Tracing the journey of cross-cultural adaptation of Polish migrant women in Ireland

– a process of creating home when home is away

Katharina Storch, B.A., M.A.

Presented for the qualification of Doctor of Philosophy

Dublin City University

Supervisor: Dr. Vera Sheridan

School of Applied Languages and Intercultural Studies

July 2008

Volume I of 2 volumes

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy is entirely my own work, that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed: _____ (Candidate) ID No.: _____ Date: _____

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume I

Acknowledgements

Abstract

This study traces the journey of cross-cultural adaptation of Polish migrant women in Ireland, which turns out to be a process of creating home when home is away, and which results in individual identity transformations, both positive and negative. It is based on 30 in-depth interviews, which were collected in the larger Dublin area, and presents a range of experiences of this group of female Polish migrants to Ireland. To explore this new form of East-West migration, this interdisciplinary study draws on several theories from the field of intercultural studies and includes others from the social sciences to interpret findings. To allow for the exploration of various theories in different fields and the emergence of new or deeper interpretations of intercultural experiences, this study adopted a Grounded Theory approach to collecting and analysing data, detached from preconceived hypotheses. The synergy of data and theoretical concepts to interpret data finally led to the development of an individual model of cross-cultural adaptation that is specific for the women in this study.

Equipped with different levels of preparation, pre-knowledge and pre- experience as well as motivated by various push and pull factors and the overall lure of a full life in the host country, a number of factors affect this process of cross-cultural adaptation. These include perceived similarities and differences between home and host culture, the availability of and access to new and existing social networks, language issues and different acculturation strategies by both migrant women and members of the host culture. Together, these factors have an effect on the process of cross-cultural adaptation, which includes compromising cultural practices and values, and consequently results in a transformation of Polish migrant women's original identity and the development of a larger intercultural identity involving a feeling of betweenness of living between two cultures.

List of figures

List of tables

List of abbreviations

AIB: Allied Irish Banks

CAQDAS: Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software

CAT: Communication Accommodation Theory

DMIS: Development Model of Intercultural Sensitivity

FÁS: Foras Áiseanna Saothair (Irish National Training and Employment Agency)

GDR: German Democratic Republic

IAM: Interactive Acculturation Model

IDI: Intercultural Development Inventory

INO: Irish Nurses Organisation

IPS: Irish Polish Society

IRB: Institutional Review Board

NCCRI: National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism

POSK: Polish Social and Cultural Association

PPS: Personal Public Service (number)

RAEM: Relative Acculturation Extended Model

REC: Research Ethics Committee

VEC: Vocational Education Association

Introduction

This study explores the process of cross-cultural adaptation as experienced by Polish migrant women in Ireland, which turns out to be a process of creating home in the host culture, when home is, in fact, away. Being pushed and pulled by various factors, with different levels of preparation, pre-knowledge and pre-experience, the women in this study are lured towards Ireland by the promise of a full life, and so commence their journey of cross-cultural adaptation. At first glance, perceived similarities between Polish and Irish culture create the view that these women are expected to get on well in Ireland. However, when probing underneath the surface, cultural differences appear that challenge the women's process of cross-cultural adaptation. This, in turn, requires them to compromise cultural practices and values, which subsequently results in a transformation of their original cultural identity. Consequently, the process of cross-cultural adaptation of Polish migrant women in Ireland, which is never complete, results in the development of a larger intercultural identity that includes a feeling of betweenness of living between two cultures as well as a number of individual identity outcomes.

0.1 Background to the study

EU accession on May 1st 2004, which opened the borders for migrants from the new accession states, has provided Polish migrant women with new opportunities to fulfil their aims in life, including professional and personal aims. Other Polish

migrant women who migrated to Ireland, for instance in the 1980s, may have had similar aims as these women do today; however, they did not enjoy the same opportunities. Today, as demonstrated in this study, these often young and independent women migrate for different reasons and experience the process of cross-cultural adaptation differently. This East-West migration from Poland to Ireland, which began after EU accession on May 1st 2004, has since brought large numbers of Polish migrants to Ireland, who currently form the largest group of immigrants in Ireland.

This study set out to capture this moment in time and explore the experiences of Polish migrant women; for comparative purposes both after and before EU accession. It is based on thirty in-depth semi-structured interviews with Polish migrant women in the larger Dublin area. The interviews explore their individual experience of migration and describe their individual process of cross-cultural adaptation.

The focus in this study is on Polish women as the experiences between men and women differ immensely, and thus to provide a deeper understanding of the experiences of Polish migrant women. Migrant women have only been brought to the forefront of academic literature since the 1980s, when a number of migrant women themselves began to write about these women's experiences in particular, moving away from the perception of women being dependents of their husbands.

From a theoretical perspective, this study approaches the issues emerging from data with theories from the field of intercultural studies, which is recent in the area of social sciences. It also follows a Grounded Theory approach to the analysis, which allows for the emergence of new and deeper theoretical interpretations of migration experiences by exploring data detached from preconceived theories, within the researcher's intercultural mindset.

0.2 Chapter outline

Chapter 1 explores the so-called feminisation of migration that has brought migrant women to the forefront of academic literature and discusses specific aspects of female migration in general. It also provides an overview of Polish migration worldwide and Polish migration to Ireland, including statistical evidence for this movement. In addition, this chapter outlines theoretical approaches to the study of female migration from the field of social sciences.

Chapter 2 approaches the phenomenon of migration from the field of intercultural studies. It explores the concept of culture and theoretical approaches to the study of cultural differences as well as discusses the two main models applied in this study: the process of cross-cultural adaptation, which explores the individual experiences of Polish migrant women; and acculturation strategies, which, in addition, include the group perspective of the experiences of migration.

Chapter 3 introduces the methodology applied in this study. It discusses the qualitative research design, data collection and analysis, which were carried out with a Grounded Theory approach, as well as ethical issues and the difficulties and limitations in this study.

Chapter 4 is the first chapter of data analysis, which illustrates the beginning of the journey of cross-cultural adaptation of Polish migrant women in Ireland. It explores the pre-arrival phase, including *push* and *pull* factors, levels of preparation, pre-knowledge and pre-experiences, as well as the lure of a full life in Ireland.

Chapter 5 explores the Polish cultural background, which at first glance appears similar to Irish culture, though upon closer examination reveals significant cultural differences between both cultures.

Chapter 6 then captures the encounter with Irish culture, which reveals both existing and new social networks in the host country that the women in this study can avail of and access in different ways.

Chapter 7 continues on the journey of cross-cultural adaptation and examines the women's different forms of compromising cultural practices and values. Their individual migration journey is affected by different factors that result from the differences between both cultures, different access to social networks and their

own as well their hosts' acculturation strategies, which requires such compromising of home and host cultural practices.

Chapter 8 captures the betweenness of living between two cultures that result from such compromising. It is the first significant part of the women's intercultural identity, which they consequently develop in the process of cross-cultural adaptation.

Chapter 9 finally adds individual identity outcomes that form the second part of Polish migrant women's intercultural identity.

Chapter 10 presents the conclusions to this study by introducing a model describing the individual nature of and its influences on the journey of cross-cultural adaptation of Polish migrant women in Ireland. Furthermore, this chapter outlines the main findings, similar findings across Europe and in Ireland as well as discusses the limitations and recommendations of this study.

Chapter 1: Feminisation of migration, Polish migration and migration theory

> "Women […] represent a ready made labour supply which is, at once, the most vulnerable, the most flexible and, at least, in the beginning, the least demanding work force."
> (Morokvasic 1984: 886)

> "Women always work. They are not in and out of economic activity, but at various stages of their life cycle they are either paid for their work or not and their work is either recognized as economic activity or not."
> (Morokvasic 1984: 888)

Chapter outline

Women always work and contribute to creating a life at home or in the host country. Yet, their status as migrants is largely ignored, as in the past and until today, migration studies place women in the category of family. The experiences of women in migration, however, differ to the experiences of men, so that consequently they have different needs in the host country. Their individual needs are formed by their cultural background and their role in the host country. This chapter will thus outline the female aspects of migration that characterise migration movements today and the challenges that emerge from women's gender specific backgrounds. This includes a presentation of statistical data on female Polish migration that is embedded in a historical review of Polish migration. Furthermore, this chapter will outline some theoretical approaches to the study of migration, in particular female migration, that aim to explain such individual migration experiences.

1.1 <u>Introduction</u>

Migration is one of the major forces of today's social, economic and cultural life, which has brought scholars to label this period the '*age of migration*' (Castles and Miller 1998; 2003). The age of migration resulted in great changes and new challenges to people across the world, including those who migrate and those who are native to immigration nations; these include almost all nations for migration is a matter that concerns everyone in today's global world that is characterised by various migration flows. Castles and Miller (1998; 2003) have highlighted the changing nature of migration in the end of the twentieth century, one key aspect of which is a *feminisation of migration*, which is evident in increasing numbers of women travelling across borders and their increasing recognition as active migrants (Castles and Miller 1998; 2003; Donato et al. 2006). For a long time, migration was almost entirely considered a male phenomenon, with women regarded as dependents to their husbands and families without possessing their own independent migration status. This has changed over the past decades when predominantly academics with a female migration background brought women migrants to the forefront of academic literature (to name only a few: Phizaklea 1983; Morokvasic 1984; Buijs 1993; Anthias 1998; Kofman 1999; Nassy Brown 1998; see Kofman et al. 2000 for good overview). Women have, however, always travelled to, worked and created a life in foreign countries; it was their status as migrants and their recognition as such that was ignored in academic literature.

Although female migration has gained increasing recognition over the last few decades, it is still largely lacking in academic migration research (Castles and Miller 2003; Kofman et al. 2000; O'Carroll 1990; O'Sullivan 1995; Suárez-Orozo and Quinn 2006; Donato et al. 2006; Erel and Kofman 2003). Most studies on migration consider the migrant as asexual (Anthias 1998; Erel and Kofman 2003; Walter 1991). However, in different societies, women and men have different needs that they wish to meet (Walter 1991), and these require consideration in migration studies and by receiving and sending societies alike, as the lack of gender/female-specific approaches in migration will automatically and predominantly focus on the needs of the male migrant.

1.2 Historic review of female migration in migration literature

The discussion of migration during most of the twentieth century was led by a male experience of migration with women considered as *male dependents* within this movement. Female migrants were thus seen as wives, with or without children, who came to join their husbands abroad, which automatically placed them in the category of family. Often they did not work and, if they did, were employed in the family business. It was the male migrant alone, who had travelled abroad to earn a family income as he could not earn it at home. As a result, migrant women's status was often not officially recognised. Migrant women were, for instance, not included in official data on migration, which subsequently produced a lack of correct migration statistics on women, an inaccuracy that still exists today (Erel and Kofman 2003; Kofman et al. 2000). Not only did migration

21

studies fail to recognise female-specific aspects of migration, as feminist research in general has also mainly focused on national rather than immigrant women (Anthias 1998; Donato et al. 2006; Erel and Kofman 2003; O'Sullivan 1995; Walter 1991). Despite indications that female migration in parts already dominated over male migration in the 1920s, academic interest in female migration across many disciplines remained slight (see Donato et al. 2006 for overview).

Where data exist, they show that at times, female migrants, in fact, outnumbered male migrants. Irish migration to the US, for instance, was dominated by women between 1872 and 1940 (Gray 2000; Travers 1995; O'Carroll 1990), and between 1871 and 1971, female migration from Ireland to the UK was larger than that of male migration (Walter 1991). Overall, between 1800 and 1922, about 4 million Irish women migrated to various destinations, mainly to the US (O'Sullivan 1995).

Similarly, Polish female migrants outnumbered Polish male migrants in Italy in the second half of the twentieth century (Kosic and Triandafyllidou 2004; Kosic, Manetti and Sam 2006). In 2001, 69.8 per cent of 31,372 Polish legal migrants registered in Italy were women (Kosic and Triandafyllidou 2004). In the Florence region alone, 349 of the 489 Polish migrants were also women (Kosic and Triandafyllidou 2004). This indicates that women in fact migrated independently, and not solely for reasons of family reunification. Despite their role as wives and mothers who join their families abroad, other categories for migrant women exist,

including professional/skilled migrant women, unskilled migrant women, refugees or asylum seekers, trafficked women or prostitutes (Erel and Kofman 2003).

Despite such evidence, migration studies required decades more to change this. In the 1980s, there were approximately three million female migrants alone in Europe (Morokvasic 1984). According to the United Nations, of the approximately 16 million migrants in Europe in the end of the 1990s, about 45 per cent were women (Kofman et al. 2000). However, migration studies continued to ignore women and their social and economic role in migration developments.

This may be linked to the developments in the 1970s: these times, in particular, experienced an enormous female migration movement, which was initiated by the oil crisis in 1973 that set an end to the economic boom many European countries experienced during the 1950s and 1960s. During this time, such countries recruited largely from abroad to keep up labour requirements for their booming economies (Castles and Miller 1998; Erel and Kofman 2003; Kofman et al. 2000). The female migration flow that followed in the 1970s was indeed predominantly characterised by family reunification of women who followed men initially recruited temporarily to fill the labour gap that could not be filled with native workers. This may have influenced and strengthened the stereotypical image of women as the male dependent, and still cause ignorance in the literature for any other kind of female migration that already existed then (Erel and Kofman 2003; Kofman et al. 2000).

It was only at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s that this was to change. The first to incorporate women as active independent migrants in the study of migration, who deliberately decided to locate to a foreign country, often from a society where patriarchy was institutionalised and repressive, was Morokvasic in 1984. In the 1984 International Migration Review special issue '*Women in migration'*, Morokvasic published a collection of articles, including her own research carried out in the 1970s. This publication has since been labelled a pioneering work in this area (Donato et al 2006; Erel and Kofman 2003).

In the following years, the diversity of migrant women's experiences was increasingly discussed, when Morokvasic and other women, who themselves are migrant women, began to write about the experiences of migrant women across the world. A number of publications in the 1980s dealt with the issue in more detail. Such works included Phizacklea's (1983) collection of articles on female migration across the world in '*One way ticket'* or a UNESCO (1984) publication entitled '*Women on the move'* with works by Abadan-Unat, Morokvasic and others. Most studies of female migration during the 1980s were carried out by sociologists and have thus focused on the social constructions of the labour market (Erel and Kofman 2003). More recent work is influenced by cultural analysis, which focuses on the meanings migrants attach to their lives, but lacks an analysis of "new forms of migration and the changing structural factors and immigration legislation which has shaped migratory flows." (Erel and Kofman 2003: p73)

1.3 Push/pull factors of female migration

Women, in fact, migrate for a variety of reasons, including better economic opportunities, the increasing reliance of families on two incomes, to attain a greater degree of independence, to escape patriarchal oppression, or women's increasing participation in higher education (Erel and Kofman 2003; Kofman et al. 2000). Though the major reason for female migration remains family reunification, other reasons exist, including economic migration, such as to add to the family income, or migration for social emancipation, as a way out of social control and oppressive situations (Kofman et al. 2000; Erel and Kofman 2003).

In 1983, Phizaklea already highlighted two main factors that influence women's migration: one is the individual and personal motivation to emigrate and the other are social factors and structures in the sending society that influence the individual's decision to emigrate. The women's choice or necessity to migrate for one of the above reasons thus depends on their individual cultural background and the socio-economic factors they face in their home country alike (Erel and Kofman 2003; O'Carroll 1990). There is a need to consider such *push* factors of female migration, that is the position of migrating women in their home country and the reasons why they left to understand the extent to which they migrate (O'Carroll 1990); (see chapter 4). With the individual situation in mind, similarities between women of the same national background can then indicate the behaviour of an entire group of women.

A major push factor is the economically disadvantaged situation in the sending country that enhances migrant women's emigration. In countries with high rates of unemployment, women are often those who are unable to find work. As a consequence, they may choose to find work abroad or in some cases they are sent by their families to earn money abroad and send it back home to add to the family income. Not only does this economic compulsion to earn part of the family income elsewhere form a push factor for migration, but social constraints in the home culture also influence women's decision to migrate and, for instance, to flee patriarchal oppression (see chapter 4). As such, migration can be a liberating process, particularly for women who migrate under the category of social emancipation (Erel and Kofman 2003; Morokvasic 1984).

Erel and Kofman (2003) note that migration for social emancipation is becoming more and more significant, and that it is most common amongst the more educated and well-off population. However, they often lack adequate language skills for communication in the host country (Gudykunst 1998), and having left their family behind, they have no support from other family members. Thus, they mainly have to rely on their own sources and abilities. Consequently, the jobs these often highly qualified women acquire are in domestic or caring services, which belong to the unskilled sector (Erel and Kofman 2003).

At the other end of the migration process are often *pull* factors, that is an improved situation, either economic or social, in the receiving country. These *pull* factors are often interlinked with push factors. Irish female migration, for

instance, highlights the interplay between *push* and *pull* factors of migration. Despite pull factors of employment opportunities in the UK or the US, it was often their rejection of rural life and a general dissatisfaction with life in Ireland that motivated Irish women to emigrate (Walter 1991). In addition, the dawn of Ireland's economic boom in the 1970s largely excluded women from the labour market, because expansion of employment was in areas that required specific technological and professional skills mostly possessed by men (Walter 1991).

1.4 Female labour market mobility

Migrant women, if they are employed, predominantly work in domestic and other caring jobs, cleaning or teaching, all of which are largely feminised sectors that are often not recognised officially (Erel and Kofman 2003; Kofman et al. 2000; Morokvasic 1984). The role of migrant women is still predominantly confined to their traditional role of mother, homemaker and domestic worker in the receiving country, and lacks recognition as a waged worker creating her own life. Though the traditional pattern of the male breadwinner and his dependent wife does not exist as such anymore, this image is still often carried over to the receiving country, which places migrant women outside the labour market, although women always work. Already in 1984, Morokvasic listed typical categories of employment for migrant women:

– domestic services

– other types of services (unrecognised)

– petty trade

- jobs with high seasonal variations, like agro-industry or garments

- women employed in their own homes assembling garments or electronic equipment

- women entering formal wage employment for only a portion of their life cycle

- women involved in prostitution

- illegal female migrants

- undocumented female workers

Most of these categories can be considered as being outside the labour force, and although there is increasing recognition of skilled female employment, migrant women are often still associated with one of these categories (Kofman et al. 2000). However, there are also exceptions to this representation of unskilled migrant women, including migrant women entrepreneurs and migrant women as community mediators in the welfare sector or scientists (Morokvasic 1991; Erel and Kofman 2003; Kofman et al. 2000).

In addition, migrant women are predominantly attracted to the welfare sector, including education, health care and social work, which has experienced labour shortages since the 1960s (Erel and Kofman 2003; Kofman et al. 2000). This sector was already largely feminised, but began to employ increasing numbers of female workers since then. In the UK, for example, the health sector experienced great labour shortages from the 1960s onwards, leading to an increase in the recruitment of Irish nurses to British hospitals. Similarly, the Irish health care

sector is experiencing the same problem today. Increasingly, nurses, but also doctors, from the Philippines and India are recruited to fill this gap (Irish Nurses Organisation 2006).

1.5 *Invisible female migration: de-skilling and tradition-modernity continuum*

Many migrant women are still missing from official data collections; a fact that can be linked to the different status, which they have when entering a country. Many women enter under the category of family reunification, but later find employment and work as skilled or unskilled workers in the receiving country (Erel and Kofman 2003). However, if they are registered at all, they often remain in the category of family, and only a later census may provide an update on their status, but usually such development is not recorded by official sources.

Another reason for migrant women's invisibility in European labour markets is de-skilling, which describes a period during which highly skilled women are forced to work below their qualifications (Erel and Kofman 2003; Kofman et al. 2000). The phenomenon of de-skilling or downward economic mobility is common amongst migrants, though it predominantly exists amongst female migrants, whose skills in so-called female occupations are often undervalued (Kofman et al. 2000). Many highly qualified migrant women thus work, often undocumented, as domestic workers or carers, as they often lack the necessary language skills or an understanding of social, economic or legal structures in the country to obtain employment according to their qualifications. Thus, women's

dependence on their ethnic community's economic niche is, for instance, the result of a lack of the language spoken in the receiving country and an often unclear immigration status (see chapters 4 and 7). This may change, however, when they improve such skills and go up the economic ladder (see chapter 4).

One reason that restricts migrant women's access to skilled employment is the so-called tradition-modernity continuum of women migrating from the East to the West, which was already criticised by Morokvasic in 1983. She pointed out that the literature on migration predominantly places migrant women in a traditional view of their home culture. This is also true when they are seeking to improve their lives in the modern world beyond such typical gender division at home and work. The tradition-modernity continuum describes women migrating from countries in the East, which largely preserve traditional views of women in patriarchal and oppressive situations, to countries in the West that have overcome such traditional views of gender divisions at home and work (Morokvasic 1984). Largely generalising, the 'Western' image of working women is often one of women being more emancipated than that of 'Eastern' cultures.

Thus, when talking about East-West migration, Eastern women are placed within the image of their traditional role of primarily being the housekeeper versus the Western image of independent working women earning their own income or that of their family (Morokvasic 1984). This is achieved whether an Eastern woman is the sole breadwinner or is contributing towards a family income. As such, the cause for migrant women's restricted access to employment and exploitation in

the labour market became their cultural heritage (Morokvasic 1984). Similarly, Erel and Kofman (2003) discuss a '*modernity difference*' that fails to recognise the experiences of highly educated and professional migrant women, which, for instance, has hindered professional migrant women from Turkey accessing skilled employment in Germany.

Overall, migrant women's professional development is thus formed by the social and cultural capital those women bring with them versus institutional structures, such as immigration legislation and (mis)recognition of professional qualifications (Erel and Kofman 2003); (see chapter 4). Despite the difficulties with retrieving statistical evidence of female migration, some data exist, in particular for the Polish Diaspora. The following section provides statistical data of general and female Polish migration embedded in a historic review of Polish migration.

1.6 Female Polish migration: a historic review

Similar to the Irish Diaspora, Polish migrants have dominated migration flows over the last three centuries; both forming two of the largest Diasporas worldwide. Six major periods determined Polish migration over the last three centuries: the 18th until the beginning of the 20th century, including WWI; the interwar period; the period of WWII between 1939 and 1945; the period after 1945 until the Fall of Communism in 1989; the post-Communist period following the Fall of the Wall in 1989; and the period after EU accession on May 1st 2004.

Polish migration can be traced back to the 1730s, with the largest emigration wave between 1871 and 1913, when an estimated 3.5 million Poles migrated. Almost 2.25 million of those went overseas, mainly to the US (Cyrus 2006). They were mainly economic migrants, who left Poland out of poverty and rural overpopulation (Davies 1982). During the second period of Polish emigration, between WWI and WWII, approximately 2.1 million migrants left mainly to France, Germany, Latin America and the US (Okólski 1998; Cyrus 2006). This was followed by the most dramatic period of emigration between 1939 and 1945 with large waves of forced migration. Statistical evidence for this period is difficult to present, though historians estimate that during WWII about 5 million Polish citizens left Polish territory (Okólski 1998; Cyrus 2006). Overall, from what is known by the end of 1939, the Polish Diaspora was distributed as follows: about 195,000 in Brazil, about 450,000 in France, about 250,000 in Canada, about 1.5 million in the US, and an estimated 2 million in Germany (Davies 1982). This does not include the approximately 5 million Polish migrants who were forced to leave during WWII.

Since WWII, emigration remained at a very low level, with an annual average estimated at 37,000 in the 1950s, that sank to an estimated annual average of 22,000 in the 1960s and 1970s (Cyrus 2006). This fourth period of Polish emigration was dominated by temporary migration patterns and short-term trips to foreign countries (Cyrus 2006). However, this changed in 1981 with the introduction of martial law in Poland, which resulted in approximately 1.1 million Polish migrants in the 1980s, with an annual average of 110,000 (Cyrus 2006).

After 1989, in the post-Communist period, permanent migration again decreased to an estimated annual level of 22,000 and Polish migration during this time was again dominated by temporary migration and short-terms trips to foreign countries (Kępińksa 2004). Overall, 196,000 Polish citizens left Poland for more than 2 months in 1994, and in 2000 this number further decreased to an estimated 132,000 (Kępińksa 2004). This decreasing trend changed in 2003, when the number of Polish migrants rose again to an estimated 206,000 (Cyrus 2006; Kępińksa 2004).

Overall, Polish migration in this time is male-dominated, in particular to the major destinations, the US and Germany, with, for instance, 52.5 per cent of all Polish migrants in Germany being men in 2003 (Kępińksa 2004). There are, however, trends of female-dominated Polish migration to other destinations, including Sweden, Italy and Belgium, where better employment opportunities appear to exist in households, domestic sectors, for nurses or nannies (Kępińksa 2004; Cyrus 2006), as for instance, approximately 63 per cent of all Polish migrants in Belgium were female in 2003 (Kępińksa 2004).

After EU accession on May 1st 2004, the time of the sixth and most recent Polish migration flow, emigration from Poland has constantly increased with an estimated 423,000 Polish migrants in 2006, an increase of 42 per cent compared to 2005 (Kępińksa 2007).[1] The average in the third quarter of 2007 confirms this

---

[1] Statistical data have been retrieved from a report by Kępińksa (2007); the most comprehensive collection of such data for Polish migration. However, these data are "incomplete and partial, referring to only selected subsets of the migration flow, thereby allowing […] to make statements about the general trends rather than about absolute numbers" (Kępińksa 2007: 38).

trend with 522,000 Polish migrants (Kępińksa 2007). Characteristic for this period is a change in Polish migrants' destinations that results from different labour market regulations across EU member states, as is demonstrated in the following table:

Table 1.1: Main destination countries in the second quarters of 2000-2007.
Source: Kępińksa 2007

	2000	*2001*	*2002*	*2003*	*2004*	*2005*	*2006*	*2007*
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
of which								
UK	4%	7%	7%	9%	11%	20%	31%	32%
Germany	35%	37%	34%	31%	29%	25%	20%	16%
Ireland	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	6%	7%	12%
Italy	6%	8%	14%	13%	11%	12%	8%	8%
US	19%	23%	19%	20%	19%	11%	11%	7%
Netherlands	2%	4%	5%	4%	3%	2%	3%	6%

As demonstrated in table 1.1, while Germany was the major destination until 2004, this has changed with the UK being first destination since 2006, and Ireland becoming one the favourite destinations in Europe, by being the third largest destination for Polish migrants in 2007.

Since 2004, the proportion of women migrants has initially been decreasing steadily from 46 per cent of all Polish migrants being women in 2004 to only 36 per cent in 2006 (Kępińksa 2007). This decreasing trend has, however, come to a halt as the numbers of migrant women in the first three quarters of 2007 have been steady (Kępińksa 2007). In addition, certain destinations also disclose larger numbers of women than men, such as Italy, where women for instance, accounted

for 74 per cent in the second quarter of 2007, and 62 per cent in the third quarter of 2007 (Kępińksa 2007). Overall, the number of women to major destinations is increasing, such as the UK, where numbers have increased from 25-29 per cent in 2006 to 36-37 per cent in the respective quarters of 2007 (Kępińksa 2007). In Ireland, the number has increased to 28 per cent in the third quarter of 2007 from numbers ranging between 22 and 28 per cent in the previous year (Kępińksa 2007).

Overall, as the above numbers show, female Polish migration was already significant in the past, but also demonstrates its increasing significance in recent Polish migration movements. As such, Polish female migration requires increasing recognition in migration research acknowledging their specific needs in this process, which result from Polish women's specific experience of migration.

1.7 Theoretical approaches to the study of female migration

Social scientists have approached the phenomenon of migration, including female migration, to provide theoretical interpretations of migration movements and the individual experiences of migration. Two major theoretical approaches appeared applicable to this study: the study of social networks, including family and ethnic community networks, institutional completeness, and Transnationalism; and the study of ethnicity and racism, which largely discusses the negative effects of migration.

1.7.1 Migrants' social networks

Castles and Miller (2003) discuss the significance of migration systems theory, which is concerned with structures of networks, practices and beliefs of migrants at a micro-level (Castles and Miller 2003). Such micro-structures are formed by social networks that are developed by migrants (Castles and Miller 2003). In earlier literature, chain migration was a concept used in this area (Price 1963 cited in Castles and Miller 2003). Newer approaches discuss the role of social, or cultural, capital as it is sustained in migrants' networks. There is a growing interest in the study of social capital and interlinked social networks in the migration literature (Castles and Miller 2003; Portes 1995; 2000; Boyd 1989). In this context, Massey et al. (2005) define such migrants' networks as:

> "interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants, and potential migrants in origin and destination areas through the connections of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin"
>
> (Massey et al. 2005: 96).

Such informal migrant networks include "personal relationships, family and household patterns, friendship and community ties, and mutual help in economic and social matters" (Castles and Miller 2003: 27), which bind "migrants and nonmigrants together in a complex web of social roles and interpersonal relationships" (Boyd 1989: 639). Overall, there are three networks available to migrants in the receiving country: ethnic community networks, the native community and other ethnic communities (see chapter 6).

1.7.1.i Family and ethnic community networks

Family and ethnic community networks form central migration networks for migrants (Castles and Miller 2003). The role of the family in migration is particularly important in cultures where the family plays a central role in decision making (Castles and Miller 2003; Baud 1994). As such, family networks become crucial for survival strategies (Castles and Miller 2003; Veerstegh 2000; Morawska 1985) when, for instance, the family decides to send a family member abroad to add to the family income, which may not be possible in the home country (Castles and Miller 2003); or women may have to work to add to the family income when men do not earn enough in cultures where women would normally remain at home to take care of the household (Veerstegh 2000). Family and ethnic networks, which include migrants' relations with the family, fellow country(wo)men, and ethnic institutions, are strategic networks developed to cope with the new surroundings (Veerstegh 2000); (see chapters 5 and 6).

Family networks also include migrant children, who often migrate with their parents, and whose experiences of the migration process may differ to that of their parents. When they go to school in the host country, learn the host language, form peer relationships and begin to develop bicultural or transcultural identities, it may, for instance, become increasingly difficult for parents to return to their home country (Castles and Miller 2003); (see chapter 9).

1.7.1.ii Institutional completeness

What facilitates the formation of ethnic community networks is a high level of institutional completeness in the host country (Breton 1964). Institutional completeness describes the number and strength of ethnic institutions available to the ethnic community (Breton 1964; Inglis and Gudykunst 1982).

> "Many [ethnic communities] have developed a […] formal structure and contain organizations of various sorts: religious, educational, political, recreational, national, and professional. Some have organized welfare and mutual aid societies. Some operate their own radio station or publish their own newspapers and periodicals. The community may also sustain a number of commercial and services organizations. Finally, it may have its own churches and sometimes its own schools."
>
> (Breton 1964: 194)

The degree of such institutional completeness differs across different ethnic groups, and it is at its highest when an ethnic group is able to perform all services required by its members (Breton 1964). Breton (1964) and others, such as Inglis and Gudykunst (1982), have explored the links between institutional completeness and cross-cultural adaptation and acculturation strategies. Breton (1964), in his study, already found that links are strong between the degree of institutional completeness and migrants' social integration. His study demonstrates how immigrants tend to remain within their own social boundaries when a high level of institutional completeness exists (Breton 1964); (see chapters 6 and 9). Similarly, Inglis and Gudykunst (1982), for instance, find that the institutional completeness of an ethnic community influences communication acculturation of migrants, and that immigrants who experience less institutional completeness have partly more positive communication patterns reflecting acculturation than

immigrants who have more institutional completeness. However, those who experience higher institutional completeness also show higher general levels of satisfaction in the host country (Inglis and Gudykunst 1982). To conclude, the theory of institutional completeness has not found wider application, possibly due to its close links to general network theories of ethnic community networks and its similar approaches (see chapter 6). Within the area of intercultural studies, institutional completeness has been included in the discussion of ethnic group strength (Kim 2001); (see chapter 2).

1.7.1.iii <u>Friendship and loneliness</u>

One particular area in social networks studies is the discussion of friendships that has found some acknowledgment in migration studies. Studies of friendship networks also include networks with the native community, though they have shown that of the three available networks to form friendships with, the host national contact is the least salient of all networks available (Bochner, McLoed and Lin 1977). The other two are comprised of fellow compatriots and other non-compatriot migrants. Bochner's study of foreign students in the US, for instance, has shown that most friendships are formed with fellow compatriots (Bochner, McLoed and Lin 1977).

Similarly, Malikiosi-Loizos and Anderson (1999), in their study with Greek and American university women, distinguish between accessible and inclusive friendships. Accessible friends are those who can be called upon for social events,

and inclusive friends are those who invite them to participate in events (Malikiosi-Loizos and Anderson 1999). They found that in collectivist societies (Hofstede 1994), the lack of a best friend more strongly contributes to feelings of loneliness than in more individualist societies, and similarly a lack of reciprocity between accessible and inclusive friendships also more strongly relates to loneliness in more collectivist societies than in individualist societies (Malikiosi-Loizos and Anderson 1999).

In sum, studies on intercultural friendships are rare though the area of intercultural studies has pointed at the importance of cultural backgrounds in the formation of such friendships (Lee 2006). In her study, Lee (2006) explores intercultural friendships with both natives and other nationals. She describes the significance of friendships with natives in the process of cross-cultural adaptation as well as the relevance of sharing a similar background with members of other cultures, who share similar experiences of migration and adaptation to the host country (see chapters 5 and 6). Lee (2006) also points out that it is often the non-natives who tend to adapt more to the values, norms and beliefs of the host culture in order to make intercultural friendships work, a process that she names compromising (see chapter 7). Studies like this demonstrate the significance of studies that explore such relations between migrants and natives as well as migrants and other migrants, and yet, there is a lack of them in migration studies.

1.7.1.iv <u>Transnationalism</u>

Another more recent theoretical approach for the study of migration and social networks is the study of transnationalism that can be traced back to the work of Basch, Glick-Schiller and Szanton Blanc in 1992. Transnationalism argues that migrants redefine their ties to their country of origin and create multiple ties in different areas of social interaction across national boundaries (Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc 1992; 1995; Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994; Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt 1999; Vertovec 1999; Itzigsohn and Giorguli Saucedo 2002; Faist 2000; 2004; Glorius 2007). Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc (1995) describe transmigrants as:

> "immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relation to more than one nation-state."
> (Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc 1995: 48).

The term transnationalism broadly refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states (Vertovec 1999). Portes (1999) distinguishes economic, political and socio-cultural types of transnational practices; similarly Faist (2004) identifies four types of transnational spaces, each requiring different types of ties:

1) areas of contact and diffusion are contact fields for the exchange of goods, capital, persons, information and cultural practices, such as market places or cultural traditional celebrations;

2) small groups or kinship system that are predicated on ties of reciprocity, such as family and households, but also wider kinship systems;

3) transnational issue networks that set ties between organisations and persons in which information and services are exchanged for the purpose of achieving a common goal, e.g. business or science networks; and

4) transnational communities and organisations as being more formalised types of transnational spaces with a relatively long life-span, e.g. religious groups or churches.

Such transnational spaces vary according to their degree of formality or institutionalisation and longevity within and across different communities (Faist 2004).

The discussion of transnational spaces resembles the discussion of different degrees of institutional completeness (see section 1.7.1.ii) that similarly outlines formal structures and organisations that are constructed by an ethnic community to provide economic, social and cultural services for its members.

Transnationalism has largely been facilitated by better telecommunication services and geographical proximity in the recent years and provides immigrants with a variety of opportunities to be involved in both home and host societies (Van Oudenhoven, Ward and Masgoret 2006). As such, globalisation has provided migrants with increased opportunities for transnational contact. As a consequence of this development, migrants are constantly engaged in the process of constructing and reconstituting their simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society (Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc 1995).

However, the paradox of being able to avail of several options to deal with the host culture is that it may make immigrants feel more at ease and more 'at home' in the new society (Van Oudenhoven, Ward and Masgoret 2006). This feeling of home is created through maintenance of ties to home in the country of origin as well as transcultural activity in the host society (see chapters 8 and 10). Glorius (2007), for instance, in her work on Polish migrants in Germany, discusses transcultural activity and the wide range of opportunities for migrants' transnational life. In her model, she combines migration movements and integration, and discloses the diversity of transnational ways of life (Glorius 2007). In addition, her study has disclosed Polish migrant women's individual form of integration that includes separation in some areas of life, which resembles this form of transnational activity (see chapter 7).

The study of migrant women, in particular, has highlighted the role of transnational social networks that serve for the initiation and support of migration (Erel and Kofman 2003). Its danger, however, is in the sole reliance on their ethnic community, as, for instance, single migrant women tend to rely on their transnational ties in the host country for employment opportunities, which often hinders them from exploiting their professional skills (Erel and Kofman 2003). As such, most migrant women still end up in the low-paid sector, often carrying out domestic work (Phizaklea 2003). In addition, many undocumented migrants do not have the same opportunities to cross borders easily in order to maintain their social networks at home as other migrants do; instead they are trapped in their ethnic community where they find the support needed to survive in the host

country (Phizaklea 2003). This demonstrates a differentiation of migrant movements today, where transnationalism can be an opportunity, but also bears some dangers when reliance on the ethnic community in the host country is the only source for support there (see chapter 9).

1.7.1.iv.i <u>Hybridisation of identities</u>

One particular aspect of transnationalism is a hybridisation of migrants' identities (Pries 1997; Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994; Glorius 2007). Hybrid identities result from migrants' engagement in the process of constructing identities that transcend national boundaries (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994). This hybridisation of identity emerges from the simultaneous engagement in both the home culture and the host culture, which resembles the development of a larger intercultural identity (Kim 2001) as a result of engaging in the process of cross-cultural adaptation (see chapter 2).

This kind of diasporic consciousness that is manifested in dual or multiple identifications has also been explored in studies of global Diasporas (Vertovec 1999). Scholars in this area discuss individuals' awareness of being simultaneously home away from home (Vertovec 1999). As such, some migrants identify more with one society than the other, whereas some maintain several identities simultaneously to more than one nation, as transmigrants do (Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc 1992). Clifford (1994) discusses the

implications brought by Diasporas that include the problems of displacement or of constructing home away from home. He writes:

> "The empowering paradox of diaspora is that dwelling here assumes a solidarity and connection there. But there is not necessarily a single place or an exclusivist nation.
> (Clifford 1994: 322)

Clifford discusses large parts of Gilroy's work (1993), who examines a hybridisation of identities as a form of double consciousness. In his book "*The black Atlantic*" he sets out by saying: "Striving to be both European and black requires some specific forms of double consciousness." (Gilroy 1993: 1), to discuss such double consciousness experienced by migrants and other travellers in many parts of the Western world. More recently, some scholars in the field of intercultural studies have been engaged in the discussion of changing identities that include both the home and host culture and that result from cross-cultural contact (Kim 1988; 2001; Berry et al. 2002), which will be discussed in the following chapter.

1.7.1.iv.ii Cultural marginality

The concept of hybrid identity is not entirely new in social science, as it resembles the marginal man theory first introduced by the sociologist Park in 1928. Park defined a marginal man as a:

> "cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted […] in the new society in which he now sought to find a place. He was a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused."
> (Park 1928: 892)

Marginality as such refers to different groups of people who are living outside their home cultural environment, and who consequently find themselves on the margins of both their home and host culture, such as migrants do. A few years later, Stonequist (1935), another sociologist, extended the marginal man theory and described the inner conflict that results from living on the margins of two cultures, as migrants do using a metaphorical looking-glass theory as follows:

> "The process of seeing one's self reflected in the attitudes of others toward one is so habitual with the ordinary individual that he is unaware of it […] with the marginal person, it is as if he were placed simultaneously between two looking-glasses, each representing a different image of himself. The clash in the images cannot help but make the individual somewhat conscious of the process – conscious of two mirrors and conscious of the two clashing images."
>
> (Stonequist 1935: 7)

Finally, Bennett (1993a) took up the idea of the marginal man theory to apply it to the field of intercultural studies. She introduced two forms of cultural marginality: the encapsulated marginal and the constructive marginal. Encapsulated marginals incorporate at least two different cultures in their identity, but have difficulties controlling shifts between them (Bennett 1993a). In contrast, the constructive marginal, who also experiences disintegration as a function of cultural shifts, has become fully conscious of self-differentiation and has control over the creation of a unique cultural identity (Bennett 1993a).

Bennett's (1993a) discussion is often combined with Bennett's (1993) development model of intercultural sensitivity, which compares encapsulated marginality to ethnocentrism and constructive marginality to ethnorelativism (Boski 2008). In this context, they place integration, one of Berry's (Berry 1980;

Berry et al. 2002) acculturation strategies discussed in the following chapter, at the highest level of ethnorelativism, which is somewhat difficult as integration and marginalisation are two very distinct acculturation strategies (see chapter 2). To conclude, the concept of cultural marginality that resembles the discussion of hybrid (or intercultural) identities is a salient feature of migrants' experiences in new cultural environments.

1.7.2 Ethnicity and racism

Migration has generated the formation of ethnic minority groups across the world, which has fuelled the discussion of ethnicity and racism in academic literature (to name only a few: Hutchinson and Smith 1996; van den Berghe 1996; Smith and Rex 1996; Miles 1989; Castles and Miller 2003; Lentin and McVeigh 2002). Ethnicity defines a group of people that share a common sense of belonging, based on ideas of common origin, history, culture, experience and values distinct from other groups (Castles and Miller 2003; Barth 1969; 1996). Ethnic minorities in receiving societies are constructed through definition by others and self-definition (Castles and Miller 2003; Miles 2003), which Castles and Miller define as follows:

> "*Other-definition* means ascription of undesirable characteristics and assignment to inferior social positions by dominant groups. *Self-definition* refers to the consciousness of group members of belonging together on the basis of shared cultural and social characteristics.
>
> (Castles and Miller 2003: 33)

As such, the construction of minorities is twofold: on the one hand, there is the process of exclusion by the majority or native population of the receiving society,

that is referred to as racism, and, on the other hand, there is the cultural and historical consciousness among members of a group, that is referred to as ethnicity or ethnic identity (Castles and Miller 2003).

The discussion on racism has largely influenced the discussion of plural and multicultural societies and the way receiving societies and their members act towards ethnic minority groups. Castles and Miller define racism as:

> "the process whereby social groups categorize other groups as different or inferior, on the basis of phenotypical or cultural markers. […] This process involves the use of economic, social and political power, and generally has the purpose of legitimating exploitation or exclusion of the group so defined. Racism means making (and acting upon) predications about people's character, abilities or behaviour on the basis of socially constructed markers of difference."
>
> (Castles and Miller 2003: 35)

As such, racism is a process of exhibiting power over another group that is perceived as being distinct, either visibly or by knowledge of a different ethnic origin, and that is perceived as being inferior on such grounds. In Irish academic literature, Lentin and McVeigh (2002) similarly define racism as:

> "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on 'race', colour, descent, as well as national or ethnic origin, which inferioritises or excludes a collectivity using mechanisms of power."
>
> (Lentin and McVeigh 2002: 8)

Different labels have been applied to the phenomenon of racism, such as "xenophobia", "hostility to foreigners" or "ethnocentrism", though they all explain the above described phenomenon (Castles and Miller 2003). This may be linked to these countries' reluctance to admit to the existence of racism, such as

Germany or France (Castles and Miller 2003), as well as Ireland, which for a long time has preserved the myth that racism is not a problem in Ireland (Lentin and McVeigh 2002). In Ireland, in particular, the discussion of racism remained focused on racism against Irish people instead of racism against ethnic minorities in Ireland (see Lentin and McVeigh 2002 and chapter 9).

Racism is often the result of a perceived threat (Castles and Miller 2003), though interestingly, migrant women are less likely to be considered as a threat than migrant men. Their gendered role of primarily being perceived as a mother, homemaker and the bearer of the next generation of labourers moves them into a more welcoming position than their male counterparts (Kofman et al. 2000). However, being a migrant woman can also present a double burden when being categorised as being the Other in terms of race and in terms of being a woman. For further discussion of racism and an overview of literature see Hutchinson and Smith 1996, van den Berghe 1996, Smith and Rex 1996, Miles 1989, Gilroy 1992 and 1993, Phizaklea 1983 and Castles and Miller 2003. For an overview on racism in Ireland, see Lentin and MacVeigh 2002.

The discussion of ethnicity and racism includes questions of ethnic identity, that is the ethnic component of social identity that is part of an individual's self-concept, which derives from the individual's membership in a social group (Liebkind 1999; Tajfel 1978). Such individuals thus seek to achieve a positive sense of social identity when aiming to perceive the own group as favourably distinct from other groups (Tajfel 1978). For further discussion of ethnic identity and ethnic

groups see Castles and Miller 2003, Hutchinson and Smith 1996, Barth 1969, Tajfel 1978, Smith 1986, Fishman 1999, and Liebkind 1999. In addition, the following chapter will explore the concept of cultural (or ethnic) identity in the context of intercultural studies exploring the process of cross-cultural adaptation that has a significant effect on identity transformations (see chapter 9).

1.8 Summary of this chapter

This chapter reviewed a feminisation of migration that brings the needs of migrant women to the forefront of migration studies in general and subsequently provides the space to place migrant women at the centre of this study. One major group of migrant women is comprised of Polish migrant women as part of the large Polish Diaspora. Having outlined the need for female-specific research, this chapter also presented a number of theoretical approaches within the field of social sciences, namely social networks theories and a discussion of ethnicity and racism, that attempt to explain individual migration experiences.

Finally, this chapter also outlined the significant role migrant women's cultural heritage plays when they engage in life and work in the host country. With culture's significant role in the migration process, the next chapter will focus on theoretical approaches to female migration that are discussed from an intercultural perspective.

Chapter 2: Intercultural theoretical approaches to the study of migration

"We don't see things as they are, we see things as we are." (Anaïs Nin)

Chapter outline

Having discussed theoretical approaches to the study of female migration that are relevant to the study of Polish female migration to Ireland, this chapter approaches migration from the field of intercultural studies. The effects of globalisation, which are visible in migration, have raised questions about culture and culture contact as well as issues around identity and identity changes that result from cross-cultural adaptation in new cultural environments. To explain these phenomena, this chapter applies theories from the field of intercultural studies to define culture, discusses cultural differences and identity issues that emerge from the process of cross-cultural adaptation and strategies of acculturation.

2.1 Introduction

Towards the end of the twentieth century, migration has received increasing attention, raising important questions around the role of culture and cultural contact. As a result of globalisation, cultural contact has increased, both directly and indirectly. Not only do people travel across borders, thus increasing direct contact between people of different cultural backgrounds; but also the

technological developments of systems of communication, which are a major influence of globalisation, have increased the information exchange between cultures, and thus increased indirect contact between cultures (Giddens 2002). Globalisation has therefore become a major reason for the revival of local cultural identities in different parts of the world (Giddens 2002), as cultural groups aim to maintain their cultural identities and counteract a loss of such identities at the expense of globalisation. At the individual level, individuals in direct contact with another culture engage in processes of cross-cultural adaptation, that include such maintenance of cultural identity as well as adaptation to the new cultural environment (Kim 2001).

Globalisation is largely contributing to migration movements, for instance with the developments of free trade policies and the abolition of travel restrictions for migrants. There are almost 191million international migrants worldwide at the moment, the majority of which are 64 million in Europe (Van Oudenhoven, Ward and Masgoret 2006). Migrants form one significant group of intercultural travellers today. In general, they are *pulled* towards the host country (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001), often by economic, but also sociocultural factors, such as independence, education or personal development. In contrast, refugees are often forcibly *pushed* into a new environment as a result of persecution in their home country, for instance. There are, however, other factors that can be grouped as *push* factors influencing migrants' decisions to uproot themselves, such as unemployment or lack of professional opportunities at home. Migrants also differ

to other groups, such as travellers or international students, in terms of their intended long term, if not permanent, stay in the host country.

Aiming to provide a framework for the study of migration and the enclosed process of cross-cultural adaptation of Polish migrant women in Ireland, this chapter draws on theories from the field of intercultural studies, which is new in the area of migration. The main theoretical approaches explore the individual process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) and the impact of acculturation strategies (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) on this process at individual and group level. Intercultural theory is a growing research area that is largely interdisciplinary, thus drawing on theories mainly from social sciences, some of which have been discussed in the previous chapter.

2.1.1 *Initial theoretical approaches to culture contact*

Among the first theoretical approaches to culture contact was the similarity-attraction hypothesis (Byrne 1969; 1971), which suggests that similarities lead to attraction (Byrne 1971). Byrne (1969) carried out extensive studies among undergraduate university students, whom he presented with an attitude-scale measuring the attraction between students who are believed to be more similar and those who would be dissimilar. Byrne (1971) argues that similar background, in terms of race, ethnicity, occupation, age, as well as attitudes, values, and personality traits are related to increased liking and positive evaluation of the other (Piontkowski et al. 2000). Thus, individuals are more likely to seek out,

enjoy, understand, want to work and play with, trust, believe, vote for, and generally prefer people with whom they share salient characteristics. The similarity-attraction hypothesis has been linked to acculturation strategies (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002), whereby perceived similarity of the out-group will lead to a greater acceptance of the out-group, which can result in integration or assimilation orientations, whereas perceived dissimilarity will lead to separation or marginalisation orientations among individuals of those groups (Piontkowski et al. 2000; see Lott and Lott 1965 for overview of earlier studies on group cohesiveness as interpersonal attraction).

More recent studies discuss the similarity-attraction hypothesis under the terms *culture distance* (Ward, Bochner, Furnham 2001) or *ethnic proximity* (Kim 2001). The study of culture distance goes back to 1980, when Babiker, Cox and Miller (1980) studied the impact of culture distance on the psychological well-being of foreign students. The culture-distance hypothesis suggests that the greater the cultural gap between individuals, the more difficulties they will experience within their interaction and the greater will be the experience of life changes during cross-cultural transition (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001). Ethnic proximity refers to the degree of migrants' overall ethnic similarity and compatibility relative to the ethnicity of the majority (Kim 2001). Overall, Kim (2001) highlights that the salient ethnic characteristics and a quality of "being different" work against an individual's cross-cultural adaptation. However, perceived similarity may also have a positive effect on migrants' cross-cultural adaptation processes: when one group is perceived as being more similar than another group,

this may work in favour of that group as compared to another ethnic group (see chapter 5). Culture distance and ethnic proximity (but also studies of cultural dimensions; see section 2.2.2) all explore the distance between cultures within the field of intercultural studies, which forms the theoretical focus of this study.

2.2 Culture: a definition

Sociologists define culture as:

> "'designs for living': the values, beliefs, behaviour, practices and material objects that constitute a people's way of life"
> (Macionis and Plummer 2005: 106)

Culture is often discussed in two distinct though complimentary ways: 1) culture (or non-material culture) that involves the attitudes, norms, beliefs, values and behaviour of individuals, which is often hidden underneath individuals' level of awareness and that sociologists describe as "the intangible world of ideas created by members of a society" (Macionis and Plummer 2005: 106) and 2) high culture (or material culture) that describes the artefacts of these cultures, which presents the visible part to members of these and other cultures and that sociologists describe as "the tangible things created by members of a society" (Macionis and Plummer 2005: 106).

The main concern in this study is on the first portrayal of culture, that is the hidden culture, which includes the range of activities and ideas of a group of people that share ideas, beliefs, values, and knowledge underlying their social action. In the field of intercultural studies, Edward T. Hall, a leading

anthropologist, who can be described as one of the founders of the field of intercultural studies, similarly defines culture as:

> "the medium evolved by the human species, the one which characterizes the human species while at the same time differentiating one social group from another."

<div align="right">(Hall 1993: 58)</div>

Culture, as it is primarily understood in this study, thus refers to human activity in general and characterises the human species. Based on that, it differentiates one social group from another and describes the interaction between such social groups and its individuals.

The study of culture is thus concerned with difference and how one group of people differs from another. This has a further effect on their communication activities, as communication is directly linked with culture and underlies all such activity (Hall 1959; 1966; 1993). Culture is thus a system of communication as "any culture is a system of creating, sending, storing and processing information" (Hall 1993: 53). Through the exchange of messages, individuals or groups create meaning to communicate effectively with strangers; and to succeed in doing so, an understanding of their cultural background is essential (Gudykunst 1998).

2.2.1 *Etic and emic approaches*

The study of cultures often distinguishes between two approaches: one exploring a culture from the inside, being culture-specific and the other exploring two or more cultures from the outside, being culture-general. The discussion about

culture-specific or *emic* and culture-general or *etic* approaches is long in cross-cultural studies. The terms *emic* and *etic* were, however, first introduced in the field of linguistic phonetics and phonemics by the linguist Pike (1967). The field of linguistic phonetics studies general aspects of vocal sounds and sound production, whilst phonemics is the study of sounds used in a particular language (Pike 1967). Since its introduction, the emic-etic distinction has spread across many other disciplines, such as cross-cultural psychology (Berry 1969; Berry et al. 2002). Within this field, *emic* and *etic* approaches are methodological considerations in the study of cultures, providing a certain perspective to a studied culture. For this purpose, Berry et al. (2002) have transformed the characteristics of the *emic and etic distinction* to be applied in cross-cultural psychology as follows:

Table 2.1: Emic-etic distinction in cross-cultural psychology. Source: Berry et al. 2002

Emic approach:	Etic approach:
Studies behaviour from within the system	Studies behaviour from a position outside the system
Examines only one culture	Examines many cultures, comparing them
Structure discovered by the analyst	Structure created by the analyst
Criteria are relative to internal characteristics	Criteria are considered absolute or universal

Berry et al. (2002) place great emphasis on the use of emic approaches, which help researchers to understand behaviour in its full complexity, and which is possible only within the context of the culture in which it occurs. Critique of etic

studies has evolved around what has been named "imposed etics" (Berry 1969; Berry et al. 2002) or "pseudo etics" (Triandis and Marin 1983), as risks exist when the researcher's own cultural background is imposed on the researcher's concepts and notions (Berry et al. 2002). However, as Pike (1967; Berry et al 2002) already implied when he introduced the emic-etic distinction, Berry (1999; 2002) as well as Triandis (Triandis and Marin 1983; Triandis et al. 1993) see emic and etic approaches as complementary rather than alternative or even conflicting.

Intercultural researchers generally apply both emic and etic approaches. At the culture-specific (or individual) level, they avoid speaking about national cultures in respect for the variations that a national culture encompasses, which are evident in the deviant cases of a larger culture. Researchers in the area of intercultural studies are, generally, not concerned with providing complete descriptions of cultures or ethnographies, as ethnographers would do. In contrast, they are concerned with communication patterns between individuals of particular cultural backgrounds. Those individuals can be part of the majority of people of that culture or deviant to that culture. However, for comparative purposes, many cross-cultural researchers, in fact, stress the study of national cultures at the cultural level by generalising the nature of the culture under examination, such as the study of cultural dimensions by Hall (1959; 1966; 1993) and Hofstede (1980; 1994). In their etic approach, they aim to describe general cross-cultural contrasts in a variety of cross-cultural situations.

Bennett (1993), for instance, highlights the necessity for cultural generalisations within the study of intercultural communication as cultural generalisations describe a preference for certain attitudes, beliefs or behaviours within a particular cultural group. This preference is strong amongst the majority of people in that group. Relatively few people in a culture are closer to the fringe of that culture (Bennett 1993). Such people, however, constitute the variations within a group and they describe the complexity of a cultural group. As such, within the field of intercultural communication, cultural generalisations are thus made with regard to the variations within a particular cultural group, as, for instance, demonstrated in the study of cultural dimension (Hofstede 1980; 1994; Hall 1959; 1993).

2.2.2 *Etic approaches: the study of cultural dimensions*

The study of cultural dimensions (Hofstede 1980; 1994; Hall 1959; 1966; 1993) is generally attributed to culture-general or etic approaches. Studies of cultural dimension highlight the existence of consistent and systematic differences in communication between people of different cultural backgrounds (Ward, Bochner, and Furnham 2001).

2.2.2.i *High/low context cultures*

Hall first introduced cultural dimensions that distinguish between cultures in terms of time, space and context (Hall 1959; 1966; 1993; Gudykunst 1998). He discussed the relations cultural groups have to time (polychronic versus monochronic time systems), space (personal distance) and context (high versus

low context communication) and how these impact on individuals' communication. For instance, the study of context discusses the handling of information in contact on a scale from high-context information at one end to low-context information at the other (Hall 1993). People who exhibit a high-context communication style tend to put little information in the explicit message transmitted. Most of the information is already within the person, and individuals place greater emphasis on non-verbal behaviour. In contrast, people who adopt a low-context communication style put vast amounts of information in the actual message (Hall 1993). Consequently, the verbal expression of messages becomes more important in those cultures.

2.2.2.ii <u>*Hofstede's cultural dimensions*</u>

A major contribution to the study of cultural dimensions was made by Hofstede (1980; 1994), who examined cultural differences between national cultures along four cultural dimensions:

1) Power distance: The power distance index measures the degree of inequality in a given society, or, in other words, it is defined as "the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally" (Hofstede 1994: 28). In a workplace context, it demonstrates different levels of hierarchy as reflected in different approaches to (in)equality within organisations. According to Hofstede's findings, Ireland scores very low at the power distance index, while Poland scores higher (Hofstede 2003). However, in comparison to other

countries with high levels of power distance, such as Malaysia, Poland's score is average (Hofstede 2003).

2) Collectivism versus individualism: The collectivism/individualism dimension, which is the most discussed cultural dimension in intercultural literature, measures the degree of individualism in a society, and the degree to which the needs of the individual predominate over the group or vice versa. In individualistic societies, ties between individuals are loose and the individual is expected to look after her/himself. Members of individualistic societies openly seek confrontation, aiming to always tell the truth, coping with conflict is part of their lives, and they are encouraged to hold their own opinions. In contrast, collectivist societies emphasise the group over the individual, and people integrate into strong, cohesive in-groups throughout their lives and loyalty to the group is unquestioned (Hofstede 1994).

Being part of an in-group, children in collectivist societies already learn within the, often extended, family to think in terms of 'we'. Such cultures are characterised by avoidance of confrontation, which is perceived as rude behaviour, and loyalty to the group. Furthermore, it is often associated with high-context communication as described by Hall (1993) as opposed to low-context communication, which is more common in individualistic societies (see section 2.2.2.i). Importance is also attached to the family-like ties that one can create with people who are not biological relatives. They will be socially

integrated in the in-group and can become part of the in-group being treated as part of the family.

