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Migrations, engagement and integration of Poles in the UK and in London Borough of Lewisham - research and data review within the Londoner-Pole-Citizen Project

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Abstract

This paper presents the results of desk research on Poles in London and the United Kingdom, as well as a statistical portrait of Poles living in the London Borough of Lewisham. The data and literature review were part of the 'Londoner Pole Citizen. National identity as a tool to stimulate civic participation of the Polish youth living abroad' action research project, carried out by the partnership led by the Centre of Migration Research Foundation, Poland, and including Centre for Community Engagement Research, Goldsmiths College, University of London (CCER); Lewisham Borough Council (Young Mayor Office); and Lewisham Polish Centre (LPC).

The aim of the desk research behind this paper was to delineate a wider context in which the project was embedded which helped us to develop our research design, and also facilitated explanation with the aid of available analytical concepts. We included the state-of-the-art analysis on the topics such as migration, ethnicity, integration, diversity and civic participation in the UK. A special focus was on youth and the situation of young Poles in the borough. The idea was to depict the general trends and see the uniqueness of the studied locality against this background.

First part of the paper presents general objectives of the project, then a general situation of Polish migrants in the UK and Lewisham is described. Following parts include analysis of statistical data on the Lewisham's population in regard to socio-economic factors, ethnic composition and school population, section on internal diversity of Poles as well as description of participatory practices in the Borough. In Lewisham, a very diverse and vibrant borough, we can directly observe local manifestations of all the issues important for Polish immigration as a whole: migrant place making, migrant institutions development, growing internal differentiation of the community, civic engagement and changing relations with other ethnic groups and mainstream society. We conclude with references to ways in which we applied the lessons learned from the state-of-the-art during our action research project.

Key words: Polish migrants, London, ethnic diversity, civic engagement, social integration, class structure, London Borough of Lewisham

Abstrakt

Working paper przedstawia wyniki analizy danych zastanych dotyczących partycypacji obywatelskiej Polaków w Lewisham, Londynie i Wielkiej Brytanii oraz pogłębiony opis społeczności polskiej w londyńskiej dzielnicy Lewisham. Powstał w ramach projektu „Polak Obywatel Londyńczyk" realizowanego w roku 2016 przez Fundację Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami, wraz z Polskim Ośrodkiem Lewisham, Goldsmiths College Uniwersytetu Londyńskiego i Urzędem Dzielnicy Lewisham.

Celem raportu stanowiącego podstawę prezentowanego poniżej tekstu było stworzenie szerszego kontekstu działań projektowych przez rekonstrukcję stanu badań i przegląd dostępnych danych statystycznych. Analiza objęła literaturę przedmiotu dotyczącą takich tematów jak migracje, etniczność, integracja, różnorodność oraz partycypacja obywatelska w Wielkiej Brytanii. Szczególną uwagę poświęcono tematyce młodzieżowej oraz sytuacji młodym Polakom w dzielnicy. Autorzy raportu wyszli z założenia, że analiza ogólnych

trendów nie tylko stanowi wygodne tło do prezentacji wyników lokalnych badań ale także pozwala lepiej zrozumieć specyfikę badanych lokalności.

Pierwsza część prezentowanego tekstu przedstawia ogólne założenia projektu oraz kreśli sytuację Polaków w UK i Lewisham. Dalsze części obejmują analizę danych opisujących społeczność dzielnicy Lewisham w szczególności zaś sytuację ekonomiczno-społeczną mieszkańców dzielnicy, skład etniczny, populację uczniowską oraz wewnętrzne zróżnicowanie polskiej mniejszości oraz działania partycypacyjne podejmowane w dzielnicy. W Lewisham możemy obserwować bezpośrednio wszystkie węzłowe tematy dotyczące Polaków w Wielkiej Brytanii, od sytuacji społecznej i wewnętrznego zróżnicowania, przez odnajdywanie się w przestrzeni lokalnej (*migrant place making*), rozwój instytucji migranckich, zaangażowanie obywatelskie oraz relacje z innymi grupami etnicznymi w super-różnorodnej dzielnicy. W konkluzjach przywołujemy sposoby, w jakie wykorzystaliśmy wnioski z analizy literatury projektując i realizując badanie w działaniu „Polak Obywatel Londyńczyk".

Słowa kluczowe: migracje z Polski, Londyn, zróżnicowanie etniczne, partycypacja obywatelska, integracja społeczna, struktura klasowa, dzielnica Lewisham w Londynie

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Introduction

This working paper is the result of the literature and data review within the project titled 'Londoner-Pole-Citizen (LPC / POL). National identity as a tool to stimulate citizen participation of the Polish youth living abroad'. The project was carried out in 2016 by the partnership consisting of: Foundation Centre of Migration Research, Poland (FCMR, leader); Centre for Community Engagement Research, Goldsmiths College, University of London (CCER); Lewisham Borough Council (London Borough of Lewisham Authority, Young Mayor Office); and Lewisham Polish Centre (LPC). The desk research report aims to show the broader context of the project and to present the results of its first stages, i.e., state-of-the-art review and available statistical data analysis, which enabled us to prepare our further research and actions in London Borough of Lewisham, both analytically and in practical terms. As we were planning an action research project aimed at diagnosing and greater social and civic involvement of Polish inhabitants of the borough, our literature review and data analysis included topics such as migration, ethnicity, integration, diversity and engagement in the United Kingdom. Whenever possible we paid special attention to the youth issues as young Polish people and their involvement were one of the focuses of the project.

The report begins with a short introduction presenting the general idea of the Project. The first part discusses the results of a literature review in several relevant areas, such as the broad issues of migration, engagement, ethnicity, youth participation in the UK and Poles in the UK (and Lewisham), against the background of other minorities. A selective, but broad in its scope, literature review as well as a presentation of generalized assertions concerning Poles in the UK may look a bit surprising in the context of a locally focused ethnographic action research project. We are aware that the situation in Lewisham may be different from the situation in other parts of London, not to mention other cities in the United Kingdom. We believe that the identity of Poles in Lewisham and patterns of their civic participation are the result of a variety of local and general processes taking place in this particular borough. General trends' review does not serve as a set of hypotheses for verification. It works as a background that allows highlighting the uniqueness of Polish community in Lewisham, which helped us to develop our research design, and also facilitated explanation with the aid of available analytical concepts.

In the subsequent section the available data on the population of Lewisham is presented with special attention paid to its ethnic composition, the Polish minority and the participatory initiatives in the borough. The available statistical data sources include Censuses, school statistics for the Borough and several local statistics pertaining to the economic and social situation of the population, as well as research findings. We conclude the part on Lewisham with an extensive description of one of its renown civic engagements initiatives, namely the Young Mayor Programme, which played a big role in the course of our project. We are sharing the working paper having already carried out the action research, so in the text the reader will find references to ways in which we applied the lessons learned from the state-of-the-art during our project.

The 'Polak-Obywatel-Londyńczyk (Londoner-Pole-Citizen LPC / POL)' project aimed at increasing the involvement of Poles, including youth living abroad in the civic and public life and to prepare Polish centres operating abroad to serve as places of civic education

capable of stimulating and reinforcing the participation of (young) Poles. Enhancing civic competencies of the youth is of utmost importance both from the point of view of Polish citizens' interests being appropriately represented in their country of residence and their civic functioning following a potential return to Poland.

The few papers written so far on civic participation of Polish migrants show that while after the 2004 Poland's EU accession, and the consequent rapid influx of Poles into the UK, the demand for Polish-oriented services has expanded considerably (White 2016), it is only a narrow elite that is active (Kucharczyk [ed.] 2013), and that most people participate neither in political nor social mechanisms (Lesińska 2013). It also remains an open question to what extent the existing institutions are able to include the needs of newcomers. The data shows that participation is particularly low in the case of young people, which is one of the factors behind the replication of these patterns and their becoming a perennial element of political culture. In the case of young people living abroad, another obstacle that interferes with their participation in public life is a greater sense of alienation from the institutional order (Doomernik et al. 2010; Koopmans et al. 2005). There were many indications that the Polish youth did not participate in the activities of Polish Diaspora organizations, nor in active citizenship initiatives, which are part of the local civic culture (both of country of residence in general, as well as local culture at the borough level). This 'double exclusion' is particularly acute in disadvantaged boroughs (e.g.: Lewisham in London, a borough with the poverty and crime rates higher than those in London).

