleep here. The golden age has passed. I find that very sad."

Echoes of Michael Bell's seminal work on the village of 'Childerley' here emerged (Bell 1994). His participant narratives were coloured with regret, particularly from older residents, regarding processes of social change deemed enacted by in-migration. Community spirit was deemed lost, with social interaction changing from an inward-looking collective *activity* to a more expansive, outward looking and individualistic *lifestyle*. He noted that in-migrants often reflected on the loss of community in the village. This occurred too in my study. Piotr, in response to a throwaway comment by me in which I joked that we had finally reached the last section of questions, revealed that despite living in the area for 4 years, neither he nor his wife had spoken at length to anyone else in the village, let alone receive visitors to their home. The six hours I spent with them afforded them a mechanism through which to talk about their secretly problematic rural lives, highlighting the potential to give "a voice through interviews to those who have been silenced" (Rubin and Rubin 2005:26). They reflected on community relations (or lack of) within both the somewhat 'exclusive' and 'expensive' housing estate within which they resided and Fordstone in general. Such (lack of) community relations provided them with the means to understand and rationalise their experiences. They were not ignored at the school gates because they were Polish, they were ignored in the same way others were, with contact simply not sought;

"Some new kind of rich people that live here, they think that because they've got their good job they think they are better than anyone else. They don't just ignore me because I am Polish, they ignore the other ones from the village as well and I can see that. The others, yes maybe they treat me that way because I am Polish, just because I am new and maybe I've got less or something. I can see what is going on before school outside of school. No-one has to stay outside of school all together because no-one could be friends with everyone, it's just lots of people they live here and I just notice since three years ago they stand on their own, behind the tree, behind something and they are just looking for kids then running away."

The cumulative outcome of these two negative elements – service deprivation (and isolation) and lack of community – was the belief in 7 of the 15 English population that urban areas were a more suitable location for Polish migrants to reside;

> *"They are more likely to find work and other Polish people to form a support network whereas they could find themselves isolated in a village." Pete, 28, life resident.*

> *"In urban areas they would find more of a network to provide the support they need." Rob, 50, lived in Fordstone 10 years.*

> *"They should live in towns or cities so facilities and services can be concentrated and delivered more efficiently. Ultimately it must be better for them to be in their own communities." Mo, 74, life resident.*

A small cohort – 3 residents - argued to the contrary, suggesting that rural areas were the most suitable with one resident predicating this upon the belief that migration *"gives people in villages a chance to sample other cultures"* (Jessica, 25, life resident). From my conversations with Piotr and Anna this statement appeared pertinent. They felt that the problematic attitudes experienced were the result of a lack of awareness of and experience of difference. A distinction was drawn by Piotr between the urban and rural areas in this respect;

> *"Lots of cultures they arrived in London many, many years ago but the rest of the country was still empty. I knew that could be the reason because there weren't lots of people from outside in this area, or Cornwall and things like that. You know, we are new, we are still new for them, just London, I don't know, it's made from the 70% of not English people anyway, it's a different situation, a different story."*

These themes seemed to suggest resonance with Allport's (1954) 'Contact Hypothesis'. Allport argues that prejudice between 'minority' (in this instance Polish residents) and 'majority' (in this instance host population (English) residents) group members results directly from generalizations and over-simplifications made about an entire group of people based on incomplete or mistaken information. To move on from positions of prejudice Allport argues that different groups need to be brought together in spaces of encounter to cultivate bridging social capital and promote social integration. It is argued

that such interpersonal contact with a culturally distinct category can serve to engage a cognitive process by which individuals beliefs are modified and hospitable relations can emerge. Yet the reality is that for some, this contact does not always proceed positively and can be understood instead more in terms of Putnam's (2007) Conflict Theory. This theory posits that close proximity between ethnic groups may generate or aggravate comparisons between different social groups in terms of service access and resource usage, giving rise to conflict. Here one only has to reflect upon the case studies of acts of ressentiment in Tidbury and experiences of racism in Fordstone to verify this. It would appear that in rural locales a sense of difference is heightened, more obvious. Having lived in a plethora of locales, from isolated Fordstone to larger towns, and larger still, London, Piotr was able to reflect on the differences with a sense of authority;

> *"We can see the difference when we live in the village. In the city or big town you are quite anonymous. In village it's like Big Brother house, everyone could put their nose into your life or business even if it's not their business and they're doing those things automatically. In the park with my children I feel under guard, like people watching us all the time. And it happens in Poland too - every single village is the same. Some people, some small minded people, they make your life harder. Cullompton, Oketon we used to live in these places and I never found that kind of situation with some people like here. It is ridiculous."*

Such a narrative struck resonance with the work of Leyshon (2002:183) who spoke of the existence of a "rural goldfish bowl" in which young people felt constantly under surveillance by their parents and fellow villagers. Feeling as though they lived within a rural panopticon, their experiences were couched as constrained and limiting. Such a notion appeared extended to the rural realities of Piotr, however a subtle nuance is inherent. Traditionally the presence of the 'rural goldfish bowl' is deemed emergent out of an enhanced sense of social connectedness (Malone 2011) where active communities perform a perpetual neighbourhood watch to protect both their interests and the interests of the area. In Fordstone however social connectedness has been noted to be somewhat absent, with the community felt to be in decline. The surveillance that does occur would appear to proceed not in terms of area protection, but personal intrigue. With 8 of the 15 English participants here responding that they "felt no different" when learning that Polish migrants were living in the village, I would argue that intrigue is couched mainly in terms of generic intrigue towards something 'new' as opposed to focusing upon them purely because they are Polish. For sure, as a resident of Fordstone I am all too aware of

living in the goldfish bowl and the way in which anything 'new' – be it resident, car, road-sign, shop or otherwise – is subjected to surveillance and judgment. That is not to say of course that the 2 participants who noted a sense of concern were not performing surveillance predicated purely on their identification as different. What I am merely suggesting here is that for the majority, speaking from both experience and empirical data that this is not the main way in which surveillance is predicated.

4.4 Indifference

Lefebvre (1980:143) with regards to the modern era of binary oppositions argues that "one always has Three. There is always the Other". Here, I reflect upon the third attitudinal response to Polish migration that of indifference, couched here in terms of rationalisation and speculation. This briefness of this section reflects the fact that it was not the dominant response in either research area. It is included to pay due diligence to Lefebvre's notion of 'Three', whilst at the same time servicing my aim to heed Askins (2009) call to theorise rurality with reference to the progressive concept of transrurality. By including brief reference to this 'third' way, as I did with preceding discussions of positive and negative attitudinal responses, I uncover, map and describe the ways in which ethnic (Polish) groups interact with rurality, repositioning rural England as a site of diverse and somewhat mobile social imaginaries.

Indifference was discernible first in a small number of English participants from each research area (4 in Fordstone, 3 in Tidbury) who understood the migration of Polish migrants into England in terms of membership to the EU, normalising the process as a member right. To them migration was very much a non-issue, something which ordained at a higher level and not up for discussion. Member rights were understood to work 'both ways', with participants rationalising Polish migration as a process they too could replicate;

> "Well for me migration from these European countries, the ones that are in the EU is fine. I mean, it's all part of the rights of being part of it isn't it? Just like I could go and work in Paris if I wanted too, the Poles can come and work in England. Not enough people make that connection." Jess, 24, Fordstone.

"According to the European agreement they have every right to come here and work as much as we have the right to go to Poland to work. My daughter lives and works in Italy." Michael, 52, Tidbury.

Analysis of their transcripts revealed no attitudinal slippage. Their indifferent sentiment towards Polish and EU migration formed the basis their narratives. To these participants Polish migrants possessed "unmarked whiteness" (Hubbard 2005:53) and were viewed in the main not as Polish migrants but European citizens.

Initially I thought that with migration a contentious issue I would be besieged with potential participants keen to put their voice across. In the main however this was not the case. I wonder whether in the second instance that the struggle in recruiting participants at times reflected a general indifferent sentiment towards migration on the part of participants? Noelle-Neumann (1980) argued that those on one side of an issue tend to express their opinions with increasing volume and confidence, whilst those on the other side tend to fall silent. Perhaps this 'spiral of silence' has pertinence with regards to my work? Those keenly 'for' or 'against' migration sought involvement whilst those placed ambivalently were not 'enticed' by my research due to their lack of emotional investment in the subject matter? Perhaps Polish migration has now lost its 'shock' factor, normalised in the social rural landscape?

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the complex and contested nature of social relations in rural space, considering how space is mutually constitutive of such relations and identity construction processes. I found rural spaces to be characterised by broadly positive relations with flashpoints of negative relations. My work concerned itself with two areas - the rural metropolis with established 'mass' Polish population (Tidbury) and the isolated village with just one Polish family (Fordstone). I found that in the larger area, although in the main positive (or indeed ambivalent) responses towards migrants were detailed a rumbling undercurrent of discontent was evident. This was mobilised most notably in public flashpoint events, which by in large were anonymous in target (general as opposed to specific). Despite these very public problems experiences and/or fear of problems was not voiced by migrants. Within the smaller population of

Fordstone I found high awareness of Polish habituation but little or no engagement with these community members. As a result they were somewhat obtuse to the everyday struggles faced by their Polish neighbours. Flashpoint events are occurring most notably at the scale of the home, but also in the public sphere. Both adults and children were cast as perpetrators, with low level abuse directed to all family members on a regular basis. For them rural racism blights their rural realities to the extent that they dream of their 'escape' from the village.

Through the course of my research, the theories of behaviour introduced in section 2.5 of chapter 2 became problematised. The Contact Hypothesis does not hold up in the face of Anna and Piotr being hounded by their neighbours of 4 years, whilst Conflict Theory fails to accommodation the role of invisibility in conjuring contempt or the emergence of hybridised identities in Tidbury. Likewise, the pre-extant Polish community within Tidbury could on paper, with reference to the Contact Hypothesis, be seen as advantageous, cultivating a positioning of Polish residents being somewhat ordinary with hospitable relations prevailing. Yet this was not always the case. Here, the post-accession cohort is perceived to be very different to the pre-extant post-war cohort. The extant community seems to have a greater claim to authenticity, predicated in terms of it being 'deserved' or 'earned' through the roles they played in World War Two and in forging their community positioning in the years that followed . The contemporary wave is positioned quite differently, with positive viewings bound to EU labour rights (with migration deemed a basic right) jostling with negative viewings that position them as a threat (taking jobs as the dominant couching) devoid of a claim to authenticity. They are perceived to be enacting the theft of enjoyment, and giving rise to a crisis of masculinity. Clearly it is important not to homogenise the Polish population. The differences of the constitutive cohorts are significant in attempting to understand behavioural responses to the post-accession Polish migrants.

Clearly, one cannot theorise individual behaviour with recourse to a singular broad brush theory. Behaviour is too inherently complex, fractured and subject to change. With reference to Valentine (2008) one needs to move beyond such broad totalising theories to acknowledge the relationships between individual prejudices and the processes through which communities become antagonised. Why then did I include

these theories? They were deployed initially as a means to conceptualise and categorise the case studies of behaviour detailed. This has been achieved, as has, as a corollary of their deployment, an expose of their (flawed) efficacy. I thus retain discussions yet qualify their inclusion with the belief that it would be a fallacy to invest uncritical allegiance to their theoretical dictum, stressing the need, as per the request of Valentine, to appreciate relationships at the individual and not the amalgamated level.

For all of my Polish participants migration has and continues to be predicated upon Appiah's (2006) concept of cosmopolitan curiosity - an openness to a different way of living developed through transnational histories - couched heavily in relation to a belief that the Communist legacy of Poland led to a life lived with considerable constraint. With migration, a historical and experiential rift between host and homeland spaces of belonging (Gilroy 2000:124) was opened up by the multiple sites of attachment that existed for them which were serviced by their deployment of communication technologies. In such acts rural spaces became transrural spaces situated within "multicultural, multiethnic, transnational and mobile social imaginaries" (Askins 2009:366).

For these migrants the ongoing processes of identity hybridisation we all experience were particularly nuanced by migration. Here the potential arose for the formulation and perpetuation of transnational hybridised identities which incorporated both home and host nation via choices relating to social networks, food and drink, and media sources, and of course the fostering of a transnational consciousness via the use of telecommunications. Even though for some Polish participants, notably Anna and Piotr, life is difficult they are happy that they moved to England. They, like all other Polish migrants, love the freedom now afforded to them. Residing in England permits them the ability to be who they want to be in a way they deemed unattainable in Poland.

At the extreme ends of the rural encounter spectrum there exist two types of individuals - accommodating and disaffected. Accommodating individuals represent those 'helpful and obliging' individuals who extend hospitality to Polish migrants. Such moments of hospitality ranged from the fleeting (e.g. the saying hello to Polish neighbours) to the

enduring (e.g. forging friendships with Polish neighbours).Cosmopolitan curiosity was present in these individuals. Typically enacted by an initial positive encounter, the importance of and potential for positive moments of encounter to give rise to transrural imaginaries and hospitable relations is here emphasised. Disaffected individuals are those who demonstrative negative attitudes towards Polish migrants. Again, here individuals can range from displaying adiaphoria (having negative attitudes but choosing not to act on them) or ressentiment (having negative attitudes and acting upon them). Here cosmopolitan curiosity is absent, the result of a negative encounter and or/attitude. For these individuals rural spaces were framed as white English spaces and as such transrural imaginaries, and hospitable relations, were not forthcoming. Indeed for some rather acts of ressentiment followed instead.

This dichotomy is important when considering acts of hospitality that have emerged in relation to Polish migration. In the following three chapters I will reflect upon acts of hospitality that have emerged either *created* by the individual (in the case of accommodating individuals) or *directed* towards the individual (in the case of disaffected individuals). With regards to the former, chapter 5 will examine the nodal points of encounter - the spaces of service responses to Polish migrants – which emerged in rural areas as the result of a perceived need borne out of encounter. With regards to the latter, in chapters 6 and 7 two schemes of encounter which strive to enact positive attitudinal change towards migrant workers and hence improve the moment of encounter via the transmission of information regarding EU member rights and life as a migrant will be considered. With the negative attitudes detailed herein predicated heavily upon a belief that the freedom afforded to Polish migrants in terms of employment and housing opportunities constituted the exploitation of a host population 'right' a need has been discerned in this chapter for education based approaches.

Chapter 5: Communities of Difference (2) Responsive Polish Focussed Services

5.1 Introduction

With the unprecedented wave of migration which accompanied Polish accession to the EU came a need for services to help accommodate Polish migrants into their new surroundings and foster their Polish identity whilst separated from their homeland, whilst also easing fractious community relations that may have developed. Earlier in chapter 2 the government framework that has underpinned and inculcated hospitality tropes at the national and regional level, with specific emphasis placed upon the South West Migrant Worker Action Plan 2010-2012, was discussed. Fincher and Iveson (2008) argued that the creation of hospitality as a state of encounter should be an intent of planning, an assertion given credence by the framework which suggested that hospitality had indeed long been a Government aim. This said, statutory approaches to accommodating Polish migrants are somewhat few in number (I identified and investigated two, namely the ethnic minority achievement service (EMAS) in education, and the community engagement training of Police officers), leaving a number of spaces of service absence. Such spaces of absence have inspired accommodating individuals, sometimes migrants themselves, to mobilise to offer nodal services which bridge such gaps. In these actions rural society is cast as progressive and open, welcoming and hospitable.

In this chapter I focus on service responses targeted primarily towards Polish migrants. These services support migrants in two ways, by providing help and support at times of need *and* by working with the host population to challenge their discursive construction of the 'Polish migrant' to develop a more positive construct faithful to their locales, as opposed to national mediations. In providing a space in which, through dialogue with others, individuals can imagine alternative ways of living which are then incorporated into their own sense of beings (Thorp 2009), hospitable relations can emerge, with relations between host and migrant populations, and as corollary migrant experiences of rurality, improved. This chapter does not claim to be exhaustive with regards to this strand. It was beyond my remit to include every service, which, to a certain extent has already been done by extant descriptive publications (see Stennett and Dorr 2010). I

researched a number of approaches[27] and picked from this range three examples - a statutory response to Polish migration (EMAS), a voluntary/third sector response to Polish migration (a migrant led migrant support group) and an entrepreneurial response to Polish migration (Polish food retail spaces). Each example is either sited in or nearby my research areas, a reflection of the differences in size of each area[28]. These examples were chosen for their great pertinence both within my research areas and the context of the key themes of my thesis – encounter, hospitality and normality. Drawing on work discussed earlier in section 2.2.2 of chapter 2 in each case study I identify how they work, what they do, their successes and their problems, the power dynamics of hospitality, the role they play in servicing Polish identity and their perception within the community. A theoretical reflection section on thirdspace and service spaces follows the presentation of my case studies. This section details how I found service spaces, particularly entrepreneurial spaces, to be emerging as thirdspaces, received in both a positive and negative manner. The distinct psychogeographies which emerged provided understandings of what is perceived to be 'right' and 'wrong' in rural spaces with regards to ethnicity, building upon those uncovered in chapter 4.

5.2 Statutory Responses

The Race Relations (Amendment) Act (RR(A)A) 2000 followed the Macpherson report into the murder of Stephen Lawrence which identified institutional racism in the Metropolitan Police Service. This Act outlawed racial discrimination in public authority functions that were not already covered under the 1976 Race Relations Act, an act which had already outlawed racial discrimination covering statutory and non-statutory early years organisations and provision in education, employment, housing and the provision of goods, facilities and services. The RR(A)A extends the Act's power to make racial discrimination unlawful for any listed public authority in any of its

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[27] Migrant led support group, church led migrant support group, ethnic minority achievement service, Polish Saturday school, Polish retail ventures, Police training, Polish employment agencies, Citizens Advice Bureaux, Lloyds Bank 'Polish teller' scheme, ESOL schemes, and a Polish church.

[28] Whilst two (EMAS and food retail spaces) make reference to a comparison between research areas to permit a reflection upon service provision and perception at opposing rural spatial scales, the migrant led support group discussion was focussed solely at the Fordstone area for there existed no equivalent in Tidbury with which a comparison could be made.

functions. Public authorities are legally bound to meet the statutory duties – general or specific – listed in the statutory code of practice (Commission for Racial Equality 2002). The general duty decrees that all listed public authorities pay due regard to the need to;

1. Eliminate unlawful racial discrimination
2. Promote equality of opportunity
3. Promote good relations between people of different racial groups

The general duty requires that authorities make the promotion of racial equality central to their work, taking account of race equality in all policy making, service delivery, and employment practice. Some public authorities also have specific duties placed on them to make arrangements to help them meet the general duty. These include the preparation and delivery of a race equality scheme – a three-year strategy and action plan detailing how the public authority plans to meet its general duty under the Act, and monitoring employment policy procedures and practices. The statutory public duties means there is no choice about complying - it applies to all public authorities whatever their minority ethnic population. A lack of resources is not a viable excuse for non-compliance. Indeed, the Act has been approved by Parliament and is admissible in evidence in a court of law.

In this section education as a public authority case study is considered, looking specifically to the work of the Ethnic Minority Achievement Service (EMAS) in relation to Polish migration. As per the preceding discussion, a statutory responsibility was placed on Local Education Authorities (LEAs) and schools by the RR(A)A, placing upon them a legal duty to promote race equality. To fulfil this duty LEAs and schools are required to assess the impact that their policies have on ethnic groups and put in place strategies to assess underachievement. This latter element has long been an aim of government policy (Department for Education and Skills 2004). In 1966, Section 11 of the Local Government Act made funds available for the first time "to help meet the special needs of a significant number of people of commonwealth origin with language or customs which differ from the rest of the community" (National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum 2011). In 1999 the Department for

Education and Employment's Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) replaced Home Office Section 11 funding. This aim of this grant was as before, to narrow achievement gaps in pupils from minority ethnic groups at risk of underachieving, helping meet the particular needs of bilingual pupils. EMAS is a UK government funded initiative established to devolve and monitor the delivery of EMAG, providing advice, support and professional development to schools relating to both black and minority ethnic group achievement and English as an additional language (EAL) learners. It seeks to ensure that such pupils within the education system (from early years through to further education) are given the dedicated language support to achieve their learning potential (Department for Education and Skills 2004).

On paper, given that only my Polish participants in Fordstone had children, EMAS appears an odd choice of case study. It has been chosen over my involvement with the Wiltshire Constabulary for I believe this repetitive space of service provision has greater pertinence, especially when taken in conjunction with increased Polish migrant settling within the UK. An ongoing, regular space of encounter in which hospitality towards migrants and their families is offered, and hospitality towards difference amongst younger generations of host population children can be fostered, EMAS represents a potential vector through which positive ongoing Anglo-Polish relations can be forged.

The accession of Poland to the EU engendered a shift in both perception and usage of EMAS. My Wiltshire EMAS contact spoke of a shift from being *"dismissed as crackpot"* to a position where "from *2004 they couldn't get enough of us".* The Polish cohort of the A8 countries placed the largest demand in a plethora of local authorities including both Wiltshire and Devon. Indeed, Polish referrals (as a percentage of total EAL referrals) within Devon jumped from 0.5% in 2003/2004 to 10% in 2004/2005. To accommodate such demand EMAS teams began to recruit Polish speakers, with the representative from Devon EMAS with whom I spoke one such appointment. In the first year following accession her remit was to support the 28 Polish children present within Devon, an unrelentingly difficult task; *"I travelled I can't tell you how many miles. It was just everywhere, it was pretty busy".* As the numbers built year on year (figure 5.1) the team developed a more strategic approach, employing more staff and splitting Devon into more manageable divisions.

Figure 5.1 – Devon EAL and Polish EMAS referral numbers by academic year
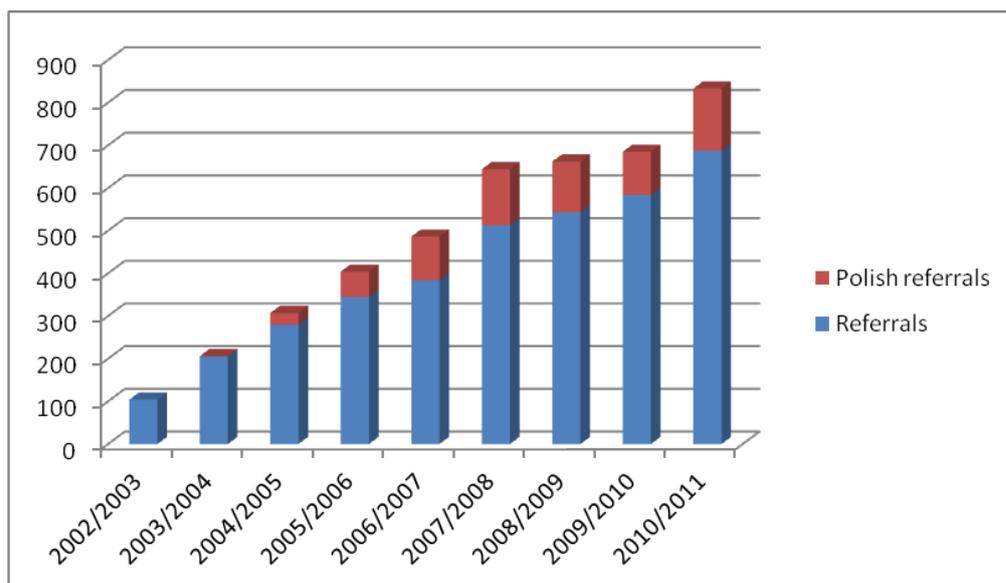
In 2010/2011 14% of pupils within England were classified as EAL pupils. With reference to my research areas in Wiltshire this figure stood at 3% whilst in Devon it was 2%[29][30]. In both areas Polish was the most popular first language spoken, by some distance. In Wiltshire there were 380 referrals of Polish pupils, with the next most popular language being Nepali with 142 referrals. Anecdotal evidence provided by the EMAS team[31] suggested that within Tidbury it was indeed Polish pupils who made up the largest proportion. Indeed, 167 hours per week were dedicated to them. In Devon there were 146 referrals of Polish pupils, with the next most popular language being Arabic with 82 referrals. For the area in which Fordstone resides there were 19 EAL referrals of which 4 (21%) were Polish. A clear need for EMAS intervention remains and the intricacies of such will now be discussed.

The Wiltshire EMAS team consists of a head of service, a consultant for race equality and diversity, a project leader for black pupil achievement, five advisory teachers and

[29] Data obtained directly from Wiltshire and Devon EMAS teams.

[30] All figures are however likely to be higher as statistics are based on a database of children referred to the service (with not all EAL children referred) or upon data collected by schools. Again, ethnicity and language questions are often left blank - in Devon in 2011 for example 1.45% of data from school databases was 'un-obtained'.

[31] No statistics at the Tidbury level were available.

one support teacher and 10 bilingual assistants (six of which are Polish). The Devon EMAS team consists of a head of service, 5 advisory teachers, and 15 Bilingual support workers (8 of which are Polish). The support offered is tripartite focussing on students (in the main), staff, and parents. In both areas any support offered emerges through recourse to a similar strategy - visit a school to assess needs after referral of a pupil, returning to the school to provide training and resources and then either leaving the school to it, or deploying Polish support workers to provide additional specialised support to the students where required. Indeed, the role taken with staff follows a simple yet broad premise – to support staff to support students. In both cases this is done through the provision of initial training of staff of how to deal with EAL students, either to teachers directly or to an EAL coordinator who will then disseminate where appropriate. As the Devon representative put it *"those who've had that induction should really be able to get on."* Such 'getting on' was assisted in Devon by their own website, distribution of resources, purchase suggestions and provision of an assessment schedule for EAL learners. With distance often prohibiting access, here novel solutions such as video conferencing have been used to link isolated pupils together, enabling them to learn in a group, albeit physically separated. Indeed, a Polish AS level course is run via e-mail.

The main and ongoing focus regarding staff is not 'training' but changing perceptions about EAL theories of learning. Both representatives discussed with me the problematic expectation that younger EAL children will do better than their elder counterparts, with the opposite instead being the reality. Research suggests that the better the literacy skills in your first language, the quicker you will learn subsequential languages. Thus, year 3 and 4 children whose literacy skills in Polish are developed can 'transfer' such skills into their learning of English, aiding it greatly. Reception children for whom literacy skills are not as fully developed suffer by contrast. Although many can speak Polish few have been taught reading and writing by their parents meaning that they have to understand literacy skills first not in their first language, but as an additional language. Long silent periods often accompany their starting at school, leading to concern and frustration for teachers which EMAS teams attempt to placate;

> *"So often I go to a key stage one classroom and they say "but he doesn't say anything" and I'm like "that's fine don't worry, it could be a year, 18 months maybe"". Wiltshire representative.*

Even for those with good first language literacy skills, the process of learning is a slow one. Pupils who arrive in year 3 on average won't meet the English first language speakers' level equivalent until year 10. Thus, the EMAS team strive to promote the importance of EAL learners developing literacy skills in their first language in order to improve literacy in their second, and in reassuring staff that the process of learning is a slow one and in it, adaptation of learning strategies will be required;

> *"Some new schools to EAL look with horror when you say the best lesson is immersion and the child has got to just sit in that class and learn, and it is. I think some schools sometimes feel they're not serving the child's needs and they flounder and feel guilty, thinking they're not setting appropriate targets. We have to ask them "is the target for the class a reasonable target for the child? Set a target you think they can reach." Devon representative.*

> *"We promote quality teaching and seek to make those links with the teachers and say "you do this already, why not tweak it slightly and do it for this pupil?"" Wiltshire representative.*

Direct work with the students is predicated upon a simple notion – to support the pupils in their lessons through translation, interpretation and discussion of concepts in their first language to facilitate understanding and achieving of learning outcomes. Each approach strives to ensure that EAL children reach their cognitive potential as well as their language potential. They strive to ensure that teachers see beyond the child as 'Polish' and look to their individual talents. The Wiltshire representative told me the story of a child who was a maths champion in their school in Poland, and how the sharing of such detail changes attitudes. As she put it, *"they start thinking "maybe they shouldn't just be colouring in that sheet at the back.""*

Although a small number of schools in both research areas have chosen to employ Polish speaking staff to augment this provision, in the main provision comes through EMAS generally on a ½ day once a week basis. In more rural schools where numbers

are fewer support is often delivered on a one-to-one basis, with delivery occurring in the group setting within larger schools. With many schools and students to cover (workers deployed by EMAS may work with up to 8 schools and 20 different students at different points in the education system per week), not all Polish students receive specialised support. This transiency of support jarred in both areas with a need for interpretation services for pupils. In Devon this issue has been alleviated somewhat by the establishment of a free 6 hours interpreter voucher scheme (to use in any manner connected to pupil progress and family wellbeing), offered to schools requiring it, funded by a successful application to the Migration Impacts Fund. In Wiltshire such a scheme was not available and such service lack was particularly lamented, but not for educational reasons. Here they had experiences of Polish children disclosing problems to their Polish support staff, disclosures that would not have occurred at detriment to the troubled children, had such staff not been present. The failure to provide outlets for disclosure to first language speakers 24/7 was noted to be "*particularly unfair.*"

EMAS work with parents is predicated upon the opening of communication channels, deemed vital to educate parents on the differences between the Polish and English education systems, particularly important at the early year's level,[32] and the rules and regulations regarding absences. Both areas are reluctant towards providing translated material (beyond those needed to cope with legalities and problems, such as admissions and absence forms, and permission letters or copies of the Multiverse schools guide[33] distributed in Wiltshire) themselves to parents, believing it important for parents and students to learn English alike. Where supplementary documents (such as learning guides in Wiltshire) are translated at their cost they often include both English and Polish translations to facilitate learning and foster an easier adjustment to school life in England.

To further facilitate such exchange of information members of the Wiltshire EMAS team have a work mobile phone, whilst members of the Devon team communicate via a home school diary. For both areas limitations are placed on guests (parents) by hosts

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[32] Polish children start school when they are 6, with the preceding 'Kindergarten' period optional from the age of 3.

[33] http://www.mdx.ac.uk/Assets/parentsguideenglish.pdf

(EMAS workers) which state that communications are to be restricted to matters of an educational nature. However, these limitations are not always understood with demands made of workers to engage in communication beyond this remit, forcing them to make judgement calls regarding acceptable uses of time. Many often accede to requests, becoming agents of hospitality - 'unofficial support workers' - as a result. Tregoning (2003) argues that hospitality can provide a way of placing the unknown and thus of being with others. This seemed particularly salient in relation to the rather more unorthodox extensions of hospitality by EMAS workers detailed by the Wiltshire representative; *"I draw the line at helping people with the Sky connection, that sort of stuff does go on. Our bilingual assistant has even been with a Polish mother to hospital to have her baby."*

I discussed the work of EMAS with my Polish participants of Fordstone. Akin to the general Devon approach to providing initial assessment of pupil's needs and staff training only, the delivery of EMAS work here fell to the staff of Fordstone Primary School, with no bilingual support worker in attendance. Piotr and Anna were very happy with the level of specialised care their children were receiving, and the attempts of staff to communicate with them as parents.

> A: *"It is nice for our children to have the help sometimes when they need it. Our daughter, she does not need it really, but our son who is older, he struggles sometimes. I like that the teachers appreciate that they are not like the other children. Things are harder for them, they cannot work as fast."*

> P: *"I like the teaching assistants. They are friendly to us, they made us feel welcome and help us with problems we might have. When we had the racism problems start we told a teaching assistant and she gave us good advice."*

It appears that the aim of EMAS to help EAL learners to achieve their learning potential by appreciating their learning nuances has been achieved, as has the fostering of the all important communication channel between the school and the home. In this instance its importance is clear to see, providing a mechanism through which Piotr and Anna could work through non-educational problems, an incidence which further emphasises the notion that EMAS workers can often be positioned as 'unofficial support workers'.