In a workplace context, people of individualistic societies, such as the US or the UK, act according to their own interests and workplace structures are organised in a way that employer's and employee's interests do not coincide (Hofstede 1994). In collectivist societies, such as Guatemala or Indonesia, the employee acts according to the group's interest, and individuals are usually hired as part of a group (Hofstede 1994). Again loyalty determines the relationship between the employer and the employee.

According to Hofstede's findings, Poland is less individualistic than Ireland, with Ireland scoring relatively high and Poland scoring average in comparison to very individualistic or collectivist countries (Hofstede 2003).

3) Femininity versus masculinity: This dimension opposes the desirability of assertive behaviour against the desirability of modest behaviour (Hofstede 1994). The masculinity index measures the degree of masculinity in a given society, whereby masculine societies, such as Japan, the UK or Germany, clearly distinguish between gender roles, whereas in feminine societies, such as Sweden, Norway or Finland, gender roles overlap (Hofstede 1994). Regardless of their gender, children or teenager in masculine societies are raised to be assertive, ambitious and competitive and in a work context, results are stressed. Children in feminine societies, in contrast, learn modesty and

solidarity and in a work context people are rewarded based on equality, not equity. Both, Irish and Polish society score similarly highly in the masculinity index (Hofstede 2003).

4) Uncertainty avoidance: The dimension of uncertainty avoidance (from strong to weak) measures the (in)tolerance of ambiguity in a society. Uncertainty avoidance (or anxiety) describes "the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations" (Hofstede 1994: 113). As such, it describes a feeling, where people desire predictability, which is reflected in a need for written or unwritten rules (Hofstede 1994); situations outside such parameters would create stress. In cultures with low levels of anxiety, such as Singapore or Ireland, people appear easy-going, indolent, quiet, controlled or even lazy, whereas in countries with high levels of anxiety, such as Greece, Portugal or Yugoslavia, they come across as being busy, fidgety, emotional, aggressive, and active (Hofstede 1994). The latter would thus have structures in their organisations, institutions and relationships in order to have predictability. In a workplace context, people of strong uncertainty avoidance countries work very hard and always appear busy at all times, whereas in weak uncertainty avoidance societies, people appear to adopt a more relaxed attitude to work (Hofstede 1994). This dimension reveals the largest difference between Polish and Irish society, with Ireland being a society of low uncertainty avoidance in contrast to Poland (Hofstede 2003).

Similar to Hall (1959; 1966; 1993), Hofstede's (1980; 1994) discussion of cultural dimensions presents a unidimensional model, which distinguishes between cultures along a scale. In intercultural studies, such an etic (or culture-general) approach is considered helpful for comparative analysis of two or more cultures, because it provides a culture-general contrast that may suggest a source for miscommunication (Bennett 1993). However, Hofstede's four dimensions create a more complex view of a society and are more subtle than Hall's communication perspectives, as Hofstede emphasises the relationship across all four dimensions rather than simply contrasting them. This focus on the interrelationship between the four dimensions also led to further development of Hofstede's research and the introduction of a fifth dimension, namely long-term versus short-term orientation, which developed, in particular, from research of Eastern cultures (Hofstede 1994).

2.2.2.iii <u>*Criticism of cultural dimensions*</u>

Despite their significant contribution to the study of cultural differences, the dimensions of culture have been largely criticised by scholars from a variety of fields. The main point of critique is the reference made to generalisation of cultures and the existence of national cultures. Mc Sweeney (2002), for instance, criticises the ignorance of variations within national cultures in Hofstede's work, and despite Hofstede's acknowledgement of existing subcultures, its influences are believed to have only little or no influence on the national level. Similarly, social identification studies somewhat contradict the study of national cultures and

its common traits by emphasising the many influences on cultural groups crossing the borders of national cultures, such as age, gender, or social class (Tajfel 1978; 1981; Gudykunst 1998).

Hofstede (1994), in fact, acknowledges variations within national cultures, which he describes as the layers of culture, though he dismisses their importance on a national level. In the following two statements he makes this clear and justifies his approach to the examination of national cultures:

> "Today nations […] are the source of a considerable amount of common mental programming of their citizens."
>
> (Hofstede 1994: 12)

> "Countries (or ethnic groups too) are integrated social systems. Categories like gender, generation, or class are only parts of the social systems and therefore not all dimensions apply to them. Gender, generation, and class cultures should be described in their own terms, based on special studies of such subcultures."
>
> (Hofstede 1994: 17)

According to the critiques, these layers (gender, generation and class as well as subgroups), however, form the very variations within national cultures and affect the interaction between people of these cultures. The critique on Hofstede's national cultures has also crossed academic boundaries, as, for instance, Joep Leersson (1991), a scholar in the area of image studies, describes Hofstede's national cultural division of Northern Germanic cultures and Southern Latin cultures within Europe as "geographical nonsense" (Leerson 1991: 133).

However, a great range of studies in particular on individualism and collectivism exist (see Chen and West 2007; Kâğitçibaşi 1997; Kim 1994; Oyserman, Coon

and Kemmelmeier 2002; Singelis et al. 1995; Triandis 1995; Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001; Kim et al. 1994; Van Oudenhoven 2001 for overview). Whereas the original model was a unidimensional model, but along a continuum with the relationships across all four dimensions to be taken into account, such studies describe individualism and collectivism as two distinct constructs, each with a constellation of component factors (Kim et al.1994), thus emphasising an emic approach to the study of cultures.

2.2.3 *Emic approach: idiocentrism/allocentrism – within-culture considerations*

The study of individualism/collectivism is a strong etic construct (Triandis et al. 1993). Triandis et al. (1993), however, recognise the many within-culture variations of the construct, which thus require emic (or individual) analysis. While individualism and collectivism examine between-culture variations (or cultural differences), Triandis et al. (1993) and Triandis (1994) propose the terms idiocentrism and allocentrism for the study of within-culture variations at a psychological individual level. Personality attributes of allocentrism correspond to the collectivism continuum, emphasising strong attachment to the in-group (Yamaguchi, Kuhlman and Sugimori 1995), whereas personality attributes of idiocentrism correspond to the individualism continuum, emphasising personal achievement and a disregard for the needs of the in-group (Gudykunst and Bond 1997). Both allocentric and idiocentric people exist in both individualist and collectivist cultures (Triandis et al. 1993). The analysis of psychological processes, such as idiocentrism and allocentrism, which correspond to the

subjective culture of individualism and collectivism at the cultural level, requires the study of self-definitions, beliefs, and attitudes, as well as individual norms and values (Triandis 1994).

Several studies have applied idiocentrism/allocentrism to the study of behaviour within and across cultures (see for example Triandis and Marin 1983; Triandis et al. 1993; Dayan, Doyle and Markiewicz 2001; Yamaguchi, Kuhlman and Sugimori 1995; Singelis et al. 1995; Kashima et al. 1995; Triandis 1994; Sinha and Verma 1994; see Gudykunst and Bond 1997 for review). Such exploration at the individual psychological level directs this study to the discussion of cultural identity and identity change that results from changing cultural environments.

2.3 *Culture's effect on identity – defining cultural identity*

Within the area of intercultural studies, many theoretical approaches explore the issues at question at the individual or emic level, exploring individuals' cultural identity and how it affects their communication in new cultural environments. When individuals have extended contact to other cultural environments, they are exposed to cultural changes that impact on an individual's identity calling for changes of such an identity. The study of cultural (or ethnic) identity is widely discussed in the migration literature (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002; Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind 1999; Kosmitzki 1996; Phinney et al. 2001; Tajfel 1978). For the purpose of defining cultural (or ethnic) identity, this study adopts the definition provided by Phinney et al. (2001):

> "ethnic identity is generally seen as embracing various aspects, including self-definition, feelings of belongingness and commitment to a group, a sense of shared values, and attitudes toward one's own ethnic group."
>
> (Phinney et al. 2001: 496)

Cultural identity (this study applies the term cultural identity from here on as it is predominantly used in the area of intercultural studies), thus includes aspects of self-definition and the feeling of belonging to a particular cultural group, which shares common values, norms, beliefs and attitudes.

Van Oudenhoven, Ward and Masgoret (2006) have raised concerns about the imprecise and sometimes interchangeable use of 'culture' and 'identity' in the acculturation literature, and thus clarify the terms as follows:

> "Culture is a complex construct and may be seen as encompassing artefacts, social institutions, language, customs, traditions and shared meanings. Cultural identity, however, refers to a sense of pride and belongingness to one's cultural group. Immigrants may easily adopt the language, dress code and working habits of the new country and love the new food – all the external trappings of 'culture' – but they may still identify strongly with their nation of origin."
>
> (Van Oudenhoven, Ward and Masgoret 2006: 647)

While culture refers to the individual's beliefs, attitudes, norms and behaviours associated with a particular cultural background, identity describes a psychological concept of belonging to a specific group, which differentiates itself from other groups. Moreover, although culture and identity are interlinked, they operate independently. As such, migrants may dismiss part of their cultural heritage, though they may still maintain their cultural identity (see chapters 7 and 8). In addition, cultural identity is a dynamic concept and a fluid process that

constantly emerges in discourse (Collier and Thomas 1988). It changes over time and in different circumstances and is not a fixed state of being.

To clarify the distinction between cultural and national identity, national identity, though it resembles cultural identity, "…is a more complex construct that involves feelings of belonging to, and attitudes toward, the larger society" (Phinney et al. 2001: 497). National identity is formed in the minds of people and creates a sense of community based on common experiences, forming the so-called "imagined community", which is imagined as it exists in the minds of its members (Anderson 1994).

Cultural identity, thus, includes both the individual level and the group level. Whilst cultural identity is firstly a personal phenomenon (Kosmitzki 1996); within social identity theories the relationship between self and the perception of social groups are explored within the framework of the individual person. Thus, exploration is required at both individual and group level and their relationship needs to be established at the level of the individual. Often, until challenged through contact with another cultural group, individuals' cultural identities remain unquestioned (Gudykunst 1998; Kosmitzki 1996). Trying to settle in a new cultural environment, migrants increasingly become aware of their own and others' cultural identity. Increasing awareness brings about challenges to their cultural identity that result in redefining migrants' identity (Kim 2001).

2.3.1 Cultural identity and nostalgia

Cultural identity definition has also been linked to nostalgia, which is enclosed in the process of identity-defining and which takes place through the construction of identity-narratives (Brown and Humphreys 2002). By means of identity-narratives, participants "make sense of their collective history and what is central, distinctive and enduring about them as a group" (Brown and Humphreys 2002: 142). In their own research of identity in a higher education institution, Brown and Humphreys (2002) suggest "that collective nostalgia may be used in an effort to maintain a collective sense of socio-historic continuity" (Brown and Humphreys 2002: 143). Similarly, Lomsky-Feder and Rapoport (2000) conclude from their study of university students who migrated from the former USSR to Israel that national identity and nostalgia play together in constituting immigrant stories and that they are constituted by these narratives. Nostalgia is thus strongly linked with cultural identity, as it provides ways to maintain a shared heritage of values and beliefs (Brown and Humphreys 2002), common amongst migrants whose original cultural identity is often challenged by their migration experience.

2.4 Identity outcomes – a process of cross-cultural adaptation and acculturation strategies

When migrants enter a new cultural environment, they subsequently engage in the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001). This is accompanied by various acculturation strategies (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002), at both individual and group level, which influence migrants' individual process of cross-cultural adaptation.

Kim's stress-growth-adaptation model of cross-cultural adaptation belongs to the group of growth models, which describes cross-cultural adaptation as a dynamic process, during which adaptation constantly takes place and requires constant change in a person's cultural identity. Within this context, Kim (2001) defines cross-cultural adaptation as:

> "the dynamic process by which individuals, upon relocating to new, unfamiliar, or changed cultural environments, establish (or re-establish) and maintain relatively stable, reciprocal, and functional relationships with those environments."
>
> (Kim 2001: 31)

Whilst Kim discusses the individual process of cross-cultural adaptation, which explains why "no two individuals adapt identically" (Kim 2001: 21), Berry's (1980; 1997; Berry et al. 2002) acculturation theories consider both the individual and group level. His approach is strategic, not process-orientated, and distinguishes between acculturation strategies at the individual/psychological level and acculturation strategies at the group/cultural level. Berry defines acculturation as a:

> "dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and individual members. At the group level, it involves changes in social structures and institutions and in cultural practices. At the individual level, it involves changes in a person's behavioural repertoire."
>
> (Berry 2005: 698/699)

Acculturation being a consequence of cultural change, he suggests four different strategic categories of responses to such changes, namely integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation, which are discussed in section 2.6.

This study distinguishes between cross-cultural adaptation as a process that takes place at the individual level, and acculturation as a strategy that impacts on this process, but which exists at both individual and group level. In the intercultural literature, both the process of cross-cultural adaptation and acculturation strategies, which combine emic and etic approaches, are extensively discussed as will be demonstrated below, following an introduction of the two major models applied in this study.

2.5 The process of cross-cultural adaptation – an individual perspective

Kim (1988; 2001) follows an open-systems approach to adaptation, which assumes that adaptation is inherent to human behaviour and that all humans strive to adapt and grow. New experiences, such as migration, lead to transformation within individuals:

> "adaptive change naturally occurs over time in individuals whose primary socialization has been in one culture and who subsequently move to another culture."
>
> (Kim 2001: 16)

As such, it is a growth-producing model, which describes cross-cultural adaptation as a "double-edged process, one that is simultaneously troublesome and enriching" (Kim 2001: 21).

Kim's (1988; 2001) theoretical approach to cross-cultural adaptation is twofold: 1) she explores the *process* of cross-cultural adaptation as it unfolds over time, and 2) she describes the *structure* of this process and its key constituent factors that influence the degree to which adaptation to the new or unfamiliar culture takes place.

2.5.1 The process of cross-cultural adaptation: stress, adaptation, growth

According to Kim (1988; 2001), cross-cultural adaptation requires both acculturation, which she defines as the process of learning or acquiring the elements of the new culture, and deculturation, namely the process of "unlearning" or "losing of something old" (Kim 1988: 176). When individuals experience both acculturation and deculturation during the process of adapting to a new environment, they will inevitably experience internal turmoil and produce what Kim (1988; 2001) calls "temporary personality disintegration", which generate feelings of stress. Stress occurs when "the capabilities of the individual are not adequate to the demands of the environment" (Kim 2001: 55). As a result of stress, individuals tend to look back towards their original culture and in order to minimise the anticipated pain associated with stress, withdraw from the host culture. Some of the symptoms experienced here correspond to the symptoms of culture shock (Oberg 1960; Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001), such as withdrawal, hostility, denial, and self-deception (Kim 2001). At this stage, individuals are in a state between adaptation and stress.

In an open systems approach, however, it is assumed that humans strive to adapt and grow. As such, individuals aim to meet the challenges presented by the new environment and respond to those challenges. They grow by finding ways to respond to the challenges presented to them, and grow to meet the demands of the new environments. As such, adaptation is a dynamic process that impacts on the individual's identity. Psychologists have described this phenomenon of "stress-related growth" or "transformational growth", discussing examples of life crisis

from which individuals find various ways to grow (Siegel and Schrimshaw 2000; Affleck and Tennen 1996; Carver 1998).

The three facets of the process of adaptation, namely stress, adaptation, and growth, form the core of individuals' experience of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 2001). Figure 2.1 below illustrates the cyclic and continual draw-back-to-leap movement that presents the interrelationship between stress, adaptation, and growth. As such, individuals "draw back" as a response to stressful experience, and "leap forward" when adaptive energy is activated helping them to overcome the earlier challenge (Kim 1988; 2001).

[Figure 2.1: The Stress-Adaptation-Growth Dynamic: a process; adapted from Kim 2001]
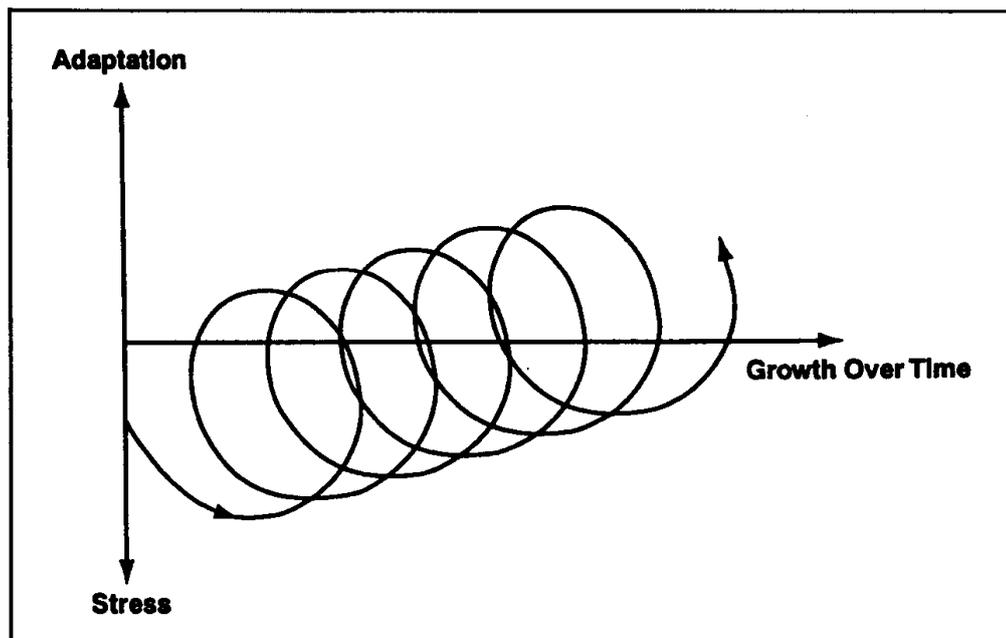
Figure 2.2 shows that over time, the fluctuations of stress and adaptation decrease (Kim 2001). This is concordant with the theories of culture shock (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001), which describe more severe experiences of stress in the initial phases of the process of adaptation.

[Figure 2.2: Diminishing Stress-Adaptation-Growth Fluctuation over time; adapted from Kim 2001]
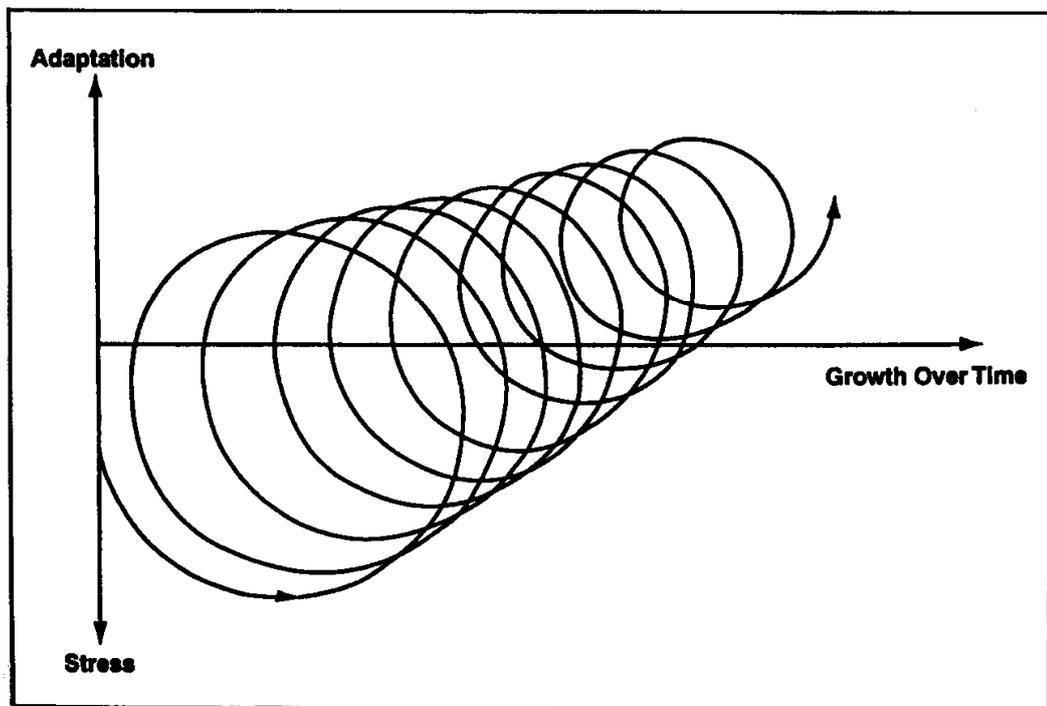
The individual's cultural identity is transformed in this process to function well in the new environment. As such, cultural identity is one of three aspects of cross-cultural adaptation, which are interlinked. The other two are communication competence and functional fitness. Communication or social competence refers to the individual's ability to communicate effectively within a specific cultural

milieu. It comprises their cognitive, affective, and operational (behavioural) capabilities by which they organise themselves in a sociocultural environment (Kim 2001). Communication competence is directly linked to functional fitness or psychological health, which describes the internalised use of culturally sanctioned communication patterns that lead to the people's perceptions of themselves as "normal" or "healthy" individuals (Kim 2001). Developing their communication competence and functional fitness, individuals develop their self, that is their cultural identity:

> "Unlike the original cultural identity that had been largely programmed into the stranger [an individual crossing cultures and resettling in a different cultural environment] through childhood socialization experiences, the emerging identity is one that develops out of the many challenging and often painful experiences of self-reorganization under the demands of a new milieu. Through prolonged experiences of trial and error, the stranger begins to "earn" a new, expanded identity that is more than either the original cultural identity or the identity of the host culture."
>
> (Kim 2001: 65)

The transformation taking place in the process of cross-cultural adaptation is a process of intercultural transformation, where individuals experience increased functional fitness, improved psychological health and a movement from an original identity to a larger "intercultural" identity (Kim 2001); (see chapters 8 and 9).

2.5.2 *The structure of cross-cultural adaptation*

Kim (1998; 2001) continues to describe the structure of cross-cultural adaptation and its constituent factors that influence the degree of adaptation as experienced by the individual migrant. She identifies six interdependent dimensions of factors

that conceptualise the individual's communication activities, which are illustrated in figure 2.3:

[Figure 2.3: Factors influencing cross-cultural adaptation: a structural model; adapted from Kim 2001]
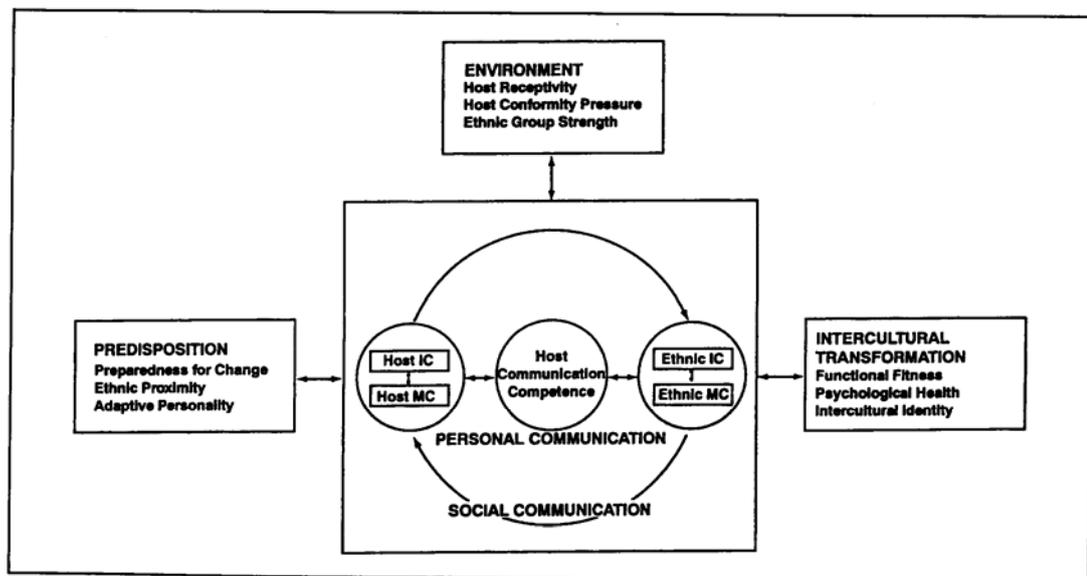
Note: IC = interpersonal communication; MC = mass communication.

Host communication competence is the individual's communication competence in the host environment, including language competence and knowledge about the norms of the host culture environment (see chapter 6). Host social communication includes host interpersonal communication and host mass communication. The first describes face-to-face communication with members of the host society, and the latter illustrates experiences with the larger social environment through mediated channels, such as radio, television newspapers and so on. Ethnic social communication is concerned with the individual's co-nationals and the experiences of their home cultures. Again, it includes ethnic interpersonal communication, which concerns face-to-face communication with co-nationals

and ethnic mass communication, which includes ethnic media existing across larger ethnic communities.

Furthermore, Kim (1998; 2001) identifies three major environmental conditions important in the adaptation process: host receptivity, host conformity pressure, and ethnic group strength. Host receptivity explores the degree to which the host environment is open, welcoming and accepting towards newcomers. Host conformity pressure is the degree to which the host environment challenges the newcomer to adopt the host culture norms and communication system. Ethnic group strength is concerned with the strength of an individual's ethnic group and the strength of an ethnic group's information, emotional, and material support system facilitating the individual's cross-cultural adaptation, similar to what has been described as institutional completeness (Breton 1964) in social science (see chapter 1). Predisposition describes an individual's internal conditions prior to arrival in the host country and its affect on the adaptation process. These include an individual's preparedness, ethnicity, and personality (see chapter 5). Finally, an individual's intercultural transformation is influenced by and in turn influences adaptive changes (see chapter 7) brought about by the above five collectively and interactively working dimensions. Intercultural transformation illustrates internal changes, including an individual's functional fitness, psychological health and a subsequently developing intercultural identity.

Kim's model is of great importance to this study aiming to explain the individual process of cross-cultural adaptation, and thus forms the first of two main models applied in this study.

2.5.3 *Other growth-producing models*

Other researchers have explored the individual process of transformation that produces a larger cultural identity than the original cultural identity. One of the earliest and often revised theoretical approaches is the concept of culture shock (Oberg 1960; Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001). Another approach in the area of intercultural studies is Bennett's (1993) development model of intercultural sensitivity.

2.5.3.i *Culture shock*

The probably best known initial theoretical approach to the exploration of cross-cultural adaptation as experienced by individuals is the theory of culture shock, first introduced by Oberg in 1960. Like most studies of cross-cultural adaptation, the theory of culture shock is a problem-based study, trying to help ease the predicaments of the intercultural experience (Kim 2001). What Kim describes as stress resembles Oberg's overall definition of culture shock, which is the "anxiety that results from losing all your familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse" (Oberg 1960: 177). In his initial work, he suggests four stages of adaptation to a new and unfamiliar environment, which are: the pleasant honeymoon stage,

followed by a time of crisis, from which one eventually recovers and finally reaches a stage of adjustment to the new environment.

Oberg's model has been criticised and other perceptions outlined for the experience of culture shock and the explanation of its symptoms. Bennett (1993b) has, for instance, introduced the term "transition shock" which takes place when an individual encounters "the loss of a partner in a death or divorce; change of life style related to "passages"; loss of a familiar frame of reference in an intercultural encounter; or, reshaping of values associated with rapid social innovation" (Bennett 1993b: 216). Further critique has come from Ward, Bochner and Furnham (2001) who, instead of focusing too broadly on the environmental influences, as Oberg does, stress that severest difficulties contributing to culture shock occur in social situations, episodes and transactions (see chapter 6). Consequently, they highlight the significance of social skills and social interactions, focusing on the acquisition of relevant behavioural skills to survive and thrive in those environments (Ward, Bochner, and Furnham 2001), similar to Kim's (1988; 2001) discussion of communication competence and functional fitness.

2.5.3.ii Bennett's Development Model of Intercultural Sensitivity

A more recent approach to growth-producing models of cross-cultural adaptation is Bennett's Development Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) that focuses on the individual's development process towards becoming more interculturally

sensitive (Bennett 1993). His DMIS includes six stages that are divided into two broader stages: ethnocentric and ethnorelative stages. The DMIS portrays the process individuals experience during the process of cross-cultural adaptation when they develop from being ethnocentric to being ethnorelative.

During the ethnocentric stages, including denial, defence and minimisation, individuals use their "own set of standards and customs to judge all people" (Bennett 1993: 26). During denial, individuals either do not perceive cultural differences at all or they conceive only broad categories, such as "foreigner" or "Africans" (Bennett 1993). In the defence stage, individuals begin to perceive cultural differences, but they evaluate them negatively. There is a strong notion of a superior "us" and a denigrated "them" during that stage. At the minimisation stage, individuals recognise cultural differences, but play down their role. They assume that despite different habits, 'deep down, we are all the same'.

When individuals move into the ethnorelative stages, which are acceptance, adaptation and integration, they are comfortable with many standards and customs and are able to adapt behaviour and judgements to a variety of interpersonal settings (Bennett 1993). At the stage of acceptance, people firstly acknowledge cultural relativity. Individuals begin to recognise and enjoy cultural differences. But only at the next stage of adaptation does this impact on their actual behaviour. Individuals now carry skills to operate in their own culture, and by changing certain behaviours are also able to operate effectively in another culture. They are already interculturally sensitive at this stage, but still identify with their one,

usually their original culture. In contrast, at the final stage of integration, individuals can no longer identify with only one culture, having internalised at least two different frames of reference. They now see themselves as "interculturalists" or "multiculturalists" (Bennett 1993).

Based on the DMIS, Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman (2003) have introduced an Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), which measures the stages of the DMIS. Criticism of Bennett's model and the IDI has been rare in the academic literature, and the model has been applied unquestioningly in various cultural contexts (see for example Straffon 2003; Paige et al. 2003; Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman 2003). However, Greenholtz (2005) raises some doubts in regard to the validity of the IDI and its transferability across languages and cultures. He concludes that the IDI should be used as a work in progress in a cross-linguistic context rather than a "reliable and valid instrument ready to pull of the shelf for all research contexts" (Greenholtz 2005: 88).

2.5.3.iii *Inverse growth-production: loss of heritage language*

Growth-producing models exploring the process of cross-cultural adaptation argue for a developing larger identity that involves both the original identity and the identity of the host culture. However, when cross-cultural adaptation involves a loss of a significant part of the original identity, this raises doubts about such a growth perspective, as it does in the case of the loss of a heritage language, which some migrant communities experience, and with migrant children in particular.

There is a salient but complex link between language and identity (Liebkind1999; Fishman 1999), and in the literature language has been described as a salient feature of ethnic identity, even if it is not actively used, such as Irish in Ireland (Liebkind 1999). Irish identity, for instance, is strong, despite a shift to English (Liebkind 1999; Williams 1999).

In contrast, migrant children in particular experience a loss of their heritage language when their exposure to the heritage language decreases, while they increasingly communicate in the host culture language. This is often linked to internal and external social, political, economic, and cultural factors that draw members of ethnic communities away from their heritage language (Fishman 1999; Spolsky 1999). A study by Sheridan (2007) in the Vietnamese community in Ireland draws attention to this loss of the heritage language amongst Vietnamese migrant children, whose linguistic focus is on English to graduate from secondary school in the host culture. In addition, instead of maintaining their heritage language through second-language learning, as is suggested by Fishman (1999) and Spolsky (1999) as a way to revive the heritage language of an ethnic community, these children's second-language learning involves Irish and an additional foreign language, which are required to obtain a Leaving Certificate and to possibly proceed onto university in the host culture (Sheridan 2007). Consequently, aiming to fulfil the requirements of the host culture as a means to cross-cultural adaptation, migrant children lose contact with their heritage language, which is a significant part of their cultural identity (see chapter 9).

2.6 Acculturation strategies – individual and group perspectives

Another key model that appeared appropriate to be applied in this study is Berry's model of acculturation strategies, which is placed in the category of pluralist models that explore strategies of acculturation by both migrants and members of the host society, and which have an effect on the individual migrant's process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1980; 2001). Migration in various ways has shaped many formerly rather monocultural societies to being more pluralist societies today. This has increased the discussion on pluralist models which emphasise the significance of an individual migrants' acceptance (or rejection) of the host culture and the individual's own cultural heritage (Kim 2001). Pluralist societies are societies where a number of different groups reside together (Berry et al. 2002). There are two views of pluralist societies repeatedly described in today's literature: one is the "melting pot", which describes a single dominant or *mainstream* society and various *minority* groups living on the margins of that society (Berry et al. 2002). Second is a multicultural view of pluralist societies, which is a mosaic of many ethnocultural groups (Berry et al. 2002). What is important to these views is that the groups or individuals of these groups differ in terms of size, power, rights and resources as well as attitudes, motives, values and abilities (psychological factors). These factors have a significant impact on how individuals engage in acculturation and intercultural relations.

Based on these premises, Berry (1980; 1997; Berry et al. 2002) has introduced a theoretical framework for the study of acculturation; illustrated in figure 2.4:

84

[Figure 2.4: A general framework for understanding acculturation; adapted from Berry et al. 2002]

Cultural/group level   **Psychological/individual level**
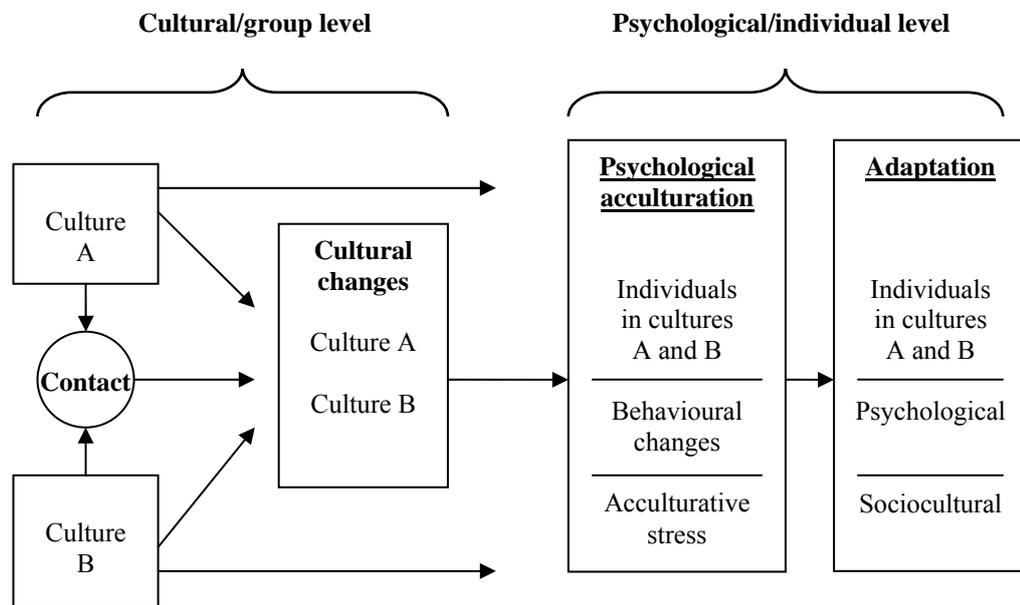
Berry's (1980; 1997; Berry et al. 2002) framework distinguishes between cultural (group level) and psychological (individual level) acculturation and identifies the two groups in contact. At the cultural or group level, Berry outlines key features of the two original cultures prior to contact, the nature of their contact relationships, and the resulting dynamic cultural changes (see chapters 5 and 6). At this level, Berry's model also follows an etic or culture general approach. In contrast, at the psychological or individual level, which includes aspects of Kim's described process of cross-cultural adaptation, psychological changes that individuals of both groups undergo are discussed, and their eventual adaptation to their new situations. Following an emic approach, Berry describes the changes individuals undergo as either being behavioural shifts, such as ways of speaking, dressing, eating, which are outer manifestations of culture or being under

acculturative stress as manifested by uncertainty, anxiety, and depression at the psychological level (see chapter 7). By including both the cultural or group level and the psychological and individual level, Berry combines etic and emic approaches in his model.

Berry's multidimensional (or two-dimensional) model describes how immigrants negotiate their place in the receiving society by questioning how much contact they wish (or are forced to have) with members of this group and how much of their heritage culture they wish (or are allowed) to maintain (see chapter 7). An individual's preference for a particular acculturation strategy is based on two basic questions that individuals ask when engaging in the process of acculturation (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002):

1) whether or not individuals wish to maintain their heritage culture and identity and,

2) whether or not individuals wish to have contact with and participate in the larger society along with other ethnocultural groups.

Based on this negotiation, there are four acculturation strategies possible:

- Integration: individuals are interested in both maintaining their original culture and interacting with other groups in the host culture.

- Assimilation: individuals do not wish to maintain their original culture and seek daily interaction with other cultures.

- Separation: individuals seek to maintain their original culture and avoid interaction with other cultures.

–   Marginalisation: individuals have little interest and possibility to maintain their original culture and do not wish to interact with others.

[Figure 2.5: Acculturation Strategies; adapted from Berry et al. 2002]

Issue 1: Maintenance of heritage, culture and identity

+ ⟷ –

+

Issue 2:

Relationships
sought among
groups

Integration   Assimilation

Separation   Marginalisation

–
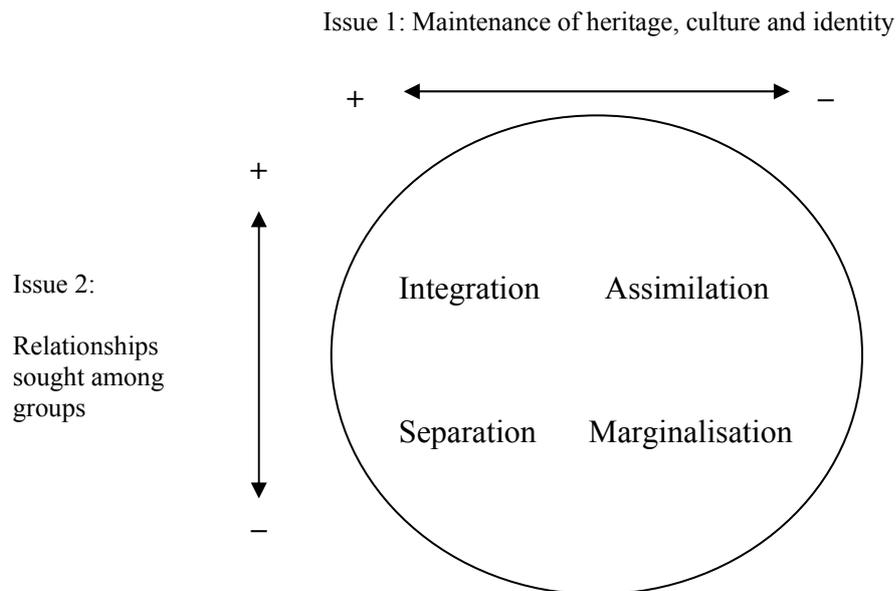
At the group level, Berry provides equivalent terms for acculturation strategies, namely multiculturalism, melting pot, segregation and exclusion.

What influences these four acculturation strategies are the individual's behaviour and attitude towards acculturating. Attitudes towards, or preference for, a particular strategy, and the actual behaviour can vary in the process of acculturation (Berry 1997). This happens at a conscious level, when the individual is, for instance, unable to follow a desired strategy. Overall, there are three

elements to the psychological (individual) acculturation process (Berry 2005; Berry et al. 2002):

- − Acculturation attitudes: reflect the desirability for maintaining one's one cultural background and at the same time relating to the host society.

- − Acculturation behaviour or behavioural shifts: describes the actual behaviour taking place in the process of acculturation, for example, changes in ways of speaking, dressing, eating or in one's cultural identity (see chapter 7).

- − Acculturation stress: describes the changes producing problematic feelings, such as uncertainty, anxiety, or depression associated with the acculturation process.

At this psychological level, individuals then engage in a process of adaptation, which Berry (2005) defines as being:

> "primarily psychological (e.g. sense of well-being or self-esteem) or sociocultural, linking the individual to others in the new society as manifested, for example, in competence in the activities of daily intercultural contact."
>
> (Berry 2005: 705)

Berry's definition of adaptation resembles Kim's (2001) description of cross-cultural adaptation, which describes the process of dealing with the experiences of acculturation (Berry 2005).

Furthermore, the four acculturation strategies are not discrete, static strategies, and individuals may switch between strategies. They can vary depending on context and time period, such as the length of residence or generational status (Berry

1997). There can also be variations depending on one's location, so for example in the private sphere individuals may seek cultural maintenance, whilst in the public sphere they pursue increased interaction with the host society (see chapter 7). Another issue that may impact on an individual's acculturation strategy is the broader national context, whereby national policies may hinder a preferred strategy (Berry 1997).

Berry (1997) also highlights a series of demographic and social factors prior to acculturation that have an impact on acculturation strategies: age, gender, education, economic status, push/pull motivations and expectations, cultural distance, and personal factors (see chapters 4, 5 and 6). Various studies have been carried out exploring the impact of these factors on the choice of acculturation (see Berry 1997 for examples).

For instance, Phinney et al. (2001) discuss the variations in cultural (or ethnic) identity, whereby each identity, the original ethnic identity and the new identity in the host country, can be either secure and strong or underdeveloped and weak. In combination with Berry's acculturation strategies, they introduce the terms integrated, separated, assimilated and marginalised identity. An individual who holds a strong ethnic identity, and also identifies strongly with the new society, holds an integrated (or bicultural) identity. An individual who has a strong ethnic identity, and does not identify with the new society holds a separated identity; whereas the opposite resembles an assimilated identity. An individual who identifies with neither home or host culture holds a marginalised identity.

As such, cultural identity can be understood as an aspect of acculturation and Berry (1997; 2005; Berry et al. 2002) provides a theoretical framework for that. Cultural changes require responses in a person's cultural identity, and Berry (1997; 2005) provides both a frame of reference for self-definition and a frame of reference for defining a person's relationship to others. Thus, Berry's (1980; 1997; 2005; Berry et al. 2002) model, which includes an exploration of the group level, is applied as the second key model in this study, as these acculturation strategies have a significant effect on the individual's process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1980; 2001).

2.6.1 *Acculturation models revised*

There exists a large number of studies examining acculturation strategies of minority groups, mainly based on Berry's pioneering work (Ward and Kennedy 1993; 1994; Ward and Masgoret 2006a; Horenczyk 1996; 2004; Jasinskaja-Lathi et al. 2003; see Berry 1997 and Van Oudenhoven, Ward and Masgoret 2006 for more examples). Studies of the larger society are, however, rare, despite Berry's model, which specifically includes the host society.

Based on Berry's model, Bourhis et al. (1997), for instance, provide a useful framework that includes the acculturation strategies of minority groups but also looks at the acculturation expectations of the larger society. Their interactive acculturation model (IAM) forms one of many developments emerging from lively discussion around Berry's initial acculturation model. Bourhis et al. (1997)

suggest that immigrants may opt for more individualistic acculturation strategies. For that purpose they propose a fifth acculturation orientation, namely individualism. Individualism describes an orientation by the members of the host society who identify themselves and others as individuals rather than as members of group categories. Such individuals place more importance on personal characteristics than on belonging to a specific group. As a result, they may downgrade the importance of maintaining an immigrant culture based on national identification or adopting the host culture.

Taking both the perception of the immigrants and the perception of the host society into account brings about an interesting discrepancy between different acculturation strategies. Many researchers have concluded from their research that integration is the most preferred and most 'adaptive' acculturation strategy for immigrants (Van Oudenhoven, Prins and Buunk 1998; Van Oudenhoven, Ward and Masgoret 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2003; Phinney et al. 2001). They have, however, also stated that this preference is also influenced by what members of the host society permit migrants, which means that immigrants are often forced into a different strategy, such as assimilation (see chapter7).

A few studies on members of the host society have shown that members of the host society, in contrast, often prefer assimilation (Van Oudenhoven, Ward and Masgoret 2006; Zink 2001; Horenczyk 1996; Piontkowski et al. 2000). This can be linked to intergroup studies examining the relationships between 'us' and 'them'. Dominant groups tend to expect the other group to be more like them in

order to be accepted. Individual migrants, however, often wish to follow integration as their desired acculturation strategy, because it is related to more positive acculturation outcomes (Berry 2005; Rohman, Florack, and Piontkowski 2006). To be accepted in the host society they may, however, have to assimilate, because this is what is expected of them (Horenczyk 1996; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2003; Rohman, Florack and Piontkowski 2006).

Usually these differences between acculturation preferences are apparent and subsequently they may result in conflicts (Van Oudenhoven, Ward and Masgoret 2006). Unfortunately, only a few studies have shown the consequences of discordance between immigrants' and host members' acculturation strategies (Horenczyk 1996; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2003). One study by Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2003) has shown that discordant acculturation preferences have resulted in increased psychological stress amongst ethnic repatriates in Finland, Israel and Germany. Most other studies only portray the discordance between acculturation strategies, but do not continue to explore its consequences. A study by Zick (2001), for instance, remains at reporting on Turkish immigrants in Germany and the preference of assimilation strategies amongst the host society and does not discuss its implications. Similarly, Rohman, Florack and Piontkowski (2006) remain at the stage of exploring the discordance between acculturation attitudes amongst Turkish and Italian immigrants in Germany and the perceived intergroup threat in those groups without progressing the discussion further.

Building on to Berry's and Bourhis' work, Navas et al. (2005) expand the acculturation model with regard to allowing different acculturation options to be adopted in different situations. This idea is, however, not new, and Berry (1997) as well as Horenczyk (1996) have highlighted the alteration of behaviour and culture in certain domains. Navas et al. (2005) incorporate these ideas and propose a Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM) that describes the adaptation process as being complex and relative. It is *complex*, because different options can be preferred and adopted at the same time, and it is *relative* "since the same strategies are not always used or the same option preferred when interaction with other cultures takes place in different domains (i.e. work, family relationships, religious beliefs and customs)" (Navas 2005: 27). The newness oft the RAEM is that these different domains are placed at the centre of the model, forming the key element to understanding how immigrants adapt to the new environment. For this purpose Navas et al. (2005) have defined seven areas or domains ranging from natural to material and symbolic representation of the world: political, work, economic, family, social, religious beliefs and customs, and ways of thinking, principles and values (see chapter 7).

2.6.2 *Further approaches to intergroup relations*

Two additional theoretical approaches, one earlier from the field of social psychology and another more recent one from the field of intercultural studies, also discuss specific aspects of intergroup relations: Communication Accommodation Theory (Gallois et al. 1995) and Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1978).

2.6.2.i Communication accommodation theory

As stated previously, communication underlies everything in intergroup contact. A major contribution to communication theory specifically from the field of intercultural studies is the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) model (Gallois et al. 1995; Jones et al. 1999), which also explores interpersonal and intergroup relations. First introduced under the name Speech Accommodation Theory by Giles (1973) and later expanded by Gallois et al. (1995), it has been described as a major contribution to the behavioural study of intercultural contact (Ward, Bochner, and Furnham 2001).

For their model, Gallois et al. (1995) argue that individuals are driven by one of the following motives to engage in a conversation:

1) they converge to their conversational partners, that is to make some aspects of their speech more similar in order to gain that person's approval or identify with it;

2) they diverge from their conversational partner, that is to make their speech different in order to distinguish themselves from that person; and

3) to maintain their own style, which is usually perceived as divergence

More recently, these strategies have been labelled approximation strategies. Such approximation strategies that aim to create closeness between the conversational partners are called accommodation, whereas such strategies that aim at emphasising interpersonal or intergroup differences are called non-

accommodation. Similar to Kim's (2001) adaptive changes and Berry's (2005) behavioural shifts, individuals are perceived as making a choice as to what degree they accommodate to specific behaviour expressed by members in the host culture, only with a focus on conversational behaviour. For example, the use of culture-specific expression or language is one possible form of such accommodating behaviour (see chapter 7).

2.6.2.ii Social identity theory

One of the major contributions from the field of social psychology to the study of identities is Tajfel's (1978; 1981) social identity theory. The study of cultural identity places its focus entirely on cultural (or ethnic) differences, though there is a recognition of the influences of other aspects of individuals' identities that affect intergroup activities, as discussed by Hofstede (1994), Berry et al. (2002) and Kim (2001) alike. Kim (2001), for instance, includes such aspects under the category predisposition, which has a major effect on the process of cross-cultural adaptation. Social identity studies incorporate these aspects and are formed on the basis of our ethnicity or culture (referring to cultural identity) as well as gender, age, social classes, disabilities for instance (Gudykunst 1998). As such, social identification theories provide a more complex frame of reference for self-definition and for social relationships.

Tajfel (1978; 1981) defines three major features of social identity: it is "1) part of an individual's self-concept which 2) derives from his [or her] knowledge of his

[or her] membership of a social group (or groups) together with 3) the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel 1978: 63). Similar to Berry's discussion of the self, Tajfel's self-concept is concerned with changes in attitudes, values and behaviours in intercultural contact. Key aspects of Tajfel's (1978; 1981) social identity theory are social categorisation and comparison, which emphasise that 1) group membership forms an important component of social identity; and 2) people strive to attain or maintain a positive self-image by engaging in favourable comparison between their in-groups, that is such groups we identify with, and various out-groups, that is those groups we do not identify with (Gudykunst and Bond 1997). For social categorisation and comparison to take place, there needs to be recognition of the existence of various in-groups and out-groups so that they can be compared (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001). These comparisons can then be favourable or unfavourable, which has consequences to a group member's self-esteem (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001). As such, migrants may tend to define part of their identity or specific cultural behaviour more favourably than that of the host society as a means to maintain a positive image of their original identity (see chapters 5 and 7). In sum, there exists a wide range of studies, which have explored intergroup relations from both host and immigrant perspectives using social identity theory (Kosmitzki 1996; Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind 1999; Rubin and Hewstone 1998; Hewstone, Rubin, and Willis 2002 and Phinney 1990 for review of research).

2.7 Summary of this chapter

This chapter approaches the study of migration from the field of intercultural studies and highlights the role of culture as culture contact between individuals and groups with distinct cultural backgrounds increases as a result of globalisation. This has concerned scholars in the area of intercultural studies to explore the subsequent process of cross-cultural adaptation and migrants' respective acculturation strategies, which both influence the reconstruction of migrants' identities. As a result of the process of cross-cultural adaptation, migrants develop a larger intercultural identity that includes both their original cultural identity and the cultural identity of their host country.

Having conducted research within a specific group of migrants these theoretical approaches came to light, by applying a Grounded Theory approach, which allows engaging in the research without preconceived ideas, though embedded in an intercultural mindset. The following chapter outlines methodological framework of this study that guided data collection and analysis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

"Human grasps of reality never can be that of God's, but hopefully research moves us increasingly toward a greater understanding of how the world works."
(Strauss and Corbin 1998: 4)

Chapter outline

The following chapter provides a framework for qualitative research of Polish migrant women in Ireland. For the analysis, this study applies a grounded theory approach, which was further facilitated by computer-assisted analysis software. Furthermore, this chapter introduces the process of data gathering, including specifics of data collection, interviews and participants. This is followed by a discussion of ethical concerns and difficulties accompanying the research. Finally, the limitations of the study justify the scope of this particular study, which is focused on Polish migrant women in Ireland.

3.1 Natural history of the research

My interest in this area began with my dissertation to the completion of my M.A. in Intercultural Studies. At the time, I explored the cultural identity of East German women and the various influences that have formed their identity. I explored their experiences of life and perceptions of the events taking place before and after the Fall of the Wall in 1989 by means of 26 questionnaires and 9 in-depth interviews. What emerged from the data was the significant impact of their historic-political background on their specific cultural identity. Stemming from a

former Communist culture, the women in this study had formed a different cultural identity to that of their fellow countrywomen who had grown up in a capitalist culture on the other side of the Wall in Germany. Subsequently, my personal interest grew in women's cultural identities shaped by both Communist and post-Communist traditions.

Being a migrant woman with a similar cultural background myself, I began to consider how these identity elements would impact on the experience of migration. As a result, I developed the idea of exploring two groups of women who originated from a former Communist culture and the influence of Communism on their migration experience to a capitalist culture, specifically within a work environment. Consequently, I decided to explore and compare the cultures of East German and Polish women who migrated to Ireland. With the changes in Ireland and the increase in Polish migration to Ireland, I soon had to realise that I needed to change the focus of my research to Polish migrant women's overall migration experience alone. Polish migrant women are part of the largest group of migrants in Ireland, and their presence has already had a significant impact on Irish society. East German women, in contrast, form a much smaller group of migrants with no special impact on Irish life. As a result, both groups no longer seemed comparable in relation to the development of migrant communities in Ireland.

Having grown up in the former Communist regime of the GDR, the German Democratic Republic, and being a migrant for many years, I was able to share

some of the experiences of the women participating in this research. This has created a certain closeness between myself and the women in this research, but it did not erase our awareness of the differences between our lives that have been shaped by influences beyond this similar socio-political and migratory background. Yet, my own background helped me to understand the challenges of migration such women face in Ireland. I arrived in Ireland seven years ago and, similarly to these women, I had to negotiate my identity to fit into life in this new environment, without losing my original identity in this process. In addition, our similar background of having grown up in a former Communist country often resulted in us nodding with understanding when we were able to explain our experiences of such socio-political influences.

At the time the interviews took place, I was already in close contact with Polish culture. I had started a Polish language course that helped me tremendously during the research. It advanced my understanding of the women's cultural background in terms of language and culture as these are often inextricably intertwined (Agar 1994). I had also become a member of the Irish-Polish Society, which was the oldest official formation of the Polish community in Ireland. Being involved in the Polish community in Ireland, I began to form contacts across the community, such as other Polish organisations and the Polish embassy; these helped me to form further contacts and to gain some statistical insight into the Polish community in Ireland. I also had the opportunity to explore the Polish community in its core, when I received a scholarship from the Polish embassy to participate in a course of Polish language and culture in Cieszyn in Poland.

Having started with a few contacts, I soon had a good number of women and other experts I could avail of in the later stage of data collection. All I had to do next was to gather the stories those women had to tell of their migration experience for research purposes.

3.2 *Qualitative research methods as applied in this study*

This study is based on qualitative research methods. Qualitative researchers tend to use a non-positivist model of reality by searching for details in people's interactions and understandings (Silverman 2005). Quantitative researchers, in contrast, seek detail in certain aspects of correlations between variables (Silverman 2005). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) have outlined how qualitative research can provide a deeper understanding of social phenomena. They state that qualitative researchers "seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning. In contrast, quantitative studies emphasize the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes." (Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 8). Gerson and Horowitz (2002) agree with this perspective, describing qualitative researchers as being concerned with the ways people construct, interpret and give meaning to their experiences.

This research is also exploratory and does not intend to be statistically representative. In its core, the study wishes to explore the experiences and everyday lives of migrant women and provide explanation for their experience of

a migration process. Generalisation is allowed in this context, with respect to the individual experiences, because the focus here is on findings and not on samples, as it would be when statistical representativeness is the main aim (Gobo 2004). Instead of being representative, the sample chosen for this study presents "a research strategy for discovering ways that social circumstances shape individual experiences and choices." (Gerson and Horowitz 2002: 205). Aiming at discovering and developing new, rather than imposing preconceived categories on people (Gerson and Horowitz 2002), qualitative research agrees with the key aspect of grounded theory analysis (Strauss and Corbin 1998; Charmaz 2006), which is applied in this study.

3.3 *Analysis of qualitative data: Grounded Theory*

This study applies grounded theory techniques and procedures introduced by Strauss and Corbin in 1990 and revised in 1998. In its core, grounded theory develops theory from data and, in this study, allows for the emergence of new or deeper theoretical interpretations of migration experiences. As such, codes and categories are constructed from data, not from preconceived hypotheses (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Strauss & Corbin 1998; 1998; Charmaz 2006). Grounded theory was first introduced by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 and in its original form, it is based on positivist assumptions, where the researcher objectively explores an external reality. However, many grounded theorists (Charmaz 2006; Dey 2004; Seale 2004) emphasise the active role of the researcher in the research, so moving away from a positivist approach (see section 3.2). As such, the researcher

becomes a participating part of the studied world, and grounded theory is *constructed* through the researcher's past and present involvements and the interaction with people, perspectives, and research practices (Charmaz 2006). This study follows Charmaz' (2006) approach and is, therefore, based on a newer form of Constructivist Grounded Theory. In this context, she also emphasises the flexible use of grounded theory guidelines introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Strauss and Corbin (1998), including coding, categorising, memo-writing and theoretical sampling that allow the researcher to interpret a social world.

3.3.1 *Coding, categorising and memo-writing*

This study follows grounded theory guidelines and applies four techniques to its analysis, including three aspects of the coding process, which is followed by memo-writing. The first step in the analysis is what Charmaz (2006) calls initial coding. Initial coding can involve word-by-word, line-by-line and incident-by-incident coding (Charmaz 2006). In this study, both line-by-line and incident-by-incident coding were applied, which incorporated naming each line or each incident of data. Reading through data line-by-line helps a researcher to remain open to the data and to discover ideas and nuances that can flee the eye when reading through data for general analysis. Given codes then portray the meaning and actions of a story told by interviewees by focusing on process. During this stage, it is important to remain close to the data, and researchers are advised to use words reflecting action (Charmaz 2006) by using, for instance, the suffix –ing.

Initial coding often leads to developing first theoretical categories, which forms the second stage of grounded theory analysis: categorising data, that is concepts deriving from data (Strauss and Corbin 1998). Categorising compares with what Charmaz (2006) calls 'focused coding'. Categorising or focused coding often already begins during initial coding. At this point, the researcher explains larger amounts of data and combines them under one heading. Categories stand for phenomena and phenomena are important analytical ideas that derive from data (Strauss and Corbin 1998). Initial and focused coding are the two main grounded theory coding techniques applied in grounded theory analysis. Finally, Strauss and Corbin (1998) present a third type of coding, namely axial coding. Once a category has been formed, the research can develop it further in terms of its properties and dimensions, and further differentiate it into subcategories during axial coding. Axial coding explains the when, where, why, how and who of a category (Strauss and Corbin 1998; Charmaz 2006).

Fourthly, the researcher engages in the process of memo-writing, where codes and categories are developed further. It is the step immediately between categorising the data and the first draft of completed analysis. Memo-writing prompts the researcher to analyse data and codes early in the research process (Charmaz 2006). In this phase, the researcher becomes actively engaged in the material and develops ideas; at this stage, the level of abstraction of ideas is increased. Memo-writing is a space for comparison when the researcher actively compares data with data, codes with codes, data with codes, and codes with categories. However, ideally, comparison already begins during the coding phase. Making comparisons

throughout the analysis correlates with the constant comparative method highlighted by Glaser and Strauss (1967), which is a key element of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1998; Charmaz 2006; Dey 2004). Through comparison data, incidents, categories within or between interviews, researchers identify patterns of similarities and differences within data (Charmaz 2006; Dey 2004).