In Lewisham, Poles constitute the third most numerous minority group; however, they (young people in particular) remain rather inactive both in terms of the activities of an ethnic (national) nature and the more generic, civic initiatives. (Self-)exclusion of Poles applies both to organizations and institutions of the Polish Diaspora (Lewisham Polish Centre, Polish language school), as well as to the extensive youth participation mechanisms initiated by the borough and the city authorities, and addressing all citizens, including the Young Mayor Programme (c.f. Kordasiewicz 2013).

Migration, engagement, ethnicity. Literature review on Poles in the UK

Polish migration to the UK
Polish migration to the United Kingdom dates back to the XIX century; however, it was only during and after the Second World War that a greater number of Poles landed on the Isles. It is often seen as first in the three 'waves' of Polish immigration to the UK[1]. The first wave were more than 160 thousand Polish refugees, soldiers, prisoners of war and their families (Górny, Osipowicz 2006). Typically, they self-organised and set up institutions such as Polish clubs or, since the 1960s, Saturday Schools (Segeš Frelak, Grot 2013). In the late '60 the UK became one of the destination countries for Polish Jews fleeing anti-Semitic discrimination in Poland; there was also the politically and economically motivated immigration during the '80, after the Martial Law was declared in Poland in 1981 (Segeš Frelak, Grot 2013). The second culmination came after the 1989, when the migration flow became decisively economic and

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[1] We look at the 'wave' metaphor as an approximate and working depiction, bearing in mind that between these culminations there were also other flows of people.

short-term in character. According to the UK census from 2001 around 74,000 Polish migrants lived in the UK before 2004, although as some scholars note there has been a large undocumented flow of temporary workers and students (Jordan, Duvell 2002, Garapich 2008).

The third and most numerous wave came after the Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004. In 2005 the stock of Polish migrants was already 340 thousands, and rising rapidly, reaching 637 thousand people in 2012 (Okólski & Salt 2014). Polish has become the second most frequently spoken language in England (Booth 2013). The post-EU accession migration was accompanied by the dynamic development of a particular sector of the market, called the migration industry, which provides financial services, counselling and information for Polish migrants (Garapich 2008a, pp. 735-752; Hernandez- Leon 2005).

Research described in the book edited by Kucharczyk (2013) showed that the old post-war organizations and those created after 2004 operate as if in two different worlds (parallel realities), side by side. Polish post-war organizations' core activities are often inadequate to the needs of newcomers. The process of organizing the Poles in London has been different from other places in the UK: relatively few specialized Polish organizations have been established there. Those created are lost in the mass of other ethnic organizations.

One very important institution of the Polish diaspora in the UK, however, are the so-called 'Saturday schools' (Praszałowicz et al., 2012.). These provide language, culture and catholic religious education and operate on weekends as an additional educational activity. It is estimated that they are attended by between 11 and 13,000 students (i.e., approximately 20% of Polish children) (Segeš Frelak, Grot 2013: 59). The popularity of 'Saturday schools' has been growing steadily after 2004 - the number of schools, according to incomplete estimates quoted by Segeš Frelak and Grot, is about 100-130 outlets. Schools are maintained primarily by contributions from parents, who play an important and underestimated role in the functioning of Saturday schools (Segeš Frelak & Grot 2013: 59). Segeš Frelak and Grot discuss the role of Catholic Church (more on the Catholic Church, see e.g. Gill, 2010; Krotofil, 2013;), trade unions and informal initiatives (in Lewisham we found a group of cosmopolitan activists – artists).

Participation in political life, e.g., voter turnout of Poles living abroad in the Polish elections, remained low, despite many pro-active campaigns conducted among others by the coalition 'Masz głos, masz wybór' ('Your vote, your choice.') Some changes in Polish migrants' participation patterns were observed in 2007, when election turnout among Polish voters abroad increased (in 2005 it was 71.59%, in 2007 - 78.26%, see Lesińska 2014).

As pointed out by Michał Garapich (2008a), the media play an important role in migrants' lives: not only do they support the creation of an ethnic business niche, but also they actively participate in the creation of social ties within the immigrant population. They are also highly conducive to maintaining and building language competence (especially among the youngest representatives of the Polish migration);they contribute to the formation of ethnic identity, as well as offer entertainment in their native language (Alam et al. 2014; the self-confessed weak point of the Polish community is their poor command of English, compared to, for example, the Indian community, Ryan 2010).

The Polish organizations rarely cooperate with local authorities, especially in England (our selected locality illustrates this point: upon the commencement of the 'Londoner – Pole –

Citizen' project the Polish organization that would act as the local partner of local authorities had not been identified neither in London Borough of Lewisham, nor in neighbouring Lambeth). Polish organizations in Scotland and Northern Ireland manifest greater involvement in this area and local authorities consult them on many issues relating to Polish immigration (among other things). In sharp contrast to the Polish minority, many ethnic groups have their own representatives in the British local authorities (Segeš Frelak, Grot 2013).

The awareness of the lack of external political representation was the leitmotif of interviews conducted by Garapich (2013b). It was reiterated by all participants – regardless of their political orientation or involvement in various initiatives: 'A common complaint was that >you should sit at the table where decisions are made, and now we are not there<. Inadequate representation of Poles was often perceived in a wider context of British multiculturalism. Respondents repeatedly emphasized the lack of Polish voice in comparison to other ethnic groups. It is an interesting point because it indicates that British policy, especially at the local level, is perceived as favouring ethnic blocs as interest groups' (Garapich 2013b: 143). And it is only one way of conceptualizing the political interests of Poles, because they can also be framed in terms of class interests: for example, Garapich's interviewees identify themselves either as Poles or as workers/migrants[2] (2013b). The increasing class differentiation of Polish migrant groups, diversity of interests, the emergence of multiple axes of ideological conflicts between Polish citizens, lack of political representation and the desire to fill these gaps – all those processes are linked to the generation replacement in the existing Polish diaspora (which is especially true in London).

The class differentiation among the Polish community in the UK and the different class patterns of building the relationship with the British society, however, are rarely addressed by the scholarship. An article on formal associations and organizations in the British and Polish civic societies mentions the issue of discrimination against Polish workers (Dunin-Wasowicz 2013: 100). This issue is also explored more intensively in the article 'The Multi-participants Overlooked? Poles' informal initiatives in the UK' by Paula Pustułka (2013). The main argument of the research conducted by this author was: 'to take into account heterogeneity among migrants and intersectional approach, in which individuals may have different objectives, interests and aspirations, relating inter alia to gender, age, family situation, position, class and professional, ethnic origin, length of stay outside the country, religion.' (Pustułka 2013:130). In fact, almost all participants of Pustułka's research represented the Polish middle class in the UK (that is, 'middle class' in terms of the Polish class system; how to classify them in terms of the British class order is an open research question, even if we look at the latest conceptualizations and operationalisations of social classes by Savage et al. 2013).

There have been attempts at acknowledging the class diversity among Poles in Ireland manifesting itself in their attitudes towards each other (Bobek, Salamońska 2010)[3]; similar

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[2] Similarly to the participants of the well-known Touraine's research on 'Solidarity' movement in Poland in the 1980s.
[3] With reference to 'stratocentrism', a particular class positionality of the researcher (Kordasiewicz 2014). There is also a perspective of Polish migrants who perceive 'classlessness' as one of the prerequisites of 'normalcy', Perez Rodriguez 2010.

research was carried out in the UK (Ryan 2010, Pustulka 2016). E.G. Ryan's (2010) middle-class participants engaged with the external views of Polish people, e.g., distancing themselves from 'behaving badly' working class Polish people (who are loud, violent and who swear and abuse alcohol). It was also recognized that approaches to education and diversity by Polish migrants are class-informed (Garapich 2008, D'Angelo & Ryan 2011). Yet more needs to be done in this area and our project is aiming at filling this gap. In a similar manner, migrants employed in agriculture, domestic work or construction (typically single migrants who are temporarily abroad) have been somewhat neglected in the British scholarly literature[4] (White 2016: 16).