In some areas hospitality is extended and cultivated beyond the traditional remit of EMAS approaches, i.e. to those adjudged to be in need of EMAG, received within the traditional closed confines of education spaces. Work with students in Devon by EMAS has extended beyond the black and ethnic minority students. The service has long organised end of academic year diversity projects in schools in which different community groups are represented to promote hospitable relations. The forging of such spaces of encounters is deemed of vital importance. A rural county with a majority white population, many children simply lack experience of ethnic difference. Discussing the rationale behind the projects the representative noted the following;

> *"I think it's terribly valuable. I mean, some of the children here in Devon obviously don't move 20 miles from where they live. We had a black man who was a cultural champion working with us. He walked into a school in a really rural place and at the start the children, they just stared at him as though he was from Mars. They just don't have that form of contact so it is very important and to flag up actually that there are an awful lot of different people that live here. It's important for children to see that they actually are in their community and they make a very positive and very good contribution."*

The non-educational communications with parents which Wiltshire representatives were wary of have been actively encouraged in Devon. In the first year of her appointment (2004/2005) she put together an information pack for Polish migrants inspired by the questions they were putting to her;

> *"I kept getting questions about all sorts of things – employment, doctors and community things which were not really our work but I thought I must answer these questions so we made these packs up in plastic wallets which we gave to children that were registered."*

As time has passed the information detailed has been disseminated by means of a migrant grapevine, meaning that there are less Polish migrants requiring their direct attention. As a result attention has turned to a problem deemed to be blighting the lives of the Polish migrants with whom she works, namely rural isolation;

> *"Rural-ness and isolation occur even with the Polish community, I say with the Polish because obviously there are far more Polish than of any other ethnic*

group. A support worker told me the other day that the school that I sent her into the parents don't know any other Polish people. They are quite new here but they have no connection at all."

The Devon representative hopes to establish a community group to provide support and solidarity, a space of encounter in which migrants could foster bonding ties of hospitality. Consultation with migrants is currently being undertaken to ascertain whether there exists a need. With geographical isolation a real problem the format will be a difficult question to breach - *"you've got the numbers but they're not very close together. It's not like you're popping down the road to go to an after school club."* The representative expects that should the group come to fruition it would operate as a monthly drop-in at a location that would shift to ensure the greatest access to the greatest number.

Earlier, in chapter one, I briefly considered the complexity surrounding whether or not Polish migrants are returning to Poland. Notions of migrant settling are given credence from evidence, both anecdotal and statistical, provided in conversation with EMAS teams. The numbers of new students has steadied in both research areas. The population is not falling, instead steadying with Wiltshire experiencing particular clustering within schools popular to the Polish population, particularly Roman Catholic schools. The key trend then is not new arrivals, but instead the movement of children naturally through the school system. Indeed, in Devon although Polish referrals as percentage of overall EMAS referrals has fallen from a peak of 27% in 2006/2007, to 21% in 2010/2011, the number of referrals was the highest yet (146). This trend and the reasons behind it were considered by the Devon representative;

> *"We haven't been receiving so many new children in the last few years. They did come in great waves initially. What I have experienced is that, by in large, the single Polish people who came for the work have moved on but those who brought their families have stayed unless things have got very sticky. They've said to me "we've made this decision to move, we've moved our kids, everything, and this is where we are and this is where we're staying."*

In summary, EMAS represents a public service whose key aim is to integrate the needs of ethnic minority children into mainstream education and training provision, whilst

also in some instances (where acting as 'unofficial support workers') striving to provide appropriate public service information. Linking back to the South West Migrant Worker Action plan, the work of EMAS can be seen to support Polish migrants by promoting positive messages (more so in Devon than in Wiltshire) and encouraging migrants to conform with legal requirements (in an educational sense primarily). The opportunities for inculcating hospitable relations in the main emerge as a corollary of the work being undertaken to permit Polish EAL children access into the English education system, improving the encounter between Polish children and learning practitioners, and permitting the child easier engagement with fellow children. They can also emerge in relation to the cultural understandings borne out of standalone diversity projects. The ongoing challenges facing EMAS relate to problems of service delivery pertaining to complacency in reporting students (representatives noted that many schools with experience of Polish children felt it unnecessary to report the arrival of subsequent Polish children) and funding problems. This latter issue is vital. From April 2011 it was announced that EMAG funding was to cease being ring-fenced and incorporated into the dedicated schools grant. With 2010/2011's funding levels maintained during 2011/2012 it is in this oncoming academic year – 2012/2013 - that great uncertainty surrounding the future delivery of EMAS will play out. Reductions in staffing levels, and a squeezing of remit as corollary, can be expected. This is particularly disappointing in relation to the role EMAS has played in the fostering of hospitality, with the 'extra-curricular' activities that work so well likely to be affected detrimentally.

5.3 Voluntary/Third Sector Responses

Processes of service restructuring have seen the role played by government in the funding and delivery of public services reduced, leading to a re-negotiation of the roles, responsibilities and behaviour of government, civil society and marketplace (Pinch 1997). Dissatisfaction with state and market responses to social and welfare crises has led to the emergence of voluntarism, "alternative 'third' way strategies as a means of addressing these issues" (Milligan 2007:183). Wolch (1990) likened the emergence of the collection of voluntary organisations with collective service responsibilities previously provided by the public sector - pertaining to social, political, cultural, environmental, health and welfare issues - to the emergence of a 'shadow state'. Voluntary organisations by fostering trust and reciprocity are crucial to the cultivation

and promotion of active citizenship in the community (Bellah et al 1985). This notion –
of voluntary spaces being key conduits for the emergence of active citizenship - is long
standing with local communities having long been encouraged by the Government to
take increasing responsibility for the provision of locally attuned services (Taylor and
Bassi 1998)[34].

Yet, it is important to note that voluntary sector initiatives do not emerge solely in
response to service retraction caused by restructuring. Some emerge in response to
newly emerging gaps in care caused by changing social contexts. I here refer to the
recent emergence of migrant spaces of voluntary support, including faith based
provision (e.g. English lesson provision, English language services, migrant social
evenings), provision mobilised by members of the host population (e.g. community
engagement schemes, one of which will be detailed in the following chapter), and
provision mobilised by migrant members of the community (e.g. migrant led
community group).

Evidently, the voluntary sector is very much a complex space with boundaries
"somewhat blurred or fuzzy" (Kendall and Knapp 1995:89). Fyfe and Milligan
(2003a:2072) refer to it as "necessary shorthand" for the wide range of organisational
forms, governance structures and activities it incorporates. Much work on voluntarism
has been focused at the urban scale with rural areas, despite higher levels of voluntary
sector activity (Home Office 2001), somewhat lacking attention (Fyfe and Milligan
2003b). A need for more empirical work about rural communities and voluntarism
considering the ways in which socio-economic limitations combine with problems of
geography to both inspire and hinder the delivery of care via voluntarism exists. The
following case study briefly addresses this lacuna, considering a rural response to a
rural problem, namely a migrant support group to address latent spaces of migrant
support. Given the remit of my research it is post-accession migrant groups with whom
I am most interested. With Tidbury having no such group here I focus on the group used

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[34] E.g. through the Major Government's 'Making a Difference' initiative, the Blair Government's 'Active
Communities' initiative (Milligan and Fyfe 2005) and most recently through the Coalition Government's
'Big Society' initiative.

by my Polish participants in Fordstone, located 8 miles away in the nearby town of Ashvale.

Ashvale International Social and Cultural Organisation (ISCOA) was established to provide public service information, share good practice and address migrant problems in the Ashvale area, later extending their remit to Devon. The group aims to achieve this by helping migrants both directly (through support mechanisms) and indirectly (through changing host population frames of reference via processes of active citizenship, and use of the local media). It was born out of an experiential engagement with the area by Malgorzata, a Polish migrant who had been living in the area since 2006;

> *"I came here and I could communicate in English and was able to help other Polish people. I would take them to the bank to help set up a bank account, or to the Doctor's to set up accounts there. I was helping so many I thought why not open up a more formal group?"*

These repeated encounters saw Malgorzata resolve to act as "champion", seeking to promote the development of a service in the area that addressed the latent nature of migrant care (Milligan 2007:191). After calling upon like-minded social actors, the group was formally established by Malgorzata and Alex (Polish migrants) and Natalia (a Russian migrant) on 13th March 2009. Established by migrants to help migrants, its formation and perpetuation challenges notions of migrant communities being hostile towards each other and not helping (Williams 2006).

ISCOA has a management committee of 9 trustees from 4 different nationalities. Its growth has been helped greatly by the Ashvale Town Mayor (Natalia's husband), who shared their passion and has given considerable credence to the group with his backing. A voluntary organisation, the key workers receive no wage and have to fit such work around their own lives. As Malgorzata, mother of a young child and attendee at college puts it, *"we spend much time helping. We do not take payment from what we do. It is hard but we get by."* This time constraint becomes further complicated when one considers the 'active' membership of the group, as detailed by Natalia: *"we have a large group of people who are associated with us who help at events in the town, but*

when it comes down to the people who are able to take ideas from thinking through to action it is just the two of us."

Funding sources have and continue to be diverse. ISCOA was positioned as one of 14 'hubs' (migrant community organisations run by volunteers) within the Community Council of Devon Migrant Worker hub scheme which ran from 2009 to 2011, a strand of a wider project coordinated by Devon Migrant Worker Task Group, on behalf of the Devon Strategic Partnership 'Improving Outcomes for Migrant Workers in Devon', which was funded by the Migration Impacts Fund. Here the 'Let's Do It' fund offered grants of up to £300 per project, for up to two projects per year to help build capacity. An example of ISCOAs use of this fund was to support a performance of the Russian Voice Choir at Ashvale Congregational Church in May 2011. The organisation has also received a number of large grants from the Devon Community Foundation; £500 in July 2009 to purchase new equipment, £2000 in September 2010 to enable them to develop their organisational capacity, and most recently £1125 in January 2012 to fund free English lessons. Further small grants have been provided by Ashvale Town Council, including a grant of £100 provided most recently in February 2012.

At first, the organisation occupied a space at the local Roman Catholic Church, where Malgorzata was an active member. The space was occupied for a year, with meetings held initially weekly, before shifting to fortnightly and eventually monthly, before the organisation moved to the local library. The reason for shift this was twofold. They feared inadvertently excluding those with different religious backgrounds and felt that the Church was too far from the centre of the town. They stayed at the library for 9 months before moving to their current further centralised location, an office within the Town Council building. This move was predicated on a lament that the meetings at the library had become too business minded, and not about helping migrants. This shift was eased, and to a certain extent facilitated by the work of a member of ISCOA who is a Mid Devon District Councillor. Reflecting on their good fortune Malgorzata remarked *"people have helped - we have been lucky."*

Although inspired by and for Polish migrants, it is a migrant group, not a Polish group per-se. The distinction is borne out by the name of the group – the Ashvale International

Social Cultural Organisation. As Natalia stated *"we do not isolate we accommodate"*, with the group a space of encounter and hospitality frequented by Bulgarians, Latvians, Brazilians and Polish migrants. Although she admitted that tactically having a broad, inclusive remit made attracting funding from external sources easier, she warned that *"it is difficult sometimes with so many different peoples to deal with"* with particular emphasis placed upon language difficulties experienced when either the common language (English) or those languages with which members had proficiency were not spoken.

The group aims to help migrants directly via support mechanisms, most notably relating to educating migrants regarding their rights. As Malgorzata put it, *"many do not know, many think they do not."* For those experiencing particular problems it provides direct support and advice to migrant workers on housing, jobs, bank accounts, benefits, school liaison, medical issues, and providing translation and free English classes. The group is very much about enabling migrants to live happily, embracing their potential. I was told of examples of where ISCOA had helped women escape abusive relationships, and had got a migrant worker English lessons so she could get a job as a midwife for which she was fully trained yet working on a farm. Should they not able to help directly, the group provide signposting to appropriate local services. The group prides itself on the networks it has forged with representatives from both the voluntary and public sector. As Malgorzata put it "w*e work in conjunction with other groups to make sure we can help as good as possible."*

Awareness of the group was initially spread via the positioning of leaflets detailing their services at key local service providers, but is now increasingly spread by means of a reciprocal relationship with their users;

> *"For us though the main way of people hearing about us has been first hand. I visited factories with a Polish man and his wife. They were going to lose their jobs but I made sure that all problems were sorted and they got them back again. These people told other people, who came to see us, some just to see what we do, some with a problem to help them with. It is good when we can help them. We help them, and they help us by promoting us."Malgorzata.*

ISCOA also helps migrants indirectly by working with the host community to promote positive responses. With reference to earlier discussions in chapter 1, much reference was made to the damaging discursive role the media plays in perception building;

> *"There are many bad articles about migrants – how they cheating on benefits, how they take jobs – those kind of things. They put them on one side away from the rest. We have got to show people that we are different, we are making a good impact in local society and giving something back." Malgorzata.*

ISCOA are very much focused upon creating moments of encounter through which cultural exchange, destabilisation and transformation can give rise to intercultural understandings (Sandercock 2003) whereby perceptions of migrants are changed, and hospitable relations could potentially emerge. The group encourages social and cultural interaction between migrant and host communities in spaces of encounter forged via their involvement in festivals, farmers' markets, churches and arts group. The local press also plays a key role by projecting such stories of positive engagement beyond the realm of those who attend, providing a compensatory 'theoretical' encounter. It is a process deeply important to the organisation;

> *"I wanted other people to hear our voice, the voice of migrant peoples. I wanted the group to help migrants but I also wanted it to help how people saw migrants. Many people see migrants as coming over for work, earning money, keeping themselves to themselves, staying quiet. For some people it is like that yes, but we wanted the local community to know us better. Many English people, they have picture of Polish people – they think we come here for money and go home and do not want to get involved, we encourage migrants to try to change the pictures, get involved and create different pictures." Malgorzata.*

However, this process was noted to be problematic. Malgorzata believed that *"many come here to get peace and quiet, to get away from the City. They keep themselves to themselves. They are comfortable like that."* This predisposition for isolation limited the extent to which migrants were becoming engaged with their space of encounter and, as a corollary, changing the frameworks through which the host population view them. The belief that they were not working to help themselves, in what was deemed a highly welcoming community, was noted as a key regret. At times the frustration oozed through narratives, yet so too did optimism. Malgorzata believed that the next

generation – the children - were more open to change and societal engagement, and as such, through focussed working with them she hoped long-term attitudinal change could be enacted predicated upon openness to community engagement.

ISCOA has and continues to be used by both Anna and Piotr. Piotr first met Natalia at Exeter College where they were both taking English classes, and she invited him to their group. Experienced migrants in the sense that Fordstone was not their first place of residence in England, they did not seek help in the 'traditional' problem areas relating to work, housing and accessing services. However they were of vital importance with regards to Piotr's cultivation of a hybridised identity detailed in the previous chapter. The key stage of this process was the changing of his surname, which required the signature of someone who could vouch for his identity. Having few friends in the area, he turned to Malgorzata;

> *"Malgorzata, she was great because when I changed my surname, I needed someone to sign documents to say that the person know me from the previous name. I ask her "Malgorzata could you sign that certificate please for me 6 times" [laughs] and she said "Alright". I could change my name then."*

Reception of ISCOA is problematic to ascertain for few host population residents in Fordstone (just 2) were aware of the organisation. No participants were aware of their occupation of the Ashvale Town Council building. ISCOA was not so much a "fully lived space" (Soja 2000:11) in their eyes, with any subsequential theorisation proceeding with reference to 'theoretical' engagement as opposed to 'actual' engagement. Indeed, when informed by me of the work of ISCOA no negative responses were demonstrated, with participants instead seemingly happy that something was being done for migrants. A small subset questioned the funding sources, and seemed happy when told that it was a privately funded venture. This was an interesting nuance. Participants stressed that they had no problem with migrant workers, arguing instead that they were merely voicing concern at public spending on migrants in a time of austerity. Evidently in such concerns hegemonic narratives regarding public spending and ethnicity were temporarily disrupted and displaced, hence their questioning. In such voicing of concerns and couching of migrants as less deserving of funding than the host

population, even though they suggested otherwise, participants alluded strongly to a problematic placement of migrants.

ISCOA is an example of a 'grass-roots' voluntary group in which the performances of care included case rurality as open and progressive. Underpinned by notions of mutuality, empathy and trust, it seeks via its progressive ideology to impress the importance of participation and empowerment upon its users, seeking to cultivate a sense of active citizenship. Hospitality is offered to migrants, and the host population in the hope it will be retransmitted by them to migrants as a corollary. With regards to this latter trend education is vital with the group seeking to change understandings of migrants, host population residents and employers alike in order to improve relations between all three groups. ISCOA is embedded within local and regional networks, the result of its membership of the migrant worker 'hub' scheme and the resolve to build networks to provide services they lacked. Such a broad remit sees its work address all four priority areas of the South West Migrant Worker Action Plan detailed earlier (South West Forum for Migrant Workers 2010). Such embedding assists it be a space in which people, via the support mechanisms provided, can directly influence decisions affecting their lives (Pimbert and Wakeford 2001). Nowhere was this more pertinent than in relation to Piotr's name change.

When asked to provide an evaluation of their group, the response given was one of success. With the rationale underpinning the group's emergence being to help migrants in the area, success was gauged not in term of structural development but instead, in terms of the impacts they had facilitated for the individual;

> *"Our successes have been many. They are simple successes – like helping a job application, a housing application or a problem at work – but to the migrants they are important, life changing successes."*

The key challenge noted was the lack of volunteers. Steps were taken to combat this, with those migrants who they helped offered the chance to work with ISCOA in return for the potential to put said work on their CV. Many did so, but only briefly;

> *"Many migrants will come to us and gain a qualification – maybe a food certificate, or learn English – and work with us as a volunteer for some time, letting them put on their CV's that they are helpful volunteers. Many will get new jobs because of this. Then they go and do not come back. There is nothing we can do about this. There is no contract, no requirement. We just hope and expect them to give something back when we give so much to them."*

This demonstration of feeling used by Malgorzata demonstrates the complexity of exchanges of hospitality. With reference to the work of Tregoning (2003) considered earlier in chapter 2 (section 2.2.2), ISCOA is suffering the effects of the reversal of the positions of host and hostage. Migrants appear unwilling to act upon the tacit limitations – i.e. to reciprocate help received through the medium of prolonged voluntary work – placed on them. Bell's (2007:9) belief that "a welcome given freely can be abused, taken for granted" appears given credence. The organisation has become hostage to its own fortune.

The future of ISCOA is unclear. It is evidently clear to me that the perpetuation of the group would suggest that a need for the services it offers persists. Yet, as the successes of the group have grown so too have the pressures of management, an increase exacerbated by low numbers of engaged workers. The onus seems to fall disproportionately to Malgorzata and Natalia, with ISCOA a great consumer of time, effort and life, an 'investment' for which they receive no financial remuneration. Skinner (2008) believes that the willingness of rural communities to undertake voluntary welfare provision may not match their capacity to cope for rural areas lack the critical mass to sustain the long-term care services required in the community. This appears already apparent with regards to ISCOA. Given the extant pressures regarding engaged actors and delivery, one wonders whether the organisation has long-term viability.

5.4 Entrepreneurism

"Ethnic entrepreneurship" is the term used to describe entrepreneurial activity within minority ethnic groups (Vershinina et al 2011:102). Throughout the course of my research I have become aware of a plethora of Polish entrepreneurial acts including Polish newspapers, Polish websites, Polish radio stations, Polish restaurants, Polish

cafes, Polish translation firms, Polish beauty salons, and Polish shops, created and perpetuated in response to a perceived deficiency. Initially such acts were understood in relation to a push-pull model of motivation: 'pushed' by structural disadvantage or 'pulled' by entrepreneurial opportunities. This model has however been criticised for created a false dichotomy (Williams 2007). Indeed, entrepreneurial acts can be engendered by both elements: pushed by a perceived sense of disadvantage and pulled by the lure of opportunity to bridge the gap. The motivations underlying such acts can be thus better understood with reference to the mixed embeddedness approach (Kloosterman et al 1999). This model situates ethnic entrepreneurship within the wider social, political and economic institutional frameworks and opportunity structures of the entrepreneur's adopted homeland. Such an approach transcends the push-pull dichotomy, highlighting the entrepreneur's embeddedness in co-ethnic social networks and interprets them as embedded in wider sectoral, spatial and regulatory environments (Ram et al 2008). Although criticised for failing to address the passing of time and historical context (Peters 2002), its pertinence in understanding entrepreneurial acts persists.

Many of the examples of Polish entrepreneurialism listed earlier - typically those examples of support and media services - were not found at the rural level, situated instead in urban areas where target populations are larger in number. At the rural level retail services dominated and it is upon one strand of these – food retail spaces – which this section focuses upon. In the early days following accession much Polish food was brought with migrants, or sent from families in Poland, to Britain. However, the embedding of Polishness in the UK'S public commercial space as shops selling Polish goods proliferate (for example Tesco now sells Polish food in more stores in the UK than Poland (Pollard et al 2008)) appears to be changing this practice. Indeed, deep embedding of Polishness on the retail landscape of Tidbury is evident. An area of the town referred to by residents as "The Polish Quarter" (figure 5.2) contains a Polish cafe (pin 1), Polish shop (pin 2), Polish tanning salon (pin 3), and Polish supermarket (pin 4), with recruitment agencies in the area advertising in Polish (pin 5).

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Figure 5.2 – Map of Tidbury detailing 'The Polish Quarter'

(Source: *http://binged.it/xT2r68*)
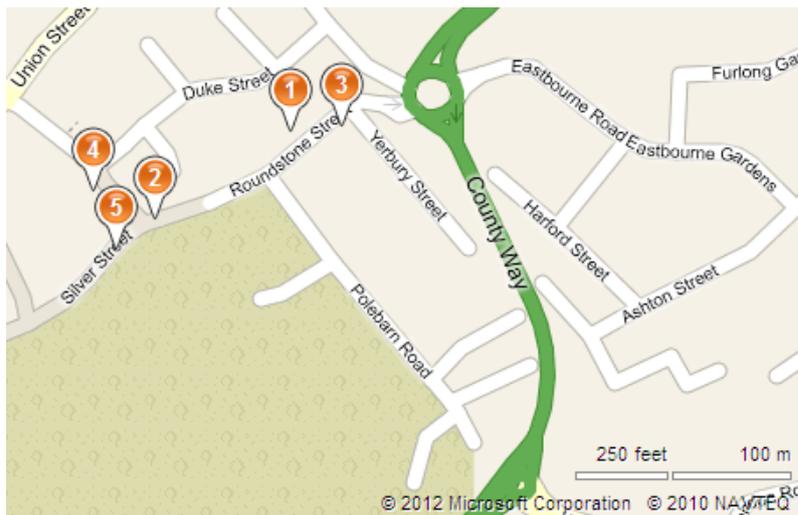
The Polish shop came first, spearheading the developments that followed. It was established by a Polish resident in 2005, first in a space occupied by a barbers shop away from the retail centre of Tidbury where rents were cheaper, then in a larger premises close by, in response to a gap in the market deemed "strange" by shop keeper Jerzy given the long established Polish population. With the venture evidently a response to a time-deepened sense of shortcoming in the retail landscape, my application of the mixed embeddedness model moves beyond criticisms of it being obtuse to the passing of time. Indeed, the emergence of the shop can be seen as a reflection of changing political (EU accession increasing the Polish population in Tidbury), social (a growing local Polish population), and economic (trend towards 'buying in England' as opposed to 'shipping from Poland') frameworks. Jerzy continues to draw on his co-ethnic social networks for both custom (consumers) and supply (product providers). Indeed, the shop currently sells speciality fresh sausages and smoked mackerel delivered from Poland once a week, Polish dumplings, biscuits, juices, bread (its best seller) and cakes delivered from a Polish baker in London every other weekday, and dry and canned items including hams, pates, jarred salads, soups and pre-prepared meals.

The story for Fordstone is much different. One shop serves the village and it stocks no Polish products. The nearest source of dedicated Polish product provision is some 8 miles away at the Tesco supermarket in Ashvale where a Polish section selling a variety of canned items, confectionary, and drinks is found in the world food aisle (figure 5.3). No fresh items are available.

Figure 5.3 – The Polish 'section'

This arrangement has not been longstanding for the store only opened in 2009. To access a dedicated Polish shop one needs to travel further afield, either to Oketon (20 miles) or Exeter (16 miles). Should you be dependent on public transport, travelling by bus is, as noted in the preceding chapters' discussions of rural service deprivation, both complex and costly.

Wang and Lo (2007) argue that ethnic food shops can potentially become focal points connecting host and home country, providing a space of multi-ethnic interaction in the everyday lives of migrants. Indeed, it is this interaction which the owners of the Polish shop in Tidbury believed would help it when faced with the growth of availability of Polish products elsewhere;

> *"At the moment I think we have the edge because unlike the big supermarkets we offer fresh products which means we are more authentic. I believe that people – Polish people and English people – would rather buy products here where we know about the products and are able to tell them how to cook it."*

To a certain extent, this privileging of authenticity over mere impersonal exchange appeared true, although it was predicated not in terms of meeting but in terms of consumption. While 8 of my Tidbury sample chose to shop exclusively at the local supermarket, a reflection of ease and product availability, the remaining 7 shopped at both the supermarket (for generic items) and the Polish shop (for fresh Polish items). In Fordstone the situation was somewhat similar. Given the cost in terms of both money and time required it should come as little surprise that Piotr and Anna chose to buy ingredients and make Polish foods themselves as opposed to buying pre-made from a Polish shop. They did previously buy mainly Polish products, but now, due to rising costs of products and issues of accessing them, such consumption is reserved for special occasions days;

> A: *"Sometimes we just go to Polish shop on a special occasion to buy something we can't buy in Tesco's…."*

> P: *"Like Polish cheese or Polish bread as a treat or on a birthday."*

With Polish food shops and 'sections' being open, they represented spaces of potential encounter for host population and migrant residents alike. Whereas the Polish 'section' in a supermarket is static and anonymous, the Polish shop is peopled and interactive. Indeed, with regards to the Polish shop in Tidbury participation is very much courted via its signage placed in the street outside (figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4 – Courting encounter: on street shop signage

The Polish shop holds the potential to act as a space of encounter in which people can learn of a different culture and perhaps move towards hospitable relations as a result. Indeed, Jerzy estimated some 40% of his clientele to be English, initially attracted to the space out of simply curiosity; *"They come to us because they are just very curious about how certain Polish dishes are cooked, and what the sausages taste like! We often put out little samples for them to try. Many buy some after tasting!"* Posed questions not just about products but Polish culture and history too, he thinks of himself as a 'cultural ambassador' for Poland, a role that he relishes; *"I like to promote Poland in a good way, and it also helps me to improve my English!"*

For some, notably young Tidbury resident Tom as detailed in the preceding chapter, the hospitality offered in this space of potential encounter is rebutted and protested. For others, potential persists. Participants recalled how time engaged with these spaces permitted them a contextualized moment in which to reflect empathetically upon the theme of migration in their locale, speculating positively about their service role. In the first instance 'support' was couched in terms of such spaces offering Polish migrants Polish foods and products not readily available locally, enabling them to maintain a link to home. Such a belief was predicated heavily upon empathetic perceptions of the Polish experience;

"I remember going to Morocco a couple of years ago, I was staying in this remote fishing village and it was like being in another world. Anyway, one day we went to the local town and we went to the supermarket. I remember being so excited when I came across some Kinder chocolate because it was the first thing I had seen that had reminded me of home. It was lovely because at the time I was feeling quite homesick. I can imagine them experiencing something similar." Jess, Fordstone.

In the second instance 'support' was couched in terms of offering a space for potential congregating with like-minded individuals;

"I've been in the shop a couple of times, just to have a nose really! The owner was really welcoming, telling me about the products and letting me try some. I like the effort that he made to welcome me. It must be great for them having a shop like that, somewhere to go and just be Polish with their fellow Poles, buying Polish foods and speaking Polish. If I lived in Poland I would like there to be an English shop where I could do the same." Linda, Tidbury.

To this participant, and others beside, the Polish shop is couched as both a public and private space, marking and sustaining both inward and outward ethnic identity. Such notions of retreat, emergent out of empathetic understandings of the migration situation, posit the Polish shop as a space of retreat in which identity scripting can occur by means of full, uncompromised disclosure. A public space becomes valorised for the privacy (perceived to be) afforded by it. Such understandings did not parry with the rural realities revealed to me by my Polish participants. It would appear that host population residents were miss-reading the migrant reality, over-stating the importance of both Polish shops and Polish social networks to Polish migrants.

5.5 Response Spaces as 'Thirdspace'

Thirdspace is defined as "a purposefully tentative and flexible term that attempts to capture what is actually a constantly shifting and changing milieu of ideas, events, appearances, and meanings" (Soja 1996:2). A notion highly critical of essentialist categorizations of culture and identity, thirdspace investigates urbanism as "a fully lived space, a simultaneously real-and-imagined, actual-and-virtual, locus of structured individual and collective experience and agency" (Soja 2000:11). His point has evident pertinence for binary divisions are etched into social space and it is an understanding of

boundary erection and distancing that is required if such inherent processes of exclusion and conflict are to be understood. As an intellectual project, a thirdspace perspective can serve to expose oppression and 'othering' of geographical space and social spatiality enacted by the postulation of boundaries of categories and better reflect the hybrid forms of socio-spatial relations characterised by hybridity and mixing. An ambivalent site where cultural meaning and representation have no "primordial unity or fixity" (Bhabha 1994:37), thirdspace represents an invitation to enter a space of openness in which critical exchange can occur and new positions are enabled to emerge, positions which serve to transgress and subvert conventional binary, and hence oppositional, thinking. This broad remit of investigation conjoined with the openness in definition permits an extension in application to rural spaces. Indeed, this has already been done once thus far in the thesis. I introduced thirdspace earlier in chapter 4 in considerations of the thirding of identity in rural communities. In this chapter I will consider the thirding of rural space.

Transnationalism has been defined as, "a condition in which, despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders... certain kinds of relationships have been globally intensified and now take place paradoxically in a planet-spanning yet common – however virtual – arena of activity" (Vertovec 1999:447). This reconstitution and redefinition of space and spatial relations within globalisation have major implications for social, cultural and economic life (Georgiou 2006) as is becoming clear with regards to the Polish case study this thesis is putting forward. For many, home has ceased to be a singular location and has instead become a plurality of nodes in ever widening maps of mobility. As detailed earlier in section 4.2.2.2 of chapter 4, such transnational communities are sustained by a diverse range of modes of social organisation, mobility and communication (Vertovec 1999), notably Skype, the telephone and Facebook. These examples of microelectronic transnationalism (Spivak 1989) represent spaces of potential encounter "in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations" (Pratt 1992:6-7).

Thirdspaces are oft necessarily produced as a result of cultural transactions in the contact zone. A term originally coined by Pratt to refer to colonial moments of encounter, she argued that contact usually involved "coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (Pratt 1992:6-7). Whilst I cannot agree that contact in the nodes to which I refer inculcate similar sentiment in every instance of encounter, the theorisation of the contact zone remains important. A dynamic and fluid social space, it is not a frontier in a colonial sense, but a contemporary sense emphasising subjects to be constituted in and by relations, "in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices", with each other (Pratt 1992:7). All encounters thus far in the thesis can be considered as taking place within the contact zone – be it for example the contact zone of the street, the home, a shop or workplace.

