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**Socio-linguistic Experience of Immigration. Identity Negotiation
and Cross-Linguistic Influences: a Comparative Analysis of Two
Polish Communities in Austria and Ireland.**

A Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

2012

University of Dublin

Trinity College

Center for Language and Communication Studies

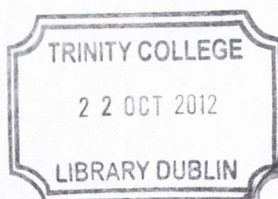
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Summary of the thesis

The thesis was written under the title of ‘Socio-linguistic Experience of Immigration. Identity Negotiation and Cross-Linguistic Influences: a Comparative Analysis of Two Polish Communities in Austria and Ireland.

The focus of the thesis is a comparative analysis of different sociological and linguistic aspects of Polish immigration in Ireland and Austria.

When considering the sociological dimension of Polish immigration in the two host countries four hypotheses were formulated to guide our research. They related to the degree of openness of the host communities to immigration of the new comers; attitudes of Poles to other Poles and the hosts depending on the socio-political circumstances; attachment to the homeland and the host country; attachment to the native and target language.

Regarding the linguistic analysis of the project, we investigated various cases of cross-linguistic influences from the perspective of the native language of the participants. We examined whether (and how) the English and German language affect the production of Polish by our subjects on a number of levels, including syntax, phonology and the lexicon. We looked, for example, for cases of language transfer from the target language into the native language of the participants.

We conclude with a summary of our findings and a tabular presentation of data. We also provide a description of other, sometimes unexpected, factors which were identified during the analysis. Finally we suggest ideas and implications for future research on topics related to Polish immigration in Ireland and Austria.

The research methods we used for examining both dimensions included recorded sociological interviews with the participants, and a questionnaire. The researcher met each participant only once and immediately coded all data which she obtained. The participants were instructed not to provide any identifying information about themselves or any other people they referred to during the interviews.

Perhaps surprisingly, our findings did not confirm all our hypotheses. On the other hand, we identified other interesting phenomena related to problems we were investigating, such as stereotyping one’s own ethnic group. This was confirmed to have taken place in the two host countries.

Generally, however, we discovered that our participants were rather happy in the two receiving countries regardless of various problems they encountered like, for example, racist comments, or distance on the part of hosts towards them, Eastern Europeans.

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I would like to thank my Supervisor, Professor David Singleton for his time, support and patience. I also would like to thank Dr Jeffrey Kallen, Dr John Harris, and Dr Brian Nolan for their support and advice any time I needed help. Working with you was not only a valuable academic experience, but also pleasure.

Special thanks go to my friends from the Polish Diaspora Project: Agnieszka, Romana, Ewelina, and Niamh.

I also thank my family and friends for everything they have done for me.

I thank Piotr who inspires me. God bless you. I smile anytime I think of you!

Finally, I dedicate my work to the city where my heart will always be no matter where I go or live – Warsaw.

Table of Contents:

Chapter One:

1.1. Introduction 11

1.2. Why is the study socio-linguistic? Rationale for the cross-linguistic analysis 12

1.3. The initial hypotheses..... 13

1.4. Elaboration on the hypotheses..... 15

1.4.1. First hypothesis 15

1.4.1.1. Explanation and applicability..... 15

1.4.2. The Second Hypothesis 16

1.4.2.1. Explanation and applicability..... 16

1.4.3. The third hypothesis 17

1.4.3.1. Explanation and applicability..... 17

1.4.4. The fourth hypothesis..... 18

1.4.4.1. Explanation and applicability..... 18

1.5. The Structure of the thesis..... 19

Chapter Two: Acculturation and Integration Patterns in Immigrant Contexts.

Existing Approaches 21

2.1. Introduction 21

2.2. Acculturation Models. Why study them? 21

2.2.1. John Schumann’s Model of Acculturation..... 22

2.2.2. Amado M.Padilla’s Model of Acculturation..... 23

2.2.3. Young Kim’s Model of Acculturation 25

2.2.4. John Berry’s Model of Acculturation..... 26

2.3. The Cross-Cultural Adaptation Model of Y.Y. Kim. A New Approach..... 29

2.3.1. Kim’s Assumptions 29

2.3.2. Explanation and Elaboration 30

2.3.2.1. The Structue of the Cross-Cultural Adaptation..... 32

2.4. Concluding Remarks 35

Chapter Three: Multiculturalism, Diaspora and Cross-Cultural Adaptation 36

3.1. Introduction to the Study of Cross-Cultural Influences 36

3.2. What do we mean by *Diaspora*? The Experience of Cross-Cultural Adaptation 37

3.2.1. Integration of Immigrants – Does the Host Society allow them to integrate? 41

3.2.2. The role of stress in the integration process..... 46

3.3. Recent Research on Language Maintenance among immigrants..... 53

3.4. Polish Diasporas in Ireland and Austria 57

3.4.1. Ghetto-Formation? 57

3.4.1.1. Syntactic transfer.....	58
3.4.1.2. Semantic transfer.....	59
3.4.1.3. Lexical transfer.....	60
3.4.1.4. Phonetic and phonological transfer	61
3.4.2. Code-switching and code-mixing.....	62
3.5. Concluding Remarks	64