Finally, another technique often applied in grounded theory analysis is theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling means to seek and collect data to elaborate and refine categories in emerging theory (Charmaz 2006). It is the process of elaborating and refining developing theory by going back to the field. Here the properties of categories develop. Theoretical sampling follows memo-writing, because during this process gaps in the research become evident. To fill those gaps requires going back to the field or data for further inquiry until categories are saturated. Theoretical sampling helps to end the process of analysis by sampling to develop properties of categories until no new properties emerge (Charmaz 2006). Because of its limitations, this study did not allow the researcher to go back to the actual field and collect more data from existing or new participants; it was refined by going back to already gathered data from participants that were accessed via random sampling to fill the gaps emerging in the analysis. This meant going back to the actual data and starting the process of analysis again, by defining more codes, placing them in existing categories or forming new categories and writing new memos with these codes.

3.3.2 Coding applied in this study

In this study, 5,230 initial codes were created (see Appendix 4). These codes were formed by applying a mix of line-by-line and incident-by-incident coding, which meant that each line or incident was interpreted and labelled (see Appendix 3 and section 3.3.1). At this stage, the aim was to remain close with the actual experience of Polish migrant women, and consequently the level of abstraction was kept low (see Appendix 3). An example of such codes is represented here under the later formed category of home:

Table 3.1: Category 'home' and included codes

Home	attachment from home
	associated with family
	associated with children
	associated with friends
	linked to childhood in PO (Poland)
	in IE (Ireland) – negative
	in PO (Poland) – distant

From the 5,230 initial codes, 38 categories or focused codes were created (on the following page). Memos were included under each category and theoretical sampling was carried out by going back to the actual data until categories where saturated. The final categories, including apt memos, then led into writing the first draft of data analysis. The writing of this first draft is the immediate step after the creation of final categories and memo-writing, which reflects a key element of grounded theory: developing theory directly from data.

Table 3.2: List of categories

1.	belonging	20.	collectivism/individualism
2.	home	21.	culture shock
3.	home culture maintenance	22.	bad experiences
4.	independence	23.	'C'culture
5.	equality	24.	future orientation
6.	family	25.	generational aspects
7.	friendship	26.	accommodation
8.	communism	27.	adaptation
9.	history	28.	difficulties
10.	intercultural relationship	29.	integration
11.	pre-arrival	30.	missing in Ireland
12.	Push and pull factors	31.	Polish community papers
13.	returning home	32.	life in Ireland
14.	culture and identity	33.	Polish community
15.	socialisation patterns	34.	Polish commodities
16.	support	35.	religion
17.	Christmas traditions	36.	Polish women
18.	children	37.	cultural similarities/differences
19.	language	38.	employment

3.4 Computer-assisted analysis: CAQDAS

To facilitate the analysis of the data, computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) for analysing qualitative data was applied. For this research, I chose Atlas.ti, which was developed specifically to support grounded theory methods. The usefulness of Atlas.ti or similar CAQDAS programmes is highlighted by Barry (1998) and other researchers (Coffey, Holbrook and Atkinson 1996; Lee and Fielding 1996; Weitzman and Miles 1995). Extensive

literature on CAQDAS has discussed the pros and cons of these programmes (Barry 1998; Coffey, Holbrook and Atkinson 1996; Kelly 1997; Lee and Fielding 1996; Silverman 2005).

Coffey, Holbrook and Atkinson (1996) have raised concerns about the development of an orthodoxy of certain qualitative research approaches. They argue that some "aspects of grounded theory have been over-emphasised in the development and use of qualitative data analysis software, while other approaches have been neglected in comparison" (Coffey, Holbrook and Atkinson 1996: 8). However, Lee and Fielding (1996) respond that we over-emphasise the role of grounded theory in qualitative research and that CAQDAS supports not only a grounded theory approach. Instead, there is a variety of approaches, including grounded theory, to qualitative data analysis from which researchers can choose, and CAQDAS is a tool for facilitating any of these approaches. In response, Kelle (1997) suggests that researchers should use CAQDAS programmes openly and creatively.

During the process of analysis, I have come to appreciate how this technology can help analyse data. Amongst the benefits of Atlas.ti are the speed and comprehensiveness of the coding process. Here, I agree with Barry (1998) and Coffey, Holbrook and Atkinson (1996) as Atlas.ti helped to provide a more complex way of looking at data and to provide a structure for writing memos to develop the analysis. Furthermore, Weitzman and Miles (1995) have described Atlas.ti as an excellent programme for theory building, as it facilitates the

organisation of data by providing various tools for creating links between quotations, codes and memos. With the links, networks can be created, that can also be printed out and support the analytic process (see Appendix 5).

Finally, Atlas.ti is portrayed as one of the most user-friendly software programmes for qualitative analysis (Weitzman and Miles 1995; Barry 1998). Its operation is predominantly visual and spatial, whilst other programmes like Nudist work more verbally (Barry 1998). Its visual and spatial qualities made it possible to have all aspects of data and analysis on the screen at once and to map out relationships between different parts of data, form links and engage creatively in the process of analysis. Such relationships are, for instance, illustrated in the data analysis chapters in form of links between specific phenomena, which are often highlighted with a comment, such as 'see chapter X '.

3.5 *Main survey: data collection, sampling and participants*

In its core, this study is based on 30 in-depth semi-structured interviews carried out between September and December 2006 with Polish migrant women living in Dublin. Polish migrants have moved to different parts of the country, but a majority have settled in Dublin. To keep a close focus on one specific area, all participants were chosen from the larger Dublin area and selected via a blend of random and snowball sampling. I relied on contacts provided by other participants, but I selected my sample with a view to the variations that reflected the range of Polish women in Ireland.

While I agree with Gerson and Horowitz (2002) who highlight the importance of a carefully targeted sample for a theoretically focused study, this study follows a grounded theory approach, which purposely attempts avoiding preconceived theory from the outset and during the process of data collection. Hence, for this study the sample was chosen with regard to representing a range of women in terms of age, social and marital status, length of time lived in the host country, and professional backgrounds. The main characteristic they all shared was their lived experience of migration from Poland to Ireland. Complementing a random sampling procedure is what is called theoretical sampling (see section 3.3.1), which aims to fill gaps of the emerging theory during the process of analysis. However, due to the limitations of this study, this research has to rely on the primary random sample, and theoretical sampling was limited to going back to already collected data (see section 3.3.1).

In addition to the 30 interviews, 10 interviews with experts from various fields working with Polish/Irish matters were carried out. These included interviews with a Polish priest, employees of Polish community newspapers published in Ireland, representatives of Polish organisations, such as the Polish Information Centre and the Irish Polish Society, and the Polish Consul. Furthermore, observation of Polish events and places took place. This included the observation of social interactions of Polish migrant women in the public space that is dominated by Polish culture, such as Polish shops, restaurants, Polish organisations, a Polish mass and other Polish events. Such observation facilitated the understanding of Polish culture in general.

For comparative analysis the research ensured variations within the group of interviewees. First of all, variations exist in the length of time spent in the host country. The majority of women participating in this study comprises 18 women who arrived after EU accession on May 1st 2004. In contrast, 8 women migrated to Ireland shortly before that time, and had been living in the country for 4 to 6 years, with another smaller group of 4 women living in Ireland between 10 and 25 years (see table 3.3 below).

Table 3.3: Time of arrival in Ireland

Number of women:	Time of arrival in Ireland:
18	Women arriving after EU accession on May, 1st 2004
8	Women arriving shortly before EU accession on May, 1st 2004
4 (3 of them arrived around 1980; 1 in the beginning of the1990s)	Women arriving long before EU accession on May, 1st 2004

There are further variations in marital status, motherhood, age, professional background, and the actual occupation in the host country. Firstly, the majority of the women are either married or have a boyfriend/partner: 13 women are married, 8 of them to a Polish man, 4 to an Irish man, and 1 to another national. 9 women are in relationships, 4 of them with a Polish man, 2 with an Irish man, and 3 with another national. 6 women are single and 2 are separated from their Irish or Polish husband (see table 3.4 below).

Table 3.4: Martial status

Number of women:	Marital status:
13 (8 Polish husband, 4 Irish husband, 1 other national)	Married
9 (4 Polish partner, 2 Irish partner, 3 other national)	In a relationship
6	Single
2	Separated

Secondly, in terms of motherhood, most of the women, 19, have no children and 11 have children (see table 3.5 below).

Table 3.5: Women with/without children

Number of women:	Motherhood:
11	Children
19	No children

Thirdly, the women belong to different age groups. As shown in the following table, the majority of them, namely 20, are in their late twenties and beginning of their thirties. 2 women are younger than 25, 4 women are between 36 and 45, and 4 women are older than 45 years:

Table 3.6: Age of Polish migrant women in this study

Number of women:	Age group:
2	< 25
20	25-35
4	36-45
4	> 45

Fourthly, almost all women in this study (namely 24) received a higher education degree, similar to an M.A. or B.A. degree in Ireland. Another 3 women had been trained outside a higher education institution. Only 3 women had either not completed their studies or had not enrolled in a higher education institution in Poland due to their young age (see table 3.7 below).

Table 3.7: Professional qualification

Number of women:	Professional qualification:
22	M.A. degree or similar
2	B.A. degree or similar
3	Apprenticeship or similar
3	No degree or similar

Fifthly, of all the women, only 11 are working according to their level of qualifications in Ireland, while 19 work below their level of qualifications, which is shown in table 3.8 below:

Table 3.8: Occupation in Ireland

Number of women:	Occupation in Ireland:
11	Occupation according to qualifications
19	Occupation below qualifications

The socio-demographic data of the women participating in this research are listed in a table in the Appendix (see Appendix 2). All names in this table are pseudonyms to protect the women's anonymity and the data for the four women

who had been living in Ireland for longer have been deleted as these could easily be traced back (see section 3.7).

3.5.1 *The interviews*

As the aim of this research is to explore the experiences of Polish migrant women, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted in the main part of the research. Such in-depth interviews provide thick descriptions of the world as seen by research participants (Rapley 2004). Answers provided in in-depth interviews have the advantage of being elaborated and detailed and participants can provide detailed accounts of their experiences. The women's responses in this study provide the researcher with direct access to their experiences of migration. As such, the interviews elicit the women's perceptions of their migration experiences and the meaning they attach to such experiences (Silverman 2005). Aiming to portray the process of cross-cultural adaptation that Polish migrant women experience in Ireland, the collected data describe either their external reality, such as facts or events taking place in the host or home culture, or their internal experience, such as feelings and meanings they attach to their experiences of adapting to the host country. As a qualitative researcher, I am engaging in a process of meaning-making, in which I play an active role as the researcher. The researcher's skills in asking questions that elicit meaning, and in listening and interpreting what the interviewee is saying, are significant in this process of meaning-making interviewing (Mason 2002).

For the semi-structured interviews I used an interview script that outlined ten themes, which aimed to explore the experiences of the process of cross-cultural adaptation of Polish migrant women in Ireland (see Appendix 2). Gerson and Horowitz (2002) state that the success of each research project depends on a carefully prepared and theoretically informed interview script prepared prior to the interview. Similarly, Mason (2002) agrees that in qualitative research, interviews should have some form of structure, as the interviewer approaches the interview with a specific framework that is also expected by the interviewee. For this particular study, I thus chose semi-structured interviews and prepared a script that still remained flexible and open (Strauss & Corbin 1998) to comply with the grounded theory method, and thus allowing for unexpected turns in the interview process. Some form of structure was though provided by the ten themes that explored the experiences of migration of Polish migrant women.

The themes included in this interview script are divided into the following sections:

- socio-demographic information,

- the arrival and experience of coming to Ireland,

- expectations about life in Ireland,

- first encounter with Irish culture,

- cultural identity of being a migrant woman in Ireland,

- community and networks,

- gender or women-specific issues,

- language issues,

- integration processes,

- future plans.

These interview themes were developed to explore three phases of their migration experience: the pre-arrival phase, the present encounter with Irish culture and their future orientation. Exploring the before, present and after can reveal changes in the identity of women as a result of their migration experience. Finally, the interviews took place either in a public space, such as a café or in the private space of Polish women's homes. All interviews were tape-recorded and afterwards transcribed.

Since my knowledge of Polish is limited, all interviews were carried out in English. English was the second language for both, the interviewee and the interviewer. Having gained a little knowledge of Polish, I made an effort to include Polish in the interview where needed, and all key words were translated into Polish in advance. Such understanding of Polish facilitated the interview enormously. Critical views may point out that a member of the Polish community who would speak the language would be more suitable to carry out this form of research. However, I was ideally situated not being a member of the Polish community, so that responses by the interviewees were not defensive or carefully chosen in terms of what they said (see section 3.7).

3.6 *Preliminary survey*

During the first year of this research, I carried out a preliminary survey which was conducted in order to explore the issues of the study in a wider context and

subsequently inform the main survey. The questionnaire was delivered to forty Polish women across Ireland and completed by 22 women, one of which was not included in the research, because it included a large amount of unanswered questions. The preliminary survey was carried out shortly after EU accession to capture a specific moment in time that would be lost by the time the core survey was conducted. This preliminary survey was purposely not restricted to a specific group of women so that a lot of different data could be gathered, which informed and helped focus on the main research. It included women of a variety of age groups, living in different parts of the country, working in a variety of sectors, regardless of their length of stay in Ireland.

In addition to the questionnaire, three loosely structured in-depth interviews were randomly carried out with women who had filled in the questionnaire beforehand. The interviews were based upon the questionnaire and the answers already provided in it. They were intended to tease out some of the issues in more depth, particularly in situations where the questionnaire does not allow for such depth. For example, one woman wrote 'to be discussed' under questions, such as 'What do you (not) like best in Ireland?', or 'In what ways is life in Ireland different from life in Poland?'. Finally, during the interviews, I took handwritten notes of the answers provided by the women to create an informal and friendly environment. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that taking handwritten notes has advantages as the researcher pays close attention to what is said and note-taking also allows the researcher to take down non-verbal cues.

3.6.1 <u>The questionnaire</u>

The questionnaire explored general issues of cultural encounters within Irish society and the Irish work environment as well as more specific topics relating to Communist history, the role of women in Polish and Irish societies and the role of the Catholic Church in both cultures (see Appendix 6). It was written in both English and Polish to allow women, regardless of their level of English, to express their opinions. It also included a bilingual cover letter to inform them about the study and assure the women's anonymity and confidentiality (see Appendix 7). The experiences of women who had just arrived in Ireland are particularly crucial for the research, namely exploring their initial feelings in a yet unfamiliar environment and drawing upon their still vivid impressions.

To get in contact with Polish women, I drew upon my personal contacts, as well as a contact in the Russian department in Trinity College Dublin, and the help of the Polish embassy in Dublin, which has been supportive to my work from the outset. Before sending out the final questionnaire, it was tested in a pilot study with three Polish women and no major changes were required. Most of the questionnaires were sent in electronic form to Polish women who in turn forwarded them to friends or relatives they knew, therefore creating a 'snowball' effect. A few questionnaires were sent by conventional mail to women who did not feel comfortable filling in an online questionnaire. Six of the questionnaires were answered in Polish. They remained in Polish, though I was able to translate most of it into English with the help of a Polish friend.

3.7 Ethical concerns

This research complied with the ethical regulations of Dublin City University, where it was approved by the university's Research Ethics Committee. Such Research Ethics Committees (RECs) or Institutional Review Boards (IRBs), as they are called in the US, are common and often mandatory by law in many higher education institutions across the world. For instance, legislation in the US outlines strict rules to conduct research in all science: all research requires full anonymity and confidentiality to human participants in any research project (Martin 2007; Israel and Hay 2006). Furthermore, the use of consent forms is obligatory to ensure full informed consent of the research participants (Martin 2007). Generally, the function of RECs or IRBs across the world is to obey ethical issues in research projects undertaken by students and staff in the university. Martin (2007) has described ethics in social research as a way to find the 'right' approach for a given research project.

Ireland does not have a national research ethics body, which leaves this matter to the institutions themselves. The REC of Dublin City University follows three primary aims to ensure ethically correct research (Dublin City University Research Ethics Committee 2008):

1. To protect the rights and welfare of human and animal participants in research studies or trials conducted by or involving DCU researchers.

2. To facilitate the conduct of ethically sound, legally compliant research at DCU in accordance with national and EU legislation.

3. To advise the Research Committee on the further development of ethical policies and procedures at DCU.

Consequently, as required by Dublin City University's REC, the participating women in this study received a plain language statement explaining the details of the research in English to them (see Appendix 7). It included information about the approximate length of the interview and the topics to be covered. Furthermore, it assured the women's anonymity and confidentiality during the entire research process and that they could withdraw from the research at any time. Thus all names used in this study are pseudonyms and any information that could identify any of the women is not included in this study. In addition to the plain language statement, the women signed an informed consent form, which confirmed that they had read and understood the plain language statement (see Appendix 8).

3.7.1 *Researcher issues in relation to ethics*

The institutional power over research projects by RECs or IRBs has, however, been criticised by scholars in the past (Martin 2007; Elwood 2007; Cahill 2007; Sultana 2007; Israel and Hay 2006). As such, Israel and Hay (2006) have criticised top-down or bottom-up approaches to ethical regulations in some countries, such as top-down practices in the US or Norway. In particular, recent critique has been offered in the area of participatory research, often applied in

geography, which stresses three major concerns: top-down ethical practices, the application of formerly introduced medical models to social research, and the legalistic issue of consent forms (Cahill 2007). Participatory researchers respond to these issues by suggesting educating IRBs about the ethical commitments already embedded in their research models (Cahill 2007). Cooperation between all parties is a necessary means to fulfilling this aim. This is applicable to all social and other science, where ethical commitment is an intrinsic part of any research project. For instance, when cultural issues, such as religious or cultural traditions present individual challenges to a research project (Israel and Hay 2006), these requires adequate responses from RECs and researchers alike.

This raises the issue of the formality posed upon signing a consent form. Some of my participants felt uncomfortable when faced with this legalistic document. This concern has been raised by other researchers, such as Martin (2007) who explained that her participants felt "disempowered when clearly uncomfortable when faced with a legalistic document" (Martin 2007: 324) that she asked them to sign before the interview. In my experience, two women did not feel the need to sign the document, but were still willing to take part in the research, as we had already established a mutual relationship that made them proud to take part in it. Their behaviour may be referred back to their cultural background, which had partly been formed by the Communist regime. Having grown up in a repressive system has created distrust towards its official institutions. The formality of a legalistic document may then undermine their trust in this research and myself as a researcher. Sheridan (2004) has experienced similar ethical issues in her

research with the Vietnamese community in Ireland, who had also come from a Communist culture where signing documents arouses suspicion. Asking potential participants to sign a consent form can question the trust that has previously been developed between the researcher and the interviewee (Roth 2004). Consequently, St. Louis and Calabrese Barton (2002) add that "unless trust is established, participants may not give researchers a full picture of what it is the researchers are trying to understand" (St. Louis and Calabrese Barton 2002: 6). Without question, interviewing largely depends on creating trust, rapport and mutual commitment within a short period of time (Gerson and Horowitz 2002), which can be eliminated in a second when confronting the interviewee with this legalistic form.

Feminist studies have raised another concern, mainly about the issues of positionality and reflexivity and Sultana (2007) states that:

> "reflexivity in research involves reflection in self, process, and representation, and critically examining power relations and politics in the research process, and researcher accountability in data collection and interpretation."
>
> (Sultana 2007: 376)

She argues in favour of positionality that allows the researcher to reflect on how one is inserted in the networks of power relations and that influences methods, interpretations, and knowledge production (Sultana 2007). In addition, Sultana (2007) argues that such ethical concerns can only strengthen researchers' commitment to carry out good research that is based on building relations of mutual respect and recognition. St. Louis and Calabrese Barton (2002), who have carried out research with immigrant groups, discuss positionality in relation to the researcher's subjectivity, which they describe as two related concepts. They

define subjectivity as the life experiences a researcher has and the social, cultural, and political factors that influence the individual and how she/he engages in the research.

In this study, my presence probably formed the most important ethical concern. When reflecting upon my positionality, what was particularly important was my own cultural and socio-historic background of having grown up in the former GDR and of being a migrant myself. This, however, turned out to influence the interview positively, because my position became that of an equal partner in the interview process, sharing some of the women's cultural and socio-historic background, which I openly included in the interview from the beginning. My position thus created a closer relationship between myself as a researcher and the interviewees, and further impacted positively on my ability to interpret the data provided by them. Within this open atmosphere, the women also felt comfortable to tell their stories. In addition, I was neither a member of their ethnic community nor a member of the host community, which thus placed me in an ideal position to create a platform for this specific group of women to describe their migration experiences, as this, for instance, allowed the women to openly criticise their host, on the one hand, when they wished to do so, and on the other hand they could also present their negative views towards their in-group when this was their intention.

3.8 *Difficulties in the research*

In addition to the ethical concerns discussed in the previous section, three additional difficulties occurred in the course of this research. They were related to

language difficulties, coding and statistical data gathering. First of all, minor language difficulties occurred during the interviews, which required different ways of reacting. Difficulties, for instance, occurred when women, often with little English, asked for repetition of the question or when they wrongly replied to it. When language became a problem during the interviews, sometimes Polish was included in the interview process. In addition, all key words were previously translated into Polish so that key questions could also be asked in Polish (see section 3.5.1). The answers provided by the women were afterwards translated back into English by the researcher, or they remained in Polish as I was able to understand the answers provided by the women. In general, such questions were simply repeated at a slower speed or reformulated so that the women could understand the question. These women, who would not normally be 'selected' by a researcher, were, in fact, chosen to allow such women to tell their stories. This demonstrates the power a researcher has in terms of choosing interviewees and giving them an opportunity to tell or silencing their stories. Overall, the majority of women in this study had good English language skills, certainly adequate to carry out an interview. Many of them had already improved their English since they had arrived in Ireland, which in turn also increased their level of confidence to carry out an interview in English, speaking about their experiences as Polish migrant women in Ireland.

Another issue that arose during the analysis relates to the coding process. Aiming to stay in close relationship with my actual data, an immense amount of codes, over 5,000, was generated in the process of analysis, which subsequently was

difficult to fit into categories. This is linked to the strong focus on process when coding each line or each incident of data. Reducing these codes to a number of useful categories turned out to be a challenging endeavour. Thus, it would be advisable to begin categorising already early in the analysis, in order to avoid such 'overcoding'. However, this would impede on grounded theory practice, as later coding would then be influenced by preconceived categories, not allowing for new phenomena to develop. Perhaps, theoretical coding can be helpful to avoid such problems, as it creates a focus on already developed categories, which can then be fed with additional codes to create subcategories, thus creating thicker data, instead of creating more independent categories (see section 3.3.1). For my own conclusion, I would aim to include theoretical coding in future research projects.

Finally, difficulties occurred with gathering statistical data to underline the empirical research. Initially, I needed to rely entirely upon the information provided by the Polish embassy who was making an effort to provide some, though not complete, statistical data. The biggest hindrance in obtaining statistical data in Ireland is the lack of registration for migrant workers from the European Union. The only accessible source is PPS (Personal Public Service) numbers, which are also the only source for the Polish embassy. PPS numbers are, however, not fully representative of the actual number of Polish migrants in Ireland. Many of the Polish migrants have returned and new ones have arrived in Ireland. There is no account of those who have left back for Poland, as they can keep their PPS numbers. In addition, PPS numbers do not account for gender-specific

information, which is why there is no official account of the number of female Polish migrants in Ireland (though in an e-mail, the Polish consul provides an estimation of approximately 35 per cent of all Polish migrants in Ireland being women; Kozik 2 April 2007). Later, during the research, other sources became available, as Polish researchers have provided statistical data collected from sources in Poland (Kępińksa 2004; 2007; Grabowska-Lusińska and Okólski 2008), such as the Labour force survey and the Central Statistics Office in Poland, which provide some, though no complete, statistical evidence of Polish emigration (see chapter1).

3.9 *Limitations of this study*

The focus in this study is on female Polish migration to Ireland, thus only including Polish migrant women, not men. Nevertheless, some experiences of Polish migrant men are included, which have been described by the women in this study and are thus only provided from their perspective, not by Polish migrant men themselves. Chapter 1 has outlined the female-specific experience of migration, which differs to that of the male experience; thus calling for a distinction between their experiences. For better comparison, additional research on male Polish migration to Ireland can provide deeper insights. Including both groups would have been beyond the scope of this particular study.

In addition, this study has included women who possessed the necessary skills to carry out an interview in English. Only one woman had very little English and seven had little, but sufficient English language skills. These women were

purposely included in the study in order to give them a voice and not silencing their stories. Normally, these women would not be chosen for an interview, without involving a Polish interpreter or a Polish researcher. However, involvement of a Polish person may have influenced their responses and provoked them to be more careful about what they said. Thus, these women were involved and provided the opportunities to tell their stories with the knowledge of English they had. Only such women who had no English at all were excluded from the study. In contrast, the study by Kropiwiec (2006) of Polish migrants was carried out in Polish including all Polish migrants regardless of their English language skills. Being a Polish migrant woman herself may have made her interviewees to be more careful about what they said, though this is not clarified in her report (Kropiwiec 2006).

Furthermore, due to financial and time constraints, this study is based in the larger Dublin area. Since EU accession on May 1st 2004, the Polish community has spread all over Ireland. Further studies may provide deeper understanding of their experience, for instance, also including the experiences of rural life of Polish migrant women in Ireland.

3.10 *Summary of this chapter*

This chapter provided a methodological framework for the study of Polish migrant women in Ireland, and their individual process of cross-cultural adaptation. Having discussed the processes of data collection, sampling and interviewing as well as a grounded theory approach to the analysis of such data,

the following six chapters will present the data collected for this study and discuss them in terms of existing and developing theory. The key idea to a grounded theory approach is to approach data detached from preconceived ideas in order for theory to develop. This approach is though supported by a general understanding of existing theory in a specific area, which, for this study, is *intercultural studies*. I have thus engaged in the process of collecting and analysing data with an intercultural mindset. Having focused on the voices of Polish migrant women, the following chapters will discuss their specific experiences by drawing back to the field of intercultural studies, which is interdisciplinary, and thus partly draws on other fields from the area of social sciences. In particular, the last two chapters of data analysis (chapters 8 and 9) aim to develop new theoretical interpretations that are specific to this new form of East-West migration of Polish migrant women in Ireland. The next chapter is the first chapter of data analysis, which discusses the beginning of the journey of cross-cultural adaptation of Polish migrant women in Ireland.

Chapter 4 – data: Push/pull issues – beginning of a journey of cross-cultural adaptation

> **This chapter mainly draws on these categories:**
>
> **push/pull factors, pre-arrival, cultural shock, accommodation, life in IE, and generational differences**

4.1 Introduction – making a journey from Poland to Ireland

Being *pushed* out of their home country by various factors and *pulled* towards the host country by other factors, Polish migrant women start on their journey from Poland to Ireland. The many, often young women who seek to improve their lives in Ireland are taking a chance that was given to them as a result of EU accession on May 1st 2004. Other Polish women before them did not have the same chances of migration: they may have made the same choice of leaving their country, but they were not given the same opportunities that Polish migrant women have now. With EU accession, the borders are open for them to leave Poland and migrate to Ireland to work there legally.

To highlight the many facets of this beginning of Polish migrant women's journey of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001), this chapter captures the *push* and *pull* factors of migration that impact on their decision to locate to Ireland, both before and after EU accession. Completing the description of their journey and its

push and pull issues of migration, this chapter also captures the pre-arrival phase of migration as well as the first experiences of life shortly after arrival in the new country, to which they were lured by the promise of a full life, which they cannot have in Poland.

4.2 *Push and pull factors of migration*

Kazmierska (2003) describes the economic migration of Polish migrants as "za chlebem" which can be literally translated as "looking for bread", and is symbolic of Polish migrants seeking to fulfil basic human needs. It presents the two ends of a continuum of migration, with *push* factors at the one end and *pull* factors at the other end (see chapters 1 and 2).

Table 4.1: Push and pull factors of migration

Push factors:	Pull factors:

Unemployment	Professional pull factors:
	  – employment opportunities
	  – financial independence
	  – chain migration
	  – foreign work experience

Few professional opportunities	
Low incomes	
Lack of independence	

	Personal pull factors:
	  – Personal independence
	  – Personal reasons
	  – Further educational opportunities and English language improvement

	Personal and professional development

Generally, migrants are described as being *pulled* by economic reasons towards a new country (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001), and consequently labelling them as economic migrants, but this study reveals both push and pull factors of migration that affect Polish migrant women's journey of migration, which go beyond mere economic migration, summarised in table 4.1.

4.3 Push factors

EU accession provided a new opportunity for Polish migrant women to seek a better life in another EU country. Life in post-Communist Poland has been characterised by huge unemployment, few professional opportunities, especially for women, low salaries and, for some Polish women, a lack of independence as a result of the lack of professional opportunities. These negative factors of Polish life act as push factors to emigration. Wishing to change their lives, spiced with a little feeling of adventure, Polish migrant women leave this life behind to seek a better life in a foreign country.

4.3.1 Unemployment

A high level of unemployment in Poland pushes Polish migrants out of the country to seek employment in other countries where better opportunities exist. Though the Polish Labour Force Survey states that unemployment rates have slowly been decreasing since 2002, in parts of Poland, the unemployment rate is still as high as 30 per cent (Bezrobocie 2008). While the total average in 2002 was 19.7 per cent, in 2006, the average was, in fact, only 13.8 per cent (Labour Force

131

Survey 2007). Recent numbers confirm this positive trend with an average of 11.7 per cent in January 2008, though it is still up to 20 per cent in many areas (Bezrobocie 2008). The women in this study confirm these numbers by highlighting the difficulties of finding employment for both Polish women and men in general, as the following six examples from the interviews demonstrate:

> *"it's not really easy to find a job in Poland"*
> *"in Poland, it's very difficult now to find a job"*
> *"So, I was looking for any job, but still it was quite difficult to find something. So, I decided to move to the other country."*
> *"So, I did my degree, but it was quite difficult to find, you know it's not so easy, after the history to find any job."*
> *"On the last year in the university we were looking for a job, and there was no really fulltime positions available, so we knew it would take a long time to get a job."*
> *"Because it wasn't so easy to find a job in my city. Because I am from a very, very small city, 12,000 people."*

The majority of women in this study, including these six examples, are young graduates, who were seeking employment in Poland related to their recently obtained degrees. However, graduates, in particular, experience difficulties in finding a job according to their qualifications, which is why many young qualified people leave the country. In addition, as the last extract shows, those women who live in rural areas of Poland experience greater difficulties finding employment.

This dilemma is heightened by increased competition in the labour market. As a result of high unemployment in Poland, life there is also more competitive than it is in Ireland:

> *"You know, for example, in Poland where I worked, everybody was looking like to get a…eh… a promotion. And there was really big eh… rivals, there was really big competition. Here it's just different, and the atmosphere is more relaxed."*

Zuzanna illustrates the strong competition that characterises work life in Poland, where people fear for their jobs and have to fight hard for promotions as jobs are rare in general. As a consequence, working life in Poland appears harder and harsher for the women in this study than working life in Ireland.

4.3.2 *Few professional opportunities*

Those women in this study who, in fact, were employed in Poland often face another dilemma: they complain that there were no opportunities to advance in their jobs and that their future prospects were very low:

> *"Eh, first I taught in the school, and then I was in some companies and I couldn't really find, really good job for me."*
> *"I try to find something better as I had in Poland."*
> *"probably I wouldn't achieve as much. [...] I would be limited in my ability to do all that in Poland."*
> *"So, I was feeling kind of stuck in Poland, because I didn't develop further in my job. I was doing something related to my studies, but I didn't see any farer away. And here I could get new experience, and get the chance to save some money and also start the studies."*

As these four extracts from the interviews reveal, these women are unable to fulfil their professional aims in Poland, and consequently they migrate to advance professionally in Ireland.

4.3.3 *Low income*

Another push factor of migration is the low income level in Poland. Polish migrant women are pushed out of Poland by the low salaries they earn in their jobs. Incomes in Poland are very low compared to Ireland and it is difficult to

make a living from such an income, as explained in these four extracts from the interviews:

> "But one reason that I was earning just the average"
> "And for the same job, they do here, the same job they did in Poland, they get much more money here."
> "But with the money they give in Poland, they are not gonna survive."
> "Money bad in Poland, I don't know."

Consequently, life in Poland becomes very difficult, as it is occupied by overtime, and extra work to increase low incomes, which further results in a lack of free time.

Indeed, life in Poland has become very expensive since 1989, despite such low incomes, as many products have Western prices. As a result, people cannot afford to buy a range of material goods, including necessities, as demonstrated in the following four extracts:

> "At the moment, in Poland, it is impossible, you know. Like, if you want to, you have to pay rent, you have to pay bills, and so"
> "You can live here like normal people, I mean just like in Poland, it's very difficult now to find a job, even if you got a job, it's suppose monthly payment is 250 or 300 Euro."
> "In Poland it is more expensive. Everything is so expensive."
> "if I find a job, it's about maybe 120 Euro per month, but it's a stupid. And you must rent, eh, pay rent for house the same, 120 Euro."

All the above eight examples show that although some women are employed in Poland, they are usually badly paid. This, in turn affects their life negatively in general, as they are unable to live a desired life that requires a certain minimum level of income to cover their expenses.

4.3.4 Lack of independence

A lack of independence in Poland forms the fourth important push factor, which is interlinked with the above factors. In female migration literature, this form of migration for social emancipation has been described as a salient push factor of female migration (see chapter 1). In this study, the experience of independence, which is lacking in Poland, is twofold: financial independence and personal independence, that is freedom from family, and neither can be fully acquired in Poland.

In Poland, the lack of employment, in general, results in Polish women's inability to live independently. Migration instead provides them with professional opportunities that in turn lead to the ability to live an independent life, as demonstrated in the following extract:

> *"to have a job, to be independent, and you know, to have money, because in Poland, we until now, have a difficult situation."*

As this example shows, some Polish women migrate to seek the independence they cannot have at home, which includes a job that fulfils their professional aims (if their skills are adequate) and that provides the financial resources to fulfil their personal aims.

Thus, this study reveals that Polish women at home, in general, face unemployment, few professional opportunities, low incomes and a lack of both financial and personal independence in Poland. These push factors affect their

transformation to becoming Polish migrant women, as they are pushed out of their country by these factors to seek a better life elsewhere.

4.4 Pull factors

At the other end of the continuum are pull factors, which affect Polish migrant women's specific decision for a specific country of destination. EU accession on May 1st 2004 has opened up opportunities that were previously unavailable for Polish migrant women. Ireland was one of three countries that opened its labour market, beside the UK and Sweden. Consequently, Polish migrant women are drawn towards Ireland, for various reasons, which can be grouped into two categories: professional and personal pull factors. Professional pull factors include employment opportunities, financial independence, chain migration and foreign work experience, whereas personal pull factors include personal reasons, personal independence, that is freedom from family, and English language improvement. These factors reflect the women's space for professional and personal self-development, which leads to a self-transformation that is apparent in changes in their identity later during their journey (see chapters 8 and 9).

4.4.1 Professional pull factors

Professional pull factors include employment opportunities, financial independence, foreign work experience and chain migration.

4.4.1.i Employment opportunities: responses to labour demand gaps

A major reason that draws Polish migrant women to Ireland is employment opportunities in Ireland, which currently do not exist in Poland. In fact, in Ireland, there is a demand gap, which cannot be filled by its native labour force, and Poland, in contrast, is able to respond to these demands of the Irish labour market. According to various Irish news channels that published repeated calls from politicians and analysts, approximately 20,000 skilled migrant workers are necessary per annum to sustain economic growth at the same level it is at the moment (Harney stresses need for skilled immigrants, RTE news 2000; Irish Times 2005; Sutherland 2008). In a recent article in the Irish Times on 11th February 2008, Sutherland, the chairman of BP and Goldman Sachs International, confirms this trend and highlights the significant role migration plays in this process: as long as the Irish economy wishes to retain its five per cent growth rate.

To facilitate this East-West migration from Poland to Ireland, Polish migrants do not require work permits in Ireland[2], whereas they do in other European countries, with the exception of the UK and Sweden. A question that is often asked is why Polish migrants choose Ireland, and not other destinations, like Sweden or the UK, which also opened their labour markets. In fact, the number of Polish migrants in the UK is much higher than that in Ireland, with approximately 30 per cent of all Polish migrants each year locating to the UK (Kępińksa 2007). In their choice for a destination of emigration, normally distance to home would be taken

---

[2] This is true for EU accession on May 1st 2004, whereas Ireland has changed this and closed its labour market just before EU accession in 2006. New EU migrants from Romania and Bulgaria are now required to have work permits.

into consideration. Sweden is, in fact, nearer than Ireland and the UK, but has disadvantages from a language perspective, that is, with English being an additional language in Sweden, as well as fewer job opportunities (Wadensjö 2007).

With approximately 580,000 Polish migrants, the UK is, in fact, still the largest receiving country of Polish migration. However, as described by Jozefa[3], employment conditions in the UK are not perceived well, which is why she prefers Ireland:

> *"To be honest with you, I prefer much more this country. The London, [...] it's a lovely city, but it's too busy. You haven't got time for yourself, you haven't got time for friend. And if you working, you can here find a proper job, and you can pay you taxes, everything, and there it's not so easy."*

Similarly, Zofia reports that Poles had to pay their taxes twice, in the UK and in Poland while she worked in the UK[4]. In addition, recent articles in the British press have reported increased crime and racist attacks towards Polish nationals, which causes many Poles to leave the UK and return to Poland (Townsend 2007).

It is possible that more Polish migrant women would have emigrated to Germany or nearby countries, if those countries had opened their labour markets, as the advantage here would be the easier access to home. In fact, Germany had been a favourite destination for many Polish migrants until EU accession, with approximately 30 per cent of all Polish migrants locating to Germany each year

---

[3] All names used in this study are pseudonyms (see chapter 3).
[4] This changed on January 1st 2007 and double taxation of Polish migrant workers in the UK no longer applies. Up until then, workers paid taxes on their UK incomes only to receive further demands from the Polish Inland Revenue, which effectively meant a double taxation that was often labelled an unjust 'Pole Tax' (Sibierski 2008; Polish Culture 2008).

until EU accession on May 1st 2004 (Kępińksa 2007). According to the German Central Statistics Office, there are currently approximately 330,000 Polish migrants registered in Germany (Hönekopp 2007). The closed German labour market and the simultaneous opening of the Irish and British labour market, however, resulted in decreasing numbers of Polish migrants locating to Germany (Kępińksa 2007). Now it is simply easier to migrate to Ireland, where no work permit is needed and where migrant workers from the accession states are in fact in demand. As such, Ireland has become one of the three major receiving countries of Polish migration in the EU, besides the UK and Germany. In 2006 and 2007, another eight European states opened their labour market for the new accession states, but the incoming numbers have remained small (Kępińksa 2007).

Being pulled by this promising news, migrant workers from all over the EU enter the Irish labour market every year and the largest group is comprised of Polish nationals (Kępińksa 2007; Grabowska-Lusińska and Okólski 2008). Thus, the labour demand gap in Ireland forms a major pull factor of Polish migration in general and for Polish migrant women in this study:

> *"to have a job, to be independent, and you know, […] because in Poland, we until now, have a difficult situation."*
> *"This decision to go abroad wasn't because to earn more money, it was mostly because to have a job."*

As these two extracts from the interviews demonstrate, the migration of Polish women to Ireland is primarily professionally orientated, as the labour demand gap in Ireland forms a strong factor affecting Polish migrant women's decision to locate to Ireland.

This professional orientation to migration is, however, not to be equated with money-driven migration. In fact, migration to Ireland is specifically described by the women in this study as *not* being merely economic. Among Irish people, in general, and in some academic literature (Grabowska-Lusińska and Okólski 2008), there is a widespread image of such economic migration to Ireland, but in this study it is the women's strong wish to emphasise, that it is not money, but the sole prospects of employment and related opportunities they are after. This reflects their strong wish for professional fulfilment that pulls them towards Ireland.

4.4.1.ii Financial independence

The financial independence that can be obtained in Ireland is thus a means of fulfilling the desire for a better life, which can in fact improve their standard of living and fulfil other personal aims, such as personal independence, further education or hobbies; opportunities they simply do not have in Poland. As such, while working in the receiving country, they are creating a life there, not simply earning money, turning them into full, not just economic, migrants. According to the women, there are, however, other migrants who are simply money-driven, but they wish to distance themselves from this form of migration (see chapter 9):

> *"But in my opinion, if I were not here, I would probably work, even if the money is like worse."*
> *"the aim here is not really for money"*
> *"It's not even money, it's about the standard in life"*

This highlights the women's desire for professional and personal fulfilment that is inextricably linked to employment opportunities provided in the Irish labour market, but is opposed to a widespread image of mere economic migration:

> "I was looking for a job […] I prefer to be independent."
> "And that was something. I wanted to be independent."
> "It was when I received my first salary, I feel that I am free"

Financial independence is thus manifested in Polish migrant women's ability to fulfil their professional aims, to earn their own salary and have higher incomes.

4.4.1.ii.i <u>Polish migrant women's mobility in the Irish labour market</u>

Overall, life in Ireland is significantly shaped by the women's behaviour and mobility in the Irish labour market, as all women in this study work. The following paragraphs will illustrate Polish migrant women's mobility in the Irish labour market. First of all, women often find employment by searching the Internet, such as the FÁS website, which is the official employment agency in Ireland. There are also private employment agencies in Ireland, which are helpful when seeking employment here. Others use their contacts, that is Polish friends already working in Ireland, which are part of the ethnic community network available in Ireland (see chapter 6). Secondly, access to the labour market is linked to the specific sector, in which Polish migrants, both women and men, wish to be employed. While many Polish migrant men seek employment in the construction sector, Polish migrant women, who have little English, can avail of a variety of areas of work, including cleaning, housekeeping, catering or as *au-pairs*:

> *"it was a matter of two weeks, and all of us had jobs. It was all jobs we didn't really want, it was all restaurants, and fast foods, and guys on the building site."*

As this extract demonstrates, access in these areas is perceived to be easy as there are many jobs available in the unskilled sector in Ireland, for both women and men. In fact, 19 of the women in this study work below their level of qualification, 11 of which are placed in one of the above areas. Such women who are not well prepared in terms of language can experience huge difficulties in accessing the Irish labour market, and they find it difficult to fulfil their professional needs, ending up in jobs in the unskilled sector as described above. This form of deskilling is common amongst migrant women worldwide (Erel and Kofman 2003), where migrant women are compelled to work in areas below their qualifications, often being outside the labour force (see chapter 1).

However, those Polish migrant women who are well prepared in terms of language and qualifications seek employment according to their qualifications in the skilled sector, and in this study they succeed in this endeavour. Generally, these women would avoid working below their level of qualification, because they wish to fulfil their professional aims in Ireland. Consequently, they tend to work in administrative jobs, accounting, sales, language teaching or call centres:

> *"The women who come over here are more educated and they are looking for better jobs, and guys will be mainly thinking about working in construction, or these kind of jobs"*
> *"But it wasn't so difficult [...] I sent my CV by e-mail, and they call me back. I got this interview, and I started the job."*
> *"There's jobs out there that I wouldn't do."*
> *"I met one girl. I don't remember her name right now. But she had, but otherwise she was very stupid. [...] She came over...eh... she spent a lot of money over here. She was, she had the basic English. [...] I don't know,*

but it took for her 3 or 4 months to find a job as a waitress in the canteen in any building, where they are offices or something like that. Anyway, it's took around 4 months."
"No fully, some of them would come here without much English, and they would expect that they would get a job, and they very often would get some, you know, very basic job, and that does not satisfy their needs."

Overall, fulfilling one's professional aims is linked to one's level of preparation in terms of language and qualifications. Those with good English language skills and higher qualifications will succeed in finding work in the skilled sector, ideally according to their qualifications, and those with little English and/or lower qualifications will find employment in the unskilled sector. In fact, 11 women in this study work according to their level of qualification. Another 4 women work below their qualifications, but due to their improving English language skills found jobs in call centres or sales.

However, a number of factors exist hindering even qualified and well prepared Polish migrant women from accessing skilled employment according to their qualifications. Specific sectors in the Irish labour market are, for instance, perceived as difficult to access, including secondary school teaching, higher education and the media sector, as shown in the following two extracts:

"And also the media world is very closed here I think."
"Because I saw myself as having gained enough experience in the teaching profession that I would be a priority in the job market. That was my view. But that's not the case. ... Not in the area of teaching anyway."

These two women explained how they felt excluded from the Irish labour market within their specific areas of secondary school teaching, higher education and media despite good levels of English and required qualifications. Being declined

access to employment according to their qualifications, they are forced to work in a different area, again below their qualifications.

Similar difficulties can relate to the recognition of certificates. In the Irish education system, for instance, Polish women may find that their teaching qualification is not recognised by the Irish Department of Education and Science. Agnieszka, for example explains how she was not able to overcome these barriers to follow her profession as a secondary school teacher:

> *"But it was difficult [...] then I haven't any job. Because, you know, I was like as a teacher, but in Ireland to be a teacher, let's say secondary school, you had here this HDip Diploma, then I had the equivalence, but it was not recognised till today..."*

Full-time employment in the Irish Vocational Education Association (VEC) would also depend on an Irish qualification.

> *"and the second condition was that all the teaching staff had to speak Irish, and I didn't have Irish"*

Primary school teachers in Ireland are also required to speak Irish, which forms an additional problem for Polish migrant women.

In addition, before EU accession it was even more difficult to find employment in certain areas, particularly twenty years ago, when Ireland itself was experiencing difficulties in the labour market. At that time, employment of those with non-EU worker status, including Poles, depended on a work permit. These work permits, bound to the employer, made it difficult to find employment across a range of professions or skills:

> *"It was hard to get the work permit, but there were certain jobs, it was a little bit easier. Like, let's say for an au-pair there were some"*
> *"A lot of employers I would apply for a job, they would be very interested to employ me, but it's just, it was too difficult for them to apply for the work permit. They knew they wouldn't get the work permit for me. So, I was looking for a job for a few months really, and finally I got this job."*

This problem does not exist for Polish migrants anymore, as with EU accession on May 1st 2004 these restrictions were eliminated for all migrants of the new accession states.

The majority of women in this study work with other migrant women in the unskilled sector. This tendency can be observed in many receiving countries, where migrants are located specifically in the unskilled sector. This can be linked to the labour demand gap that is larger in the unskilled sector, where migrants fill those jobs which cannot be filled by native employees (The Poles are coming, BBC2 2008). The following four extracts of Polish migrant women in this study demonstrate that most of their colleagues would be either Polish or from other countries, including China or other EU accession states:

> *"Most of them are Polish. (laughing) […] there is just some girl from Uruguay, there is few Chinese."*
> *"Every year, there are more and more Poles in my company. So, when I came in my department, there 3 Poles, and now there are 12 Poles."*
> *"Most of them, they are Polish. (laughing) Unfortunately. No, from the beginning there was 120 people working, so there was couple of Irish, but most of them there was Polish, Slovakian, Czech, from Africa a couple, Argentina, Spain."*
> *"because in the hotel I worked with many people from different countries. And in this job I work with Irish."*

In contrast, those Polish migrant women who work in skilled areas explain that they mainly work with Irish, and not other migrant colleagues.

In addition, the public perception of Polish migration in Ireland places Polish migrant women in the unskilled sector, and not in skilled jobs, which subsequently complicates access to skilled employment. This resembles the image of the "Polish plumber" (which can be interpreted as the "Polish maid") shaped by the Irish media (see Smyth 2006 and Dudley Edwards 2007 as examples). Such jobs in the unskilled sector are described as jobs that the Irish no longer want to do because of low pay and undesirable work conditions:

> *"So, you know, it wasn't easy, because usually when you are Polish you are not offered the good job, you are offered the worst jobs that are available and the Irish people don't want to take and usually they are also very badly paid jobs, we call them the '3D-jobs', which is 'dull, dangerous, and dirty'."*
> *"but we always got jobs, like working in restaurants, or shops, or I don't know cleaning something. So, general opinion is, we don't work in some kind of jobs, like for example IT, accounting, or whatever else. You know, there is always something like service sector."*

Anita describes these jobs in the unskilled sector as '3 D'-jobs: jobs that are dull, dangerous and dirty; these are jobs that members of the host society do not want to do. Similarly, Triandafyllidou (2006) writes about Polish migrant workers who are drawn to such '3 D'-jobs in the secondary labour market as dirty, demanding and dangerous, where they often work without a contract and with no welfare benefits.

4.4.1.ii.ii Upward mobility

Some Polish migrant women who start in unskilled employment due to their basic English language skills, improve their job situation after improving their English language skills and by gaining further work experience. For them, the unskilled

sector is a space of development that allows them to earn a living until they improve their English language skills. They quickly progress in the labour market and find better employment as soon as they have acquired the necessary skills. The majority of women in this study who are employed in unskilled employment express the wish to change their jobs in the future, as these three examples show:

> *"You know, then I decided... You know, I was just cleaning rooms, I wanted to get to people or something, you know, to make my English better or something."*
> *"But perhaps you can see something positive in that, because on the other hand they do learn English and perhaps the will advance in their job or change the job after some time"*
> *"Like, after few months, I was promoted, and I was working as a supervisor in accommodation as well."*

Most of these women are currently taking English language classes in order to advance in their jobs. Some women who were working in Ireland illegally before EU accession were also confined to the unskilled sector until Poland joined the EU. By then they had improved their English language skills, and quickly progressed in the labour market. Other women, who work in the unskilled sector, progress quickly within their jobs and gain promotions to supervisory or management positions, as shown in the last extract.

To conclude, Polish migrant women's motivation in the Irish labour market is particularly strong. They have migrated to Ireland in search of a better life and to fulfil their personal and professional aims. When they arrive and do not yet fulfil the requirements to work according to their qualifications, they are often prepared to do any job. But their motivation is strong and they will quickly move upwards and progress in the Irish labour market to fulfil their aims.

4.4.1.ii.iii Foreign work experience

The following three extracts demonstrate what is a separate, but interlinked with

employment, pull factor:

> *"I wanted, you know, I was very interested, how does such job looks like, because I was never a teacher abroad, as teacher of Polish as a foreign language."*
> *"to come to Ireland was important, because of getting working experience in a foreign country."*
> *"And after I came back from States to Poland, I had been working there for two years, I just wanted to go somewhere to get some more experience."*

Gaining foreign work experience is another reason for Polish migrants to locate to

Ireland. This reveals some Polish migrant women's transnational mobility (Basch,

Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994; Glorius 2007), which spreads across

borders, as these women are drawn to Ireland by the opportunity to gain foreign

work experience whilst maintaining social networks in their home country in

order to return there eventually. They could have chosen another destination to

fulfil this aim, but they choose Ireland simply for its easy access to work, where a

work permit is not required.

4.4.1.ii.iv Chain migration

A further pull factor for migration can be what is termed chain migration in the

literature (Price 1963 cited in Castles and Miller 2003), which the following three

extracts describe:

> *"2 years ago, my friend, we were studying together, she came here to work and on holidays. And she said: 'Oh, it was great, you would love it.'"*

"I think because of our friends. We met her, she was also student in North of Poland, in P___, [...] And she came here"
"Eh, my friend, who lived in city centre, ehm, call me and said: 'Coming! We are looking for you. New job ..."

In some cases, women are drawn to Ireland by friends or other acquaintances, who already reside in Ireland, forming one major network in the host country (see chapter 6). They recommend life in Ireland to their friends who subsequently come to work and live here as well. Sometimes, they know of employment opportunities, which they then recommend to their friends. This phenomenon is labelled chain migration, where one person already resides in the host country, and brings other friends or family to that country, and they in turn bring their friends or relatives. In more recent literature, chain migration is embedded in the discussion of family and ethnic community networks, which are vital aspects of migrants' migration experience and subsequent cross-cultural adaptation (see chapters 1 and 6).

4.4.2 Personal pull factors

Personal pull factors of migration include personal independence, that is freedom from family, other personal reasons, for instance, a relationship to an Irishman, and English language improvement. These stand in contrast to a commonly perceived mere economic migration described earlier, though the financial aspects of migration provide the necessary resources to fulfil such personal aspects of migration and which reflects a desire for a full life in Ireland.

4.4.2.i Personal independence: freedom from family and partners

Being pushed out of Poland by the perceived lack of independence in Poland, Polish migrant women are pulled towards Ireland by the prospect of an independent life, both financially and personally. Financial independence, which was previously discussed under professional pull factors, and personal independence are interrelated as it is an adequate income, for instance, that provides an opportunity for living alone and pursuing other personal aims, such as further education, hobbies or travelling:

> *"here I can pay for my apartment, for everything. In Poland it is still impossible."*
> *"But I think it was more like here, I was completely independent. I was doing my life, had my job, my money, spending it my way."*

As these two extracts of the interviews reveal, the ability of living an independent life facilitates life in general. As it can only be pursued in Ireland, it, consequently, increases theses women's well-being there.

The women in this study link their personal independence, for instance, with a place of their own, which they are able to afford in Ireland, but not in Poland. For some this also means to live independent of a partner:

> *"A place for my own."*
> *"I stayed in his place at the beginning, and ... but meanwhile I was looking for something just for myself, [...] I was, it was good to be independent and to have your own place. You probably understand this. Because you are in the mood to lock into your room and forget about the rest, work. So, I stayed with him for about one month, while I was looking for my room, and then I moved out."*

Here, Borzena describes her desire for independence that is reflected in having her own place separate from her Irish boyfriend.

Other women's personal independence is reflected in their ability to live independent of their parents, as it is common in Polish culture to live with parents prior to marriage. Many, though not all, women in this study would probably still live with their parents in Poland, because they would not be able to afford their own home. In fact, not only financial constraints stop Polish women from living an independent life, but also their parents' expectations are clear on staying at home until getting married. There are exceptions when women go to university in the big cities, but generally it is common in Polish culture to remain living with parents until marriage and starting one's family. When women migrate, they naturally have to move out of their parents' house, as illustrated in the following five examples:

> *"And I would still live with parents, I presume, teaching English in school, and being probably not very happy. (laughing)"*
> *"If I go back to Poland now, I have to live with my parents, which I don't like, because I'm 28, so living with my parents after being free, would be really, ah, inconvenient."*
> *"but I like it really here, because I'm really independent. I can live on my own, well not really on my own, but with friends, which I couldn't in Poland."*
> *"Independence, yeah, because I am much more independent here than I would be in Poland. Of course, I would have to live with my parents"*
> *"Here you 'are allowed' to think of yourself first and this is why you are happier."*

As such, migration provides Polish migrant women with the opportunity to seek their independence from parents. The five women above would, in fact, still live with their parents, or have to move back in with their parents, if they returned to

Poland. Although migration plays a major role in Polish migrant women's desire for independence, these aims are still linked to maintenance of family values, as family and family values are key aspects of Polish culture (see chapter 5).

4.4.2.ii <u>Personal reasons</u>

Another pull factor affecting Polish migrant women's decision to locate to Ireland comprises other personal reasons, such as relationships:

> *"But migration was not economical or political, just, as it happened, I got married here."*
> *"And I met my boyfriend, he is Irish. So, that's why I am here."*
> *"I got married an Irish man and, ehm, we came to live here in Ireland."*

Such personal reasons are linked to a relationship with an Irishman. Six of the women in this study are either married to or in a relationship with an Irishman. There are three women who lived in Ireland in the 1980s, who, for instance, met their Irish husbands either in Poland or in a third country, where they met professionally. Usually they married in Poland, and came to Ireland as the wife of an Irish husband. Two women, who arrived in Ireland shortly before EU accession, met their Irish boyfriend or husband during a previous stay in Ireland, and joined them here. Another four women in this study are in relationships with other migrants residing in Ireland, and they mutually decided to reside together, at least for some time, in Ireland.

Similarly to personal independence, personal reasons highlight the existence of other reasons besides mere economic migration to Ireland. In fact, not all Polish

women who migrated were unhappy with their jobs in Poland. Some enjoyed their employment and had very good jobs, for instance in the area of teaching, academia or accountancy (although usually their income was not very high), as Agnieszka, for instance:

> *"Yeah. I was just working, I was the professor assistant in S___ University, for several years before, in Spanish and French. And I was writing articles for the, the like academic press, and I was teaching literature and life institutions, and languages, Spanish and French."*

Agnieszka migrated for personal, not economic, reasons, as she married an Irishman. She then moved to Ireland despite her good professional life in Poland. Other reasons include the women's wish to advance their careers through further studies or English language courses abroad. These women differ to those Polish migrants who are primarily pushed by economic factors, such as unemployment, difficult work conditions, low income or lack of opportunities for advancement within in their areas.

4.4.2.iii Further educational opportunities and English language

More practically, some Polish migrant women's decision to migrate to Ireland is, for instance, affected by the prospects of further educational opportunities, as shown in these two quotes:

> *"then also I wanted to do ACCA. It's a ACCA professional, it's for accountants, the post-graduate studies. So, because here so many companies they sponsor this studies and it was the only way to do it. Because in Poland I wouldn't be able even to afford it. Here, even they don't sponsor, I will be able to pay for it."*
> *"I was actually, I was laughing, I actually stayed only here because of libraries (laughing), because of sources. When I came to (name of an Irish university), I was like 'Oh my god, I can touch older books now.'"*

153

These two women were able to develop professionally as they had better opportunities for further education in Ireland. One of the reasons was that they were able to afford their studies here, which they were not able to do in Poland.

Similarly, many women were pulled towards Ireland in particular by the prospect of improving their English language skills, either through additional courses or through communication with native speakers in a native-speaking environment:

> *"But was big problem for me, because in Poland I have a work. And my boss, when I told him Ireland, he told me 'No, you can't go to Ireland, because I need a staff here.' But I tell him, 'Sorry, I need learn English'"*
> *"because the reason I came was focused on the English language"*
> *"the most important thing for me was just to study English, for that year study English."*
> *"When you come to the country, just to study English first… that's the main reason…"*

Many Polish migrant women choose to migrate to Ireland instead of, for example, Sweden, another country with an open labour market, but a different language. They are motivated to improve their English language skills, and consequently choose a country, like Ireland, that allows them to work there.