Is it with reference to service spaces that this concept becomes particularly important given the importance of the notion of hospitality to this thesis. Service spaces represent contact zones in which hospitality is extended with the hope being (to varying extents) that hospitality founded on transrural imaginaries will be projected onwards as a result. Categorisations devised in and emergent from the contact zone are always unstable and provisional, and to this end, always open and subject to reworking. Multiple meanings of space can emerge – as noted throughout chapter 4 - with the potential to proliferate particularly in regards to spaces that are used in ways different from the (perceived) norm, and can change at any time. This notion becomes important in considerations of those services operating transiently out of shared spaces, those which are Polish at one time and English at another.

Lefebvre (1980:143) argues that in the modern era of binary oppositions "one always has Three. There is always the Other." Indeed, in the context of this thesis rural space has been hybridised beyond a simplistic Polish space/English space dichotomy, towards a spatial triad of 'English', 'Polish', and 'thirdspace'. Within this latter liminal space of possibility hegemonic narratives regarding English rurality are disrupted and displaced by notions of multicultural rurality. All service spaces can be cast as "interruptive, interrogative and enuciative" thirdspaces (Bhabha 1994:37). This chapter has discussed the 'overt' retail thirdspace of the Polish shop which promotes consumption of both products and knowledge, the 'closed' thirdspaces of potential predicated upon

accommodation and knowledge building forged in education spaces, and the 'covert' thirdspace of community hospitality at ISCOA. The case study of the Polish shop (in indeed 'section') provides us with the clearest window through which to reflect upon this thirdspace postulation. Polish retail spaces in their 'openness' represented to many the most visible manifestation of Polish service imprinting. Indeed, for many participants the first time they became aware of Polish migration into their locale was their happening across Polish food retail spaces;

> *"I first noticed that there the new wave of Polish people were here when I saw their Polish shops popping up." Iris, Tidbury.*
>
> *"The first time I realised that Polish people were around here was when I saw Polish things in Tesco's. It made me stop in my tracks." Sarah, Fordstone.*

Food retail spaces represent regularly visited contact zones in which societal trends of consumption and demand play out. Seamon's concept of place ballets "an interaction of time-space routines and body routines rooted in space, which becomes an important place of interpersonal and communal exchanges, actions, and meanings" (Seamon 2006) here becomes important. Changes, be they in terms of position of goods or types of goods available, in the place ballets of consumers who walk the same weekly paths within such spaces are overtly noticeable to them. Such changes hold the power to shock and stop people in their tracks, engendering moments of reflection. In the initial moments of encounter with these retail spaces traditional place ballets are destabilised. I move now to consider the impact of this process of destabilisation.

5.5.1 Positive Responses to Thirdspace

To some Polish retail thirdspaces were received positively, positioned a space of wonder to explore due to it being different (Polish as opposed to English) but the same (a food shop);

> *"I love the Polish shop. It really is a sight to behold. The cakes, wow! They are incredible. Too incredible, I've developed quite the taste for them. The first time I went in there was just after it opened - curious mind and all that. Something*

different to the normal corner shop. They were very welcoming to me, the workers, which was lovely." Phil, Tidbury.

"I remember my first visit to the shop yes. I wanted to go in there because I was intrigued. I wanted to see how different it was to the English shops. Really it was not that different – it was a shop selling food, just different food but even then some was still the same, you know your breads and cheeses. Bread is bread!" Iris, Tidbury.

Seamon (2006) argues that place ballets are a fluid dynamic characterised by "temporal give and take". This is particularly evident in relation to those participants for whom visitation was very much a past trend, something done when the shop first arrived predicated upon its being novel. Once their initial sense of wonder had been quashed through visitation, the space became normalised into the wider retail landscape with their place ballets reconfigured and visits ceasing;

"I used to go in the Polish shop quite a bit but, you know, it sort of became the same after a while. I lost the excitement for it. It just seemed normal to me." Iris, Tidbury.

Openness is positioned here as a key mechanism through which positive receptions to retail thirdspaces can emerge. However, even with the provision of openness and a positive outlook, such a process does not always proceed in a straightforward manner. Some participants detailed a concern that their placement in Polish retail spaces as spectator rather than consumer constituted exploitation;

"I often stop and look at the Polish section in Tesco's. I pick things up and have a look, once I even bought a chocolate bar. I quite liked it. I've walked past the Polish shop in Exeter, never been inside though. I would like to but it doesn't feel right. I'd feel like I shouldn't there, like I was gawping at them and I don't want that." Jess, Fordstone.

Here a process of splitting, introduced earlier in section 2.3.1 of chapter 2, is discernible. Although Jess displayed a transrural imaginary – one which encapsulated the specificities of place and was open to mobility and desire – she also deemed an invisible boundary to exist. Despite the openness of the shop she designated it open to

Polish persons and closed to their English counterparts. The hospitality extended by the shop was deemed directed towards Polish migrants, not English residents. Effectively she split herself off from the space, designated herself 'out of place'. Her desire to visit indicates to me that such spaces are on the cusp of being designated thirdspaces, a space of coming together beyond binaries, but in the postulation of an English/Polish boundary by the participant, desire clashes with action and designation falls short.

Evidently the Polish shop represents a liminal space of possibility, neither entirely Polish nor entirely English, a (potential – in the case of Jess) thirdspace received positively for being a space for coming together, sharing and learning. Within such spaces of encounter it appears that accommodation cultivates accommodation and as such the potential for hospitable relations to emerge via such engaged visitation exists. Furthermore engagement with such spaces can foster new understandings of rurality which move beyond hegemonic notions of 'white English' bounded rurality towards ethnically inclusive understandings of rurality can be forged. Askins (2009) progressive conceptualisation of transrurality here emerges.

5.5.2 Negative Responses to Thirdspace

Earlier in my review of extant studies pertaining to rurality and ethnicity (section 1.2.1 of chapter 1) I noted the normalisation of English whiteness in rural spaces to have given rise to a paradoxical understanding of rurality with it both de-racialised (in the sense that black and minority ethnic groups are excluded) and heavily racialised (in the sense that white ethnic groups are privileged) at the same time. The key mechanism to maintain such exclusionary divisions is splitting, an action "used to separate things which belong together" (Segal 1992:34). In the context of this thesis I found the process of splitting deployed to 'split off' both Polish residents (detailed earlier in chapter 4) and physical enactments of rural Polishness (i.e. the Polish shop). Such markers of Polishness are rejected and protested on the grounds that they are deemed transgressive, out of place features which serve to destabilise participant place ballets. With regards to the latter and focus of this chapter, physical enactments of rural Polishness, Castles and Davidson (2000:131) argue that sheer process of place making implicit can shock locals, fostering "their view that the aliens are taking over". Such sentiment was readily

apparent in Tidbury where the physical imprinting of the Polish population was being received somewhat problematically;

> *"They've taken over parts of Tidbury. I could tell you where they all live, where they all work, where they drink, and where they shop. Out the back of the shopping centre there is an area that has loads of Polish shops and businesses. It's like a Little Poland there. It's too much." Ray, Tidbury.*

Such processes of splitting (of Polish service spaces, and of Polish 'zones') inherent in this narrative occur despite Polish markers being legitimate markers of rurality in the sense that rurality itself is a construct. There are no 'right' or 'wrong' elements of it and all such postulations are arbitrary. Polish rural retail spaces are received problematically, thirdspaces designated 'not English' and rejected as Polish (in the sense that they lacked 'authentic' claims to rural positioning), very much spaces in which host population resident engagements are to be avoided. It is my belief that the negative responses to retail spaces discernible can be theorised with reference to the concept of the Uncanny discussed earlier in chapter 2, section 2.3.1. For means of a reprise I here replicate a particularly illuminating excerpt from the work of Royle (2003:1);

> "The uncanny is ghostly.... The uncanny involves feelings of uncertainty, in particular regarding the reality of who one is and what is being experienced. Suddenly one's sense of oneself … seems strangely questionable. … It is a crisis of the natural, touching upon everything that one might have thought was 'part of nature': one's own nature, human nature, the nature of reality and the world. But the uncanny is not simply an experience of strangeness or alienation. More specifically, it is a peculiar commingling of the familiar and unfamiliar. … As a crisis of the proper and natural, it disturbs any straightforward sense of what is inside and what is outside. The uncanny has to do with a strangeness of framing and borders, an experience of liminality."

Freud argued that there exists the ability for something to be familiar yet foreign at the same time, resulting in the feeling of it being uncomfortably strange or uncomfortably familiar. The shop, familiar in the sense that it is instantly recognisable as a shop, yet strange in terms of both its placement (Polish shop in England) and the products it offers, takes on the position of the uncanny. Such sentiment was evident in negative reactions to retail spaces which positioned them not as spaces of wonder inculcating

awe, but uncanny inducing doppelgangers. They were cast as spaces of disdain inculcating antagonism:

> *"And don't get me started on that Polish shop. I think they spend most of their time there when they're not working. Always people coming in and out. I assume they're all Polish cos god knows why a local would want to go in there. A group of me and my mates went in there for a laugh once. You should have seen some of the things they were selling. I mean come on, pickled cabbage? Who would want to eat that? God knows what the rest of it was. We could only tell that one from the label."* Tom, Tidbury.

Freud argues that the paradoxical nature of being attracted to yet repulsed at the same time creates cognitive dissonance within the experiencing subject. This is emphasised in this deeply complex and contradictory narrative. Whilst suggesting that locals would not want to enter the shops (emphasising repulsion) Tom declares that he has visited the shop himself (emphasising attraction). Cognitive dissonance, according to Freud, often leads to outright rejection as he believes that one would rather reject than rationalise. This was true of Tom. At the outset, his experience of the shop was one entered into with a pre-determined frame of judgement. The very notion of visiting *"for a laugh"* meant that it was likely that any reflections emergent would be judgemental as opposed to observational. Indeed, no attempt to move beyond observing difference to experiencing difference via learning about and eating products, both elements offered at the shop, was made. Products were not tasted which makes the question *"who would want to eat that?"* an interesting one. When I suggested to him that the same sentiment might be shared by Polish people when seeing English products in the supermarket his response was one of anger; *"Yeah but tough! This is England, not Poland."* The former part of the statement was predicated on a belief that the equivalent would not be afforded to him in Poland; *"Doubt there are shops selling Tetley tea bags in Poland are there?"* He went on to stress that migration was their choice and as such *"they should just deal with it and not force their needs upon us with their Polish shops."* This notion of forcing needs was an interesting one. As has been seen, the emergence of the Polish shop in Tidbury was a calculated entrepreneurial response to changes in the community. Polish migrants did not ask for it, one Polish migrant merely perceived a need.

Polish retail spaces represent transrural openings, spaces open to, and somewhat dependent upon, mobility and desire. They represent spaces of hospitality, directed in the main to the Polish population but also extended to the host population. In the preceding section I suggested that in such transrural spaces accommodation can breed accommodation, with the extension of hospitality leading potentially to the emergence of hospitable relations. As we have seen, the extension of hospitality is neither acted upon nor wanted by some members of the host population, and actively rejected. For these individuals transrural understandings are not emerging from these openings as a corollary. Indeed, Tom concluded by saying *"I don't want to see it",* a statement which gives credence to the belief that rural landscapes have a very specific aesthetic, one which precludes ethnic imprinting. The comingling of Polish shops and English shops appears to be creating a crisis of what is conceived of as natural and proper within this rural space, troubling the participant's "straightforward sense of what is inside and what is outside" (Royle 2003:1). The imprinting of Polishness on the physical landscape is positioned 'outside' by the participant, but has become 'inside'. His version of rurality has become reframed. In contrast to the transrural understandings of rurality that were noted in relation to positive responses to thirdspace, understandings of rurality here are monocultural and bounded as opposed to multicultural and open, harping back to anachronistic notions of the' rural idyll' which positioned the average rural dweller as "white and probably English, straight and somehow without sexuality, able in body and sound in mind, and devoid of any other quirks of (say) religious or political affiliation" (Philo 1992:200). Most importantly here, rural spaces were positioned as bounded white *English* spaces.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to detail service responses – statutory (EMAS), voluntary/third sector (ISCOA) and entrepreneurial (Polish food shops/sections) - targeted primarily towards Polish migrants, looking to the ways in which such spaces can be seen as spaces of potential encounter and the extent to which they offer and foster hospitability. The main opportunities for hospitable relations were providing migrants with the tools to engage comfortably in their locales in the first instance, with raising awareness of migrant workers through knowledge exchange and providing a contact zone for encounter benefits that emerged as corollary to greater or lesser extents dependent on

the space. Whereas ISCOA and the Polish food shop constituted open spaces of potential encounter providing each of these opportunities and offering hospitality to all, EMAS spaces of hospitality by definition offered these opportunities and fostered hospitality within the closed school setting only. The Polish 'section' could be couched as hospitable only in the sense of offering the tools - retail provision to perpetuate Polish identity – to engage comfortably in their locale. To the host population such spaces are more a space of potential reflection – raising the issue of migration and life as a migrant - than potential knowledge exchange and coming together.

All case studies were run by accommodating individuals whose commitment and dedication to the provision of hospitality demarcated a move beyond the rationalisation of such acts as mere moments of moral selving (Allahyari 2000). The key actors were responding to a calling that inspired in them a new way of life. This was most notable in the voluntary/third sector approaches where the key facilitators acted tirelessly without pay, interlacing their ISCOA work with their jobs and families in a selfless way. This 'calling' was also discernible in the statutory case study. Even though delivery was 'their job', there existed in the representatives a clear, tangible passion which saw them go beyond the remit of their work to offer both hospitality to Polish migrants and encourage a state of hospitality in the host population. With regards the entrepreneurial case although the issue of calling was also apparent, it can never be ascertained as to what extent motive was for profit as opposed to hospitality for after all, a business is a business.

Two main challenges to the fostering of hospitality exist. The first regards the habituation of the spaces of encounter forged. Although not a problem for EMAS scheme where encounter was planned, staged and perpetuated on a daily basis, the Polish shop and ISCOA can only be successful at fostering hospitality if people step over the threshold and into the potential spaces of encounter they offer. The second relates to delivery. A nod to the austere times this country currently finds itself in, voluntary and statutory approaches alike noted difficulty finding and sustaining funding, whilst low numbers of workers, employed or voluntary, led to a feeling of being overburdened by workload as a corollary. Despite these challenges, the key role that these services play in offering hospitality to Polish migrants and cultivating hospitality

in the host population emphasises the importance of their continued delivery within rural areas.

Lefebvre (1991) argues that space is intrinsically linked with capitalism and exchange, rather than being independent of society's mode of production. In essence, space is produced, "a phenomenon which is colonized and commodified, bought and sold, created and torn down, used and abused, speculated on and fought over" (Merrifield 2000:172-3). Production occurs beyond merely the physical realm, with the social production of space – the production of "the meanings, concepts and consciousness of space" (Smith 1984:77) – inextricably linked to its physical production. The discussions of this chapter have emphasised such notions, showing rural space to be a physical and social production in which key stakeholders change the meanings, concepts and consciousness of space by their bringing of Polish services into the public domain, and hence, consciousness. They, with reference to the work of Halfacree (2006) hybridise the everyday lives of the rural which are becoming increasingly incoherent and fractured, in this instance by the Polish markers popping up in their locales. Public ethnoscapes (Appadurai 1990) as practiced places become imbued with a plurality of social meanings. Potential existed for all service spaces to be considered thirdspaces, with this notion most pertinent in relation to the Polish shop and 'section', the result of these spaces being the most open and noticeable manifestation of Polish service provision. Positive responses to this thirdspace couched the shop as multicultural spaces of becoming, whilst negative responses saw the spaces postulated as spaces of antagonism, rejected for being 'not English'. With regards to the latter psychogeographies predicated upon similar notions of the theft of enjoyment detailed in the preceding chapter, were enacted and boundaries constructed, yet strangely transgressed in some cases.

In all instances of thirdspace postulation the potential for change exists. Bhabha (1994:37) suggests that "even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized, and read anew" and this is true of such spaces. With the passing of time and increased exposure their ability to conjure notions of difference may recede. Furthermore, an experience - good or bad - with the space, or those perceived to use the space may lead to the space being reframed – for better or worse - by the individual.

The inclusion of thirdspace reflections was pertinent. Not only did it extend applications of the theory beyond its traditional urban focus and into the rural sphere, it permitted me, as spatial being, "a strategic awareness of this collectively created spatiality and its social consequences...a vital part of making both theoretical and practical sense of our contemporary lifeworlds at all scales, from the most intimate to the most global" (Soja 1996:1). The use of this theory allowed me to service the call of Askins (2009) which underpins my thesis, namely to reposition rural England, uncovering, mapping and describing exclusion and be open to the ways in which diverse ethnic groups engage with and understand rurality. Indeed, here I have presented evidence of progressive, inclusive and hospitable rurality - and its differing readings and responses - which serves to problematise any positioning of rural England as a solely exclusionary white space.

Although as, with reference to the meze analogy drawn in the preface, this chapter 'works' as a standalone chapter it also plays a key role within the thesis. It provides an empirical, contextual and theoretical stepping stone for the discussions of resident relations and psychogeographies found in the preceding chapters, whilst also projecting forward to the next two chapters. Here I broaden the preceding discussions of community relations once more with reference to schemes devised for and delivered to host population residents, particularly the disaffected cohorts, which seek to promote hospitality in future moments of encounter through education to challenge misinformation.

Chapter 6: Communities of Difference (3) Improving Host Population Attitudes via the Migrant Worker Myth Buster Leaflet

6.1 Introduction

I move now to broaden preceding discussions of community relations once more, moving away from a focus upon the provision of hospitality for Polish migrants (in the main), towards a consideration of acts of hospitality directed towards disaffected members of the host population. Earlier in chapter 2 (section 2.2.2) I put forward my term 'hospitable relations' deeming it conceptually founded in the ethics of otherness put forward by Levinas which deems us all to have an innate responsibility to the other and thus an inherent potential to action hospitable relations. Such potential forms the foundations of the actions detailed in this and the following chapter that strive to accommodate migrant populations via differing mechanisms of inculcating hospitality. In this chapter I consider the migrant worker myth buster leaflet, a leaflet that presents popular 'myths' relating to migrant worker then expounding them via the presentation of the 'reality'. In the next chapter I consider an approach that seeks also to improve community relations via challenging misinformation but does so in a more interactive way, the "I packed this myself" participatory art project.

Such acts seek to reduce the friction disaffected psychogeographies – noted earlier in chapter 4 to be predicated on diverse and unstable processes of boundary formation pertaining to what is conceived of as ethnically 'right' and 'wrong' in rural areas - cause via the provision of education which seeks to destabilise the suites of knowledge upon which they are predicated. These 'suites of knowledge' are often informed by media constructions of migrant workers and it is to this notion that this chapter turns first, reflecting upon the constitutive elements of the migrant worker moral panic. Such a reflection is vital for the rationale surrounding the migrant worker myth buster leaflet is to destabilize the discursive construct of the post-accession Polish migrant by challenging misinformation surrounding migrant workers, misinformation that can originate from media readings. Only after this necessary contextual grounding has been forged does this chapter move onto consider the leaflet, reflecting upon the thematic findings of my and participant engagements with the leaflets.

6.2 Media responses to Polish migration: The renewed age of the moral panic?

6.2.1 Introduction

King and Wood (2001) argue that host country media constructions of migrants play a critical role in influencing the reception they are afforded. Much research has undertaken media discourse analyses considering the media as an intermediary agent which socialises readers into negative mind-sets predicated upon a bounded conceptualisation of identity which precludes those positioned as other, leading to the victimisation and demonization of certain groups, notably black persons (Hartmann and Husband 1974, Gordon and Rosenberg 1989, van Dijk 1987, 1991, 1992) and asylum seekers (Kaye 1998, 2001, Coole 2002, Schuster and Welch 2005), with a small number focussing specifically upon post-accession Polish migrants emerging (Pijpers 2006, Cekalova 2008, Fomina and Frelak 2008, Garapich 2008).

The migrant case has been an interesting one. Prior to A8 accession, there was much parliamentary discussion between member states regarding fears over the outcomes of membership rights, particularly freedom of labour. Concerns that high levels of immigration from new member states where living standards and wages were lower would lead to cheap workers 'flooding' the market were mobilised in the media (Traser 2005). This fear and scepticism of the 'unknown' led to an accession treaty to permit the old member states the potential to control access to their labour markets via the enforcement of transitional periods[35]. Sweden, Ireland and the UK were the only member states not to enforce transition periods. Such a liberal attitude was imposed in the UK to combat severe labour market shortages, especially in the South East, in low wage and low skill occupations in sectors such as agriculture, construction, hospitality, transport and the public services, as well as in a range of occupations in the health service such as nursing (McDowell 2008).

When accession occurred it was presented in the media in an ambiguous way. The entry of the former Soviet bloc states to the EU was presented in a congratulatory

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[35] Transition periods, divided into three phases according to the '2 plus 3 plus 2' formula, permitted EU member states to restrict access initially for two years before reassessing the situation. Formally transitional regulations lost effect in 2009, but potential existed for a further 2 years of restriction should access be deemed to detrimentally affect the labour market.

manner as a sign of achieving democratisation, higher standards of public life, and a free market economy by the new member states (see Smith 2004). However the tabloid press mourned the recently gained and lost again sovereignty of the Eastern European countries whilst also fearing the impacts of their arrival. With regards to the latter point, the Daily Express was particularly vocal deploying front-page headlines such as "Migrants Cover-Up" and "Don't Say We Didn't Warn You", predicting that 54, 000 Eastern Europeans would arrive in Britain (Clark 2005). The problems of quantifying post-accession migration detailed earlier in section 1.3.2 of chapter 1 played directly into the hands of sensationalist headline makers. In the early years following accession the unspecified 'large' amounts of Polish migration was reflected upon with alacrity in the right-wing, and hence anti-EU and anti-immigration, press (Cekalova 2008). Negative metaphors abounded. Fomina and Frelak (2008) grouped such metaphors into natural disaster metaphors ("towns flooded by immigrants"), war conflict metaphors ("hordes of tradesmen"), and crime metaphors ("crackdown on migrants"). However, they questioned their negative impact, arguing that they represented what George Orwell would term 'dying metaphors' (Orwell 1946), clichés that had lost their real imaginative power and were used simply out of habit. That said, although phrases such as "hordes of tradesmen" are at face value descriptive rather than damning, the use of such emotive and often sensational language affects the perception of issues discussed in the press, serving to "reinforce existing xenophobia, racism and prejudices and create a feeling of hostility among the population" (Cekalova 2008:1). Such sentiment will become apparent in the sections that follow.

Despite 8 countries acceding to the EU in 2004 it was the Polish cohort that came to be synonymous with this broader process, especially in rural areas that had a lack of previous experience of such large processes of migration. They became the scapegoated 'folk devil'. Their position however was as ambiguous as the reception of initial accession. When Bulgaria and Romania acceded in January 2007 their access to the labour market was severely restricted, with only self-employed migrants and workers in a limited number of sectors experiencing extreme shortages (such as agriculture and food processing) permitted entrance. Interesting discourses emerged in the media in which these migrants were played off against earlier migrants "Polish migrants found themselves on the side of the angels, classed with other 2004 A8 countries as desirable, despite the widespread representation in the popular press of the hard-working Polish

plumber as a scourge of the local working class" (McDowell 2008:60). Earlier negative media representations were superseded as Polish migrants became valorised as 'good' hard workers, with racialised national stereotypes serving to set them apart from 'bad' Bulgarians (marked as gangsters) and Romanians (perceived to have a nomadic lawless way of life (Okely 1996)) and 'good' hard working others (McDowell 2008). Given that Bulgarian, Romanian and Polish are traditionally white groups, with similarity to earlier discussions of whiteness, it is clear that whiteness refers not only to skin colour, but also class, status, language and other features to be discerned in social interaction and ascribed and created through racialised discourses (Colic-Peiska 2005).

I move now to detail my empirical findings regarding the migrant worker moral panic. Through my processes of discourse analysis detailed earlier in section 3.3.3 I found the migrant worker moral panic to have emerged in the media both intentionally (in approach and content) and unintentionally (as a corollary through discourses evident in comments facilities), conjuring complex suites of emotional responses. The key constitutive elements of this moral panic will now be discussed through recourse to four key thematic areas; 'British workers for British jobs', 'negative discourses of Polish migrants, 'negative actions against Polish migrants and 'return migration'.

6.2.2 Theme 1 - 'British workers for British jobs'

As detailed earlier many Polish migrants migrated to the UK in search of work inspired by a cosmopolitan curiosity (Appiah 2006). Employment statistics would suggest that such 'search' was fruitful, with 84.6% of Polish migrants of working age employed in the second quarter of 2011, compared to 70.4% for the UK as a whole. Such employment often came in detriment to Polish migrants, with many underemployed (Fife Research Coordination Group 2008) and working longer hours and receiving poorer pay than the native population (Trevena 2009). Some articles have striven to stress the economic benefits Polish employment has and continues to engender. As Ross Clark, writing in the Sunday Telegraph on January 23rd 2005, suggested "the fact is that the economy has been hugely transformed since the days of mass unemployment in the 1970s and early 1980s. The problem now is a shortage of workers to fill vacancies in an economy that has been expanding heavily for 12 years" (Clark 2005). However in the main the very notion of Polish employment has proved the most controversial and borne the most contestation since accession.

Dwyer and Bressey (2008:2) argue that "questions of integration, difference, cohesion, and 'Britishness' are at the centre of contemporary politics in Britain, questions which both reanimate and re-work previous racialised discourses". Nowhere was this more evident than in Gordon Browns keynote speech to the GMB Union on the 5th June 2007. Here he promised to create "British jobs for British workers", stating that "I want to ensure that the jobs available in Britain are available for British workers who are looking for jobs". The comment was heavily criticized with Keith Vaz, the chairman of the Commons Home Affairs select committee, suggesting that the slogan accounted to "employment apartheid" (Elliott 2007). However, Brown had made promoting a sense of British national identity a key part of his leadership agenda, and as such, the phrase was redeployed on the 10th September 2007 when he once again pledged "more British jobs" (Summers 2009).

As Britain moved further into recession and pressure for jobs increased Browns' slogan was recast as a slogan for disgruntled British workers. The Daily Star was particularly influential here with its 'British jobs for British workers' campaign launched in November 2008. The newspaper claimed that despite the Prime Ministers' promise, some 800, 000 positions were still being filled by overseas candidates every year (Hughes 2009). The campaign was symbolized by a poster, featured in the newspaper and available to download online or order via the post (figure 6.1).

In 2009 workers at the Isle of Grain power station walked out in protest over fears that work on a new gas-fired plant near Grain would be done predominantly by Polish labourers housed on a nearby boat (This is Kent 2009). Lead contractor Alstom had used 15 sub-contractors of which two, Polish companies Remak and ZRE Katowice, had been accused by the workers' union Unite of blocking applications from UK workers. Numerous articles were published online by a variety of newspapers in response. Two here will be considered, one by This is Kent (This is Kent 2009) and one by the Daily Mail (Slack 2009) both of which focused on industrial action.

Figure 6.1 - The Daily Star campaign poster

Source: Nicks (2009)

The interpretive repertoires that emerged through the comments mechanism were similar, that of a perceived injustice predicated upon a belief that non-English nationals were 'taking their jobs'. Browns slogan 'British jobs for British workers' was repeatedly deployed:

> *"I think it is disgraceful that workers from other countrys can walk into a job in this country. BRITISH JOBS FOR BRITISH PEOPLE" (This is Kent)*

> *"When is the government going to put a stop to this? The fact is that these foreigners are taking all the available jobs in the construction industry at the moment. It won't be long before all the British workers and their families are forced out of their homes and living on the streets in poverty. 'British jobs for British workers', what a joke that turned out to be" (Daily Mail)*

However, another interpretive repertoire emerged which stressed a support and appreciation of Polish migrants. Such comments understood Polish migration as a result of Polish accession and thus called for greater economic equality between Polish and English workers;

> *"Far from being anti-Polish as is hinted in this article, the British workers want the Polish and others to have parity with British workers" (Daily Mail)*

> *"Don't blame the Poles! We need to look at which government all of these migrants in in the first place" (This is Kent)*

The industrial action at the Isle of Grain power station relates to actual mixing between Polish migrants and the host population. Much commenting refers to theoretical mixing with people basing their opinions on media stories or perhaps stories from friends and families. Both incidences of mixing raise awareness of the points of contestation within debates, drawing in people directly involved from locations far and wide, and thus hold the potential to inculcate and breed further tension. A vicious circle is here at work.

Speaking in January 2009 Brown defended his choice of phrase arguing that "I don't see any reason for regret. The action that we have taken has meant that we are now putting in place measures that ensure British workers can have access to the vacancies in the system" (Summers 2009). However to a certain extent, the damage had already been done. With his repeated use of the 'British jobs for British workers' slogan a clear nationalistic rhetoric emerged, mobilized as a call to arms by disgruntled groups at potential detriment to migrant workers. Indeed, the Federation of Poles in Great Britain, the main umbrella organisation for Polish community groups in the UK, issued a statement in February 2009 expressing concern at the possibility of the slogan to increase community tension further. They suggested that the slogan be changed to "UK jobs for UK taxpayers" to prevent further discrimination against Polish and other EU workers working legitimately in the UK (Moszczyński 2009).

This suggestion was not acted upon and actions predicated upon Browns rhetoric continued. On February 3rd 2010 a demonstration over foreign labour and a perceived failure by Brown to honour his pledge was held in London. The protest, containing unemployed construction workers and trade unionists, followed a route that passed the London offices of Alstom and culminated in the group handing over a letter to government officials that they believed contained examples of British workers being underpaid. Business Secretary Lord Mandelson and leaders of the engineering construction industry denied their claims (BBC 2010).

6.2.3 Theme 2 – Negative Discourses about Polish Migrants

Polish migrants have been 'blamed' or 'accused' of a plethora of things since Polish accession to the EU. Tim Dowling, collated these 'fears' in an article for The Guardian in 2007;

1. "Catching all 'our' carp"
2. "Taking all 'our' benefits"
3. "Eating 'our' swans"
4. "Instigating a shortage of £50 notes"
5. "Increasing unemployment"
6. "Providing bad service in restaurants"
7. "Partaking in drink driving"
8. "Increasing car crash figures"
9. "Driving down wages"
10. "Instigating a rise of the far right"

Dowling argued that despite most having been proven not to be their fault or in some cases, a genuine problem at all, many of the rumours still persist (Dowling 2007). I will now take one of these, that of "eating 'our' swans" and explore it further as a case study. On the 4th July 2003 the Sun ran a story on their front page entitled "Swan Bake: Asylum Seekers Steal the Queen's Birds for Barbeques" (figure 6.2). The text cited that the "police swooped on a gang of East Europeans and caught them red-handed about to cook a pair of royal swans", yet the police were unaware of such an incident. Instead it was believed that the author inaccurately cited as a police report an internal memo from the Wildlife Protection Squad which advised officers of the law should they come across people interfering with swans.