Chapter Four: The Austrian and Irish Identities. Perspectives on Immigration Issues.....	64
4.1. Introduction	64
4.2. The Austrian Perspective	65
4.2.1. Attitudes to the Nazi Past – Austria as the Victim?	65
4.2.2. Austria’s Role in East-West Relations during the Cold War	70
4.2.3. Austria’s Freedom Party (FPÖ).....	71
4.2.4. Selected Austrian legislation.....	74
4.3. The Irish Perspective.....	78
4.3.1. Immigrant Policies in Ireland	78
4.3.2. Irish Identity Negotiation and Attitudes – What it means to be Irish?.....	82
4.3.3. Social Stratification of Polish Immigrants: Attitudes towards the Host Society and their Impact on the Adaptation Process	90
4.4. Concluding Remarks	94

Chapter Five: Methodological Considerations.....	95
5.1. Introduction	95
5.2. Where to begin?	95
5.2.1. The topic.....	95
5.2.2. The methodology – research tools used for data collection	96
5.2.3. Ethics.....	99
5.3. Data outcomes sought	101
5.4. What we wanted to know about our Participants?	103
5.5. Methods of Data Analysis in Sociological Research	104
5.5.1. Data obtained from Questionnaires.....	104
5.5.2. Data Collected from the Interviews	105
5.6. Implications for future research	109

Chapter Six: Sociological profiles of the Polish immigrant communities in Austria and Ireland as seen from their own perspectives	110
6.1. Introduction	110

6.2. The project participants112

6.2.1. Length of stay113

6.2.2. Reasons for leaving Poland113

6.2.3. Why Austria?..... 114

6.2.4. Why Ireland? 117

6.3. Relations with, and attitudes towards, the homeland118

6.3.1. Contacts with Poland and interests in Polish matters.....119

6.3.2. What is Poland associated with conceptually? 123

6.3.3. Poles’ perceptions of, and attitudes towards, themselves as Poles125

6.3.4. Can we talk of ‘Poles here (in Austria/Ireland)’ and ‘Poles there (in Poland)? 128

6.4. Attitudes towards other Poles.....132

6.4.1. Attribution132

6.4.2. Attitude formation133

6.4.3. How does this all translate to real immigrant situations?..... 137

6.4.3.1. Poles in Austria137

6.4.3.2. Poles in Ireland.....143

6.4.3.3. Tabular summary of the problems discussed in sections 6.4.3.-6.4.3.2148

6.5. The host countries and their native citizens in the eyes of Poles.

Perceptions of Austria/Ireland and Austrians/Irish by Poles149

6.5.1. Changes in Poland’s image and perceived attitudes of Austrians towards
the Polish language after Poland’s accession to the European Union.....149

6.5.2. Do Poles consider themselves a part of Austrian society? Are they perceived
to be a part of the majority society by Austrians? 152

6.5.3. Do Poles have opportunities for educational and professional development in
Austria as Austrian people do?..... 154

6.5.4. Austrians’ attitudes, as perceived by Poles, to their own country156

6.5.5. Are Austrians open to integration of Poles into their society? 158

6.5.6. What is Austria associated with?160

6.5.7. Changes in Poland’s image and perceived attitudes of Irish towards the Polish
language after Poland’s accession to the European Union160

6.5.8. Do Poles consider themselves as part of the Irish society? Are they perceived
to be a part of the majority society by the Irish? 164

6.5.9. Do Poles have a chance for educational and professional development in Ireland
as Irish people do?..... 165

6.5.10. Attitudes of Irish people, as perceived by Poles, to their own country167

6.5.11. Are Irish people open to integration of Poles into their society? 170

6.5.12. What is Ireland associated with? 172

6.6. Integration of Poles into the host communities in Austria and Ireland. Do Poles
seem to integrate with the majority societies?. 173