4.4.3 *Pull factors: opportunities for personal and professional development*

The demonstrated pull factors provide an opportunity for Polish migrant women for personal and professional development. It is thus migration that provides a space for personal and professional development:

> *"You develop professionally, but personally as well, I think. And you open your mind as well, and you meet many various people."*
> *"if you start doing something you can better know yourself, what you really want, what you really want to do with yourself"*

Polish migrant women see an opportunity in their lives that allows them to develop personally as well as professionally. Migration opens their view of the world, while increasing their knowledge of another part of the world and life there. As such, it creates a space for personal development, which leads to self-transformation or identity change. Thus, migration provides a space for such development that subsequently leads to self-transformation. This self-transformation is manifested in the development of a larger intercultural identity (Kim 1988; 2001) that is an outcome of Polish migrant women's individual process of cross-cultural adaptation, and that is discussed in the final two chapters of data analysis, which examine the final part of Polish migrant women's journey (see chapters 8 and 9).

To sum up, Polish migrant women wish to fulfil both their professional and personal aims in Ireland. This would not have been possible for their parents who had limited opportunities to leave Poland during the Communist era. For instance, the three women in this study who were already living in Ireland in the 1980s, were primarily pulled by personal reasons rather than for reasons of independence and work, which was also not as easily available as it is today. They may have had a similar desire for financial or personal independence, but they had difficulties achieving such aims. Now, the new Polish migrant women are more easily able to come here alone or with friends and partners, live independently of their parents, find employment, be it skilled or unskilled, pursue their educational careers, study English and subsequently develop personally as well as professionally.

4.5 Pre-arrival: preparation, pre-experience and pre-knowledge

Being either pushed or pulled, or both, towards Ireland, the Polish migrant women in this study arrive in Ireland more or less well prepared and with different levels of pre-experience and pre-knowledge about life in the new culture. Overall, this pre-arrival phase describes Polish migrant women's predisposition (Kim 1988; 2001), which significantly affects their migration experience. For instance, some women have stayed in other foreign countries before they came to Ireland; some have stayed in England, others in Norway or other European countries, and some have stayed farther away, such as in the US:

> *"Exactly. Maybe because before I was in London, so that was much easier, because I'm, I knew what I can expect when I come over. So, it's difficult when you go somewhere first time and you don't know."*
> *"You see, when I studying, every year I was working somewhere. I've been in Greece, in Holland, last year I was working in Manchester. So, it was for me normal. So, I am going abroad for more than few weeks. No, I don't. It was natural for me."*

These two Polish migrant women, for instance, had already lived in other European countries before they located to Ireland and they bring this experience with them to Ireland. In fact, having had this intercultural experience facilitates their cross-cultural adaptation as it helps them to manage life in Ireland, especially in the beginning.

4.5.1 Pre-knowledge

Most of the women's pre-knowledge about Ireland focuses on the country's 'C'culture, that is High culture focusing on the cultural artefacts of a country (see chapter 2), or on the country's natural history. In terms of 'C'culture, Polish

migrant women have heard of Guinness, St. Patrick's Day, Riverdance or Irish music. They had also heard of Ireland as being a green island, where the weather is bad and it rains a lot:

"I knew, everybody was saying that the weather, it's terrible... (laughing)"
"I knew that it's in Ireland, the weather, it's really bad"

Some also had a basic knowledge of Irish history, which is probably related to the perceived similarity to Polish history. Some migrants had collected information about life in Ireland, the country of their destination, including employment, accommodation and costs of living, which, for instance, prepared them for the higher costs of living in Ireland. Being also well-informed about employment opportunities in Ireland, consequently affects their decision to migrate to Ireland.

However, their pre-knowledge was perceived as insufficient by the women in this study. Ireland was a distant country, and basic knowledge was acquired from travel guides or the internet, the most important source of information for Polish migrant women. After EU accession, a number of websites were created that facilitate the life of Polish migrants in Ireland. There are now a variety of websites for Polish migrants in Ireland run by the Polish embassy, the Polish church or other Polish organisations in Ireland (see for example: Polish Embassy 2008, The Polish Chaplaincy 2008, Polish Information and Culture Centre 2008; Irlandia Online 2008; Polski Dublin 2008)

Before EU accession, Ireland was not as well known in Poland as it is today, though this has changed recently, as shown in these three extracts:

"Ireland was quite remote from Polish perspective"

> *"I knew Ireland a little bit from, you know, some movies, or you know, some documentaries that I saw in Poland. But there would be more about 'Ireland years ago' rather then 'Ireland now'."*
> *"I think a lot of stuff. We always heard a lot of programme about Ireland, Irish music in the radio, television, so... Ireland is popular country."*

With the increasing number of Polish migrants travelling to Ireland, contact between the two countries has subsequently increased. This has resulted in more programmes about Ireland on television or articles written in newspapers, which consequently has led to increased knowledge about life in Ireland among Polish people.

4.5.2 *Level of preparation*

Polish migrant women in this study arrive with different levels of preparation in Ireland, depending on the kind of work they intend to do or the contacts they had with people already living in Ireland. However, being prepared and having planned carefully for a life in Ireland, is perceived as an important factor in the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001). This planning ranges from gathering information about life in Ireland, contacting friends or acquaintances in Ireland, organising employment beforehand, and acquiring or improving English language skills:

> *"So, if you go prepared like that and you have your objectives, I think it is much easier to get along with different situations abroad."*
> *"I guess we have like good plan, what to do."*
> *"That's why I think Polish women are quite well organised. They don't really need some support from the family. So, when they decided to come here, it's their decision."*

In conclusion, Polish women, in contrast to what they believe, do organise themselves well before migrating to Ireland, as the above three extracts demonstrate.

4.5.2.i *'Risk-reducing' preparation activities*

To reduce some risks of migration, that is the prospect of unemployment or inability to communicate in the new environment, some Polish migrant women adopt certain 'risk-reducing' activities.

4.5.2.i.i *Organising employment before arrival*

The first such 'risk-reducing' activity Polish migrant women adopt is that they organise employment before they arrive in Ireland:

> *"He was looking for a job already in Poland, when we lived in ___. Using the internet, he was applying for a job and he was offered the job in ___."*
> *"Actually ___, they relocated me when I was in France. Because I was in France before I came here, I was applying for other jobs with them. […]It was really good."*
> *"That would have been a little too risky. […] It was actually arranged in Poland. Yeah, I was looking for a job in agency, and I got one for 6 months. So, I knew I was coming here, and something was arranged."*

These three extracts reveal how organising employment prior to arrival in Ireland, independently or through an agency, provides a safe feeling for the women's migration endeavour.

There are various ways of organising employment before arrival. Those women with existing networks, such as friends or family, were able to avail of such networks to find employment (see chapter 6), such as this woman:

> *"But my friend, she was here, and she gave me call that I can come, because they were looking for people, who can work and I came on the 1st of November and on the 2nd I started with my work, with my training."*

Other women sent applications before they came to Ireland and had interviews already set up before arrival, as did this woman:

> *"I already applied when I was in Austria, and a lot of agencies replied me when I was in Austria, so I thought it would be so easy, one or two weeks."*

Not having employment organised before emigration appeared too risky for all these women.

4.5.2.i.ii Remaining in employment in Poland

Another 'risk-reducing' activity is for Polish migrant women to remain in employment in Poland, and, for instance, take a leave of absence for a defined period of time, after which they will return to Poland. The following two women kept their previous jobs in Poland when they migrated to Ireland:

> *"I said in my school I want holiday, 1 year, (laughing), and I coming, I came here."*
> *"Because I took a leave of absent (absence)."*

Remaining in employment in Poland provides a form of safety: in case they did not find employment in Ireland, they could always return to Poland.

4.5.2.i.iii <u>English language classes</u>

For some women, preparation before arrival in Ireland also included English language classes in order to be able to communicate in the new environment and also to reduce the risk of unemployment:

> *"like before in Poland I used to study a little bit, just typical general English course, like twice a week, and I reached more or less First Certificate level."*

Like this woman, some Polish migrant women attended English language classes to prepare themselves for coming to an English-speaking country. English language skills are perceived as the minimum skill needed to survive daily life in Ireland, which is why some women choose to enter Ireland while studying English.

4.5.2.i.iv <u>Agency support: employment and English language classes</u>

Other women involved an agency to organise employment and/or English language classes for them. Those women, for instance, who came to Ireland as au-pairs, also had the help of an au-pair agency:

> *"I contacted an agency who did that. They found the family for me as well. So, it was a great ...great... Both agencies were great, because if I wouldn't like the family, or if the relationship between us wouldn't really be great, I could change the family, and the Irish agency would then help me out to find a family."*

As described by Katarzyna, the agency usually prepares everything for them: they organise a family, flights and accommodation. They also take care of the women during their stay in Ireland. Again, this is part of the safety net these women use before migrating to Ireland.

Similarly, other women had the help of an agency that organises English language courses and employment for them in Ireland:

> *"And we had some place in my city and they organise like the course in Ireland. So, that's why it was more easy for me. It was name like 'Learn and work' or something like this. […] So, yeah, I paid in Poland like a €1,000 and it was for the 6 weeks school and 2 weeks hostel. And they find a job for me as well."*

Such help facilitates the women's stay in Ireland enormously, because the agency takes care of everything.

4.5.2.i.v Shared experience of migration

Shared experience, or the help of already residing acquaintances in Ireland, facilitates migration to the new country enormously, as the following five examples show:

> *"Yeah, I just with my friend, I asked her where I can find information"*
> *"I have some friends here, 3 boys actually, and they live here, and I call them before I come here."*
> *"I was talking to my friends"*
> *"I took decision to come to Ireland, then I spoke to my cousin, and then he told me that ___ is also going there. So, I got in contact with her, and we decided maybe we could live together."*
> *"4 other people came with me and we all are still here."*

Those women, who already knew somebody in Ireland, could avail of the help from these acquaintances: how to get information and what to prepare before leaving Poland, thus benefiting from existing networks in Ireland (see chapters 5 and 6). Others emigrate together with friends or other acquaintances as sharing the experience of emigration helps them to adjust to the new environment.

4.6 Ireland: the lure of a full life

Influenced by a mix of push and pull factors and with different levels of pre-knowledge and preparedness, Polish migrant women now enter the reality of life in Ireland. Overall, life in Ireland is characterised by the ability to afford a life, by having a job and an adequate income, which Polish migrant women do not have in Poland. Hence, they can afford accommodation, a social life, including going to the cinema, theatre or just going out, perhaps further education, travel home or to other places on a regular basis:

> *"And when I started to live my life I used to, I feel better, you know? It was when I received my first salary, I feel that I am free, you know, […] I can go to the cinema, I can buy, you know, I can go to the theatre, you know. I like it."*
> *"Maybe some easier life as I have in Poland. So, that means that I have some money to go everyday, which I want to pub with some friends, to buy some dress or some shoes, when I want to buy, not when I have some money."*

As demonstrated in these two extracts, life in Ireland is perceived as being easier than life in Poland, as the women can enjoy many aspects of life outside work. It is an important reason for being in Ireland, despite the lack of family and friendship (see chapter 6).

Furthermore, Polish migrant women in this study praise the Irish landscape and their perception of 'Irish mentality', which is perceived as being very relaxed, open and welcoming:

> *"Yeah, I like life in Ireland."*
> *"That it's international mix, you know, you can meet people from every country in the world."*

163

They enjoy the multicultural environment in Ireland and, surprisingly, the smoking ban.

Also, the social nature of Irish people is enjoyed, despite some barriers to access the host community networks (see chapter 6 for fuller discussion):

"I like this atmosphere, and I like this little like social life in Ireland."

This easier life in Ireland is also linked to the perceived relaxed attitude to life in Ireland, as, for example, there appears to be less competition between employees in the workplace (see section 4.3.1). The relaxed attitude of Irish people spreads across private and public life, and differs from the more competitive attitudes in Poland.

However, before the Celtic Tiger in the 1990s, when Ireland was not experiencing its economic boom it was not as easy to live in Ireland as it is now. Back then, Polish migrant women often did not find employment and did not have relatively good incomes, which, in fact, made life very difficult then. They also did not have as much support from the Polish community, because, simply, there was no Polish community at that time:

> *"Life was very bad, I must say. I had ... My first like months, it was the most... I was freezing all the time, because I just came in the beginning of November. We had the house – this was something fantastic – on our own, but with no single piece of furniture, completely cold, I couldn't dare speak too much English, my husband was in work from morning to evening, and then he was going to Goethe Institute, and then he was singing in choir. And I was there, completely on my own."*

Struggling with life in the 1980s, Agnieszka describes the consequent feelings of loneliness, which are common among migrants, in particular those who cannot avail of support networks in the receiving country (Sheridan 2004), such as friends (Malikiosi-Loizos and Anderson 1999). This is linked to the level of institutional completeness (Breton 1964) Polish migrant women experienced during this time, which was lower than the level of institutional completeness today (see chapters 1 and 6).

Whereas Polish migrant women in the 1980s had to struggle with unemployment and a difficult life in general, the new Polish migrant women who arrived after EU accession in 2004 have a great range of opportunities that, in general, provide them with a better life than they would have in Poland. There is, however, a negative aspect to this positive experience of life in Ireland, which begins to reveal itself after arrival in the new culture.

4.6.1 *Initial difficulties of life in Ireland*

In contrast to the positive experiences of life in Ireland, the women in this study begin to uncover the negative aspects to that life. For instance, they complain about extensive alcohol consumption and alcohol abuse in Irish culture. They complain about the cost of living, expensive childcare and inadequate and expensive health care in Ireland:

> *"I don't like the problems that they have with health system and things like that. They are so expensive and so insufficient, and you have to wait like such a long time in hospitals and something like that. It is kind of frustrating when you think of your future and children and something like that."*

They also complain about the limited range of cultural activities and the transport service, particularly in Dublin.

Furthermore, difficulties often relate to Polish migrant women's English language proficiency. Particularly on arrival, these women struggle to find their way around when they are suddenly faced with a new language that they do not speak well, as shown in these two examples:

> *"Yeah, and sometimes I feel that I cannot express myself the same way as in Polish. So, I just miss words…"*
> *"And I went for 1 year, but then after 1 year, I can't say, I didn't collapse, but really, I found it like very hopeless here. Because I couldn't find a job, and English, it was not like very brilliant, because we had no money to pay my proper classes, and I was perhaps too tired, only too lazy to do myself, because I could, but I had not energy."*

Such difficulties with the English language can also be a hindrance for migrants to find employment as in specific areas excellent English language skills may be required, such as Anita who experiences barriers to working as a journalist:

> *"You can imagine when I came here, it wasn't that easy to find a job, and that would much be my interest, because … to write…there are so many writers already here writing in English, excellent English writers. And also the media world is very closed here I think."*

Others experience difficulties in the beginning, when they have to find their way around in the new environment.

Finding accommodation and work in order to pay for their new lives proves to be a challenging task in an unfamiliar environment where different rules apply:

> *"but myself and M___, we had a very hard, very difficult beginning here. I don't know, you...? […] we didn't have flat, we couldn't find, because we*

166

> *didn't have eh... we didn't have money for that. We had some, but not*
> *enough."*
> *"I think I am still beginner here, so for me it's not very easy. It was*
> *difficult everything, like accommodation, like everything, because it was*
> *new... and find a job..."*
> *"I remember on my first week, it was terrible. I don't understand*
> *nothing."*

These kinds of problems begin to unfurl as Polish migrant women encounter the cultural differences between their home and the host culture.

4.7 *Summary of this chapter*

The lure of a full life in Ireland that provides Polish migrant women with such aspects of life that are missing in Poland pulls them towards Ireland. In an economic context, Polish migrant women respond to the demand gap in the Irish labour market. On a personal note, however, these women migrate to fulfil their professional and personal aims, which they are not able to fulfil in Poland. This opportunity was provided by EU accession on May 1st 2004. This chapter has captured the initiation of the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) and the discovery of both positive and negative aspects of this new life. It also touched upon the initial difficulties that consequently unfold when individuals of one culture engage in life that is dominated by another culture. The cultural reasons that underlie such difficulties and that affect their individual process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001), are explored in the following chapter of data analysis.

Chapter 5 – data: Polish culture's impact on cross-cultural adaptation to Irish culture

This chapter mainly draws on these categories:
Cultural similarities/differences, history, religion, family, friendship, collectivism/ individualism, 'C'culture, socialisation patterns

5.1 Introduction

Having arrived in the new culture, Polish migrant women now experience the reality of life in Ireland. Sharing a perceived similar cultural background, they expect to get on well in Ireland. This proves to be rather difficult when they engage with the reality of life there and begin to discover the differences between both cultures. To understand this specific experience of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) of Polish migrant women to Irish culture and its challenges, one needs to understand how both Polish and Irish culture compare, and what impact the perceived similarities and differences between both cultures have on individual women's cross-cultural adaptation. For this reason, this chapter focuses on Polish culture and how it differs to Irish culture. It explores the cultural reasons behind Polish migrant women's activities and the effects on their individual process of cross-cultural adaptation that mark a transformation of their cultural identity (Kim 1988; 2001).

5.2 Cultural similarities

On the surface Polish and Irish culture appear to be very similar. In short, both countries share a similar history of foreign occupation and both countries also experience(d) large waves of emigration:

> *"Sometimes, I think we are very similar in a way, but in many ways we are not. I think the history is very similar and you know the fact that Ireland was always invaded by England, and Poland by other countries. It's kind of, the history is similar, but, you know..."*
> *"We had similar history, and the same things happened in Poland about the independence, and so on."*

As Katarzyna and Emilia note, Polish history resembles Irish history to some extent: both peoples fought for their independence for many years, though the length of foreign occupation is different in each country. As a result of their weak economies (Ireland in the past and Poland until today), they have also experienced large waves of emigration. All over the world, as in the US, Australia or Germany, there are both Polish and Irish communities that have been formed over the past centuries (see chapter 1).

Some of the women believe that these similar experiences facilitate the adaptation of Polish migrants to Irish society:

> *"Also, Ireland has long experienced emigration, mainly to the US. This is similar to what Poland experiences now with so many Poles emigrating to Ireland and the UK."*
> *"They were both fighting for independence, maybe this influences the way both people keep together."*

These two extracts highlight how the perceived similar history of emigration and fighting for independence impact on the women's expectations to get on well with

169

Irish people. However, the first extract already touches on possible greater differences that lurk underneath this surface. While Polish people still emigrate, Irish people, in contrast, have generally stopped emigrating in large numbers, with Ireland becoming a country of immigration since the Celtic Tiger.

In addition, both countries share a similar religious background, as both countries' majority religion is Catholicism[5]. The majority of both Irish people (Census 2006) and Polish people are Catholic. Consequently, Polish people are perceived as adapting more easily to Irish culture because of their similar Catholic background, for such similarity is believed to lead to attraction (Byrne 1971), as demonstrated in the following extract:

> *"Both countries are Catholic… so people may have similar beliefs and attitudes towards life."*

This woman, for instance, considers that a similar religious background creates a similar view on life with similar values, such as family values. This may be true on the surface, but when looking closer at religious practices in each culture, differences are apparent. Furthermore, in this study, Polish and Irish people are believed to share some socialisation patterns, such as a similar drinking culture. This is enhanced by a belief that they also share some cultural attributes, as both Polish and Irish people are described by the women in this study as being polite, open, and friendly as well as helpful and supportive.

---

[5] For Ireland this is no longer true. As a result of immigration over the last 30 years, there are now many other religions in the country, evident in census 2002 and 2006 (Census 2002; Census 2006).

As a result of such perceived similarities between the two cultures, Polish and Irish people are expected to get on well, as such similarities should facilitate initial contacts and create some initial closeness between people of both cultures:

> *"so maybe that's why it is easier for the Irish and Polish to kind of understand, or there is more sympathy towards the Polish for instance, rather than towards the African Americans, for instance."*
> *"Oh, that's a good thing, actually, a good subject, because when I came here, I felt 'Oh, yeah, it's will be great, because almost the same.' But as I'm here, I can't see that."*

As shown in these two quotes from the interviews, due to a perceived similar cultural background between Polish and Irish culture, the process of cross-cultural adaptation is described as being easier for Polish migrants than for other migrants from more distant cultures, as culture distance has an effect on migrants' adjustment to the new environment (Ward and Searle 1991). However, the last sentence in the last quote already questions this assumption, and reveals that this woman's expected perception of similarities between Polish and Irish culture, which were believed to facilitate the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001), are not obvious to her since she arrived in Ireland.

5.3 Cultural differences

When probing underneath the surface of such perceived similarities, many differences appear which then impact negatively upon Polish migrant women's cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001), thus highlighting the importance of the study of cultural differences (see chapter 2). The following table outlines both the previously described perceived similarities and cultural differences that

emerge in reality between Polish and Irish culture as described by the women in this study.

Table 5.1: Perceived cultural similarities/differences in Polish and Irish culture

Perceived similarities:	**Cultural differences:**
Historic background: emigration and foreign occupation	History: – history of the Polish nation – the Polish experience of foreign occupation – Communism and effects of Communism (distrust in authorities, intangible values, the development of a public and private face, communication styles, a determined attitude, Polish High culture, power distance)
Religious background: Catholic	Religious practice and changes in religious faith
Socialisation patterns – drinking habits	Socialisation patterns, such as drinking habits, public and private places
Cultural attributes	The Polish family
	Collectivist values
	Friendship
	Cultural attributes

As this table indicates, and as the interviews in this study reveal, behaviours and values vary to a greater extent than appears to be the case on first impression. For instance, despite the perceived similar Catholic background, both culture's religious practices vary in many ways, such as mass attendance (see section 5.5).

Also, the perceived similarity in drinking habits differs in both cultures, similarly to the perceptions of friendship or the time women wish to start a family. The following sections explore these and other cultural differences between Polish and Irish culture that are hidden underneath the perceived similarities, and which subsequently impact on the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 188; 2001).

5.3.1 Cultural differences: the history of the Polish nation

Specific historic events are not shared between Polish and Irish culture, that is the Polish Communist background. Other historic events were experienced differently and thus had a different impact on Polish culture than on Irish culture, such as WWII and the Polish experience of foreign occupation. These historic experiences have contributed to the *collective memory* (Irwin-Zarecka 1994) of the Polish nation, which forms aspects of the Polish *imagined community* (Anderson 1983; 1991). The interviews reveal such a sense of community based on these common experiences, which play a significant role in the lives of Polish migrant women.

This is, for instance, revealed when these women include such historic experiences, their own or their parents' experiences, in their conversations with friends or with members of the host country:

> *"especially people in my age, they trying to mind...eh... remember the Communism time. And that what is actually very often things, sometimes when we are doing evenings, we are chatting with ___ and she is talking: 'You remember that queuing things...'"*
> *"because for me, but also in my family, was the very strong issue, I got from my parents, my mother was, during the war she was in Polish resistance, she was in AKA – AKA is the Polish Army – and she was arrested by Gestapo and she was interrogated for over 6 months in*

> *Warsaw. She survived, because she had some reasonably good German, so she knew what they were asking her and how to answer. So, that really saved her life. […] And my father also survived the war."*

As these two extracts from the interviews reveal, Communism, one part of history that is not shared with Irish people, and experiences of WWII have significantly shaped the history of the Polish nation to which these women belong.

For the majority of women in this study, their collective memory, which describes a socially articulated and maintained reality of the past (Haseman, Nazareth and Paul 2005; Irwin-Zarecka 1994; 1996) of these times in Polish history is strong, as Emilia says:

> *"Yes. It is important, it's part of our culture. So, we are still involved in our history, we are doing, we are actually our history, we will be history..."*

Both past and recent historic events have shaped the collective image of the Polish nation, and both are described as being an important part of Polish women's identity. However, other Polish migrant women do not feel the significance of looking at the past at the history of their country. Instead they depreciate this part of their identity and look forward towards the future:

> *"For me, history is history, you know, and now is now. I prefer to look towards future rather than towards the past, but, you know, it is important. You know, all those important things in Polish history, but you know they wouldn't have any impact on my life."*

Polish history for them has no impact on their current life. They have, however, escaped that history by emigrating.

5.3.2 Cultural differences: Polish experience of foreign occupation

One distinction between the Polish and Irish historic background relates to a different experience of foreign occupation. As a result of Poland's long history of occupation by different neighbours, its territory changed many times and included many different areas, all occupied by various cultures. Poland has thus been influenced by countries such as Russia, Lithuania, the Ukraine and the Czech Republic. In contrast, although Ireland was similarly occupied by its neighbour, England, its only influence was British culture. Thus, some women in this study believe that Polish culture is filled with the legacy of a variety of different cultures, which makes its own culture very rich:

> *"We were influenced by all those countries around us, we accept a lot of customs, we have very rich history, very rich traditions, coming from all those countries and our own adopted ourselves. And we live by that traditions, we, we celebrate, and we stick to them. While the Irish don't have that that much, such a tradition, maybe, or they have in different like music etc. But maybe is not that much."*

As this extract shows, Poland has gained a richness of cultures that is implicit in Polish culture today. Diversity was always implicit in Polish culture, and as a result, Polish people celebrate this variety of cultures and traditions. This, however, disappeared after WWII once the Communist regime gained power and created a place where ethnicity was replaced with the goal of all working together for socialism.

5.3.3 *Cultural differences: a history of Communism*

Communism, in particular, is one significant part of Polish history that is not shared with Irish history. The identity of Polish migrant women in this study has to different degrees been influenced by this time. What they have not experienced themselves may have been experienced by their parents who have passed their experiences on and in turn have partly shaped their children's identity. Many of the women in this study are, in fact, very young and do not relate to past historic events, such as the two World Wars or Communism:

> *"When the Communist time was in Poland, I was young, I was child. I say, I don't remember everything, but I say maybe only what I know, then it's ... We couldn't go abroad, like now, without visa, this was maybe the first."*
> *"I can't tell you, because I was still a child, it didn't really bother me."*
> *"I was lucky enough that when I was a kid, I do remember those stories, but they didn't really have much impact on me. Fine I didn't have Barbie, and I didn't have chocolate; but I didn't know what Barbie was, and what chocolate was. And then I was teenager and Communism started to melt, and it's like, it didn't really affect me very strongly."*

As these three women explain, despite some memory of that time, Communism began to weaken during the time when they grew up but still formed a significant part of their cultural identity. Instead of such direct influence, younger Polish migrant women were, however, often influenced by their parents' experiences of that time, which they passed on through family narratives. In addition, in the aftermath of Communism, times were still shaped by its effects. Consequently, the women in this study have very distinct cultural identities significantly influenced by both the Communist and the Post-Communist period, and are discussed in the following sections.

5.3.3.i Effects of Communism: distrust in authorities

The six older women in this study, in particular those three who arrived here at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, would be strongly influenced by experiences during Communism. One woman, for example, speaks about her fear of policemen or men in uniform which developed during that time:

> *"Well, not anymore, but not long ago I would always be scared of policemen, for example. I was scared. Not now, because I know the Garda are very different and very approachable, but from experience I would be afraid. And in fact, anybody in uniform, when I answer my door and policemen are there, you would get a fright. (laughing) Yes. 'What have I don't wrong?'"*

Another woman explains how she avoids speaking about important things over the phone, because their phone was tapped during Communist times. It is her father's distrust of the phone that impacts upon this woman's own distrust, as a result of surveillance by the secret police during the Communist era:

> *"my father told us: 'Never say anything important over the phone.' And it's funny, even now, when I'm on the phone, without even thinking, I am very short, very efficient, kind of, you now"*

Women like these two would tend to be very suspicious and distrustful, because they were under observation for so many years and still retain habits from that time.

5.3.3.ii Effects of Communism: experiences of queuing and shortages

Two specific experiences exist that almost all women in this study, regardless of their age, remember: queuing and shortages. The Communist era in Poland was

characterised by constant shortages of products, food and other material items; often products were simply not available on the market. Whenever specific items did appear they were rare and thus also desirable. People had to queue in order to obtain a little of such limited products. From these experiences, the women in this study learned to live both with shortages and with the fact that it is not that easy to obtain everything that a person wants. Not having everything available at any time also meant that people had to live with what they had and they had to be inventive. For some children, for instance, this meant that they did not have many dolls and other toys and that they had to find other ways to play. As a result, they learned that material values are not particularly important and that they can find other ways to have what they like. Similarly, parents had to be inventive when they missed certain ingredients for cooking or when they could not obtain an item for the household that they would have liked to have. Thus, the availability of things could not be taken for granted. This has, however, increased the value of intangible things.

As such, this experience of shortages and queuing, which was rather negative, has brought about something very positive: it has formed the feeling of appreciation of *small things*, such as oranges or chocolate, which are often taken for granted in the Western world, where a surplus of such products exists. These experiences still influence their attitudes to material items today, as the following four extracts from the interviews illustrate:

> *"And like funny things that, like when we were queuing with all family. My dad was like: 'Listen, food is in this store.' So, he was coming home, and he was like: 'Ok, we have to queue.' And he was giving us small things to*

get some food. (laughing) That's what I remember, and I think, it's part of our life."

"I should go to the shop and it was 4 o'clock in the morning, and I should stay in the queue to buy something, and I know that when I was maybe 5 or more, then I always play that I am, I have to go to the shop to buy the food, and it was always queue."

"I remember only no food in shops, and a lot of people besides shop, you know, I could not ... Yes, yes, a lot of people. I remember smell, eh, orange, you know this fruit, orange. We eat, eating orange only for Christmas or something very important. Not every day like here, you know."

"Like, for me, still the taste of oranges is like...something, like for example, oranges and chocolate, we have just for Christmas. So, still, when I taste the oranges, it's like something, you know, something big."

Being inventive, not valuing material items as much and appreciating those things that were, in fact, available was essential for survival in those times.

5.3.3.iii *Effects of Communism: development of public and private face*

The interviews show that people under Communism also had to have *two faces*, with one face used in the public sphere, which conformed to the authorities' expectations and which hid what people had and did in reality, and with the second face that maintained free and independent thinking in the private sphere:

"Polish socialism was a completely, as they say: 'different kettle of fish'; it was specifically Polish, where people had to learn to be almost kind of, you know, double, double dealing, officially they would be saying one thing and off the record... So, it was a way of survival, maybe in East Germany it was similar thing. You have to conform to the authority, but at the same time, you maintain your own free thinking"

"Yeah, I think they have [...] from the time... that you couldn't show people what you own, what you have, what are your ...you know... what (are) the good things in your life, what did you earn from your life, and you know... So, they couldn't show it, so they have something from that. A lot of people have that."

As these two women explain, they had to separate between the *public* and *private* *face* as free and independent thinking did not conform to the system and was disliked by the authorities or furthermore increased envy by others.

This development of a public and private face has also had an effect on the development of different communication styles in Polish culture compared to Irish culture. In Poland, a stranger would not talk to another stranger, particularly about her/his private life. Polish employees would not mix their private life with their public life at work. This is linked to their experience of Communism, when they did not know who they could trust or who was observing them on behalf of the secret police. During Communism people were under surveillance by the secret police and were careful about what they said in public, because they never knew who was either listening or observing them. It was, however, in the private sphere where they could be open and trust each other fully. Polish people are more open about their private life once they speak to friends within the private sphere. Irish people, in contrast, are described as being very communicative and openly communicating on the street, even with strangers. This is also common in a work environment, where Irish employees would openly talk about their private life, which, however, remains on a superficial level. In contrast, Irish people are perceived as rather closed when it comes to their private lives.

5.3.3.iv Effects of Communism: determined attitude

Furthermore, some women describe how Communism has formed people's determination and the ability to forego current pleasure to plan for the future:

"For me definitely. When I want something, I can be really strong in being a good girl in present, so I could save and get the money to get something in the future. And I think it is very difficult for people who always had everything. They just can't see how they could save, they don't understand it, maybe they don't go and buy a pint, they could save those 4.50 or even 5.50. I think it has influence on discipline."

This woman explains that Poles, in general, can be very disciplined when it is a matter of planning to obtain something, as the women do before coming to Ireland, and that determination is strong to achieve that goal. This determined attitude of Polish people was also highlighted in a recent report in the UK, where the Department of Work and Pensions confirms that indigenous workers in the UK lack the motivation and skills to fill job vacancies, and that these can only be filled by migrants who possess both the necessary skills and motivation to fill these gaps (Travis 2008).

5.3.3.v *Effects of Communism: developing High culture*

In addition, this study reveals the importance of High culture in the lives of Polish migrant women, which flourished during Communism, when large sums of money were given to the development of the cultural scene during this time. This is, however, also linked to the abuse of Polish High culture for propaganda purposes by the Communist regime. Nevertheless, this is also the reason that it was easily available, because it was cheap and there was, and still is, a wide range of cultural activities on offer in Poland.

Polish migrant women in this study thus lament the limited variety of arts and cultural activity in Ireland as according to them, there is much more on offer, for instance, in terms of theatre and international cinema, in Poland:

> *"European cinema doesn't exist here, only movies from America. The few on are in IFC, and that's it."*
> *"the standard was different, mainly, you know, cinema here was American films, and Poland had all varieties form different countries. Despite the Communism we would have good selection of French cinema, German, Russian, all other cinema, and pictures in Polish."*
> *"the cultural life is much better, they have proper opera in every town, ballet in every bigger town. But here, they have not even a ballet company, opera society gathers twice a year for 2 little shows. I think it's horrible."*

By means of such High culture, Polish migrant women are able to maintain their identity. Polish parents would, for instance, speak about Polish High culture with their children in order to maintain a child's Polish identity:

> *"Well, basically when something happens, like, for instance, there is the Polish film festival, I talk to my son, who is interested in film"*

Rozalia's example demonstrates how she uses High culture as a means to maintaining her and her son's Polish identity, which she is increasingly able to do with a growing Polish High culture available in Ireland, that is, in contrast to the described limited variety of Irish High culture here (see chapters 8 and 9).

5.3.3.vi *Effects of Communism: power distance*

Another effect of Communism is a higher level of power distance (Hofstede 1994) in Polish culture as compared to Irish culture. The women in this study have described different levels of hierarchy, describing different levels of power distance (Hofstede 1994) in Poland and Ireland. While in Ireland, a flatter

hierarchy with lower levels of power distance can be observed, Poland portrays high levels of power distance, which are reflected, for instance, in the Polish higher education system. This confirms Hofstede's findings, as the power distance index reveals the largest difference between Polish and Irish culture along Hofstede's dimensions (see chapter 2). In Polish culture, professors are described as "Saint Gods", who are inaccessible, and where the large distance between professors and students is almost impossible to overcome:

> *"That's what I notice in Poland, I think it's too many people in education, and they are trying to... to focus, to show you that before you start doing serious things, you have to approach that level that is much far away than you think. (laughing) So, it's hard, and even to contact something for a source, it's... you feel that it's higher level, and you cannot say: 'Listen, I am lost. Could you like find out ...' or the way to speak... (laughing). So, I'm actually describing Polish education as a 'Saint God'."*

As explained by Emilia, there is a clear and strict hierarchy in the Polish higher education system, and to reach somebody on a higher level in this hierarchy is very difficult.

This form of power distance (Hofstede 1994) in Polish culture is also reflected in the language, where a formal form of addressing people is used. In Irish culture, in contrast, first name basis is common in all areas of life, including addressing lecturers in university. In Ireland, a flatter hierarchy can be observed, where, for instance, contact with lecturers or professors is easy and welcomed. Again, the Irish higher education system can be described as more relaxed, and where the distance between the student and the professor is slight. However, there is a hierarchy present which is difficult for an outsider to untangle.

Different approaches to power distance are also evident in a work environment, where, according to the women in this study, it is more important in Polish culture to have good relations with fellow workers than to give them orders. This is why some Polish women tend to avoid promotions to supervisory positions, where they would be required to give orders. This emphasis on relationships over individual achievement values may be left over from Communism where such attitudes were not part of the culture:

> *"I like being friends with people rather than actually telling them what to do, you know?"*

Katarzyna, for instance, has had the experience of being a supervisor for some time, but she felt uncomfortable with this situation. Now that she is back in another position, where she does not need to give orders, she is happier.

5.4 *Cultural differences: the Polish family, children and existing network*

Overall, the interviews reveal that Polish culture is first and foremost a family-orientated culture, and that differences exist between Polish and Irish culture when it comes to family:

> *"Family is worth more than a hundred friends."*
> *"I think family life is the most important. [...] Because I can see the difference between us and the Irish here. It's a bit different. I would like ... I think it's in a way how we were brought up, the values that you learned as you were little, from the very beginning, what your parents taught you."*

Firstly, these women highlight that family receives great importance in Polish culture. Not only is the significant role of family deeply embedded in Polish

culture, it is also perceived as gaining higher significance in Polish than in Irish culture.

The significant role family plays in Polish culture was also reinforced during the Communist era in Poland when strong family ties were essential. Family was equated with the private sphere, where trust and openness could govern:

> *"the family was always together, [...] and I think for family it was better to be together, but of course for other reasons you were so, you didn't know a lot about other, about the world really, about the other country, because you couldn't travel."*

Only in this private sphere could people be open and speak freely. Whoever was part of the private sphere, was so treated, and once a person was treated like a family member it meant that such an individual was offered full trust and openness within the family.

5.4.1 *Family support network: existing network*

A family's significant role in Polish culture is evident in the role it plays in support matters. Strong ties exist within Polish families and the existing family network is a major source of support in Poland and in Ireland. In particular, Polish migrant women contact their mothers or siblings for support, and in exceptional cases, some would also contact their fathers:

> *"Sometimes, I call to my older sister, I think she knows everything. I call: 'Please help me, I don't know what to do.'"*
> *"Mum. Absolutely mum, my mum."*

When a Polish family also resides in the host country, it generally facilitates Polish migrant women's cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001), as they can then avail of their family's support when help is needed.

Often, as a consequence of chain migration (see chapters 1 and 4), there are many members of one family living in the host country; thus the family forms the key existing network for Polish migrant women in Ireland. Veerstegh (2000), in his work on family and ethnic community networks, highlights the salient role of family networks in the host country (see chapter 1). Women in this study confirm that support between such family members is extraordinarily high. Being abroad, their ties are strong and they help each other when the experience of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) is difficult.

5.4.2 Lack of family support in Ireland

When support is, for instance, needed with taking care of the children, in Polish culture, the family is often the most important source of such support. The lack of such support from the grandparents, or other family members, in the host country is particularly difficult, as it is common in Polish culture for grandparents to be involved in taking care of the children:

> *"Because this is my mother first grandchild... So, she is really missing him. If it will be possible for her she will come over, and she wants to stay with him and look after him."*
> *"if you, Polish, have children, usually it's your mom or your husband's mom who looks after the children"*
> *"I was maternity leave, now my mother-in-law with me. You know, she look after my baby."*

As these three extracts from the interviews demonstrate, in most cases, grandparents have remained in Poland and are not available to help in the host country. However, when women gave birth to a baby in Ireland, their parents will sometimes visit to support them during the first weeks. Being pregnant and giving birth in Ireland while being away from one's family is very difficult for some Polish women; their most important support then would be from their partners.

The commonality of grandparents' support with childcare in Poland becomes evident when Polish migrant women, in fact, have babies in Ireland:

> *"No, to be honest, it's quite difficult to live here, working and have a baby."*

As this woman explains, she had not worked for her company long enough to be entitled to maternity benefit. In Ireland, migrants have to fulfil the requirements of the *Habitual Residence Condition*, which was introduced on May 1st 2004 and requires applicants to have lived in the country for at least two years before they are entitled to social welfare (see Department of Social and Family Affairs 2008; Migrant Rights Centre 2008). Many Polish migrant women have not resided in Ireland long enough, so that they are not entitled to social welfare, which includes maternity benefit. When this is the case, it is very difficult for them to combine parenthood and employment. Not being entitled to maternity benefit means lacking an income. If their partner's income cannot provide for them and their children, the women need to go back to work soon after giving birth, as this woman did. In addition, they will have to find someone else to take care of the baby, which is not always easy, either because they have no support from their

family in Ireland or because they cannot afford to pay somebody to mind their baby.

Once a woman is in full employment and has resided in the Republic for at least two years, she does qualify for maternity benefit (Department of Social and Family Affairs 2008; Migrant Rights Centre 2008). In that case it is easier for her to balance work and parenthood.

5.4.3 The image of Polish working mothers: a Communist legacy

Family support is also vital when it comes to combining family and work in general. Though it is perceived as difficult, Polish women generally manage to combine both. The women in this study involve their husbands and families with taking care of the children and the family. This is not an easy task as the job of managing a family is primarily left to the women; gender inequality is described as existing in Polish households (Tarkowska 2002). This is confirmed by the women in this study, who describe Polish women as forming the centre of a family: they are the centre around which the whole family functions:

> *"In my family, I think my mom is the centre. She is the one that keeps the fire going you know. She, all my sisters will go to her for dinner, ever so often. It's like the point, even though they live next to each other, you know."*

This is, however, in contrast to the mutual support on the domestic front described by the women in this study (see chapter 9) and their aim to manage combining both their professional aims and having a family. This is reflected in their

strivings for professional and personal independence (see chapter 4), and they consider themselves as being able to organise both, work and family well.

This phenomenon is also provided as a reason why Polish women have fewer children on average than Irish women:

> *"Like, they have lots of children. In Poland, yeah we have children, but not like 4 or 5. [...] Yeah, that's a matter of economies, because if only one person, like husband is working, it's very difficult to make a living. So, that's why women have to work."*

In Poland, the image of the working mother is still very dominant. This distinction between Polish and Irish family values is again linked to the experiences of Communism, when it was the common experience for Polish women to work and take care of children at the same time (Bystydzienski 2001; Łobodzińska 2000). The image of working mothers was also celebrated within Polish Communist culture as being part of the effort to build socialism.

The image of the working mother can also be described as a *double burden*, and some women may wish to escape this, which appears possible in Ireland. In Ireland, some Polish migrant women feel that they can enjoy staying at home with their children, where this is perceived positively and they welcome this attitude that allows them to fulfil their wishes of spending more time with their children, especially in the first years, as Aleksandra demonstrates:

> *"And then, in Ireland, I was thinking 'Ok, it is the normal way.' Especially the average in Ireland, every normal person, not like doctors or high professions, they rather they would drop the job"*

In addition, in Ireland, many women are generally perceived to being able to afford staying at home longer, because they are able to live on one family income earned by one person in the household.

The women in this study believe it is more common and affordable for women in Ireland to stay at home to raise their children, though this is not completely true anymore. These days the majority of women in Ireland are employed as both need to work to afford a house (MacLaran and Kelly 2007). Also, the average age for women having children in Ireland is now believed to be over 30 (see section 5.4.4). In contrast to staying at home with children, sending children to a crèche was normal and also affordable in Poland during the Communist era, where it was state-funded.

5.4.4 *Raising children in Polish culture*

The interviews reveal significant differences between approaches to raising children in Polish culture and Irish culture. These differences are particularly apparent when raising children in mixed relationships, where it can sometimes prove to be difficult:

> *"And ...eh, ... upbringing... There are cultural differences, you know, in discipline and everything, you know? But because in Poland actually parents are quite strict with children, eh, my husband was not [...] so it worked out ok. We didn't have difficulties there."*
> *"But it was a split... like, my husband would be, because he thought that I was not from this part of the world, he thought that he was best on advising on the education, for example. While I felt that although I didn't go for that system, that I felt I was well enough educated to advise about education for ___ and ___. And very often I did have a considerate input."*

190

These two examples demonstrate that in Poland, parents are much stricter with their children, whilst the more relaxed attitude dominating Irish culture is also evident when raising children. Balancing both approaches is difficult in any kind of relationship, but even more so when parents are from two different cultural backgrounds.

Furthermore, for Polish women it is important to think about having their own family, usually in their late 20s. In contrast, Irish women are perceived as having children in their 30s, and are consequently thought to place less importance on the family than Polish women, as these two extracts from the interviews show:

> *"That's still the same, the family is still the most important, to have a husband and kids."*
> *"That for family is more important for us than for Irish women, because I already met a lot of Irish girls, and they are for example 35 or 38, they don't have family, and yeah, I told you, they feel some kind of emptiness already, but they didn't care about it earlier. And for us, it's not like 20 years ago, that we are 20 and we have to get married, not anymore, but you know, we are 26, 27, 25, we just finish our studies, and then we decide to, you know, to get married, if we have ___, it depends, and...yeah, so family, I would say, mainly family."*

Having no family is also perceived as causing feelings of emptiness later in life.

The women in this study have, however, observed changes in Polish society. Two decades ago it was still more common to start one's family in the early, not late 20s. One may assume that this change will impact on women having children and starting their own family later in life, a similar situation to what exists in Ireland. This may also be a sign for a decreasing importance on the family collective

(Hofstede 1994) in exchange for individual wishes, which is an identity outcome that will be discussed in chapters 8 and 9.

5.5 *Cultural differences: Religious practice*

From observation, when attending a Polish mass in Ireland, churches are crowded with people and it is difficult to find a place to even stand. In contrast, Irish churches are almost empty for mass, as observed by this Polish migrant woman:

> *"I've been there once. That was close to Easter time. So, it was, actually compared to Irish Church and you see some old women in the first row. And then you go to this Polish Church and there is no space. You can feel this strong part of being Polish and our culture, and history and everything, because the Church plays still very strong role."*

This extract highlights the different religious practice Polish and Irish Catholics exhibit, as Polish people tend to practice their Catholic faith more actively than Irish people, though back in the 1950s, churches in Ireland were also full (Tovey and Share 2003).

Packed Polish churches are characteristic of the strong Catholic belief in Polish culture, which goes across all generations of Poles in Ireland, with more young people attending masses than young people typically would in Ireland:

> *"Definitely not anymore, I don't see anything Catholic in this country anymore. I go to the Mass... I'm just lucky that in my parish, I've got brilliant parish, but it was accidental. We've been in lots of different churches and we would find very few people on Sunday. The only day that the church is full is the Christmas."*
> *"The biggest difference between the Polish and Irish Catholic Church, is that more young people go to church in Poland."*

Religious faith is perceived as being more important in Polish than in Irish culture with religious practice being a clear sign of a person's religious faith.

5.5.1 *Lower level of attendance in Irish mass*

In the interviews, the women provide several reasons for this contrast. Some women in this study link the lack of religious faith in Ireland to the relaxed attitude they consider typical in Irish culture:

> *"Because perhaps, probably Irish people are sometimes, they are like easy- going, and perhaps easy-going with God as well."*
> *"But young people, I think, they have forgotten about God. Maybe because they got everything, like, because Ireland, their economy and the standard of life, eh, growing very fast, very high and very fast. So, maybe they just get lost or something."*

Increased prosperity in Irish culture has also replaced people's religious faith:

> *"that's natural, that's the way it is f you're poor you just believe in God and pray. When you have more money and everything goes ok..."*

And the history of abuse may have had a negative impact on people's faith:

> *"In Ireland, there has been a long history of abuse, as a result of which many people turned against it."*

The authority of the Irish church collapsed in the 1990s following a string of sex scandals (Tovey and Share 2003). In fact, Tovey and Share (2003) agree, but in addition to the numerous cases of sexual abuse in the Irish church, they name another two reasons for the decline of religious practice in Ireland: one is the general convergence with Western and European behaviour, and the second is the

media that has provided alternative value systems and alternative ways of spending time and socialising.

5.5.2 *Higher level of attendance in Polish mass*

In contrast, the interviews reveal that the Polish church retains its importance in the lives of Polish people in general, and Polish migrants in particular. Firstly, the Polish church has always played an important role in the fight for freedom, such as during the two World Wars and during the Communist era, as illustrated by Julia:

> *"In Poland the church used to be a place of freedom, freedom from the Communist regime."*

Secondly, the higher attendance in the Polish church in Ireland creates a familiar and collective feeling that is perceived as positive amongst Polish migrant women, which explains why some prefer attending Polish mass:

> *"Maybe in Polish church I feel more, because like Polish church is always full."*
> *"Everything is so familiar."*

As the above three extracts show, higher attendance in the Polish church is linked to the perceived stronger role the Polish church played in Polish national history and to the collective feeling that it creates for those attending. Again, this refers to the imagined community (Anderson 1994) that creates a feeling of solidarity and belonging to the group of people who share this collective image. This feeling of solidarity and familiarity with their own ethnic group facilitates these women's process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001); (see chapter 7).

5.5.3 <u>No religious practice</u>

Only a few women in this study would not attend mass in Ireland at all, but they would still define themselves as being Catholics. These women do not link religious practice with their religious faith, but they would follow their faith without practicing in public. In this study, if women attend mass in Poland, they continue to do so in Ireland, and if they have not attended mass in Poland, they would rarely begin in Ireland. For those women who do not attend mass in Ireland, their faith is still important, but they often have other aspects in life that impact more on their cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001); religion would not play an important role in this process. They would, for instance, rely more on their friends and family for support than on the church, as is illustrated by Zofia:

> *"when I was little girl, it had big influence on me, like when I felt really, really bad, then I go to church and I was praying, and it made me feel better. But I was little, and then everything has changed, and I prefer talking to people. So, I was talking to my best friends."*

Zofia finds consolation and support from her friends more than in church, though she would also be one of those women who is rethinking her faith as a result of her migration experience (see chapter 9).

This also marks a deviation from accepted practice in Poland as there is public pressure in Polish culture to follow Catholic practice. Some women follow their religious faith because they feel the strong Catholic background in their family. Sometimes it is parents who would expect them to attend mass regularly:

> *"And also my parents are quite strict, so if I lived with them, they would keep telling me: 'Are you going to church? Are you going? Are you going?' And finally I would go for them."*

> *"Well,… I should. (laughing) My parents always tell me to go to church. They always check: 'Did you got to church?'"*
> *"In Poland, sometimes people go, because this is a custom, this is tradition, this is because: 'What would people, our neighbour say that I...?'"*

As these examples demonstrate, public pressure to attend mass is common in Poland. Migration, however, eliminates this factor for parents and neighbours are usually not present. This raises the question as to what influence migration has on the Polish migrant women's faith (see chapter 9).

5.6 Cultural differences: socialisations patterns

Socialisation patterns reveal further cultural differences between Polish and Irish culture upon closer examination, despite some similar behaviour that appears at first glance, such as similar drinking habits. However, underneath the surface, there are differences in the consumption of alcohol in Polish and Irish culture:

> *"I thought Polish people drink too much, but Irish: Oh my god."*

Whilst Ireland deals with issues of binge drinking (Kuhling and Keohane 2007), alcohol in Poland is more commonly used with food. Extensive alcohol consumption or binge drinking has become a major issue in Ireland, in particular amongst Irish youth: news features such as those in the Irish Times (Irish Times 2008; McGreevy 2008) are two of the many articles in the Irish press discussing the issues of binge drinking in Ireland. Many Polish women in this study have complained about the excessive alcohol consumption and abuse in Ireland and explain that it would not be common in Poland:

> *"a lot of those Irish people I work with, they wouldn't do that. I mean, none of them are going for a walk on Sunday, because they are all with hangover after Saturday nights."*
> *"I think, too much, Irish people too much drink."*

There is a strong negative picture of such Irish socialisation patterns; some women in this study describe Irish people as imprudent consumers of alcohol.

5.6.1 *Socialisation patterns: public and private sphere*

Furthermore, unlike in Ireland, most socialisation in Polish culture takes place inside the home, usually with close friends and relatives and this behaviour is often maintained in the host country. Most Polish migrant women tend to meet for dinners or informally with their friends and family in their own or their friends' houses. Sharing these socialisation habits with their fellow migrants, Polish women would tend to socialise with their Polish family members and friends, such as *przyjaciółki* or *koleżanki* (see section 5.8) mainly at home in Ireland:

> *"I always, I'm going to my friends. But they go to my house, and we are always make a food, watch TV, watch movie. [...] And sometimes we are meeting with my friends, we make party, and now ___ is in Poland, but he is playing guitar very well. And we ... sing song. And one time, we are make a party for people with different country. And we sing Polish song, and person translation (of that song). We sing. It was very good."*
> *"Poles socialise more in the home, very much so."*
> *"So, most of the time, it is meeting friends (at) home or going for a walk. I think it's economically difference, but it's in the heads as well."*

As these three extracts demonstrate, socialising in Polish culture commonly takes place in the private sphere, where Polish people meet their friends and family to celebrate special occasions, gather formally or informally, or simply pass time together.

This is linked to a feeling of familiarity that enhances socialisation with other Poles as opposed to socialisation with Irish people. It provides a sense of community, familiarity and support, as is illustrated in this example:

"I think it also about the culture and the way people are brought up. I don't have anything against Irish people. I like them, because they are open and friendly towards us. But I didn't like… We understand each other better with Polish people. Even for that reason that I said before, with Christmas, the cultural background, the tradition is the same."

Despite this feeling of familiarity, changes can be observed amongst Polish migrants in Ireland. Although, the most common form of socialisation in Poland is inside the home, Polish people increasingly socialise outside home, and similar to their hosts, meet their friends in cafés or restaurants, as long as their financial situation allows them to do so, which again also forms an identity outcome that emerges as a result of migration (see chapter 9).

5.7 Cultural differences: collectivist values

In contrast to Irish culture, Polish culture is also perceived as being more collectivist (Hofstede 1994), that is where the group is favoured over the individual, and, besides its family-orientation, there are two additional indicators. Firstly, living with parents is embedded in Polish collectivist culture, as it is perceived favourably to live with parents in Poland:

"It's a bit a different culture. Children are used to leave their parents when they are 18, 19. They just go to college or they start their own life […] It is different in Poland, because it's still a little bit poorer, and you couldn't afford to live on your own, so you live with your parents."

As illustrated by this woman, Polish culture differs from Irish culture in terms of an independent life away from parents, but this has also been influenced by the

weak economic situation many experience in Poland. However, chapter 4 has outlined that a desire for personal independence is a major reason for Polish migrant women's migration to Ireland, which is in contrast to this view and forms another identity outcome that results from migration (see chapter 9).

Secondly, some women describe that public expectations exist for mothers, which require Polish migrant women who are mothers to conform to the social norms of being a mother. As such, life for mothers in Poland is more difficult than it is in Ireland, where mothering is part of the private, not of the public sphere. In collectivist Poland, where mothering is also perceived as part of the public sphere, it happens that strangers comment on a mother's responsibilities for her baby in public:

> *"In Poland, you need to think of the baby first, be brave. People look at you and how you are with your baby etc."*

This woman explains the issues she has with public pressure on her as a mother. In Poland, she needs to conform to her role as a mother and is observed by the public to do so. In contrast, mothers in Ireland are perceived as being able to raise their children individually, independent from public scrutiny.

5.8 *Cultural differences: the Polish concept of friendship – przyjaciółka*

> *"Like I have friends, close friends, and really close friends."(Borzena)*

In Polish culture, friendship is a very complex system that has many layers. One can observe a clear structure that is also reflected in the Polish language and used to divide between the different types of friends and acquaintances that exist and

for which there do not always exist equivalents in Irish culture and the English language. The structure resembles a hierarchy of friendship that reflects these different types of friends, which are presented in table 5.2:

Table 5.2: Types of friends in Polish culture

Type of friend:	Description of friendship:
1. Przyjaciółka	best, closest friend(s) – Polish – only a female friend – similar importance as family, is perceived a member of the family, long shared time and experiences, honesty, trust, openness, open private sphere
2. Koleżanka (female noun)/ kolega (male noun)	just a friend, mate, pal – Polish, Irish, international – male and female friends – friends, whom one shares private sphere, sharing some time, but not all secrets
3. Znajomi	acquaintances – Polish, Irish, International – male and female – acquaintances, e.g. colleagues, closed private sphere
4. Colleagues (koleżanka/ kolega z pracy)	Polish, Irish, International

As demonstrated in this table, cognitive differences between the Polish and the Irish concept of friendship exist and there is clear distinction between who is perceived as a friend, a close friend and a really close friend. The interviews reveal clear distinctions between the various forms of friends in Polish culture:

> *"This is one, which I like more or this one, just my friends from work. This one from work I would say **znajomi**, and as for this one, which I like more and I spent some time on Saturdays or Sundays it's like **kolega** or **koleżanka**."*
> *"Yeah, **przyjaciółka**. (laughing) [...] Eh, they are my best friends, best, best. And then I have like many, but just friends, you know. Like we are*

talking about everything, I trust them, you know. I know that I can say them everything, and they saying to me everything. You know, with others it's not like that."

*"No, no, because here is friend, friend, all is friend. We have like **kolega**, **koleżanka** is friend. **Przyjaciółka** is best friend."*

*"This is one, which I like more or this one, just my friends from work. This one from work I would say **znajomi**, and as for this one, which I like more and I spent some time on Saturdays or Sundays it's like **kolega** or **koleżanka**."*

*"**Koleżanka** or they are like good friends, but not the best."*

*"**Przyjaciółka** is really somebody, who you know for a long time and if you say **koleżanka** it is more somebody who you know, somebody from work, but you won't talk about personal things with that person."*

When the women in this study tried to explain these various forms of friends in Polish culture, they used Polish expressions, for there is no English equivalent.

First of all, there are those friendships that are the closest of all and that can only take place between women. These women are labelled przyjaciółka, that is a best friend. A przyjaciółka type of friendship is often associated with having shared experiences together over a long time:

"Because I know them for a long time, I can't say about people, which I know like one year, best friends or after 6 months."

"Przyjaciółka is really somebody, who you know for a long time."

"And this is przyjaciółka, friends from Poland, from 25, from 30 years ago."

As shown in these two examples, such friendship developed over many years with women often having shared numerous experiences. Often, these women have grown up together or have been to secondary school or university together:

"However, my friend from my hometown, we were together in primary school, secondary school, we were studying separate thing, she came here for Socrates or Erasmus, that sort of European programmes, and she is here in Dublin. Well, maybe that's why I call her my family, she is like family. […] She is przyjaciółka. […] Yes, exactly."

> *"And it's difficult to make friends when you arrive in a new country, when you didn't go to secondary school or university."*

A considered length of shared time is a major factor determining a przyjaciółka kind of friendship. Consequently, a przyjaciółka is both a support and a barrier to the formation of friendships in the host culture (see chapter 6).