Figure 6.2 – 'Swan Bake'

Source: Carpentieri (2009)

Marsh and Melville (2008) argued that the media can and do exaggerate stories. This story provides a clear example of such exaggeration. Indeed, to this end numerous groups took issue with the article. Particularly vocal was the independent media watchdog the MediaWise Trust who accused the Sun of 'urban myth-making'. They feared that such a myth was bound to infuriate the animal loving population and make life more difficult for those deemed Eastern European, giving rise to a dangerous and distorted slander that would 'stick' (Medic 2004). A protracted complaint procedure followed involving the MediaWise Trust, the Press Complaints Commission and the Sun followed, which led on December 6th 2003 to a "clarification" being printed;

> *"While numerous members of the public alleged that the swans were being killed and eaten by people they believed to be Eastern European, nobody has been arrested in relation to these offences and we accept that it is not therefore possible to conclude yet whether or not the suspects were indeed asylum-seekers."* The Sun, cited in Ponsford (2003)

The MediaWise Trust felt that the printing of a disclaimer, buried on page 41, referencing their confusing conjecture with fact five months later was not enough (MediaWise Trust, cited in Marsh and Melville 2008:89). They feared that it did little to reverse any negative portrayal that might have been created. These fears were well founded as the 'myth' has persisted. Typing 'Poles eat swans' into Google somewhat proves this with its thousands of results. One such result "Sorry, poached swan's off:

Calls for clampdown on river bandits from Eastern Europe" was published by The Daily Mail on the 7th August 2007. Matthew Hickley opened the article with the following:

> *"There are few sights so serene as a swan sailing majestically along the Grand Union Canal. Except, that is, when it is being chased by a gang of hungry, knife-wielding Eastern Europeans. Polish and Lithuanian immigrants have been trying to drag the 20 lb birds away, while the remains of some have been found butchered on the towpath near Leighton Buzzard in Bedfordshire. Hundreds are believed to have disappeared from the area" (Hickley 2007)*

The use of evocative, loaded phrases such as "swan sailing majestically" and "a gang of hungry, knife-wielding Eastern Europeans", sets a clear tone for the article, one in which nature (swans) and their protectors (Luton Angling Club) are valorised whilst Polish migrants are abjectified. Such was the perceived threat that the Angling Club took steps to 'police' the area, constructing a sign to inform migrants that swans were not for human consumption (figure 6.3), and regularly undertaking foot patrols..

Figure 6.3 - Luton Angling Club's "the swans are not for eating" sign

Source: Hickley (2007)

Although there was only one instance of a Polish migrant being seen with a swan, which incidentally escaped, an underlying assumption and attribution of blame is levelled at Polish migrants who are deemed to have had a detrimental impact upon the swan population of the canal since Poland's accession to the EU:

> *"A few years ago there were lots of swans on every section of the canal. I recently patrolled a six-mile stretch and saw just two. They're virtually gone from quieter stretches. They [Poles] think they can catch the fish for food. We first noticed the problem two or three years ago."*

Five comments were posted in relation to the story, all negative. The overriding theme was one of disquiet with EU member rights. One expressed a belief that incoming

migrants don't obey laws; *"What do you expect when you open the doors to everyone and his dog, and many who have no way of knowing the ways of GBs life or the laws, and who have no intention of obeying our laws".* Another expressed a fear that rights given to migrants would be increased to accommodate their 'perceived' cultural practices (in this instance, the eating of swans) *"I am sure someone will decide it is their human right to catch swans and roast them for Sunday lunch".* This latter point comes despite the fact that the article provides no evidence that Polish migrants actually eat swans. Goode and Ben-Yuhusa (1999) suggest there appears to be a limit to how much diversity can be tolerated in society. They argued that once this limit has been crossed a need to guard moral borders by the upgrading of physical ones will be perceived. A comment posted in relation to Hickley's article verifies such a notion; *"These migrants are destroying Great Britain. Time to close our borders."* The fears of the MediaWise Trust that the article printed by the Sun in 2003 would snowball into a dangerous and distorted slander appear confirmed.

The Polish view is one of bafflement. The blog Polandian features swan eating as part of its 'Myths about Poland' section. The opening section details disbelief that the 'myth' has received press attention and details similar levels of discontent towards such mediations as that shown by the MediaWise Trust:

> *"Myth # 34: Polish people eat swans. I kid you not. Most British people believe this. Ok, maybe not 'most,' but I never said I was going to be fair and impartial. This story pops up again and again in the more, shall we say, 'creative' parts of the British media. In other words, the parts that print the first thing that comes into their heads rather than mucking around with all that tedious 'journalism' and 'research' nonsense" (Polandian 2008).*

The discussion posed the question – how did they know they were Polish migrants? Their answer? *"Obviously, witnesses knew they were Poles and Lithuanians because they were probably waving Polish and Lithuanian flags, singing their national anthems, and gulping down pierogi at the time."* The blogger goes on to state that the story is so absurd that he doesn't know what to say other than the following: *"the stretch of the Vistula that runs through Krakow is full of swans but I've never been offered a swan sandwich here".*

Returning to the beginning of this section, why did I pick this myth over the other nine? The swan has particular pertinence for its links to rurality and national identity. The

swan, "a beautiful, magical, mystical, romantic creature" (Bryant 2008:87), although found in urban areas, is more synonymous with rural spaces. Shoard (1980:183) argues that "for many people….the creatures and plants of our countryside have provided the key to its charms". Nature and rurality are here somewhat interlinked and the swan, as a native wild bird, represents one such charm. Swans enjoy statutory protection under the Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981 and it is an offence to intentionally injure, take or kill a wild swan (RSPB 2009a). Thus, attacks on swans, represents attacks on a key constitutive part of rurality. To further endorse swans with a sense of national importance, they have a clear, often ill-informed, link to the British Monarchy. A well-known myth decrees that the Queen owns all the Swans in the United Kingdom. This is not entirely true. The ruling Monarch has the prerogative right of ownership for all mute swans in England and Wales but it is only exercised today on the River Thames[36].Still, the high admixture of Royalism often bound into English nationalism (Nairn 1994), ensures that the theft of a swan would be cast as an attack on national identity. Indeed, media reports surrounding the perceived Polish interference with swans drew heavily on this Royal link in their stories. The title of the aforementioned article by the Sun, "Swan Bake: Asylum Seekers Steal the Queen's Birds for Barbeques" and accompanying text: "CALLOUS asylum seekers are barbecuing the Queen's swans" provides a typical example. Members of the public too made the link with the following cited in relation to an article entitled "Who ate all the swans?": *"These swans belong to the Queen and for someone to come here and butcher them is a disgrace. It makes me sick to my stomach".* (David Gibson quoted in Lorraine 2008). It almost appears that the harm caused to the swans is of secondary concern, what is most important is that the Queen is being stolen from.

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[36] The exact date at which this custom began is unclear but thought to have been in the 12th Century. Throughout the Middle Ages, the mute swan was deemed a valuable commodity, mainly for consumption (RSPB 2009b). Each year the birds were rounded up during swan upping, marked and then released. It was the duty of the Royal Swanmaster to organise the annual swan-upping, a tradition that still occurs in the third week of July each year. As domestic poultry became more common swans became less valuable, and by the 1850s few people retained their rights to own swans. Today, apart from the Crown only three bodies maintain their rights to own swans; the Ilchester family which owns the swans breeding in the colony of Abbotsbury, Dorset; and the Vintners' and Dyers' Livery companies. The latter two, whose right to ownership was decreed in a Royal Charter in the 15th century, in conjunction with the Crown maintain the tradition of Swan Upping on the River Thames. The Royal swans are no longer marked, but an unmarked mute swan on the Thames is regarded as belonging to the Queen by default. The Queen still maintains an officially-appointed Swan Keeper, and the ceremony still takes place on the Monday of the third week in July (The Royal Household 2009). The emphasis of the process is conservation and no longer consumption.

6.2.4 Theme 3 – Negative Discourses Enacted Against Polish Migrants

Negative discourses enacted against Polish migrants are diverse in nature. In 2009 the Federation of Poles in Great Britain released a statement stressing their concern with the growing number of racist incidents against Polish migrants (Moszczyński 2009). They spoke of a 20% increase in the number of incidents reported in the British national and local media in 2008 (in comparison to 2007), listing 60 UK press reports as evidence (the first three of which are detailed below).

1. *Householder in Salford threatened to "Get them Polish out of your house or I'll burn it down"* (The Guardian 05-01-08)
2. *New police probe urged into "sinister" death of Polish engineer found in alleyway in Cowgate* (Edinburgh News 08-01-08)
3. *Polish woman pub employee in Blackpool assaulted and called "a Polish cow" and told "Get back to your own county"* (Lancashire Evening Post 08-01-08)

The spatiality of such incidences proves interesting. More than 70% of incidents noted by the Federation occurred in smaller towns, giving credence to the belief that anti-Polish hate-crime is "largely confined to rural areas" (Moszczyński, cited in Townsend 2007). Although here migrants have raised economic output by filling labour shortages, their high visibility has posed considerable challenges to social cohesion, as indicated quite clearly in my reflections in chapter 4 upon the harsh rural realities of Polish Fordstone residents Anna and Piotr. The Federation argued that the potential for rural spaces to successfully adjust into a multi-ethnic state would be problematised by the economic downturn, stating "we are aware that many of these incidents occur because of growing tension in the traditional indigenous population following increasing anxiety about job losses" (Moszczyński, cited in Daily Mail 2009). To a certain extent, they were correct. On Tuesday 17th May, 2011, the headline story in the Express and Echo, the local newspaper for Exeter and the surrounding area in Devon, covered an attack on a Polish man (figure 6.4). He was attacked in the early hours of Saturday morning after responding to the question "Where do you come from?" with "Poland". His injuries were so severe that he required facial reconstruction surgery and spent 3 weeks in hospital. In the article his friend stated that racist abuse towards Polish residents in Exeter was rife. "The situation with Daniel is typical" he said, "nearly all Polish people in England are discriminated against - the situation is the same everywhere – in schools, pubs, work".

Figure 6.4 – Anti-Polish actions media reporting

Source: Gregson (2011)

In the 24 hour period following the stories publication, nine comments were posted in response to the on-line article which could be grouped into three categories. The first, saw outright condemnation of the act; *"Absolutely disgraceful"*, and *"How you can beat someone only because he was born in another country? Is that his fault?"* The second saw an alternative story put forward; *"A friend was set upon by 6 Polish men and glassed. I don't condone any violence but it's not a one way street. Violence against English people never gets mentioned"*. A response quickly followed which quashed the points made; *"violence against English people gets reported all the time"* and questioned why justice was not sought – *"Why don't your friends go to the Express and Echo and ask to catch these thugs, just as the unfortunate victim in this story did? If they were innocent victims, they should have no fear and they could take some action against the Polish half dozen"*. *T*he final response questioned both strands, stating *"have you any SYMPATHY for Daniel et al? Utterly appalling and unacceptable – no*

buts/however... Racism is simply cowardly ignorance and cannot be tolerated" Two categories with one dominant theme, even if it did arise only in discourses of defiance in some cases – racism towards Polish migrants was deemed wholly unacceptable.

6.2.5 Theme 4 – Return Migration

> *"Poles are not coming any more. The era of cheap credit is over, and cheap bathroom and kitchen installations have had their day. Like those transport authorities who came to rely on Polish drivers, we must all now learn to do without the vast numbers of immigrants whose arrival we so feared when the Eastern European bloc joined in 2004"* (de Quetteville 2008)

It has been suggested that around 1 million A8 migrant workers have arrived in the UK since 2004, but half have already left (Pollard et al 2008). The pace of return to Poland in particular is noted to have accelerated during 2007 and 2008, "indicating that anecdotal evidence that Poles are starting to return in greater numbers paints an accurate picture" (Pollard et al 2008:20). Indeed, the Times found that in 2008, for the first time since accession more UK based Polish migrants were returning to their homeland than were entering Britain (Mostrous and Seib 2008). Whereas traditionally, return migrants were merely replaced by newly arriving migrants, this process is slowing. Indeed, the number of migrants arriving during the last quarter of 2008 when the British economy entered into recession was down 47% from the same period in 2007 (Chu 2009). Grabowska-Lusińska and Okólski (2009) believe that Poland has now 'exported' its pool of surplus labour, decreasing migration pressure within the country. This combined with an economic climate of uncertainty and crisis in the UK, has led Trevena (2009) to argue that the peaked flows of migration following accession may represent the last major wave of migration from Poland to the UK. Such return migration has been well documented in the media, with figure 6.5 providing one such example of a story, a double page spread in the Sun.

Figure 6.5 - Reporting return migration

Source: Harvey (2008)

However, it has not just been push factors prompting return migration, with considerable pull factors drawing migrants back. In recent years the construction industry in Poland experienced a boom as the country updated its sport facilities and transport infrastructure in preparation for hosting the 2012 European Football Championships (Mostrous and Seib 2008). These improved opportunities in Poland now act as a pull factor, with 22% of migrants returning to Poland now working in construction (Pollard et al 2008). Further pull factors of questionable success came from the Polish Government. The Polish government's 2007 campaign platform included encouraging the return of young Polish emigrants. In November 2008 a government campaign "Have you got a PLan to return?' was launched by Prime Minister Donald Tusk with its aim being to facilitate smooth returns and showcase employment opportunities. The campaign included a guidebook and website for those returning, providing practical information about necessary paperwork and answers to problems and employment opportunities. Despite spending 4 million Polish zloty (about 1 million Euros) on the campaign, its lack of more structural measures to make return attractive led to its success rate being negligible. To this end the Government in 2008 passed the Tax Abolition Act which allowed Polish migrants who obtained income abroad between 2002 and 2007 to apply for a refund on taxes already paid, providing relief from double taxation (Iglicka and Ziolek-Skrzypczak 2010).

But how has such a shift and reporting been received? A microcosm of views is provided by the responses posted in response to Harry de Quetteville's article "Polish immigrants leaving Britain: What the Poles did for us," published on the Times Online on the 23rd October 2008 (de Quetteville 2008). Responses left represented a near equilibrium of positivity and negativity. Positive espousals were predicated upon work ethics deemed lost in the native population (*"Of the Polish people I've met here and in Poland they have all been honest, hard working and reliable. Qualities that have seemed to have faded from many aspects of life in modern Britain"*), a heritage link to Polish soldiers who fought under British command during the war (*"We have a blood connection that goes back to WW2. They were our brothers in arms, and the current generation are still very nice people to know. Do widzenia, my friends."*), and their being 'migrant' but not 'linked' with terrorism (*"I'm sorry they are going. They work hard and blend in, and they do not take part in terrorist plots."*). Many of those with a positive view of Polish migrants regretfully referenced the difficulties faced by Polish migrants in England. These views were shared by comments left by Polish migrants. One outgoing migrant cited that comments like those posted in response to the story were the very reason for his returning home.

> *"I'm really happy I'm going home, have had enough of those lovely comments made by English, have had enough of English who have problems with my nationality and I must admit I will give English exactly the same welcoming greeting in Poland"*

Negative espousals drew on a wider vocabulary of discontent. A belief that Polish migrants had contributed nothing yet taken much from the welfare system dominated (*"The Poles have done absolutely nothing for us. They came to the UK to make money for themselves – not to do something for Britain"*). Further comments forged a link between Polish migrants and alcoholism (*"I look forward to arriving in Poland, going to the top of the housing queue, getting free dole translators and lying in gutter stinking of vodka"*), and also a belief that Polish migrants were forming insular 'ghetto' communities that failed to interact with the wider population (*"They do not mix; they live in ghettos; and they clearly do NOT like the locals. They have taken over the town centre....literally!)*

6.2.6 Reflections

Although the signing of the Treaty of Athens in time may be regarded as historic in the journey towards European integration at present in demarcates the resurgence of one of the key contemporary moral panics; immigration. The social anxiety which migration engenders can be viewed as embedded in a dominant discourse of risk (Ungar 2001). Much of this debate surrounding Polish migration preceding and immediately following Polish accession to the European Union can be located within the context of the time of enlargement, a time of endemic Euroscepticism within most of the British press;

> *"Seen through the narrow lens with which Britain suspiciously gazes at all things that emanate from Brussels, the enlargement of the European Union may seem to present little cause for celebration and big cause for anxiety" (The Guardian April 30ᵗʰ 2004)*

It is my belief the preceding discussion has indicated that many of 'positions' inherent within Cohen's definition of the moral panic (1972:328) have been filled;

> *"a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests (__Polish migrants__): its nature is presented in a stylised and stereotypical fashion by the mass media (__Particularly tabloid and right ring newspapers__[37]); the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right thinking people (__with 'other right thinking people' including those that battle for supremacy (either for/against) on the comments facility on online news stories__); socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnosis and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to (__Examples: negative – e.g. acts of ressentiment detailed in chapter 4__) and __positive (see the discussions of migrant worker myth buster leaflets in this chapter, and the "I packed this myself" participatory art project in chapter 7__)"*

The Polish post-accession migrant moral panic articulates "beliefs about belonging and not belonging, about the sanctity of territory and the fear of transgression" (Sibley 1995:43). Such sentiment emerged in relation to debates surrounding the impact of the liberalisation of the labour market in the UK. Here migrants were presented as potential wreakers of havoc, taking jobs from nationals and engaging in benefit tourism (Fomina

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[37] See Fomina and Frelak (2008) and Wilby (2008) for further details.

and Frelak 2008). Such debates were nothing new, merely recasting long running debates over migrants, bound to fears of unemployment and their burdening the welfare state (Harris 1995), in relation to a new contemporary case study. Indeed, Philo (1999) spoke of a neurotic and xenophobic concern with policing 'Fortress Britain' persisting as a popular theme in British media coverage over that past decade, a concern which I could argue has heightened somewhat exponentially throughout the early 21st century.

Discourses present in the media have become some of the common denominators of everyday communication. The media are intricately involved in the everyday construction of images, mediations, fixing and (re-) broadcasting those images to members and non-members of a group. Not all participants in the mediation process are equal for "meaning is a dialogue... always only partially understood, always an unequal exchange" (Hall 1997:4). Indeed, the media has been identified here as both a space of (mis) information and discursive antagonism with a distinctly negative tone towards Polish migrants noted and negative metaphors featuring heavily. The latter were couched notably in relation to perceived flows of migrants prior and during accession (e.g. "towns flooded by immigrants") and the actions of Polish migrants (e.g. "chased by a gang of hungry, knife-wielding Eastern Europeans"). An 'us and them' situation has occurred in which Polish and other A8 migrants have increasingly been rejected, deemed strangers, a positioning which does not help to facilitate ethnic calm in communities, a point evidenced by the numerous 'anti-Polish' views cited. My findings are not too dissimilar to those of Fomina and Frelak (2008). Their wider analysis of the media found the tone of articles to range widely between depicting Polish migrants as good workers who will aid the UK economy, or a frightening foreign other, the traditional stereotypical 'Eastern European', bringing with them odd cultural traits, pushing up crime rates and exhausting local services. As Garapich (2008) put it, in the enlarged EU Polish migrants quickly became the heroes or anti-heroes of public opinion debates about immigration. But why such negativity? Peter Wilby (2008) suggests a reason;

> *"The recent influx of East Europeans has allowed the Mail and other papers to revive their traditions of stoking xenophobia. Bigotry against black or brown people is no longer acceptable and may even fall foul of the law. The trick is to find substitutes. The Daily Express prefers 'illegals', the Mail concentrates on 'Poles.'"*

The Daily Mail is promoted by him as a key protagonist, rife with stories that prompt them to portray an Arcadian (and anachronistic) England tainted by migrants, stories intended to create indignation. Take Matthew Hickley's 'Sorry, poached swans off' as a key example here. To this end Wilby argues that the newspaper has turned *"Poles into villains"* dragging *"them gratuitously into every possible story"*. He believes that such actions serve to legitimise hatred and prejudice and debase public debate.

But is there another reason? What of news values, the "working rules, comprising a corpus of occupational lore which implicitly and often expressly explains and guides newsroom practice" (Golding and Elliott 1999:119). Ideological structures, they "form a core element in the professional socialisation, practice and ideology" of the media (Hall 1973:54). There exist 8 news values that determine newsworthiness; prominence, proximity, currency, timeliness, conflict, impact, human interest and the odd or unusual (Mathiesen 2010). Galtung and Ruge (1965) noted how stories of a negative nature are often favoured over their positive counterparts by journalists and achieve a significant impact upon the awareness of readers, a notion affirmed by numerous studies that followed (Peterson 1981, Harcup and O'Neill 1981, Schulz 1982, Straughan 1989, Staab 1999, and Ruhrmann et al 2003).

Indeed, such sentiment was shared by a number of my Tidbury participants. Earlier (page 152 of chapter 4) I detailed the 'takeaway violence' case in Tidbury. Although no other participants discredited the official version of events in the manner that Tom did a number did demonstrate a sentiment of disavowal towards both the act *and* its media representation. With regards to the latter a belief was exhibited that news values were at play. Interestingly, here it was not merely the verbalised narratives that indicated such sentiment. The unspoken gesture proved as illuminating, from the rolling of the eyes at the mere mention of "The Wiltshire Times" to the almost hysterical laughing that followed the posing of "do you think the Wiltshire Times is prone to sensationalising events?" as a question. One Tidbury resident discussing media responses to the stoning of a Polish shop (Wiltshire Times 2008) suggested that *"if it had been Dorothy Perkins I doubt it would have been news, let alone headlines news"*. Participants believed that stories were emphasising the negative over the positive and focusing on negative Polish incidents as opposed to English incidents;

"They wouldn't say "Tom Brown was English". But yeah, you know, it happens everywhere – there's good and bad in every nation isn't there?" Magda, 70, post-war Polish migrant.

"I would say they media are over-exaggerating to be honest. Of course you will find tensions and conflicts but I won't say it's as the Wiltshire Times states. I always try to explain to people that not all of the migrant workers are perfect, you will find out that there are bad people in Polish, Arabic, or you know English communities." Martyna, 26, post-accession Polish migrant.

"I guess your reports came from the Wiltshire Times, I'm afraid they do like to sensationalise their headlines! We feel the media is very negative, very negative towards migrant communities in particular and very reluctant to give good news stories." Sally, 60, English resident.

"My first memory was hearing in the local paper about Polish immigrants in a negative light." Lucy, 22, English resident.

Indeed, such notions of perceived exaggeration extended beyond considerations of violence towards a number of the key constitutive elements of the moral panic detailed earlier in this section, namely fears of Polish engendered unemployment (the 'British workers for British jobs' trope) and a belief that Polish migrants were a drain on local services (the problematic action of Polish migrants trope) giving rise to and/or perpetuating a negative postulation of Polish migrants;

"I think a lot of it is the media. Too much talking about British jobs for British workers. You know what I mean? Day after day you get "no good foreign people." Jarek, 30, 2ⁿᵈ generation post-war Polish resident.

"The media doing newspaper things, you know "Migrant workers came to the UK to take our jobs" and money and all that. I think the news are really stirring and putting wrong feelings around communities – people think "oh that's all what the migrant workers do" and that shouldn't be like that – it doesn't work like that, how people say in the news." Martyna, 26, post-accession Polish migrant.

Schwarz (2006) found that news negativity correlates significantly with text space in news media. Such findings perhaps 'explain' the negative stories detailed in preceding discussion and perhaps the negative responses too. Stories of negativity – be they relating to conflict, damage, aggression, or failure – encourage the audience to take sides and become emotionally invested, again, if they are not already. For those already invested such stories can be viewed as either 'evidence' to support their beliefs or 'propaganda' to be dismissed. This theme will become vitally important in the discussions of both the next section and chapter.

6.3 Migrant Worker Myth Buster Leaflet

6.3.1 Introduction

The publication of sensationalist, negative stories, selected over stories detailing the positive impacts of Polish migration has been identified as a key component of both local and national misconceptions of the migrant 'other'. This failure of the media "to understand the issues and to develop a supportive approach to multiculturalism" (Cantle 2008:228) has seen it fan the flames of a migrant worker moral panic that has long burned in this country (Harris 1995, Philo 1999). The media is a communication channel of vast importance, reaching large, ever growing through the use of online and social media, swathes of the population. To this end, there exists a potential for it to be used not to fan the flame of discontent, but instead, to dampen it down via positive reporting of the benefits accruing as a result of multicultural workings.

Indeed, such a potential has been emphasised nationally by the Local Government Association, in their publication "Community Cohesion – An Action Guide" (Local Government Association et al 2004). Here they call for the mass media to move beyond news values and make better use of its influence, taking a more proactive approach to dispel myths, improving communication channels with the community and widening networks to promote a more positive and inclusive portrayal of black and ethnic minority communities. It is perhaps at the local level that greatest change is occurring in this respect. Local authorities and other statutory agencies are developing pro-active strategies to afford them the ability to respond to rumours and misinformation, the likes of which have previously "given rise to community tensions, disorder and riots" (Cantle 2008:228). Two documents are important here. The first is the Communications Toolkit developed by the Institute of Community Cohesion (Institute of Community Cohesion 2006) which provides good practice ideas and techniques to foster a wider sense of belonging and provide positive messages about diversity in the local community, whilst promoting openness and transparency about the key challenges. The second is a guide to countering myths and misinformation developed by the Local Government Information Unit (Local Government Information Unit 2006). Cantle (2008:228) argues that "good communications, based upon up to date intelligence about community concerns, is clearly essential if tensions and conflicts are to be prevented". The provision of public information here is seen as an inherently 'good' policy tool, one useful in promoting core values to support and increase the ability of citizens to participate in public life (Kjellgren 2002).

Taking leave from the aforementioned key documents, local authorities and agencies, both statutory and non statutory, have developed schemes and initiatives framed in this manner to develop a wider sense of belonging and promote ethnic diversity. One such area in which development has been rich has been in relation to migrant workers, particularly following A8 accession in 2004. The South West Migrant Worker Action Plan 2010-2012 notes one of their key priorities grouped under the 'Supporting Migrant Workers' section to be "to promote a positive response to migrants in local communities and to counter harmful myths and stereotyping" (South West Forum for Migrant Workers 2010). One such approach to emerge in line with this notion has been the 'Migrant Worker Myth Buster' leaflet (figure 6.6). The spearhead for the migrant worker myth buster leaflet was Wrexham County Borough Council who produced one in 2006. It was developed at a time when the area was experiencing a substantial increase in migrants arriving in Wrexham, an increase which had raised concerns in the host population. The leaflet sought to counter the misconceptions inherent in these concerns and inform residents of the rights and responsibilities of migrants, and of the positive role they were playing on the area. Distribution was extensive; door to door, in council reception areas, and online. Councilor Aled Roberts, chair of the Wrexham Community Strategy Partnership which had responsibility for the project, remarked the following in the press release issued at the time;

"By answering some of the commonly asked questions about economic migrants we hope the leaflet will provide an opportunity for discussion at community level, based on fact. The recent change in the population profile, like any major change, has caused concern to some residents and we hope the leaflet will allay those worries and help show that economic migrants help our economy and enrich our cultural diversity." Roberts, cited in Wrexham County Borough Council 2006.

Figure 6.6 – Migrant Worker Myth Buster Leaflet (Eden Local Strategic Partnership)

Myth-busting

Welcome
Respect
Enjoy
Involve
Pride
Include
Opportunities

Migrant Workers
your questions answered

What rights do they have to work?

Do they get let off crimes?

Do they have rights to live and work in England?

Do they get more benefits?

RESPECT Give respect Get respect

Asylum Seekers

They are not entitled to housing. They are housed through NASS or privately.

What rights do they have to the National Health Service (NHS)?

Migrant Workers

Generally they have the right to register as an NHS patient with a doctor if they are here for a settled purpose (i.e. are intending to be resident here for six months or more). If they are not residents then they are treated as private patients.

Illegal Immigrants

They cannot register as an NHS patient and will only be treated in an emergency by a hospital or GP.

Asylum Seekers

They have the right to register as an NHS patient at a GP surgery.

Do people get let off if they commit a crime because they don't speak the language?

This is certainly not the case. In fact, if caught committing a crime, migrant workers don't just get dealt with by the court but will also face action by the Home Office Immigration Service and can be deported to their country of origin with conditions not to return. If they are unable to speak fluent English, then an interpreter will be used to assist the court.

Do Migrant Workers need driving licences and insurance for their vehicles?

If a migrant worker from a non-EU or an EU country has a valid licence, they are authorised to drive in the UK:

- Until aged 70 or for three years after becoming resident, whichever is the longer period
- Until aged 45 or for five years after becoming resident, whichever is the longer period
- If aged over 45 but under 65 until their 66th birthday or for five years after becoming resident, whichever is the shorter period
- Aged over 65 or for one year after becoming resident

In order to continue driving after these periods, they must get a British driving licence and take a British driving test.

It is difficult for many migrant workers to get British motor insurance unless they become permanent residents in the UK. This is because the insurance companies impose very high premiums on foreigners and many insurance companies will not cover foreign drivers that they categorise as 'exceptional risks'. However, vehicle insurance from a foreign country, as long as it covers the vehicle that is being driven, can be used in the UK.

Do foreign nationals need less ID to get bank accounts?

Generally it is harder for foreign nationals to open a bank account. Banks require ID including passports and where necessary, work permit details, proof of address and/or a recommendation from an employer. The employer must be a company who has an account with the bank and has known the foreign person for a specified period of time.

EU Member States

1957 Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands
1973 Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom
1981 Greece
1986 Portugal, Spain
1995 Austria, Finland, Sweden
2004 Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia
2007 Bulgaria, Romania

People from Bulgaria and Romania wishing to work in the UK have different restrictions placed upon them.

Further information about anything included in this leaflet and/or signposting to other agencies can be obtained from Eden Local Strategic Partnership 01768 817817.

Eden LSP gratefully acknowledges the support from Arun LSP.

Available in alternate formats on request.

Eden LSP
the partnership voice for Eden

The following information is aimed at local residents who wish to have better knowledge of the different definitions of lawful migrant workers, Illegal immigrants and asylum seekers and the types of rights and benefits lawful migrant workers are entitled to.

This document is intended as a brief overview. If you wish to confirm any benefit entitlement details, you are strongly urged to contact your nearest benefit office or Citizen Advice Bureau as these rules can often change over time.

Do European Union (EU) members have rights to live and work in England?

Yes, people coming to England from a EU member state have every right to be here in the same way that we have the right to go to other member states to work or retire. These rights also apply to lawful migrant workers from Norway, Iceland, Liechtenstein and Switzerland in addition to the EU member states listed at the end of this document.

Who are the member states?

The EU comprises 27 countries – a list of these with details of the date they joined the EU is provided at the end of this document. Members who joined in 2004 (except Malta and Cyprus) are known as the 'A8' countries – some of the rights of foreign nationals from the A8 countries such as entitlement to benefits etc are restricted.

What is the difference between lawful Migrant Workers, Illegal Immigrants and Asylum Seekers?

Migrant Workers
People who move from place to place, lawfully to find work. Most migrant workers are from Britain or Europe. They can be from other countries if they have the appropriate visa.

Illegal Immigrants
People from outside the EU who do not have a visa or who outstay their visa may be classed as illegal immigrants. If they have a visa but have conditions (such as not to work) that they break, they can be arrested and deported.

Asylum Seekers
People who claim that they have a well founded fear of persecution because of their race, religion, nationality, membership of a social group or political opinion in their country of origin and therefore seek to stay in the UK.

Why might these groups come to the United Kingdom (UK)?

Migrant Workers
Migrant workers often fill jobs in the manual labour workforce that are poorly paid or seasonal, and which will not attract local people who want greater stability. The majority of the migrant workers come here from poor countries where there are either no jobs or very poorly paid employment. Many come to the UK to improve their standard of living but migrant workers' motivation to work in the UK is varied, e.g. to learn English, gain experience and qualifications. Sometimes, migrant workers will settle on a permanent basis and their families will join them here. If they are members of the EU they have every right to be here as we have the right to go to other member states to work or retire.

Illegal Immigrants
Unfortunately, some employers and gangmasters may employ illegal immigrants. This is against the law but will give people a reason to try and stay here even if they risk arrest and deportation.