White has argued that there is no sharp divide between research on Polish migrants produced in Poland and in receiving countries. "The most striking distinction is the difference between the volume of English-language research produced about Poland and the UK and the number of publications on other receiving countries" (White 2015: 20). Another difference is that perspectives from Poland tend to be embedded in scholarship on the impact of migration on the sending countries. The opposite is true of British researchers. "The agenda for UK-based Polish migration studies was set to a considerable extent by two early Economic and Social Research Council-funded projects, with the final project reports published as Eade et al. (2007), 'Class and Ethnicity – Polish Migrants in London' and Ryan, Sales, Tilki, and Siara (2007), 'Polish Migrants in London: Networks, Transience and Settlement' (...) Eade et al. (2007) also sparked off a discussion about migrants' integration into the workforce, and their identity as workers: the non-monetary rewards for work, migrants' attitudes towards the connections between work and social status, and their expectations regarding social mobility". (White 2016: 13)

Civic participation and Polish institutions in the UK

According to Anne White, "apart from a single study on trade unions by Fitzgerald and Hardy (2010), Polish migrants' engagement in civil society and politics remains an under-researched area. Recent publications (Driver & Garapich, 2012; Kucharczyk, 2013) have begun to fill this gap and the latter volume in particular provides insights into the transnational aspects of civil society activity" (White 2016: 15). Our project aimed to do more to fill this gap at the local level of the borough and include different Polish migrants as well as participation in a broad sense.

Michał Garapich proposes to go beyond the limits of Patrick Ireland's new institutionalism in defining participation, an approach that ignores the nature of the political process, the role of culture and social networks created by migrants, especially the agency of migrants as political actors. Civic participation is also about the political culture of the host country creating a dynamic and changing environment, not only about legal and institutional conditions (Garapich 2013).

The impact of the policy can be that of the host country (e.g.: social inclusion of immigrants) and country of origin (e.g. diaspora empowerment). Actions that result from foreign and educational policies of countries of origin can be schools of ethnic languages, cultural institutes such as the Goethe Institute, British Council or Austrian Cultural Institute.

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[4] With a few exceptions mentioned by White (2016: 16) such as Findlay and McCollum (2013) and Datta (2008),

Participation can be inspired in a top-down manner, as a result of the activity of trade unions, pan-ethnic organizations and the transnational character of the European Commission's empowering initiatives. In many cases, however, it is more bottom-up in character and stems from the grassroots self-organization of citizens, the expansion of modern forms of communication and the so-called *migration industry* (see Garapich 2008a, 2013, and Polish magazines content analysis in Annex 1. to this working paper). The favourable institutional and cultural conditions provided by the British model of multiculturalism (between a mosaic and a melting pot) mean that migrants from European countries to the UK do not face major obstacles in various forms of self-organization under the banner of ethnic, national, regional, professional and other organizations. At the same time, the integration policy has been criticised for its lack of structure and an "ad hoc" character, which tends to react to rather than facilitate activities (Garapich 2016).

To quote from the extensive and inspiring literature review by Anne White: '[a]fter 2004, Polish institutions were overwhelmed by the new demand for services such as Saturday schools. However, the established diaspora had to accept that many new migrants had no interest in participating actively in Polish émigré social networks' and the 'newcomers' failure to integrate into post-war diaspora networks emerged as a theme in UK locations with existing Polish populations' (White 2016: 14). According to White, those waves or generations of immigrants differ markedly "in their opinions about Poland, Polish patriotism and ethnic identity" (White 2016: 14, see also Bielewska, 2012; Brown, 2011; Fomina 2009; Garapich, 2008b, 2009, 2013; Pustułka, 2013).

The accessibility of local Polish institutions helps determine the migrants' ability to be 'Polish' in the UK (White 2016). Despite their mutual mistrust, the newly arrived Poles rapidly created an impressive network of Polish businesses and media outlets (Garapich, 2008a; Kucharczyk, 2013; Vershinina, Barrett, & Meyer, 2011). The scale of Polish business activity was only sustainable because the considerable volume of Polish migration to the UK created a 'critical mass' for goods and services. Shops and internet media are plentiful, but Polish churches are in short supply and not always viewed positively, while Saturday schools – despite their remarkable expansion in recent years – can be seriously oversubscribed. (On the Catholic Church, see e.g. Gill, 2010; Krotofil, 2013; Trzebiatowska, 2010; on Saturday schools see Praszałowicz et al., 2012.)

From the British (local) government point of view, the Polish ethnic group is not identified as requiring particular social assistance or a specially designed policy. Its economic position is strong, unemployment in this group is low and the education of children appears nonproblematic. In view of the current policy of austerity, local governments are not willing to help, and Polish organizations are prone to elitism and exclude the people with problems (such as unemployment, alcoholism or homelessness, which do occur among Polish migrants.) (Garapich 2016),

Michał Garapich distinguishes two types of Polish organizations in the UK: one concentrated on internal integration and the other offering care, assistance and counselling based on an agenda set by British institutions (2016). The former are established by the migrants themselves and fulfil the functions of cultural reproduction (Saturday schools, clubs, ethnic organizations). The latter are set up by the umbrella organizations and meet the needs identified by the British administration and institutions such as health care, education, or

policing. So even if there is a dense network of Polish institutions (parishes, Saturday schools, dance clubs, etc.), as in London's Ealing, the needs of migrants experiencing serious social problems are not met as there is a lack of organizations offering assistance such as health care and financial services (Garapich 2016).

Nick Gill (2010), one of the authors approaching traditional institutions of the Polish community in a critical way, focuses on the so-called 'migrant place-making' process: creating a common identity of migrant communities through a place or migrant institutions (e.g. monument building and religious festivals). Gill noticed that the majority of authors dealing with this issue is very positive about the functions of place-making. According to different scholars mentioned by Gill, migrant place making can be "an opportunity for migrants to retain a national identity in their destination countries", it can justify claims of belonging in particular neighbourhoods, or help construct local collective identities (all quoted in Gill 2010: 1158).

A minority of authors, however, have suggested that migrant place-making can become counter-productive for new migrants who can become either excluded from, or dependent upon, the established migrant communities (Ealham, 2005; Ip, 2005; Yeh, 2007). The article 'Pathologies of migrant place-making: the case of Polish migrants to the UK' presents an ideal model of migrant place-making based on this latter approach. The whole process has been divided into separate stages, with potential pathologies assigned to each of them.

1. The idea of projecting a common identity through place based on migrants' consensus (or conflict in case of pathology).
2. Migrant places are generally inclusive (or exclusive) for the whole of migrant community.
3. Identities established through particular places are easier to be accepted by host societies (or they are harder to be accepted and the host society responds with racism and xenophobia).
4. New migrants feel an affinity with the existing migrant places (or are alienated from them).

Gill applied this model to Polish Catholic Mission, an organisation that is well-established among the Poles in the UK, and analysed it critically as an example of place-making among Poles. Drawing upon interviews with Polish migrants, Gill showed that post-2004 migration has brought about a series of problems illustrating the various potential pathologies he listed. The Polish 'diaspora' in the UK turned out to be a victim of its own past successes. It has established an image of the PCM as dominant in the Polish diasporic community that has now become counterproductive for the largely nonreligious cohort of new migrants. This case of migrant place-making is described as relying on strategies of spatial essentialism, being prone to difficulties, exclusionary and beset by contingencies and risks.

Polish parents and children in London schools

Another strand of studies looked at British educational system and its perception by migrants from Poland. In Britain, the model of multicultural education with a strong commitment to 'inclusive schools' has been developed since 1985. The overall national picture, however, is still characterised by significant differences in terms of school achievement amongst pupils of

different ethnic backgrounds (DES 2005). To some extent this is due to the fast pace of ethnic diversity growth.

The UK is a highly (and increasingly) diverse country, which is particularly clearly reflected in its schools: in January 2010 over 1.5 million of the 6.5 million pupils in maintained primary and secondary schools were of 'minority ethnic' origin: 25% of the total (School Census). In London the proportion is even higher, with 66.7% 'minority ethnic' pupils in primary and 62.1% in secondary schools.

Poland's accession to the EU in May 2004 changed the pattern of migration from Poland from short term, transient and individual into long term or indefinite stays, with family reunions (see Ryan, et al, 2009; Lopez Rodriguez, 2010, White, 2010). The consequence of this new migration trend were the large numbers of Polish children arriving in British schools: according to the School Census, in 2010 there were at least 40,700 primary and secondary school pupils in England whose first language was known or believed to be Polish (D'Angelo and Ryan 2011: 237).