Attributes associated with a przyjaciółka are honesty, support, closeness, trust and sharing problems:

> *"She is the only person that I can really talk to when I have problems with some things."*
>
> *"When I live in Poland, there was one girl, the best friend, and was, when I coming to her, we can speak about everything. She know everything about me, and I know everything about her."*
>
> *"Like we are talking about everything, I trust them, you know. I know that I can say them everything, and they saying to me everything. You know, with others it's not like that."*

In particular, przyjaciółki (plural) are very honest with each other, where one can tell the other her honest opinion and expect the same in return: a przyjaciółka, thus, would never lie, as the following extracts shows:

> *"Yes, przyjaciółka, it means, you know, best friend, you can always tell her, what do you think about your problem, her problem, you know. And when she asks you, you are serious and honest, you know. I never tell her, I don't want to be, eh, rude, but sometimes, when she asks me, I am honest and I must say frankly what is my attitude to the problem, you know. […] And I appreciate that they are same to me, you know. Because, no one is perfect, everybody can make mistakes, so, we need the good opinion and good advice from people, especially friends."*

Also, best friends always have something to talk about. Often, a Polish migrant woman's przyjaciółka from Poland is in Ireland with her. If she still lives in Poland, they often visit each other.

Moreover, a przyjaciółka is like a family member, and often she is equated with a sister. In fact, some women in this study have called their sister their przyjaciółka, as these three extracts demonstrate:

> *"Yeah, my best friend is my sister."*
> *"She was already przyjaciółka when we came over. She is like my sister also."*
> *"it needs time, if I am calling somebody przyjaciółka."*

A przyjaciółka is almost always a woman: in Polish, przyjaciółka is also the word for a female friend only. The women in this study say that the kind of friendship one has with a przyjaciółka can only take place between two women, not between a woman and a man. It is said that if a friendship between a woman and a man reaches the level of being przyjaciółki, they will begin a love relationship, and, in fact, it does happen that a best friend becomes a boyfriend:

> *"The one guy was my best friend in Poland, and I just come here. So, now we are together here"*
> *"Oh yeah. This friendship often ends in love, but not the other way. (laughing)"*

But usually male friends, called kolega, are at the level of koleżanka (female).

There are, however, exceptions and it still happens that a woman's best friend is a man, though this happens when a woman has a male friend over many years. Then she would call him przyjaciel:

> *"Przyjaciel: I have a friend. He keens on me for, I don't remember, 15 years already: But, you know, I, I... It is very difficult, he cannot be my friend, because immediately, he images that this is something more. No. So, that's why."*

Sometimes, Polish women would describe their husband or boyfriend as their best friend, or przyjaciel.

The second group of friends can be compared to *mates*, *pals* or *just a friend* in the English language. These friends are labelled koleżanka (female noun) or kolega (male noun). A koleżanka is not as close as a przyjaciółka; one would not share all her private life with her, and the level of trust is much smaller. They may not have the same long history of shared time and experience as przyjaciółki do, but they may share a lot of time in the present. This distinction is described by Aleksandra:

> *"Yeah, przyjaciółka… przyjaciółka is already strong, koleżanka is more like mate… so, the best friend is najlepsza przyjaciółka… But it is exactly translation. Przyjaciółka is really somebody, who you know for a long time and if you say koleżanka it is more somebody who you know, somebody from work, but you won't talk about personal things with that person."*

As a result, this friendship, provided it takes place between women, may turn into a przyjaciółka type of friendship in the future, after having shared a long time and experiences. Usually, a Polish woman has only one or a few przyjaciółki, but can have more koleżanki (plural noun) or kolegi (plural noun). In Ireland, their koleżanki/kolegi are often Polish, but depending on the time spent together in Ireland they can also be Irish or other nationals.

Third in the hierarchy of friendship are znajomi. Znajomi are acquaintances or people whom a woman knows, asks for specific advice or spends certain time with. Znajomi are acquaintances who are associated with a specific area in life, such as a hobby or activity. For instance, znajomi could be people a Polish migrant woman meets in an evening course. They share a hobby that is pursued in that evening course, and they may even share a drink together afterwards, but

these acquaintances are not mixed with the closer circle of friends comprised of przyjaciółki and koleżanki/kolegi. Znajomi can be Polish, Irish or other nationals.

Finally, a further division is revealed between friends and colleagues, and a fourth group is comprised of colleagues (koleżanki/kolegi z pracy in Polish), who are not perceived as friends. Colleagues are similar to znajomi (acquaintances), and that specific area in life that they share is their work environment. Polish migrants may spend time with colleagues outside work, but that time is limited and they would not share private things with them. Again, there is a clear distinction between private and professional life (see section 6.6.2), with colleagues being part of the professional life. Usually they do not mix with the circle of friends, similar to znajomi (acquaintances). Colleagues can though become friends, but that would require a long time, and they are more likely to become a koleżanka/kolega (a close friend or mate) than a przyjaciółka (the closest friend). Similarly to znajomi, colleagues are comprised of Polish, Irish and other nationals, depending on the time spent in Ireland and the kind of employment they are engaged in.

5.9 Cultural differences: the image of hard-working Polish people

In this study, the women have also compared cultural attributes of Polish and Irish people in general, which highlight the different nature of Polish people in contrast to their Irish hosts, despite some similarities. Polish migrant women, for instance, describe themselves as being hard-working. This attitude has also been presented in the Irish media (see Irish Times 2006; Devlin 2007; and Lally 2008 as only

three examples). In the Irish print news, Polish migrants are often described as hard-working and very determined people, who fulfil their job fully, and the following two examples confirm this:

> *"we are trying to be perfect at work, we want to be a hundred per cent at work. When we working, we want to do as well we can."*
> *"And Polish people are very hard working."*

The women in this study confirm this perception and would even describe themselves as being more determined than Irish people. This is also reflected in a more competitive attitude Polish people possess (see chapter 4), and which is explained with regard to the economic situation in Poland (see chapter 4). When a Pole has a job, it is important to keep that job regardless of the bad conditions around it, including low pay.

5.10 <u>Summary of this chapter</u>

As was demonstrated in this chapter, there are cultural reasons that impact on Polish migrant women's individual process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001). What results from this process is a transformation of the individual's cultural identity and the cultural reasons that lie within Polish culture have been outlined here. Thus, while this chapter focused on Polish culture and how it differs to Irish culture, the following chapter will focus on Irish culture, which Polish migrant women encounter as they enter the Irish cultural environment. Within the Irish cultural environment, they engage in a number of social networks, both existing and new, which impact in different ways on their individual processes of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001).

Chapter 6 – data: Entering Irish culture – from existing to new social networks

"Yes, it was very sharp, you know, like cutting the umbilical cord, it was quite dramatic. Yes, it really was." (Agnieszka)

> ***This chapter mainly draws on these categories:***
> **Polish community, Polish commodities,**
> **support, family, friendship, language,**
> **socialisation patterns,**
> **individualism/collectivism**

6.1 Introduction

This chapter reveals the issues Polish migrant women face when they enter the Irish cultural environment. In particular, it explores the patterns of socialisation amongst Polish migrant women, as they move from their existing home culture networks to new social networks that are provided in a new culture. These new networks are embedded in the Irish cultural environment, which differs in some aspects to the Polish cultural environment, and which has an effect on Polish migrant women's individual process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001).

6.2 Social networks: existing and new networks in Ireland

In the new Irish cultural environment, Polish migrant women can avail of five social networks: two existing and three new networks. Their two existing

networks are comprised of their Polish family and their Polish friends, in particular their przyjaciółka, that is the best friend. The nature of both existing networks of family and friends have partly already been discussed in the previous chapter on Polish culture, and so this chapter's focus is on Polish migrant women's new networks, namely their home cultural community (which partly includes the existing network of friends), members of the host society, and the group of other migrants residing in Ireland. The latter two, however, are often smaller and only accessed in a work environment.

6.3 *New networks: Polish community in Ireland*

A major source of support that is available in the host country is the Polish community in Ireland, which comprises the Polish migrant women's ethnic community network. In the migration literature, the importance of ethnic community networks has been widely discussed (see chapter 1 and Veerstegh 2000; Castles and Miller 2003). In Ireland, before EU accession, it was more difficult to find other Poles for support or for socialising, but this has changed and the subsequent numbers of Polish migrants in Ireland form the large Polish community today. All respondents in this research are connected in one way or another to the Polish community. They avail of services provided by organisations, work with other Polish migrants or have Polish friends in Ireland, whom they knew either before coming to Ireland (thus also being part of the existing network of friends), or met since their arrival. Polish migrants in Ireland

have organised themselves, and now it is easy to get in touch with other such migrants:

> *"They organise themselves very quickly here. […] they have their own parish. So, it means that they want to be together, and you know, they keen on their tradition, and religion, culture."*

As illustrated in this example, Polish migrants place great importance on maintaining their original culture by means of socialising with their compatriots, which has led to the rapid formation of the Polish community after EU accession. There are, however, differences within the Polish community, as, for instance, the women who have lived here longer have already integrated more fully into Irish life and do not identify with this new Polish community in Ireland (see chapter 9).

The majority of close friends of the women in this study are generally Polish friends, often female, when they are przyjaciółki. Some of the women's friends from Poland are also in Ireland, having emigrated as part of the migration chain, and thus Polish relations include both the new and the existing network of Polish friends. The distinction between new and existing networks of Polish friends is subtle, though the new network comprises new Polish friends in Ireland, which are then often included in the existing circle of friends. Many existing Polish friends, however, remain in Poland. Being in Ireland, Polish migrant women find new Polish friends, often koleżanki (*just a friend*), which is now relatively easy given the size of the Polish community. The new Polish network, however, also includes other Polish acquaintances, who are not perceived as friends, but contacted for various reasons (see section 6.6.1).

One reason for the preference of Polish friends in Ireland is the language barrier that some Polish migrant women experience in Ireland (see section 6.6.2.i). Another reason is the level of familiarity, which is greater with Polish people than with Irish people or other nationals:

> *"We understand each other better with Polish people. Even for that reason that I said before, with Christmas, the cultural background, the tradition is the same."*

Thus, it appears easier to form a friendship with people one shares the same culture, traditions and values as well as a language with than with somebody from a different culture. Kim (2001) as well as Ward, Bochner and Furnham (2001) have discussed the salience of ethnic proximity or culture distance in the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001), which includes the formation of friendships as being one form of contact with members of the host culture in the new culture (see section 6.4).

Before EU accession and especially before the 1990s, when the number of Polish people in Ireland was very small, it was more difficult to make Polish friends. In particular, those four women who came here long before EU accession have fewer Polish friends, and are more likely to have formed some type of friendship with other migrants or Irish people. Some of these women may have met in the Irish-Polish Society, where they formed friendships with each other:

> *"Yeah, I still like to involve in Polish community. A lot of them would be people who have been here a few years though. [...] We have an Irish-Polish Society, which is made in Dublin, to call to Irish people to involve in the Polish community. That's in Fitzwilliam Square and it's run by people that have lived here, those Poles, for many, many years."*

Many of the women, who, before EU accession, had more friends from other cultures than Poland, have met more Poles since EU accession and have increased the number of current Polish friends in Ireland, as these three examples demonstrate:

> *"Like, when we came here, there was just three Polish, me, she and we met one girl in the hostel. And all the others, they were like from Spain or Italy. So, before, we had many friends from Spain or Italy, or Brazil as well. Now, it's, you know, more Polish, more and more."*
> *"Yes, yes, a lot of Polish friends. (laughing)"*
> *"Eh,... I think more Polish."*

In fact, this illustrates that regardless of the length of stay in Ireland and when access to other Polish people exists, many Polish migrant women tend to form friendships with other Poles rather than with Irish people, as barriers exist to the formation of such friendships following a different concept of friendship (see chapter 5). Other studies exploring social networks have shown that migrants tend to have more contact with their ethnic community network than with members of the host community (see chapter 1).

6.4 *New networks: Irish host culture network*

The second new network available to Polish migrant women is comprised of members of the Irish host culture. Usually this network is much smaller than the existing and new Polish networks. Contacts with members of the host society are mainly held in the workplace, and Irish acquaintances are often colleagues.

This is despite Irish people generally being described as being open and relaxed. Life in Ireland is substantially influenced by the economic changes that were brought about by the Celtic Tiger in the last two decades (Tovey and Share 2003), which leads to a perception by the women in this study that economic well-being in Ireland creates a more relaxed outlook on life than in Poland and that there is less concern in Ireland about employment, money and the future.

The relaxed image of Irish life is particularly welcomed by many Poles, who struggle to face life in as relaxed a manner as the Irish appear to:

> *"I think it's the relaxing style of life; that after work I can actually go to the pub, enjoy a glass of wine, or go to the cinema and meet my friends, and not worrying about money. Like my wages are not impressive, they are pretty standard, and I still can afford all those little things, I can go for instance away, and I don't have to worry about money. So, I think just the kind of people, people are really very relaxed. The relaxed kind of style that is what I like."*

As this extract shows, the women in this study enjoy this different and apparently more relaxed attitude to life in Ireland.

This view of Irish people appears to facilitate initial contacts between Polish and Irish people. However, other factors impact negatively on the formation of contact, in particular friendships, with their Irish hosts. Fewer contacts with host community networks than with ethnic community networks are common amongst migrants (Veerstegh 2000; Bochner, McLoed and Lin 1977; Malikiosi-Loizos and Anderson 1999). The women in this study provide some reasons for barriers to access the Irish community network.

6.4.1 Barriers to access into Irish community network

According to the women in this study, the economic well-being in Ireland has also had a negative effect on the more individualistic nature (Hofstede 1994) of Irish culture. With increasing prosperity in Irish culture, increasing importance is given to the individual. They link this, for instance, to a different approach to caring for the elderly. In Ireland, it is common to leave the grandparents in the care of others in a nursing home, whilst it is important in Polish culture to care for the grandparents at home as demonstrated by these two women:

> *"And as well, respect for elderly people, is kind of disappearing here. We were discussing this earlier with S___, like I wouldn't never thought that I could leave my mom or dad to that nursery house or something, I can't imagine doing something like that. And I'd say … it's more common here, if your parents are sick or ill, you just try to arrange, make an arrangement and get a nursery home for them."*
> *"I really wouldn't want to be retired here. I heard stories about nursing homes and blablabla, and I know that here in this county, it's cruel. So, I wouldn't want to be in a Dublin nursing home."*

According to these two women, Polish culture is in fact perceived as being more collectivistic (Hofstede 1994) than Irish culture when it comes to caring for the elderly, which is still primarily a family duty in Polish culture.

In addition, the women in this study find it difficult to make friends with Irish people, as their perception of friendship differs strongly from Irish culture. The women in this study distinguish between the *perception* of friendship in Polish and in Irish culture and highlight its influences on the formation of friendships between members of both cultures. In Irish culture, calling somebody a friend does not imply the same closeness as it does in Polish culture. According to some

women in this study, Irish people tend to call everybody a friend, without distinguishing between close friends and people who are acquaintances:

> *"That's another thing; that Irish people use the word friend for everybody. Like if I were Irish, I would call you a friend, but I am sorry, I just met you. So, it's not like we don't have acquaintances or colleagues, mates, but not friends."*
> *"I wouldn't call everybody friend, but I am using here, when I explain somebody, I say: 'This is my really close friend.' Like I have friends, close friends, and really close friends. (laughing) But that's true that the word friend doesn't really give you an idea of how close you are to that person, because everybody is friend."*

This is difficult for Polish women who clearly distinguish between mere friends (znajomi), just friends (koleżanki) and one very close friend (przyjaciółka). In Polish culture, friendship is associated with a great level of closeness, and only somebody very close would be called a friend (see chapter 5). Thus, the women in this study conclude that the different perception of friendship can create a barrier to friendship in the Polish sense.

In addition, the women have mentioned the phenomenon of gossip amongst Irish women: Polish migrant women note that in Irish female culture, gossiping is important; according to them, it is a negative aspect of Irish culture. For the women in this study gossip is associated with negative intentions towards the other person, which makes it difficult for a Polish woman to accept it and allow it in a friendship:

> *"At the very beginning 'How are you? How are you doing?' and blablabla, and then, when they started, it lasted like three hours or something, about workmates, and then the second one, and so on. It was horrible. I don't think I could have that in Ireland, like przyjaciółka ."*
> *"Yes, but you see, because, as I said, the Polish attitude towards friendship is more honest, eh, rather than all nice and kind of pretty,*

because some of the Irish women or girls, they think they have friendship, but that's gossiping. That's not friendship."

What is perceived negatively by the women in this study, is in fact not performed negatively or to exclude others, but it may simply be a form of curiosity and interest in the other person's life, as for instance, described by novel writer Virmond (2004).

Another barrier to friendship is when Irish people are described as having *two faces*, one where they are very helpful and friendly, but underneath the surface they can be particularly closed. True feelings are consequently perceived as being hidden in Irish culture:

> *"they are very friendly, but like when they meet you they are quite helpful and friendly, but...it's very difficult to explain, but it's just some kind of surface. It's very difficult to really go to the inside, or to really get to know what they really think."*
> *"The Irish are not very good about expressing their emotions."*
> *"They are great on the corner on the street, in the pub, in the shop, you would think they would give life for you, very charming and enthusiastic: 'Hi. How are you?' But then, they would never tell you their own problems, they never tell you anything deeper, more intimate"*
> *"I found Irish is very...eh... I don't know this word in English.... like they have two faces, you know."*

These four extracts from the interviews reveal the Polish migrant women's dislike of the 'artificial' nature of Irish friendships. For these women, friendship requires depth, which they cannot find in Irish friendship in general, and which consequently forms a barrier to friendship with Irish people.

However, friendships with Irish people exist along with friendships between Polish and other nationals. These contacts with Irish people are more reserved,

and the closest type of friend an Irish woman can become is as a koleżanka (just a friend). Interestingly, women in mixed relationships tend to have more Irish friends, whom they meet through their husbands or boyfriends. However, these kinds of contacts again remain on the level of koleżanka (a 'mate' or just a friend) or znajomi (an acquaintance) type of friendships.

Such women, in fact, have greater exposure to the Irish host culture network in their private lives as they also meet their partners' Irish family and friends. The six women in mixed relationships with Irish men often say that they have two families in two countries, one back home in Poland and one in Ireland. This was strengthened when they had children of their own. They have reported on their positive experiences within their Irish families:

> *"I had a place in a family, with my husband and his family, and this was wonderful yes, I really liked it, lovely family, everything"*

This woman explains how she became part of her Irish family. This is a contrast to the view of friendship having no depth in Irish culture. However, this is only discovered when a Polish migrant woman, in fact, becomes part of an Irish family, such as the four women in mixed marriages who came to Ireland ten and twenty years ago. Similarly, the other two women in relationships with Irishmen became part of an Irish family network, but they have not spent the same length of time with them, so that the level of closeness is less than that of the other four women.

6.5 New networks: other migrants

A third group that is at the women's disposal is comprised of other migrants residing in Ireland. Often migrants tend to socialise with other migrants, with whom they share many experiences, such as the experience of migration, or whom they feel more familiar with than with members of the host community. For instance, Agnieszka explains how for a long time she socialised with the German wives of her husband's colleagues. In both German and Polish culture it is common to meet for a 'Kaffeeklatsch', a socialisation habit in German culture, where people gather for coffee and cakes in the afternoon, at somebody's house. This feeling of closeness with members of this new network of other migrants helped her to reduce feelings of loneliness or stress (Kim 2001):

> *"They were so much closer to me in mentality with the things... Just, they were like having Kaffeeklatsch, you know? […] There were several German teachers or wives of the German men …, and they were organising, I don't know, once per month, Kaffeeklatsch. And they invited me, I think by poor pity on me, the poor Polish wife who is completely new. I think it was brilliant. There were U___, E___, and I___… and they organised in their houses Kaffeeklatsch. […] And that was funny for me, because it was just the Polish way: first, they were eating sweet things, and then like savoury. Here is always first savoury… "*

As such, loneliness becomes an indicator of stress (Kim 2001) and this form of socialisation helps adaptation (Kim 2001) to the new environment, if not necessarily to Irish culture.

The twelve women who have been in Ireland since before EU accession tend to have more friends who are migrants themselves. Often Polish migrant women feel closer to other migrants than to their Irish hosts. This is related to a sharing of

similar experiences of living abroad or a specific migrant culture being perceived as closer to their home culture than Irish culture, as Agnieszka did in the above example. In addition, the language barrier can be a factor to enhance friendships between migrants, as they may feel more comfortable talking to other migrants whose first language is also not the language spoken in the host country (see section 6.6.2.i).

The formation of friendships with other migrants was also generally enhanced by the lack of Polish people before EU accession:

> *"So, before, we had many friends from Spain or Italy, or Brazil as well. Now, it's, you know, more Polish, more and more. So, that's why."*

This changed after EU accession. However, as the following examples demonstrate, these friendships can be transitory, as they only facilitate cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) for the time of the shared experience of friendship. As many migrants themselves reside in the host country only temporarily, this also makes it more difficult to form serious and lasting friendships:

> *"A lot of those friends I made three years ago, they went back to the home, and we did keep in touch, but just for a while, it's just natural, you just lose contact eventually."*
> *"At the moment, it's the time, when like my good friends…they all left. They are all gone. There were a couple of people from different countries as well, I met during the English courses, but they were all temporary here. So, that's something, which maybe […], which makes you feel sometimes sad."*
> *"but you know that one day you will leave, and somebody will go to a completely different place and maybe you won't see this person very often and maybe you will loose contact. So, maybe that's the reason, why it is sometimes difficult to even have like very close friends, maybe you know somewhere unconscious that there is no point to be very closely, (when) the person will leave."*

Thus, migrant friends tend to fit into the Polish concept of friendship as znajomi or koleżanki, though the temporary nature of friendships with other migrants forms another barrier to friendship building in the Polish sense.

Having migrant friends is, however, very important for many Polish migrants, when they do not wish to socialise only with other Polish migrants and they make a great effort to meet migrants of other nationalities:

> *"We have some Polish friends, but not a lot, because I prefer to meet with other, people from other countries. I say, we have some really good friends from Germany, from Slovakia, and from Hungary."*

Again, these are the Polish migrant women who purposely avoid contact with the Polish community, which they perceive as being too strongly motivated by economic reasons (see chapter 9), as they do not identify with that group and instead wish to integrate more into the host society, that includes other migrants. Although other migrants are also part of the larger multicultural host society, socialising entirely with other migrants is, however, not considered as integration (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) into mainstream Irish society. Instead these migrant communities provide a niche for migrants who cannot identify with either home or host culture. Thus, they are interculturally marginal (Bennett 1993).

6.6 Socialisation patterns across social networks

The availability of the different networks offers a range of socialising opportunities for Polish migrant women, of which they avail in different ways, in particular their home culture community or the host culture community.

6.6.1 Socialising within new and existing Polish networks – institutional completeness

As discussed in the previous chapter on cultural differences, Polish migrants tend to socialise with friends and family primarily at home, and since this is not common in Irish culture, it is usually their Polish friends and family with whom they socialise at home in Ireland. There is, in fact, a range of other places where Polish migrant women can socialise or access Polish language services or media. This is because there is a high level of institutional completeness (Breton 1964; Inglis and Gudykunst 1985), that is the formation of institutions and organisations within an ethnic community that offer a variety of services to its members (see chapter 1). Within the study of intercultural studies, institutional completeness has been included in the discussion of ethnic group strength (Kim 2001). Polish migrant women in Ireland can benefit greatly from this, more than other migrants who do not have the same level of institutional completeness. The Vietnamese community, for instance, has existed in Ireland for a longer period of time than the Polish one, but has never had the same level of exposure in cultural or linguistic terms (see Sheridan 2007; 2008). Overall, the women in this study, in fact, avail

of the services provided by these institutions, though many emphasise that they do

not rely only on the Polish enclave for the purposes of socialising and information

exchange.

6.6.1.i <u>Institutional completeness: church and other 'Polish' places</u>

When Polish migrant women wish to meet other Polish migrants, they have

various Polish organisations and public places to socialise and a Polish parish that

is open to all. As such, Polish organisations and institutions, as well as the Polish

church, can facilitate the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001),

as their services range from providing essential information to legal services.

Migrant communities in Ireland have opened their own churches, where migrants

can meet their fellow country(wo)men (Ugba 2007). The Polish church in Dublin,

which holds mass every day, is the largest place for Polish people to meet and

follow their faith within their own group. Polish migrants gather in the Polish

church for various reasons, such as meeting their compatriots, speaking their

mother tongue, exchanging information or finding help in difficult situations, as is

demonstrated in the following five examples:

> *"And now it is as well different, because there is a Polish Church. Again
> for Polish people it's just brilliant."*
> *"definitely it's a place to find other people and you know, at the end of
> hard work the week, they have the mass where they can meet and it's a
> very positive thing"*
> *"Now, it's great. It's so whenever you need you can go, whenever you feel
> like, or when you miss something."*
> *"Now, it's easier for them, I think. And there are many more here. So, it
> depends."*

"They do attend to, they go to mass, young people go to mass and meet maybe afterwards. But they meet friends, they met through work etc."

As revealed in the interviews, the Polish church is an extremely useful source for finding information on the one hand, but also a place where one can decrease feelings of loneliness through socialising with compatriots in Ireland. Going to Polish mass can, however, also hinder the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) and subsequent growth (Kim 2001) for those who rely solely on the Polish community and do not attempt to adapt to life outside their ethnic group.

Before EU accession, the Irish-Polish Society (IPS) was the only place where both Polish and Irish people were invited to socialise with other Polish people and experience Polish culture:

"Actually, we met then through Polish priest, he was half German, half Polish, actually. Maybe you heard about him, Klaus Kierszinski, he was a Jesuit priest attached to Milltown, and when he came to Ireland, he came about the same time, maybe a little before me, and he looked in the telephone book for Polish names, and gathered a few Polish people and... I met him through somebody who came over from Poland."

In the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, a Polish priest gathered the small Polish community, which led to the formation of the IPS in 1978. The IPS was the main centre for Polish migrants at that time, which was much smaller at that time than today.

Furthermore, Polish migrant women can also socialise in Polish bars and restaurants, where they can enjoy Polish food, drinks and more cultural events.

There are also Polish cultural events, such as the Polish film festival, Polish exhibitions or Polish concerts, which take place on a regular basis in Dublin and across the country.

6.6.1.ii Institutional completeness: food

With the increasing number of Polish migrants in Ireland, the availability of Polish commodities has also simultaneously risen. Access to Polish products has become very easy in Ireland as there are Polish shops in Dublin and in other parts of the country. Again, this reflects a high level of institutional completeness (Breton 1964) for Polish migrant women in Ireland, as they can avail of home culture commodities in the host country. Polish food is also available in Irish supermarkets, though its quality is described as lower than that of Polish food in Poland. There is also a Polish bakery that provides Polish bread to the Polish community and to others in the wider community. However, Polish bread is often missed by Polish migrant women, because the supply of it appears to be insufficient. It is particularly important for many of the Polish migrant women in this study to access Polish food, because sometimes they dislike local food:

> *"we can find most (Polish) products here. So, that's very handy…"*
> *"You know, there is Polish shops here, with Polish food. If I need the Polish mayonnaise I just go and get it in there."*
> *"Yeah, I don't like Irish food, Irish sausage and […] We have few, not Polish, only Latvian or Russian something, but there are lot of foods, Polish food, yes. And we have a big Polish shop in the, in Finglas. Everything."*
> *"Ohoh... Bread is very different than Polish bread. (laughing)"*
> *"Food, and Polish bread."*

The availability of Polish commodities eases cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) to the host country immensely, because it decreases feelings of missing home culture items, in particular when local food is disliked. Similarly, a study by Cervellon et al. (Cervellon and Dubé 2005) has shown that dislike of certain food has resulted in a resistance to food acculturation amongst Chinese immigrants in Canada.

Such a high level of institutional completeness (Breton 1964) did not exist before EU accession, as then, the supply of Polish products and other items simply did not exist in Ireland. There are only two material aspects of life that Polish women in this study mention missing in Ireland: one is Polish food and the other is their family. Those women who came to live in Ireland before EU accession, and before all the Polish shops opened across the country, missed Polish food immensely, as is illustrated by four of these women:

> *"Like I remember, when I was always coming here during the summer, I was always bringing here… like half of my luggage was full of food […] Now, we don't do it anymore, because we can find most products here."*
> *"I buy some things in Polish shops, because they are very handy, and they are in plenty of places. Yeah, before its was impossible to find something Polish, typical things. Now it is easy."*
> *"Oh, there are certain things, of course, eh, certain types of food"*
> *"Before it was food."*

The behaviour of these four women reflects their dislike of the lack of home cultural commodities in the host culture before EU accession, and further highlights their aspiration for a high level of institutional completeness.

6.6.1.iii <u>*Institutional completeness: newspapers and other news*</u>

At the time when this study took place, there were four different Polish papers available in Ireland, and the women in this study confirm reading these newspapers, as they provide information on life in Ireland as well as current affairs in Ireland and Poland. Polish migrant women mainly use the newspapers as an information source, such as finding accommodation, Polish shops or cultural events:

> *"few newspapers are printed in Ireland, and sometimes I buy this. But this is more newspaper about some information from Ireland, what you can do, where you can find something."*
> *"And with accommodation, it was no problem, I find it in Polish newspaper."*

The interviews with experts with the *Polska Gazeta* and the *Polski Herald* confirm the important role Polish newspapers play in Ireland, which aim, first of all, to provide information about life in Ireland and, secondly, inform people about current affairs in Poland and Ireland. As such, they primarily aim to represent the Polish community in Ireland.

One of the Polish community papers, the *Polski Herald*, is included in a daily Irish newspaper once a week and some women prefer this combination of news from Ireland, Poland and Polish migrants in Ireland:

> *"Yeah, and the idea of the Herald, you probably heard about that, the section... on occasion, I look at something like that, just to look through and to see what's going on."*
> *"And sometimes Polish papers, and you know…and yeah, I used to buy regularly like Friday's afternoon Evening Herald."*
> *"Yeah, sometimes I buy* Polski Herald*. And when I look for my flat, I buy Polish,* Gazeta Polska*, Polish newspaper."*

These women also prefer the *Polski Herald*, in particular, as it includes English summaries of articles, which allow members of the host society to look inside the Polish community in Ireland. For them, this enhances the integration of Polish migrants in Ireland as integration is perceived as also including the host culture (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002).

However, Polish community papers, in general, are rated negatively by many women in this study:

> *"I do read the Polish newspaper, but my opinion about the quality is not great, it's, eh, it's very low standard. Even the proofreading is not done properly, quite a lot of misspellings, and style of language is very, eh [...] because it's just a very simply Polish newspaper, maybe for workers, it's for the working class people."*
> *"when I read the Polish newspapers, I am shocking. Sometimes, they make so, a lot of mistakes, the languages is so simple, I don't know."*
> *"No, I don't like the style. I don't like the style, really."*
> *"Sometimes language, sometimes is many error and many language is not ok, is different between language talk and write."*

They are often associated with low standard 'working class papers', and the women criticise the many mistakes these papers contain. For some of them this is a reason not to buy them. This indicates perceived social class distinctions within the Polish community in Ireland, which is also indicative of a range of classes represented in Ireland.

In addition to Polish community papers, some women would check Polish news from Poland on the internet. With satellite TV, Polish migrants can also receive Polish television, and a Polish radio show has also started in Ireland.

6.6.1.iv Institutional completeness: Polish language services

The level of institutional completeness (Breton 1964) in the Polish community in Ireland is further increased by the opportunity to access a variety of services in Ireland in Polish, including Polish language leaflets in some banks, such as the Allied Irish Bank, and employment information as well as general useful information about life in Ireland provided by FÁS (2008):

> *"there are Polish leaflets in all official institutions here."*

The government also publishes citizen information in different languages, including Polish, which provides public service information (Citizens Information Board 2008). In addition, many stores, for instance, in Dublin have Polish sales personnel, who can interact with Polish customers in Polish.

6.6.1.v Institutional completeness: facilitating/hindering cross-cultural adaptation

In general, this high level of institutional completeness (Breton 1964) allows Polish migrant women to avail, almost completely, of services from Polish institutions or in the Polish language from host culture institutions. This is described as being positive for Polish migrant women in this study as the existence of Polish institutions, Polish shops, Polish food, Polish newspapers, Polish language services and Polish cultural events can ease negative aspects of the cross-cultural adaptation process (Kim 1988; 2001). For instance, a feeling of familiarity can ease feelings of homesickness, when everything is new around a migrant, which is common particularly in the initial stages of cross-cultural

adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001); a time during which some women experienced feelings of culture shock (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001):

"when I was here fresh and was afraid of everything."
"I was very confused, not confused, eh, I was very afraid about [...], everything is changed, everything. New life, new people, you know, everything new."
"It was...everything was getting calmer. Then I realised that I really miss home, and I ... that was like... I can't imagine staying here "

Symptoms of culture shock described by the women in this study are feelings of exhaustion, shock, sadness, anxiety, or confusion.

In addition, maintaining, for instance, familiar home culture socialisation patterns can help create positive feelings of well-being in the new environment, when contacts with members of the host society are rare. Thus, in the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001), the women in this study benefit from this high level of institutional completeness (Breton 1964) as it offers a way to make a transition from their own culture into the new culture. In addition, it provides a space to return to the home culture in times, when life in Ireland appears difficult.

6.6.1.vi The dangers of institutional completeness

The women in this study, however, emphasise that it is also important to become acquainted with what the host culture offers, such as food, newspapers or cultural events, and engage in interaction with members from the host culture. Surrounding oneself with readily available aspects of the home culture is also seen as very dangerous, and one faces the risk of closing oneself into a familiar world

without attempting to adapt to the new. Hence, while the familiar facilitates well-being it is important to explore the new and to make it familiar:

> *"But, you know, at this stage, I got used to buy, eh, Irish products is very good, you know... "*
> *"And I really missed those products. But then I got used to the fact that I don't have them."*

Polish migrant women, for instance, enjoy trying Irish food and partly become used to it, especially those four women who have lived here for a long time.

The women in this study highlight the dangers of this high level of institutional completeness (Breton 1964), by describing some other Polish migrants, who tend to socialise merely with their compatriots. When these Polish migrants work, live and socialise with other Polish migrants, this may have a negative effect on their process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001), because then they have no opportunities to communicate with members of the host society or engage in life in the host community. This is often linked to a lack of English, and the lack of engagement in the host community also hinders progress in acquiring these skills, which further hinders taking part in social or other events that take place in the host society. These migrants often lack access to members of the host culture, as, for instance, their work colleagues are mainly from the home country.

Consequently, some women denigrate the closeness of the Polish community, and how other Polish migrants rely so much on their own ethnic group and separate (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) themselves from other groups, such as the host community:

> *"I was not at all seeking Polish people"*

"So, I don't have a lot of examples, because I don't know a lot of Polish people here."

"I don't really know, because I have few contact with Polish society, it's just those few friends, and that's it."

"There are people, they are close, they are keeping in groups, and they don't want to take some of the advantages of the different cultures."

"But if there are too many, maybe they stick together, I don't know. And it's not a good thing to be together, although you do enjoy speaking your own language. But you also have to get to know the other people. And that's the most important. Life around here is not Polish, even if you make it, if you have Polish everything around you, it's quite artificial. So, it's important to make an effort and mix with other people, as well as your own, but also with the Irish and other nations. Because if your destiny is to come here, you just can't build little Poland here, because it would be stupid, (laughing) it would be very unreal. So, it's important to make an effort, to develop interests, and, eh, get involved."

These five extracts illustrate the distance some of the Polish migrant women in this study keep with regard to their own ethnic group. They link this distance to the artificial nature of such a Polish enclave which does not conform to their understanding of integration (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002), that is involvement in both the host community and the home culture community.

6.6.2 Socialising within the host community

Despite the above described barrier to access the host community network, and form friendships with Irish people, the women in this study socialise in different ways with Irish people. In particular, for those women who wish to integrate (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) fully in the host culture, it is important to find ways to socialise with Irish people, and they have, in fact, found places outside the work sphere to socialise with them. One way to socialise with members from

the host culture is to attend evening courses, such as language classes, arts courses and other night classes, or through sports:

> *"I went to College of Art as well, and Dundrum Vocational Centre. I did do various classes, yes, to meet people, as well. That was one, as well to learn, but to meet people as well."*
> *"But now I ok. I like swimming, so it's no place for me. But I find people, who like gym and fitness…the same like me and we want start going to …we find a place, where we can…eh […] exercise"*

As the last extract demonstrates, some Polish migrant women join sports clubs in an area of sports they are familiar with. Others go to host culture masses, where the local community meets. Another place to facilitate socialisation with locals is the local pub in Ireland, which is a central meeting point for Irish people, particularly when Polish migrant women have only arrived in the host country and try to find their way around in the new environment, the local pub is a good place to meet people initially.

In addition, those women in relationships with Irishmen find it easier to get in contact with Irish people as they are more easily introduced to the existing Irish social network of the Irish partner. For all others, the most common way to meet with members of the host society and socialise with them is through the workplace. If women do not have any contact with Irish people in their private life, colleagues are the first point of contact for a migrant, who is, almost always, working. Such colleagues are usually members of the host country, but they may be fellow migrants as there are many other migrants working in Ireland (Census 2006). Socialising with such colleagues is usually restricted to the public sphere, as in Polish culture it is not common to socialise with colleagues at home, because

there is a strict distinction made between a private and a work life. In addition, socialising outside home in the public sphere is described as the typical Irish socialisation pattern, which often takes place in a local pub or a café in town:

> *"I think here, there is no socialise (ing) at home at all, as far as I know. Everything is just outside"*

In Poland, however, this form of socialising is not common, where it is further hindered by people's financial constraints.

6.6.2.i Language barrier to socialising with the host community

In addition to the cultural implications, which impact negatively on communication with members of the host community network (see section 6.4.1), language also forms a major issue when interacting with members in the host country. Clearly, language can either facilitate or hinder Polish migrant women's process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) when interacting with members of the new environment:

> *"We can say, if you have good language, if you can communicate, that is something that is huge advantage"*
> *"the problem was that I was not speaking very well, like English, to communicate with people, I couldn't understand their very strong accents, even my future mother-in-law, she was a very nice lady, but I didn't feel hundred per cent, like being grasp of this country."*

As these two extracts of the interviews reveal, English language skills are described as an advantage when Polish migrant women aim to communicate with members of the host society as part of their individual process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001). However, when English language skills are an

issue, as illustrated in the last example, Polish migrant women are hindered from adapting fully to the new environment.

As for this woman, such a negative experience with English can prompt Polish migrant women to possibly return home:

> *"I remember on my first week, it was terrible. I don't understand nothing. People have special accent here, and they…when they speak they speak very short, not the all sentence or not the all word… I could understand nothing. But now I use it. But it was terrible, I think 'No I'm going. I'm going from here.'"*

Thus, English language difficulties are a significant factor impeding interaction with members of the host society and so hinder the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001), which involves interaction with members of the host culture.

The lack of English and an inability to understand can create feelings of frustration amongst Polish migrant women, which subsequently enhance feelings of stress (Kim 2001). The confrontation with this unfamiliar English speaking environment, where they have to speak and listen to English all day, can be very exhausting in the beginning. This is enhanced by different accents or the speed of a spoken language, which vary to the language learned from a teacher at home or from tapes:

> *"But in the beginning I was very, big stress, I was in shock, different city, different language, actually I have never contact with English before."*
> *"Oh, yeah, and I still feel this sometimes, that I get frustrated. It annoys me, when sometimes I don't understand or I want to say something, but I don't know how I can explain"*

Such English language difficulties can cause separation (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002), because migrants may avoid contact with members of the host country, being afraid to make mistakes or being unable to understand an Irish person.

When English language skills are minimal, Polish migrant women subsequently avoid engaging in conversations with native speakers of English and also avoid contact with them:

> *"At the beginning I was actually very shy to speak, because I knew I was going to make so many mistakes, and it was very difficult to kind of break the ice and start to speak."*
> *"Uhm, because most of the people in hostel, they were speaking very good English, you know? And if they said, they were going somewhere, we didn't want to go, really, with, because we... Like we wanted to go, but we felt not so, like comfortable, so usually me and my friend, we went like alone"*

As these two extracts demonstrate, these women distanced themselves from the host culture and remained in the Polish enclave as a result of their lack of English language skills.

As the women in this study reveal, some Polish migrants with limited English language skills prefer to remain in their Polish enclave, benefiting from the high level of institutional completeness (Breton 1964) that does not require English language skills. They, for instance, communicate only with other Polish people, because they feel more comfortable speaking their mother tongue or simply cannot speak anything else:

> *"I think some people that come here to work, they don't have a word of English, you know? Especially now, because there is so many Polish people working here, they don't feel that they have to learn the language, because they have mates at work to speak Polish and they don't feel like*

they have to speak English. [...] They come here just for a few months, they have no English at all. So, I think, for those it's much more difficult to, you know, kind of getting to that Irish life, and get along with Irish people, because simply they can't communicate that."

"But I don't think they mix very well. That's the big problem. They tend to stay in their own groups. And a lot of them have the language problem. A lot who come across don't speak the language at all, which is a pity. I have a lady who looks after my daughter. She's wonderful, and she tells me a lot of things about the Polish community from her side of things. [...] I think, she'd rather stay on her own, because of the language barrier, and she feels more secure with her own rather than with Irish people."

As Katarzyna and Klementyna illustrate, some Polish migrants who experience English language difficulties withdraw into the Polish community. In contrast to those women, whose strategy is to integrate, they separate themselves from mainstream Irish society (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002). As such, the high level of institutional completeness in Ireland allows these women to socialise within the Polish enclave and also form friendships there, which they would no be able to form in the first place with Irish people due to a language barrier.

6.6.2.ii English language issues

There are various aspects of life where language difficulties impact negatively on interaction with the new network. For example, English language difficulties can occur in an Irish mass: though following a similar liturgy to Polish Catholic mass, a good level of English is required to follow an Irish mass. In addition, some women explained that they are not able to pray in English, and instead they prefer prayer in Polish, their mother tongue (see chapter 7).

Similarly, the lack of specific vocabulary, such as sports or certain areas of employment, can cause initial language difficulties:

> *"Or sometimes, they discuss about football or something what's going on. So, this might be difficult for me, but stuff related to work was pretty easy."*

As Sylwia illustrates, she was not able to join in a conversation about football as she did not have the necessary vocabulary to discuss this subject. However, after improving language skills, these difficulties gradually diminish.

Many women in this study also find it hard to express their feelings in a language that is not their mother tongue. This is often difficult in mixed relationships, when a Polish woman is not able to express her feelings fully in English:

> *"Yes, of course, yes, yes. With expressing your feelings, you know, this type I really felt. (lowers voice) The Irish are not very good about expressing their emotions. English language as such as well, Polish is more, eh, different language and different mentality, so it is, it was very different. There were difficult situations sometimes."*
> *"Yeah, as for my feelings for example, or you know, what I would like to argue. I just found it is not the way I would really like to say it, because I just didn't know the meaning for it. It was like really shallow, but it wasn't what I meant. So, then I didn't feel well."*

As these two extracts by Urzula and Zofia demonstrate, a Polish migrant woman's inability to express her feelings fully to her non-Polish partner can cause difficulties in a relationship. In addition, the inability to express feelings and full thoughts in English means that it is difficult to form deep friendships with English-speaking people. As a result Polish people tend to favour their own group for the purpose of forming friendships.

Another issue for Polish migrant women in this study is host culture accents and culture specific expressions. These are often difficult to understand and cause problems even to those who have very good English language skills. Often, the language learned at home does not compare to the language reality they encounter, as is illustrated by these two women:

> *"But of course, it's also now, when you hear some people from other parts, from Ireland, from Cork or from Galway, the language is different, but you can always think what they want from you."*
> *"I would say it was good, but it wasn't as good as I thought it was; just the slang and different accents, that was killing me in the beginning. But I could communicate, I had no problems with general communication."*

Polish migrant women struggle with accents and cultural expressions, especially in the beginning of their stay, as they will not have encountered Irish English accents in teaching materials, which are either UK- or US-based. Not only do they encounter a new Irish English accent when they arrive in Ireland, over time they will also experience difficulties in other parts of the country, as accents also vary across Ireland, which makes it even more difficult to understand people. Though with time, they become used to Irish English accents and understand them, which implies that specific cultural contexts must have been explained to them by Irish people. This is indicative of a willingness by Irish people to enhance Polish migrate women's integration (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) to Irish society.

Furthermore, the speed of a spoken language often differs from what people learn from tapes or in language classes at home, so Polish migrant women need some time to get used to such speed of delivery in real life situations:

> *"Now, it's different story as well, when you learn from tapes. Whoever is on the tape speaks very slowly, and very clearly, but here people, they*

> *don't do that, they just speak the same as they speak to any other person in Ireland. So, it's very fast and I couldn't, you know, the sentence sometimes, what they said. So, it was hard at the beginning"*

Similarly, the speed of the English language spoken in Ireland impacts on the women's ability to react, as they are equipped with different levels of English that cannot be equalled with a native level:

> *"I wasn't reacting quickly enough. Sometimes, I just needed to get a moment, to get everything what is going on. In the restaurant, everything was happening very quickly, so there were moments, when I reacted very late, and I got myself into trouble, or maybe not in trouble, but I reacted somehow different than the other staff"*

Elzbieta illustrates that she was overwhelmed by the speed of spoken English in Ireland and that she experienced difficulties at work when she was not able to react as quickly as her Irish colleagues. The two examples above indicate a lack of awareness on part of the Irish people who did not change their behaviour and continued to speak at normal speed, which was not understandable by these women. This indicates a preference for assimilation (Berry et al. 2002) by Irish people, who would expect Polish people to being able to communicate at a speed that is perceived as normal by them.

As these two examples show, this can also have a severe effect in the workplace as language difficulties can lead to serious misunderstandings. For those Polish migrant women who do not speak English, it is helpful to work with colleagues from their home culture. However, their managers will still be members of the host culture, and they need to understand what that manager says. When working with migrants, managers can, however, be aware that misunderstandings may

occur. In such cases, it is an effort to make sure that what is asked for is understood:

> *"And the supervisor, she was like typical Irish, and the accent was [...] She asked me if I can hoover the corridor, and I understood that she said asked me, if I already hoover it. I said to her 'No.' and she look at me like 'But can you hoover this place?' and I said (with emphasis) 'No!' And sure, like, she started a little bit angry 'But why?' I said: 'I don't know, because ...' [...] I wanted to say more; that I didn't know before that I have to hover this place, but I didn't know how. So, then I figure it out, that I think she asked me about something different. So, I said: 'Ah, if I...?' and she said: 'Yeah.' So, then... It was many situation like this, when I didn't really understood."*

Basia's example of a serious language related misunderstanding in the workplace, demonstrates the difficulties Polish migrant women with little English have. It is, however, also a positive example, as there appears to be an awareness of the situation on both sides, which leads to solving the problem eventually. This again demonstrates a willingness to engage with linguistic issues by both managers and staff, which indicates a preference for integration (Berry et al. 2002) on part of the Irish colleagues.

Similarly, when Polish migrant women experience language difficulties, usually in the beginning of their migration experience, they tend to socialise more with other migrants, avoiding native speakers, as they share a language barrier and appear to understand each other better:

> *"It was much easier for me at that time, to actually speak to foreigners, because even though we wouldn't speak correct English, we would always understand each other, much better. You know, because sometimes, and Irish person 'What? What did you say?' Somehow the Italian or French girls understand me much better."*

As such, socialising with other migrants is also facilitated by a shared language barrier with the host culture. This increases the women's well-being in the host country, as the group of other migrants provides a space to retreat from the host society when this is needed, though it can hinder the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) as it is more an escape from the process than an engagement in the process.

Finally, having either improved their English language skills over time in the host country or having arrived with adequate levels of English, the level of confidence when speaking English is very high amongst the majority of Polish migrant women in this study. They also feel very comfortable speaking English and they are able to communicate in all life situations. They feel very confident in their working life. This high level of confidence may be linked to most women's good pre-knowledge of English before they arrive in Ireland (see chapter 4):

> *"But now I don't have a problem. I can go to a bank and I can say what I want, how I have a problem. Last time I lost my account number, and I say 'ok, I have a problem, blablabla, and don't worry...'"*
> *"Yeah, yeah, I feel confident."*
> *"So far I do understand people, and what they want."*
> *"Oh, I think, I have the problem with, you know, with talking to people, my grammar is still bad and I am not feeling confident at all when I'm talking to people."*
> *"I wasn't sure if my English is good."*

As these extracts demonstrate, these women have, in fact, good levels of English. Sometimes, however, Polish migrant women explain that they do not feel confident, but their knowledge of English serves them well.

240

6.6.2.iii Polish language dominance

Polish language dominance is an issue that has a negative effect on the women's English language improvement, as speaking Polish in the public and/or private sphere can hinder such improvement and subsequently hinder their process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001). Many of the women, for instance, who share accommodation with other Poles, either as housemates or because they live with their Polish partners, naturally speak Polish at home and when they work with Polish colleagues, they speak Polish at work:

> *"Yeah, that was much easier, because it is much easier to explain the new people in work what to do. That was better."*
> *"Because sometimes you have to do something quick and you know this is Polish person, so it will be much easier to say it in Polish."*

As Basia and Jozefa explain, it is easier and more natural to explain to a new Polish colleague what she/he needs to know about the job in the mother tongue.

Speaking Polish can also be a relief from speaking English all the time:

> *"But when I came here, it was for me absolutely, you know, exhausting. Especially the first 2 weeks. The first staff meeting, I was so exhausted, after one and a half hour speaking English and understanding everything, you know 12 person, oh my god."*
> *"It didn't really matter that much at the time, but I suppose it was just another occasion to speak Polish."*
> *"Yeah, I miss actually Polish, because at work it is all English and at home as well, because I live with an Irish guy and German girl."*

As demonstrated in these three extracts, it can be very exhausting to have to speak in English at work and at home in the host country. In addition to home or work, Polish people can hear and speak Polish during Polish mass. Also reading in

Polish can be a relief from speaking English all day. Instead of taking an English book to improve English language skills, there are times that a Polish migrant woman simply wants to enjoy reading a book in her mother tongue.

However, speaking Polish in the presence of other people who do not understand Polish is perceived as impolite:

> *"Yeah, if there is no foreigners, because it's sort of not polite."*
> *"No, we never speak Polish at work, we were always trying to speak English. It's rude to communicate in a language that somebody else cannot understand."*
> *"It's not so nice if there is somebody not Polish people, but you can't help yourself."*

As these three women demonstrate, speaking Polish in the presence of others would exclude those others. So, there is also cultural awareness by the women in this study of language forming a barrier to integration (Berry et al. 2002) when others are excluded by means of a foreign language.

Sometimes, however, the Polish women in this study seek to share accommodation or work with other Poles in order to speak Polish, and not English. It is easier for them at the beginning of their stay in Ireland until they have improved their English language skills:

> *"She had very poor English when she came and she wanted to stay with Polish people, just to start. And now, I think she should move on."*

As illustrated in this example, sharing accommodation with other Poles and being able to speak Polish is sometimes easier in the beginning than being immediately confronted with English. Once these women improve their English language

skills, they may move on to a new job and also change accommodation to integrate (Berry et al. 2002) further into Irish life:

> *"I think that's perfect time to change the job and my English's gonna be improven. And I can take different kind of job. At this moment it's better for me."*
> *"So, when I came here, I didn't have any English. So, I have to do what I could do."*
> *"But perhaps you can see something positive in that, because on the other hand they do learn English and perhaps the will advance in their job or change the job after some time"*

Thus, there is a complex relationship with the language of the host culture that, for instance, influences the women's upward mobility in the labour market (see chapters 1 and 4). Whereas these women work below their qualifications due to a lack of English, they are able to improve their employment situation once they have improved their English language skills.

6.6.2.iv <u>*Strategies to improve English language skills*</u>

Various strategies exist for Polish migrant women to improve their English language skills. For instance reading English books, magazines or newspapers helps to improve English language skills. Reading such English material helps engagement with the language and the learning of new vocabulary. The women are aware that they should engage in reading English materials, not Polish in order to improve their English language skills. However, as long as English language skills are low, migrants do not enjoy reading in English, and so would prefer Polish reading matter. One specific strategy is to read a book in English that has

already been read in Polish. The content is already known so the reader can focus on improving English language skills.

To improve their English language skills, many Polish migrant women attend English language classes. They are aware that this is a successful strategy for improving their English language skills. However, when working long hours, they are often not able to attend such classes in the evenings, as Dominika explains:

> *"You know, because it's …course is every Monday 3 hours and it depend of how much you are doing in home and in the work. You know, how much you try really… because in 3 hours a week you can't learn as much."*

Such language classes are also very expensive, and are not paid for by the state. But language classes are not sufficient to improve language skills, and private study is also perceived as important. Although the majority of women in this study are well prepared in terms of language skills when they arrive in Ireland, those who have little English quickly improve when attending language classes, as they make a great effort to do so. Finally, those Polish migrants who have children in secondary school in Ireland can attend free language classes that are offered by some secondary schools in Ireland.

Some women in this study do not want to attend additional courses, because they feel that they are not as helpful. Socialising with members of the host culture is thus perceived as a better way to improve language skills:

> *"Try to speak. The language is very, very difficult in the beginning, especially when you don't have any experience. Now, my language is much better than in the beginning, […] I just try to listen the people. I try to speak, I know that I make a lot of mistakes, and … But if you don't speak you never learn."*

Similarly, the most beneficial way to improve language skills is working with Irish colleagues, that is, being fully embedded in the host cultural environment:

> *"Now I think that it will be better, that (I) have more Irish people around me in work or in home."*

As this woman illustrates, she is able to improve her English as she is surrounded by Irish people at work and at home, which forces her to communicate with them in English.

Other strategies to improve English language skills that women in this study mention are:

- watching films with subtitles,

- simply talking regardless of mistakes,

- asking native speakers for corrections or repetitions,

- studying through English,

- watching films in English at the cinema,

- socialising with members of the host culture or other migrants,

- stop speaking Polish at home (which may have a long-term effect on language in the home),

- stop speaking Polish with Polish colleagues,

- finding a boyfriend in the host culture,

- watching Irish television,

- watching English-language films already seen in Polish,

- reading newspapers in the host country,

- writing down new words

As demonstrated in this list, there is a great level of awareness on how to improve English language skills, some of which are more commonly applied than others, such as watching Irish television and English-language movies as well as reading Irish newspapers. Other strategies are, however, more difficult to implement, such as socialising with members of the host society when a language barrier hinders the initiation of such contacts, though such contact exists and both Irish and Polish networks are contacted for support.

6.7 Polish and Irish support networks

In terms of support, existing and new networks are mixed, as Polish migrant women receive support from both their existing and new networks in Ireland, despite the existence of language difficulties. Firstly, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, family is an important source of support that is part of a very complex support network of Polish migrant women. In short, Polish migrant women often avail of their mothers' or sisters' help when support is needed.

With the family, however, often being away, a similarly important source of support is the *przyjaciółka*, that is the best friend. It is similarly important as the *przyjaciółka* is perceived as a family member in Polish culture (see chapter 5). In particular, in relationship matters, when a partner cannot be involved, the *przyjaciółka* is the first contact. Often, when a migrant woman has no *przyjaciółka* in Ireland, she will call her *przyjaciółka* at home in Poland, as illustrated in the following four examples:

> *"It's better to maybe speak, I say, my best friend"*

> *"When I coming here, and I have big problem, because I looking for job, my husband looking for job, I calling to her. Eh, we can talk, and she help me."*
> *"She is the only person that I can really talk to when I have problems with some things. We are calling each other, or also on the messenger..."*
> *"if theirs is very personal things, obviously I would contact like my 'best best' friend in Poland."*

Being far away, parents are perceived as feeling powerless to help their children or they cannot relate to the issues in the host country, as they have not shared this experience:

> *"I try not to worry my parents"*
> *"I usually call home, I try not to worry my parents, but I try and talk to my brother or my best friend."*

The third very important source of support, beside a *przyjaciółka* and the family, is a partner. Husbands or boyfriends are treated as best friends in support matters, as demonstrated in the following two examples:

> *"I say, of course my husband is first"*
> *"When I need any advice, mostly I talk to P_____...You know when it comes to like private stuff, yes, I talk to P_____."*

Overall, from the above examples, the three most important sources for support matters of Polish migrant women are the family, a *przyjaciółka* and a partner.

However, before involving anyone, Polish women often try to solve their problems independently:

> *"I didn't tell many people the problem. ... Well, a few were, but people do not get... you can't get involved and actually I didn't wanted them to be. I had to cope with it myself."*
> *"But, really, I am not the person who talks about her problems to anybody."*
> *"But I usually try to be self-sufficient, and try to cope with everything myself."*

One woman in this study links such independent behaviour to the fact that Polish were sent to a crèche, and that this experience has formed their independent behaviour:

> "the parents don't pay that much attention, children are much more independent, they are left to own advises, maybe nowadays it's changing [...] But that was like that for me in Poland as well, I chose my university myself, and did things on my own. Children maybe are not totally dependent in Poland."

As this woman explains, Polish children deal more independently with the tasks in their lives. They are perceived as being more independent than Irish children, who, in contrast, are believed to rely more on their parents for advice and support. However, this is in contrast to the family described as the main source for support in Polish culture and the stronger family-orientation in Polish culture than in Irish culture. When the women are, in fact, unable to solve their problems independently, they will then try and involve their family, *przyjaciółka* or partner.

In addition, Polish migrant women often turn to the support of their friends who already live in Ireland. Such friends have often been living in Ireland longer, and have often enticed them to migrate to Ireland in the first place (see chapter 4). Their support is crucial in the host country, as such friends help a Polish migrant woman to find her way around in the new culture in the beginning:

> "She was older than me, so she was higher than me in class. But when I came over, she actually employed me, because she was already a manager."
> "2 years ago, my friend, we were studying together, she came here to work and on holidays. And she said: 'Oh, it was great, you would love it.'"
> "They live here, and I call them before I come here. So, in the beginning I live with him. I sleep in a mattress on floor, but it was the beginning."

Having such close friends also means having somebody who would offer support and to whom support is offered. The strength in such support is evident in offering accommodation, financial aid or full trust and openness in personal matters.