6.6.1. The case of Poles in Austria173

6.6.1.1. Do Poles integrate with Austrians? 173

6.6.1.2. May the status of Poles as an immigrant group influence lives of individual
Poles? 175

6.6.2. The case of Poles in Ireland	177
6.6.2.1. Do Poles integrate with Irish people?.....	177
6.6.2.2. May the status of Poles as an immigrant group influence lives of individual Poles?	180
6.7. Tabular recapitulation of data in chapter six	181
6.7.1. The participants	182
6.7.2. Reasons for leaving Poland	182
6.7.3. Were other countries also taken into consideration as prospective destinations? ...	183
6.7.4. Citizenship.....	185
6.7.5. Associations with Poland	186
6.7.6. Contacts with Poland and Poles. Involvement in Polish institutions in the host countries	187
6.7.7. Poland and Poles in the European Union social structures	189
6.7.8. Poles' relations with other Poles in Austria and Ireland	192
6.7.9. Participants' perceived place in the host societies	194
6.8. Summary	195
Chapter Seven: Analysis of cases of cross-linguistic phenomena in the participants' speech	196
7.1. Points of analysis.....	197
7.1.1. Style and syntactic structures	197
7.1.2. Foreign lexical items in the participants' speech	197
7.1.3. Grammar Cases	198
7.1.4. Language as an identity marker	198
7.2. General syntactic rules of relevant Polish, German and English sentence Structures.....	198
7.2.1. The Polish language	198
7.2.1.1. Affirmative Clauses.....	198
7.2.1.2. Negation	199
7.2.1.3. Relative clauses	200
7.2.2. The German language	200
7.2.2.1. Affirmative Clauses.....	200
7.2.2.2. Negation	201
7.2.2.3. Relative clauses	202
7.3. Grammatical Cases.....	202
7.3.1. Polish.....	202
7.3.2. German	203
7.4. Analysis of the participants' speech.....	203
7.4.1. Poles born in Austria	203
7.4.1.1. Selected examples and explanation.....	205
7.4.1.2. The 1980s Polish immigrants to Austria.....	214
7.4.1.2.1. Syntactic structures	214

7.4.1.2.2. Selected examples and explanation.....214

7.4.1.3. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Austria.....218

7.4.1.3.1. Syntactic structures218

7.4.1.3.2. Examples and explanation.....218

7.4.1.4. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Ireland221

7.4.1.4.1. Syntactic structures221

7.4.1.4.2. Examples and explanation.....222

7.4.2. Foreign lexical items in the participants’ speech224

7.4.2.1. The 1980’s Polish immigrants to Austria.....226

7.4.2.2. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Austria.....228

7.6.2.3. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Ireland228

7.4.3. Use of grammatical cases230

7.4.3.1. Poles born in Austria230

7.4.3.2. The 1980’s Polish immigrants to Austria.....233

7.4.3.3. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Austria.....235

7.4.3.4. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Ireland235

7.4.4. Foreign accents in speech.....236

7.4.4.1. Poles born in Austria236

7.4.4.2. The 1980’s Polish immigrants to Austria.....236

7.4.4.3. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Austria.....237

7.4.4.4. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Ireland237

7.4.5. Language as an identity marker237

7.4.5.1. Poles born in Austria237

7.4.5.2. The 1980’s Polish immigrants to Austria.....238

7.4.5.3. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Austria.....239

7.4.5.4. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Ireland239

7.5. Tabular presentation of collected data239

7.5.1. Poles born in Austria240

7.5.2. The 1980’s Polish immigrants to Austria.....240

7.5.3. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Austria.....241

7.5.4. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Ireland241

7.6. Concluding remarks242

Chapter Eight: Discussion and Conclusions244

8.1. Summary of the purposes of the Project244

8.2. What were our findings? – The results of the analysis.....246

8.2.1. The First Hypothesis246

8.2.2. The second hypothesis248

8.2.3. The third hypothesis249

8.2.4. Fourth hypothesis250

8.3. Summary of the findings from Chapters Six and Seven251

8.4. Other aspects identified in the analysis255

8.4.1. Stereotyping of one's own ethnic group	255
8.5.2. Attachment (or its lack) to one's Polish heritage is not reflected in the frequency of travels to Poland or active engagement in Polish life	256
8.4.3. Our subjects seemed to participate in and integrate with the host society. At the same time they maintained their own native culture	257
8.4.4. Language is a strong identity marker even among Poles who do not intend to return to Poland	257
8.4.5. The stronger the ethnic identity the better the chances for language survival	258
8.4.6. Language seems to emerge as an issue of identity especially when confronted by other linguistic codes. In other cases, when two or more languages do not compete people do not tend to think about their native language as an important part of their identity	259
8.4.7. Simultaneous acquisition of two languages does not guarantee balanced bilingualism. In bilingual children the official language may becomes the dominant code and in time these individuals may become more fluent in the target language. Poles who were born and raised in Austria speak slightly better German than Polish	259
8.4.8. It depends on the individual's experience(s) what attitudes he/she will have towards the host society and fellow immigrants of his/her own ethnic group, and also other minorities	260
8.5. Final comments	261
8.6. Implications for future research	263
References	264

Chapter One: Introduction to the project and structure of the thesis.

1.1. Introduction

The following study was conducted as part of a much larger Polish Diaspora Project - a joint research project carried out under the auspices of the University of Dublin, Trinity College and University College Dublin. The Polish Diaspora Project was aimed at examining various sociological and linguistic aspects of Polish immigration to Ireland and France.

The study described in this book deals with socio-linguistic issues of Polish immigration to Ireland and Austria. It is a comparative study which seeks to contribute data on Polish immigration in German speaking environments to the socio-linguistic research in general, and the findings of the Polish Diaspora Project in particular. The idea to study the Austrian perspective of the problem alongside a quite popular, at the time, research topic of the Polish immigration to Ireland was partly inspired by the researcher's multinational family background, partly by her interest in the concept of identity – expressed both in an individual understanding of the self and through language, and, finally, by her own experiences of immigration to Ireland and Austria.