The paper by A. D'Angelo and L. Ryan (2011) titled 'Site of Socialisation' analyses the ways in which Polish migrants construct notions of Polishness in the context of education. Most interviewees in this research regarded schools in the UK as worse (i.e., offering lower educational standards), but also less formal and demanding than schools in Poland (similar findings reported by Trevena 2014). We can observe a lack of familiarity with a multicultural and multilingual educational environment in parents' attitudes. This led to stereotypes and racism. Girls in scarves, 'chapati' [a derogatory term for migrants of Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi descent] or black children were not welcome as colleagues by some Polish parents (see research by Brzozowska and Fiałkowska on Polish migrants' racism[5]).

The latest research demonstrates that a higher objective diversity of the immediate residential area is not related to a lower approval of minority ethnic groups; on the contrary, it can reduce some prejudices. It is not the actual ethnic diversity that divides societies along ethnic lines, but how it is perceived (Piekut and Valentine 2016). More attention should be paid to the way the perceptions of diversity are shaped in particular national contexts, and how the popularization of 'diversity talk' in public discourse (Bell and Hartman 2007) across Europe works in societies that are more aware (truly or not) of the fact that they are becoming diverse.

In numerous studies Poles labelled and perceived various ethnic groups differently. For example, in Ryan's (2010) study, Poles living in London declared to rarely have *Englishmen* (which is how they call the indigenous population of London English people, *Anglicy* in Polish) as friends; they tended to befriend other Poles and other minorities' members. In Ryan's study Englishmen were constructed as being unfriendly, Irish as 'soul brothers', sharing the migration experience, Indians were spoken of as friends but also competitors at the workplace (such as hospitals). Indians were referred to as 'foreigners' and Poles appeared not knowledgeable about the layers of political and ethnic diversity in the UK. In another study, on Poles in Manchester, Temple found out the participants respondents were

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[5] Projects: http://www.migracje.uw.edu.pl/projects/mixed-marriages-and-gender-asymetry-patterns-of-integraion-and-socioeconomic-mobility-of-immigrants-in-poland-and-the-united-kingdom/ and http://www.migracje.uw.edu.pl/projects/polish-migrants-in-the-united-kingdom-renegotiation-and-reconstruction-of-masculinity-in-the-super-diverse-environment/.

eager to categorize people into the Polish, English and Pakistani; however, the attribution to the last group was based on the skin colour rather than knowledge about a person's background (Temple 2011). So we should always pay attention to the local and relational context of intergroup perceptions, as it is very hard to generalize the inter-ethnic relationships.

Ryan noticed that references to the skin colour are rather implicit and that by these means Poles implicitly align with the perceived 'white British' majority and distance themselves from other groups (2010). Another finding was the expressed general fear of 'black people' [in the respondents' understanding]. In the social imagery of Polish migrants a special role seems to be played by 'whiteness' that some Polish migrants cherish as giving them a superior status in the UK's ethnic mosaic, as pointed out by Perez Rodriguez (2016) and noticed by Ryan as well (2010). Some parents tend to construct Poles as victims rather than perpetrators of racism in London[6]: English people were often described as unfriendly or openly racist towards Poles. However, the authors conclude that "[w]hilst some of the parents comments would be perceived as 'racist' in British mainstream culture, in most cases they mainly seem to indicate a lack of familiarity with and difficulties in adapting to London's ethnic diversity. Suspicion and lack of trust towards other groups may also reflect the socio-economic positioning of many recently arrived Polish migrants in London (Garapich, 2008)" (D'Angelo & L. Ryan 2011: 247). Nevertheless, we believe that more research needs to be done to fathom the facets and implications of these attitudes.

The authors of the study 'Polish Children in London Primary Schools' (Kułakowska 2014) interviewed parents who had migrated with children about their experiences and expectations of London schools. This study revealed that the age of children was usually a factor in family migration decision making. There was a common expectation that younger children could easily adapt to a new school and learn English quickly. The paper by Ryan and Sales (2013) explores the variety of family migration strategies and the factors that inform migrants' decisions to bring their families (especially children) or to leave them back home.

The process of 'becoming a migrant', together with the de-skilling, may often lead migrants to re-define their identity through migration: some of the research participants claimed they took pride in and derived a sense of self-worth from fulfilling their family roles ('being a good parent'), which was especially valid for women who found themselves outside the labour market due to migration (D'Angelo & L Ryan 2011: 248).

In Ryan and d'Angelo's paper, the participation of children was limited to 3 IDIs with students from secondary schools aged between 13 and 14 years. While this is not enough to draw any general conclusions, there are still a few important points to be made. Some children find it easier to establish relationships with other students with a migrant background (especially from their own ethnic group). Others have managed to make friends with their English peers, according to one of the interviewees, by *denying their Polishness* [*Most of his/her friends and acquaintances are British.*]

To conclude, quoting the authors, their 'research highlights that schools are not just places of learning for children but are sites of socialisation where migrant families can meet and engage with multicultural society especially in diverse cities such as London. (…) The

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[6] C.f. how the 'racism' frame was applied in favour of Poles after some of the post-Brexit attacks on the Polish, e.g., on the Polish portals in the UK http://londynek.net/wiadomosci/article?jdnews_id=37833.

extent to which this process is smoothly managed by schools may determine how positively or negatively such encounters are experienced. In that process Polish migrants may come to re-assert but also to re-define their own identities as migrants in multi-cultural Britain' (Ryan & D'Angelo 2011). For these reasons we paid special attention to schooling practices and attitudes to education among our participants, and we also managed to include school visits to get closer to young Polish people in the borough.

Theoretical and methodological issues

More and more authors demonstrate the need to critically question the usefulness of thinking of research on migrants in terms of insider or outsider research as well as the need to overcome the methodological 'groupism' and 'nationalism' (see Nowicka and Ryan, 2015, the paper offers several suggestions how to it). For example, the paper by Louise Ryan **"**uses the concept of 'multiple positionalities', to challenge the fixity of positionality underpinning constructions of 'insiders' versus 'outsiders' in the research process. While 'insider' status is usually associated with shared ethnicity/ nationality, migration studies have been urged to go beyond the ethnic lens". The author stated that "migrants cannot be neatly contained within fixed 'insider' ethnic categories; instead, it is more illuminating to consider how identities are re-constructed through migration". The article critically reflects upon "how empathy and rapport were negotiated through dynamic rhythms of positionalities—gender, age, professional and parental status and migratory experience, as well as nationality" (Ryan 2015).

In our action research we were trying to apply this kind of theoretical thinking (or auto-reflexive analysis), which was helped by the composition of the Londoner – Pole – Citizen project's team. It included people with different backgrounds: insiders (Polish migrants and activists without professional social scientific knowledge), semi-insiders (Polish researchers/practitioners with professional social scientific knowledge) and semi-outsiders (British practitioners with and without professional social scientific knowledge, but with deep local embeddedness).