Those friends contacted for support are usually Polish friends or acquaintances (*koleżanki* or *znajomi*), because relationships with Irish acquaintances would lack the closeness one has with Polish friends. Support within a neighbourhood in Ireland is something that few Polish women have experienced. The women in this study describe a closeness and support within neighbourhoods as typical in Polish culture. This is lacking in what is perceived as a more individualistic Irish culture (Hofstede 1994). In Polish culture, when help is needed, a neighbour is always there to step in, either by looking after children or by providing ingredients that are missing for cooking:

> *"It's not only Polish people that feel that. I have a colleague from Philippines at work, and she said, for example neighbours, in Philippines they know each other, they help each other. Sometimes just meeting for chat, they have time for each other. Here is different. Our block for example, I even don't know people who live here. Everybody has his life and is in hurry, you know, make career, someone has a good car and that's it…"*

Zuzanna also compares Polish culture to what is perceived as a more similar culture in terms of neighbourhood support, namely the Filipino culture. From this example, Filipino and Polish people exert much closer neighbourhood relationships and support ties within their neighbourhoods than Irish people. The women in this study perceive such informal arrangements as being avoided in Ireland, where it is perceived as inappropriate. Though this is also slowly changing in Poland:

> *"In Poland, now it's also changing, but I remember in old times, when it was communistic, we had like neighbours, and they would come to us for a chat. (smiles) It was completely different. You know, when you went to the neighbour to borrow sugar, because you are baking a cake, and you don't have it at the moment. Here I would never do it"*

In Poland, such support may be left over from Communist times, when support between neighbours was essential for survival, a fact that distinguishes Polish culture from the Irish culture that these Polish migrant women encounter.

However, those women who have integrated well within a neighbourhood, may have experienced some Irish neighbours' support. They are usually those women who have lived in Ireland for over twenty years or those who make a great effort to integrate in local communities and may have had positive experiences with neighbours' support. Ela, for instance, had arrived in Ireland after EU accession, but she and her Polish husband made great efforts to integrate into the local community and have experienced support from some of their Irish neighbours:

> *"Our neighbours, I say, not all, but some families. And I say, really, we had 1 months ago our grandmother died, and we, we went home, and it was just the next day, and we told them that we are leaving and they told us, it's no problem for them, they will keep an eye on the home"*

Polish migrant women, such as Ela, who have their neighbours' support, thus have such support from within the host community, which is then one of their new social networks in Ireland.

Similarly, when they need specific advice, they involve specific acquaintances from either network, such as Irish colleagues or other friends who are experts in an area where advice is needed. When for instance medical advice is needed the

women would contact a friend who maybe is a doctor. When they need specific

information on life in Ireland or in work related matters, they often approach Irish

colleagues, who are familiar with the situation:

> *"When we need really some advices, about let's say different everyday life situations, like... you know... doctors or whatever... banking...some advices in this kind of situation, usually he asks his friends, his workmates, who are Irish and they know well the situation."*
> *"And also my health problem, I can speak with my supervisor at work, maybe with my team leader from my team. They are Irish, also young people."*
> *"I think (my) others in my work are very nice and very helpful. That's why I stay in this work. They help me all the time, at the beginning the same, about bank account."*

These three women, in particular, find support in specific matters relating to life

in Ireland in their workplace. Overall, the women in this study find support in

both their existing and new networks for specific advice.

6.8 <u>Summary of this chapter</u>

This chapter focuses on Polish migrant women's encounter with Irish culture,

which differs to Polish culture in some aspects and which also offers three new

social networks. When they arrive in the new country, Polish migrant women

encounter difficulties that emerge as a result of the cultural differences between

Polish and Irish culture. Encountering such difficulties, the women in this study

find support from both new and exiting social networks that differ in the strength

of support they offer and that are more or less available in Ireland. Their new and

existing networks can both facilitate and hinder their individual process of cross-

cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001). Engaging in this process, the women try to

maintain their original culture while adapting to the new environment. This process requires a great deal of compromise, which is examined in the next chapter.

Chapter 7 – data: Cultural maintenance: compromising/or not Polish culture

> *This chapter mainly draws on these categories:*
> **Home culture maintenance, adaptation,**
> **integration, Christmas traditions, religion,**
> **friendship, socialisation patterns,**
> **language, intercultural relationships**

7.1 Introduction

Having entered the Irish cultural environment, Polish migrant women continue on their journey of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) and encounter challenges to their original cultural identity. Aiming to integrate (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002), their individual process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) requires both adaptation to the host culture and the maintenance of their home culture, which subsequently requires *compromise* on part of the women. As such, they adapt to the new environment and adopt some host cultural practices and values, while simultaneously maintaining most of their home culture background. This chapter captures Polish migrant women's compromise, whereas the final two chapters of data analysis will continue to outline the subsequent changes to the women's individual cultural identity.

7.2 The process of cross-cultural adaptation: compromising

"Compromise. Eh, compromise without losing your identity, but compromise: to learn to be more diplomatic." (Rozalia)

As described by Rozalia, an individual Polish migrant woman's process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) requires *compromise*. Compromise describes a balance between the maintenance of home culture practices and the adaptation of host cultural practices, which in the literature have also been described as adaptive changes (Kim 2001) and behavioural shifts (Berry et al. 2002). Sometimes, this compromise requires giving up some home culture practices in order to adopt new ones in the host culture, or sometimes it means rejecting the adoption of new practices in order to maintain original practices. Often it is a combination of both as this conforms to their desired strategy of acculturation: integration (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002), which is a major factor impacting on the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001). While Polish migrant women maintain aspects of their home culture to increase their feeling of well-being in the new environment, they also attempt to be involved in the host culture by adopting aspects of its cultural practices in order to live a full life.

7.3 Compromising cultural traditions

Overall, home culture maintenance and host culture adaptation are recognised as being interlinked processes taking place within individuals in order to find their inner balance in the new environment (Kim 2001). The women in this study make

an effort to be involved in both processes, often within the same area of life, as this is part of their strategy: to integrate (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002). For instance, families in mixed marriages would celebrate feasts, such as Christmas in both Polish and Irish traditions[6]:

> *"From the beginning, we would have Wigilia, which is the Polish Christmas, the day before Christmas. So, we have that, all the food and traditions, to the point that we even have presents on that night, because that's the tradition."*
> *"And then on the following day, Christmas dinner, the Irish way."*

In a Polish traditional celebration, Christmas Eve is the most important day during the Christmas period. On Christmas Eve, December 24th, they celebrate in a traditional Polish way, including a twelve dish Christmas dinner, opening presents and going to midnight mass. The Irish tradition, in contrast, emphasises Christmas Day, December 25th, with a traditional Christmas dinner, presents and possibly a visit to church. To find a balance between both traditions, instead of having presents on Christmas Eve, they are distributed on the morning of Christmas Day. However, there would be a traditional Polish Christmas dinner on Christmas Eve and a second Christmas dinner resembling Irish traditions the next day.

Helping to maintain such Polish traditions are the Polish church in Ireland and Polish organisations such as the Irish-Polish Society:

> *"Eh, at Easter, I suppose, for years, we had in Polish house, you know, the tradition of painted eggs, so that was maintained. In fact, my children, for years, they were winning the painted eggs."*

---

[6] In contrast, those women whose family is in Poland would, generally, spend Christmas in Poland, and not Ireland. The only reason that they would be in Ireland would be a major contributing factor, such as a ban on leave or expensive flights around the Christmas period.

These institutions organise events and prepare for traditional religious rituals. Again, this is linked to the high level of institutional completeness (Breton 1964), outlined in the previous chapter, Polish migrant women experience in Ireland, that supports the women's efforts to maintain such home cultural practices.

7.4 *Compromising socialisation patterns*

Polish migrant women also compromise via their socialisation patterns:

> *"Outside, yes. It's in Ireland, it's I think that way."*
> *"but it's very important to...to... not fully assimilate, that you forget about your own culture, but to know how to live here and get to know customs and take part in life of this Ireland as well."*

As illustrated by these two women, compromise requires adopting some cultural practices of the host culture, without losing the original culture. The last extract also highlights that this behaviour conforms to their strategy of integration (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002), which is in contrast to assimilation. Assimilation describes an acculturation strategy that requires individuals to fully give up original cultural practices and fully adopt host cultural practices (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002). This, in turn, would lead to the loss of a migrant's original identity, which is in contrast to the development of a bicultural (Berry et al. 2002) or intercultural identity (Kim 1988; 2001).

7.5 *Compromising work styles*

Compromise is also evident when observing cultural practices in the Irish work environment. Some women in this study confirm willingly adopting a more relaxed Irish workstyle, such as Zuzanna:

"When I came here, in the beginning, I was really annoyed by that. 'Why don't they have project rules? Why don't they … are they more hard working?' But then I realised that I do like it, because they are more relaxed." It doesn't matter, it's thing that you are in…"

Zuzanna describes how the Irish workstyle turned from a negative experience to a positive one, which caused her to adopt a more Irish work style, and which she prefers to the less relaxed Polish workstyle. Thus, she gave up part of her original cultural practice.

Similarly, the next example illustrates the women's preference for loose structures in the work place. In Ireland, they encounter hierarchical structures that are not as strict as it is in Polish culture, which can be linked to a higher level of power distance in Polish culture (Hofstede 2003):

"between them and you are on the same level, and nobody is higher than you. Like, for example with director of our museum, he's a doctor, but the ways how he speaks and the way when we are chatting, it's normal, he's also human being, and the same with me, nothing is changed. I think that's what I really like, and I'm trying to adopt the same relating to the other people."

As Emilia describes, Polish migrant women enjoy adopting this more relaxed work style, which is why they willingly adapt their own behaviour towards Irish behaviour where the hierarchy between employees is flatter than in Polish culture. As such, they compromise part of their original Polish culture, but, as this example illustrates, this compromise is carried out willingly, with the knowledge that something new and positive in the host culture is learned and taken up.

7.6 *Compromising social practice*

Other women have adopted specific Irish behaviour, such as purchasing property and paying a mortgage as opposed to paying rent, which is often the same amount. In Poland it is common practice to rent property. Irish culture, however, is characterised by the desire to own property, and where many young people already purchase property, which is visible in an increase of housing developments, often small apartments in urban areas, and also an increase in spending on housing in the last thirty years (Linehan 2007; Corcoran, Keaveney and Duffy 2007). When Polish migrant women engage in such practise, this reflects a change in cultural values. Often, these are the women who have consciously decided that Ireland is their home, such as the four women who have lived here for over ten or twenty years. They differ to those women who intend to return to Poland eventually, but still buy property for the time they are in Ireland.

7.7 *Compromising language*

Another aspect of life that Polish migrant women partly compromise is language. Nevertheless, Polish migrant women also wish to maintain their mother tongue in the host country; this is done by consciously speaking Polish in specific situations or environments:

> *"I had to make a mature decision, what language I'm going to maintain. I made an effort to speak Polish to him [her son]"*
> *"the culture for me was very important, keep up the culture and the language. And I was, there was 3 children in the household, I was the only one to make that commitment to be still involved in the community and speak the language […] I started talking to my little girl in Polish. Yeah, I*

thought, for me that's quite important. So, that way I'm trying to keep that very much alive."

As these two extracts demonstrate, these women do not wish to merely compromise with the Polish language as they place great importance on maintaining the mother tongue at home and with children for instance. Yet, they have to speak English in order to communicate with members of the host culture. Thus, some compromise is required in terms of language, and some women, for instance, speak Polish at home and English outside home as this is one way to both maintain the mother tongue and to improve the language of the host country in order to communicate in and subsequently adapt to the new culture.

In addition, for those using English in their daily lives, speaking Polish is also perceived as important in order to maintain a good level of the mother tongue, when, for instance, one lives and works only with Irish people:

"Especially now it is important for me, because I live with Irish girls, and I work with Irish people. So, it's all the time English, So, I want to speak some Polish"

Sylwia lives and works with Irish people and consequently has a strong desire to speak Polish sometimes to maintain a good level of her mother tongue.

In fact, speaking the mother tongue is perceived as a Polish migrant's most important and most powerful tool for maintaining their home culture. By speaking their home culture language they maintain their cultural heritage in the host culture environment. At the same time, though, the inability to speak the language of the host culture can hinder their process of cross-cultural adaptation (see

chapter 6). Those women who migrated with their Polish family or friends and continue to live with them in the host culture generally continue to speak Polish. On the other hand, there are those women who cannot so easily access their Polish family or friends in the host country. They are often the ones who are married to an Irish man. The language they mainly speak is English:

> *"Yes, of course. So, from the beginning, it was quite difficult to maintain Polish language within the family. Because I have no support with my parents, my parents are deceased at that stage. My family too far away and both of us, we were too busy to actually decide: 'Ok, today, let's say after breakfast until lunchtime we speak Polish and then after lunchtime we will speak English.' It's extremely difficult, basically, to maintain that language, unless, of course, you are totally financially independent and can effort to maintain that language."*

As Rozalia says, it was quite difficult for her to maintain Polish at home, although it is, in fact, important to her. As such, this causes a loss of Polish as a first language in the second generation of Polish migrants, as her children's mother tongue is English, not Polish. Yet, some Polish was maintained and so hindered a complete loss of the heritage Polish language in the second generation, as is common amongst ethnic community groups (Fishman 1999; Spolsky 1999). In addition, in an international environment it is increasingly difficult to maintain the home culture language. In particular the six women who are in relationships with Irish men, such as Rozalia in the above example, communicate predominantly in English, and find it difficult to maintain their mother tongue, as generally their partners do not speak Polish. This increases the risk of losing Polish in the second generation of Polish children who have an Irish father.

In addition, before EU accession it was also much more difficult to maintain Polish in the second generation of Polish migrants, as the Polish community was much smaller and there would not have been the same opportunity to speak Polish for many Polish migrant women as they have now:

> *"Polish community was very small, there were no small children like their age, there was no Polish centre then."*

However, those Polish families who bring their children to the host country now experience a similar loss of the Polish language, when their children learn to speak English with their friends in school and the playground. Yet, many women consider the link between language and identity to be important (Fishman 1999) and make an effort to maintain it as much as possible.

Inability to maintain a home culture language at home may be compensated by maintaining respect for Polish culture at home instead and maintaining it in every day life, and so avoiding losing a Polish identity entirely. This is clearly a compromise, when Polish language is compensated by the respect for a home culture, as is demonstrated in the following three examples:

> *"So, you know, the respect for knowledge, respect for culture was very strong in my family"*
> *"So I decided to maintain a respect for the culture rather then the language. Because language is only a form, the culture is much wider thing."*
> *"the culture for me was very important, keep up the culture and the language. [...] I started talking to my little girl in Polish. Yeah, I thought, for me that's quite important. So, that way I'm trying to keep that very much alive."*

As such, respect for one's home culture is not dependent on one's mother tongue, it can also be maintained by speaking about it in another language. Maintaining a

respect for one's home culture is more important than maintaining its language or traditions, and, yet, it can be enhanced by both. A conscious maintenance of Polish original identity through language or other means is perceived as particularly important by those women in mixed relationships. They are more tempted to adopt more host cultural behaviour, because of a greater exposure to the host culture at home.

7.7.1 Compromising Irish English

Interestingly, some women appear to have adapted to the new linguistic environment very well as they have adapted culture specific expressions, which are evident in their speech. Some women speak Irish English as well as use expressions which come from Irish when they speak English, such as the expression 'grand', which is Irish English for 'great' and often used in response to "How are you?". Including such expressions from the host culture language in their speech is also a sign of their compromise as they are expressing a willingness to be close to the sociolinguistic practices of the host culture. This form of linguistic compromise resembles the discussion around the Communication Accommodation Theory (Gallois et al. 1995), which is focused on cross-cultural conversations. Thus, some migrants' may be motivated to make some aspects of their speech more similar to their conversational partner in order to gain their approval or identify with them.

7.8 Compromising religious practice

Another way to maintain Polish home culture is to follow its religious practices. Overall, almost all women in this study confirmed that they are Catholics, regardless of their religious practice, though there is a minority of Protestants in Poland, mainly in the south of the country. For those who attend mass in Ireland, the church is an important aspect of their lives, as it is a necessary means for these women to maintain their identity:

> *"For me it's trying to keep my roots and values in my life, which I have from my parents and childhood, and which is mostly my religion. And going to confession and going for mass is part of it. I still don't eat meat on Fridays."*
> *"It's maintaining your identity."*

As such, their religious background facilitates both their cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) to the host country and the maintenance of their original cultural identity as well as follows their strategy of integration (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) in the host country.

Attending mass, going to confession and other religious practices are important for the Catholic part of these women's identity, which they, at first, do not wish to compromise when being abroad. However, not all women follow this path, as, for instance, the experience of migration can cause a loss of religious faith:

> *"I probably lost it, because not only Catholic person, but also from the different countries, different experiences. So, this is how it works."*

The intercultural experience of being a migrant can, regardless of the women's intentions, slowly displace this part of cultural practice, which has an effect on

their identity (see chapter 9). Such distancing is strengthened by sharing a life with a partner from a different culture, who does not share the same religious background.

Furthermore, Polish migrant women make compromises when deciding about whether to attend Polish or Irish mass in Ireland. Generally, those who have little English prefer Polish mass, and those who have lived here longer may prefer the local Irish parish where they are well integrated. Some of the newer women, who aim to integrate (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) well, would also attend Irish masses in Ireland, but would often switch between the two.

7.8.1 <u>Preference for Polish mass – not compromising</u>

There are various reasons why some Polish migrant women prefer Polish mass to the Irish one, and why they would not compromise attending Polish mass. In the Polish church, those with little English have yet another opportunity to speak and listen to Polish. For some of them, following the English liturgy would be too difficult. Praying in a foreign language is also perceived as difficult. Others feel that they can be closer to God, that is, they can confess more easily in a Polish church and the Polish language or they prefer the Polish mass, because here they are more involved in Polish life in Ireland than in Irish mass:

> *"What stopped me from attending the masses, was that I couldn't really pray in English, although I suppose they are the same prayers, they are in a different language. It's quite difficult even if you know the language, because you know the prayers by heart, you can wake up at night and say them by heart, it's so kind of inside you, your praying is one of the first*

things you learn as a child. So, it's quite difficult, because it's so natural to speak them in your own language, it's difficult in a foreign language."

As is demonstrated by Anita, prayers were usually learned in Polish during childhood and as such the women feel more comfortable praying in their mother tongue as it feels more familiar.

The preference for Polish mass is also enhanced by a feeling of familiarity in a Polish church, where Polish people experience a strong sense of belonging:

> *"Maybe they feel community, one community. And they, they miss probably home"*

For some it can be a substitute for home, which they miss in Ireland. In addition, the Polish church serves as a forum for information exchange as well as parish life, as it is part of the institutional completeness (Breton 1964) that Polish migrant women experience in Ireland:

> *"Because is, is actually for Polish people which came here. And they talking about Polish problems…"*

As such, these women do not wish to compromise this practice, as the Polish church is a place where Polish people do not only follow their faith, but also socialise with their Polish compatriots and exchange their experiences.

7.8.2 *Preference for Irish mass – compromising*

However, those who attend Irish mass, and speak English very well, find this is also a good strategy to improve their English language skills. They generally do

not have much difficulty following an Irish mass, because the liturgy is similar. They prefer Irish mass, because they intend to be more involved in the local Irish community than in the Polish one, and are willing to compromise this original part of their culture for the purpose of integrating into mainstream Irish culture (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002).

Some women also prefer Irish mass, because they do not identify themselves with the Polish community in the Polish church in Ireland, and they do not wish to remain only within their in-group (Tajfel 1978; 1981), as do these two women:

> *"I don't go to this Polish mass, to this parish, you know, I don't feel very, very close to this people, you know."*
> *"I don't know if I feel good in that crowd there, because I am not emigrant like they are. I live here, they... I don't identify myself with newcomers at all."*

These two women, for instance, belong to the group of Polish migrant women who arrived here in the 1980s. They generally do not identify themselves with the new group of migrants, who have often migrated for different reasons (see chapter 4). As a result, they distance themselves from the new migrants, avoiding social events like Polish mass.

In addition, the women in mixed marriages generally attend Irish mass with their Irish husbands. They have lived in Ireland for over 20 years and are well integrated in the local community and the Irish parish. However, they would have also attended the Polish mass in the Polish House for years, which has been run on a regular basis by the Irish Polish Society since 1986.

7.9 Compromising in intercultural relationships

Particularly those Polish migrant women in intercultural relationships are required to compromise, as they have to compromise in an area of life, that of a relationship, where other Polish migrant women are not required to make changes, whether they migrated alone or with their Polish partner. Their exposure to another culture is greater than that of other women, as they are confronted with a different cultural background in their relationship on a daily basis at home. As a result, they feel they have to compromise a great deal in order to make their relationship work:

> *"That's another thing. That's quite interesting thing, that relationships with foreigners, you know, it is quite something, extremely interesting, because you are from different cultures. And actually in this relationship, I can see the differences, exactly what I told you about, this attitude to life. When I have like a problem, and I say: 'Oh, what should I do?' There is something like a wall in front of me. And 'What now?' And for him it's like tiny thing."*

Borzena describes this process as being difficult, as she and her Irish boyfriend approach issues differently. To solve such problems, compromise is necessary.

For instance, attitudes to life may differ enormously in such intercultural relationships, when different religious backgrounds exist:

> *"Yeah, and I … it's difficult for me even to say that I decided, because it was more like my husband's decision and I kind of…still.. I have no good feelings about it… but in the end you need to make some compromises in your marriage. So, we left it as he said, because I couldn't really baptize a child, hidden somewhere in Poland against his will. So, we left it as it is."*

267

In such relationships, different cultural backgrounds demand decisions, for instance, about how to raise children:

> *"But I guess, it's always ... if there are two people from different religions or different families… it's always something which make you a bit ... you know… troubles... Because this is like important part of life... It's difficult for me as well. And I'm the weak part, let's say, because I was more like 'Ok, I agree'."*

Such different attitudes can cause serious challenges for a relationship, as in Aleksandra's example above, where the woman accommodates to her husbands wishes. There is thus more compromise on her side than on her partner's side.

As a consequence, some Polish migrant women who are living in an intercultural relationship prefer to stay in a third country that is neither person's home country. This can make it easier for the two to adapt, because it is a difficult decision about who will be the one who needs to adapt to the other's home country. However, this will further affect their identity, when they are exposed to a third culture:

> *"I won't force him to go to Poland, he might not be able to find himself, to adapt himself to Polish culture. I don't know if I can find myself in Belgium, and how I will adapt, I can adapt myself easily, but I don't know how it is gonna be in Belgium."*
> *"but I told him, that if there are two foreigners together, they should live in a third country."*

As these examples show, compromise on one side in the relationship is often too difficult, and subsequently, some intercultural couples avoid such decisions by moving to a third country, where both partners have to adapt equally.

7.10 Compromising friendship

In friendship matters, the key to Polish women's behaviour is in fact compromise: friends and friendship can both facilitate and hinder their individual process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) and their aim to integration (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) into the host culture. The reasons for this are embedded deep in Polish culture, which is challenged in this process. A major facilitating factor for adaptation is the existence of friends and friendships, often home culture friendships, which can likewise be a hindrance when real friendships and friends are lacking in the new culture:

> *"But nothing like that happened in my case, we came together, and that was still kind of positive, because you can always rely on each other, but we had to discover everything on our own."*
> *"like many people come here because their friends are here, it's much easier when they tell you what to do, like where to get the PPS number, what to do, or they will go with you, you can stay with them for the first week or first month or something. Or the family members, like the cousin takes another uncle or whatever, and he comes here."*

The existence of these Polish friends can, however, help decrease feelings of loneliness:

> *"And it's also good, when you have someone, maybe, when you are a girl, have other friend here, because it is really at the beginning, and there are some days, for example, Christmas or some days when you feel lonely, and then you need someone. Then it's really good to have someone"*

In addition, being able to make new friends with members of the host culture can facilitate the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001), because such friends help women to become familiar with the new place and, as with Polish friends, help decrease feelings of loneliness. As such, a Polish migrant woman

may have to compromise her concept of friendship, which differs to that in Irish culture (see chapter 5) in order to overcome the barrier of friendship in the host country.

However, a Polish woman has difficulties compromising a przyjaciółka kind of friendship (see chapter 5), as, for instance, she needs to be able to talk about private things with her best friend:

> *"You know, we talk a lot about private, you know, private things."*

This is often the reason why an Irish woman cannot become a przyjaciółka, because Irish women tend to close their private life and keep it to themselves. Consequently, such behaviour by members of the host culture can form a barrier to friendship between Polish migrant women and their Irish hosts. It is, however, not impossible to form friendships with members of the host culture:

> *"I think if I stayed in Cork, this girl Paula would become my przyjaciółka. Because I could feel that, I was not afraid to open myself with her, […] She really accepted me, and I liked her, even though we had different interests. So, I think it would be a nice friendship. But I don't think I have an Irish friend that I would call a friend. Not yet, but hopefully, I would love to."*

As illustrated by Anita, it is not impossible for friendships between Polish and Irish people to exist. It is, however, difficult to form such relationships due to the different views on friendship between Polish and Irish culture, which needs to be dismantled first, and this may require compromise.

7.11 Not compromising Polish culture: private sphere

The women in this study seek to maintain home culture behaviour primarily within their private sphere in Ireland. For instance, Polish migrant women continue to socialise at home with their friends and family, just as they would do back home (see chapters 5 and 6). The kitchen is a central place for friends and family to meet in Poland and it remains the place to meet in the host country. Polish migrant women in fact spend a lot of time at home, either on their own or socialising with friends, or taking care of their families.

These socialisation patterns, namely socialising with friends and family privately at home, are not perceived as typical in Irish culture, where most socialising, especially with friends, takes place outside the home, often in the pub or at a sports club. So, it is an active effort to maintain something that reminds them of home for those migrant women who are creating a life in Ireland, where different socialisation patterns are common. This is not to say that in Poland no one socialises outside home, but it is not as common and it is the private sphere that is opened up and shared with friends and family, which is important, perhaps more so than in Ireland (see chapters 5 and 6).

Maintaining one's home culture involves, for instance, cooking home culture dishes:

> *"I still cook Polish dishes […] I did, I did, in the past, the cooking was more sparse, because I didn't have the ingredients, but now there is no problem, you can get everything"*

The women in this study often do not wish to compromise such practice, particularly since access to necessary ingredients has improved now that several Polish shops have opened in Dublin, for instance.

7.12 Host culture's preference for not compromising Polish culture – a strategy of integration

Significantly affecting compromise is the level of host receptivity (Kim 2001), which is particularly evident in the women's felt acceptance in the host country. The majority of women in this study feel accepted in the host country. Polish migrant women have, for instance, experienced curiosity regarding their own cultural background by members of the host culture, which, according to them, reflects an acceptance on the part of the host culture; thus highlighting a high level of host receptivity (Kim 2001) in Irish culture. This is an indication of Irish people being accommodating towards Polish migrant women, which also reflects a preference for integration (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) by Irish people, similar to the described strategy by Polish migrant women. On the surface, Irish people have shown particular interest in Polish people's history and religious background. The Polish women in this study believe that it is their communicative character and curiosity that has led Irish people to gather information about Poland, which in turn has formed a very positive picture of Poland in the minds of Irish people.

Before EU accession, Irish people's knowledge of Poland was not significant as there was little contact between Ireland and Poland and its citizens. As a result of increasing contacts between both peoples, from a Polish migrant woman's perspective, Irish people appear to be very positive towards migrants in general:

> *"Yeah, they can understand Polish people, they never you know angry at us. Maybe they can understand us, because it was something like from us, maybe 30 or 25 years ago, that they had leave Ireland. And now it's the same in Poland, the Polish people moving us country."*

These perceived similarities between Polish and Irish people enhance the interest of Irish people in Polish culture and life.

Further similarities are described in regard to their Catholic background, which has brought other Irish people to comment on the Polish Pope, who visited Ireland in 1978 and, according to this woman has increased their liking of Polish people in general:

> *"Yes, very much, very much accepted, and I think the Pope, the Pope was a big thing, as well, for the Irish. Yeah. I think the Poles are very much accepted."*

Other Irish people demonstrate their interest in Polish culture by asking general questions about Polish life:

> *"Some of them they didn't know what to think of Poland, they didn't know, like, you know, they were asking me 'What cars do you have in Poland?' and 'What houses people live in?', things like that."*
> *"The old people, for example they asking 'Where are you from?' 'From Poland' 'Oh, it's a lovely country. You are doing a great job'. [...] But they try to be nice. That's nice that they ask."*

The last extract shows that there appears to be more interest amongst the older

generation of Irish people, but other women in this study agree that this is also

true for the younger generation of Irish people.

Furthermore, some Irish people have been to Poland themselves now and

demonstrate their knowledge:

> *"But it was becoming, it was becoming gradually when Irish people started being interested in Polish language, Polish culture. Now they ask, now when I talk to them: 'Oh, I've been to Poland, I've been to Kraków, I've been there and there, Auschwitz, very famous.' So, this is how it is now."*

On a negative note, however, some women in this study have also described how

they were confronted with what can be referred to as facile questions, as they were

believed to be from Asia or having penguins in Poland:

> *"I completely understand that somebody doesn't know the Polish president. But questions like 'Are you from Asia then?' and the penguin things."*

Before EU accession, this happened much more with the knowledge of Poland

being more limited then.

Overall, the great interest in Polish culture and Polish cultural practices indicates a

preference for an integrative approach (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) by some

Irish people that is indicative for a high level of host receptivity (Kim 2001) in

Irish culture. Being informed about Polish culture increases the level of

acceptance of Polish practices and subsequently less compromise may be required

by Polish migrant women.

7.13 <u>Host culture's preference for compromising Polish culture – a strategy of assimilation</u>

However, acceptance is also described as a major issue by some Polish migrant women in this study. Despite the perceived similarities between Polish and Irish culture, the greatest hindrance to the cross-cultural adaptation process (Kim 1988; 2001) is the perception by Irish hosts of Polish people being different. Some women in this study have described how their perception of being a foreigner makes life in the host country and, thus, the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) very difficult. As such, they feel they are treated as second-class citizens and that they have to prove that they can do things on the same level as an Irish person, before they are fully accepted, which indicates some host conformity pressure (Kim 2001) in Irish culture:

> *"So, it's almost like, eh, foreigners in Ireland, in my opinion, are still second-class citizens."*
> *"Yeah, in this meaning it is a bit difficult, because you are a foreigner, and you need to do a bit more."*
> *"the fact that you are a foreigner, you still need to prove, or emphasise the fact that you are in the same level as Irish people."*
> *"You know, we are foreigner everywhere, but sometimes very hard."*

For example, in the workplace, Polish migrant women have to prove that they can do a job as well as an Irish person does. One woman has, for instance, explained how she and her Polish husband feel excluded from promotions in their workplaces. She relates this dilemma to their non-native speaking backgrounds. This has an effect on compromise, as in order to integrate (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002), they believe they are required to behave more in a host culture manner, so being forced to compromise parts of their original cultural background, which

reflects a high level of host conformity pressure (Kim 2001) in the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001).

Some Polish women in this study link the lack of acceptance in Irish society to a perception by some Irish people to be residing in the host country only temporarily. This reveals itself from questions by some host members about when the migrant intends to leave:

> *"Because I say, really, I have a lot of questions about 'When do you want to leave?', you know."*

There is also the perceived fear for their jobs that exists amongst members of the host country which is potentially a platform for racism (see chapter 9):

> *"But, I think, it's maybe they think, one day we will move or we will go, but sometimes, I think, they think, we will get the job from them, from them, you know, then they are afraid."*

What is described here reflects the difficulties that are apparent underneath the apparent 'rosy' surface portrayed so far:

> *"the fact that I am a foreigner. That's what I told you. […] not everybody, you cannot just put it as a statement: 'You are a foreigner, so you're life is more difficult.' But some people that you meet, they make it more difficult"*

So, despite their own efforts to adapt to the new environment, their compromises and the many factors facilitating this process, they are hindered by some members of the host society to do so, who behave in a discriminating manner towards Polish women in this study, by exerting some host conformity pressure (Kim 2001) on these women. In these examples, compromising is less of a decision as it is a force, as is also the case when a Polish migrant woman experiences racism

(see chapter 9), which may, in fact, force her to make specific changes. Thus, a high level of compromise is perceived as a necessary requirement for acceptance by members of the host country, which reflects a high level of host conformity pressure (Kim 2001). Depending on the level of required compromise, this indicates a preference for an assimilative approach (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) by the host culture, which is in contrast to the integrative approach (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) preferred by the women in this study, and which may have a negative effect on the women's individual process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1980; 2001). This is common in many receiving countries, where assimilation is the preferred acculturation strategy, in contrast to a preferred integrative approach by migrants (see chapter 2).

7.14 *Polish migrant women's preference for compromising and not compromising – a strategy of integration*

Despite some assimilative pressure, the most desired strategy of acculturation by migrants in general has, however, been described as integration (Van Oudenhoven, Prins and Buunk 1998; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2003; Phinney et al. 2001), which requires a process of adaptation that maintains a balance between maintaining home cultural behaviour and the adoption of host cultural behaviour (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002). Polish migrant women, in fact, aim to integrate in the host culture and by keeping this balance, they compromise between the two cultures, which then has a more positive effect on their process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001). There are various forms highlighting their

integrative behaviour: some women, for instance, become involved in the local parish in order to integrate into the local community:

> *"Actually, we go to the Irish parish. […] Yeah, it's near, it's only 15 minutes, and we are living there, and you know. And we pay, because, you know, we […] give some offer and then I say, we are going there, and we feel good there."*
> *"Yes, yes, I say, we are in parish office, in our, in D___, where we are living, and it was the first month, when we joined the church, because we want to do it, I say. And when we have some events from the church, then we have always some invitation and we go to some places with some people."*

Becoming involved in the local parish helps these women to get in contact with members from the host country and also increases the level of acceptance amongst host culture members. As such it facilitates their cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001), but at the expense of compromising Polish religious practices. When they stop attending Polish mass, this can be compromise, but it can also be assimilative pressure (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002).

In addition, many women in this study make a great effort to explore the country they currently reside in:

> *"Before we were travelling through Ireland, because we wanted to know how it's look like"*
> *"I like to discover new place and see some new places, and Ireland, it's really, I'd say, beautiful. It's nice, there are really nice places, and it's good to see, and, especially, when you are living here, you have to know, where is it, something."*

Similar to what these two women say, Polish migrant women explore Ireland's sights and landscape and they spend their weekends travelling around the country in order to explore its culture. They thus familiarise themselves with the host

culture, and an increased liking of the new place may affect their willingness to compromise.

Another way to explore the host culture and to gain greater understanding about its nature is to learn the host culture language. In Ireland, although the main language of communication is English, Irish is maintained as it is learned in school; it is considered in general to be part of Irish culture and identity, and some Polish migrant women have made the effort to learn some Irish:

> *"I like Irish language. I wanted to take lessons, but I have no time for that, because I come back from work quite late. But I wanted to start learning Irish."*

This effort by some Polish migrant women may increase the level of acceptance by Irish people, given that it is noticed by their hosts, as this open adaptive personality (Kim 2001) reflects a high level of willingness to integrate (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002).

Polish migrant women also try to foreground their own culture by bringing it to the attention of Irish people. This behaviour reflects the women's choice for integration (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002), instead of assimilation (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) into the host culture. Polish cultural events take place across Ireland now, which present Polish culture to Irish people, such as concerts by Polish artists or a Polish Film Festival. Some women, for instance, prepared an exhibition with Polish art:

> *"for instance, this exhibition here, this is the best example, because I like, I always liked those cribs, before I met A___ (the artist), and I decided to go ahead and this is already for the second time. Because this is kind of a*

> *bit Poland, but in the same time, because I like those things, and I am happy when some people of other nationalities and Irish come to see this."*

This exhibition in the Polish House was hosted by the Polish Social and Cultural Association (POSK), which is an all-Polish organisation.

More events took place in recent years, which were organised in collaboration between Polish and Irish people, such as an exhibition in the National Gallery of Ireland called 'Paintings from Poland (17/10/2007 – 27/01/2008) and which had a bilingual catalogue sponsored by the Allied Irish Banks (AIB). The exhibition was accompanied by a lecture series on Modern Polish Art and Culture with speakers from Poland as well as from Ireland, and a music programme. Furthermore, the Polish Film Festival, which has already taken place twice in 2006 and 2007, is organised by Polish artists, hosted by the Irish Film Institute and again sponsored by AIB. This collaboration between Polish and Irish people and Irish business support indicates a public expression of integration (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) by both the home and the host culture.

Furthermore, it is important for the women in this study to follow the political and social situation in the host country. For them, it is important to understand the culture and its expression in contemporary life. Polish migrant women follow the Irish media or talk to their Irish acquaintances or partners about life in Ireland to understand their new environment, as illustrated in the following four examples from the interviews:

> *"But simply I try to follow up what's going on, from the media, what's going on. But, ok, I listen to my husband what he says, I follow what my*

> *daughters do in school or in university. Then I simply follow up, be up to date what's going on."*
> *"Mostly Irish stuff…like Irish Independent."*
> *"Because I'm living here and even, just like, this is just like… reading Irish newspaper. You are interested, you are watching the news, and you know."*
> *"Yes, but I buy Irish newspaper, and sometimes my sister and parents send me Polish newspaper, for example Polityka, Newsweek…"*

As these extracts demonstrate, Polish migrant women compromise to integrate (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) by reading Irish newspapers as well as Polish newspapers. As such, they are informed about life in the host country, but they also remain involved in life at home.

Similarly, involvement in Irish-Polish organisations, such as the Irish-Polish Society (IPS), is important for women who compromise as a result of their wish to integrate by maintaining their home culture on the one hand and becoming involved into Irish life on the other hand:

> *"like we keep informally with this Polish- Irish Society…"*
> *"a little bit involved in IPS"*

Polish migrant women who have lived in Ireland longer are often involved in the IPS, a dual network that is ideal for compromising, because it includes both home and host culture aspects for its members and guests (see chapter 6).

Previously the IPS was the only place where they could meet other Polish migrants. Interestingly, since EU accession, the number of members of the Irish-Polish Society has not increased significantly:

> *"But our membership from the Polish immigrants hasn't really increased at all."*

This indicates that new migrants can network via many other institutions or places for Polish migrants in Ireland that were previously unavailable. In addition, this shows that Polish migrant women have increased options for compromising or not.

Another form of compromise is the women's effort to mix with members of the host culture, as Emilia does, or shop in Irish shops:

> *"I'm trying, we were actually trying to involve Irish people in our group"*
> *"Very seldom, usually I shop in Dunne or Tesco."*

As these two extracts from the interviews demonstrate, Polish migrant women find it important to integrate into Irish life and compromise by involving Irish people in their existing personal networks. Overall, Polish migrant women's adaptive personality (Kim 2001), which includes the above described openness, strength and positivity, immensely supports their process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001).

7.15 *Individual form of integration: separation enclosed in integration*

In addition, the interviews reveal the women's individual form of integration, which includes separation (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) in some areas of life and integration in other areas:

> *"But I say, when you are in this country, then you should live like Irish people, you should eat the Irish food. [...] Because when we want to go to only Polish shop, to Polish mass, you can do it at home also."*

As such, the women's view of integration allows for separation in areas of their lives while they integrate in other parts. This has been discussed by Navas et al. (2005) and Berry (1997), who emphasise migrants' choices of different acculturation strategies in different areas of life (see chapter 2).

For instance, Polish migrant women aim to socialise with members of the host culture outside home after work, which is perceived as typical behaviour in the host culture, and at the same time they continue to meet their close, often Polish, friends and family at home, which is described as typical home culture behaviour:

> *"Well, we have both Irish friends and Polish friends. It doesn't really matter. I wouldn't really stick to Polish people only."*

Hence, separation from the host country gains a positive connotation. For many women, being with Polish people is part of their individual process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001), which includes an overall desire for integration (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002). This does not mean that they do not engage with the host culture. Instead, some separation is a means to fulfil their well-being in the host country. By socialising within their own ethnic group, they can, for example, decrease the feeling of loneliness or speak in their mother tongue, which is important for maintaining their original identity. Glorius (2007) has linked this individual form of integration that includes separation in some areas of life to Polish migrants' form of transnational activity (see chapter 1).

However, at the same time, it is important for them to be part of Irish life, and consequently they will become involved in the host culture. With the high level of

institutional completeness (Breton 1964) Polish migrant women experience in Ireland, they are indeed in a position to choose when, how often and in what areas of life they engage in an all-Polish life and when, how often and in what areas they enter Irish life. This is, however, not possible for many other migrants, who do not have the same cultural or linguistic exposure to their home culture in the host country, such as the Vietnamese or Bosnians in Ireland, who do not experience the same level of institutional completeness as Poles do (Sheridan 2007; Halilovic-Pastuovic 2007).

7.16 Summary of this chapter

Cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) is a process of maintaining an inner balance between one's home culture and a life in the host culture. This process requires compromises around cultural practices and values. Making decisions about which cultural practices and values to compromise on and which not to is a difficult decision. Often it is not a decision at all, but Polish migrant women may feel compelled to compromise by the host society, facing a high level of host conformity pressure (Kim 2001). Finding a balance between compromising and not compromising helps Polish migrant women to maintain "an overall "fit"" (Kim 2001: 31) between themselves and the new environment. It includes the ability of making a place that is unknown at first known to oneself and to feel well in that place while maintaining one's home culture to a certain, necessary, extent. This has an effect on their identity, and individual identity outcomes emerge from this process of cross-cultural adaptation. The final two chapters of data analysis

will discuss the formation of a larger intercultural identity that is challenged by a feeling of betweenness of living between two cultures and present individual identity outcomes that form such a larger intercultural identity.

Chapter 8 – data: intercultural identity – a feeling of betweenness of living between two cultures

"I am just trying to, it's an effort for me, it's a way of building home here." (Anita)

"it's difficult for people, they don't feel here like at home… I think." (Dominika)

This chapter mainly draws on these categories:
Home, home culture maintenance, adaptation, belonging, children, family, friendship, returning home, culture and identity, future orientation

8.1 Introduction

As a result of compromising between two cultures, Polish migrant women in this study often develop a larger intercultural identity (Kim 1988; 2001) that includes both their home culture identity and the newly created identity in the host culture. Social science literature also labels this phenomenon a hybridisation of identity (see chapter 1). In particular, at the beginning of their journey their home culture identity is stronger than the host culture identity. This may change over time, when migrants familiarise themselves with the host culture and compromise more of their original identity in order to advance their process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001).

Leaving a home behind to create a life in a new country is a difficult endeavour that leaves many Polish migrant women as feeling marginal (Bennett 1993a) to both their culture of origin and their new culture:

"Yeah, my mind is always in there, really."
"It's funny feeling, if you don't really fully belong to the new country."

Often, the stresses of creating a new life in an unfamiliar environment are sought to be decreased by referring back to the home culture, which is generally associated with positive feelings. This is shown in the strong emotional attachment migrants display in relation to home and the role home generally plays in Polish culture. As a result of this, a person then often draws back from adapting to the host culture. This chapter of data analysis captures the *betweenness* of living between two cultures, the home and host culture, illustrating how Polish migrant women attempt to create a home when home is, in fact, away. This betweenness reflects a number of individual identity outcomes following an individual's journey of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) to a new cultural environment, which will be discussed in the final chapter of data analysis.

8.2 *Home: a definition for Polish migrant women*

The concept of home is twofold: home is often associated with family in the home culture as well as familiar places. First of all, the concept of home is emotionally related to family and closeness within the family:

> *"Home... a place where you have your family..."*
> *"Dom is ...maybe my Polish home. Was always parents at home, grandmother and grandfather."*
> *"Well, home means an awful lot to me. Home as a home, my family home means a lot to me, because, you know, lots of great memories from there. I think, it's... my family, as I said, we are very close to each other"*
> *"Home is, I think, home is for me people, it's not place, you can absolutely live in the street, if you have (laughing), if you have friends, family around you. Home is a table, and people around the table"*

As these extracts demonstrate, strong links exist between home and family, and as a concept it is of immense importance to these women. Home encompasses a family across generations, which spills out into a local street or neighbourhood, as it is not tangible, but bound to the family.

Secondly, for many of the women in this study, their home, which is far away, is a place that is familiar. Home is thus associated with familiar and favourite places, so that being away from home in Poland means being away from one's favourite places in Poland. Anita and Dorota describe this feeling of familiarity with home and how it creates positive feelings when they return to these places:

> *"I think it's by knowing your place, by feeling comfortable, by having your own places you want to go to, like your favourite cinema, your favourite café, a restaurant, or park or whatever."*
> *"For instance, every time, when I return to Kraków, I must go around my favourite places: to my favourite coffee bar for a coffee, to return newspaper, to go to my lovely bookstore to look for a new books, to meet my friends, to go to my church, my own places. This is my space, where I feel good, you know."*

Life in the host country, in contrast, is a place that one needs to discover, and where home needs to be created by getting to know everything.

The strength of Polish migrant women's home culture identity is particularly reflected in their attachment to home in Poland and the important role home plays in their lives. The thought of home creates intense feelings, and during the interviews the voices and faces of Polish migrant women changed when speaking about it. Katarzyna, for instance, had tears in her eyes when talking about her home, though she had lived in Ireland for six years, married an Irishman and

became a mother. Others would show great joy and smile while speaking about their parents and siblings and memories related to home. Therefore, home in Poland is both a facilitator and a hindrance to the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) when Polish migrant women engage in the process of creating home in the host culture.

8.2.1 *Home – a facilitator to the process of cross-cultural adaptation*

Home back in Poland can act as facilitator for Polish migrant women's cross-cultural adaptation process (Kim 1988; 2001) as home is a place where they can always return to and where ties with family and friends are maintained. Such maintenance of social ties in their home culture is one aspect of some women's transnational migration experience (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994). For these women, it provides a safety net that is necessary to adapt to life in the host country, if things are not successful there:

> *"the thought, only a thought that I can always go back there is really important, it really helps me here"*
> *"But being here, I am always happy, always happy to know that I can go back home any time. So, that's the most important."*
> *"Dom? It means to feel safe, you know, to feel that you're home, a place where you, where you feel good."*

Home or *dom*, as it is called in Polish, thus creates both feelings of happiness and safety while being in the host country, because it can be returned to.

This is supported by the many positive attributes the women in this study have for home, such as warmth, caring, joy, confidence, relaxation, closeness, trust, self-fulfilment, safety, and shelter:

> *"Home... a place where you have your family... or even if you live on your own, because still you might have a home... where you feel at home, it means that in... you are happy there"*
> *"Home, I think, that means the place in which you feel really better, confident, in which you can relax, and you feel really, really nice."*

As such, home becomes a place of inner balance, an open place for oneself and a welcoming place for others:

> *"My home was always open. I don't remember situation when I go to home, and my home was closed, never."*

In addition, returning to familiar places at home means that visiting home can also mean taking a break from the stresses of life in the host country, which is an opportunity such transmigrants have (see chapters 1 and 10). As such it also facilitates adaptation, because migrant women can rest from the difficulties that they experience, expected or unexpectedly, in the host country, and return with new energy and advance their process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001).

8.2.2 *Home – a hindrance to the process of cross-cultural adaptation*

The dilemma with this safety net, which evokes such positive feelings and is so familiar, is that it is often far away and missed. As such, it can create feelings of stress (Kim 2001) and loneliness, which then turns into a hindrance to the cross-cultural adaptation process (Kim 1988; 2001), as Borzena illustrates:

"If you met me last week, I would be in very bad depression, and all my answers would be probably 'Oh, I hate this country.' Last week and the week before, it was absolutely terrible, it was [...] It was...everything was getting calmer. Then I realised that I really miss home, and I ... that was like... I can't imagine staying here... and that was time when I decided to book a flight in November. It doesn't matter what, and go home.[...] Yeah, but again, I wasn't actually thinking about that, about missing home. Somehow I was thinking about many other problems, about getting a job, about finding a place to live, if I like it or not, if I find new friends, which is, again, very important. And I wasn't thinking about missing home. Now it is like, yeah, priorities has changed. So, like 80 per cent of my thought is like: 'Oh, I want to go home.'"

Missing home in Poland can generate feelings of loneliness, and the inability to contact home may enhance such feelings. This is characteristic of a period of stress in the process of cross-cultural adaptation, which can lead the women to retreat backwards in this process (Kim 1988; 2001). As for Borzena, for some Polish migrant women, these negative feelings of missing home can emerge immediately after settling down in the host country, once they have organised a place to stay and employment or later when life in the host country is not successful. To reduce these negative feelings, Borzena, for instance, decided to return to her home in Poland for a visit.

8.3 *Maintenance of ties to family home: a Polish migrant woman's joy and dilemma*

Various ways exist to maintain ties with the family at home, which is part of their transnational activity (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994). The women in this study contact their families at home in Poland almost daily, at least weekly, either by phone or sometimes through the internet:

"I call them almost every day now."
"Yes, every day, every day."

> *"Uhm, very often a few times a week."*

When Polish migrant women are abroad they miss their families, and find it difficult to live a life far away.

When asked what they miss, the women in this study firstly name their families. They do not miss Poland as a country, but they miss the affection and feelings related to home and family, as is illustrated in the following four examples:

> *"I am so related with my family, with my sister. So, basically I miss them the most."*
> *"My family, uh huh, definitely my family, because we are very close to each other and it's just being with them and being able to go for a coffee to my sisters' house and play with the kids, my nieces, you know. I miss that the most."*
> *"I suppose just the family, the warmth of the family I do miss."*
> *"I say, of course, life, maybe I miss the family."*

However, over time they become more used to their family being away. Sometimes, when part of their family follows them, negative feelings of missing family slowly decrease. Yet, such feelings never fully disappear, though for those who have lived apart from their families before they migrated, it seems a little easier.

Contacting family at home is generally facilitated by the development of new information technology, such as Skype, which has made contact with home much easier and cheaper, and prices for international phone calls have come down dramatically:

> *"I think it is with the internet now… You know, we have this Skype-connection…"*
> *"It's easy now, with all the cheap phone calls."*

> *"Or the good point is that telephone conversations are now cheaper. They are even cheaper than one year ago. I remember for the same price I had to go to the call shops, the internet cafés, in Cork. And now for the same price I can call from my mobile. That makes me very happy."*

As the last extract illustrates, such frequent contact also helps diminishing feelings of sadness and homesickness. Thus, this frequent contact with family at home facilitates the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001), as it supports Polish migrant women's well-being in the host country.

When being abroad, contact with the family in Poland is also particularly important in order to stay involved in the family's life there, as these two women say:

> *"We know everything, what's going on, and my family is the same. This is really good."*
> *"I am interesting what they…you know, we talking always with my mummy on the phone, what they doing…oh, I can't see what exactly they did."*

Being away and living a different life makes it hard to remain involved in life at home in Poland, which changes without them being part of it. In contrast, remaining involved in life back home allows them to take part in those changes, at least to some degree.

Similarly, this attachment to home becomes evident as women speak of frequent flights to their families at home, often 2-4 times a year:

> *"At least twice a year. I am trying more, but it's about twice a year."*
> *"Quite often […] So actually, whenever there was a good offer, I was buying tickets… Basically we travel between Poland and Italy, we go definitely for all feasts, like Christmas and Easter, these days as well as some days, usually a week or five days during the year, whenever there is some special offers. The tickets are very cheap now."*

Flying home to their families has become easier with increasing flights from various places in the host culture; the prices for such flights have also decreased as compared to flights from before EU accession with the exception of the Christmas and Easter periods. But even before EU accession, when flying was more expensive, Polish migrant women would have travelled by air or sometimes they chose to travel by land back home; the desire to travel home to their families outweighed the strains of travel there. Flying home to Poland on a regular basis also means staying involved with life back home. Such involvement with home also forms one aspect of some Polish migrant women's transnational experience (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994); (see chapter 2).

For instance, spending religious holidays, such as Christmas or Easter, with the family is pivotal in Polish culture. The women in this study emphasise the importance of flying home for Christmas and portray feelings of sadness when they are hindered by a major contributing factor, such as a ban on leave or expensive flights over the Christmas period. In this case, and to make up for the lack of family, Christmas would be celebrated in a traditional home cultural manner in Ireland:

> *"The family is the family and that's why this is the most important. That's why we trying to keep, to be in contact with family in Poland or if it's possible to take them here or spending Christmas, Easter holidays with them."*
> *"But I wish that one Christmas, when we stay longer here, we go to Poland. Because, it's really, the atmosphere is not like here. But, when we stay here, because the first Christmas, when we came to Ireland, was also here, and it wasn't so bad, I know. Because I prepared the Polish food for Christmas and ..."*
> *"I couldn't stay here for Christmas."*

As a result, frequent contact can be a necessary means to decrease the gap between family life at home and life in the new country. This is important when the Polish migrant women try to maintain their home culture.

In addition, when families are split as a result of migration, some Polish parents left behind at home experience a difficult time. They worry about their children, about not participating in their children's lives abroad and being able to help them when they need support, as is illustrated in this example:

> *"Every day when I call to Poland: 'When are you coming back?' And they think it's really bad for us. Like they know, they are really worrying about us, because we are so far away."*

What eases these negative feelings is some women's promise to return to their families eventually.

However, there is a distinction between Polish migrant women who also have family in Ireland and who are married to an Irishman. These women's cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) is generally facilitated by the existence of a family in the host country, who could help them to familiarise with the new environment and offer support when it is needed. As such, an Irish family forms a new social network, which plays a significant role in the individual process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001). These women, however, find themselves in a very delicate situation when their own family is in the host country. Associating home with family then means that home is where their families are, which would be the host country, being the country where they live.

This stands in contrast to their home being the place where they come from, a mental image, which has been formed from past experiences:

> *"Ok, this is difficult, because in one hand, home for me is the place where is my family, but in the other hand, right now, the home is where I am and my family."*

Katarzyna, who is married to an Irish man and has a baby with him, describes this feeling of being between two homes. As such, she is torn between a strong mental image of home that includes her family in Poland as well as the reality of the new family home she has built with her Irish husband and a child in Ireland. She describes this feeling of *betweenness* as difficult, as it causes challenges to her original identity. As such, her new intercultural (or bicultural) identity (Kim 1988; 2001) is a difficult one. While one part of her settles in Ireland, where she raises her child biculturally, she is torn towards Poland, where her roots are (see section 8.4).

The women's behaviour thus reflects a strong attachment to home, which can function as a drawback (Kim 1988; 2001) and/or facilitator in the process of cross-cultural adaptation. As this process is under way, migrant women find ways to escape the new cultural environment and return to their home culture. This behaviour works as a temporary impediment to their process of cross-cultural adaptation, though the women's natural desire to grow (Kim 1988; 2001) will bring them back refreshed and energised to continue their journey of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001). As they return to Ireland, full of newfound energy from home, they then leap forward (Kim 1988; 2001) and advance their cross-cultural adaptation process, from which they subsequently grow personally.

This personal growth is reflected in the development of a larger intercultural identity (Kim 1988; 2001) that is the outcome of this individual process of cross-cultural adaptation. It, however, also creates a *betweenness* that leaves Polish migrant women between a life where they attempt to create a home and simultaneously look to a home that exists far away.

8.4 *Between home in Poland and life in Ireland: creating home when home is away*

Having lived away from home in Poland creates estrangement to home there. Life and home are interrelated, and living away from home in Poland means that home there changes, because a Polish migrant woman no longer takes part in life at home. In addition, a Polish migrant woman creates a life in the host country, and lacking a current fulfilling life in the home culture can create further estrangement from their original home. Life in Poland is thus a past life that lacks current involvement, whereas life in Ireland is a present life that is built in the present but lacks a past to build on. Aiming to combine both may be a reason for those regular flights home, which allows the women to stay involved in their past life back home, at least to some extent, and thus transforming them into transmigrants who establish multiple ties with their home and host culture simultaneously (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994).

In fact, the women in this study often make a distinction between the two concepts of *home* and *life*. They describe *home* as being a place away, where they

come from, and *life* as being a place *here*, where they are. Life in the host country is usually not associated with home, except for those women who have family here, because it is lacking the roots often related to childhood memories:

> *"Very difficult question. Like, of course, my home is in Poland, but is very strange. Even my friends, they feel that... When I go, for example, for holiday, like, I see my home, because I spent there my childhood, and ... But I don't feel that is my home, you know... I feel that, maybe not home, but my life is here. It's a very strange feeling."*

Home is embedded in the cultural environment where one grew up. There is no way of transferring this into the new culture, where those roots are, as yet, missing and the same meanings cannot, as yet, be shared, as such shared cultural meanings cannot be shared outside the women's home cultural context.

Consequently, life takes place in the host country, where the women work, live, shop, sleep or meet:

> *"Dom. [...] Home, I think, that means the place in which you feel really better, confident, in which you can relax, and you feel really, really nice. So, I don't know...uhm... That's a little bit different now [...] I like to see my family, that was very, very nice. But that place is now a little bit different and maybe it's a little bit strange. [...] I don't have my own bed, I don't have my own, my own place for my own books, or something for my own things [...] I see now, my own life is now here. Now here I have my own place, my own clothes, my own books, my own job. [...] at the moment I try this, that I start to build the home here."*

As demonstrated in this extract, leaving a home behind in the home country and living a life in the host country is, consequently, a form of building a home there. Janina describes her home in Poland as an emotional image that includes her family and that evokes positive feelings of attachment. In contrast, her current life takes place in Dublin, where she has her bed, her clothes, her books and her job.

Similarly, home in Poland is described as a mental image of well-being, which is immensely missed in the host country, but that cannot provide a current life for this woman:

> *"I don't say that I miss my home, because, ok, where I was born, it will be always home, where we spent our life in ___, it was really nice time, but I say, here I feel good, in the place where I live."*

This extract highlights the distinction between home in Poland and life in Ireland, one that is always missed, while enjoying a life in the other.

Equally, this woman describes the distinction between her home in Poland and her life in Ireland, which takes place inside their apartment in Dublin, not in their parents' house in Poland:

> *"You know, maybe, because when we go back to Poland now, then Poland is like our home. But we don't have there our place. So, I really like it when I come back, to this apartment. Here is our apartment, this is our life. So, just when I am coming back from Poland, I have the feeling that I am coming back, because I am coming back to my place."*

'I am coming back' illustrates a return to her life in Ireland from a short visit home to Poland, which centres on her current life in Ireland, not in Poland.