While the subject of Polish immigration to Ireland drew much attention and has recently been a popular topic of socio-linguistic research in Ireland, in Austria the situation looks different. In the eighties, Austria welcomed thousands of Polish asylum seekers (among other Eastern Europeans like Czechs and Hungarians) who tried to escape the communist regime. It was in that period when the problem used to be part of the social debate¹. Today, Poles do not attract so much attention in Austria, partly because of the seven-year transition period introduced in May 2004 by the Austrian Government, which prevented a huge wave of Polish immigrants coming to Austria in search for work. In addition, other minorities are much bigger than the Polish community in Austria, therefore the issue of Polish immigration is not a priority in the eyes of institutions dealing with problems related to immigration policies and integration programmes.

¹ Polenhilfe programme in the eighties – a huge project aimed at support of Polish people suffering under the communist regime. Polenhilfe Österreich 1981/85, Österreichische Caritaszentrale, Caritas

What follows, the choice of Austria for a comparative analysis with Ireland provided valuable insights into different dimensions of Polish immigration to Ireland on the one hand, and in a country with which Poland shared long, often very painful, periods of its history on the other. The topic of the post-2004 Polish immigration to Austria has not been researched in much detail. In addition, the linguistic dimension of Polish immigration to Austria does not figure as a popular subject either. While there are vibrant Polish institutions in Austria like, for instance, the PAN Institute² or Polish School in Vienna³, we were not able to find any current academic projects dealing directly with issues of cross-linguistic influences between Polish and German among adults. Therefore, we hope that our project will encourage other researchers to conduct similar projects in near future in order to better inform integration and educational programs within the European Union.

1.2 Why is the study socio-linguistic? Rationale for the cross-linguistic analysis.

The nature of the presented study is both sociological and linguistic. While chapter six deals with the sociological dimension of Polish immigration to the two host countries, chapter seven is dedicated to a thorough analysis of language produced by the participants in informal contexts. Therefore, an explanation as to the reasons for such a two-dimensional analysis is necessary at this stage. The idea to keep the two dimensions linked throughout the study was inspired by the complexity, and interrelation, of issues connected with identity negotiation on the one hand, and language understood as a marker of ethnic identity on the other. The researcher believed that focusing solely on either linguistics or sociology would make the study incomplete and partly decontextualized. For example, if language is an important marker of identity, then one would be expected to maintain it in one's family and teach it to one's children. Similarly, if one treated language transfer as evidence of language attrition, one would have to investigate the causes of it, that is, the context(s) where, and when, it occurs. The idea that 'nothing happens without a reason' was often considered and helped to build up a clearer picture, and better understanding, of the linguistic processes we were

² The Polish Academy of Science (Polska Akademia Nauk PAN)

³ Polska Szkoła im. Jana III Sobieskiego przy Ambasadzie Polski. The Jan III Sobieski Polish School at the Embassy of Poland www.szkolapolska.org/

investigating by simply not allowing us to neglect, or ignore, any issue which deserved careful consideration on our part. To give an example, let us look at language as an important feature of many peoples' identities, be it ethnic or social. This concept would be better contextualized when analyzed together with different social processes taking place in the society. See chapter four for a discussion of minority language issues in Austria – some actual examples taken from the social debate regarding immigrants which took place in Austria have been presented there.

Why include a cross-linguistic analysis in the project on immigration? It originates in our conceptual understanding of identity. We considered language as a definite, special marker of identity among Poles – being Polish involves ability to speak the Polish language and communicate in it in everyday aspects of life with other Poles, thus forming a community whose members use one and the same linguistic code distinct from other codes. Losing proficiency in one's native language was considered as a possible evidence of a loss of close connections with the Polish language and community – in either (or, perhaps, both) reality and/or conceptually. With this as our point of departure, we believed that in some cases language transfer could be treated as evidence of language attrition as a result of, at least partial, loss of (ethnic) Polish identity.

The second language acquisition literature offers a wide choice of research on language transfer from the source language into the target language of learners. This seems to have been a very popular direction of the study of cross-linguistic influences. In the present study, we focused on Polish as the native language of our participants. With the idea that language is closely connected to one's (ethnic) identity, we looked at cases when it seemed to have been negatively influenced by the target languages in immigrant contexts: English in the case of participants resident in Ireland and German in the case of those individuals who lived in Austria at the time when the study was conducted.

1.3. The initial hypotheses

The study sought to investigate the relationship between, on the one hand, the concept and (individual) understanding of identity and, on the other, language, language maintenance and

transmission to the next generation of Poles in Austria and Ireland. It was coupled with a comparative analysis of socio-cultural factors determining the environment and immigrants' experience in the host communities.

The four key hypotheses which are described below were formulated on the basis of the candidate's predictions resulting from her own initial fieldwork carried out in Ireland and Austria. That included an analysis of the (then) current socio-political situation of the three countries and immigration policies in Ireland and Austria. Another source of information helpful in the formulation of the hypotheses was a careful study of the historical developments concerning bilateral relations between Poland and Austria on the one hand, and Ireland and Poland on the other. Finally, informal conversations with Poles resident in Austria and Ireland were also held. In that way, both formal and informal contexts were taken into consideration to better inform the study of Polish immigration. Those issues are discussed in detail in following chapters.