London Borough of Lewisham – ethnic and social composition, youth, civic engagement: available data review

The United Kingdom is a diverse country with 13% of its population being non-white, while in England 14,5% of population is non-white. Against this background, London appears to be a super-diverse city, where 37% of inhabitants declare to have been born out of the UK, 45% identify as white British, 12% as white other than British, 21% as Asian and 15% as Black or mixed Black. Altogether, there are members of 301 language groups and 50 ethnic groups with 10,000 or more members (data from 2011 Census). Due to its multiculturalism, viewed in a positive light, Polish people in Ryan's (2016) study say it is easier to be foreign in London than elsewhere in the UK - it is easier to blend in. Polish people in Ryan's research build their identity as 'Polish Londoners'. They also have very local lives, in boroughs and neighbourhoods. (Ryan 2016, 'I feel I am a Londoner' 19.04.2016, Centre of Migration Research, Warsaw).
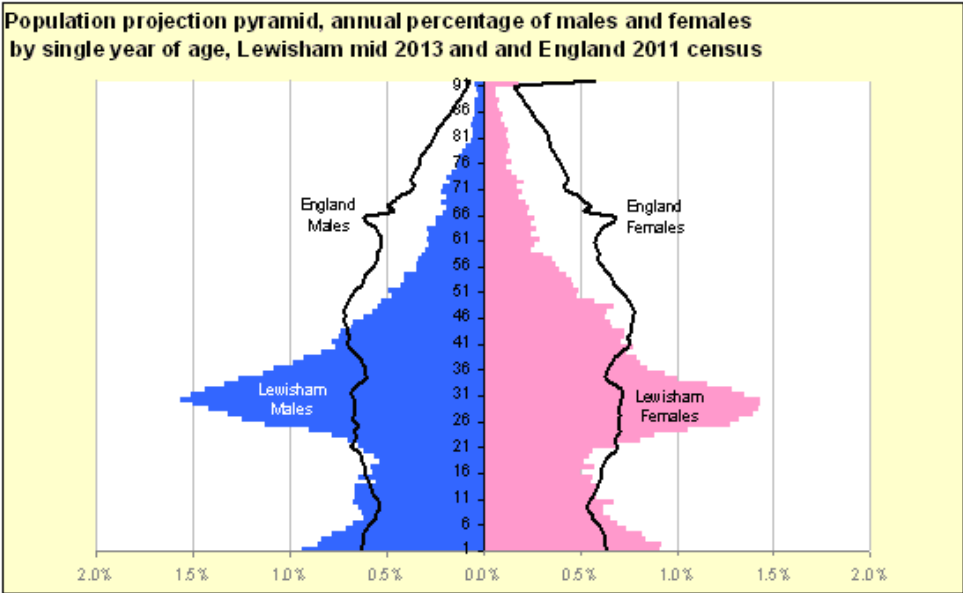
Against this background we will present Lewisham with its Polish minority, based on the available statistical data: censuses, school statistics for the Borough and several local sources of statistics pertaining to economic and social situation of the population. It should be noted that we found the collection of data on the borough contained in 'Lewisham's Joint Strategic Needs Assessment' to be highly useful. Based on our previous (2012) and current visits (2016) we will also describe the Young Mayor Programme, a successful inclusive participatory practice operating in the borough, which, however, has not so far attracted Polish participants.

London Borough of Lewisham

The Lewisham Borough, part of the so-called inner London, is located on the south side of the River Thames, in south-eastern London, adjacent to Greenwich. It has 286,000 inhabitants and eighteen electoral and statistical wards.

In terms of demography, London Borough of Lewisham is a relatively young borough, with ¼ of the population under 19 years of age. The average age of a Lewisham inhabitant is 35[7]. The biggest difference in the distribution of age groups in comparison to the population of England is observed for people between 21 and 41 years of age, who form a bigger share of the Borough's population compared to their percentage in the whole English population. To a lesser degree it is also valid for children aged 16 and younger.
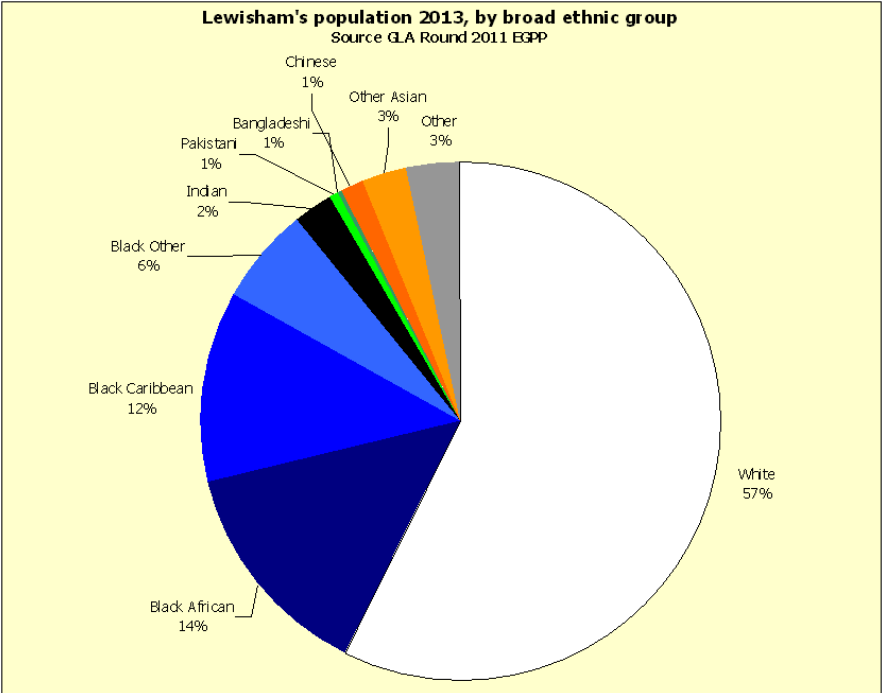
Illustration 1. Population pyramid of Lewisham

Source: 2011 census, http://localstats.co.uk/census-demographics/england/london/lewisham

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[7] 2011 census, http://localstats.co.uk/census-demographics/england/london/lewisham
[8] http://www.lewishamjsna.org.uk/a-profile-of-lewisham/demography

Ethnic composition of Lewisham

London Borough of Lewisham is a very diverse borough, 15th most ethnically diverse local authority in the United Kingdom, with 40% of the population from Black and Ethnic Minority background and over 170 languages spoken[9]. As can be seen below (Illustration 2), in terms of broad ethnic groups, the most prominent groupings are Black Caribbean, Black African and Black Other.

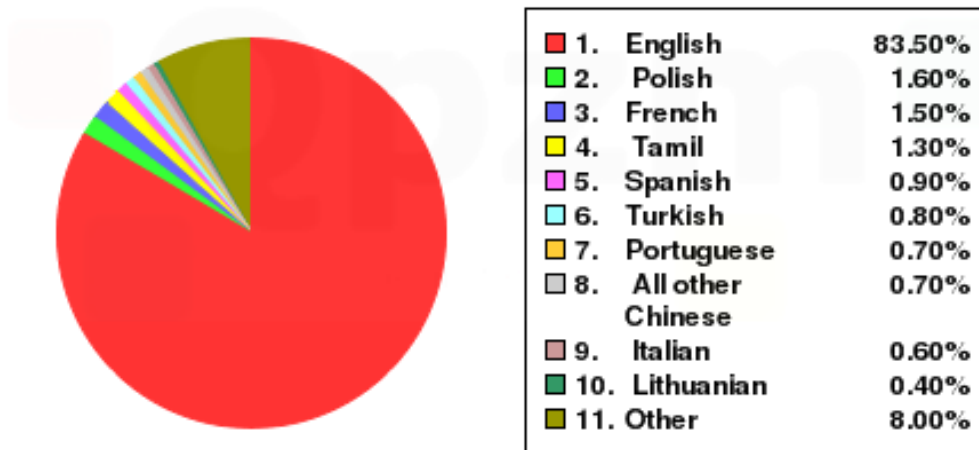Illustration 2. Lewisham population by broad ethnic groups

Source: http://www.lewishamjsna.org.uk/a-profile-of-lewisham/social-and-environmental-context/ethnicity

In terms of incidence of particular national groups, Poles constitute the third most numerous minority group in Lewisham. In 2011 there were 4347 Poles living there, which represents 1.6% of the borough population. Also, Polish was the second most frequently spoken language in the borough (Illustration 3):

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[9] http://www.lewishamjsna.org.uk/a-profile-of-lewisham/social-and-environmental-context/ethnicity

Illustration 3. National groups in Lewisham

1.	English	83.50%
2.	Polish	1.60%
3.	French	1.50%
4.	Tamil	1.30%
5.	Spanish	0.90%
6.	Turkish	0.80%
7.	Portuguese	0.70%
8.	All other Chinese	0.70%
9.	Italian	0.60%
10.	Lithuanian	0.40%
11.	Other	8.00%

Source: http://localstats.co.uk/census-demographics/england/london/lewisham

There are, however, wards with a higher concentration of Polish speakers: Sydenham (2,8%), Ladywell (2,6%), Lewisham Central (2,4%) and Crofton Park (2%).[10]

Lewisham has also been experiencing an ongoing immigration influx, which can be seen when we look at the data of the Department for Work and Pensions: in 2011 8,020 non-UK nationals resident in Lewisham were issued with new National Insurance numbers[11]. We may estimate that around half of those were issued to Polish nationals as Garapich (2008) quotes 3,500 NINos issued to Poles in Lewisham from 2004 to 2006/2007.