8.4.1 *The concept of home: permanent and temporary*

For many Polish migrant women in this study, the concept of home in Poland is a fully realised concept that lies in the past and, hopefully, in the future, whereas the home in Ireland (if we call it home – it resembles more a *life* in Ireland) is a work in progress, which takes place in the present. Thus the concept of home has been

formed in the past and in the present it is a place where one longs for, and hopefully finds it again in the future:

> *"I hope in Poland, I want to come back, anyway. I like this place, but for me, I don't know, when I think about house, I can see myself in Poland. Like, I prefer to."*

Home in Poland is a concept of home that is permanent: it was formed in the past, and will exist in the future. To maintain this permanent image of home, Polish migrant women return home in order to stay involved in life there, although this is a difficult endeavour.

In contrast to a permanent image of home in Poland is a temporary life in Ireland:

> *"Well, here, yeah, this is definitely temporary. Like, I knew pretty much on the first day with Tom, I kind of made it very clear that I don't mind living in Ireland for a few years, but I am definitely not going to stay here for all my life."*
> *"No, because I always knew it would be temporary. I always knew, I am not gonna stay here forever, and I have my sweet home here for the time being, but still my home is in Poland, where I grew up."*

Some of the earlier quotes already indicated that the women enjoy returning to their own space, which is provided in this present life in Ireland. As such, life in Ireland forms a space to create home in the present, yet, as long as the women long for home in Poland in the future, home in Ireland cannot be fully realised as it lacks a past and a future perspective.

This creates a tension of living between two places, which is difficult for many Polish migrant women, who do not fully belong to the new place where they have created a life, often with their own family, and are dedicated to building a home:

"It's a situation like sitting between two stools."
"No, it is, it has no sense of belonging anywhere, like then."
"This is like 2 different families right now, and I am between them."

Parallel to this existence is the knowledge and memory of the place that they left, which is a fully realised concept of home, but where life continues without them and changes without them being part of it. As a result of migration, the image Polish migrant women have of home changes and with it the concept of home.

8.4.2 *Idealising home in Poland: nostalgia*

In particular, from a distance, home is idealised and as a concept it would bear no resemblance to the reality of contemporary Poland for someone living for many years in Ireland, as is demonstrated in this example:

> *"Even, I think if you live abroad and you're far away from home, it's different for you, because it's from the distance, and it's more perfect than it really is; and everything is nicer and food is better and people are better, everything is better. But when you're there, of course, it turns out it's not like that, it's just reality, it's just home"*

This also indicates a sense of nostalgia for what was. Poland as a mental image has become a place that is even more beautiful from a migrant's perspective. Before emigration Poland used to be a place of no special interest, but the loss of home there turns it into something special.

This sense of nostalgia aims to maintain a desired image of these women's national identity (Lomsky-Feder and Rapoport 2000). Nostalgia generally describes maintaining a collective sense of socio-historic continuity which also

impacts on migrants' identity construction (Brown and Humphreys 2002). Polish migrant women maintain this positive image of their home through sharing their experience of their home culture with Irish friends or partners, and thus facilitate negative feelings related to the loss of home. This reflects their nostalgia for a shared place which is no longer possible as they now live a new life in the new one.

8.5 *Key to their activities – future orientation: temporary/permanent home*

What is fuelling the tension between a fully realised concept of home in Poland and home that is work in progress in Ireland, is a Polish migrant woman's future orientation. This can be seen as the key to their activities as for the majority of women in this study, life in Ireland is considered to be temporary with the intention to return to Poland in the future. Their stay in Ireland then represents one stage in their life course. In Ireland, their short-term priorities are focused on their current life and work. At the same time, their long-term priorities are to return home to Poland in the future.

The timeframe for this endeavour is not clear as all they know now is that at some time they wish to return home:

> *"But hopefully in a few years time, we are planning to move over to Poland, so..."*
> *"Hopefully it will change. Yeah, I live in hope. (laughing) Because I want to go back home, I don't want to stay here all my life."*
> *"But I like the job. I say: 'not forever' of course, but I am quite happy there."*

As these three extracts illustrate, the current life in Ireland is more fulfilling than a life in Poland would be at the moment. Consequently, Polish migrant women focus on this life, and plan to return home to Poland some time in the future. This increases the imbalance between home in Poland and home in Ireland, as over time, the concept of home in Ireland may develop more fully when over a growing length of time the host country becomes a place where home is created.

Some Polish migrant women, for instance, often demonstrate their intention to return to Poland in the future by buying property in Poland:

> *"Because I have a plan: maybe when I come back to Poland, maybe I buy a house, maybe I change my flat for big flat. I don't know."*

For this woman buying property in Poland ought to form the foundation of home in Poland. But there is uncertainty surrounding this plan, when her current life may not comply with her future plan.

8.5.1 *Reasons for temporary migration*

What are the reasons for returning to Poland? Firstly, for the majority of Polish migrant women in this study, Ireland is not home and they feel they never fully belong to the host country. For the majority of them, Ireland is a place for a life that is temporary. It is a place in the present, where home is an incomplete work in progress. Home in Poland in contrast is a fully realised concept that was formed in the past, continues to exist in their minds in the present and that is longed for in

the future. As a result, the majority of Polish migrant women in this study are torn back towards their home in Poland.

Secondly, other reasons for returning to Poland exist, which are more practical, such as finishing studies in Poland:

> *"Yes, yes. I think this year is my last one, now, because I must finish my PhD in Poland."*

One woman feels that she cannot progress any further in her work. As such, experiences of exclusion from promotion present a reason to return to the home country, where migrant status is no longer an issue. Others may be unable to fulfil their professional aims due to a lack of English language skills:

> *"There is no opportunity for promotion"*
> *"Because you know, I am studying. I finished studying. So, I want something more than work in shop, but at the moment it's ok."*

Another reason is embedded in the family-orientated nature of Polish culture (see chapter 5) as a Polish migrant woman wishes to be closer to her family:

> *"I would prefer to be closer to my parents"*
> *"I want to stay here 1 year, maybe 2 years, and then home. ... Because in Poland I have daughter."*

Furthermore, some parents may want their children to go to a Polish school, be united with their grandparents or not to risk losing their original Polish identity:

> *"but we definitely…I think definitely not here…Well, I'm saying it now, but you have to check in ... Well, I want them to grow up with grandparents. And they are already enrolled in kindergarten in Poland"*

As such, they return because of their children and in this particular example, with children already enrolled in a kindergarten in Poland, this fact points at a definite

return to Poland. Overall, many of the women, who have no Irish part of their family in Ireland, intend to return eventually as soon as the economic situation in Poland changes.

8.5.2 *Factors impacting on a permanent and temporary concept of home*

There are exceptions to those women whose future orientation is returning home to Poland. Some remain in Ireland with their Irish families; others see a better future in Ireland than in Poland, which causes their uncertainty about a return to Poland. The following sections will discuss factors that impact on either permanent or temporary concepts of home.

8.5.2.i *Family in Ireland*

In particular, the four women who have lived in Ireland for more than ten or twenty years and have families and children there, no longer wish to return home. By now, they have created their homes in Ireland. As said earlier, their concept of home still lacks childhood experiences and parents. They have, however, married into an Irish family and raised their children in Ireland. As such, they have created a home in the host country for their new family. Their children would identify more with Irish culture, because they have never lived in Poland. On a continuum from home in the home country to home in the host country, they would be closest to calling the home in the host country their home, having created a permanent concept of home in the host country. They would also be the ones who would find it easier to create a home in the host country, where they have their families:

> *"Well, I imagined how my family life is and home. That was very important for me. Mainly, my main, eh, main, my main issue here was that my home will be here from now on, imagine this as my home."*

As this extract illustrates, the interrelationship between home and family has helped these women to create a home in Ireland as they have a family there. At this stage, home in Poland is unreal as it lacks what has been created over the last ten, twenty or thirty years.

Furthermore, by now, the women's Polish parents have often passed away, which also forms a major break with their original home. They have also integrated into their Irish family and have formed friendships with Irish people, though not in a Polish sense (see chapter 5). Consequently, their concept of home in Ireland is more fully realised than that of Polish migrant women who lack a family in Ireland. At arrival, these women would be at the same stage as most of the young women who are now coming to Ireland, where home is associated with Poland. But they engage in the process of creating a home including their new family in the host country. At this stage, it too is work in progress, but the balance is different as those women who have lived here long enough will come close to realising their home in the host country more fully.

However, even their more fully realised concept of home lacks the childhood memories:

> *"but still my home is in Poland, where I grew up."*
> *"When I go, for example, for holiday, like, I see my home, because I spent there my childhood, and"*

Such memories complete this concept of a fully realised home in Ireland, though these women are closer to calling their family in Ireland their home.

8.5.2.ii <u>Second destination of emigration</u>

Even more distance to home in Poland has been created by those women who have arrived in Ireland as their second destination of migration. If Ireland was not the first destination of emigration, a migrant may feel greater attachment to the first place of destination than to Poland, depending on the time spent there. One woman who was a migrant already for many years in another European country and spent most of her childhood there calls this place her home. Her concept of home was primarily formed in that particular cultural environment. As such, home may be related to the culture where a Polish migrant woman previously lived and collected her childhood memories.

8.5.2.iii <u>Length of time in Ireland</u>

The length of time spent in the home and the host country has a major impact on Polish migrant women's decision to return home, as the longer a Polish migrant woman lives in the host culture, the closer she comes to feeling part of it and belonging there. Consequently, there is a significant change in her cultural identity when she begins to feel closer to belonging to the host culture than to the home culture. Yet, she will never fully belong there either:

> *"But sometimes, when Polish people come to my house, and I speak Polish, I get this funny, strange feeling 'Is this real?', because my real*

world is speaking English in my home, and suddenly becomes unreal.
Where is Poland?"

Urzula describes how she has become a marginal (Bennett 1993a), as she no longer considers Polish the language in her home. Being Polish and having grown up in Poland, she has moved away from her home there and created a new home including her family in Ireland, who speaks English at home. Consequently, those women who have a family in Ireland and have created a family home for this family in Ireland over more than ten or twenty years, would no longer wish to return to Poland.

Even less motivated to return to Poland would be children of mixed marriages and for the majority it would not be a return, as they had never lived in Poland before. If there were a continuum, children of mixed marriages who were born in Ireland possibly feel closest to the host culture on that continuum, because they may have spent very little or no time at all in the Polish home culture. All they can draw on in terms of their Polish home culture identity is their mothers' experiences. They may not even call it the home culture, as the 'host culture' is their home culture, because it is more dominant. It depends on their mothers' influence as to what extent the mother's home culture is still maintained within the family, including its hold on their identity. Thus, such children would more certainly have a permanent view of home in the host culture.

In contrast, those Polish migrant women who have only arrived in the host culture and have had very little experience in it, will be at the other end of the continuum,

and still be closest to their Polish home culture as their exposure to the host culture is still minimal. If they have no Irish family, their concept of home in Ireland would be temporary.

8.5.2.iv Uncertainty forming a temporary concept of home

For some women in this study, their concept of home in Ireland is temporary. There is, however, uncertainty about when they will return and if they will return and this uncertainty is influenced by different factors:

8.5.2.iv.i Uncertainty: mixed marriages

Two Polish migrant women, who came shortly before EU accession, are in a relationship with an Irish man and are torn between their decision to remain in Ireland and returning to their home country Poland:

> *"Yeah, and that's why it was quite difficult, because on the one hand I wanted to go home, on the other hand no."*
> *"And unfortunately I met somebody here, (laughing) and I stayed. Unfortunately because I was accepted, I was accepted after 2 years. (laughing) Yes, after 2 years of being here. And that boy I met asked me to stay, so I stayed."*

Similarly, the four Polish women who have partners from other countries are uncertain about their decision to return to Poland. They had often met in Ireland and had begun a life there together.

Elzbieta, for instance, is married to an Irish man and has lived in Ireland for approximately four years. They are considering moving to Poland in the future:

> *"At the moment we are buying a house in Poland, which was a decision taken while we were there for half a year. So, we are hoping one day we will move there, but we are not really sure how this will probably work out [...] but we are thinking 'Ok, we want a family.' Maybe in a year or two. ... So, you have to make sure you have work, and everything in place. We are not sure how it will work out, so we are very open. [...] So, we think about it, but I am not sure."*

However, their current life is occupied by thinking of starting their own family with children in Ireland. In addition, they enjoy a secure employment situation in Ireland and life is generally well as it is at the moment. As such, despite their intention to return to Poland, which is manifested in the acquisition of property there, there is a slight chance that they will create a home in Ireland, similar to the four women who have lived in Ireland for more than ten or twenty years.

8.5.2.iv.ii *Uncertainty: professional opportunities and independence*

Some women are generally uncertain about whether they will remain longer in Ireland or if they will finally return to Poland. This is often linked to better employment opportunities they have in general in Ireland, particularly as women. There are, for instance, two women who work in male-dominated sectors, IT and construction, and who would find that harder in Poland. In Ireland their skills are in demand, whilst in Poland they feel discriminated on the basis of their gender:

> *"but it's difficult being a woman and to work in IT, you can feel some kind of discrimination, in Poland it's very common, here I can't feel it at all."*

Yet, these women's home is in Poland so that they are caught in the duality of their feelings.

As with these types of inequality, the lack of independence may impact negatively on the women's decision to return home, because back in Poland, they may face such lack of independence and equality again. Similarly, Łobodzińska (2000) has discussed how Polish women avoid working in male-dominated areas in Poland as their expectations are low succeeding in these areas. Along these lines, Coyle (2007), for instance, argues that what Polish migrant women need from the EU is to secure a new framework of gender equality and equal treatment in Poland "that offers hope for an improvement in their rights at home" (Coyle 2007: 37). Provided these women are in fact given improved equality standards in Poland, they may return eventually.

8.5.2.iv.iii *Uncertainty: age*

One woman felt that she is at an age where she wishes to settle down. Having arrived in Ireland, she wishes to settle down in the country she is in, as opposed to planning to return to Poland in the future. She feels she has no choice at her age:

> *"To be honest, at this moment, I don't know, but I would rather think of staying here. And it's simply because I don't have time for many changes, I am already 29 and it's time to kind of settle down. Because that's what my father says."*

For her a future orientation that has an uncertain future is not suitable for her. She feels at an age where she wishes to settle down and plan for the future with more

certainty. However, her attachment to home is still strong through contact with her family.

8.5.2.iv.iv Uncertainty: further migration

Some Polish migrant women in this study express the wish to migrate to other places in the future. They want to explore other parts of the world and their opportunities to create a life there before eventually or possibly returning to Poland. This woman, who has a child with another EU national, plans to locate to another European country for some time:

> *"my destination is (name of European country), and then afterwards... This next 6 months is ___ and then I will have... [...] Maybe that will be a difficult decision where to go, but you know… now we probably don't think so many years ahead, just focus now on the idea of going to ___ and we are very optimistic about it. So, that's it. But definitely we would like to stay like a couple of years and if it's good, if we feel comfortable, we stay there."*

One woman, who has lived in another European country before, would prefer to return there as opposed to staying in Ireland or returning to Poland:

> *"if I could stay in V___ I would be very happy. There is some kind of place, where I would like to come back."*
> *"And then I am going to A___, and maybe I am staying there longer..."*

She has, however, decided to locate to a different country entirely first with her boyfriend, who is a national of that country. Having lived in other parts of the world already, she wishes to explore more places and postpones a decision about returning to Poland.

Emilia portrays a similar cosmopolitan attitude, as she and her Polish husband intend to explore other parts of the world:

> *"both of us have this nature of travel. So, we want see other countries. Because I want to get experience on different levels, and I want more, something more from myself, I want to try different parts of Europe."*

She and her husband also have no definite plans for the future, or where they will settle eventually.

8.5.2.iv.v *Uncertainty: orientation on present life*

At this stage of their journey it is not clear whether the women will follow their wish to return to Poland or if they will remain in Ireland. Since their current focus is on creating a life in Ireland, some women avoid making this immediate decision now:

> *"I don't know. I am sure that until the Easter time, I don't know…maybe longer. (laughing) …maybe longer. Anybody don't know how long they want to stay."*
> *"I don't know, how long I stay here."*

The following example illustrates that this woman's uncertainty about the future is linked to her current opportunities on the Irish labour market:

> *"I don't know. I don't have idea. Maybe…you know… I will finish that job, and maybe than I will back to Poland."*

Similarly, the following two extracts illustrate that the women in this study avoid foreseeing their future as the economic and social environment in Poland is still perceived as unstable:

> *"but so if everything would be similar to like work conditions, similar to Irish ones, so for sure we would then go"*

> *"If the situation was more stable, going in the proper direction, yeah, I would rather probably be there. It's just something that I know, it's the country that I know, it's the country where I was born, I don't have to fight this feeling of justifying my being."*

Consequently, they concentrate on their present life in Ireland, which provides them with the professional and personal opportunities that they cannot have in Poland.

They would, however, return when the situation changes in Poland in the future, but their planning is bound to this condition:

> *"Eh, I say, I will see what will be. I am afraid about the job, if I can find a good job, when I will come back. Because I say, at the moment, a lot of young people are abroad, but the job market isn't so good at the moment. Maybe we have to stay, or maybe we will have to change the country."*

However, as the final extract shows, when the economic situation in Ireland changes to the worse, this woman would also consider migrating further to another destination, where she and her Polish husband can fulfil their professional and personal aims.

8.5.3 *Consequences of permanent and temporary: incomplete integration and feeling of betweenness*

Studies of Irish migrants, for instance, have shown that during their process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) they have always expressed the wish to return eventually, but many remained, for instance, in the UK (Gray 2000). As a result of this uncertainty, they have never fully arrived in the host country and

home there always remained a work in progress with a future somewhere else. Gray's (2000) study of Irish migrant women in the UK reveals some similar findings, as some Irish migrant women in the UK aimed to return to Ireland in the future, longing for an 'Irish future'. They wished to return for similar reasons as Polish migrant women in Ireland, such as to provide their children with an Irish childhood and Irish education. However, their desires to return home were complicated as a result of the existence of relationships with husbands and partners from other countries. Consequently, many decided to remain in the UK, despite being depressed about their children's English upbringing, and finding themselves constantly negotiating their responsibilities outside and inside Ireland and their children's identification. This has left them with a feeling of betweenness similar to the women in this study, who are torn between two homes in two cultures.

Another form of betweenness is an incomplete integration that results from a definite temporary migration. The majority of Polish migrant women in this study express their wish to certainly return to Poland in the future, in particular, when they are not in relationships with Irish partners. Thus, their intention to stay in Ireland temporarily has an effect on their strategy to integrate (Berry et al. 2002) as integration will never be complete when their future orientation is to leave, which will further affect their process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1998; 2001). There are a number of reasons affecting this decision, which have already been outlined in this and the previous chapters, including, for instance, a strong attachment to home, the perceived barrier to friendship or a felt lack of acceptance

in the host culture. Consequently, within their process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1998; 2001), they are always caught in the middle, between the stresses of missing a home away and adaptation to the host culture, where they are in the process of building a home that is never complete.

8.6 *Summary of this chapter*

This chapter captures the *betweenness* of living between two cultures and the stresses of creating a home when home is, in fact, away, and which portrays these women's individual process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001). Home being immensely important, and forming an essential aspect of Polish migrants' experience of migration, also presents itself in a variety of facets that have an effect on the permanence of the concept home that Polish migrant women have in Ireland. Linking home with family, the women are torn between their home culture, where they have their families and where home is a fully realised concept of home, whereas they are in the process of building a home in the host culture. In contrast, those women in this study who have a family in both Poland and Ireland experience this dilemma to a stronger extent, as they have one family and one home in each culture, though they would be closest to calling Ireland their home.

Depending on the women's individual situation, they develop an individual larger intercultural identity, which is created as a result of the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001). This intercultural identity also includes a number of other individual identity outcomes that reveal itself from this process, and which are discussed in the final chapter of data analysis.

Chapter 9 – data: positive and negative individual identity outcomes

This chapter mainly draws on these categories:
Family, children, friendship, religion, independence, equality, Polish women, Collectivism/individualism, bad experiences, difficulties, generational differences

9.1 <u>Introduction</u>

Having described the feeling of betweenness of living between two cultures in the previous chapter and its effects on Polish migrant women's intercultural identity, this chapter discusses a number of other identity outcomes, both positive and negative, that develop as a result of Polish migrant women's process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001). Together, these form the women's individual intercultural identity that is larger than their original identity, as it includes both the home and host culture identity as well as specific experiences of migration from their home to the host country, which bring about additional individual identity outcomes.

9.2 *Positive and negative individual identity outcomes: changes to Polish family-orientated culture*

"I think, because Ireland joined the EU, and Irish got rich in few years time, and… I'd say, I'm afraid that eventually the same will happen with Poland. Everything will be commercialised and truth, the true values, like family life or love […] will be kind of disappearing." (Sylwia)

The women in this study expect negative changes in Polish family-orientated and collectivist culture (Hofstede 1994), which they link to two changes they already observe among some Polish migrants in Ireland: one is the focus on financial well-being existing in parts of the Polish community in Ireland and the other is an increasing desire for independence that can be observed amongst young Polish migrant women in Ireland. Both are linked to economic well-being as a result of migration and also an economic well-being in Poland, which is expected to hit Poland in the future, similarly to Ireland.

9.2.1 *Economic migration: a negative view of other Polish migrants*

So far, the interviews have revealed that Polish culture is indeed perceived as being more family-orientated and collectivist (Hofstede 1994) than Irish culture. For further illustration, this additional quote says:

"I think family life is the most important. […] Because I can see the difference between us and the Irish here. It's a bit different. I would like … I think it's in a way how we were brought up, the values that you learned as you were little, from the very beginning, what your parents taught you."

With Polish culture being very family-orientated it is difficult for Polish women to adopt individualistic behaviour perceived in Ireland as they will care for their families first.

However, some women predict that family-orientation in Polish culture will disappear with increasing prosperity in Poland, similar to Ireland (see chapter 6). This assumption also highlights a change in Polish society that, if true, should be possible to observe in Ireland, where Polish migrants begin to experience the same prosperity as Irish people. In fact, some women have described changes in the Polish community in Ireland, so that they consequently avoid contacts with some of its members. For instance, they describe increased rivalry among Polish migrants in Ireland, in fact more rivalry if compared to Polish people in Poland, which they link to a focus on money and financial well-being:

> *"I don't like Polish people here. They are changed here, they are something like new person. Sometimes I think going abroad, work abroad has changed people…I think so, if they go somewhere abroad, like Ireland or London, they can earn money, they can earn very big money and stay rich…but it's not true, because the life is very expensive. And they start …it's my opinion of course …and they care only about the money, what they can earn, and they change…"*
>
> *"When they coming here: 'I've got the money, you got the money, and: How much you earning?' And this is like, like… I don't know how to say that...eh... rivalisation between them... riwalisatsia is the Polish."*
>
> *"I think, the Polish you meet over here are different than the Poles in Poland. I think there is a distinction. As I said, the Poles to me come across here as 'money, money, money, work, work, work'."*

Such economic migration is generally perceived as negative by the women in this study; they frown upon the idea of money-driven emigration to Ireland, which according to them is in contrast to Polish collectivist culture (Hofstede 1994).

Consequently, they would distance themselves from being associated with the new Polish community due to this negative view. Instead, they would engage more with Polish migrants who arrived before EU accession, whom they perceive to be similar to themselves:

> *"But sometimes if somebody is asking me: 'Where are you from?' I say: 'Ok, I am from Poland.' But still I say without thinking: 'I came 22 years ago. I didn't come yesterday.'"*
> *"I don't really know Polish people, who came here after the EU."*
> *"But now we don't really link with this new Polish people, because they are probably maybe younger or older. We don't know them…"*

These extracts illustrate further differences within the Polish community in Ireland, as there is one specific group of Polish migrants, who have lived here for some time, and are part of the larger Polish community in Ireland, but can yet be distinguished from it. In particular, the four women who have lived in Ireland long before EU accession, for instance, are by now more attached to the Irish community than to the Polish community at large, and would clearly distance themselves from the new Polish community.

However, the younger women in this study would also distance themselves from this negative picture of 'only' economic migration, as the women in this study were motivated by a variety of factors, such as professional fulfilment, personal reasons, personal and financial independence or further professional opportunities (see chapter 4). Whenever they discuss this issue, they refer to *other* Polish migrants, but never to themselves:

> *"I think, the Polish you meet over here are different than the Poles in Poland. I think there is a distinction. As I said, the Poles to me come across here as 'money, money, money, work, work, work'."*

This reveals further differences within the Polish community in Ireland as Polish migrants, in fact, migrate for a variety of reasons.

Mere economic migration may, in fact, be a temporary form of migration, as these "economic migrants" migrate to Ireland temporarily to earn some money, which they cannot do in Poland. Thus, they find transnational spaces (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994) to earn an income, whereas they maintain their family life at home in their home country, where they return regularly and where they live from that income. As such, their existing social networks of family and friends remain in place at home:

> *"I think the Poles are half and half, I think, maybe half will want to go back, making money and go back, and I say maybe not quite half that will stay and will make a life here."*

Klementyna, for instance, assumes that half of the Polish migrants from Poland are such "economic migrants", whereas the other half migrates for other reasons and subsequently aim to integrate (Berry et al. 2002) more fully.

9.2.2 *Independence and family values combined – a positive view to changes in Polish family-orientated culture*

Family and family values are key aspects of Polish culture (see chapter 5). Paradoxically, at the same time there is a desire for independence which is thus not possible in Polish culture. The majority of women in this study though demonstrate that their new desire for independence and a professional career does not exclude core family values, which are still perceived as important and as being maintained:

> *"when you have a child you completely forget about the professional career and things. It was, for me it was big thing, and it was very important, absolutely."*

> *"Well, at the end of the day, everyone wants to have a child and her own ... yes... But maybe younger women delay that now, because of career."*

Just as these two women, many women in this study emphasise the stronger role family plays in their lives, which does, however, not exclude a Polish migrant woman's desire for independence and a professional career.

These changes highlight some generational differences between the older and younger generation of Polish women as different importance is placed upon work and family. Whereas the first generation of Polish migrant women, who migrated to Ireland in the 1980s, still primarily migrated for family reasons and appears to place more emphasis on their family and children than the younger generation, the new generation often migrates for financial and personal independence and increasingly stresses the development of their individual careers before starting a family and staying at home to take care of the children:

> *"I think there are, especially younger than me. They are not in my style, to be honest, this is a new generation for me, they look in their interest, you know, [...] whatever they do, it must, it must return to them, you know. I'm not such kind of person, you know. My attitude is that goodness must go around. [...] I believe, one day it will come back. But this young generation is very aggressive; women are not... The same as Irish girl, they are a lot, you know, aggression and you know, I don't know, personality, which I don't like, I don't respect. Polish maybe aren't the same, but they slowly, slowly step by step became similar, this young generation, my opinion."*

Such individualistic lifestyle of young Polish migrant women is not looked on favourably by some of the older Polish generation.

This increasing importance also given to individual wishes is particularly reflected in the mobility of young Polish migrant women who come to Ireland to develop their careers (see chapter 4). However, they still wish to have a family, usually before the age of 30. Thus, their priorities have changed and a professional career has also gained increasing importance:

> *"The old one, which have some family. That's still the same, the family is still the most important, to have a husband and kids. Maybe not to go to work. A lot of Polish women stay at home, to be a mother, to be a wife, not to go at work. Maybe that's the difference, the young women start to think something different. They want to work, they want to first make something for, for yourself, and after make for family and have a children."*
> *"But Polish women were never really emancipated, eh, we were very happy being at home, cooking dinner etc. Maybe the new girls are a little bit different? I don't know, but they do... (laughing)"*

Some women link this development to a perceived cultural change within Polish society. In fact, in this study, 16 of the 20 women between 25 and 35 do not have children, which would confirm this perception of change in Polish society away from primarily collectivist family values towards increasing individual wishes.

In contrast, two decades ago it was still more common to start one's family in the early, not late 20s:

> *"For my aunts: 28 years old, having no kids, is pretty old woman."*

This, however, turns out to be difficult when they also wish to fulfil their professional aims before having their own family.

Their professional aims generally include completing a university degree and/or work for some time to establish a professional career. In Ireland, they have the opportunities to follow these wishes:

> *"Here you 'are allowed' to think of yourself first and this is why you are happier."*
> *"But I think now is different way, we... like, I think, we think more about career and about success and, you know, work..."*

This aspiration for independence is new amongst Polish migrant women, and is reflected in their transnational mobility (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994), which provides an opportunity to afford living alone in their apartment or fulfilling their professional aims before they start a family of their own.

However, not all of the older generation observe this development negatively, as demonstrated in this example by Urzula:

> *"yes, more realistic thinking perhaps. Like, if I don't get married or I don't have children, at least I will have an independent life, not living with my parents. That's their attitude now. That is good."*

In contrast to the described general perception of the older generation of Polish people, Urzula, for instance, approves of these attitudinal changes in favour of Polish women's independence and possible changes in Polish culture.

9.2.2.i <u>*Gender issues – negative aspects of women's emancipation*</u>

Despite these changes, however, feminism as a social movement is only beginning in Poland, and Polish women do not appear to fight for equal rights there; instead they are quite happy with the situation as it is in the labour market:

"They, for instance, when they have job, almost none of them thinks, for instance, for the same job, even they are so professional, they are paid less than men. And none of them, almost, don't protest, because they think: 'Ok, everybody has respect to me, so what else should I have?' The same rights! This is what I think."

The interviews reveal significant gender differences and discrimination against women in the Polish labour market. Consequently, it should be more favourable for Polish women to work in Ireland than in Poland, where they are treated more equally, for example in terms of salaries and access to the labour market.

In particular, there are gendered employment areas, and certain *male* jobs, such as construction or IT, which are not as easily accessible for women in Poland:

"it's difficult to say, maybe some people have changed already, but it's difficult being a woman and to work in IT, you can feel some kind of discrimination, in Poland it's very common"

Despite equality legislation in Poland, which needs to comply with relevant EU legislation, the interviews reveal that significant inequalities still exist in reality.

Sylwia, for instance, was able to fulfil her professional aims and find employment according to her qualifications in a male-dominated area in Ireland:

"I don't find, the job that I had in Poland wasn't really the best one. It still was site engineering, but …I don't know…it's difficult for a woman to get a job as site engineer in Poland. It is much easier here."

Thus, it appears easier for Polish women to access male-dominated areas of employment, such as IT or engineering, in Ireland than in Poland as employers in Ireland seek professionals in this area regardless of gender (see chapter 4).

Interestingly, the interviews reveal that on the domestic front, mutual support exists and both partners share the housework equally; this is often linked to both partners working. As such, the relationship between women and men in Polish culture is mutually dependent. Since they both need to work to provide enough for the family, they also need to support each other in the household. Such equality at home consequently impacts on Polish women's quest for independence:

> *"both take care of household and children."*
> *"Because now it's changing, but over the years, women in Poland used to work much more full-time. Then to not let the house completely coming down, like family life, the men had to help to some extent, I think."*
> *"And for example, me and R___, R___ is helping me a lot, and we are more like partners."*

Some of this equality taking place at home can be traced back to Communism, when it was easier for women to work and care for their children, because state-funded pre-schools supported working women by caring for their children. Interestingly, this situation has never existed in Ireland, and is part of the complex post-Communist legacy in Poland (see chapter 5).

However, Tarkowska (2002) contradicts this view, as, according to her study, intra-household inequalities, in fact, exist in Polish households. Such different findings can be indicative for further change in Polish culture, which can be linked to the effects of migration experiences instead of a post-Communist legacy. Triandafyllidou (2006b), who carried out research of Polish female migration in Europe and specifically in Italy, points out that in such migration contexts Polish women and men equally share family burdens, that is the raising of their children and their necessity to provide for their children. Similar results have been found in

other studies of Polish migrant women and men in Europe (Cyrus and Vogel 2006; Düvell 2006; Triandafyllidou and Kosic 2006).

9.2.2.ii *Independent female migration versus dependent male migration – negative*

Finally, the interviews reveal that these young independent Polish migrant women described here generally appear to experience fewer difficulties in Ireland than, for instance, married Polish men who have left their families behind in Poland:

> *"I think it depends, there are plenty of men who are leaving their families, they are the sole provider for the family and they can't find work in Poland, they have to emigrate and they leave their children and family. [...] those guys here, they are very lonely, I think, so it must be very difficult."*
> *"And I heard of cases of men who came here, you know, and they spend the last saving that they had, and they weren't able to cope, because they couldn't find a job, and their wife was there at home screaming at them 'Why didn't you manage to get a job? Those were our last savings.' So, maybe it's more hard for men, because their role is to be the brave and come here first and find a job. Women rarely have that role. They come later, they join them later, after the man already got a job. So, maybe that's why it's more hard for them."*

According to the women in this study, some older married men, in particular, who migrate to Ireland to earn a living whereas their family remains in Poland appear to experience more difficulties during migration. By fulfilling their cultural role as providers of the family at home they are hindered from adapting to the new environment that does not include their family at home.

Consequently, they also find themselves as living between two cultures, somewhat similar to the women in this study, but their attachment to their home culture is much stronger as their direct family resides there and they take part in

life back home from a distance. Their transnational experience is complicated as they do not exactly integrate into Irish life, as the centre of their life is still at home, which is though far away. They differ to the women in this study as for them home does not exist in the host country at all. Instead, it is their home in Poland that forms their fully realised concept of home, with the dilemma that they cannot fully take part in it, only as providers for their families.

There are, in fact, some Polish migrant women who also fit this picture, and who do not fit into the picture of such young, independent, well-prepared Polish migrant women:

> *"I guess, these women who came here because of their husbands, with kids… I guess, probably they were doing some kind of jobs in Poland and if they don't speak English, maybe from that day they need to switch to some simple jobs, like probably cleaning or minding babies… And that maybe is what makes them not very comfortable. "*

They are usually dependent on a Polish husband, and they migrate primarily to follow their Polish husbands. Such women may experience difficulties similar to those of dependent men. However, none of the women in this study fits this description.

From the perspective of the women in this study, cross-cultural adaptation to the new environment (Kim 1988; 2001) is generally perceived to be easier for Polish women than for men, as many of the Polish migrant women in Ireland migrate at a young age, in their twenties or thirties, and have an independent attitude. Often, they have no obligations yet to provide for a family and can make independent decisions:

> *"I think these are usually very young women, and I think they find their place. They, maybe not assimilate, but integrate, they melt or mix very easily, because they are very energetic and open"*
> *"Most of the Polish girls are coming alone here. And they trying to find out how it works, and they are more, they are not that security like mens."*
> *"I think women in general do much better alone than men alone"*

Their independent attitude facilitates their approach to the challenges in the new environment and they deal with them more easily than many dependent men:

> *"Maybe women are more outgoing and talking. Men tend to close themselves. ... I think so, because I know the Polish men start to drink here, because they can't find a job, but Polish women would maybe meet and talk."*
> *"You have to be flexible in different countries, you cannot loose your way of thinking, you have to be open. [...] Like my husband, he didn't change at all his behaviours and his habits. He has exactly the same, that's how he came here, it's exactly the same. I changed a lot, I changed point of views, I changed ...eh... things like... we adopted some of the advantages"*

These women's flexible attitude allows them to change in order to adjust to a new environment; they deal with the challenges better than men do, as it opens them to different cultures. This is strengthened by their high level of preparation, which minimises their risk to fail in the host country (see chapter 4).

9.3 *Individual identity outcomes: friendship – positive and negative*

The predicaments of maintaining friendships with friends in Poland have many reasons: In some cases, Polish migrant women lose contact with their friends at home as a result of experiencing a different life in the host country. Having friends means to be involved in friends' lives. Not taking part in friends' lives anymore means that the distance between them is widening:

> *"I don't contact anybody, because my friends got married, they have their own families, we don't keep in touch. I'm in touch with people who are here rather"*
> *"All of my friends, I'm always getting involved in all the problems."*

This discrepancy between the lived experiences of migrants and those who remain in the home country often creates a distance between friends, which can eventually result in contact being lost entirely. This happens more often with koleżanka /kolega kind of friendships than with przyjaciółki (see chapter 5).

In addition, it is also difficult to share experiences of a better life with friends who have remained at home and continue to experience a difficult time in Poland:

> *"But it's hard, sometimes hard, because you are not anymore involved in their life, you don't know what happen there. You can just tell them: 'Yeah, it's nice here.' It's different level of tragedy of life. Because, I know that it's much harder in Poland, and that […] my friend, he's struggling every moment."*

As this extract shows, there are aspects of life which Polish migrant women can no longer share with Poles who have not had similar experiences, and instead continue to experience immense difficulties in their lives. With regard to this, there is a saying in Polish: *'Wszędzie dobrze gdzie nas nie ma.'*, which means that life is good everywhere where one is not present:

> *"Like you see, those all friends who we left behind in Poland, they have own life. So, when we going back, so we meeting them, and we have good fun with them. But you can't chase them with your own problems now over the phone: 'I'm in trouble, so help me.' […] We don't want to disturb them with what's bad going on. So, like everybody knows, that's 'Everywhere is good where we are not there' you know […] 'Wszędzie dobrze gdzie nas nie ma.' So, everywhere is good, apart of those places where we are"*

It appears that Polish migrant women avoid discussing their problems with Polish friends who remain at home and cannot understand the experiences of being a migrant; instead both focus on the positive experiences they have either in Poland or in Ireland.

In contrast to the wider distance between friends, those friendships which survive are often those with friends who share a similar experience of migration:

> *"a Polish girl, and actually she lives in Sweden. So, we have kind of the same background, we have been living in another country for a while, and you know missing friends and family, you know. So, she is in Sweden now. She is the only person that I can really talk to when I have problems with some things. We are calling each other, or also on the messenger"*

Overall, the existence of friends, in general, can facilitate the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001): as much as the lack of it can hinder it. Maintaining contact with friends in Poland is, however, difficult, as is the formation of new friendships in Ireland. The latter is linked to the perceived barrier to friendship in Irish culture (see chapters 5 and 6), which would require Polish migrant women to compromise their original concept of friendship.

Some women's future orientation creates another barrier to form close friendships with Irish hosts. Often they consider they will reside in the host country only temporarily. Forming close friendships is difficult when time is short, as forming friendships in the Polish sense is associated with experiences shared over time (see chapter 5). As was demonstrated in the previous chapter, this is, however, almost, though not merely, impossible to accomplish. When it happens though, it indicates a change in this part of a Polish migrant woman's original identity.

The changes in Polish migrant women's religious practice and/or the struggles with their Catholic faith form an additional important identity outcome. Some Polish migrant women are, for instance, not able to practice their Catholic faith, which subsequently causes feelings of discomfort. This is evident amongst women in mixed marriages or relationships with a partner who does not have as strong a religious background or no religious background. For some Polish Catholic women it is, for instance, important to have children baptised. It evokes feelings of discomfort when she is not able to do so, because her husband may not agree with this practice:

> *"No, she is not. And actually, I can tell you that. That was for me it was kind of a big problem. Even if I'm not going to Church very often, but still I'm from the family with this strong family background. For me that was more a traditional thing to do, and then I'd let the girl decide in the future what she wants to be or… That is for me the parents' decision. You should do that. And I wanted. But my husband is against. […]But I guess, it's always … if there are two people from different religions or different families… it's always something which make you a bit … you know… troubles… Because this is like important part of life… It's difficult for me as well."*

This is a very sensitive subject, as Aleksandra reveals, as she compromises her Catholic background.

Sometimes, such intercultural experiences of being a migrant and/or sharing a life with a partner from a different culture, who does not share the same religious background, may well cause a loss of religious faith. Consequently, some migrant

women lose contact with their religious faith and find other ways to support their adaptation to the host environment. Such changes to her original identity may, however, evoke feelings of discomfort as it did for Aleksandra.

One woman had similar experiences of creating greater distance to her original religious faith:

> "I probably lost it, because not only Catholic person, but also from the different countries, different experiences. So, this is how it works."

This woman also increasingly distanced herself from her Catholic background as part of her intercultural relationship. She describes this form of compromise that also exists in other parts of her life as common in this form of mixed relationship. Similarly, another woman is currently rethinking her faith: having travelled around the world, she is confronted with questioning her Catholic belief. She does not call herself a Catholic, because at the moment she does not attend church, and for her these two things, faith and practice, are intertwined:

> "It can't work that way. You are Catholic and go to the church or you are not Catholic. It's so easy for me. But I can't say that I am Catholic at the moment, because I have general breakdown, as for me faith. So, it's something completely different, it's not that I don't go there because I am too lazy, no, I just don't feel like going there. [...] I would say that's influence from some other people, who I met in (name of European country), and they try to convince me that God doesn't exist, and that's ...yeah... [...] But I don't know, I am just still in that phase that I just have to just think about it, and just realise what is more important to me: my believe and nothing else matter [...]. So, I don't know, I am somewhere in the middle."

This illustrates the impact of specific migration experiences on the women's identity. Their contact with other cultures and the increasing distance to their original culture results in a loss of original parts of their identity. In one example,

this causes feelings of discomfort, which can be interpreted as stress (Kim 2001) that may impact negatively on the cross-cultural adaptation process, but which can also have a positive effect as it is a space for personal growth (Kim 2001).

9.5 *Individual identity outcomes: positive and negative aspects of migrant children's bicultural identity*

Migrant children, in particular, exemplify the concept of a bicultural identity, and the difficulties related to such a bicultural identity. There are different groups of Polish migrant children: children whose parents are both Polish and who, often, migrated with their parents to Ireland; children who have a Polish mother and an Irish father and who were often born in Ireland; and children who have a Polish mother and a father from another country (in this study only other EU countries) and who were also often born in Ireland. These different compositions affect the different strength of their bicultural identity and some may feel more Polish, whereas others may feel as belonging closer to Irish culture.

For instance, children of mixed marriages generally feel as belonging closer to Irish culture, though their identity is often still bicultural. Children of Polish parents who have migrated to Ireland also have a bicultural identity, though they can still be closer to Polish culture. However, migrant children's identity is often dominated by the host culture identity, because their frame of reference outside home is dominated by host culture values and practices. In addition, greater pressures exist to conform to host culture norms:

"I think, if I will stay with him in this country, he will be much more Irish than Polish, because he will be here, he will be living with Irish, he will be going to the school, with Irish, even if we will get the lesson"
"Irish, Irish friends.[…] Yes. All Irish friends, because it's not, not very.... nie duzo, small […] Not many, yes, not many people about, not many children […] z Polsce."

On the one hand, there is home and the parents, or mother, who will decide to what extent they will pursue home culture values and practices in order to maintain the home culture identity. This makes it a difficult task for parents, especially in mixed marriages, to maintain another culture at home which is not the dominant culture that children experience in their everyday lives. But also Polish children who migrate to Ireland with their Polish parents increasingly move away from their original culture. The younger the children are and the longer they live in the host cultural environment, the more difficult it becomes to maintain home cultural values and practices in their lives.

For the women in this study, it is, however, important to maintain some home culture identity with their children regardless of such composition. They attempt this, for instance, by speaking in the mother tongue to their children (see section 9.7.1). When maintaining Polish becomes difficult, they then emphasise other aspects of a cultural identity, such as celebrating home culture traditions:

"This, I think, is kind of my duty, kind of toward myself, to give to my children as much Polish as I can."
"The most important thing, especially abroad, in this context, to raise our children that are still remember that they are Poles. I would say that this is probably the most important, you know."

Another way to compensate the loss of an original identity is to send Polish children to a Polish boarding school. This woman, who was already a Polish

migrant in another European country, went to a Polish boarding school there when she was a child:

> *"And then I went to a Polish boarding school... in my youth as well. So, I had this strong connections all my life."*

Such boarding schools pursue home culture values and practices actively and may draw the children to identify more with their home culture in contrast to sending them to a school within the dominant host cultural environment. In fact, there is a Polish school in Dublin, which was opened after the interviews took place.

Overall, children are constantly exposed to Irish culture outside and inside their home, and the impact of Irish culture is much stronger on their identity than on that of Polish adults, who have developed stronger links to their original identity already. Being exposed to Irish culture more strongly than to Polish culture results in developing a stronger sense of belonging to the Irish part of their cultural identity than to their Polish one. This loss of the original identity is more strongly developed with children of mixed marriages, where the influence of both cultures is strong outside and inside home. The majority of children's friends will be Irish because they will be in school with Irish children. Polish mothers react to this danger by maintaining Polish at home or by telling children about their Polish family, so they can relate that part of their identity to their personal lives.

9.5.1 *Individual identity outcomes: migrant children's bilingualism*

Another identity outcome is bilingualism, which is common amongst Polish migrant children. Many Polish women, generally, welcome their children's

bilingual upbringing when the mother tongue is maintained at home whilst the children speak English outside home. Depending on the cultural background of their parents, Polish migrant children are exposed to different levels of Polish, English or other languages. Children of mixed marriages are commonly raised bilingually as Polish mothers try to maintain Polish at home, and children learn the language of the host country, when they communicate outside home with their friends or with the other parents. Like this, both language and cultural identities are maintained, which are perceived as being intertwined in this study:

> *"The most important thing, especially abroad, in this context, to raise our children that are still remember that they are Poles."*
> *"I started talking to my little girl in Polish. Yeah, I thought, for me that's quite important."*

As for these two women, for most mothers in this study, it is important to maintain Polish at home in order to maintain their children's Polish identity.

This is not always easy. For instance, the lack of children the same age speaking Polish can be the reason why it is difficult to maintain the mother tongue:

> *"I spoke in the beginning in Polish, but then when they got bigger, I switched on to English. It was difficult for us. Polish community was very small, there were no small children like their age, there was no Polish centre then."*

Maintaining Polish can, however, be facilitated by having a Polish family nearby:

> *"It's very hard to do... But some parents succeeded [...], where husband was Irish or visa versa, have bilingual children. Unless, if they had grandmother living, Polish grandmother living there. Then that happened."*

As Urzula explains, when a collectivist (Hofstede 1994) Polish family is present in Ireland, Polish can be easier maintained, as children are surrounded by Polish speaking people and the family would speak Polish among themselves.

9.6 *Individual identity outcomes: racism – a negative outcome of migration*

For those Polish migrant women who experienced some form of racism in Ireland, this experience has a negative effect on their process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001), and may also influence their desire to return home, as the ethnicity factor is eliminated at home. For instance, one woman who arrived in Ireland more than 20 years ago reported that she was not treated well by a bus driver back then who told her to go back to where she came from if she did not like him being late. She felt very sensitive about being abused this way and pointed out that such abuse towards foreigners would not happen in Poland. She experienced this outward form of racism on another occasion:

> *"And I was expecting my son, so, it was probably 1980, I was still pregnant, and in the middle of the middle of the night, around midnight, I got a phone call, and somebody, Irish person, with strong Irish accent said to me: 'You Polish bitch, why do you come here to have your babies?' I was crying all night, I couldn't sleep, because I don't know, if somebody could do something like that in my own country."*

The negative feelings associated with these events hindered her individual process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) as they prevented her from feeling accepted and fully becoming part of this culture.

The same woman describes what she calls 'lace cotton racism', which she perceives as being embedded in Irish culture. She describes lace cotton racism as racism that is not obvious or clearly visible, but that exists behind the surface:

> *"foreigners in Ireland, they were spoken to, maybe with a smile or likeness, but behind their back, there was the stabbing. And that's what was called the lace cotton racism, they wouldn't tell you straight in your face, but they would criticise you behind your back."*

Two other Polish migrant women felt discriminated against when they were searching for accommodation. They were shown places that they felt would not have been shown to Irish people, as these places were not of an acceptable standard:

> *"We saw many, oh my god, horrible places, horrible places. Like, I don't know how people can show this kind of apartment. It's horrible."*

Olenka and her friend felt that they were shown those places because of their migrant background. This potentially indicates that migrants are believed to accept lower standards of accommodation as their aim is to save money and return back home to Poland. In an occupational context, such stereotypes about migrants and their association with certain occupation were also found in a report about four migrant groups in Ireland (ICI 2008).

9.6.1 *Individual identity outcomes: racism at work*

A number of reports were made by women in this study who felt discriminated against in the workplace. One woman recounted the negative experience she had with a client at work. When this happened, she avoided reporting the incident to

her employer, because she feared she would be considered a 'difficult employee' and this may have had disadvantages for herself:

> *"And I was thinking, it would probably be something negative for myself, if I reported it, because it would make me a very difficult employee, somebody who kind of is not very quiet, and doesn't take everything so easily."*

However, when she eventually told her employer, he was, in fact, very considerate and supportive. So, her experiences of racism were mixed: on the one hand she was abused on the phone by a client, but on the other hand her manager supported her when she reported the incident.

Another incident of racism was experienced when colleagues avoided direct confrontation after Polish migrant workers were portrayed badly on a radio show. Anita had very strong feelings about this and felt excluded by her Irish colleagues who remained silent and did not support her perspective as a Pole:

> *"For instance at work, being in an office, having to hear on the Radio conversations, which I take very serious, very personal, and I am very kind of sensitive about, conversations on radio like about 'this horrible Poles who come here and they do construction work for like €5 or €4 and they take work from the Irish people…' and nobody in the office would comment on that, nobody would turn off the radio. So, I felt like, being the only Polish person, felt…were uncomfortable about it."*

In this radio show, Polish workers were portrayed as cheap labour who take away jobs from the Irish. Anita, who was the only Polish person in the office, felt that her Irish colleagues should have shown some consideration or support to her by saying something or, in any case, by turning off the radio. Instead, as explained above, her Irish colleagues most likely avoided direct confrontation and preferred to ignore this comment, not to make things worse, though it did.

Another woman felt discriminated against by her employer:

> *"on two occasions when I asked for my holidays when my daughter has holidays, she was much younger, I wasn't given holidays during the summer when she had, but my slot, which initially was reserved for me and promised, was given to a young Irish fellow, who didn't have family, who wasn't married, he didn't have children."*

This woman felt that she was purposely treated less favourably than her young Irish colleague, who had no family.

Before EU accession, some Polish migrant women said that they were paid less than other employees in the company, because they were often illegal or could easily be replaced by another migrant worker, as since the 1990s increasing numbers of migrant workers, in particular Poles, entered the Irish labour market. Their vulnerability was exploited by some Irish employers, who employed them for less than agreed rates in certain areas. In addition, their vulnerable position exposed them to outward racism by their Irish colleagues, as they were also sometimes treated badly by them:

> *"Well, I knew that we did have different wages from the beginning [...] and there were other things, like we and another Polish waitress working really hard and three Irish waitresses sitting with a cup of tea, and when we asked if we can take a break, we were just simply said 'No'. So, when we started argue, we started getting problems, because there was more and more Polish coming, and they knew they can easily replace us, and that's what has happened."*

Before EU accession this form of racism occurred more often, because Polish migrant women were not able to fight against it.

In addition, before EU accession it was more difficult for Polish migrant women to compete in the job market:

> *"It was more difficult to compete without having work permission as many employers think it is a duty of a person who applies to arrange it. So I have impression that on many occasions I was disqualified by that only. The same applies to my husband."*

As Julia explains, she felt discriminated when applying for a job, because Polish migrant women needed a work permit that was bound to the employer. Consequently, Irish employers preferred Irish employees whom they did not have to organise work permits for. Despite her better qualifications, Julia felt disqualified from obtaining better employment due to her work permit status.

In contrast, those Polish migrant women, who do not feel as being perceived as a foreigner and who have not experienced any form of racism in Ireland, find it much easier to adapt to the host country:

> *"You know, I felt very good here. So… never felt like really foreigner…"*
> *"I feel very good, and never, never ever, eh, uhm... I was never sad, because some people told me something, never. You know? Never."*
> *"I can they say never anything against me as a foreigner, absolutely no, never, never ever, I never suffer."*
> *"I probably lucky too, because some people might have such a kind of experience, but I haven't."*

As these four women, the majority of Polish migrant women in this study have, in fact, not had negative experiences with racism. Yet, they acknowledge that other Polish migrant women may have had such experiences, and that they were fortunate not to. However, the presence of examples of racism should not be dismissed (see conclusion), as it is a potential problem, particularly since there is a downturn in the economy.

9.7 *Individual identity outcomes: the loss of identity – a negative view*

The loss of a Polish migrant woman's original identity can be seen as another identity outcome, which is, however, perceived as a tragedy in Polish culture. When this happens in Polish culture it is, in fact, frowned upon:

> *"I felt they have changed and they lost their own identity. I could no longer recognise them, us (emphasises this 'us'), a Polish woman. I felt they sold out."*

For some women in this study, it is not conceivable to lose one's Polish identity. These women perceive a type of loss of identity in Irish culture, evident in the loss of the Irish language, Gaelic, which is remarked on as negative:

> *"For me, for instance, why don't Irish language isn't here very popular, it is a problem, for them not. They allow themselves to put it away."*
> *"For my, it's absolutely unbelievable; since 16th century, they haven't speaken in Irish."*

As these two extracts illustrate, some women in this study perceive strong links between a national language and cultural identity.

Although evidence shows that one can also feel an identity without speaking the language, one can feel Irish without speaking Irish (Liebkind 1999), losing one's mother tongue is described as a serious problem with regard to identity by these women in this study. Though it is a simplistic view, for them it is inconceivable that Irish people have stopped speaking Irish and allowed it to slowly diminish. This is not to be expected in Polish culture, for the Polish language plays too important a role in Polish culture. The fact that the Irish language has almost

disappeared in Irish everyday life is perceived as a clear sign of the loss of a certain part of Irish identity by some women in this study.

9.8 Summary of this chapter

In addition to a feeling of betweenness of living between two cultures, a number of individual identity outcomes exist that emerge from the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001). These individual identity outcomes, both negative and positive, in turn affect Polish migrant women's process of cross-cultural adaptation in different ways and the development of their individual intercultural identity. This is particularly evident in the different strength of migrant children's and migrant women's identity, as the first is often closer to Irish culture than the latter. In addition, for those women who have experienced racism, such particularly negative experiences have a great negative effect on this process. Other developments are positive, such as the women's opportunities for independence and individual development, which, from their perspective, include Polish family values. Overall, these experiences are a result of Polish migrant women's migration experience which results in a transformation of their original identity into a larger intercultural identity. Finally, this process of cross-cultural adaptation is an indefinite process that constantly requires change in Polish migrant women's intercultural identity, as these women will always be migrants with two identities: a home and a host cultural identity.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

10.1 <u>Introduction</u>

Having carried out a qualitative study based on 30 in-depth interviews with Polish migrant women in Ireland, this study does not aim to be representative (see chapter 3). Instead it wishes to address particular issues that appear relevant to these women and to follow their individual journeys of cross-cultural adaptation. Throughout this study, theses women are referred to as 'the women in this study' or named by their pseudonyms, to highlight the individual nature of their experience, from which conclusions can only be drawn to the larger group with respect to the small sample (see chapter 3). Thus, this study does not wish to generalise, but to highlight the individual nature of the process of cross-cultural adaptation by these women. They share some experiences, but can simultaneously be distinguished in some of their individual journeys; this relates to their different backgrounds in terms of length of stay in Ireland, generational differences, age, marital status or motherhood (see chapter 3).

This study traces the journey of cross-cultural adaptation of Polish migrant women in Ireland, which turns out to be a process of creating home when home is away, and which results in individual identity transformations. Equipped with different levels of preparation, pre-knowledge and pre- experience as well as motivated by various push and pull factors and the overall lure of a full life in the host country, a number of factors affect this process of cross-cultural adaptation

(Kim 1988; 2001) at present when women communicate and act in the new cultural environment, including: perceived similarities between home and host culture, cultural differences that lie underneath these similarities, the availability of and access to new and existing social networks, language issues with English and Polish, and different acculturation strategies (Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002) by both migrant women and members of the host culture.

These pre-arrival issues and present factors affecting the process of cross-cultural adaptation lead to internal changes by Polish migrant women in Ireland, which take place in form of compromising cultural practices and values. These changes then results in a transformation of Polish migrant women's original identity and the development of a larger intercultural identity (Kim 2001) that includes a feeling of betweenness of living between two cultures as well as a number of other individual identity outcomes, both positive and negative. Thus, this study identifies five interdependent, but largely interlinked key aspects that are integral to the process of cross-cultural adaptation amongst Polish migrant women in Ireland:

1) a pre-arrival phase that includes push and pull factors of migration, different levels of preparation, pre-knowledge and pre-experiences as well as the lure of a full life in the host country;

2) migrant women's home cultural background that is highlighted in comparison to the host cultural background, including

3) the encounter with the host culture that contains a number of social networks within which the women in this study interact in different ways;

4) changes of cultural practices and values that require different levels of compromising, that is the negotiation of home and host cultural practices

5) and migrant women's subsequent identity transformation into a larger intercultural identity, which is twofold:

   a. reflecting the *betweenness* of living between two cultures and different permanence of the concepts of home and

   b. other individual identity outcomes, both positive and negative.

In sum, the journey of cross-cultural adaptation of Polish migrant women is individual for each woman, and this study identifies *compromising* and the development of an *intercultural identity*, which is twofold, as major aspects of the process of cross-cultural adaptation, which are illustrated in the following model (figure 10.1):

Figure 10.1: The process of cross-cultural adaptation of Polish migrant women in Ireland

Pre-arrival phase **Present encounter** **Present to Future**

2)
Polish cultural identity:
- family
- friendship
- effects of Communism
- religious practice
- collectivist values
- socialisation patterns

Individual identity
outcomes
(positive/negative)

1)
Push/Pull factors

Preparation/
Pre-knowledge/
Pre-experiences

Lure of a full life in a
foreign country

**Factors affecting
cross-cultural communication**:

‒ Similarities/differences (culture distance)
‒ Acculturation strategies (migrant's/hosts'
   preferences)
‒ Language (Polish & English)
‒ Social networks (stranger/ host relations)

4)
*Compromising: changing
cultural practices/values*

5)
Individual
identity
transformation:
**Intercultural
identity**

3)
Encounter with Irish cultural identity:
- economic prosperity
- attitudes to life
- individualistic values
- socialisation patterns
- friendship

Betweenness of living
between two cultures
(positive/negative):

Permanent/temporary
concepts of home

Transnational activity

Process of cross-cultural adaptation

This model has been generated as a result of applying a Grounded Theory approach to this study. This approach to collecting and analysing data, while remaining detached from preconceived hypotheses, aims to provide newer and deeper interpretations of existing theories in particular in the field of intercultural studies, such as Kim's process model of cross-cultural adaptation (2001). The analytical work of this study, despite an essential theoretical knowledge within the area of intercultural studies and research methodology, began during the stage of memo-writing, which is the immediate step after categorising data (see chapter 3). Writing the first memos related to each category produced the first draft of data analysis. During this stage, a synergy between data and theoretical concepts to interpret such data took place.