Asylum Seekers
Asylum seekers go wherever they are directed by the government service NASS (National Asylum Seekers Support).

What rights do people have to work?

Migrant Workers
They are allowed to work but should pay taxes etc like everyone else. Employers should check that their potential workers have a National Insurance (NI) number before employing them. The migrant workers have the same rights to minimum pay, holidays etc as everyone else. Migrant workers from one of the A8 countries must register with the Workers Registration Scheme within a month of starting a job. They are free to be self-employed and do not have to register if they are.

Illegal Immigrants
They should not be employed and do not have NI numbers. It is the responsibility of the employer to check these details.

Asylum Seekers
They are not allowed to work unless given special permission.

What about entitlement to benefits?

Migrant Workers
The rules are complicated and can be different for different groups and nationalities.

Foreign nationals are not entitled to benefits when they are seeking work, unless they have already worked here and are temporarily unemployed. Citizens from the A8 countries for example, become entitled to benefits and housing if they are self-employed here, or if they have a job and register with the Workers Registration Scheme. Once they have been working lawfully for a year they no longer have to register when changing jobs and they become eligible for benefits when temporarily out of work as well as when working.

Illegal Immigrants
They are not entitled to any benefits.

Asylum Seekers
They are not entitled to benefits.

Can they get extra benefits e.g. for vehicles?

Migrant Workers
They get no extra benefits. They can apply for loans or grants for work vehicles but are subject to the same rules and application processes as anyone else.

Illegal Immigrants
They get no benefits.

Asylum Seekers
They get no benefits above their basic allowance.

What rights do they have to housing?

Migrant Workers
If they have an NI number, have a right to be in the UK and are registered on the Workers Registration Scheme they may go on the housing register and may be entitled to Housing Benefit, Council Tax Benefit and to apply as Homeless. Once the 12 months uninterrupted work has been completed, they will no longer be required to register as a worker, and they will have equal rights to others.

In all cases migrant workers get no preferential treatment and their need is assessed in the same way as anyone else who applies.

Illegal Immigrants
They are not entitled to housing.

In this case study the 'accommodating individuals' of chapter 5 are replaced by 'accommodating organisations. Migrant worker myth buster leaflets are typically developed by Councils, be they City, County, District or Borough Council (with some further examples, not included in analysis, developed by Trade Unions). Although authorship is declared at 'council' level, responsibility for the leaflet is devolved to the relevant department, typically community cohesion. Those developing such leaflets often work in partnership with local key bodies such as the police force and migrant worker task groups in order to pool ideas and engender the creation of an interface which entails argument and case making capable of facilitating individual intra-personal communication – involving interpersonal reflection, intra-group reflection and inter-group reflection - and enacting change. Although evidently the intended audience is those who subscribe to myths either willingly or unknowingly, distribution is not targeted as such and available to all. Distribution of the leaflets is however restricted, available at Council buildings and on-line on Council websites as opposed to being widely distributed via door-to-door leafleting. That said it is the belief of those involved in the creation of said leaflets that the information is available for those who seek it.

6.3.2 The Migrant Worker Myth Buster Leaflet

I move now to detail the findings of my discourse analysis, the methodology of which was detailed earlier in chapter 3 (section 3.3.3.1). The average format was a 6 section double sided A4 leaflet incorporating colour and illustrations. Although a split in originating scale of production was noted earlier, this did not have any bearing upon the format of the leaflet. Thus if you was to expect the 33% developed in more rural areas to have a rural edge you would be wrong with it instead being similar in both content and format with the other leaflets. None of the leaflets focussed purely on Polish migration, with the homogenised term 'migrant worker' deployed instead, an attempt to emphasise the interdependence and interconnections of humankind to inculcate a sense of 'planetary consciousness' (Gilroy 2004). Indeed, although 94% of leaflets highlighted the numerous constitutive nationalities that made up their populations, only 31% stressed the Polish link within their local communities. The homogenisation of migrants is not the only homogenisation implicit with the same suite of 12 questions[38]

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[38] If you are from a country that is a member state of the EU do you have rights to live and work in England? Who are the member states? What is the difference between Migrants, Illegal Immigrants and Asylum Seekers? Why are they here? What rights do they have to work? Do they get more benefits? Can they get extra benefits e.g. for vehicles? What rights do they have to housing? What rights do they have to the NHS? Do they get let off if they commit a crime because they don't speak the language? Do they have

regularly deployed, reducible into three key thematic areas - *explaining migration* (considering notions of differentiating economic migrants from asylum seekers and refugees, considering member state rights, and explaining why migration is enacted), *explaining migrant rights* (addressing popular beliefs regarding jobs, benefits, houses, council tax, and access to the NHS) and *explaining the (perceived) preferential treatment of migrants* (in relation to crime and driving). Each of these strands strikes some level of resonance with the themes of contestation surrounding Polish migrants noted in the thesis thus far.

Two main genres of leaflet were identifiable. The first, constituting 44% of leaflets analysed, was formulated by myths being identified and then expounded (figure 6.7). Such a sensationalist approach plays upon popular preconceptions, using it as a vehicle for deconstruction. The second, slightly more popular approach (constituting 56% of leaflets analysed), was formulated by posing rhetorical questions and answering them (figure 6.8). Less sensationalist in approach, here careful phrasing was deployed, with two leaflets going so far as to make no reference to 'myths' within the document even though they were devised as migrant worker myth buster leaflets. This is a commendable approach. The Audit Commission, in their study of similar documents, argued that for those with pre-existing negative beliefs, "the myths were familiar and resonated with their existing beliefs and therefore helped to confirm them" (Newman and Lewis 2007:23). To omit overt presentation of myths is perhaps to remove the potential for their reification. I say perhaps as this is not always the case as shall be seen.

Figure 6.7 – Myth presentation (Coventry)

Myth: Economic migrants are taking all our jobs and causing unemployment

Truth: Despite recent increases in the number of economic migrants, unemployment in the UK remains close to its lowest level for 30 years and job vacancies are at historically high levels. Economic migrants mainly fill low skilled, low paid vacancies in jobs that local workers do not want to do in industries such as agriculture and fishing, catering and hospitality.

driving licences and do they have insurance for their vehicles? Do they need less ID to get bank accounts?

Figure 6.8 – Question Posing (Arun)

If you are from a country that is a member state of the EU do you have rights to live and work in England?

People coming to England from an EU member state have every right to be here in the same way that we have the right to go to their country or to other member states to work or retire.

These leaflets seek to answer the popular questions, often inspired by the discursive construction of the 'Polish migrant' created by the mass media, posed by adults regarding migrant workers in their locales. In correcting errors and disseminating accurate important potential exists the attitudes of the disaffected towards migrant workers to be improved and the foundations for hospitable relations to be forged as a result. Their creation could thus be deemed a positive virtuous system of interaction predicated upon hospitable openness in which the distant stranger brought close (the Polish migrant) is helped. However such a state did not always come to fruition with the process of hospitality exchange promoted by the leaflets incomplete. Although 62.5% of participants stated that they did learn something from the leaflet (with examples including *"The rules regarding driving in the UK by foreign nationals" and "The benefits migrant workers are entitled to")* only 25% of participants reported that they had acquired a more positive attitude towards migrant workers as a result of engagement. The majority of participants (75%) reported that their attitudes (be they positive (37.5%), negative (25%), or indifferent (12.5%)) had stayed the same. None reported a heightened negative attitude.

The questionable success of the leaflet was further emphasized by participants' skepticism regarding their wider efficacy. When posed the question "could migrant worker myth buster leaflets be useful in helping migrant workers fit into communities?" although some participants responded 'yes' with the leaflet noted as *"a useful stepping stone"* deemed important because *"migrants have enough problems settling into communities anyway and a myth buster can only help everyone to understand"* 62.5% of participants responded no. The majority of such responses were bound to a belief that attitudinal change could not always be enacted;

> *"I'm not sure that people would change their minds really. If they believe what they believe I doubt that a leaflet would change their mind."*

"No not necessarily. Possibly yes, but I think some people's values and opinions despite education through this means of a myth buster leaflet would unfortunately remain unchanged."

"Perhaps if given to people whose opinions are based on mistruths. But it might not be able to change people's opinions if they are set in their ways."

"In my experience, many people, if already bigoted or xenophobic, will continue to be so, however much information is provided."

Much reference was made to how encounter (be it first hand or second hand) framed perceptions of and subsequential encounters with Polish migrants (or host population residents) in a manner that factual information could not. To a certain extent, the experiential precluded and prohibited appeals to the factual made by outside parties. The words of Davison (1983:9) here become pertinent;

"In a sense, we are all experts on those subjects that matter to us, in that we have information not available to other people. This information may not be of a factual or technical nature; it may have to do with our own experiences, likes, and dislikes. Other people, we reason, do not know what we know. Therefore, they are more likely to be influenced by the media."

The latter point regarding the media is key. Davison, in his 'third-person effect' conceptualisation, suggests that people are prone to overestimating the influence that mass communications have on the attitudes and behaviour of others. Individuals who are members of an audience that is exposed to a persuasive communication (whether it intends to be persuasive or not) will expect the communication to have a greater effect on others than on themselves. Here, in relation to the migrant worker myth buster leaflet this effect proceeds in reverse. People are prone to *underestimating* the effect the leaflet could have upon others. This notion is predicated upon a belief that although effect was enacted upon them, similar effect was not projected to be matched in engagements with the aesthetic interface by the ostensible population.

I suggest that these leaflets can lead as corollary to the emergence of hospitable relations yet; they generally fail to provide a sense of how to be hospitable or even stress a need to do so, instead focussing upon the first step, the provision of information

to allay fears. Indeed, just 3 of the 15 analysed myth buster leaflets made a reference to hospitality. The Suffolk leaflet included the line *"migrant workers should be welcomed into local communities, making their stay here as positive an experience as possible"* whilst the other two examples (Humber Improvement Partnership and North Lincolnshire) made references through the posing of the question *"How can I welcome and support migrant workers?"* with the latter noting the following in response;

> *"Welcome new neighbours to the community or street when they move in, let them know what day the bins are emptied and find out if there is any other information they need to know. You can also welcome any new work colleagues from overseas as well as volunteer at schools, churches and social groups which support new communities. Language can be a barrier to integration but many migrant workers already speak excellent English whilst others are learning to speak English. If other people are complaining about migrant workers being here, tell them about the advantages they bring to the area in terms of the economy and culture."*

6.3.3 Migrant Worker Myth Buster Leaflet as Psychogeography?

Involving "the communication and exchange of ideas either in response to, or to facilitate change" (L'Etang 2008:18) and intrinsically connected to policy initiatives, their promotion and responses to them, essentially the migrant worker myth buster is an exercise in public relations. I would take this notion further to suggest that *strategic* public relations are here in action, with the leaflet an example of psychological operations, a research driven approach which draws upon communications theory, media research and deploys spin to accentuate the positive (Cooper 1982). The definition of McLaurin (1982:2) eloquently summarises the approach, and its evident similarity with the migrant worker myth buster leaflet; "Psychological operations… is a communicative art or program, since its purpose is to affect other's perceptions, attitudes and opinions – and through that effect to influence their behaviour."

Every individual carries with them what Ricoeur (1970) terms the hermeneutics of suspicion, a system of paranoia which conditions engagements. There exists however "the possibility of unpacking, of disentangling from their impacted and overdetermined historical relation to each other some of the separate elements" of such "intellectual baggage" (Sedgwick 2003:124). The myth buster draws upon a pervasive contemporary political sentiment – fear, anxiety and suspicion of the migrant worker – and attempts to

generate a current of affect - positive attitudinal change by means of 'presenting' popular myths surrounding migrant workers then 'dispelling' them. Through such unpacking and disentangling, challenging reader's paranoia of migrant workers predicated upon a fear of their perceived impacts, it is hoped that attitudinally they will be shifted into a reparative state. However, the very hermeneutics of suspicion which such approaches are trying to challenge can serve to make it "less rather than more possible to unpack the local, contingent relations between any given piece of knowledge and its narrative/epistemological entailments for the seeker, knower, or teller" (Sedgwick 2003:124). For some the breaking down of current belief systems and replacement via new, and opposing, systems is challenged and resisted. Sedgwick (2003:131) likens paranoia a crystal growing in a hypersaturated solution, "blotting out any sense of the possibility of alternative ways of understanding or things to understand."

Indeed, whilst migrant worker myth buster leaflets can serve their purpose - enacting positive attitudinal shift and psychogeography deconstruction - it became evident to me that the opposite can be achieved. Discursive texts that condition the aesthetic encounter, they hold the potential to enact a clear psychogeographic impact far removed from that which is sought, reifying the anxieties of the disaffected and perpetuating boundaries, framing encounters as opposed to changing them. This potential is discernible in relation to two elements of the documents, namely their language and their content. With regards to the former, when asked to critically evaluate the leaflet 13% of participants shared my own concerns regarding terminology deployed;

> *"The title on the front page and the questions - do 'they' etc are somewhat discriminatory especially as underneath there is the title: "give respect, get respect!""*

> *"I cannot fathom the use of 'they' – it's all a bit 'us' and 'them' isn't it and isn't that what they are trying to stop?"*

Whilst I could suggest that the use of 'they' was a word innocently deployed in convenience – it is perhaps easier to assemble a 'short and snappy' front page using 'they' as opposed to 'migrant workers' – others, myself and participants included, struggle to move away from the troubling irony its use has conjured. A leaflet ultimately

asking its readers to give respect seems diametrically opposed to its phrasing. The aim of the leaflet to demystify, normalize and justify the placement of migrant workers within the local community seems at odds with the deployment of a phrase that could, and indeed has, been construed as pejorative as well as homogenizing. Far from deconstructing the positioning of migrant workers as other, the leaflet could serve to reify their position. Fortunately the majority (75%) of the myth busters I analyzed appeared to indicate an awareness of this potential problem, with the terms "economic migrant" or "migrant worker" repeatedly deployed instead throughout the text.

The questionable ability of these leaflets to enact the attitudinal change to which they aspire is not the sole problem of reception. Indeed, it is not even the main problem. When I first engaged with a migrant worker myth buster leaflet I was concerned that the presentation of myths could do more harm than good. I felt that with the intended audience being those with opinions of migrant workers predicated upon mistruths the potential for them to see the presentation of myths and fail to read the expounding which accompanied the myth existed. The presentation of myths could further imply to the reader that others must share their opinion and as such suggest to the reader that such a belief is socially acceptable, instilling a sense of social currency in it. Such issues, shared by the Audit Commission (Newman and Lewis 2007), thus represent the main problem surrounding their deployment; the potential for it to reify the very extant mindsets, boundaries and psychogeographies which the leaflet seeks to deconstruct. My concerns were evidenced second hand in the beliefs of participants who fearfully noted such potential, particularly in responses to my question regarding whether or not migrant worker myth buster leaflets could help migrants fit into communities noted earlier, and first hand in the 25% of participants whose opinions remained negative in spite of the presentation of information. To these readers, Sedgwick's (2003) analogy of paranoia as being akin to a growing crystal was achieved with the hermeneutics of suspicion adjudged to preclude any ability for change. Paranoia reigned supreme with reparative states deemed unachievable.

At the start of this section I noted migrant worker myth buster leaflets to be an example of strategic public relations, more specifically psychological operations which seek to affect perceptions, attitudes and opinions to influence the behavior of others (McLaurin

1982). With such an aim there exists an unavoidable linking to propaganda, "the preconceived, systematic and centrally co-ordinated process of manipulating symbols, aimed at promoting uniform behaviours of large social groups, a behaviour congruent with the specific interests and ends of the propagandist" (Hazan 1976:12). Although this link was originally intentional (Bernays 1928) public relations practitioners have increasingly sought to distance themselves from notions of propaganda, seeking instead to forge a dialogue between the organization and its publics, and seek mutually beneficial outcomes and relationships, a socially responsible function (L'Etang 2006). That said the distinction between propaganda and public relations remains unclear (Gelders and Ihlen 2009).

The word propaganda is infused with negative connotations of deception and mistruths (Gelders and Ihlen 2009). Although no participants explicitly referenced the word 'propaganda', such sentiment was expressed in relation to the myth buster leaflets by those whose mindsets remained negative after engagement with the aesthetic interface. In the first instance this was couched in terms of that detailed earlier, both first hand and second hand. The presentation of familiar myths saw social currency imbued in them with information presented to discredit myths discredited itself, and myths perpetuated. In the second instance this was couched in terms of the source of information used to discredit and expound myths;

"I can't believe what they say. Its lies, it must be. How do they know this?"

"The leaflet says one thing but the reality is different, my reality."

"Where does their information come from? How do I know it to be true?"

Here particular reference was made to what Linebarger (1954:44) terms 'grey propaganda', information that does not clearly identify a source, leaving the individual uncertain as to whether said information is correct. Such an instance appears an oversight on the part of creators. It was felt that the most important aspect of the leaflet was to present and expound myths in a clear and concise manner, not to clutter and lengthen the document through citation and explanation of sources of data. Yet,

positioning of the leaflets as propaganda by participants was predicated, in part, upon an accidental reading borne out of a lack of clear source. Given the emotive and value laden nature of the discussions inherent, it surprises me that those creating the leaflets did not anticipate and attend to a need for authentication of data utilised via suitable sourcing. That is not to say however that with appropriate citations information would be readily accepted, it perhaps just provides a greater chance of enabling it to occur.

The Audit Commission (Newman and Lewis 2007) found myth buster leaflets to be patronising in the sense that they attempt to enact attitudinal change, a process which, with reference to Sedgwick's 'paranoia as growing crystal' notion, they believed would engender defence of, and heightened subscription to, negative beliefs, a theme emphasised by my participants. They reported that use in isolation has often led to hostile attitudes being fuelled as opposed to dispelled. I did not find hostility to be an overt theme, although it was discernible as a bubbling undercurrent in a small number of responses;

> [What was bad about the leaflet?] "It tells the migrant people their rights, but then they probably already know that before they get here."

> [Could a myth buster help migrants fit into local communities?] "No, because most of them don't want to fit in, only when it suits them!!!"

Indeed, it was with reference to this bubbling undercurrent which one participant made a suggestion when asked the question "Could a myth buster help migrants fit into local communities?" Turning the rationale of its development on its head, this participant suggested that "maybe one could help migrants understand how people feel and why." Myths are replaced by opinions, and expounding gets replaced by explanation. It is an interesting idea, one which repositions the 'wronged' party not as the host population but instead the migrant population. Of course, there can be no 'correct' positioning of the 'wronged' population. It is very much a contemporary reconfiguration of 'what came first – the chicken of the egg?' arguments. This aside, the mere suggestion of a need for a 'feelings buster' is an interesting and pertinent one in this, a study of migrant relations. In wanting their voices to be heard it reminded me of Sedgwick's (2003:138) belief that "paranoia for all its vaunted suspicion acts as though its work would be accomplished if only it could finally, this time, somehow get its story truly known". The migrant issue is a contentious one with many positioned in different attitudinal places, ready and willing to speak forth. Much like the original rationale of the myth buster, the

rationale behind the neo-myth buster is of good foundation, helping to promote hospitable relations by mean of explaining of attitudinal positioning. It is in the receiving and reading of messages through the interpretative framework of the individual that the rationale can become problematised.

Before moving on it would be prudent to briefly reflect upon the motive underpinning the 40% of my Council sample (11) that chose not to create and deploy their own migrant worker myth buster leaflets. For some (36%) such a document was not deemed relevant due to the low levels of migration into their areas; *"we do not currently have any 'mythbuster' leaflets in place or currently any plans to produce one. Overall Derbyshire has experienced relatively low levels of economic migration from the EU"* (Derbyshire County Council). For others (55%) a different approach was favoured, one predicated upon active engagement with migrant groups to alleviate any problems and the host community, either directly or via the media, to challenge any misconceptions; *"Shropshire Council has not distributed any of the myth busting material. We are however working with our communities to develop a welcome pack and working closely with the media to promote diversity"* (Shropshire Council)[39]. Such positioning appeared to resonate with the view of the Audit Commission that communications approaches such as the myth buster are deemed to *"only ever be a partial solution"* with meaningful contact deemed "the single most important element in changing attitudes" (Newman and Lewis 2007:3). This wariness was conveyed in the aforementioned 55%, but also by one council, Northumberland County Council, who *had* chosen to deploy a leaflet, but as just one element of a suite of approaches which focussed heavily upon engagement;

> *"Anecdotally, one of the problems of a myth busting approach in isolation however that some partners have highlighted is that it can further single out migrants as being 'different' of other' when perhaps a better approach is to promote integration and community cohesion. A different approach could be about organising events, groups etc which include both migrants and indigenous people together and using these activities for press articles. There seems to be an emerging school of thought that just putting together an article saying 'guess what, migrants are just like us' doesn't seem to be the way to do, at least not in isolation."*

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[39] The remaining 9% represented a Council – Devon - which chose not to develop their own myth buster leaflet, choosing instead to deploy a pre-extant publication produced at the regional level by the TUC.

6.3.4 Staged Motive?

In the preceding section I designated the migrant worker myth buster leaflet an example of strategic public relations, with the aim of deployment being to challenge misinformation in local communities via the expounding of myths to promote hospitable relations between host and migrant communities. But what if there was another reason bound to strategic public relations underlying its creation? Earlier in chapter 2 (section 2.2.2) I detailed how Derrida (1999) believes unconditional hospitality to be a paradox as the individual always 'knows' that they are entering into an engagement of hospitality. Such a 'paradox' renders it impossible to ascertain whether hospitality is being offered authentically or instead for personal means. This is an important idea here. Rojek (2001:11) argues that "the public presentation of self is always a staged activity in which the human actor presents a 'front' or 'face' to others while keeping a significant portion of the self in reserve". What if the migrant worker myth buster leaflet is a strategy to improve not the public presentation of others, as per its 'dominant' aim, but the public presentation of the council, a vector to project a notion of it having an ethnically inclusive identity? Is it a staged mechanism of impression management one which on the surface appears solid in motive but lacks substance once you look beneath the facade? It is my belief that this leaflet, as vector of hospitality, is in some instances merely a means to an end by which council departments are engaged in processes of moral selving (again, detailed earlier in section 2.2.2 of chapter 2), so as to build a virtuous identity.

Bell (2007) discussed how encounters in commercial settings, for example with the waiter or barman, often stage particular forms of hospitality, a staged 'faked' hospitality that rests on money being exchanged. Lashley (2000:14) argues that such exchange renders such encounters insincere and inhospitable, examples of "calculative hosting". It is my belief that similar processes of 'staging' are implicit in the migrant worker myth buster leaflet in three notable ways - psychogeography enacting content, the similarity of documents and in distribution strategies. The first 'way' pertains to the preceding section of discussion, namely the potential damaging re-presentation of myths and lack of citation giving rise to an association of the leaflets as a mechanism of propaganda, leading to rejection of said leaflets and reaffirmation of attitudes and the very psychogeographies the leaflets sought to deconstruct. If the approach was wholly

dedicated to its aim I would have expected content to be constituted in a less damaging fashion (question posing as opposed to myth presentation) with explanation and citation of data sources implicit.

The second 'way' relates to the failure to fine tune leaflets according to locale. The striking similarity of leaflets noted earlier indicated that extant leaflets were used in the creation of others. Indeed, of the 16 analysed I would designate only 3 as being original in terms of content and format. One of these '3' was the leaflet provided by Wrexham County Borough Council, and it is my belief that the other 13 leaflets were influenced, although this was rarely declared, in terms of both form and content by this spearheading document. This trend of replication was largely rationalised in relation to a valorisation of sharing resources on migrant workers due to the minimisation of duplication and expenditure such an approach afforded. An 'if it isn't broken, why fix it?' rhetoric seemed evident. Drawing on a pre-extant publication which had been researched, approved and published reduced workload, expenditure and time whilst servicing the need to provide such media. This rhetoric can on the one hand seem sensible; a prudent and pragmatic measure is austere times. Why create a region specific leaflet when all the necessary information is detailed in pre-extant versions? On the other, somewhat cynical, hand one could accuse publication by replication that makes little or no attempt to situate with reference to the locale as an exercise in facade forging, a mechanism by which to 'keep-up' with other councils and 'tick-box' exercise in public relations?

The third 'way' relates to distribution of leaflets. One participant reflected "*I suppose that it's difficult to reach the more challenging and vociferous members of communities who wouldn't even look at this type of document.*" This is a particularly pertinent theme. With distribution limited to council outlets and on-line, large swathes of the local community are missed out. Indeed, of my broad Devon sample not one participant had seen a migrant worker myth buster leaflet before. Thinking more broadly, would those whom the migrant worker myth buster leaflet is directed, those with beliefs predicated upon mistruths and myths, really try to seek out information to disprove their position themselves? If the strategy had substance beneath the facade I would expect greater attempts to have been made to distribute leaflets and reach the ostensible population.

This cynical interpretation is based on participant responses, my readings and engagements with stakeholders, both those that use migrant worker myth buster leaflets and those that do not. I deem the migrant worker myth buster leaflet an example of hospitality as simulacrum predicated upon social demands dictating welcoming and politically correct actions. Hospitality is here deployed devoid of authenticity in order to bring about publicly viewable moral selving. Facade is favoured over substance.

6.4 Conclusion

Parts of the British press have problematised the placement of Polish migrants within England, regularly couching them in terms of 'taking' from the host population. Polish migrants have been presented as the sole Eastern European 'other' with A8 level nuances sanitised through homogenisation. Although public approval did exist amongst those who valorised their motivations (i.e. the betterment of their financial conditions), for many the image of the uneducated, unskilled Eastern European migrant seeking an easy life through manual employment and exploitation of the welfare state as purveyed by the media sought to instil resentment. An economic state of recession only served to heighten subscription to and perpetuation of such damaging discourse. The migrant worker myth buster leaflet represents an example of an approach to improving community relations between host and migrant cohorts via the expounding of these popular myths surrounding migrant workers. The need for such an approach was situated in the discussions of the migrant worker moral panic which opened the chapter which suggested that dominant discourses created and perpetuated by the media (either intentionally in content and tone, or unintentionally emerging as corollary through discourses evident in online comments facilities) are essentialist and exclusionary.

Although successful in the sense that engagement with this aesthetic interface did not engender negative attitudinal shift in any of my participants, the ability for the leaflet to achieve its aims has been questioned by both myself and participants, alongside extant research publications (see Newman and Lewis 2007). In terms of practicalities, the lack of widespread distribution means that engagement with this approach is limited. Furthermore, for those that do engage with the leaflet the strategy of expounding myths via the presentation of myths is problematic. The process of hospitality exchange is often incomplete, engendering a situation whereby far from deconstructing boundaries,

the leaflets instead serve to reify them. They have become psychogeographies in themselves.

It would appear to me that the migrant worker myth buster leaflet was born out of a belief in the hypodermic syringe model of media reception popular in the early 20th century, a theory which posited that the media was akin to a drug injected directly into the veins of the audience (Marcuse 1964:50). Yet in reality the media is polysemic with, in line with the more interpretative theories of media reception that developed from the 1970s onwards (see Halloran 1970), people actively interpreting media messages, filtering, ignoring, rejecting, accepting or reinterpreting them, with said interpretations dependent upon the personal belief systems which frame their engagements with the world. Such a preferred reading gives rise to a differentiated receiving population, a point exerted by the varying responses to the Eden migrant worker myth buster detailed. The encoding of the document with a discourse promoting migrant workers was not fully infallibly received both literally (in the case of participants) and theoretically (in participants surmising of other peoples readings).

Adjudged to be examples of strategic public relations in action, with somewhat 'staged' motives underlying them, migrant worker myth buster leaflets have links to propaganda. The distinction between public relations and propaganda is unclear. Government public relations is purported to be non-partisan, balanced and concise and political communication persuasive communication striving for political and electoral points (Weaver et al 2006) yet Gelders and Ihlen (2009) argue that government public relations just as likely aim to be persuasive and tries to influence attitudes and behaviour of citizens. I would position the migrant worker myth buster leaflet as occupying a similar hybridised positioning, neither an act of 'pure' public relations or propaganda, leaning more towards the former than the latter.

Chapter 7: Communities of Difference (3) Improving Host Population Attitudes via the "I packed this myself" Participatory Art Project

7.1 Introduction

Despite its inherent problems I felt that the migrant worker myth buster leaflet at its core had potential to achieve its aim with a little refashioning. I pondered whether or not similar approaches predicated upon the expounding of myths existed. As luck would have it an internet search regarding something entirely different led me to another approach with myth expounding at its core - the 'I packed this myself' participatory art project of London based social enterprise 'Bridging Arts' which uses art to broach difficult societal issues. Via the use of migrant artefacts and student art work produced in collaboration with migrant workers this project seeks to forge understanding via the deconstruction of popular discursive mediation of the 'Polish migrant' through empathetic emplacement. Such an engaged approach, in which knowledge is excavated and a co-production, contrasted greatly with the isolationist approach of the leaflet in which knowledge was simply presented by an anonymous 'other'. Before considering the fine details of the project and my involvements with it, I will strive first to situate it with reference to three thematic areas of academic inquiry, namely aesthetics, postsecular partnerships, and Citizenship education. I move then to consider my engagements with the project before offering an evaluation of it. The chapter concludes by referring back to chapter 6 to reflect upon the pertinence of both approaches in relation to the key themes and findings of the thesis.

7.2 Aesthetic Introductions

Aesthetics has been defined as the "critical reflection on art, culture and nature" (Kelly 1998: ix), comprising the "analysis of the beliefs, concepts and theories implicit in the creation, experience, interpretation, or critique of art" (Kelly 1998: xi). This somewhat broad category is necessary to incorporate the fact that art objects constitute just one of many classes of 'things' which inspire aesthetic experiences and thoughts. Eisner and Day (2004:361) call for this critical reflection not to be "an austere affair, indifferent to the sensual aspects of art" and instead suggest that it attend to sensibility, particularly feeling and expression. Here I am particularly interested in three interlinked strands of

aesthetics – relational aesthetics, connective aesthetics and migratory aesthetics - which heed this warning. Relational aesthetics, "aesthetic theory consisting in judging artworks on the basis of the inter-human relations which they represent, produce or prompt" (Bourriaud 2002:112) is a mode or tendency in fine art practice originally observed and highlighted by French art critic Nicholas Bourriaud. Relational art[40] is defined by him as "a set of artistic practices which take as their theoretical and practical point of departure the whole of human relations and their social context, rather than in independent and private space" (Bourriaud 2002:113). Rather than artwork being seen as an individualised encounter between a viewer and an object, relational art "is entirely beholden to the contingencies of its environment and audience" (Bishop 2004:4). Relational art insists upon use rather than mere contemplation with emphasis placed upon artwork as creating a social environment in which people come together to participate in a shared activity. The potential for a collective, social entity – a community – to emerge out of these moments of intersubjective encounter exists. Art is here potentially socially responsive, creating spaces for engagement, exchange and reflection among its participants. Indeed, when confronted by a relational art work, Bourriaud (2002:109 suggests the following questions are posed – "does this work permit me to enter into dialogue? Could I exist, and how, in the space it defines?"

However, it would be wrong however to view relational aesthetics simply as a theory of interactive art. The relational art found beneath the banner of relational aesthetics is demonstrative of artists modelling their own 'possible universes' (Bourriaud 2002:13), a means of locating contemporary practice within contemporary culture, particularly the shift from a goods to a service-based economy and to the virtual relationships that have accompanied the rise of the internet and globalisation (Bishop 2004). The modelling of these 'possible universes' is not seeking a future utopia but instead to learn "to inhabit the world in a better way" (Bourriaud 2002:13) establishing micro-utopias in the present, an ethos Bourriaud perceives to be the core political significance of relational aesthetics. As Bourriaud (2002:45) summarises, "It seems more pressing to invent possible relations with our neighbours in the present than to bet on happier tomorrows".