Social and economic status of Lewisham inhabitants

London Borough of Lewisham is an area where the poverty and crime rates are higher than in the whole of London, a sort of underprivileged borough within 'inner London.' Wages here are low (almost a quarter of the jobs earn wages below the wage sufficient to make a living in London, the so-called London Living Wage), with a large share of students eligible for free meals (Illustration 4):

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[10] http://lewisham-central.localstats.co.uk/census-demographics/england/london/lewisham/lewisham-central
[11] http://www.lewishamjsna.org.uk/a-profile-of-lewisham/demography/migration

Illustration 4. Basic social data on Lewisham population

		Lewisham	Inner London	London	LB rank (1 is worst)
Poverty and low income benefits					
1	Child poverty rate	34%	46%	37%	12
2	Out-of-work benefit recipients	11.7%	10.4%	9.3%	4
3	Children in working families receiving tax credits	32%	31%	30%	10
4	Average annual cut in Council Tax Support	£144	£142	£177	18
5	Private rent housing benefit claims	32%	20%	28%	12
Inequality					
6	80:20 pay ratio	2.6	2.9	2.9	12
7	Benefit polarisation	34%	-	-	30
Work and low pay					
8	Unemployment	6.8%	6.6%	6.4%	10
9	Low paid residents	20%	19%	21%	16
10	Low paid jobs	23%	13%	17%	15
Housing					
11	Rent/Earnings ratio	55%	70%	63%	24
12	Proportion of new homes 'affordable'	29%	26%	28%	18
13	Landlord eviction rate	18.8	10.9	15.7	10
14	Overcrowded households	12%	14%	11%	13
Homelessness					
15	Homelessness acceptances	5.9	5.3	4.9	9
16	Households in temporary accommodation	13.2	15.3	13.6	16
17	Out of borough homeless placements	23%	40%	32%	22
Education					
18	Low GCSE attainment of free school meal pupils	63%	50%	54%	3
19	19 year olds lacking qualifications	44%	38%	36%	3
Health					
20	Adult limiting illness or disability	12%	11%	11%	10
21	Male life expectancy	78.7	-	80.0	8
22	Childhood obesity	24%	-	22%	11
23	Underage pregnancy	6.6	5	4.8	3

Source: http://www.londonspovertyprofile.org.uk/indicators/boroughs/lewisham/
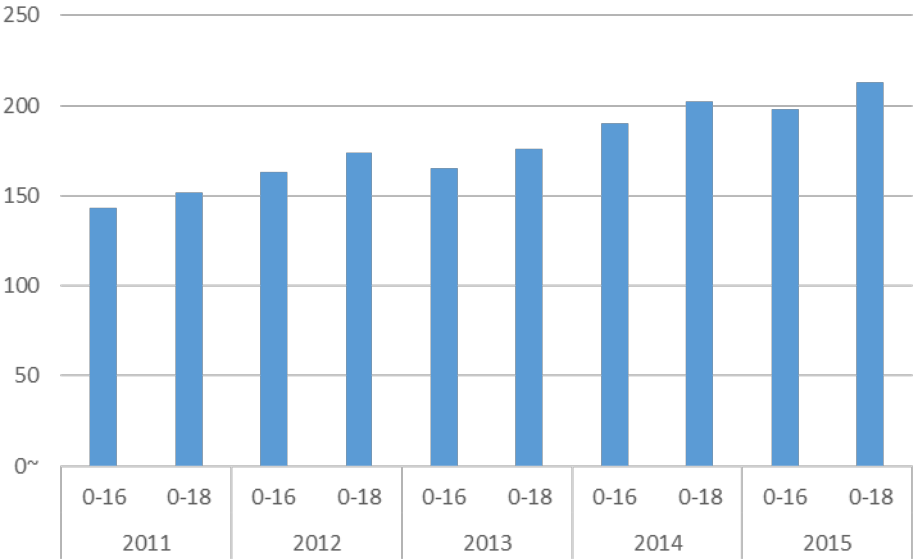
Lewisham youth – school populations, Poles at school and participatory initiatives
In 2008/2009 there were over 35,000 children in Lewisham schools, most of them also inhabitants of the borough, though less so in secondary schools[12]. 61% of the school population were from Black and Ethnic Minority groups and the proportion was higher than in total population because of the larger incidence of younger age groups.

Young Polish people account for one third of the EU youth residing in the UK, according to the estimates in Annual Population Survey (2015). Their number has been growing steadily over recent years, currently amounting to 213 thousands of people aged 0-18 (Illustration 5).

[12] http://www.lewishamjsna.org.uk/a-profile-of-lewisham/social-and-environmental-context/ethnicity

Illustration 5. Polish nationality residents in the UK in thousands (APS)

We also notice a similar steady rise in the number of Polish speaking pupils in Lewisham state schools - currently 662 young people (Illustration 6).

Illustration 6. Polish speaking pupils in Lewisham state schools
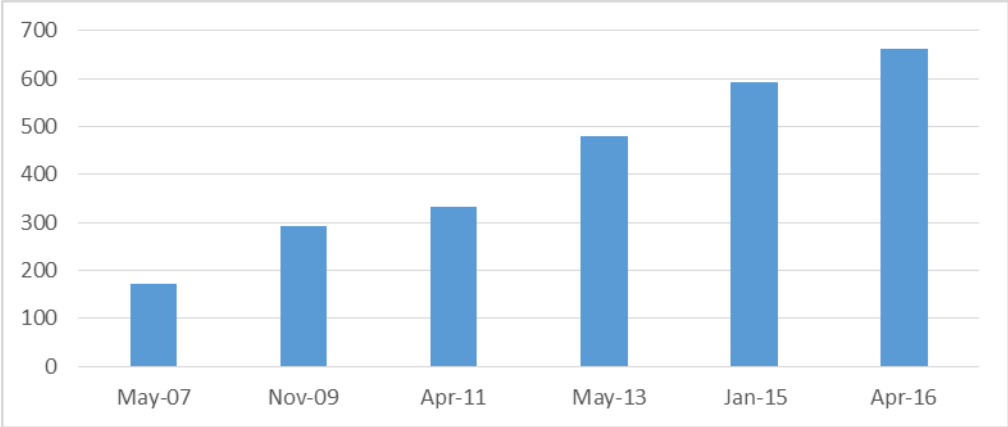
Source: own elaboration based on data by the courtesy of the Southwark Borough

The spatial distribution of the Polish speakers in Lewisham schools was as follows, with highest numbers in schools located in Perry Vale, Crofton Park and Lewisham Central wards (Illustration 7):

Illustration 7. Polish speakers in Lewisham schools
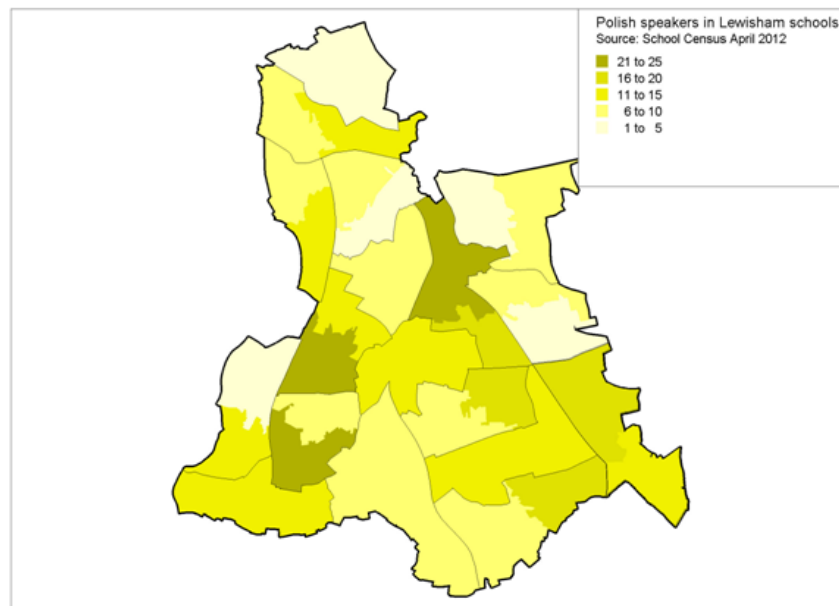
According to the School Census (2012) there is a concentration of Polish speakers in Lewisham schools, especially in Lewisham Central, Crofton Park and Perry Vale Ward.[13]

In the borough, a lot of participative social projects are organised, such as the Deptford regeneration plan (http://www.lewisham.gov.uk/inmyarea/regeneration/deptford/deptford-centre/Pages/default.aspx). It is also in this very borough that we see some of the most innovative, popular and successful projects empowering young people in the UK, encouraging them to co-decide on matters of local and urban areas, mainly in the framework of the programme 'Young Mayor' (http://www.b-involved.org.uk/young-mayor), which currently has been operating in this borough for as long as eleven years (the longest in the UK) (Kordasiewicz 2013).