The key hypotheses which underlay this study of acculturation among Poles were the following:

- Austria is perceived as less welcoming to Poles than Ireland. Poles are more likely to integrate with the host community in Ireland than in Austria;
- In Austria, Poles divide themselves into different 'immigrant categories': assimilation tendencies are stronger than integration tendencies;
- Poles in Austria are less welcoming to other Poles, have stronger opinions on Polish immigration, and are less concerned about Polish issues;
- Parents' efforts to maintain their native language and culture are stronger in Ireland than in Austria;

It should be noted that it is not only the contemporary environment, but also history that is present in the collective memory which often determines mutual relations of the societies concerned. However, attitudes of Poles in Austria or Ireland today may be different from those that were common ten years ago, and they might still change within the next decades, even though the earlier historical background will always remain the same. Other nations might also behave differently from Poles in similar situations and display, for example, more

or less sympathy towards other members of their own ethnic group. For example, Syed and Burnett (1999) analysed cases of aggressive behavior of Filipino immigrants towards each other in Hawaii, which shows that racism towards one's own ethnic group may occur and take aggressive forms depending on the degree of frustration felt by the already 'established' immigrants. It also suggests that group loyalties may shift depending on particular circumstances. It was interesting to investigate if (and how) Poles understood and saw themselves as a group when they happened to be the majority and how their values changed once they became members of a minority. In order to investigate the group dynamics, social and psychological factors have been considered and incorporated into the interviews.

1.4. Elaboration on the hypotheses

The above hypotheses were initially developed in order to examine acculturation patterns and their impact on language maintenance and transmission among Poles in two different host environments. The subsections that follow seek to provide an elaboration on and explanation of the hypotheses along with their relevance to immigrant contexts examined in the project. These hypotheses were used as our reference during the interviews with the participants.

1.4.1. First hypothesis: Austria is perceived as less welcoming to Poles than Ireland. Poles are more likely to integrate with the host community in Ireland than in Austria

1.4.1.1. Explanation and applicability.

We postulated the presence of a number of factors contributing to the confirmation of this hypothesis:

- The worse (perceived) political and economic status of Poles in Austria than in Ireland which might be the consequence of historical, economic and social developments;
- The greater number of active cultural institutions promoting Poland and Polish culture in Ireland than in Austria, which may reflect the attitudes of present-day Polish immigrants towards their homeland;

- The presence of a thriving Polish press in Ireland, a fact which may relate to the vibrancy and enthusiasm of the Polish community in Ireland as compared with the Polish community in Austria;
- The lack of painful historical experiences associated by Poles with Ireland, a fact which may lead to more emphasis being put on the future than on the re-building of bilateral relations and attitudes.

It was assumed in the study that historical facts in part accounted for the situation of Poles in Austria, as Polish-Austrian political relations were not always friendly. A historical overview of the political and social relations and the situation of the Polish language in Austria from the period of the Tripartite Partition up to the present was focused on. In addition, the way the Austrians and the Irish perceive themselves in local and in global contexts was taken into consideration in the analysis.

1.4.2. The Second Hypothesis: In Austria, Poles divide themselves into different ‘immigrant categories’: assimilation tendencies are stronger than integration tendencies

1.4.2.1. Explanation and applicability

It is assumed that a less welcoming host society will put more pressure on immigrants in both linguistic and social respects, so that the immigrants will tend to struggle for a better image at all costs:

- They might thus manifest unwillingness to associate themselves with the less well-off members of their own ethnic group because of bad associations causing feelings of embarrassment and shame;
- They might also direct anger towards those immigrants who might support and confirm prejudicial sentiments in members of the host community;
- In extreme cases even rejection of other members of one’s own ethnic group might occasion the eventual abandonment of one’s native community and/or language.

This hypothesis is concerned with changes in attitudes towards one's own ethnic group in immigrant contexts when the said group is a minority. Identity negotiation is also in question, the assumption being that individuals undergo a process of 'self-redefinition', either subconscious or forced, and adjustment to the norms imposed by the majority. In these circumstances, especially in the case of Poles in Austria, more intense stress-related reactions were also assumed to take place, given the nature of the historic-political shared experience. Thus, assimilationist rather than integrative tendencies among Poles were expected to be more prevalent in Austria than in Ireland. Again, it was essential in this context that the host societies be taken into account along with immigrants' self-perceptions, identities and attitudes (discussed in the theoretical chapters).