Describing the individual process of cross-cultural adaptation of Polish migrant women, relevant theories from the field of intercultural studies, such as Kim's process model of cross-cultural adaptation (1988; 2001) and Berry's acculturation strategies (1980; Berry et al. 2002), were introduced. The interdisciplinary nature of the field of intercultural studies requires complimentary explorations of the individual process of cross-cultural adaptation with theories from the field of social sciences, in particular network theories, ethnicity and racism (see chapter 2). This helped to present the two salient features of this process, which are *compromising* and the individual forms of *identity transformations*, which are discussed as (inter)cultural identity within the area of intercultural studies. In itself, this terminology already highlights the salience of cultural backgrounds on

the entire process of cross-cultural adaptation, but in particular the development of a larger intercultural identity (Kim 2001) that results from this process.

10.2 *Compromising, culture and identity*

The adaptation to host culture practices, which requires compromising, presents a turning point for a Polish migrant woman's identity. When other cultural practices are adopted, a migrant woman's original identity changes. However, for some women this means that as they change some cultural practices and values, their original identity is largely maintained. For others, this process includes giving up parts of their original identity. Overall, they, however, develop a larger intercultural identity, as a distinction between culture and identity (see chapter 2) implies that an original cultural identity can be maintained while cultural practices and values change simultaneously as part of the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001). Chapter seven discusses the specific experience of compromising between home and host culture practices, that are more difficult in areas of life that are particularly important in Polish women's cultural identity, such as their concept of friendship, religious practice or the role of family in Polish culture.

10.3 *Individual identity transformations: permanent and temporary concepts of home*

Following compromising, the transformation of Polish migrant women's original identity into a larger intercultural identity includes both their home and host

culture identity. Its individual form is predominantly manifested in the women's future orientation, which holds either a permanent or a temporary concept of home in the host culture (see chapter 8). These interpretations have the following properties:

1) Permanent concept of home:

    a. *Permanent* concept of home in the host culture – a fully realised concept of home that includes childhood memories, present life and future life in the host country: None of the women in this study fit this description, as they would all lack these childhood memories, which belong to their Polish life. However, this group also includes migrant children of mixed marriages, who were born in Ireland. In addition, having grown up in the Irish cultural environment, children of Polish parents can become part of this group in the future, once their parents are gone.

    b. *Created permanent* concept of home in the host culture – this is a fully realised concept of home that was created over a significant period of time, including present and future life in the host country that is linked to an own family with an Irish partner and children. However, this created permanent concept of home excludes childhood memories, which are part of the fully realised concept of home. This group includes those women who have lived in Ireland for a long time and have a family and children here.

2) Temporary concept of home:

    a. *Uncertain temporary* concept of home in the host culture – this concept of home is a work in progress that lacks childhood memories and the strength of long lived experience in the host culture. There is uncertainty about a future in Poland or Ireland, that is linked to many factors: including professional opportunities and independence, age, mixed relationships, length of time in Ireland, intention to migrate further to other destinations, an orientation on present life, and Ireland being a second destination of migration.

    b. *Definite temporary* concept of home (that is a temporary life, not home, in the host culture) – this concept of home also lacks childhood memories and the strength of a long period of time spent in the host country. The women in this group are certain about their future being in Poland, not in Ireland.

The majority of women in this study are part of the last two groups. However, only future studies will reveal if they leave or remain in Ireland.

Overall, the permanence of the concept of home in the host culture has different effects on women's individual process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001) and consequently, creates a variety of intercultural identities, including individual identity outcomes (see chapter 9). The concept of permanence has been

given increasing importance in the literature on Polish migration today. According to Cyrus (2006), innovative research of Polish migration thus requires an examination of permanent and temporary migration patterns simultaneously, which has so far been ignored. Similar to the findings in this study, this discussion also needs to consider the causes of such different patterns, which include different motivations, such as economic, political, social and cultural reasons (Cyrus 2006).

10.4 Transnationalism: opportunities for an intercultural identity

Transnationalism provides an opportunity for Polish migrant women who engage in a process of cross-cultural adaptation to ease the predicaments caused by the feeling of betweenness that results from living between two cultures. While adapting to Irish culture, these women also maintain ties to their existing networks at home in Poland as a means to maintain their home culture identity. Similar to some Polish migrant women in Germany (Glorius 2007), they engage in some transcultural activity, by utilising a transnational space to earn an income that allows them to live a full life while maintaining their family connections to home which is an essential part of this full life, and where they thus return to regularly.

Another factor contributing to the development of transnational activity is acculturation strategies by both migrants and members of the host culture. For the women, desired integration includes some separation, which allows the maintenance of home cultural practices in parts of their lives, where they do not

wish to compromise (see chapter 7). Their transnational activity also takes place

within transnational spaces (Faist 2004) in the host country, where they can avail

of home cultural spaces in different ways (see chapter 6), as Polish migrants

experience a high level of institutional completeness (Breton 1964) in Ireland. As

such, not only the women who are in Ireland for the shortest length of time engage

in transcultural activities, but also the women who are here longer and have

integrated more fully into the host culture, make use of the transcultural spaces in

the host culture, such as Polish cultural events or Polish shops. Such spaces are a

means to maintain their home cultural identity in the host country, where they

have established their own family homes and will remain in the future. Similarly,

some Polish migrants in Germany, who are perceived as having integrated well

and who have established a life for the future in Germany (Glorius 2007), engage

in such transcultural activities, such as Polish cultural events, which allows them

to actively maintain part of their home culture.

10.5 Similar findings in studies across Europe

Other studies have explored the experiences of Polish migrants in general and

Polish migrant women in Europe, and some similarities to this study appear upon

closer examination. A collection of narratives by Polish migrants in the UK,

Germany and Italy demonstrate that Polish migrant women share some

experiences of migration; thus supporting the findings of this study (Düvell 2006;

Cyrus and Vogel 2006; Triandafyllidou and Kosic 2006), despite the fact that all

of these narratives are provided by Polish migrant women who came to the host

country before 2004, often just after 1989. Thus, some of their experiences are similar to the experiences of the women in this study and some differ due to their different age or migration status, which was often illegal. Düvell's (2006) collection of narratives, for instance, demonstrates a similarly strong role of ethnic community networks in the UK as in Ireland. These ethnic community networks form a central role in terms of finding work, accommodation or when accommodation is shared by many Polish migrants. The two women in the UK example also work below their qualifications, in cleaning, catering or factory jobs, mainly due to their low level of English. They, however, make an effort to learn English, more so than Polish men (Düvell 2006).

In both the UK (Düvell 2006) and Italy (Triandafyllidou and Kosic 2006), Polish migrant women have, similarly to the women in this study, described their hosts as being 'double faced': they are friendly and smile at them, though this is perceived as superficial and artificial as they would talk badly behind their backs. In addition, these women demonstrate a balanced view of their role as working women and their role and responsibilities as spouses and mothers in Poland and abroad (Triandafyllidou 2006b), which is similar to the described image of working mothers in this study (see chapters 5 and 9). These Polish migrant women have also expressed their wish to return to Poland in the future, thus describing their migration as temporary. In addition, their reasons to return are sometimes similar, as one woman in the UK finds it important to have her son educated in Poland, not in the UK (Düvell 2006).

Overall, many of these women are transmigrants, similar to the women in this study, and they maintain strong ties to home while they try to make a living in the host country. This endeavour is particularly difficult, as they find themselves between two homes, similar to the women in this study, as described by one woman in Germany (Cyrus and Vogel 2006). She, however, feels she has grown (Kim 2001) from her experiences of migration: "for me it was a school of life […] I became more competent and self-confident" (Cyrus and Vogel 2006: 112).

Finally, in her discussion, Triandafyllidou (2006b) concludes that:

> "Regardless of their overall negative and positive assessment of their migration experience, most of our women informants report a feeling that they have become more mature and more able to cope with life at home or in the host country through this experience."
>
> (Triandafyllidou 2006b: 241)

These words strongly resemble the findings in this study, which highlight Polish migrant women's growth despite their experiences of stress, which result in the development of a larger intercultural identity that emerges from the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 1988; 2001).

10.6 <u>Similar findings in Ireland</u>

Studies of Polish migrant women in Ireland do not exist at present, though there are a few publications of Polish migration in Ireland in general, which do not take account of identity issues these migrants have and which can only be identified by means of in-depth studies. The first report of Polish migrants in Ireland was published by Kropiwiec in 2006. This report ignores gender-specific experiences

of migration entirely, though some of the issues raised support the findings in this study, such as the variety of reasons to migrate, that include both economic and personal reasons, as well as the transnational experience of Polish migration to Ireland (Kropiwiec 2006). A forthcoming article by Grabowska-Lusińska (2008) in Polish (parts of which were presented in a public lecture in Trinity College Dublin), will discuss Polish migration to Ireland. The lecture itself focused on socio-economic aspects of Polish migration in general to Ireland, and conclusions were drawn from statistical data, not from qualitative in-depth interviews (Grabowska-Lusińska 2008)

In addition, the experiences of other migrants in Ireland that reveal some similarities (or differences due to the different properties of their migration experience) to the women in this study have been explored. Lichtsinn and Veale (2007) discuss the negotiation of child-rearing practices and self-identity of Nigerian lone mothers, which leave them caught between 'here' and 'there'; similar to the feeling of betweenness the women in this study experience. Similar feelings of betweenness are discussed by Sheridan (2007), who has carried out research in the Vietnamese community in Ireland exploring their long-term process of cross-cultural adaptation. One of her Vietnamese interviewees explains how he is caught between two cultures trying to fulfil his parents' expectations while simultaneously adopting host culture practices (Sheridan 2007). Another issue discussed is the lack of integration preferences by the host community, that impact negatively on migrants' lives in the host country and their process of cross-cultural adaptation. Halilovic-Pastuovic (2007) describes the dilemma

Bosnian immigrants encounter in Ireland, where they were not integrated as promised. Consequently, they rejected Ireland as 'home' and reaffirmed Bosnia as their 'home', which again leaves them caught between two homes (Halilovic-Pastuovic 2007).

Aiming to promote the contributions made by migrants in Ireland to the larger society, a number of organisations in Ireland explore individual experiences of migrants or migrant groups, including the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI 2008) or the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI 2008). The NCCRI, for instance, published a report 'Changing Ireland', which presents accounts of seven migrants dealing with life in Ireland. It includes an account by a young Polish migrant woman with similar experiences to the women in this study: they arrive in Ireland well prepared and enjoy work and life in Ireland, though their future orientation is uncertain (NCCRI 2008).

The most recent report by the ICI (ICI 2008a), a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, explored the experiences of four migrant groups in Ireland, including Chinese, Indian, Lithuanian, and Nigerian migrants. This report also illustrates some similar findings to this study, which are discussed in relation to these migrants' individual form of integration. For instance, in an occupational context, some Indian migrants described obstacles to gain promotions despite their high levels of English and the fact that they had worked in Ireland sometimes for more than 20 years. Also, different socialisation habits are discussed as preventing some migrants from interacting with their Irish hosts. In general, little

interaction with Irish nationals occurred. The importance of English for interaction with the host community was highlighted in this report, and English language difficulties, such as constraints with Irish accents, which make such interaction more complicated.

The ICI report also discusses transnational ties with family and friends at home, as migrants find various ways to maintain such contacts, similar to the women in this study. Another similar finding is a sense of dual belonging, which is embedded in the development of a larger intercultural identity. This can be both positive and negative, as is the feeling of betweenness described by the women in this study (see chapter 8). Finally, the feeling of not being fully accepted in Ireland, despite a welcoming attitude of many Irish people, is a significant factor challenging these migrants' integration (ICI 2008a).

Despite the existence of similarities of findings, there is also clear evidence of difference in their experiences due to respondents' different socio-demographic and cultural characteristics as well as a different migration status, which has an additional effect on their experience. In sum, despite existing studies, there are still very few in-depth studies exploring the experiences of migrants and the challenges their migration experience creates in Ireland.

10.7 Limitations and recommendations

This study has provided deep insights into the immediate experiences of Polish migrant women after EU accession on May 1st 2004. The interviews revealed

some gender-specific differences between the experiences of Polish women and Polish men in Ireland. Further examination of male Polish migration would provide deeper insights as well as deepen the gender-specific perspective of this new form of East-West migration. In addition, examination of the experiences of Polish migrant children, children with mixed parents and children with Polish parents, would provide additional insights into their specific experiences, and of Polish migrant women's cultural role as mothers in this process.

Another group that was not included in this study is Polish migrant women who speak only Polish. In order to also include their experiences, it would be necessary to involve a Polish researcher or an interpreter during the interviews. As outlined in the methodology chapter, this was avoided in order to benefit to a maximum from the researcher's neutrality as being neither a member of the host culture nor the home culture. An additional Polish researcher or an interpreter would eliminate this aspect of neutrality in an interview, and thus was not included in this particular study. Further studies should though provide such insights, and thus add to a deeper understanding of this group of Polish migrant women.

This study also touched upon the role of transnationalism in the experiences of Polish migrant women in Ireland and its role in the development of an intercultural identity. When acculturation strategies by members of the host culture are not favourable for Polish migrant women, transnationalism can provide an opportunity for such migrants to deal with these negative circumstances. For instance, not being fully accepted by the host society may

prevent some women from adapting to the new culture and integrating successfully. Further studies also including hosts' perspectives should provide further insights on the impact of acculturation strategies by host members on the development of transnational activities in the process of cross-cultural adaptation.

Furthermore, this study has revealed some incidents of racism which have a negative effect on Polish migrant women's process of cross-cultural adaptation. Despite the majority of women in this study not having experienced racism in Ireland, these examples should not be dismissed, in particular with the downturn in the Irish economy, which may increase the occurrence of racism in Ireland. Subsequent studies may provide stronger evidence for this negative aspect of Polish migration to Ireland.

10.8 *Summary of this chapter*

This study traces the journey of cross-cultural adaptation of Polish migrant women in Ireland and the different facets of identity transformations that this process holds, which, in turn, impact differently on the experience of this journey and the creation of individual intercultural identities. The immediate experience of cross-cultural adaptation of Polish migrant women who located to Ireland after EU accession on May 1st 2004 differs in some aspects to the experiences of Polish migrant women who came to Ireland in the 1980s. Thus, depending on their different process of cross-cultural adaptation, they engage in different ways of

compromising some cultural practices and values, while maintaining most of their home culture identity.

A salient feature in this process is the permanence of their concept of home, which is either temporary or permanent. In addition, their developing individual intercultural identity includes a feeling of betweenness of living between two cultures. Transnationalism provides some opportunities for these women to ease the predicaments caused by this feeling. Having placed a focus on women in this study, a fuller picture should be obtained by exploring the experiences of Polish migrant men as well as Polish migrant children. Also changes in Irish society, in particular the downturn of the economy, may affect the process of cross-cultural adaptation and subsequently create different forms of intercultural identity, as further studies will show.

Bibliography

Adler, P. (1975) The transitional experience: an alternative view of culture shock. *Journal of Humanistic psychology*, Vol. 15 (4): 13-23.

Affleck, G. and Tennen, H. (1996) Constructing benefits from adversity: Adaptational significance and dispositional underpinnings. *Journal of Personality*, Vol. 64 (4): 899-922.

Agar, M. (1994) *Language shock: understanding the culture of conversation.* New York: Harper Collins.

Allport, G.W. (1954) *The nature of prejudice.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Amir, Y. (1976) The role of intergroup contact in change of prejudice and ethnic relations. *IN:* Katz, P. (ed.) *Towards the elimination of racism.* New York: Pergamon: 245-328.

Anderson, B. (1983/1991) *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* London: Verso.

Anthias, F. (1998) Evaluating 'Diaspora': beyond ethnicity? *Sociology*, Vol.32 (3): 557-580.

Babiker, I.E., Cox, J.L. and Miller, P. (1980) The measurement of cultural distance and its relationship to medical consultations, symptomatology, and examination performance of overseas students at Edinburgh University. *Social Psychiatry*, Vol. 15: 109-116.

Barry, C.A. (1998) Choosing Qualitative Data Analysis Software: Atlas/ti and Nudist Compared. *Sociological Research Online*, Vol. 3 (3). Available from: <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/3/3/4.html> [Accessed 22 November 2007].

Barth, F. (1996) Ethnic groups and boundaries. *IN:* Hutchinson, J. and Smith, A.D. (eds.) *Ethnicity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press: 75-82.

Barth, F. (ed.) (1969) *Ethnic groups and boundaries: social organization of culture difference.* Oslo : Universitetsforlaget.

Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N. and Szanton Blanc, C. (1994) *Nations unbound: transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments, and deterritorialized nation-states.* Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Sciences Publishers.

Baud, M. (1994) Families and migration: towards a historical analysis of family networks. *Economic and Social History in the Netherlands*, Vol. 6: 83-108.

Bauman, Z. and Vecchi, B. (2004) *Identity: conversations with Benedetto Vecchi.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bennett, J. M. (1993a) Cultural marginality: identity issues in intercultural training. *IN:* Paige, M. (ed.) *Education for the intercultural experience.* Yarmouth, Mane: Intercultural Press: 109-136.

Bennett, J. M. (1993b) Transition shock: putting culture shock in perspective. *IN:* Bennett, M.J. (ed.) *Basic concepts of intercultural communication. Selected readings.* Yarmouth, Mane: Intercultural Press: 215-224.

Bennett, M.J. (1993) Intercultural communication: a current perspective. *IN:* Bennett, M.J. (ed.) *Basic concepts of intercultural communication. Selected readings.* Yarmouth, Mane: Intercultural Press: 1-34.

Berry J. W. (1969) On cross-cultural comparability. *International Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 4 (2): 119-128.

Berry, J. W. (1980) Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. *IN:* Padilla, A.M. (ed.) *Acculturation, theory, models and some new findings.* Boulder, CO: Westview: 9-25.

Berry, J.W. (1997) Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, Vol.46(1): 5-34.

Berry, J.W. (1999) Emics and etics: a symbiotic relationship. *Culture and Psychology*, Vol. 5: 165-171.

Berry, J.W. (2005) Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* Vol. 29: 697-712.

Berry, J.W., Kim, U., Minde, T. and Mok, D. (1987) Comparative studies of acculturative stress. *International Migration Review,* Vol. 21(3): 491-511.

Berry, J.W., Poortinga, Y.H., Segall, M.H. and Dasen, P.R. (2002) *Cross-cultural psychology: research and applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Berry, J.W., Segall, H. M. and Kagitçibasi, C. (eds.) (1997). *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology – Volume 3: Social behaviour and applications.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Bezrobocie. (Homepage). (2008). [Online]. Available from: <http://www.bezrobocie.net> [Accessed 2 May 2008].

Bochner, S., McLoed, B.M. and Lin, A. (1977) Friendship patterns of overseas students: A functional model. *International Journal of Psychology*, Vol.12(4): 277-294.

Boski, P. (2008) Five meanings of integration in acculturation research. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 32: 142–153.

Bourhis, R.Y., Moïse, L.C., Perreault, S. and Senécal, S. (1997) Towards an interactive acculturation model: a social psychological approach. *International Journal of psychology,* Vol. 32 (6): 369-386.

Boyd, M. (1989) Family and personal networks in international migration: recent developments and new agendas. *International Migration Review*, Vol. 23 (3): 638-670.

Breton, R. (1964) Institutional completeness of ethnic communities and the personal relations of immigrants. *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 70 (2): 193-205.

Brown, A.D. and Humphreys, M. (2002) Nostalgia and the narrativization of identity: a Turkish case study. *British Journal of Management*, Vol. 13: 141-159.

Buijs, G. (ed.) (1993) *Migrant women: crossing boundaries and changing identities*. Oxford: Berg Publishers Limited.

Byrne, D. (1969) Attitudes and attraction. *IN:* Berkowitz, L. (ed.) *Advances in experimental social psychology. Volume 4.* New York and London: Academic Press: 35-89.

Byrne. D. (1971) *The attraction paradigm*. New York: Academic Press.

Bystydzienski, J.M. (2001) The feminist movement in Poland: Why so slow? *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 24 (5): 501-511.

Cahill, C. (2007) Repositioning ethical commitments: participatory action research as relational praxis of social change. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies.* Available from: http://www.acme-journal.org/vol6/CC.pdf [Accessed 17 January 2008].

Carver, C. and Scheier, M.F. (1998) *On the self-regulation of behaviour.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Castles, S. and Miller, M.J. (1998) *The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world*. Houndmills: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Castles, S. and Miller, M.J. (2003) *The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Census 2002. *Census 2002 results*. CSO Ireland. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.cso.ie/Census/Census2002Results.htm> [Accessed 01 June 2008]

Census 2006. *Census 2006 results*. CSO Ireland. [Online].
Available from: <http://www.cso.ie/Census/Census2006Results.htm>
[Accessed 01 June 2008]

Cervellon, M-C. and Dubé, L. (2005) Cultural influences in the origins of food
likings and dislikes. *Food Quality and Preference,* Vol. 16: 455–460.

Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing grounded theory: a practical guide through
qualitative analysis*. London: Sage.

Chen, F.F. and West, S.G. (2007) Measuring individualism and collectivism: The
importance of considering differential components, reference groups, and
measurement invariance. *Journal of Research in Personality* (2007),
doi:10.1016/j.jrp.2007.05.006 [Article in press].

Citizens Information Board. *Citizens information: Public service information*.
(Homepage). [Online}. Available from:
<http://www.citizensinformation.ie/categories> [Accessed 4 June 2008].

Clifford, J. (1994) Diasporas. *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 9 (3): 302-338.

Coffey, A., Holbrook, B. and Atkinson, P. (1996) Qualitative data analysis:
technologies and presentations. *Sociological Research Online,* Vol. 1 (1).
Available from: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/1/1/4.html
[Accessed 22 November 2007].

Collier, M.J. and Thomas, M. (1988) Cultural identity, an interpretive perspective.
IN: Kim, Y.Y. and Gudykunst, W.B. (eds.) *Theories in intercultural
communication*. Newbuy Park: Sage: 99-120.

Corcoran, M.P., Keaveney, K. and Duffy, P.J. (2007) Transformations in housing.
IN: Bartley, B. and Kitchin, R. (eds.) *Understanding contemporary
Ireland.* London: Pluto Press: 249-263.

Coyle, A. (2007) Resistance, regulation and rights: the changing status of Polish
women's migration and work in the 'new' Europe. *European Journal of
Women's Studies*, Vol. 14 (1): 37-50.

Cyrus, N. (2006) Polish emigration: permanent and temporary patterns. *IN:*
Triandafyllidou, A. (ed.) *Contemporary Polish migration in Europe:
complex patterns of movement and settlement.* Lewiston, New York: The
Edwin Mellen Press: 25-43.

Cyrus, N. and Vogel, D. (2006) Polish migrants in Germany. *IN:* Triandafyllidou,
A. (ed.) *Contemporary Polish migration in Europe: complex patterns of
movement and settlement.* Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press:
91-136.

Davies, N. (1982) *God's playground: a history of Poland. Volume II: 1795 to the present*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Dayan, J., Doyle, A.-B. and Markiewicz, D. (2001) Social Support Networks and Self-Esteem of Idiocentric and Allocentric Children and Adolescents. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships,* Vol.18 (6): 767-784.

Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (2000) Introduction: the discipline and practice of qualitative research. *IN:* Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications: 1-28.

Department of Social and Family Affairs. (Homepage). [Online]. Available from: <http://www.welfare.ie/publications/sw108.html#1> [Accessed 4 June 2008].

Devlin, M. (2007) Daft president is poles apart from his hard-working people. *Irish Independent*. 22 February, features.

Dey, I. (2004) Grounded theory. *IN:* Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J.F. and Silverman, D. (eds.) *Qualitative research practice.* London: Sage Publications: 80-93.

Domanski, H. (2002) Is the East European "underclass" feminized? *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 35: 383-394.

Donato, K.M. Gabaccia, D. Holdaway, J. Malansan, M. And Pessar, P. (2006) A glass half full? Gender in migration studies. *International Migration Review*, Vol. 40 (1): 3-26.

Dublin City University Research Ethics Committee. (Homepage). [Online]. Available from: <http://www.dcu.ie/rss/research_ethics.shtml> [Accessed 14 June 2008].

Dudley Edwards, R. (2007) We can't be ostriches about the downside of immigration. *Irish Independent*. 7 January, Analysis section.

Düvell, F. (2006) Polish immigrants in the United Kingdom. *IN:* Triandafyllidou, A. (ed.) *Contemporary Polish migration in Europe: complex patterns of movement and settlement.* Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press: 47-90.

Eagleton, T. (1999) *The truth about the Irish*. Dublin: New Island Books.

Elwood, S. (2007) Negotiating Participatory Ethics in the Midst of Institutional Ethics. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies.* Available from: http://www.acme-journal.org/vol6/SE.pdf [Accessed 17 January 2008].

Erel, U. and Kofman, E. (2003) Female professional immigration in post-war Europe: counteracting an historical amnesia. *IN:* Ohliger, R, Schönwälder, K and Triadafilopoulos, T. (eds.) *European encounters: migrants, migration and European societies since 1945.* Aldershot: Ashgate: 71-95.

Faist, T. (2000) *The volume and dynamics of international migration and transnational social spaces.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Faist, T. (2004) The border-crossing expansion of social space: concepts, questions and topics. *IN:* Faist, T. and Özveren, E. (eds.) *Transnational social spaces: agents, networks and institutions.* Aldershot: Ashgate: 1-34.

Fanning, B. (ed.) (2007) *Immigration and social change in the Republic of Ireland.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

FÁS training and employment agency. *Know before you go.* (Homepage). [Online]. Available from: <http://www.fas.ie/en/Job+Seeker/Working+and+Training+Abroad/Non-Irish+Jobseekers/Know+Before+You+Go/default.htm> [Accessed 4 June 2008].

Fishman, J. A. (ed.) (1999) *Handbook of language and ethnic identity.* Oxford: University Press.

Fishman, J.A. (1999) Sociolinguistics. *IN:* Fishman, J. A. (ed.) *Handbook of language and ethnic identity.* Oxford: University Press: 152-163.

Gallois, C., Giles, H., Jones, E., Cargile, A. C. and Ota, H. (1995) *IN:* Wiseman, R.L. (ed.) *Intercultural communication theory.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications: 115-147.

Gerson, K. and Horowitz, R. (2002) Observation and interviewing: options and choices in qualitative research. *IN:* May, T. (ed.) *Qualitative research in action.* London: Sage Publications: 199-224.

Giddens, A. (2002) *Runaway World: How globalisation is reshaping our lives.* London: Profile Books Ltd.

Giles, H. (1973) Communication effectiveness as a function of accented speech. *Speech Monograph,* Vol.40: 330-331.

Gilroy, P. (1992) *There ain't no black in the Union Jack: the cultural politics of race and nation.* London: Routledge Classics.

Gilroy, P. (1993) *The black Atlantic: modernity and double consciousness.* London: Verso.

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967) *Discovery of grounded theory.* Chicago: Aldine.

Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L. and Szanton Blanc, C. (eds.) (1992) *Towards a transnational perspective on migration: race, class, ethnicity, and nationalism reconsidered*. New York: New York Academy of Science.

Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L. and Szanton Blanc, C. (1995) From immigrant to transmigrant: theorizing transnational migration. *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 68 (1): 48-63.

Glorius, B. (2007) Transnationale soziale Räume polnischer Migranten in Leipzig. *IN:* Nowicka, M. (ed.) *Von Polen nach Deutschland und zurück: Die Arbeitsmigration und ihre Herausforderungen für Europa.* Bielefeld: transcript: 135-159.

Grabowska-Lusińska, I. (2008) *Polish job migration to Ireland: facts and myths of integration*. Public seminar at Trinity College Dublin, Institute for International Integration Studies. 5 March 2008.

Grabowska-Lusińska, I. and Okólski, M. (2008) *Migracja z Polski po 1 maja 2004 r.: jej intensywność i kierunki geograficzne oraz alokacja migrantów na rynkach pracy krajów Unii Europejskiej.* CMR Working papers; Seria: Prace Migracyjne, nr. 33/91. Warsawa: Institute for Social Studies, Warsaw University.

Gobo, G. (2004) Sampling, representativeness and generalizability. *IN:* Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J.F. and Silverman, D. (eds.) *Qualitative research practice.* London: Sage Publications: 435-456.

Gray, B. (2000) Gendering the Irish Diaspora: questions of enrichment, hybridization and return. *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 23 (2): 167-185.

Greenholtz, J.F. (2005) Does intercultural sensitivity cross cultures? Validity issues in porting instruments across languages and cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 29: 73–89.

Gudykunst, W.B. (1998) *Bridging differences: effective intergroup communication*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Gudykunst, W. B. and Bond, M.H. (1997) Intergroup relations across cultures. *IN:* Berry, J.W., Segall, H. M. and Kagitçibasi, C. (eds.) (1997). *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology – Volume 3: Social behaviour and applications*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon: 119-161.

Gudykunst, W.B. and Lee, C.M. (2002) Cross-cultural communication theories. *IN:* Gudykunst, W.B. and Mody, B. (eds.) *Handbook of international and intercultural communication.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications: 25-50.

Halilovic-Pastuovic, M. (2007) *IN:* Fanning, B. (ed.) *Immigration and social change in the Republic of Ireland.* Manchester: Manchester University Press: 153-167.

Hall, E.T. (1959) *The silent language.* New York: Anchor Books.

Hall, E.T. (1966) *The hidden dimension.* New York: Anchor Books.

Hall, E.T. (1993) The power of hidden differences. *IN:* Bennett, M.J. (ed.) *Basic concepts of intercultural communication. Selected readings.* Yarmouth, Mane: Intercultural Press: 53-67.

Hammer, H.R., Bennett, M.J. and Wiseman, R. (2003) Measuring intercultural sensitivity: The intercultural development inventory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 27: 421–443.

Harney stresses need for skilled immigrants, RTE News (2000) TV, RTE 1. 2000 February 29. 2157 hrs.

Haseman, W.D., Nazareth, D.L. and Paul, S. (2005) Implementation of a group decision support system utilizing collective memory. *Information & Management*, Vol.42: 591–605.

Hewstone, M., Rubin, M. and Willis, H. (2002) Intergroup bias. *Annual Review of Psychology,* Vol. 53 (1): 575-604.

Hönekopp, E. (2007) Polnische Arbeitsmigranten auf dem Arbeitsmarkt in Deutschland zwei Jahre nach der Erweiterung. *IN:* Nowicka, M. (ed.) *Von Polen nach Deutschland und zurück: Die Arbeitsmigration und ihre Herausforderungen für Europa.* Bielefeld: transcript: 47-80.

Hofstede, G. (1994) *Cultures and organizations: software of the mind: intercultural cooperation and its importance for survival.* London: HarperCollinsBusiness.

Hofstede, G. (1980) *Culture's consequences*: international differences in work-related values. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage publications.

Hofstede, G. (2003) *Geert Hofstede – Cultural dimensions.* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.geert-hofstede.com/> [Accessed 17 January 2008].

Horenczyk, G. (1996) Migrant identities in conflict: Acculturation attitudes and perceived acculturation ideologies. *IN:* Breakwell, G. and Lyons, E. (eds.) *Changing European identities: Social psychological analyses of social change.* Oxford: Butterworth: 241-250.

Horenczyk, G. and Shalom, U.B. (2004) Cultural identity and adaptation in assimilative setting: Immigrant soldiers from the former Soviet Union in Israel. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol.28: 461-479.

Hutchinson, J. and Smith, A.D. (eds.) (1996) *Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ICI – Immigrant Council of Ireland (2008a) *Getting on – From migration to integration: Chinese, Indian, Lithuanian, and Nigerian migrants' experiences in Ireland.* [Online]. Available from: <www.immigrantcouncil.ie> [Accessed 1 June 2008].

ICI – Immigrant Council of Ireland. (Homepage). [Online]. Available from: <www.immigrantcouncil.ie> [Accessed 1 June 2008].

Iglicka, K. (2001) Migration movements from and into Poland in the light of East-West European migration. *International Migration,* Vol. 39(1) 2001: 3-32.

Inglis, M. and Gudykunst, W.B. (1982) Institutional completeness and communication acculturation: a comparison of Korean immigrants in Chicago and Hartford. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol.6(3): 251-272.

Irish nurses organisation (2006). *Annual report 2006.* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.ino.ie/DesktopModules/articles/Documents/INO%20Report%2006%20optimised.pdf> [Accessed 1 June 2008].

Irish Times (2005) Skilled migrant workers vital to economy. *Irish Times*. 1 November, p16.

Irish Times (2008) Tough talk on cheap boozing. *Irish Times*. 15 March, p4.

Irish Times (2006) Having the Cracow. *Irish Times*. 18 March, magazine features, p17.

Irlandia Online. (Homepage). [Online]. Available from: <http://www.irlandiaonline.pl/> [Accessed 1 June 2008].

Irwin-Zarecka, I. (1994) *Frames of remembrance: the dynamics of collective memory*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publ.

Irwin-Zarecka, I. (1996) Neutralizing the past. *Peace Review,* Vol. 8(2): 273-274.

Israel, M. and Hay, I. (2006) *Research Ethics for social scientist.* London: Sage Publications.

Itzigsohn, J. and Giorguli Saucedo, S. (2002) Immigrant incorporation and sociocultural transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, Vol.36 (3): 766-798.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. and Liebkind, K. (1999) Exploration of ethnic identity among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology,* Vol. 30: 527-539.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., Horenczyk, G. and Schmitz, P. (2003) The interactive nature of acculturation: perceived discrimination, acculturation attitudes and stress among young ethnic repatriates in Finland, Israel and Germany. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* Vol.27: 79-97.

Jones, E., Gallois, C., Callan, V. and Barker, M. (1999) Strategies of accommodation: development of a coding system for conversational interaction. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, Vol. 18 (2): 123-152.

Kaczmarczyk, P. (2007) Arbeitskraftwanderung aus Polen – die Erwartungen vor und die Realität nach der EU-Osterweiterung. *IN:* Nowicka, M. (ed.) *Von Polen nach Deutschland und zurück: Die Arbeitsmigration und ihre Herausforderungen für Europa.* Bielefeld: transcript: 81-108.

Kâğitçibaşi, C. (1997) Individualism and collectivism. *IN:* Berry, J.W., Segall, M.H. and Kagitçibasi, C. (eds.) *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology – Volume 3: Social behaviour and applications*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon: 1-49.

Kashima, Y., Uichol, K., Gelfand, M.J., Yamaguchi, S., Choi, S.-C. and Yuki, M. (1995) Culture, gender, and self: a perspective from individualism-collectivism *Research. Journal if Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol.69(5): 925-937.

Kazmierska, K. (2003) Migration experiences and changes of identity: the Analysis of a Narrative. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, Vol. 4(3), Art. 21. Available from: http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/3-03/3-03kazmierska-e.htm [Accessed 1 June 2008].

Kelle, U. (1997) Theory Building in Qualitative Research and Computer Programs for the Management of Textual Data. *Sociological Research Online,* Vol. 2 (2).
Available from: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/2/2/1.html [Accessed 22 November 2007].

Kelle, U. (2004) Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis. *IN:* Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J.F. and Silverman, D. (eds.) *Qualitative research practice.* London: Sage Publications: 473-489.

Kępińksa, E. (2004) *Recent trends in international migration: the 2004 SOPEMI Report for Poland.* Seria: Prace Migracyjne, nr. 56. Warsawa: Institute for Social Studies, Warsaw University.

Kępińksa, E. (2007) *Recent trends in international migration: the 2007 SOPEMI Report for Poland.* Seria: Prace Migracyjne, nr. 29/87. Warsawa: Centre of Migration Research Working Papers, Warsaw University.

Kim, U., Triandis, H.C., Kâğitçibaşi, C., Choi, S.C. and Yoon, G. (eds.) (1994) *Individualism and Collectivism: Theory, Method, and Applications.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Kim, U. (1994) Individualism and collectivism: conceptual clarification and elaboration. *IN:* Kim, U., Triandis, H.C., Kâğitçibaşi, C., Choi, S.C. and Yoon, G. (eds.) *Individualism and Collectivism: Theory, Method, and Applications*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications: 19-40.

Kim, Y.Y. (1988) Cross-cultural adaptation: an integrative theory. *IN:* Kim, Y.Y. and Gudykunst, W.B. (eds.) *Cross-cultural adaptation*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications: 170-193.

Kim, Y.Y. (2001) *Becoming intercultural.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

King, R. (ed.) (1991) *Contemporary Irish migration.* Dublin: Trinity College Dublin.

Kofman, E., Phizaklea, A., Raghuram, P. and Sales, R. (2000) *Gender and international migration in Europe*. London: Routledge.

Kosic, A. and Triandafyllidou, A. (2004) Albanian and Polish migration to Italy: the micro-processes of policy, implementation and immigrant survival strategies. *International Migration Review*, Vol. 38. (4): 1413-1446.

Kosic, A., Manetti, L. and Sam, D.L. (2006) Self-monitoring: A moderating role between acculturation strategies and adaptation of immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* Vol. 30 (2): 141-157.

Kosmitzki, C. (1996). The reaffirmation of cultural identity in cross-cultural encounters. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin,* Vol. 22(3): 238 - 248.

Kozik, M. (consul@dublinpolemb.net), 2 April 2007. *RE: Attn: Mrs. Kozik.* e-Mail to Storch, K. (katharina.storch@dcu.ie).

Kropiwiec, K. (2006) *Polish migrant workers in Ireland*. Dublin: NCCRI.

Kuhling, C. and Keohane, K. (2007) *Cosmopolitan Ireland: globalisation and quality of life.* London: Pluto Press.

Labour Force Survey in Poland: III Quarter 2007. CSO Poland. Warsawa 2008. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.stat.gov.pl/gus/45_3044_ENG_HTML.htm> [Accessed 1 June 2008].

Lally, C. (2008) Teenager sought over fatal stabbing of Polish man. *Irish Times*. 27 February, p3.

Lee, P.-W. (2006) Bridging cultures: understanding the construction of relational identity in intercultural friendship. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research,* Vol. 35 (1): 3-22.

Lee, R.M. and Fielding, N. (1996) Qualitative Data Analysis: Representations of a Technology: A Comment on Coffey, Holbrook and Atkinson. *Sociological Research Online,* Vol. 1 (4). Available from: <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/1/4/lf.html> [Accessed 22 November 2007].

Leerssen, J. (1991) Echoes and images: Reflections upon foreign space *IN:* Corbey, R. and Leerssen, J. Th. (1991) *Alterity, identity, image: selves and others in society and scholarship.* Amsterdam and Atlanta: Amsterdam studies on cultural identity: 123-137.

Lentin, R. and MacVeigh, R. (eds.) (2002) *Racism and anti-racism in Ireland.* Belfast: BTP Publications Ltd.

Lichtsinn, I. and Veale, A. (2007) Between 'here' and 'there': Nigerian lone mothers in Ireland. *IN:* Fanning, B. (ed.) *Immigration and social change in the Republic of Ireland.* Manchester: Manchester University Press: 99-112.

Liebkind, K. (1999) Social psychology. *IN:* Fishman, J. A. (ed.) *Handbook of language and ethnic identity.* Oxford: University Press: 140-151.

Lincoln, Y. and Guba, E. (1985) *Naturalist inquiry.* Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Linehan, D. (2007) 'For the way we live today': consumption, lifestyle and place. *IN:* Bartley, B. and Kitchin, R. (eds.) *Understanding contemporary Ireland.* London: Pluto Press: 289-300.

Lomsky-Feder, E. and Rapoport, T. (2000) Visit, separation, and deconstructing nostalgia: Russian students travel to their old home. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol. 29(1): 32-57.

Lott, A.J. and Lott, B.E: (1965) Group cohesiveness as interpersonal attraction. *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 64: 259-309.

Lynskey, M.T., Ward, C. and Fletcher, G.J.O. (1991). Stereotypes an d Intergroup Attributions in New Zealand. *Psychology & Developing Societies,* Vol. 3: 113-127.

Łobodzińska, B. (2000) Polish women's gender-segregated education and employment. *Women's Studies International Forum,* Vol. 23 (1): 49-71.

Macionis, J.J. and Plummer , K. (2005) *Sociology: a global introduction.* Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited.

MacLaran, A. and Kelly, S. (2007) Urban property development. *IN:* Bartley, B. and Kitchin, R. (eds.) *Understanding contemporary Ireland.* London: Pluto Press: 71-87.

Malikiosi-Loizos, M. and Anderson, L.R. (1999) Accessible friendships, inclusive friendships, reciprocated friendships as related to social and emotional loneliness in Greece and the USA. European Psychologist, Vol. 4 (3): 165-178.

Martin, D.G. (2007) Bureaucratizing Ethics: Institutional Review Boards and Participatory Research. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies.* Available from: <http://www.acme-journal.org/vol6/DGM.pdf> [Accessed 17 January 2008].

Mason, J. (2002) Qualitative interviewing: asking, listening and interpreting. *IN:* May, T. (ed.) *Qualitative research in action.* London: Sage Publications: 225-241.

Massey, D.S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A. and Taylor, E.J. (2005) *Worlds in motion: understanding international migration at the end of the millennium.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McGreevy, R. (2008) Group to consider raising legal age for alcohol. *Irish Times.* 10 January, p6.

McSweeney, B. (2002) Hofstede's model of national cultural differences and their consequences: a triumph of faith – a failure of analysis. *Human Relations,* Vol. 55(1): 89–118.

Migrant Rights Centre. *Know your rights: information for migrant workers in Ireland.* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.mrci.ie/publications/documents/Know_Your_Rights.pdf> [Accessed 4 June 2008].

Migrant Rights Centre. (Homepage). [Online]. Available from: <www.mrci.ie> [Accessed 1 June 2008].

Miles, R. and Brown, M. (1989/2003) *Racism.* London: Routledge.

Morawska, E. (1985) *For bread with butter: the life-worlds of East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1890-1940.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morawska, E. (2004) Exploring diversity in immigrant assimilation and transnationalism: Poles and Russian Jews in Philadelphia. *International Migration Review*, Vol. 38 (4) 2004: 1372-1412.

Morokvasic, M. (1983) Women in migration: beyond the reductionist outlook. *IN:* Phizaklea, A. (ed.) *One way ticket – migration and female labour.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul: 13-31.

Morokvasic, M. (1984) Birds of passage are also women… *International Migration Review*, Vol.18 (4): 886-907.

Morokvasic, M. (1991) Roads to independence: self-employed immigrants and minority women in five European states. *International Migration,* Vol. 29: 407-420.

Nassy Brown, J. (1998) Black Liverpool, black America, and gendering of Diasporic space. *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol13 (3): 291-325.

Navas, M., Garcia, M., Sánchez, J., Rojas, A.J., Pumares, P. and Fernández. J.S. (2005) Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM): new contributions with regard to the study of acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol.29: 21-37.

Navas, M., Rojas, A.J., Garcia, M. and Pumares, P. (2007) Acculturation strategies and attitudes according to the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM): the perspectives of natives versus immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol.31: 67-86.

NCCRI – National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism. (Homepage). [Online]. Available from: <www.nccri.ie> [Accessed 1 June 2008].

NCCRI (no year). *Changing Ireland.* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.nccri.ie/pdf/ChangingIrelandFull.pdf> [Accessed 1 June 2008]

Oberg, K. (1960) Culture shock: adjustment to new cultural environments. *Practical Anthropology*, Vol.7: 177-182.

Okólski, M. (1998) Poland's Population and Population Movements: an Overview. *IN:* Frejka, T., Okólski, M. and Sword, K. (eds.) *In-depth Studies on Migration in Central and Eastern Europe: the Case of Poland.* New York/Geneva: United Nations: 9-24.

Okólski, M. (1999) Recent migration in Poland: trends and causes. *IN:* Iglicka, K. and Sword, K. (eds.) *The challenge of East-West migration for Poland.* London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London: 15-44.

Oyserman, D., Coon, H.M. and Kemmelmeier, M. (2002) Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses. *Psychological Bulletin,* Vol. 128: 3-72.

O'Carroll, I. (1990) *Models for movers: Irish women's emigration to America.* Dublin: Attic Press.

O'Sullivan, P. (ed.) (1995) *The Irish world wide history, heritage, identity. Volume 4: Irish women and Irish migration.* London: Leicester University Press.

Paige, R.M., Jacobs-Cassuto, M., Yershova, Y.A. and DeJaeghere, J. (2003) Assessing intercultural sensitivity: an empirical analysis of the Hammer and Bennett Intercultural Development Inventory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 27: 467–486.

Park, R.E. (1928) Human migration and the marginal man. *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.33(6): 881-893.

Phinney, J.S. (1990) Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin,* Vol. 108: 499-514.

Phinney, J.S., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K. and Vedder, P. (2001) Ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being: an interactional perspective. *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol.57(3): 493-510.

Phizaklea, A. (ed.) (1983) *One way ticket – migration and female labour*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Phizaklea, A. (2003) Transnationalism, gender and global workers. *IN:* Morokvasic, M., Erel, U. and Shinozaki, K. (eds.) *Crossing borders and shifting boundaries. Vol. 1: Gender on the move*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich: 79-100.

Pike, K.L. (1967) *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behaviour.* The Hague: Mouton.

Piontkowski, U., Florack, A., Hoelker, P. and Obdrezálek, P. (2000) Predicting acculturation attitudes of dominant and non-dominant groups. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* Vol. 24: 1-26.

Polish culture. *In pursuit of the Polish pound*. [Online]. 29 March 2007. Available from:

<http://www.polishculture.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=260&Itemid=34> [Accessed 1 June 2008].

Polish Embassy in Dublin. (Homepage). [Online]. Available from: <http://www.dublin.polemb.net/> [Accessed 1 June 2008].

Polish information and culture centre. (Homepage). [Online]. Available from: <http://www.polishcentre.ie> [Accessed 1 June 2008].

Polski Dublin – Serwis Polonii w Irlandii. (Homepage). [Online]. Available from: <http://www.polskidublin.com/> [Accessed 1 June 2008].

Portes, A. (1995) Economic sociology and sociology of immigration: a conceptual overview. *IN:* Portes, A. (ed.) *The economic sociology of immigration. Essays on networks, ethnicity, and entrepreneurship*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation: 1-41.

Portes, A. (1999) Conclusion: towards a new world – the origins and effects of transnational activity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 22(2): 463-477.

Portes,A., Guarnizo, L.E. and Landolt, P. (1999) Introduction: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 22 (2): 217-237.

Portes, A. (2000) The two meanings of social capital. *Sociological Forum*, Vol.15 (1): 1-12.

Pries, L. (1997) *Transnationale migration*. (Soziale Welt, Sonderband 12). Baden-Baden: Nomos-Verlag-Gesellschaft.

Rapley, T. (2004) Interviews. *IN:* Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J.F. and Silverman, D. (eds.) *Qualitative research practice.* London: Sage Publications:15-33.

Rex, J. (1996) Multiculturalism in Europe. *IN:* Hutchinson, J. and Smith, A.D. (eds.) *Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 241-245.

Rohman, A., Florack, A. and Piontkowski, U. (2006) The role of discordant acculturation attitudes in perceived threat: and analysis of host and immigrant attitudes in Germany. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol.30: 683-702.

Rubin, M. and Hewstone, M. (1998). Social Identity Theory's Self-Esteem Hypothesis: A Review and Some Suggestions for Clarification. *Personality and Social Psychology Review,* Vol. 2 (1): 40 - 62.

Seale, C. (2004) Quality in qualitative research. *IN:* Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J.F. and Silverman, D. (eds.) *Qualitative research practice.* London: Sage Publications: 409-419.

Sheridan, V. (2004). *With loneliness and satisfaction: tracing the path of cross-cultural adaptation by members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland.* Thesis (PhD). Dublin City University. (unpublished)

Sheridan, V. (2007) Tuyen Pham: caught between two cultures. *IN:* Fanning, B. (ed.) *Immigration and social change in the Republic of Ireland.* Manchester: Manchester University Press: 129-151.

Sheridan, V. (2008) Diversity- The Old in the New: Tracing the Long-Term Process of Cross-Cultural Adaptation among Members of the Vietnamese Community in Ireland. *The International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities and Nations,* Vol. 7 (6): 303-309.

Sibierski, M. (2008) *Polish migrants ride EU labour merry-go-round.* Agence France Presse. 1 June, (no page number).

Siegel, K. and Schrimshaw, E.W. (2000) Perceiving benefits in adversity: stress-related growth in women living with HIV/AIDS. *Social Science and Medicine,* Vol. 51: 1543-1554.

Silverman, D. (2005) *Doing qualitative research: a practical handbook.* London: Sage Publications.

Singelis, T.M., Triandis, H.C., Bhawuk, D. and Gelfand, M.J. (1995) Horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualism and collectivism: A theoretical and measurement refinement. *Cross-cultural Research,* Vol.29: 240-275.

Sinha, J.B.P. and Verma, J. (1994) Social support as a moderator of the relationship between allocentrism and psychological well-being. *IN:* Kim, U., Triandis, H.C., Kâğitçibaşi, C., Choi, S.C. and Yoon, G. (eds.) *Individualism and Collectivism: Theory, Method, and Applications.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications: 267-275.

Smith, M.G. (1996) The plural society. *IN:* Hutchinson, J. and Smith, A.D. (eds.) *Ethnicity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press: 238-241.

Smith, A.D. (1986) *The ethnic origins of nations.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Smyth, J. (2006) EU barriers to migrant workers lifting slowly. *Irish Times.* 2 May, p9.

Spolsky, B. (1999) Second-language learning. *IN:* Fishman, J.A. (ed.) *Handbook of language and ethnic identity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press: 181-192.

St. Louis. K. and Calabrese Barton, A. (2002). Tales from the science education crypt: a critical reflection of positionality, subjectivity, and reflexivity in research. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, Vol. 3(3). Available from: <http://217.160.35.246/fqs-texte/3-02/3-02stlouisbarton-e.pdf> [Accessed 1 June 2008].

Stonequist, E.V. (1935) The problem of the marginal man. *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.41(1): 1-12.

Straffon, D.A. (2003) Assessing the intercultural sensitivity of high school students attending an international school. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* Vol. 27: 487–501.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990) *Basics of qualitative research*: *grounded theory procedures and techniques.* Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1998) *Basics of qualitative research: techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Suárez-Orozo, C. and Quinn, D.B. (2006) Gendered perspectives in psychology: immigrant origin youth. *International Migration Review*, Vol.40(1): 165-198.

Sultana, F. (2007) Reflexivity, Positionality and Participatory Ethics: Negotiating Fieldwork Dilemmas in International Research *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies.* Available from: <http://www.acme-journal.org/vol6/FS.pdf> [Accessed 17 January 2008].

Sussman, N. M. (2000) The Dynamic Nature of Cultural Identity Throughout Cultural Transitions: Why Home Is Not So Sweet. *Personality and Social Psychology Review,* Vol. 4 (4): 355 - 373.

Sutherland, P. (2008) So, how did we get there? *Irish Times*. 11 February, p16.

Tajfel, H. (1978) *Differentiation between social groups: studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. London: Academic Press.

Tajfel, H. (1981) *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tarkowska, E. (2002) Intra-household gender inequality: hidden dimension of poverty among of Polish women. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies,* Vol. 35: 411-432.

Temple, B. (1999) Diaspora, diaspora space and Polish women. *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 22 (1): 17-24.

The Poles are coming (2008). TV, BBC TWO. 2008 March 11.

The Polish chaplaincy in Ireland. (Homepage). [Online]. Available from: <http://www.polish-chaplaincy.ie/index.php?lang=en&language=pl> [Accessed 1 June 2008].

Tovey, H. and Share, P. (2003) *A sociology of Ireland*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

Townsend, M. (2007) Polish migrants flee violent Britain. *The Observer*. 7 October, p17.

Travers, P. (1995) 'There was nothing for me there': Irish female emigration, 1922-71. *IN:* O'Sullivan , P. (ed.) *The Irish world wide history, heritage, identity. Volume 4: Irish women and Irish migration.* London: Leicester University Press.

Travis, A. (2008) British workers lack skills and drive of east Europe's migrants, says study. *The Guardian*. 12 June, p6.

Triandafyllidou, A. (2006a) Poles in Europe: migration in the new Europe. *IN:* Triandafyllidou, A. (ed.) *Contemporary Polish migration in Europe: complex patterns of movement and settlement.* Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press: 1-22.

Triandafyllidou, A. (2006b) Polish female migration in Europe: a gendered approach. *IN:* Triandafyllidou, A. (ed.) *Contemporary Polish migration in Europe: complex patterns of movement and settlement.* Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press: 225-243.

Triandafyllidou, A. and Kosic, A. (2006) Polish immigrants in Italy. *IN:* Triandafyllidou, A. (ed.) *Contemporary Polish migration in Europe: complex patterns of movement and settlement.* Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press: 177-221.

Triandis, H.C. (1994) Theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of collectivism and individualism. *IN:* Kim, U., Triandis, H.C., Kâğitçibaşi, C., Choi, S.C. and Yoon, G. (eds.) *Individualism and Collectivism: Theory, Method, and Applications*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications: 41-51.

Triandis, H. C. (1995) *Individualism and collectivism.* Boulder, CO: Westview.

Triandis, H.C., Leung, K., Villareal, M.J. and Clack, F.L. (1985) Allocentric versus idiocentric tendencies: convergent and discriminant validation. *Journal of research in Personality,* Vol.19(4): 395-415.

Triandis, H.C. and Marin, G. (1983) Etic plus emic versus pseudoetic: a test of a basic assumption of contemporary cross-cultural psychology. *Journal of Cross-cultural psychology,* Vol.14(4): 489-500.

Triandis, H.C., McCusker, C., Betancourt, H., Iwao, S., Leung, K., Salazar, J.M., Setiadi, B., Sinha, J.B.P., Touzard, H. and Zaleski, Z. (1993) An etic-emic analysis of individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Cross-cultural psychology*, Vol. 24 (3): 366-383.

Ugba, A. (2007) African Pentecostals in twenty-first century Ireland: identity and integration. *IN:* Fanning, B. (ed.) *Immigration and social change in the Republic of Ireland.* Manchester: Manchester University Press:168-184.

UNESCO (ed.) (1984) *Women on the move: Contemporary changes in family and society.* Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Van den Berghe, P. (1996) Does race matter? *IN:* Hutchinson, J. and Smith, A.D. (eds.) *Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 57-63.

Van Oudenhoven, J.P. (2001) Do organizations reflect national cultures? A 10-nation study. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* Vol.25: 89-107.

Van Oudenhoven, J.P., Groenewold, J.T. and Hewstone, M. (1996) Co-operation, ethnic salience and generalization of inter-ethnic attitudes. *European Journal of Social Psychology,* Vol. 26: 649-661.

Van Oudenhoven, J.P., Prins, K.S., and Buunk, B.P. (1998) Attitudes of minority and majority members towards adaptation of immigrants. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 28: 995-1013.

Van Oudenhoven, J.P., Ward, C. and Masgoret, A.-M. (2006) Patterns of relations between immigrants and host societies. *International Journal of Intercultural Relatio*ns, Vol. 30: 637-651.

Vertovec, S. (1999) Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 22(2): 447-462.

Versteegh, P. (2000) „The ties that bind": the role of family and ethnic networks in the settlement of Polish migrants in Pennsylvania, 1890-1940. *The history of the family: and international quarterly*, Vol. 5 (1): 111-148.

Virmond, A. (2004). *Jerome O'Toole's Liebe zum Lachs*. München: A1 Verlag.

Voci, A. and Hewstone, M. (2003) Intergroup contact and prejudice toward immigrants in Italy: The mediational role of anxiety and the moderational

role of salience. *Group Processes and Intergroup relations*, Vol. 6 (1): 37-54.

Wadensjö, E. (2007) *Migration to Sweden from the New EU Member States, Discussion paper No. 3190.* Forschungsinstitut zur Zukunft der Arbeit. Bonn, Germany: Institute for the Study of Labor. Available from: <http://www.iza.org/index_html?lang=en&mainframe=http%3A//www.iza.org/en/webcontent/personnel/photos/index_html%3Fkey%3D231&topSelect=personnel&subSelect=fellows> [Accessed 1 June 2008].

Walter, B. (1991) Gender and recent Irish migration to Britain. *IN:* King, R. (ed.) *Contemporary Irish migration.* Dublin: Trinity College Dublin.

Ward, C. Bochner, S. and Furnham, A. (2001) *The psychology of culture shock.* London: Routledge.

Ward, C. and Kennedy, A. (1993) Where's the "Culture" in Cross-Cultural Transition?: Comparative Studies of Sojourner Adjustment. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Vol. 24(2): 221 - 249.

Ward, C. and Kennedy, A. (1994) Acculturation strategies, psychological adjustment, and sociocultural competence during cross-cultural transitions. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* Vol. 18 (3): 329-343.

Ward, C. and Masgoret, A.-M. (2006a) An integrative model of attitudes towards immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol.30: 671-682.

Ward, C. and Masgoret, A.-M. (2006b) Immigration, acculturation and intergroup relations in New Zealand. Paper presented at the 18th International Congress of the international Association for Cross-cultural Psychology, Spetses, Greece.

Ward, C. and Searle, W. (1991) The impact of value discrepancies and cultural identity on psychological and sociocultural adjustment of sojourners. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* Vol.15 (2): 209-224.

Weitzman, E.A. and Miles, M.B. (1995) *A software sourcebook: computer programs for qualitative data analysis.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Williams, C.H. (1999) The Celtic world. *IN:* Fishman, J. A. (ed.) *Handbook of language and ethnic identity.* Oxford: University Press: 267-285.

Yamaguchi, S., Kuhlman, D.M. and Sugimori, S. (1995) Personality Correlates of Allocentric Tendencies in Individualist and Collectivist Cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Vol. 26(6): 658-672.

Zick, A. Wagner, U., Van Dick, R. and Petzel, T. (2001) Acculturation and prejudice in Germany: Majority and minority perspectives. *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 57: 541-557.