The Young Mayor programme in Lewisham borough consists in annual elections of a youth representative, who acts in an advisory capacity with the Mayor. Every year in September the election campaign takes place and the candidates running for office receive financial funds, training and material support from the Lewisham Borough Authority. In October, the elections are organized, with votes cast in schools and at post offices (for those young people who do not attend any school). Every year, around half of all young people from the borough cast their ballots. The person who receives the most votes becomes the Young Mayor of the borough of Lewisham, the second person in order is appointed Deputy Mayor. The two next contenders become Members of the Youth Representation from Lewisham in the UK Youth Parliament (http://www.ukyouthparliament.org.uk). Other candidates are invited to join a group of young counsellors (*young advisers*) in the borough of Lewisham.

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[13] http://www.lewishamjsna.org.uk/a-profile-of-lewisham/social-and-environmental-context/languages-spoken-in-schools/how-the-Main-Languages-are-distributed-in-lewisham-schools

For example, 21 persons aged 13 to 16 ran for young mayor in 2012. They were students of different Lewisham schools – including 14 girls and 19 candidates describing themselves as ''black''. 52% of school population voted in the elections. The young mayor Jamel Higgins won 1931 votes, the young deputy mayor Kojo Kankam – 1857 votes. In 2014 the turnout was 53% (as we were informed by Kalbir Shukra, conducting the evaluation of the project on behalf of the University of London). In 2016 (the 13th year consecutive year when the young mayor elections were held), which is when we were involved in the election as part of this project, there were 31 candidates, including 17 girls[14]. Two female candidates were elected young mayor, Kayla Sh'ay (1228 votes), and deputy young mayor, Tekisha Henry (1214 votes), the situation seen only once in 2006/7. 8943 valid votes were cast, which means the election turnout was 49%[15]. As can be seen from the composition of candidate lists, as well as those elected for the posts, ''the young mayor'' programme does not have an exclusionary effect on the minorities.

Candidates aged 13 to 17 (at the time of elections) may sing up in Lewisham town hall by the end of July. To sign up one must fill in a form, present a statement signed by their parent and the school principal (to confirm they have been informed the candidate has signed up), and collect signatures of 50 young people supporting one as the candidate. It is possible to sign up until 14 of September. Candidates can then attend a training course designed to help them organise an election campaign and become acquainted with the work of young mayor. Subsequently, candidates formulate their election programmes and an intensive election campaign ensues, organised by the candidates and their election campaigners. The elections are held around 10 October in all the schools in the district. Eligible voters are between 11 and 17 years old and they can indicate their candidate of the first and second choice. The results are announced on the next day. Thus a team is constituted that consists of the young mayor, his or her deputy and a group of counsellors (the counsellor group also welcomes people who have not been candidates).

The young counsellors as well as the whole "young mayor" programme is permanently taken care of by Malcolm Ball and Katy Brown, borough officials employed as "young mayor advisors". Young mayors are also advised on a regular basis by at least three youth workers, who are social workers specialising in youth matters. Young counsellors meet every week on Monday afternoons. During the meetings, refreshments are offered to suit young people's tastes, which brings a certain amount of informality to these meetings. This informality is crucial for effective work with young people, as the borough officials asserted. ''The young mayor'' programme has its own graphics (a logo, as well as special colours on information materials); additionally, twice a year a magazine is issued to report on youth matters in Lewisham. Information about the programme and the platform for information exchange about youth projects carried out in the district is to be found at ://www.b-involved.org.uk.

Budget decisions on how to spend 30,000 pounds (until 2014, currently it's 25,000) are made after carrying out workshops at schools on the needs and ideas of young people.

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[14] https://www.lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/youngmayor/Pages/Young-Mayor-candidates-2016.aspx
[15]
https://www.lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/elections/results/Documents/ElectionsResultsForYoungMayorofLewisham2016.pdf

While taking such decisions, the young mayor is also guided by the results of a regularly organised panel of young citizens – a tool allowing to consult the district matters with all the youth in Lewisham, represented by 800 randomly selected people. All the budget decisions must be consulted with the young counsellors. For example, in 2012 projects were voted for a and carried out in several categories, such as: roller-skating, extending the range of sports activities in the local sports centres, healthy eating and mental well-being, or commemorating successes of young people from Lewisham (hall of fame). As of 2016, part of the budget is allocated to the funding of 4-5 bottom-up initiatives of around 2000 GBP each (so called young people's funding pot), so it is also a form of re-granting the public funding to the young people[16].

During our study visit in 2012[17] we took part in one weekly meeting, attended by a lady counsellor for the district of Lewisham. She came to talk to young counsellors about cuts in the police planned by the Greater London authorities and encourage them to take part in public meetings held in the city to discuss this issue (security issues are the responsibility of London's central authorities). We witnessed her conversation with young people, during which she asked ''The police budget cuts suggested by the authorities mean there will be fewer police stations opened 24/7, but more policemen and policewomen patrolling the area. What is your opinion on this?''. One of the questions asked by the young people was whether the budget cuts will lead to job cuts in police and what the proportion of cuts in the different districts was, remarking that cuts in Lewisham are often proportionally larger than in other districts. The high standards of the discussion and respect for young people's opinions created a genuine space for them to express their views. On the other hand, young people's questions showed they were well briefed about and sincerely committed to local matters. The meeting was concluded by the counsellor's encouraging young people, and their preliminary promise to jointly ask the questions they had developed during consultation meetings about cost-cutting in the police.

In 2016 we took part in 6 youth counsellor meetings, which attracted 10 to 20 people, mostly teenagers (the youngest participants was a 9-year-old boy, who came to the meetings accompanied by his mother). The meetings were facilitated by one to two young people who ensured all participants were given the opportunity to speak out, both young advisors and guests. Malcolm Ball and Kathy Brown were always present, sometimes concluding the meetings by offering information on the following week's activities. Sometimes we just listened, several times we engaged in discussions about young advisors' perceptions of post-Brexit social reality, about the situation of Polish students; we also got a lot of ideas and insights for the LPC project. Together with Malcolm Ball we also invited young advisors to visit the Lewisham Polish Centre and we succeeded in attracting young advisors, including deputy young mayor, to attend the Polish Open Day and the youth workshops.

Among other issues discussed in 2016, there were: consultations on anti-knife crime social campaign (serious youth violence campaign)[18], towards which young people provided a critical feedback and suggestions how to make it less patronising; Lewisham young mayor

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[16] http://www.b-involved.org/2016/10/11/young-peoples-funding-pot/

[17] Within the framework of the project "Youth has impact" http://poledialogu.org.pl/mlodziez-ma-wplyw/.

[18] In the light of events described here http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3522498/Two-boys-aged-15-16-arrested-teenage-rapper-stabbed-death-pool-blood-steps-700-000-south-London-townhouse.html

budget; a programme involving theatre participation of young people[19]; Lewisham local card[20]; and numerous events in Lewisham and London, such as the Lewisham interfaith walk for peace, Special Education Needs Forum, Serious Youth Violence Seminar, or a football tournament. Some of the issues were raised by visitors – chancellors, youth workers, and members of charities. For every event or meeting proposed an appointment was made with one of the adult advisors to meet beforehand and go to the meeting together with young people. There was always a friendly informal atmosphere, hot and cold drinks and some sweets were provided; at the same time the discussions were very serious and the issues approached with dedication and interest.