1.4.3. The third hypothesis: Poles in Austria are less welcoming to other Poles, have stronger opinions on Polish immigration, and are less concerned about Polish issues

1.4.3.1. Explanation and applicability

This hypothesis was related to the hypothesis outlined in subsection 1.4.2.1 above. The phenomenon of intra-community hostility among Polish immigrants in Austria might be caused by feelings of shame and embarrassment or consciousness of anti-Polish attitudes caused by the generally low status of Poles in Austria and fear that 'poor quality' immigrants 'in rags' will worsen the situation. Another cause might relate to a determination to fight for a better image in the eyes of Austrians and, consequently, a better social and economic status. Competition among Poles for benefits was expected, especially in the older generation – the first wave of Poles in 1981/2 during the time of Martial Law. To be noted here is the implementation and the impact of the seven-year EU transition period: until May 2011 it was forbidden by law to employ Poles and citizens of other Eastern European countries in public institutions (white collar positions) unless the prospective employer proved to the authorities that a candidate from such a country possessed exceptional skills and qualities which Austrian or other Western European citizens applying for the job did not have. It is likely that this legislation supported prejudicial sentiments among Austrians and portrayed Poles (as well as other Eastern Europeans) as a threat. This restriction not only lowered the status of Poles but

also, in all probability, promoted a low self-image among Poles in Austria. Immigrant policies and the way they shaped the image of certain groups of immigrants were explored in the analysis relating to this hypothesis.

1.4.4. The fourth hypothesis: Parents' efforts to maintain their native language and culture are stronger in Ireland, a host society perceived as more welcoming, than in Austria

1.4.4.1. Explanation and applicability

In a welcoming society, associating with one's own language and culture does not result in immigrants' experiencing prejudice and social rejection on the part of members of the host community. Admitting the importance of one's native language and culture does not occasion feelings of embarrassment and does not result in social isolation. In such circumstances personal attitudes towards one's heritage tend to remain positive and maintenance of one's native language (and the possible effects thereof – for instance, a continuing foreign accent in the L2) does not impact negatively on career prospects nor on participation in the host community's activities. A more welcoming society is likely to offer better chances for the personal and socio-economic development of immigrants by providing them with rights equal to those of the native population and not imposing restrictions that limit immigrants' choices, for instance, in the job market. Opportunities regarding language maintenance and a smooth transition from native to foreign culture are likely to help to soften the impact of cultural differences experienced by immigrants, even if the different cultures in question have overarching similarities – as in the case of those focused on in this study, which are all European and historically Christian. Another interesting issue which was further examined was whether perceived similarities of two communities in contact were shown to exist, as, for example, in the case of Poles and Irish people, where oft-repeated references to similar historical experiences of national martyrdom were believed to contribute to mutual understanding between the two communities.

1.5 The Structure of the thesis

We begin with a theoretical overview of important issues related to immigration before we present our sociological and linguistic data obtained from the participants. The structure of the thesis allows the reader to familiarize him/herself with relevant literature on the one hand and the socio-historical background of the three communities (Polish, Irish and Austrian) on the other. However, the thesis is not a chronicle of historical facts – we chose those aspects of history and culture which we considered necessary to illustrate the immigration contexts that are dealt with in the final chapters of the book.

The thesis comprises of eight chapters. In chapter two, the reader is introduced to the concept of acculturation where a number of existing approaches are explained in detail. The aim of this presentation is to show what attitudes the immigrants may have towards the host society, and how those attitudes may be reflected in particular modes of acculturation like, for example, integration or assimilation.

In chapter three, multiculturalism and various issues related to the cross-cultural adaptation to a new environment are discussed in detail. For example, the role of the host society is presented as a crucial factor in the process of full integration of immigrants into the majority community.

Chapter four deals with Austrian and Irish identity issues - in the case of Austria, attitudes to the Nazi past and their socio-psychological implications, Austria's role as a 'bridge' between the West and East of Europe during the period of the Cold War, controversies connected to the FPÖ party, and the influences of the right-wing political forces on the Austrian society. In the case of Ireland, issues related to identity formation and negotiation are examined. In addition, legal regulations concerning immigration (at the time when the study was conducted) are also investigated.

Chapter five provides details related to the methodological dimension of the project. It is meant as the introduction to the analysis of data: it informs the reader who the participants of the project were, what research instruments were used for data collection, and how the data

was handled throughout the research process. It also deals with ethical considerations like, for instance, how identities of the participants were protected at every stage of the project.

Chapters six and seven deal with actual data obtained from the questionnaires and interviews with the participants. Due to the massive amount of data which had been collected, we decided to separate the sociological aspects from the linguistic dimensions of our research. In this way, we tried to organize our data and prepare a structured presentation for later discussion. By doing this, we avoided the danger of making the analysis a mix of ideas without a clear direction. Therefore, in chapter six we present our sociological findings, and in chapter seven we deal with selected linguistic aspects which we identified during the analysis of interview transcripts.

The final chapter summarizes our findings and announces new concepts that we identified during the analysis and which may, perhaps, inform future research.

In the appendix, the reader will find additional materials related to the subject of the thesis like, for example, examples of relevant press articles and their translations, or fragments of transcripts which were not presented in the thesis.

We hope that our project will be interesting for the Reader. We also believe that it makes an important contribution to our existing knowledge about immigration in general, and its Polish dimension in particular. Considering the fact that we deal with a not much researched topic of the Polish immigration to Austria, we hope that we will manage to cast more light on the linguistic and psychological processes underlying adaptation to a new environment across generations in a rapidly changing socio-political environment. Moreover, we decided to reverse the common direction of linguistic analysis by investigating selected aspects of cross-linguistic influences from the perspective of the native language of the participants – how the target language influences production of the native language, not the other way round.