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[40] Examples of artists cited by Bourriaud as examples of relational aesthetics included Rirkrit Tiravanija, Philippe Parreno, Carsten Höller, Henry Bond, Douglas Gordon and Pierre Huyghe.

These core ideas of relational aesthetics have been channelled into another similar aesthetic branch, connective aesthetics – art that is "orientated toward the achievement of shared understandings and the essential intertwining of self and other, self and society" (Gablik 1992:6). Like relational aesthetics, here art uses its specific competences to create a space for interactions, relations and networks. Its difference lies in the way it takes heed of our living in an age "in which our need for community has become critical" (Gablik 1992:6), using collaborative and community-based art practice to work towards the integration of social and environmental concerns (Kester 2004). It moves beyond forging spaces of engagement, exchange and reflection into spaces of engagement, exchange, reflection, *empowerment* and *change*. The forefather of this approach is Joseph Beuys. His interdisciplinary and participatory conception of art and social sculpture, framed in the 1970s, proposed and stressed the need for an expanded concept of art. He believed that society as a whole was to be regarded as one great work of art to which each person could contribute creatively. Influenced somewhat by the Romantic writer Novalis, Beuys expressed a belief in the power of universal human creativity by stating that "every human being is an artist, a freedom being, called to participate in transforming and reshaping the conditions, thinking and structures that shape and condition our lives" (Beuys, cited in Social Sculpture Research Unit 2008). This connective proposition decreed every human being – due to their inherent freedom, creativity and transformative power - capable of shaping their life and world by working with the visible and invisible materials available to them in the expanded workspace that constitutes the world. Social sculpture removes the aesthetic from its confines, relocating it within a collective imaginative workspace, one in which lives can be rethought and reshaped in line with creative potential (Social Sculpture Research Unit 2008). Art holds the potential to enact change.

The third strand takes the thread of relational aesthetics and connective aesthetics and develops it with specific reference to migration. As detailed earlier in chapter 4 (section 4.2.3), the act of migration displaces and hybridises the identity of both migrants and host residents. Migrants (as subjects) and migration (as act to perform, state to be in, or state to live in) are part of any society today and their presence is an incontestable source of cultural transformation (Bal 2007). Such societal meetings and coming together has increasingly given rise to aesthetic responses definable under the broad banner of migratory aesthetics. Migratory aesthetics, a term coined by Mieke Bal (2002)

refers to "the various processes of becoming that are triggered by the movement of people and peoples: experience of transition as well as transition of experience itself into new modalities, new art work, new ways of being" (Durrant and Lord 2007:11-12). Put simply, it refers to the cultural inspiration that migration can produce in the host culture. Such inspiration mobilise as aesthetic responses, "configurations of experience that create new modes of sense perception and induce novel forms of political subjectivity" to migration (Ranciere 2004:9). Bal deems migratory aesthetics a travelling concept, one which on the one hand "falls back on the notion of aesthetics" whilst on the other "coins a modifier for that notion, truly modifying it" (Bal 2007:23). The modifier refers not to migrants or processes of migration per se, but instead the cultural inspirations emergent as a result of migration and their ability to engender effect upon the viewer, considered particularly in relation to political effectiveness. This latter point is, as shall be seen, pertinent. Migratory aesthetics hold the potential to upset and invert tradition, forging new lines of enquiry and new understandings (Bennett 2007:474). With reference to the relational aesthetic antecedents of migratory aesthetics, this potential requires that an active interface between viewer and art-work is established. It is this engagement that makes engagement migratory;

> "If aesthetics is primarily an encounter in which the subject, body included, is engaged, that aesthetic encounter is migratory if it takes place in the space of, on the basis of, and on the interface with, the mobility of people as a given, as central, and as at the heart of what matters in the contemporary, that is "globalized" world." (Bal 2007 23-24)

Migratory aesthetics is a ground for experimentation that opens up the possibility for relations with the migratory, rather than pinpointing such relations. This 'ground for experimentation' has traditionally been considered at the 'art' level, including aspects such as paintings (Tucker 2007), photographs (Hirsch 1997), exhibitions (Bennett 2007), installations (Markiewicz 2007), public art (Smith 2007) and video (Bal 2007) all of which as rival modes of understanding the interconnected whilst at the same time disjunctive world in which we live (Durrant 2007) act as political interventions reorganising affect to re-determine a perceptual (migrant inhabited) landscape. In the case that follows I consider a participatory art project (including an exhibition). The conjoining of 'migratory' and 'aesthetics' does not intend "to suggest a free-floating aesthetics that somehow transcends national borders" for "aesthetic practices, like

migrants themselves, are clearly subject to multiple cultural, political and economic constraints" (Durrant and Lord 2007:11). The politics of migration and aesthetic production always proceed by manner of complex transactions of cultural signs and cultural identities. This case study which follows, an aesthetic interface devised by an accommodating individual in response to her lack of engagement with migrants, is indicative of this. It represents a participatory performance that invites and incorporates the migrant as 'other' into spaces of interaction, relations, and networks, using art to challenge discursive mediations of the 'Polish migrant' and garner positive aesthetic effect. .

As shall become clear, the ethos underpinning the emergence of the scheme was akin to Bourriaud's (2002:13) notion of developing "possible universes" in which the world can be inhabited in a better way. Its partial mode of creation - by children in a workshop setting - provides an additional nuance of discussion. Bennett (2007:452) positions exhibitions, "the coming together of multiple artworks in a given event" as a key example of migratory aesthetics. They function to represent the specific groups, to which they refer, constituting "spaces or conditions in which disenfranchised or new 'hybrid' identities might flourish". Within such spaces politics inform and are enacted at the material and sensate level. As per the earlier discussions of migratory aesthetics importance is placed upon the aesthetic moment. Exhibitions cannot merely 'exhibit' identities statically, there needs to be interaction and processes of acknowledgement. Exhibits are only successful to the extent that they form part of a collective assemblage. To this end, only through such collective enunciation can what Bennett (2007:474) terms "new lines of inquiry into contemporary culture" from which exploration can engender shifting and fluidly changing interpretations of peoples and communities.

7.3 'I packed this myself': Motives and Mechanisms

7.3.1 Postsecular Partnership

The London based social enterprise 'Bridging Arts' uses art and art related activities to broach difficult societal issues and attempt as a result, to foster cosmopolitan solidarity. In 2007 they developed a participatory art project entitled "I packed this myself" which incorporated workshops and a travelling exhibition to reveal the background surrounding migrant workers. The scheme operated exclusively in Cornwall, with the reason for this being bound to the very origins of the scheme. The brother of the scheme leader, Susan Roberts, is a farmer from West Cornwall who uses migrant workers to harvest his crops. Susan's son helped with the potato harvest in 2003 and made friends with some of the workers. As his friendships developed so too did his realisation that neither he nor his uncle, nor his mother truly knew anything about these people. From this grew a determination to expose this hidden aspect of their rural locale, and attempt to help integrate them into the area (Commission for Rural Communities 2007b).

Susan sought out eminent academics in the migrant worker field (notably Eunice Walker and Ben Rogaly), consulted with the Citizens Advice Bureau and spent 3 days in Cornwall taking photographs to capture what she termed 'the essence' of migrant working. As part of this trip she visited the Catholic Church in Camborne where a Polish member of the congregation was helping provide services in Polish. Seeing the social and spiritual needs of migrants and the ability of faith groups to transcend statutory, voluntary and community boundaries to reach out to marginalised groups resonated deeply within her. Positioned at heart of local communities, Churches were uniquely placed both geographically and socially to act. Susan believed that they could play a vital role in welcoming the migrant 'other' for such an act could be viewed as an important part of the Christian mission to welcome the stranger. Indeed, a publication by the Churches Rural Group noted that "Christians have a God given responsibility to care for strangers and socially excluded people. Rural churches are challenged to offer what help they can" (cited in Calver 2006:15). She contacted Andrew Yates of the West Cornwall Faith Forum to discuss how art and design could be used to help faith based organisations and other groups open up to and engage with migrant workers. The "Let's Talk" project – a collaborative initiative between Bridging Arts and the West Cornwall

Faith Forum to help local communities interact with Cornwall's migrant workers, using art and photography as a catalyst to encourage dialogue and understanding - was born in 2006.

Its first action, with the backing of the Bishop of Truro and grants from the Church Urban Fund (£5000) and the Diocese of Truro's Archbishop's Council Mission Fund (£1000), was to produce postcards. Designed to help communication, they detailed simple phrases – "Hello, "How are you?'" – spelt out phonetically in English, Polish and Lithuanian. The postcard scheme was augmented by posters and factsheets for migrants detailing local facilities available and the production of resource packs that provided guidance for faith leaders and congregations on how to put on events to develop relationships with migrant workers. The evaluation of the work was one of success, providing practical information and spiritual engagement for migrants in the first instance, whilst forging social links and cultivating cultural understandings across communities in the second instance. However, it was noted that the breaking down of the barriers between migrant and host communities was very much an on-going project and to that end, more needed to be done. Thus, whilst the first wave was very much focussed on providing for migrant workers, the second wave focussed instead upon improving host population attitudes towards migrant workers. In Spring 2007 Bridging Arts rolled out their 'I packed this myself' participatory art project. Initially funded by the grant 'pot', since then funding sources have changed many times, with the most recent coming from the Migration Impacts Fund. There is no underlying 'motive' to funding shifts, instead merely a reflection of rounds of funding coming to an end and new sources being sought.

Cloke and Beaumont (2012) detail the emergence of urban spaces of partnership between people of faith and those of no faith who come together to offer care, welfare and justice to socially excluded people. Although some of these spaces of partnership operate with a specifically Christian ethos, most are based upon opening up an opportunity for those not motivated by religious faith to join with their wider praxis of providing care and support to socially marginalized people. They represent a coming together of peoples who might previously have been divided by theological, political or moral principles predicated upon a willingness to work together to address social issues in the city. Responses to a changing environment, they deem some the result of a

neoliberal setting in which contracted and funded opportunities to provide services inherently open out faith based organisation activities to secular participation, whilst others fall outside of this kind of incorporation into pseudo-governmental responsibility, resulting instead from more localized opportunities for people of other (and indeed no) religious faiths, to get involved and 'do something'.

Through the embodied performance of identity in local lived liminal spaces of postsecular partnership, rapprochement serves as the vector by which new formations of tolerance and agreement can emerge and those engaged can experience world-view and attitudinal change (Baker and Beaumont 2011). The possibility of emerging geographies such postsecular rapprochement (Cloke 2010) entail identifies not a rejection (Berger 1999) or reaffirmation (Bruce 1996) of the secularization thesis, instead an adjustment. Postsecular rapprochement is considered at the urban level, with rural spaces deemed somewhat lacking in the social networks (in terms of both scale and availability) upon which it depends. Cloke and Beaumont (2012:7) thus deem the city "a more likely context for involving individuals and groups who are working across, or at least problematising, previous divides involving inter-religious, anti-religious or anti-secular sentiment". That said the potential for the existence for spaces of postsecular partnership to embody resistance to injustice and hope for justice at the rural scale was not denied by them, just questioned.

Such a positioning is pertinent for the Let's Talk scheme represents a space of partnership between people of faith and those of no faith who come together to offer care, welfare and justice to the socially excluded (in this instance migrant workers) which emerged in response to one persons moment of encounter inspired revelation. Secular in origin, the example of *rural* postsecular rapprochement became postsecular with the involvement of faith based organisations. Said involvement brought great benefit, not only to migrant workers but also to the faith based organisations themselves, with the scheme serving to strengthen the profile of the church and faith groups involved as a result of their being shown to be active and in tune with issues and alive with mission and purpose.

The postsecular partnerships that constitute the two waves of the Let's Talk scheme detailed provide very different examples of rural postsecular rapprochement. The first represents a 'traditional' postsecular partnership in which faith based groups (West Cornwall Faith Forum) are working in conjunction with secular groups (Bridging Arts) to open up spaces of engagement with and for migrant workers for those with and without faith. It is very much about serving marginalised people in the first instance, shaping appropriate conduct in the second instance. The second wave – the 'I packed this myself' participatory art project upon which this section is focussed – is somewhat different. It has been a postsecular partnership in terms of funding. The collaboration existed at facilitation level only, with the delivery of the scheme devoid of faith focusing. It is very much a tactical reflection. This scheme sought to move beyond faith confines and hence has not sought a faith based 'edge' to delivery. The funding was provided, and justified, due to its positioning within the 'Let's Talk' scheme as an example of postsecular rapprochement that holds the potential for reterritorializations to emerge from the postsecular engagements the project opens up and cultivates. It would appear to be a pragmatic postsecular partnership "reflecting simply an acceptance of faith-based organization as a practical device for participatory action, without any reflexive adoption of crossover values and discourses" (Cloke and Beaumont 2012:15). In this instance 'practical device' is defined not in terms of acting as physical facilitator, but instead financial facilitator of postsecular partnership.

7.3.2 Children and Citizenship Education

The main audience of the 'I packed this myself' participatory art project is predominantly school children. Pykett et al (2010:490-491) argue that "the targeting of schools by campaign organisations and the committing of resources to developing education packs, websites, and projects seems to indicate a commitment to invest in young people's perceived potential to change society for the better". This notion is evidently clear in relation the case study discussed here. Its focussing upon the younger members of the population is threefold in rationale. Firstly, a belief exists that adults are more established in their opinions and beliefs and to that end, less open to changing them. Secondly, and somewhat conversely, children are deemed more open to new ideas and permitting attitudinal change. The third reason links the first two, with it believed

that children are capable of diffusing their newly learnt systems of virtue ethics in the home, working towards change in the attitudes of their parents via 'pester-power'.

Pester power, "the ability of children in many families to gain access to the products they desire by wearing their parents down so that they give in and purchase" (Handsley et al 2009:8) was, as the definition would suggest, originally considered in relation to purchasing power (e.g. Corcoran 1996, McDermott et al 2006). Recently however, the concept is being considered in relation to the ability of children to enact attitudinal and behavioral change via the wearing down process noted in the original definition. Indeed, children have been identified as key to initiating attitudinal and behavioural change in the UK (Nerlich et al 2010), particularly in relation to climate change (O'Neill 2008, Van Der Zee 2009, Wilson 2010) and ethical consumption (Pykett et al 2010). Bridging Arts and the West Cornwall Faith Forums involvement in the 'I packed this myself' participatory art project was underpinned by a hope similar to that identified by Pykett et al (2010:500, 503). In their study of fair-trade schools they deemed that "the appeal is to young activists who will carry their activism into adulthood and influence surrounding generations in the process", with children harbouring the potential to become not "the moral guardians of consumption in the family", but the moral guardians of attitudes to migrant workers.

The project can be situated within the Citizenship Education framework. Introduced into secondary schools in England in 2002, this educational reform focused upon political literacy, community involvement and social and moral responsibility (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority 1999). It emerged at a time when the social and cultural context of the UK was changing rapidly due to immigration. It was felt that society was fragmenting and losing its traditional sense of 'Britishness' with social breakdown (typified by the race riots of the early 2000s) feared, as was a rise in religious extremism (Staeheli and Hammett 2010). The perceived need for solidarity and reinforcement of national norms and stories in the face of these internal and external threats (Gilborn 2006) led to New Labour detailing an agenda for civil renewal of which Citizenship Education was a key feature (Blunkett 2003). The educational reform was not optional, instead a direct government intervention that sought to inculcate British

values and citizenship in a new generation of citizens, "responsibilizing active, entrepreneurial and individualistic citizens" (Pykett 2010a:621).

Promoting cultural belonging, Citizenship Education is predicated upon "the foregrounding of concepts of justice, of advocacy and representation, and of identity and diversity - introducing ideas of 'community cohesion', changing identities and interconnectedness of people within the UK and beyond" (Pykett 2009:804). Citizenship education is about fostering cosmopolitanism, "a sensibility that links the elements of citizenship such that individuals can imagine themselves as citizens at local, national and global levels" (Staeheli and Hammett 2010:674). Osler and Starkey (2005) advocate efforts to foster cosmopolitanism as a mechanism, via the 'stories of peoplehood' (Smith 2003) entailed to help students process their identities and experiences in a way that focuses not upon difference, but instead on the shared similarities that exist between them and those citizens positioned as 'other'. By working together in a 'learning society' (Jarvis 2000) a sense of global citizenship can be cultivated (Roman 2003). Citizenship thus represents a school subject to educate young people as active citizens *and* an ethos to extend outside the classroom and into the community, seeking to improve the health of democracy (Pykett 2009).

Citizenship Education includes a requirement to provide curriculum opportunities for debate, participation, community activities and decision making activities which take historical and geographical contexts into account. With the education services industry diverse, incorporating the interdependent state, private and voluntary sectors, outside agencies are often brought into schools to act as agents of citizenship pedagogy. Bridging Arts represents one such outside agency, with the 'I packed this myself' participatory art project representing an empirical space through which pedagogies of governing are worked and reworked, and the competences and capabilities of children developed to empower them in their future self directed knowledge, experience and activities (Pykett 2010a). It is focussed upon expounding any claims to a singular national story of peoplehood by detailing the constitutive role migrant workers play, in both a past and present sense, in the very development of that story in a way that is participatory and engaging. Indeed, it very much markets itself as a facilitator of

Citizenship Education, listing in its education resource packs the numerous ways in which it embeds within the National Curriculum[41].

In the past two years the 'I packed this myself' project has run 50 workshops reaching 2830 children in schools, both primary and secondary, across Cornwall. On site from anything from a day up to a week, the scheme of work delivered was revised to fit the situation (be it English class, Art class, or Drama class, year 7, year 9, or year 11 assemblies). Reflecting back upon the discussion of the migrant worker myth buster leaflet which preceded this section, the Bridging Arts project can be seen as moving beyond mere 'myth busting' to reveal something of the cultural background, hopes and aspirations of migrants. Such revelations come through personal testimony from a group of migrant workers, photography by Tom Pilston of migrant workers engaged in manual labour in Cornwall and through engagement with artefacts, namely suitcases filled with a selection of the items brought into the county by the migrant workers who worked on the scheme, a second world war suitcase loaned by artist Paul Matosic, and a relic box created by artist Patrick Coleman which was originally a toolbox belonging to his father who arrived in the UK from Ireland in the early 50s. These artefacts make overt reference to the notion of both 'the journey' and 'remembering home' to provoke the audience into situating themselves within the shoes of migrants. The project aims to throw a spotlight on migrant workers and the way in which everyone makes journeys in life as a necessary way of forging identity. A space oozing with the migratory possibilities of life, the participatory art project, particularly its exhibition, creates a space which tries to prompt the viewer to "realise not only that the future can be different from the present, but that the past might have unfolded differently" (Bennett 2007: 458). Such understanding can follow where a sense of resonance emerges out the politics of the moment.

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[41] Accessible here http://www.bridging-arts.com/resources/i-packed-this-myself-education-pack

7.4 Engaging With the Participatory Art Project

I followed its trajectory at a single secondary school in Truro. After 3 months of planning the "I packed this myself" participatory art project was introduced in an assembly on the 3rd February 2009. The themes were not new or surprising to the pupils with the project fitting neatly into a term long interdisciplinary focus upon migration. Workshops were held over February and March, culminating in the creation of an exhibition. I came to the project somewhat late and was hence unable to engage in the workshop setting. I remedied this with engagement with the aesthetic interface of the exhibition, speaking at length with practitioners (English and migrant), teachers and the 'artists' (pupils of the school) whilst making recourse, in both a retroactive and current sense, to an on-line blog, all of which permitted engagement from afar . Although unable to witness the 'process', I was able to see and reflect upon its outcome - the aesthetic productions – and, engaging at the end of the involvement by Bridging Arts, I was able to retrospectively reflect upon the project as a whole. This plan of action was strategic, mindful of the many other diverse elements of my thesis requiring my time. I feel engagement was prudent and in line with the weighting this case study has within the thesis. Had the scheme been the sole focus of my thesis I would have engaged more extensively with it, particularly at workshop level.

Through my conversations with teachers, facilitators and pupils I learnt of the workshops which I had not attended. Each began in the same manner, with the posing of a question "Do we need migrant workers in Cornwall?" with a vote taken and recorded. A powerpoint was shown which explored the notion of migrant workers in both a contemporary and historical Cornish context to forge a historical narrative to emphasise that their local imbrications is not new, concluding with the question "Do you want to judge or welcome migrant workers?" Next the opportunity to speak to a migrant worker was given to children, enabling them to humanise migrant workers, seeing them less as a faceless group and more as individuals. After the questions came the main substantive part of the workshop, the activity time. The type of activity was dependent upon the timetabled lesson in which the workshop was taking place. For example in English postcards and letters were written in which the pupils imagined they were migrant workers writing home whilst in art pupils painted pictures that represented how they felt they would feel if they were a migrant worker, or made map-boxes that reflected upon

life as a migrant worker. The workshop ended with the facilitator reposing the opening question, where, in the main responses improved.

The project culminated in the creation of an exhibition in the school displaying the pupil created artwork alongside artefacts used in the workshop (suitcases, relics and photographs). An exhibition containing 'just' the artefacts used in the workshop was installed on-site on the 23rd February 2010, and was attended and engaged with by all 1195 pupils on roll. When the artworks created during the workshop process were completed they were incorporated into the exhibition, along with a film made by migrant workers at a nearby farm entitled "The Hidden Life of a Cornish Farm". The private viewing evening of this, attended by an estimated 130 people (pupils, parents, teachers, migrant workers and invited guests), was held on the 23rd March 2010. This marked the last key moment of Bridging Arts involvement (for that academic year), with the exhibition taken down the following week. The themes it raised however were to receive continued interdisciplinary attention in line with the term long work strategy that the project was an integral part of.

The exhibition space oozed content. Of particular interest to me was the artwork created by students. Onto map boxes created by illustrator Glyn Goodwin onto students transposed their own maps, reflecting metaphorical journeys they have made, before assembling them into suitcases (figure 7.1). They were then able to take them home and use them as decorative suitcases. On the base of each box was a key fact about migrant workers and migration (figure 7.2). The process of construction provided an opportunity for children to think about their lives in relation to that of others, and an opportunity for working together. Teacher Julie discussed the box project with me and pointed to one particular example. *"We only have 1 Polish child – his box is here"* she said. *"He did it with the help of an English child. It's a really interesting example and shows how it must feel for him."*

Figure 7.1 – Map boxes

Figure 7.2 – Migrant facts

Other year groups were asked to paint pictures that represented what they would feel like if they were to follow a similar path to that of Polish migrants, i.e. migrate to Poland. I spoke at length to one girl, Maisie, about her picture (figure 7.3).

Figure 7.3 – Maisie's painting

Her narrative was infused with a sense of feeling out of place and a longing for home;

>   *"We had to make a picture that represents what we would feel like if we were to go to Poland, putting ourselves in the migrant workers shoes. Mine is all about the yellow brick road and the Wizard of Oz. Poland is far away in the distance, Oz. The ruby red slippers represent the journey I would be taking, the step into the unknown, just like Dorothy. The suns rays are words which sum up how I'd feel and how I think the migrant workers feel – anxious, scared, worried, sad – and they shine over the whole journey…"*

The key theme of Maisie's painting is of an overbearing longing for home. As she herself said "*the words 'no place like home' are in the middle and get smaller and smaller and get covered up by black to represent how much further away from home you are getting.*" The image is obsessed and framed by the spectre of loss, a negative framing borne out of a reality perceived by means of the self emplacement of Maisie – positioned within a 'settled' culture – into the shoes of an 'unsettled' culture. Her belief that the post-accession wave of Polish migration must be engendering themes of home and longing was shared by many viewing the exhibition. As I walked around the room glimpses of illuminating conversations were overhead - "*You don't think about it do you? Their lives as people*", "*I couldn't do it, you know, migrate. Could you?*", "*These suitcases, it hammers it home doesn't it?*" Evidently here this example of migratory aesthetics is connective, "an empathic means of seeing through another's eyes, of stretching our boundaries beyond the ego-self to create a wider view of the world"

(Gablik 1992:6). The artefacts and artworks appeared to be unlocking a sentiment that appeared innate, that is an understanding predicated on empathetic emplacement. Through the use of key imagery (of travel and of family) the aesthetic encounter was enacting 'shocks' of resonance in which reflection followed. Evidently the benefits of the project were not merely contained at the 'artist' level, instead potentially extending to all those who happened to gaze upon it.

Expectations of migrants missing home, feeling lonely and wanting to return coursed through many conversations about migrant workers. Such sentiment appears to also capture the public imagination with the winner of the Orange Broadband prize for Fiction in 2008 a novel by Rose Tremain entitled 'The Road Home' which told the story of Lev, a migrant from Eastern Europe travelling to London in search of work. It is a novel that deals with loss, mourning and melancholia in relation to all that is left behind and the coming to terms with being in a place of strangeness. Such perceptions, an expectation that migrants long for home and deem it preferential to their host country, is however not always the reality. As noted earlier, many negative attitudes towards Poland were voiced and accompanied by declarations of intent to stay in England for the foreseeable future. Although such attitudes were not discernible in all migrants with whom I spoke, it is clear that there is somewhat of a mismatch between host population perception and migrant reality. I feel this to be resultant of a lack of understanding of the often harsh realities of life in Poland.

7.5 Evaluating "I packed this myself"

The evaluation of the scheme was one of success. Many of the schools visited were isolated containing students very much unaware of the migrants living amongst them. Pykett (2010b:132) argues that "understanding our 'place in the world' involves a consideration of the geographical dimensions of global interdependence, cultural diversity, community cohesion, and postcolonial identities". The 'I packed this myself' participatory art project addresses these areas of required consideration. Citizenship is cultivated in each of the three ways Osler and Starkey (2005) detail in their model of citizenship. It is cultivated first as *status* via the schemes' introduction of migrants as citizens with rights to be in the country. It is cultivated also as *feeling*, with the project

serving to garner an affective sense of belonging to a community that includes the migrant community. This feeling emerges as the result of the *practice of citizenship*. Here solidarity is forged and divisions reduced by the teaching of active citizenship via actual engagement with migrant workers and empathetic reflective emplacement. Children are challenged to contrast their lives with migrant workers and to consider how they would feel in their position, reflections detailed and deepened through the production of artwork.

Through engagement with this aesthetic interface children come to understand the realities of their increasingly transrural lives. Rural Cornish identities were exposed as socially constructed and historically contingent, an expose that invited migrant workers to be newly incorporated into conceptualisations. At the beginning of many a workshop facilitators heard prejudice, bullying and racism. "*They should go back to their own country*" was an oft heard statement, with teacher Julie reflecting upon how she had heard 12 year olds talking about migrant workers and finding their attitudes "*unsettling and downright scary*". Indeed, the age of the children involved was important. Polish workshop facilitator Ewa found younger children – primary school children – to be happy, open and oblivious to difference. Their concerns were somewhat trivial - "*Children, they say funny things*" she said, "*One asked me "what language do you speak at home with your husband?!" – they think we speak English at home!*" The older children – the 13 to 15 year olds – were hostile, with some demonstrating negative attitudes she termed "*funny*". The workshops were a key tool for challenging these attitudes. The speaking to migrants, humanising them, turning them from homogenised headline to real people with feelings inspired understanding and interest in ways no static dehumanised approaches to the issues, such as the migrant worker myth buster leaflet, could. By the time their work reached its conclusion, attitudinal change was evidenced as Ewa recalled "*even the few students who were negative about foreign workers at the beginning became interested in what was we were doing*". Maisie provided evidence of this stating how she "*never really thought about them that much before but now I have I realise how difficult it must be for them.*" Such a revelation serves to affirm the Audit Commissions belief that meaningful contact "the single most important element in changing attitudes" (Newman and Lewis 2007:3).

Unsurprisingly the scheme was deemed *"really important"* by teacher Julie, both within her school and beyond. With regards to the latter, due to the sense of understanding it fostered, it was identified as a key coping mechanism (in both a staff and student sense) to cope with sudden influxes of Polish children, quite common in the area, for which schools are often unprepared by virtue of the sudden nature. With regards to the former, the active citizenship cultivated by the project was deemed to have laid the foundations for further work to be undertaken in the classroom on migrant workers, work which could serve to strengthen the work of the project, further solidifying its successes;

> *"Addressing the migrant worker question through art has been really important. If we were to just lecture them they wouldn't be interested. They really seem to have taken to it. They've really got into it as the work shows. Although we might not be able to afford the artist to come in and work with the children I hope that we will continue to address it. Much of our work so far has been addressing their conflation of the terms illegal immigrant and migrant worker. Many don't seem to be able to understand the difference in terminology. Our next phase of work is going to address media stereotyping, again trying to challenge their views by showing that not all they read is true."*

Although the project was considered by teachers, facilitators and pupils to be positive, no evaluation is complete without recourse to its negative aspects of which I deem there to be two - problems of practicality and lack of currency beyond the classroom. When I first engaged with the project the greatest challenge I noted was its ability to reach enough people to make enough difference. I saw first-hand the real value of the project and saw applicability beyond the county of Cornwall within which it was focussed. Yet it remains within the confines, a reflection of original motive and an inability in both a financial and personnel sense to move the project beyond the border. The financial issue is the most limiting. An inherent instability exists within the project bound to its reliance on rounds of funding to operate. Indeed, the scheme ceased to operate briefly at the beginning of the 2011/2012 academic year having simply run out of funding. Leader Susan discussed how *"our Migration Impacts Funding has sadly come to an end but we are putting other funding applications together and hope to get the scheme back out there as soon as we can"*. Fortunately funding was successfully acquired and the scheme recommenced in January 2012. This break in operations highlighted to me that my initial criticism at the restricted 'rolling out' of the project was misplaced. To be rolled out anywhere is a success! Furthermore the on-line presence of the project, particularly the provision of an education resource pack, means that potential exists for schools to take the ethos and ideas of the project and adapt them to their locales

wherever in the country they reside. I sincerely hope that the on-going running of the scheme can be assured without too many breaks in operational status. I believe that such a peopled, engaged approach presents a real opportunity for fostering hospitable relations. Perhaps the older generations are too staunch in their belief systems to be changed but children, the next generation, in their open ways present a great opportunity for fostering long term attitudinal change and improving relations between host communities and migrant communities in rural areas, and beyond.

But am I putting too much faith in the project? Lister (2008) believes that citizenship education might not be sufficient to overcome inequalities and processes of marginalisation, limiting inclusion in the democratic public, whilst Roman (2003) takes this notion further, arguing that global citizenship can reinforce nationalism in students. Parallels here are forged with the migrant worker myth buster leaflet. In the preceding chapter I argued that the presentation of a myth could affirm and perpetuate negative attitudes, with the leaflet potentially a psychogeography itself. Could the 'I packed this myself' participatory art project, cultivate and affirm juvenile psychogeographies? I found no evidence to affirm this notion. Despite this, questions remain. Does it have currency beyond the classroom?