In Great Britain, a model of youth participation which is more common than the model of the young mayor is the youth district council (similar to youth district councils operating in Poland). We were wondering whether a collective body was not enough to represent youth's interests. Young people from Lewisham listed the following benefits of using the system of direct voting for the prospective young mayor. First of all, both for the candidates and for the voters it means they are more involved in the election process. There is more at stake when voting for a mayor and running for mayor than when running for youth council. In 2012, Jamel Higgins told us that his position commands some amount of respect both in the city hall and outside. Secondly, it is easier to get to know one person, the communication lines are easier and clearer. Thirdly, as is also attested by the practices described above, ''the young mayor'' in Lewisham has preserved its collective character due to the continued existence of a group of counsellors and a civic youth panel.

The young mayor programme proved to be a very valuable partner both as a source of insights on the Lewisham social reality in general and on Polish young people in the borough, and as a soruce of participants for our initiatives, which we hope will be first bridges to allow further collaboration within the community (actions described here: http://obmf.pl/projekty/Projekt_POL2016/final%20report.pdf).

Conclusions

In Lewisham, a very diverse and vibrant borough, we can directly observe local manifestations of all the issues important for Polish immigration as a whole: migrant place making, migrant institutions development, growing internal differentiation of the community, changing relations with other ethnic groups and mainstream society. The data and literature review lead us to the conclusion that a) we still lack in-depth knowledge of the life of (young) Poles in the borough, so further studies are needed, b) there are some practical lessons we can learn from the state-of-the-art in terms of how to approach our participants and c) there is a particular need for a greater emphasis on class diversity in research of Polish migrants.

Regarding the second point, the lessons drawn from previous research, we applied a broad concept of participation and studied it vis-à-vis other aspects of Poles' life in Lewisham. We used schools and education as one of the venues and topics in our research, which helped us approach more young Polish people as well as understand better the attitudes of migrant parents. We partnered with an already established and successful young mayor programme, with which we already were in touch from a previous project. This helped us gain

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[19] https://www.mousetrap.org.uk/
[20] https://www.lewishamlocal.org.uk

more insights on Polish young people as they are perceived by their active peers of various ethnicities and build first bridges between young advisors and the Lewisham Polish Centre. Finally, we were aware of the (under-researched) diversity of Polish migrants and set out to include different generations, gender, labour market and education status, and finally, representatives of different social classes.

Regarding the last point, we rely on an anthropological approach to the social class. Social class is not only an issue related to the position on the labour market (Wright 1997), but also to the cultural dimensions of the strategy of social distinction from others (Bourdieu 1984). As we gather from the interviews carried out so far, transformations of Polish community class composition are intermeshed with the processes of migrant institution evolution. The first wave of Polish migrants created upper-class institutions. The lower-middle class and working-class appeared after Poland joined the EU. Since then, the class relations between the upper, middle and working class have been different (conflict, domination, distinction, separation, cooperation). Social class matters but does it matter more than gender, age, race or ethnicity? We are not sure. But the mere existence of those other divisions (generational, gender, racial) prompted us to reach for Bourdieu's tools of the intersectional analysis methodology. In this sense, the attitude toward particular race, religion, culture, gender or sexual orientation may also have class connotations. All those issues are the subject of our LPC Research Report, which is a continuation of the text presented above (the final report from the project is available here: http://obmf.pl/projekty/Projekt_POL2016/final%20report.pdf).

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Annexes

Annex 1. Polish press and websites in the UK content analysis

One of the popular Polish newspapers in Lewisham is 'Anonse', widely available in the local Polish shops. It is a free bi-weekly magazine for the Polish community in London, launched in 2012. 'The aim of the Anonse is to provide the Polish community with access to free and low cost adds' (http://www.appsbuilder.eu/portfolio/anonse-uk/). It is available in all major cities of the UK. Advertisements constitute up to 90% of the content (basically only in Polish). As for the adverts themselves, the topic areas are dominated by the ads of British service companies (industries: insurance, financial, legal, medical, transport, training), often containing contact details of their Polish-speaking representatives. In addition, the newspaper contains information about cultural events and classifieds (work, rental housing, social, etc.).

Besides adverts, each issue contains about 100 short articles and several dozen crosswords. The articles mostly concern crime and internal situation in the UK (in May 2016 the content was dominated by the information on Brexit, the terrorist threat, immigrants, the election of the Mayor of London), changes in UK regulations, local information, tabloid sensations about the life of celebrities and what appears to be randomly selected information on the UK and the world. There is a lot of articles on the Polish diaspora in the UK.

A content analysis (the subject and the number of adverts) confirms that a powerful 'immigration industry' has recently developed in the UK. It includes large companies serving the Poles who do not speak English and have no knowledge of the British realities, its legal system and regulations. More on this topic has been written M. Garapich (2013), and it also indicates that the emergence of this market is one of the obstacles in the development of civil society institutions and self-organization.

Information and articles constituting the 'content' of the 'Anonse' focus on entertainment and tabloid topics important for the Polish community. The way in which they

are presented creates an impression that all cultural stereotypes dominant in the Polish community in the UK are indeed in use. An analysis of the May 2016 issue showed that approx. 12% of the content was related to the threat of terrorism and a wave of refugees. Some of them are used in racist context. Another very popular subject at the time the analysis was conducted was the upcoming referendum on the UK's exit from the EU.

Annex 2. Polish Lewisham Map

Illustration 8. Polish Lewisham map
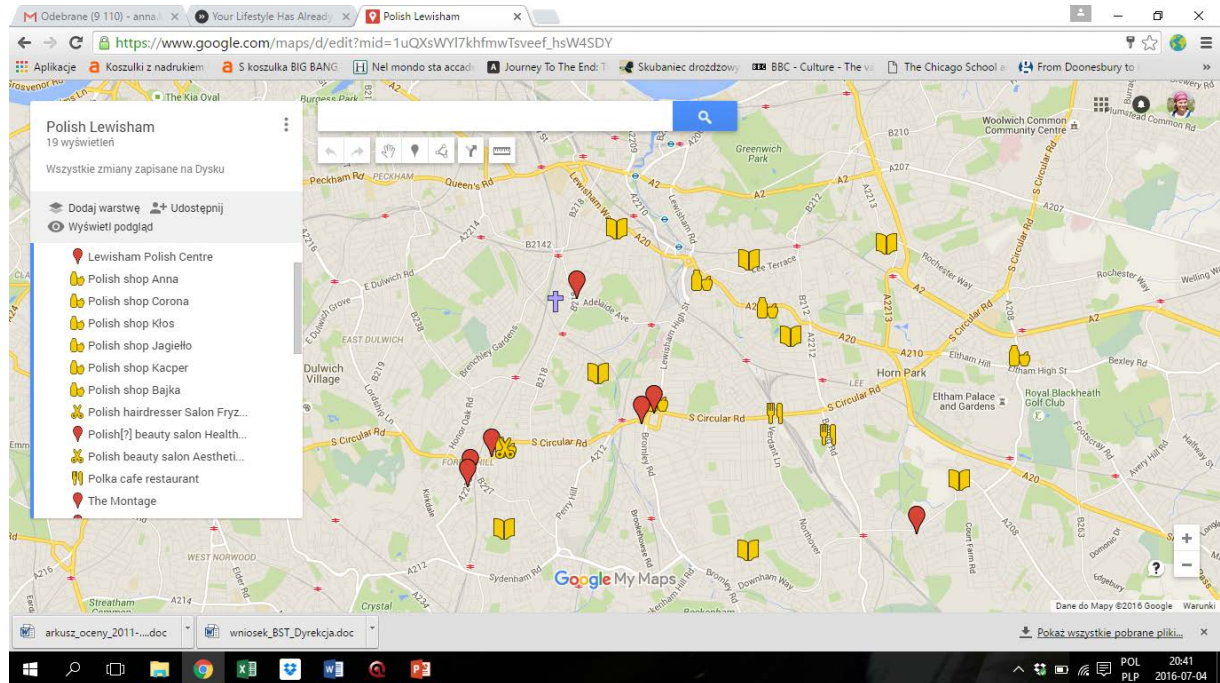
Available at:
https://drive.google.com/open?id=1uQXsWYl7khfmwTsveef_hsW4SDY&usp=sharing