Chapter Two: Acculturation and Integration Patterns in Immigrant Contexts. The existing Approaches.

2.1. Introduction

One cannot approach the question of immigration without giving due consideration to the social influences and psychological processes that accompany it. Every individual is born into a particular environment which in many ways determines his/her future roles in society, depending on his/her gender, social class, and physical and mental health (Macionis & Plummer, 2005). Societies may change rapidly and concomitantly shift their values. In the case of immigration one is dealing with the impact of two, sometimes very different, sometimes very differently developing societies coming into direct contact with each other.

2.2. Acculturation Models. Why Study Them?

Finding oneself in a foreign environment brings about anxiety and stress, even if the individual is prepared for the changes he/she is going to encounter. In a new society, there are a number of factors an immigrant has to take on board: the cultural values of the host community, the language of the majority population, and the immigrant's own responses to the alien environment. There are a few concepts in the literature that seek to analyse possible modes of adaptation to the new environment. The focus of this chapter is the provision of a theoretical background in terms of acculturation models on which the study of Polish immigrants reported in the thesis draws.

Acculturation takes place when two distinct cultural groups come into contact with each other (SSRC 1954; Redfield, Linton & Herskovits 1936; Richards, Platt & Platt 1992). On a societal level, the process of acculturation is understood as bidirectional, affecting both the host and the immigrant communities (Syed & Burnett 1999). When one looks more closely at the dynamics of the process, it is obvious that certain psychological reactions accompany acculturation. Identity negotiation and redefinition are common phenomena and these are often linked to attitudes towards one's native language and towards second language

acquisition (Syed & Burnett 1999; Ghuman 1991). A number of models have been developed in order to classify possible tendencies among immigrants. Some of these, which have been also used in the present study of Polish immigrants, are presented in the following sections of this chapter.

2.2.1. John Schumann's Model of Acculturation.

Although designed on the basis of research with adults, Schumann's model brings an interesting perspective to bear on second language acquisition in general which links the degree of acculturation and the outcome of the second language learning and proficiency (Schumann 1978:29):

Any learner can be placed on a continuum that ranges from social and psychological distance to social and psychological proximity with speakers of the target language (TL), and that the learner will acquire the second language only to the degree to which he/she acculturates

This point in Schumann's theory is interesting when related to the immigrant realities and experiences of Poles in Austria and Ireland. For example, one theoretical question that arises here is the following: why do some children of Polish families in Austria, whose native language is Polish, and who live in households where only the Polish language is spoken every day, sometimes acquire a very strong German accent in Polish? In addition to speaking Polish with a foreign accent, they in fact tend to communicate with their siblings in German, even when they are in the company only of other Poles, for example, their parents. Does this have to do with their attitudes (possibly deriving from external environmental factors encountered at school or elsewhere), or is this a phenomenon that comes from an unbalanced use of Polish and German – with Polish being used only at home and only with parents or relatives, while German is dominant in all other contexts? Finally, what conclusions might be drawn in this connection when Austrian realities are compared with those experienced by Polish immigrants in Ireland? The interrelation of social and psychological (affective) variables has been widely addressed by scholars, who include in the social factors category, for instance, the degree of integration, attitudinal dimensions, and the intended length of stay,

and who associate affective factors with, for example, the extent and depth of culture shock and the nature of motivation (Syed & Burnett 1999).

If the degree of acculturation, as Schumann suggests, influences or even determines attainment in second language acquisition, then second language acquisition is also governed by social and affective variables. Indeed, Schumann stresses this point and offers a classification of the pertinent variables into social, affective, personality, cognitive, personal, aptitude, input and instructional variables (Schumann 1978 in Syed and Burnett 1999). The relation posited between the acquisition of the second language and the degree of acculturation makes Schumann's model extremely relevant to the study of Poles reported in the present thesis. The model offers a valuable window on psychological forces behind the second language acquisition process in immigrant contexts. Moreover, the model was developed specifically to shed light on second language acquisition in immigrant situations. Its insights will accordingly be drawn upon in our own account. The attitudinal aspect can also be referred to in analyses of attritive situations, where proficiency of the L1 is eroded (Major 2001) – for example, where a foreign accent is acquired in the L1. Schumann suggests that assimilation would be the most desirable outcome of acculturation. However, one has to consider other, perhaps long-term rather than immediate, consequences of assimilation, especially where this is interpreted as immigrants' giving up their own cultural values over time and adopting those of the host society (Richards, Platt and Platt 1992). Another theoretical question which arises is whether it is possible, and for whom, (voluntarily) to achieve a complete cultural, social and psychological transformation and to become a "new person"? Of course, we are talking here about the first or the second generation of immigrants, whose direct connection (via experience, knowledge, memory etc.) with the native culture is not yet lost.