The project is predicated upon a complex system of hospitality exchanges. Actions in the classroom emphasising the interdependence and interconnections of humankind in their locale strive to develop in the children a sense of planetary consciousness (Gilroy 2004) upon which positive attitudes towards migrants and extensions of hospitality can be based. It is hoped that children will then, via pester-power, transmit their positive attitudes in the home, enacting positive attitudinal in their potentially disaffected parents. The project thus represents a complex system of exchange that may be rendered incomplete by the actions of those involved, be they children or parent. As discussed in the preceding chapter with regards to the migrant worker myth buster leaflet, the strength with which convictions are held and the openness to change can have a huge bearing on efficacy. Whilst children are more open and to a certain extent malleable when it comes to such neoliberal acts of persuasion than adults (Mitchell 2006), meaningful contact may not give rise to permanent attitudinal change. Facilitator Ewa shared such opinion. Although she stated that *"our work is challenging these [negative]*

views and I think we're making a difference" when pressed on this notion of changing minds she responded *"maybe - it is hard to know. When they go home they may go back. It is the parents which are the problem most of the time I think. They are very....they have influence. There is only so much we can do. The children need to think for themselves and make up their own minds."* Much reference was made by both facilitators and teachers to the influence of disaffected parents, with the blame for children having negative opinions levelled solely at them and their media reading, emphasising the pester power rationale underlying delivery;

> *"You wonder where they [negative attitudes] come from. Their parents I guess and their reading of the media." Julie*
>
> *"I think it's a result of the media, their parents – what they hear in the pub. Our work is challenging these views and I think we're making a difference." Ewa*

The ability of pester power to make a difference is questionable. Will their influence serve to 'undo' change in perception? Lister's (2008) notion seems both nuanced and further emphasised. Citizenship education might not be sufficient to overcome inequalities and marginalisation beyond the school context when faced with social actors (i.e. parents) whose attitudinal outlook contributes to such inequalities and marginalisation.

7.6 Conclusion

The 'I packed this myself' participatory art project is an example of an outside agency providing resources to facilitate the achievement of Citizenship Education learning outcomes. The "tactical improvisations" (Pykett et al 2010:490) through which this initiative emerged can be seen as a combination of diverse interests, namely Bridging Arts and the personal reflections of one woman for its originating motive, the West Cornwall Faith Forum's shared interest and collaboration to provide financial mechanism and the interest of those schools committed to the citizenship cause who call upon the groups work. The audience of the project is children, a strategic choice predicated upon a belief that children are attitudinally malleable (Mitchell 2006) and open to the process of change the project seeks to enact. A linked rationale is the hope that children may enact 'pester power' upon their parents who have been identified in

conjunction with the media as chief actors in the circulation and perpetuation of negative attitudes surrounding migrant workers.

Emerging in, and somewhat as a result of, a postsecular partnership, this project, definable as an example of migratory aesthetics, sought to forge connections between the migrant and host population communities in Cornwall, by instilling a belief in the latter that the popular discursive constructions of the former were not necessarily true. This was actualised through engagement with migrant workers, invitations to empathetically emplace oneself in 'their shoes' and the development of art which reflected on these moments of actual and theoretical encounter. Such artwork was noted to be of vital importance, not only enticing and engaging the children with the project, but also providing them a medium to reflect upon that which they had learnt. The provision of such a medium is vital for as Gablik (1992:4) details;

> *"Art that is grounded in the realization of our interconnectedness and intersubjectivity – the intertwining of self and others- has a quality of relatedness that cannot be fully realized through monologue: it can only come into its own in dialogue, as open conversation."*

The humanised approach saw children engage deeply with the subject matter, seeing the people behind the story. They came to see migrants as individualised people not too different from themselves, a shift which can engender positive attitudinal demonstrations in the classroom, and perhaps lay the foundations for their continued deployment in the future. The extent to which this could be achieved constituted one of my two key criticisms of the project (with the other relating to issues of a practical nature). However, there exists one further criticism. Although it relates to Citizenship Education in general it can percolate down to the project level by percolation, guilty by association? Citizenship Education is seen by some as an act of moral coercion, a mechanism of social control positioned as part of an overarching ideological project of neoliberal globalisation (Pykett 2010a). It represents a 'technology of the self' by which the state seeks to ensure security and norms of civility and decency through invasive means, i.e. direct intervention in the National Curriculum (Belsey 2005). To this end, the 'I packed this myself' participatory art project too could be seen as one such example of social control, with the malleability of children upon which the project is

founded being abused to enact social coercion. I disagree. Citizenship education, and the project to boot, focuses upon the reflexive practices of citizen-formation in which space is made for acceptance and rejection of ideas put forward. With reference to Pykett (2010a) it does not simply constitute children as neoliberal subjects, it is very much a process of active negotiation. I have included the criticism as caveat to pay due diligence to alternative readings of Citizenship Education, and hence the case study presented.

7.7 Reflections upon the 'Improving Host Population Attitudes' chapters

This and the preceding chapter have sought to reflect upon actions devised by accommodating individuals or organisations to, via the challenging and deconstruction of discursive mediations of migrants, challenge the sorts of negative psychogeographies surrounding migration detailed in chapter 4. The two case studies discussed – the migrant worker myth buster leaflet and 'I packed this myself' participatory art project – represent examples of cultural inspirations migration, particularly disquiet surrounding it, has inspired. The latter is a clear example of migratory aesthetics - "the various processes of becoming that are triggered by the movement of people and peoples: experience of transition as well as transition of experience itself into new modalities, new art work, new ways of being" (Durrant and Lord 2007:11-12). Using a broad reading the myth buster leaflet too could be defined as an example of a 'process of becoming', with its visual and literary discursive content permitting it to be positioned as a discursively rich piece of art.

Engagements with these aesthetic interfaces seek to transpose perceptions of social reality, fostering another way of knowing an ever changing social and cultural world. Striving to remove the 'threat' to societal values and interests migrants are perceived to enact, fashioning a shift from states of paranoia via reparative re-presentation of migrant identities which challenge their positioning as 'other', they can be viewed as "ways of coping" (Cohen 1972:328) with the migrant worker moral panic detailed in chapter 6 (section 6.2), Through detailing Polish elements of the local community and hence the interdependence and interconnections of humankind, movements towards the inculcation of a sense of 'planetary consciousness' are enacted (Gilroy 2004). In excavating the potential for harmonious co-existence these examples of relational (the leaflet where engagement with it creates a space for reflection), connective aesthetics

(the participatory art project where engagement with it creates a space for reflection, exchange, and change), represent examples of the modelling of "possible universes" (Bourriaud 2002:13).

Both of these approaches can be theoretically situated in relation to Levinas' ethics of otherness which posited humans to have an innate responsibility to the other, and thus the potential for it to be awakened to action hospitable relations. The case studies to be detailed constitute acts of *detached* hospitality in the sense that they seek to cultivate this innate quality, either directly (through overt messages) or indirectly (as corollary), and instil a hospitable outlook in the *host population*, which it is then hoped will be extended to *migrant* residents in any encounters that follow. It is the participatory art project that I deem the more successful approach in challenging misinformation, improving understandings and hence positioning of Polish migrants. Including engagement with migrant workers, items belonging to migrants and photographs and video of migrants working, and artwork created by children reflecting upon actual (in the case of migrant children) or perceived (in the case of host population children) migrant experiences, the project represents a system of aesthetics that is both deeply relational and dialogical. Such an engaged approach, bringing together, humanising and challenging mediations through contact, enlightens others as to the realities of migrant lives. The Audit Commission argue that "meaningful contact" should be used as the "primary route to attitude change" (Newman and Lewis 2007:5) and this is a statement with which I would agree. The engaged empathy inculcating scheme, with the added option to speak with migrants, gave rise to a more concerted outlook than that cultivated by the myth buster. These documents are somewhat 'one-sided' in the sense that there is little migrant involvement in their creation. These second hand literary representations of an 'othered' group are speaking 'about' as opposed to speaking 'for'. By contrast, in the Bridging Arts scheme migrants became people as opposed to headlines. Furthermore, its targeting of children made it a more hopeful aesthetic interface. In targeting the attitudinally malleable the potential for a sense of positive attitudinal futurity to be cultivated exists. The foundations may be laid so that as adults they will not need to engage with such documents as the migrant worker myth buster leaflet.

Despite this praise the overall efficacy of this scheme, and the migrant worker myth buster, is dependent on the often problematic reception of information put forward is a potentially problematic process. Sedgwick (2003:124) speaks of the performance of knowledge, posing a number of questions;

> "Is a particular piece of knowledge true, and how can we know? [.....] What does knowledge do - the pursuit of it, the having and exposing of it, the receiving again of knowledge of what one already knows? How, in short, is knowledge performative, and how best does one move among its causes and effects?"

The notion of truth was of vital importance. The openness to change - the challenging the hermeneutics of suspicion and shifting from paranoid state to reparative state – in participants represented the main difficulty for inculcating hospitable relations, particularly in relation to the migrant worker myth buster leaflet. Here a potential for it to be viewed as propaganda was noted and indeed evidenced. Far from being a vector of change, inspiring the linking of events (i.e. migration, migrants and their place in the local community) in new configurations as is often the case with the Bridging Arts participatory art project in some cases the leaflet does the opposite, reaffirming events in troubled configurations. With the claims made questioned, the leaflet can become part of the intertextual suite of sources that affirm negative attitudes towards migrant workers. A document striving to deconstruct psychogeographies becomes a psychogeography itself. With regards to the participatory art project, this potential was somewhat nuanced. Although aiming to enlighten children as to the real realities of life as a migrant worker living in Cornwall, a corollary was to influence their parents via 'pester-power'. Much like the negative readings of the leaflet, the potential exists for such action to be dismissed as propaganda. Furthermore in this respect, the potential exists for the knowledge presented to be accepted as genuine by the children involved only to be later rejected when removed from the context of cultivation and placed under the guardianship of their parents who, subscribing to dominant discursive mediations surrounding migrant workers, may actively reject such attitudinal sentiment and engender attitudinal shift in their children accordingly. The relational art inherent in the project privileges intersubjective relations over detached opticality. Parents thus perhaps need to experience the relational co-constitutive element of the project, making art, to

cultivate the hospitable sentiment the scheme seeks. With reference to Eco (1962:22-23) they need their innate sense of responsibility to be activated through art;

> "The poetics of the "work in movement" (and partly that of the "open" work) sets in motion a new cycle of relations between the artist and his audience, a new mechanics of aesthetic perception, a different status for the artistic product in contemporary society. It opens a new page in sociology and in pedagogy, as well as a new chapter in the history of art. It poses new practical problems by organizing new communicative situations. In short, it installs a new relationship between the *contemplation* and the *utilization* of a work of art."

The issue of future deployment is a complex one. In the case studies detailed, each represented a small scale action to counter the acts of those who spread negative ethnic sentiments through their own networks, undermining positive community messages. Although problematised by me, heavily in my somewhat sceptical reading of the migrant worker myth buster leaflet, benefits exist. To this end great potential exists for them to, perhaps after shrewd editing in the case of the leaflet, become 'large scale' actions with a widened delivery approach. But would such a shift enact true attitudinal change? Cantle (2008) argues that this can only be achieved where there is a political consensus, and a broad moral climate of opinion supported by a range of local partners (such as employers, faith leaders, sports stars, celebrities and local civil society) who will in turn influence through their own channels. Will such a state ever come to fruition? With regards to Polish migration I would argue the answer to be no. To me it would appear that there are issues pertaining to minority ethnic groups that garner more attention. To a certain extent, Polish migration into England is becoming normalised. Pockets of discord remain and perhaps, for reasons bound to the hermeneutics of suspicion and accompanied feelings of paranoia, will continue to do so. To make broad appeals for hospitable relations with Polish migrants would be somewhat unnecessary. Costly, attention is more likely to be given to elements of the community for which issues of relations are more complex and problematised, and hence designated in need of ongoing attention, such as gypsy and traveller communities.

Although both schemes were similar in outlook (i.e. attempting to change opinions regarding migrant workers) they were different in terms of origin (i.e. 'questionable'

motive of the leaflet (community relations or staged hospitality?) v personal drive of the participatory art project), form (i.e. isolationist leaflet v engaged participatory art project) and delivery (i.e. leaflet distributed to adults through council outlets and via an online presence v participatory art project delivered to children within the school setting). Why include the seemingly disparate? By including two similar yet ultimately disparate case studies I was able to reflect upon the notions of aesthetic interfaces and community relations with specific recourse to the (attempted) deconstruction of discursive migrant worker mediations and accompanying psychogeographies. A narrative was forged which, with recourse to my analogy drawn in the preface which posits each of my empirical chapters as individual dishes within a meze, worked in both a standalone and positioned within the thesis format. With regards to the latter, this and the preceding chapter built both empirically and theoretically upon the understandings of the key thematic areas - psychogeographies and hospitality - developed cumulatively by the preceding chapters whilst raising points of pertinence to be reflected upon in the next and final chapter of the thesis, the conclusion.

Chapter 8 – Conclusions

8.1 Key Findings

This study has found rural spaces to be open spaces of hope and care. Accommodating individuals from the Polish, wider migrant, and English communities are mobilising to act as community gatekeepers, striving to normalise relations between migrant and host population communities (as discussed in chapter 5, 6 and 7). These individuals are at work, in either a statutory (employed) or voluntary sense mediating relations in their locales via the creation of moments of encounter – be it in the classroom, shop, or local community event - which strive to deconstruct any negative resonance held in the mind of disaffected individuals to promote onward hospitable relations. Such actions are vital to promote positive community relations, yet in many instances they come as a corollary of the main focus of such organisations work, that is to assist and accommodate migrants into their locales. Indeed, I noted many of these social actors to be going beyond processes of moral selving (Allahyari 2000) acting as 'unofficial support workers' in their interlacing of areas of help defined by them, and those requested by users. These people are under considerable pressure to meet the expectations of both users, and themselves. With regards to the latter trend I observed these social actors to be operating with an all-encompassing sense of obligation to serve their migrant communities, which often resulted in regret when they were not able to assist them. This problematic aspect of hospitality extension I feel will only heighten as funding and staffing issues increase in these times of austerity.

This study has also found that mediated imageries of the migrant worker moral panic as detailed in chapter 6 are in the main not translating into practice rurally. This translation is not proceeding for many simply in rural spaces do not make contact with migrants (there are of course exceptions to this notion, with a small number demonstrating negative attitudes despite the absence of a fixed moment of personal encounter). I found the key spaces of mixing – employment (not the focus of my research, the result of my belief that extant studies (e.g. Datta 2009, Dewhurst 2009, Rogaly 2009 and Janta et al 2011) have given considerable weighting to this strand), social spaces (those banal everyday social spaces of rural life considered in chapter 4) and service spaces (those statutory, voluntary and entrepreneurial spaces considered in chapters 5, 6 and 7) – to be

strategic and easy to avoid. Should the individual want to avoid mixing the potential was great. For translation to occur interaction needs to occur, an interaction which is often socially regulated by those individuals seeking to regulate it. This was evidenced first hand by my ill-fated attempts to engage with the Oketon Anglo-Polish organisation. It appears evident to me that the rural communities of difference enacted by ongoing processes of post-accession Polish migration and indeed settling are in the main conjuring two main strands of peopled response - those inspired to mobilise to provide some element of coping mechanism or those who, occupying a position of neutrality or perhaps ambivalence towards migration, do not see such act as necessary. This latter strand can be nuanced also by those with negative attitudes towards migration, although these were throughout the thesis the exception to the majority.

This study found the aesthetic devices of encounter created by and for the host population with the aim being to provide a more positive foundation upon which future moments of encounter could be based, detailed in chapter's 6 and 7, to be of questionable efficacy. The migrant worker myth buster leaflet was subjected to a sceptical reading both by me and participants. Great scope existed for the document, by virtue of its lack of factual citations, to be viewed with suspicion and couched as "grey propaganda" (Linebarger 1954:44). Far from dispelling negative attitudes, they held the potential to reify them. Hermeneutics of suspicion (Ricoeur 1970) could be reaffirmed and attitudinal entrenchment enacted. A document seeking to deconstruct damaging psychogeographies was in fact a damaging psychogeography itself. The Bridging Arts participatory art project I noted to have greater success in enacting positive attitudinal change, and the more likely of the two schemes to result in hospitable relations. Yet the success here too was partial, with organisers themselves casting doubt as to whether the attitudinal change discernible to them in the moment of encounter would have longevity when out of this context. With the audience here children the fear was such that their attitudes may be affected and refashioned by their parents when in the home. The result of my engagements with these aesthetic interfaces is the belief that the greatest opportunity for attitudinal change comes from schemes incorporating moments of active engagement with Polish migrants (as in the participatory art project) in which their lives can be understood through empathetic emplacement in the scheme. I believe that peopled relational networks need to be forged in which frames of reference can be changed via the posing of questions deemed pertinent to the individual.

Evidently my work has added to literatures on race and ethnic studies, the likes of which are somewhat devoid of the sorts of understandings of the sense of the role and relations of ethnicity in a white sense in rural areas detailed herein. Although studies of white groups have accumulated (e.g. in relation to travellers (Bhopal 2006) and asylum seekers (Hubbard 2005) none of these I feel have paid due diligence to the banality of rural life and the outcome of moments of encounter and collaboration upon rural white identities in both a host population and migrant sense, and the identity of rural areas more generally.

8.2 Methodological Reflections

With my research aim "to understand the multiple interpretations and receptions of Polish migrants in rural England", I needed a methodology befitting of the exploration of people and rural place relations such an aim required. To this end, I designed a reflexive methodology which was framed by autoethnography and psychoanalysis and incorporated the research methods of interview, ethnography and discourse analysis. This strategy allowed me to reflect upon research both as process (the process of 'doing' research and the impacts upon myself, a vital notion for me given that I conducted research in my home locale) and outcome (research findings).

This thesis has explored the subjects, practices and spaces of Polish identity in rural England. In light of my belief that Polish identity in rural areas is the cumulative outcome of interactions with Polish migrants, host population residents, and responsive service spaces I incorporated all three strands into my research. This broad approach has ensured that the understanding of rural life put forward is not 'one-sided' and reflects a great breadth of voices. How could a study focusing heavily on migrant experiences of rurality proceed without reference to those attitudes and actions of host population residents which influence such experiences? To this end I have deployed a multi-faceted and multi-voice approach. I engaged with host population residents regarding their attitudes and experiences of Polish migrants. I also engaged with community stakeholders and service providers regarding the rationale behind their service responses to Polish migration. Such engagements enabled me to illustrate the ways in which Polish migrants are perceived, framed and experienced, understandings which could

then be set in contrast to the ways in which Polish migrants perceive, frame and experience rurality. Discussions of community relations have been framed with reference to the notion of hospitality, particularly hospitable relations, to theorise how and why relations play out in rural spheres in the way they do.

Mandel (2003:208) argues that "expectations naturally change as fieldwork unfolds. It is, of course, a process". This resonates with my research process which was underscored by a considerable deal of flex. Practical issues pertaining to research design forced me to adapt and find solutions to unforeseen and somewhat major problems. As part of the negotiation of these problems reflection upon my experiences of researching a 'white other' group whilst positioned 'white other' myself was necessitated. As Phoenix (1991:91) details "researchers are not objective observers of contexts and interactions, but are members of society who have specific social locations and bring particular orientations to bear on the research". I felt that my being white and English at times problematised the research process particularly with regards to access. This was typified most notably in relation to my failed attempt to negotiate access via a gatekeeper. I was positioned external to the Polish communities I sought to investigate, a positioning which given my lack of linkage, be it family language or otherwise, I eventually, once able to move beyond the problematic politicisation of the research process that was also involved, came to understand.

I have often pondered how different things would have been if I was Polish undertaking this research. I presume that the issues surrounding gatekeepers to the Polish community would have been alleviated to some great extent, with Polish nationality and linguistic currency affording me a greater sense of authenticity that could have fostered deeper engagement and reciprocal relations. I would perhaps have been able to engage and work with community organisations to help them achieve their goals and afford me a deeper understanding of the issues involved. That said I still would have been a community outsider. Merely 'being Polish' would not be a fast-track to acceptance, a notion given credence by the complexity of community relations (both inter and intra cohort) noted in chapter 2 theoretically, and chapter 4 empirically. Furthermore, I feel being Polish would merely have shifted the problems of engagement and access from one community to another, with engagements with the host population potentially

problematic. In a study of two separate communities in which one language is not spoken this is problem that cannot be removed. Being bilingual would alleviate this problem to a certain extent, yet I would still be 'outsider' to one community and hence bound to potentially problematic processes of engagement.

Have understandings escaped me as a result of my 'outsider' positioning? I believe the answer to be no. I feel that the Polish participants with whom I spoke were candid, providing me with a good understandings of their rural realities. A more pertinent question is "would deeper layers of meaning have been excavated had I been able to converse with Polish migrants in their first language?" I would be naive not to answer this question with anything other than yes. Pavlenko (2006:27) argues that for those who are bilingual "languages may create different and sometimes incommensurable worlds for their speakers who feel that their selves change with the shift in language". The internal processes of translation participants undertook when speaking with me must have limited them in a way speaking in their first language would not have. My research has very much skimmed the surface, research undertaken by a Polish speaker may well have been able to dig much deeper.

The process of conducting research in my home locale brought to bear information which problematised my expectations of it and my positioning within it. Learning of disturbing incidences of racism irreversibly challenged my belief that my locale was welcoming and open, conjuring instead a new dystopic perception of it veiled in an air of unrelenting disappointment and shame. Before continuing I feel it necessary to reiterate my positioning regarding my use of the racist narratives and pictures that inspired this shift. Ethically, I am not wishing to support these, instead using them to identify and elaborate upon the rural realities of Polish migrants. Their inclusion has troubled me deeply. I have been caught in a double bind, loathed to repeat and perpetuate yet aware of the need to incorporate them to pay due diligence to the rural lives they affect. Although aware of my obligation to include them so as to not present a false rurality and fail to fully service my research aim, the fact that by my actions they are being recorded for posterity is something difficult to reconcile, especially in relation to those actions within my home locale.

8.3 Key Thematic Areas

My empirical findings are broad, a natural reflection of the broad remit of the study. After much deliberation I have grouped such findings into three key areas that I feel speak across the thesis, namely the thirdspace of rural communities, psychogeographies and boundaries, and cultivating hospitality. It is to brief reflection on each of these themes that attention now turns.

8.3.1 The Thirdspace of Rural Communities

> "Everything comes together in Thirdspace: subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential, structure and agency, mind and body, consciousness and the unconscious, the disciplined and the transdisciplinary, everyday life and unending history." (Soja 1996:57)

Thirdspace represents "a purposefully tentative and flexible term that attempts to capture what is actually a constantly shifting and changing milieu of ideas, events, appearances, and meanings" (Soja 1996:2). My research has seen this concept find application beyond its traditionally urban confines, the result of my belief that rural areas, like urban areas, are too "a fully lived space, a simultaneously real-and-imagined, actual-and-virtual, locus of structured individual and collective experience and agency" (Soja 2000:11). As a result here I am able to assert my belief that rural areas are thirdspaces of possible acquaintance. Those within the thirdspace have the ability to traverse multiple cultures and "to translate, negotiate and mediate affinity and difference within a dynamic of exchange and inclusion" (Meredith 1998:2). The collision of ethnicities therein - in this instance Polish and host (here English and post-war Polish) - can engender a multiplicity of outcomes, structured here in relation to two strands - physical outcomes and social outcomes.

With regards to the former I here refer to the reconstitution of space enacted by the physical imprinting of Polish migration upon rural areas. With migration home has ceased to be a singular location and has instead become a plurality of nodes in ever widening maps of mobility. Although many nodes refer to moments of encounter in the private sphere – with the telephone and internet noted as important in this respect by my

Polish participants in chapter 4 – increasingly many are emerging in response to deficiencies in service provision in public spaces. Those detailed in chapter 5 included the migrant support group, the work of EMAS, and entrepreneurial retail spaces. All service spaces can be cast as "interruptive, interrogative and enuciative" thirdspaces (Bhabha 1994:37), nodes which by carving a Polish identity into physical and social aspects of rural communities have served to destabilise and challenge any understandings of rural spaces as bounded, English spaces. This process of destabilisation is complex. The meanings adjoined to such spaces are always unstable and subject to reworking for as Bhabha (1994:37) suggests "even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized, and read anew."

With regards to the latter – social outcomes - I here refer to the reconstitution of spatial relations within the rural sphere that emerge as a result of post-accession Polish migration, very much the broad focus of chapter 4. In rural areas host/migrant relations (in many isolated rural locales such as Fordstone, the first instances of such relations) are becoming striated by notions of ethnicity that are not framed in relation to traditional understandings of rural migration in an Asian or Afro-Caribbean sense. Identities are unfixed and in a constant and ongoing process of hybridisation. The migration of post-accession Polish migrants provides a new context through which this process occurs. I found hybridisation in this respect to proceed in three main ways (separation, collaboration and renouncement) to varying extents, with each of these noted to have differing implications for the key thesis themes of hospitality and transrurality. I feel that for Polish migrants, their intentions to stay in England indefinitely and hybridised identities are mutually reinforcing - the forging of hybridised identities as a result of migration, taken in conjunction with the positive attitudes and experiences of both the host population and place leads to not wanting to leave, which in turn permits the furthering of hybridised identities. Their staying also permits the perpetuation of host population hybridised identities via their continued placement in multicultural social networks and via Polish imprinting upon the retail landscape which services host tastes for Polish food and drink.

What do these trends say about rurality? Evidently the reconstitution and redefinition of space and spatial relations within the globalisation processes that have accompanied

Polish migration to rural areas have major implications for social, cultural and economic life (Georgiou 2006). From such processes boundaries of rurality are destabilised, giving rise to new understandings of what are considered acceptable aspects of rural space, and spatial relations therein. In some instances I found the process of boundary destabilisation enacted by Polish migration to be received as problematic, giving rise to their reification and activation of psychogeographies. However, in the main I found processes of boundary destabilisation to be welcomed, with Polish migration incorporated into the new understandings of rurality which emerged. The very emergence of social and physical thirdspaces and positive responses to them marks rurality out, in part at least, as progressive and open. Askins (2009:366) call to understand rurality in terms of transrurality - "a more progressive conceptualisation of rurality, one that *both* encapsulates the specificities of place *and* is open to mobility and desire – in order to displace rural England as only an exclusionary white space and reposition it within multicultural, multiethnic, transnational and mobile social imaginaries" - is given particular credence.

Each research area demonstrated a different version of transrurality at play. Fordstone, with its specificities of place a sense of physical and social isolation unused to migration, is a rural space *theoretically* open to mobility. Few participants had engaged directly with a migrant in their locale and as such based their opinions on theoretical notions. Their openness was noted in their negative responses to migration into the area being predicated not upon a disavowal of migrants per se, but instead the inability of their area to suitably accommodate them. Such ability to think empathetically highlighted the existence of transnational social imaginaries. The specificities of place in Tidbury are much different. Long a community of ethnic difference striated along English/Polish lines, engagements with either Polish migrants or service responses to them were more numerous with participants *actually* open to mobility as a result, not needing to base their attitudes on theoretical situations. Such openness was demonstrated in stories of encounter and engagement predicated upon a desire to learn more about both Polish (and indeed English from the migrant perspective) life and culture, cultivating transnational understandings. Here multicultural and multiethnic imaginaries are being cultivated – and indeed contested – by processes of ongoing encounter.

In large swathes of the rural South West the scale of migration has demarcated it is new, novel, extraordinary. The version of transrurality emerging is *speculative*, one which holds the potential to grow and develop as transrural relations are cultivated with the passing of time. With regards to this notion of cultivation, although rurally it is easy to avoid moments of mixing – the result of spatial and social isolation, especially in those isolated communities such as Fordstone - increasingly accommodating individuals are mobilising to promote and provide the foundations for positive hospitable relations in any such future moments of mixing that occur. This version of transrurality stands in contrast to the versions of transrurality I would expect to be mobilised in those rural areas into which A8 migration was not framed as new or novel, merely an extension of extant waves. I here refer to those traditional rural areas of migrant clustering in the South East (Baure et al 2007), areas highly dependent on migrant labour. Here I would expect transrurality to be more *established* by virtue of these areas being more adjusted to living with white ethnic difference.

8.3.2 Psychogeographies and Boundaries

With a sedentary culture equated with rurality, the inherent assumptions of homogeneity oppose contemporary states of fluxing peoples and cultures, potentially giving rise to psychogeographies, "geographies that reflect deep seated anxieties about change and social mixing" (Sibley 2003:220). The mobile Polish stranger through both the act of migration and their imprinting on the physical landscape serves to disrupt the routine, cognitive ordering of everyday life (Hetherington 2000), challenging any beliefs that rural space is bounded and in possession of exclusive social and cultural qualities. Polish migrants - different in the sense they are Polish, but the same in the sense that they outwardly (initially) suggest a position of "unmarked whiteness" (Hubbard 2005:53) – are cast as uncanny;

> ".... not simply an experience of strangeness or alienation. More specifically, it is a peculiar commingling of the familiar and unfamiliar. … As a crisis of the proper and natural, it disturbs any straightforward sense of what is inside and what is outside. The uncanny has to do with a strangeness of framing and borders, an experience of liminality." (Royle 2003:1)

Whilst for some this movement and destabilisation of framing is welcomed, for others it is contested. In both instances the tactic of splitting "an action undertaken in phantasy (in the unconscious) which can be used to separate things which belong together" (Segal 1992:34) is undertaken. Processes of splitting were diverse in nature and it is beyond my scope to reprise all the intricacies of the strands here. Instead reference to the dominant trends will be made. In chapter 4, splitting was noted to proceed in a largely positive fashion, with Polish migrants split off from the host population due to their perceived possession of valorised qualities (being religious, family focused, friendly, and hard working) deemed lacking by comparison in the host population. Migration was couched a positive trend which in its destabilising of rural boundaries lays the foundations for the cultivation of cosmopolitan citizenship (Beck 2002), especially amongst the younger rural population, where rural citizens can come to imagine alternative ways of living with and alongside difference in the rural sphere. The "peculiar commingling of the familiar and unfamiliar" (Royle 2003:1) comes to be valorised, with rurality cast as open and accepting, mobile and progressive in outlook as a result.

Splitting occurred in a negative fashion to reassert the rural boundaries destabilised by the arrival of the Polish 'uncanny'. Such processes of rurality boundary protection and perpetuation occurred in Tidbury where a process of community cocooning (de Cauter 2000) was sought by participants in response to the realms of Polish transnationalism – the Polish ethnoscapes (both social (discussed in chapter 4) and physical (discussed in chapter 5)) – emergent in their locale. Psychogeographies were here predicated upon a notion of theft, with Polish migrants, lacking "unmarked whiteness" (Hubbard 2005:53), deemed to menace the 'Thing' (Zizek 1993) - rurality as a white British space offering a space to live and work - they as 'others' can't grasp, that is, their normalised rural placement as a white other. The recession has heightened sentiment, particularly with reference to the young English male cohort of Tidbury. Experiencing a crisis of masculinity they deem post-accession Polish migrants, to be threatening "to steal our enjoyment" (Zizek 1993:203), taking employment opportunities and as a corollary, their future in their locale. Whilst the majority of those who split Polish migrants off in a negative fashion, with reference to Nietzsche (1887) suppressed reaction (adiaphoria), some carved out acts of ressentiment in both physical and virtual spheres. In Tidbury I conversed with a protagonist whilst in Fordstone I spoke with the victims. I noted the

irony of acts of ressentiment - graffiti in Tidbury and the placing of dog poo upon the doorstep of Polish migrants in Fordstone. Mary Douglas (1966) argued that dirt is matter out of place, an element whose placement is deemed a contravention of order. In this instance a situationally inappropriate transgressive act is deployed in response to a (perceived) transgressive group. It appeared to me that psychogeographies predicated upon a negative standpoint often had an inherent sense of paradox, engendering actions that did not parry with their sentiment (e.g. the use of dirt in opposition or the visitation of Polish shops 'for a laugh').

In chapter 4 I noted how Polish migrants too undertook processes of splitting, with communities noted to be striated along ethnic lines. Some positively split the host population from the Polish population in terms of them being more helpful and welcoming whilst others split them negatively, deeming them lacking in the positive traits (notably regarding work ethic and standards) held by the migrant population. Processes of splitting were also extended to their Polish contemporaries, with inter and intra-cohort contestation discernible. Post-war Polish migrants positioned post-accession Polish migrants arrogant and found it difficult to understand why they would choose to leave Poland when their migration had been forced. Post-accession migrants disagreed over the extent to which identity hybridisation should occur in the host country, with some criticising those who replicate 'Little Poland's' whilst others criticised those who sought to actively hybridise their identities, deeming it a betrayal of Poland. Indeed, notions of return migration being difficult due to the severing of the sedentarist metaphysics (Malkki 1997) ideology enacted by migration were noted.

Janowski (2004) argues that that possession of ocjczyzna (fatherland) means different things to different cohorts. Indeed, here the Poland which Magda and Adam hold in their minds is very different to that occupying the mind of Piotr and Anna. Although all Polish they are different people, with different histories who, to all intents and purposes, come from different nations. Joly (2002) coined the term odyssean refugees to refer to those refugees whose identities conflict, based on class difference, with people from the same ethnic group. Such conflict was demonstrated here. The post-war émigré symbolism and ideology bound to furthering Polish heritage is somewhat alien to the entrepreneurial post-accession newcomers driven by individualised attitudes, market

orientated values, consumerism and disillusionment. Their transnational lives mean that they are not a 'victim diaspora' (Cohen 1997) harbouring a myth of return, nor do they put their ethnic identity at the forefront. Attempts at horizontal ties are few and far between for post-war migrants fear dissolution of emigration ideology whilst post-accession migrants perceive a lack of similar interests. Evidently the belief of Gill (2010) that to suggest there to be one universal Polish community is a case of misplaced homogenisation is highly pertinent.

A sense of flex underpins any boundary. The processes of production and reproduction mean that boundaries must be treated dialectically (Pratt 1999). They hold the potential to be formed, dissolved and reformed in specific circumstances. What is once conceived of as bad can become good and vice versa through reference to a flashpoint event (Cooper 1998) or perhaps, with a considerable nod to chapter 1, media reporting of news regarding Polish migrants. Framings and understandings of rurality are bound to perpetual change. I experienced this very notion in relation to my understandings of my home locale which changed irreversibly when I learnt of the harrowing experiences of racism endured by my Polish participants. In Tidbury I noted a strand of specificity in framing bound to a crisis of masculinity. The contingency of the crisis of masculinity in Tidbury is very much predicated upon the economic status of the country. One could predict that should the country leave a state of recession and employment opportunities increase the crisis of masculinity could begin to dissipate as individuals regain employment. The migrant worker moral panic to which I have regularly referred has a temporality that is demarcated by the erection and dismantling of barriers as 'folk devils' lose their potency as a source of revulsion (Sibley 2001). The Polish preoccupation may in time give way to a new 'concern', just as their coming into public consciousness superseded, whilst not replacing, a preoccupation with traveller communities. It is believed that the next level of 'superseding' will be dedicated to Turkish migrants projected to arrive in Britain following Turkish Accession to the EU, should it ever occur. In this instance fear will be predicated upon a fear of cultural clashes bound upon its Islamic heritage (Cantle 2008), a west versus east positioning if you will. Such a projection, and indeed the development of the migrant worker moral panic over time, emphasises the need to take seriously the propositions of psychoanalysis in relation to the somewhat vaguely defined 'Western self'. Here the most important notion is that of splitting, and the ways in which good/bad pure/defiled

oppositions are formed in boundaries of the self. As Sibley (2001:247) suggests "if the self is a product of culture, then it is evident that there are many signifiers of purity and defilement in material culture in the West to be introjected". It is these signifiers that become so important in the formation of boundaries, imposed to cope with the anxiety such difference the signifiers inspire.

Zizek (1991:168) argued that "fantasies cannot coexist peacefully". It would appear here that this notion is in part true. The many fantasies of rural life – from an English post-accession Polish migrant and post-war Polish migrant perspective – jar and oppose giving rise to distinct understandings and framings of rurality, emphasising their very positioning as 'fantasy'. Will post-accession migrants ever cease to be 'other' and simply become 'another'? There exists a definite difference in the perception of Polish migrant cohorts by English and Polish residents alike. I noted post-war Polish migrants to have acquired a time-deepened sense of authenticity in their locales, a sense of authenticity that post-accession Polish migrants are yet to have bestowed upon them. Can future progressions to normality be expected? The inherent sense of flex associated with boundaries means that at the very least a possibility exists.

My findings regarding psychogeographies were not what I expected. In early skeleton plans for this thesis I posited a simple structure - a chapter from the Polish perspective, a chapter from the English perspective, and a chapter about attempts to bring the two communities together all of which were to be predicated predominantly upon the activation of psychogeographies inspired by mediated imageries of the migrant worker moral panic. Hanson (1992) argues that all knowledge is situated, constructed from particular personal positions and perspectives. Indeed, my understandings of the issues to be researched had led to me being somewhat guilty of peddling foreclosed debates and pre-determined research outcomes in my expectation of an 'us and them' situation to be unfolding rurally. Instead I found rural spaces to be spaces of cultural amalgamation, a situation of 'getting along', but of course not without (isolated) incidences of problem and activation of psychogeographies. The thesis structure was shifted accordingly, from the initial inward looking projection predicated upon expectation to an outward looking projection based upon an experiential reality of a diverse rural experience.

8.3.3 Cultivating Hospitality

Hospitality is a concept that underpins this thesis. Alongside theorisations of community relations predicated upon notions of hospitality (or indeed lack of) in chapter 4, in chapter 5 statutory, voluntary and entrepreneurial service responses to Polish migration, acts of the *offering* of hospitality to Polish migrants if you will, were considered whilst in chapter 6 acts striving to *cultivate* hospitality towards Polish migrants in the host population were considered. With the *offering* reviewed somewhat in the thirdspace section, here I focus on the latter trend – the cultivation of hospitality. With hospitality a way of placing the unknown and thus of being with others (Tregoning 2003), its cultivation has thus been a long-term government aim. In such acts a state of cosmopolitan citizenship (Beck 2002) is sought, one in which alternative ways of living (Thorp 2009) with an increasingly ethnically diverse population, in this instance framed in relation to A8 (specifically Polish) migration, can be forged.

The forging of hospitality is somewhat dependent upon the notion of encounter, the coming together of migrants and host population residents either actually (a physical meeting in the contact zone) or theoretically (through vectors which provide the grounding for future encounter i.e. migrant worker myth buster leaflets). Laurier and Philo (2006) referred to the encounter as moments of low level sociality in which interpersonal relationships between two or more people are forged that can range from fleeting to enduring. Indeed, my research has borne out this notion of continuum finding evidence of the fleeting (host population participants saying hello to their Polish neighbours, and vice versa), the enduring (a participant, Malgorzata, establishing Polish support groups as a result of their other encounters) and much in between. Evidently in moments of encounter, in the spaces of interdependence, the potential exists for intercultural understandings to develop. They represent sites of potential cultural exchange, destabilisation and transformation (Sandercock 2003). The use of the word potential is vital for as has been seen, the provision of a space of encounter does not always actualise a state of hospitality in the individual. Indeed, the very opposite – inhospitality – can in some states be cultivated.

Referring to organizational spaces of care for homeless people, Cloke et al (2010:229) argued such spaces to be "performatively brought into being, not simply in terms of performing to impress, or performing routines, but also in acting out care unreflexively and through improvisation during eruptions of non-routine events and practices". This

distinction between 'routines' and 'eruptions' was evident in relation to the extensions of hospitality noted by me, forming the two main strands in which hospitality was cultivated. The first, 'routines' here refers to created acts of hospitality predicated upon orchestrated moments of encounter in which it was hoped that the potential for "flashpoint events" (Cooper 1998:4) to emerge as a result of the mixing of Polish migrants across aforementioned rural boundaries would be allayed. Such extensions proceeded either through the creation of actual spaces of encounter – such as the space of encounter formed by ISCOA   in its community events or the participatory art project created by Bridging Arts – or via the provision of acts to positively underpin future encounter – such as the migrant worker myth buster leaflet. The hope in both approaches was to break down the potential for community cocooning (de Cauter 2000) predicated on sedentarist metaphysics (Malkki 1997). These approaches sought to forge a sense of rural openness through which hospitable relations could emerge and rurality could be cast as progressive, a process noted to be deeply problematic.

The second, 'eruptions' here refers to the banal moments of encounter, unplanned and unexpected, through which hospitable relations can emerge. Examples here include meeting Polish neighbours for a first time, or coming across a Polish service space for the first time. Such acts destabilised participant place ballets, "an interaction of time-space routines and body routines rooted in space, which becomes an important place of interpersonal and communal exchanges, actions, and meanings" (Seamon 2006). Great potential existed, especially for those whose encounters became repetitive and time-deepened (i.e. those who lived in close proximity to Polish migrants), for new versions of rural normalcy to emerge out of such transnational spaces and their place ballets adapted accordingly. Here the notion of *potential* is stressed for possibility exists for banal moments of encounter to be unsettling, destabilising framings of rurality and leading, as has been seen, to the cultivation of negative attitudinal tropes and in some extreme cases, acts of ressentiment bound to a desire to deaden pain by means of affect through the production of a more violent emotion, directed outward (Nietzsche 1887).

I have sought in this section to stress how the emergence of hospitable relations is framed by potential. It is not a given. This contrasts to the work of Levinas cited earlier in section 2.2.2 of chapter 2 who suggested that the relational existence of the other

meant that all are exposed to responsibility "from the start, like a hostage" (Levinas 1989:243) with the ethical relationship characterised by a "surplus of my duties over my rights" (Levinas 1981:159). Ethics was posited as first philosophy with a sense of responsibility to the other ontological (Barnett 2005). Such an ethics of otherness posits us all to have an innate responsibility to the other and thus potential to action hospitable relations. Yet has been noted this innate sense of responsibility is not always actualised. Many simply fail to act upon this 'innate' sense of responsibility, failing to offer hospitality to others or indeed extending its opposite, inhospitality. In such instances a structure of openness is absent.

With the city long the focus of work on hospitality (e.g. Young 1990, Massey 2005); it is my belief that my application of hospitality ideas to a rural context has nuanced hospitality debates. Kahn (1987:12) argues that "cities are to be judged by their welcome". It is my belief that rural areas too need to be judged by their welcome with the spotlight refocused accordingly. Dikeç (2002:239) deems hosts and guests "mutually constitutive of each other, and thus, relational and shifting", with relationships fraught with ambiguity and uncertainty, a suggestion striking similarity with which my findings. With the relationships between Polish migrants and host population residents in a perpetual state of flux research needs to trace the system of tensions – between hospitality and hostility, proximity and distance, inclusion and exclusion – in which extensions or withholdings of hospitality can be situated (Friese 2004). Like participant psychogeographies, hospitality is very much a flexing notion, unstable and subject to withdrawal or extension at any time. With Bell (2007:9) arguing that "a welcome given freely can be abused, taken for granted, outstayed" the tacit limitations placed on the guest (Polish migrants) by the hosts (English or migrant residents) need ongoing processes of charting to explore the impact, if any, the passing of time and moves toward migrant settling have on these relationships.

8.4 Future Research

Earlier I noted how there existed a lacuna regarding Polish migrants experiences of rural life. I very much consider this thesis a contribution to the addressing of this lacuna, one which is very much broad, introductory and speculative. I see this thesis as a grand

project in which the multiple interpretations and receptions of Polish migrants in rural England are viewed as a broad whole rather than in relation to a singular area of focus. In the preface I likened the resulting thesis to a meze, with each substantive chapter a dish working in both a standalone and collaborative sense. I argued that such a broad approach was necessary to suitably convey the rural realities I sought to uncover, whilst also offering great potential to open up further avenues of study. These deepened excavations were prohibited by the time demands enforced by my broad remit. To detail all potential avenues of study would be both unhelpful and unnecessary. Here instead I list one example, those which interest me the greatest, from each chapter.

In chapter 4 the theme of male disenfranchisement enacted by Polish migration, observed both in and outside of the youth male cohort of my Tidbury host population participants could be elaborated upon. I could return to Tidbury and seek solely a youthful male sample to investigate the state of disenfranchisement implied by my participants. Such an investigation has great pertinence, providing a new angle to extant studies of young male identity and young male experiences of rurality. The discussions of Polish service provision detailed in chapter 5 have great potential for deepened involvement and reflection. This chapter very much came from the perspective of service providers and as such further study could nuance findings by considering in greater depth the host population and Polish response to each space, looking to ascertain to what extent the hospitality I noted to be offered in these spaces is welcomed and acted upon by the host population. In chapter 6 my study of migrant worker myth buster leaflets could be extended. It is no exaggeration to suggest that an entire thesis could have been dedicated to this subject matter. In the first instance the study could be replicated with a larger sample of engaged participants. In the second instance, research could be undertaken in areas in which leaflets have been heavily distributed, considering whether or not my critical reading of them detailed within this thesis holds true. In the third instance I could also work with Polish migrants to examine their reaction to such documents, seeking their opinion on whether or not they feel the aim of the document is valid and indeed, achievable.

Such speculative avenues of research could build on the research presented here, providing invaluable insights into the reception of Polish migrants in rural areas and the

processes of boundary formation which frame rural spaces and influence community relations (notably the offering or withholding of hospitality) therein. Indeed, they would serve to build on the key achievement of this thesis, heeding Askins (2009) promotion of transrurality via the uncovering, mapping and describing of exclusions which served to displace rural England as only an exclusionary white space, repositioning it as a site within multicultural, multiethnic, transnational and mobile social imaginaries.

8.5 Conclusion

This study answers the call made by Panelli et al (2009:361) for "studies that interrogate the production and negotiation of a sense of ethnic difference within the countryside". It builds on extant studies of black and ethnic minority experiences of rurality, moving away from a focus upon black residents as the "single dominant Other" (Kalra et al 2005:184) to provide a study of "ethnic whiteness" (Neal and Agyeman 2006:9) – *Polish* ethnic whiteness - rich in reflection on notions of community relations and hospitality. In the main I found migration inspired by a cosmopolitan curiosity (Appiah 2007), with migrants "searchers" seeking a new way of life, meeting new people and improving English language skills (Eade et al 2007:34). Many of these "searchers" have found that which they were seeking (or indeed, not seeking, with for some new rural realities emerging in surprise) to such an extent that they choose to remain here indefinitely. Migrants had a somewhat problematised relationship with both their homeland and its people. With regards to the former Poland and its constraints was deemed to stand in opposition to England and its freedoms, whilst with regards to the latter the act of leaving their home country – of breaking free of its sedentarist metaphysics (Malkki 1997) - was noted to have been viewed with disdain by some remaining in Poland, and indeed those post-war migrants residing in Tidbury.

Rich and diverse understandings of rural communities were gleaned from my research. I found evidence of rural community decline noted by pre-extant studies (Bell 1994) particularly in the more isolated locale, Fordstone where distinct, isolationist communities predicated upon housing estate area had been noted to have developed within the village. It was at this scale of rurality that I noted a sense of 'resident gaze' to be most operational. Here the "rural goldfish bowl" (Leyshon 2002:183) was

operational in a sense nuanced from its original conception, predicated not upon notions of social connectedness (Malone 2011) and area protection, but instead personal intrigue. Indeed, in the main Polish migrants were positioned as what Piotr termed "*alien*" because they were new, not because they were Polish. I say 'in the main' as the incidences of racism detailed evidently indicate that such positive positioning does not proceed in isolation. In Tidbury I came to understand the heterogeneity of community relations, particularly migrant community relations. The differences underscoring the context of the post-war and post-accession migratory waves noted by Burrell (2008) were illuminated by the somewhat frosty relations between, and indeed in some cases within, the cohorts predicated upon notions of identity (the extent to which identities should become hybridised) and hospitality (the extent to which its extension should be expected).

Indeed, I found hospitality to have an inherent complexity that extended beyond Polish communities. Across both research areas and indeed beyond, the process of hospitality extension was politicised by host population residents. In this time of austerity a rumbling undercurrent of concern, even from those supportive of migration, that funding should be directed first towards host populations was noted across my research areas. Of course, funding as a result of said austere times is in an ever growing state of flex, with many services, both voluntary and statutory, occupying an unstable ongoing position characterised by the squeezing of both funding and staffing. In spaces of service response I noted many workers to be 'unofficial support workers' working above and beyond their 'official' remits. As funding constraints grow and staffing levels fall a heightened onus can be expected to fall upon these already overstretched workers. The politics of the extension hospitality also refer to its reception, particularly in relation to those schemes devised to promote hospitable relations in disaffected host population individuals. There exists the potential for aesthetic interfaces – such as the migrant worker myth buster leaflet - developed with host population attitudinal change in mind to be misconstrued as propaganda, leading to the opposite effect, attitudinal entrenchment. There appears to be a very fine line for providers to tread.

Within rural communities potential exists for identity hybridisation to occur, to varying extents, predicated upon levels of fluidity and openness and personal intent. Such

processes too could occur at the host population level with the collision of migrant and host population resident lives in moments of encounter in rural contact zones holding the potential to garner life-changing affect. The trend toward long-term migrant settling I believe will provide the context for the ongoing perpetuation and cultivation of such thirdspaces of identity. What remains unclear is as to whether trends towards settling will lead to time-deepened shifts in the perception of Polish migrants. Through time-deepened association post-war Polish migrants have come to occupy a normalised position in the Tidbury community, will post-accession migrants achieve the same standing? I would argue that potential at the very least exists. Although problematic community relations have been identified – those favouring 'cocooning' (de Cauter 2000) over collaboration - predicated upon preconceived ideas of what is right and wrong in rural areas, I would argue that in the main the rural communities detailed have a progressive transrural edge underpinned by growing notions of acceptance and understanding, both of the process of Polish migration and migrant needs. This latter notion is mobilised most notably in the acts of accommodating individuals to create service nodes deemed absent in their locale. It is this progressive edge that needs to be cultivated if post-accession migrants are to enact broad shifts from being 'other' to simply 'another' and moving to a position of "unmarked whiteness" (Hubbard 2005:53). Of course the potential for such cultivation is dependent upon the openness of the individual to fashion such a positional shift and as noted at repeated points throughout the thesis, for some negative attitudinal entrenchment is seemingly non-negotiable.

Community relations, striated along lines of migrant understandings of host population residents, host population resident understandings of migrants, and migrant understandings of migrant (both inter and intra-cohort), were suffuse with complex intricacies, emphasising whiteness to be "highly differentiated and highly contested" (Hubbard 2005:52-53). Battles for the positioning of hegemonic whiteness have been noted in the host population rural sense (contestation over what are termed acceptable examples of 'rural' whiteness) and the migrant sense (contestation over what is termed an acceptable example Polish identity in exile). Such nuanced understandings of hegemonic whiteness reemphasise the importance of my belief that Fines (1997) concern that white studies have exhausted all ground need to be assailed. The rural population, with its population ever changing in line with local, national, international

and indeed global trends of migration, provides an unending source of rich investigation. Evidently white studies are of paramount importance to understanding rural lives – both migrant and host population resident - and as such the ongoing development of this branch of social science is vital. The story presented herein of Anna, Piotr and their fellow Polish contemporaries represent a 'neglected rural geography' (Philo 1992:200), maybe not that envisaged by Philo explicitly in 1992 but pertinent nonetheless now. Rural geography has not yet broached the many avenues of difference that continue to emerge rurally as society keeps striating and developing, particularly the Polish line of inquiry. I drew my preface to a close with the following statement, "the uncovering, mapping and describing of exclusions and engagements with rural spaces by Polish migrants has only just begun". Additional research is required to further uncover and understand the breadth of issues this study has identified and it my hope that in the years to come studies of this nature will proliferate.

Appendix – List of formal interviewees

1. English participants from Fordstone

Name	Biography	Date of interview
Julie	40 year old life resident of Fordstone. She has 2 children who go to Fordstone Primary school and works as an administrator in Ashvale.	1/2/2011
Jess	25 year old life resident studying for a Masters degree in History at Plymouth University.	2/2/2011
Caroline	48 year old who has been resident in Fordstone for 20 years. Caroline lives with her husband and three teenage children and works part-time in the local shop.	2/2/2011
Pete	28 year old life resident who works as an engineer in Exeter.	8/2/2011
Frankie	19 year old life resident on a gap year.	9/2/2011
Rob	50 year old who moved to Fordstone when he was 40. He lives with his wife and is a builder.	15/3/2011
Marge	65 year old resident in Fordstone for 25 years. Marge is recently retired, having been a Nurse for the majority of her working life.	16/3/2011
Kathryn	48 year old who moved to Fordstone when she was 16. Kathryn works as a teaching assistant in Ashvale.	17/3/2011
Ray	60 year old recently retired life resident of Fordstone who lives with his wife. His grown up children and grandchildren live close by.	18/3/2011
Arthur	78 year old life resident Arthur is a champion of the village, passionate about its past. He lives with his wife and spends much of his time researching the history of the area.	21/3/2011
Mo	74 year old life resident is widowed and lives alone	24/3/2011

	in her bungalow. She is an active member of the WI.	
Dominic	45 year old life resident. He lives with his wife and works as a solicitor in Exeter.	2/4/2011
Mark	29 year old life resident who lives at home with his parents and is training to be a teacher in Exeter.	3/4/2011
Lewis	35 year old life resident lives with his wife and three young children. He is currently employed as a farm worker.	4/4/2011
Abby	27 year old resident in Fordstone for 3 years. Abby is a stay at home Mother to her 2 young children.	4/4/2011

2. English participants from Tidbury

Name	Biography	Date of interview
Mike	60 year old Mike has lived in Tidbury all his life and owns a successful printing company.	4/2/2010
Nicole	29 year old who has lived in Tidbury all her life. A newlywed, Nicole was a few months away from going travelling for 6 months when I met her.	4/2/2010
Iris	45 year old resident who moved to Tidbury 5 years ago. She works to Tidbury Town Council and lives with her husband and young daughter.	5/2/2010
Lucy	22 year old Lucy has lived in Tidbury all her life and, having recently completed her degree studies, is currently on a gap year.	5/2/2010
Tom	18 year old unemployed life resident of Tidbury. Seeking employment but struggling to find jobs which match his desire.	9/2/2010
Sarah	39 year old Sarah is a life resident of Tidbury and works as a receptionist at a dental practice in the town.	15/2/2010
Geoff	54 year old life resident of Tidbury who works as a	15/2/2010

	taxi driver. Lives on the outskirts of Tidbury with his partner.	
Megan	Megan is a 30 year old life resident of Tidbury who lives with her boyfriend. She works as an artist.	20/3/2010
Michael	52 year old Michael is a life resident of Tidbury who lives with his wife. He works as a dentist.	21/3/2010
Sam	37 year old Sam has been resident in Tidbury for 5 years. She moved to the area due to her husband's job and is currently a stay at home mother.	22/3/2010
Ewan	18 year old life resident of Tidbury who was still in full-time education.	13/4/2010
Linda	75 year old who moved to the area in 2009. She is retired and works in a voluntary capacity for the Samaritans.	12/9/2010
Roger	75 year old who moved to the area in 2009 and lives with his wife Linda (above). He is retired and enjoys tending to his allotment.	12/9/2010
Sally	60 year old Sally has been resident in Tidbury all her life. She works as a secondary school art teacher.	10/9/2010
Phil	59 year old life resident Phil lives with his wife Sally (above) and works as a secondary history teacher. In his free time he is an avid local historian, focusing particularly on the Polish heritage of the area.	10/9/2010

3. Post-accession Polish participants from Fordstone

Name	Biography	Date of interview/s
Piotr	35 year old Piotr migrated to England in 2004 (reaching Fordstone in 2007, having spent time in Cullompton, London, and Oketon) from Toruń. In Poland he was a sales manager but found life too restrictive. Since migration he has undertaken many	6/6/2011 5/9/2011

Name	Biography	Date of interview
	jobs – including a bus driver, a petrol station attendant, a waiter, a factory worker – to support his family and his love of reggae music. He plans to stay in England indefinitely.	
Anna	35 year old Anna is Piotrs husband and she followed him to England 4 months later. In Poland she had worked in the advertising department of a radio station. Here she is a full time mother. With her children now both at school she hopes to find a job or go to University.	6/6/2011 5/9/2011

4. Post-accession Polish participants from Tidbury

Name	Biography	Date of interview
Adrianna	27 year old who migrated to England (Tidbury) from Warsaw in 2004. In Poland she was a receptionist, here she is a factory worker. She lives in a house with 4 other Polish migrants.	1/6/2010
Artur	28 year old who migrated to England (Tidbury) from Krakow in 2004. In Poland he had his own photography business, in England he works as a factory worker. He lives in a flat with his Polish girlfriend.	1/6/2010
Zyta	25 year old who migrated to England (first Bath for 2 months, then Tidbury) from Gdańsk in 2007. She is a waitress, as she was in Poland. She lives in a house with 2 other Polish migrants.	2/6/2010
Erek	26 year old who migrated to England (Tidbury) from Katowice in 2007. He works here as a petrol station attendant, having been a shop manager in Poland. He lives alone in a flat.	2/6/2010
Asia	25 year old who migrated to England (Tidbury) from Jarocin in 2007. She lives with her English boyfriend and works in a call centre. In Poland she	3/6/2010

	had been working for her local council.	
Maggie	33 year old who migrated to England (Bath for 1 year, then Tidbury) from Lipno in 2007. She lives with her husband who migrated with her. In Poland she was a chemistry teacher, here she is a care worker.	3/6/2010
Ewa	25 year old who migrated to England (Tidbury) from Opole in 2005. In Poland she was an administrator, here she worked in a supermarket. She returned to Poland in December 2010 due to the ill health of her father.	6/6/2010
Aggie	30 year old who migrated to England (Slough, then Tidbury 2 years later) from Warsaw in 2005. In Poland she was a personal assistant, here she is a care worker. She shares a house with 3 other Polish migrants.	6/6/2010
Jola	24 year old who migrated to England (Tidbury) from Prudnik in 2005. She migrated to learn English and works as a nursery assistant, the same job she had in Poland. She shares a house with 3 Polish friends.	2/7/2010
Martyna	26 year old who migrated to England (Tidbury) for 3 months, from Krakow, in 2004. She came to earn money for University but ended up staying indefinitely. She is working as a factory supervisor, having worked her way up from factory worker level. She lives alone in a flat.	3/7/2010
Aliana	24 year old Aliana migrated to England (Tidbury) from Hel in 2004, when she was 18. She had just finished her education in Poland and was unemployed. She currently works as a waitress and lives with her English fiancé.	4/7/2010
Romana	25 year old Romana migrated to England (Tidbury) from Elblag in 2005. She had completed her	6/7/2010

Name	Biography	Date of interview
	education shortly prior to migration and came to England to earn money. Here, working in a supermarket, she met her English fiancé and plans now to stay indefinitely.	
Marta	19 year old Marta migrated to England (Tidbury) just 6 months prior to my speaking to her. She works as a care worker and loves her job. As a result she is unsure of when she will return home to Bardo. She is currently living in shared accommodation but hopes to buy her own flat one day.	14/7/2010
Robert	21 year old Robert migrated to England (Tidbury) in 2009 from Warsaw. He migrated to learn English and earn money, hoping to return home to Poland to continue his education. He lives in a house with 5 other Polish men.	19/7/2010
Phillip	28 year old Phillip migrated to England (Tidbury) from Wroclaw in 2004. He studied sports science at University but has not sought a job aligned to his qualifications. He currently works in a factory. Having made friends at work, 3 of whom he lives with, he is planning to remain in England indefinitely.	23/7/2010

5. Post-war Polish residents, Tidbury

Name	Biography	Date of interview
Magda	Magda was born in Poland in 1940 and moved to Tidbury with her parents in 1947. She married a fellow Polish resident and they had three children. She worked as a receptionist and was, and indeed still is, an active member of the Polish community.	2/10/2010
Adam	Adam was born in Poland in 1935 and moved to Tidbury with his parents in 1947. He is Magda's husband. He spent his working days as a builder.	2/10/2010

Jarek	Jarek is a 35 year old second generation post-war Polish resident, born in England to parents who were born in Poland but migrated to Tidbury in 1960. Although born in England he considers himself Polish. He works as an architect.	4/11/2010
Olga	Olga was born in Poland in 1948 and moved to Tidbury with her parents when she was 9 (1959). She has lived in Tidbury ever since. Her husband is Polish and she has a grown up daughter.	3/12/2010
Andrei	Andrei was born in Poland in 1936, migrating to Tidbury with his parents in 1949. He worked as a mechanic for the duration of his working life. He lives alone having been widowed in 2002.	11/12/2010

6. Community stakeholders/migrant service providers

Name	Research area	Organisation/ role	Date of interview/s
Ruth	Fordstone area	Anglo-Polish Organisation, Oketon, key figure	2/10/2008
Malgorzata	Fordstone area	International Social and Cultural Organisation of Ashvale , key figure	25/8/2011 5/9/2011
Natalia	Fordstone area	International Social and Cultural Organisation of Ashvale , key figure	25/8/2011
Aggie	Fordstone area	Migrant worker support worker, Devon	6/9/2011
Stan	Fordstone area	Police Community Support Officer, Mid Devon	12/9/2011
Elisabeth	Fordstone area	Ethnic Minority Achievement Service Devon , Polish cohort leader	1/12/2011
Sarah	Tidbury	Ethnic Minority Achievement	13/4/2010

Name		Description	Date of interview/s
		Service, Wiltshire leader	
Olga	Tidbury	GMB Southern Union representative	12/4/2010
Andrei	Tidbury	Polish Priest	12/4/2010
Jerzy	Tidbury	Shopkeeper, the Polish shop	12/4/2010
Sandra	Cornwall	Reverend	5/1/2010
Tony	Cornwall	Priest	5/1/2010
Audrey	Cornwall	Migrant evening coordinator	5/1/2010

7. Bridging Arts case study

Name	Description	Date of interview/s
Stacey	Bridging Arts representative	23/3/2010 20/9/2011
Ewa	Polish facilitator	23/3/2010
Julie	Teacher	23/3/2010
Maisie	Pupil	23/3/2010

8. Migrant worker myth buster leaflet case study

⇨ **Interviews** with 15 host population residents (referenced anonymously in the thesis) of the rural Mid-Devon area (7 from Fordstone and, 8 from Ashvale) undertaken in February 2010.

⇨ **E-mail interviews** conducted with representatives from the following councils initially from October to December 2008, reviewed July-August 2011;

1. Derbyshire County Council
2. Lincolnshire County Council
3. Boston Borough Council
4. North Lincolnshire Council
5. Northamptonshire County Council
6. Corby County Council
7. Nottinghamshire County Council
8. Bedfordshire County Council
9. Hertfordshire County Council
10. Suffolk County Council

11. Devon County Council

12. Northumberland County Council

13. Cheshire County Council

14. Herefordshire County Council

15. Shropshire County Council

16. Wokingham District Council

17. Kent County Council

18. Crewe and Nantwich Borough Council

19. Wiltshire Council

20. West Sussex District Council

21. Coventry City Council

22. Eden District Council

23. Flintshire County Council

24. Pendle Borough Council

25. Pert and Kinross Council

26. Wrexham County Council

27. Cornwall County Council

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