2.2.2. Amado M. Padilla's Model of Acculturation

Another model relevant to the study is that developed by Padilla (1980) with its distinction between cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty. Everything that causes an individual to become a part of a specific group, whether his/her native community or the host community, can be linked to the notion of cultural awareness, that is, perception of the language and

cultural values of a community. Ethnic loyalty, on the other hand, refers to an individual's sentiments and feelings. Usually, individuals in immigrant contexts tend to prefer one group over other communities. Sometimes in the beginning people might get very intimidated by the new environment - for example owing to insufficient knowledge of the language of the host community, different styles of living and social behaviour, a clash of values etc. - but over time these problems might disappear as the individual gets used to the new styles of living and gradually acquires (at least some of) the patterns of behaviour associated with the L2 environment. However, it also might happen that in the beginning an individual is excited about the new environment – perhaps if his/her knowledge of the L2 is sufficient for communication with the host community – but over time the feelings of great expectations might diminish as issues of cultural difference become more apparent and are felt at a personal level in social encounters with members of the majority community. Accounts of such experiences will be covered in the chapters that follow.

Padilla focuses on an individual's cultural heritage as part of his/her identity where positive sentiments towards the native culture are valued and acknowledged (Syed & Burnett 1999). The model was developed in the context of research on Americans of Mexican origin. Syed and Burnett suggest that the model is not applicable to other ethnic groups and their immigrant situations (p. 44). However, the focus on ethnic loyalty and cultural awareness regarding both communities (the majority and the minority) provide an insight into the dynamics of acculturation. Moreover, who an immigrant is – in terms of cultural and linguistic heritage – seems to be emphasized and treated in the model as one of the deciding factors at play in the process. On this view, the fact of where an immigrant comes from – ethnically and culturally – and what attitudes towards the society of his/her origin they have (for example, ethnic pride), along with their levels of knowledge of L1 and L2, may have a determining impact on how they interact with members of the host society, how they are perceived by the host population, and how this translates into social encounters between the two communities (inter-ethnic relations and interaction).

One can suppose that for a Pole who, even if not a Catholic him/herself, comes from a Catholic country, it would be relatively easy to integrate and understand the cultural values of Catholic Ireland and Catholic Austria. Of course, one has to be aware that Catholicism is only a dominant and by no means an exclusive religion in the three countries. On the other hand,

every country differs in terms of “hidden” norms, for example, regarding formality – Austria being much more formal on the institutional level in areas such as academia than Ireland. It is these differences that might eventually prove most important in shaping the everyday life experiences of individuals. Again, the reader will find more discussion of these issues in following chapters.

2.2.3. Young Kim’s Model of Acculturation

Kim’s model of acculturation (1988) provides an insight into changes which immigrants undergo when exposed to the host environment, and how the host and minority cultures communicate and interact with each other. Also, it acknowledges the internal dynamics within the two communities. The model has not been developed to test any particular community and can be applied to any group and circumstances in immigrant contexts. What is important in this model is the array of factors that are seen by Kim as inherent in the acculturation process. First, individuals who find themselves in a new environment – an environment with different attitudes towards different groups of immigrants – are challenged to adapt in some ways in order to survive; the manner and degree of such adaptation are seen as determining the patterns of integration into the host community. Second, the attitudes and the overall conditions of the host environment are seen as playing a significant role in the acculturation process – on the basis that host communities may vary in the degree to which they welcome newcomers; cultural values may diverge, as in the case for example, of differences between the Muslim and Christian world. Third, the personal traits and social behaviours of an individual are also seen as relevant and as either helping or hindering communication with, and adaptation to, the host environment. Whether or not an individual decides to integrate or assimilate may depend on the host environment, but may also be a matter of personal and voluntary choice on the part of the individual regardless of the attitudes of the host society. Some people may be more, or less, sociable, and may have different aims and ambitions regarding their place in the society. For example, some immigrants come to a foreign country only to work and earn money with the idea of going back to their country of origin, and one can suppose that their need to socialise with the host community will be limited; the outcome of socialisation in such instances is unlikely to be particularly impressive, especially when immigrants opt to associate socially only with other immigrants from their own country.

One of the most interesting statements by Kim is that concerning adaptation to the host community. She sees adaptation as a natural and inevitable process (Kim 1988:80). According to her, generally it is not possible to switch fully and completely from the communication system of one's own culture to that of the host community. Everything can be viewed in terms of more or less successful adaptation, with trials and error as an individual proceeds. Consequently, certain culturally determined values are replaced by those learned and acquired from the host environment. However, both native and host cultural values and influences accompany the individual for most of the time and in most situations (Kim 1988:80). What is especially helpful (and useful) in Kim's approach is her acknowledgement of cultural and ethnic attributes, where an immigrant is somehow "trapped" in the interplay of influences which sometimes he/she has to reject – when, for example, habits acquired in the native environment do not prove successful and lead to misunderstandings. In such contexts, identity issues surface and negotiations take place in intercultural encounter. For example, immigrants may be more sensitive to questions of identity in times of tensions within the host society, and may feel more Polish, Italian, Christian etc. than they would normally do in their own country, for instance, because it is not an issue there, or in times of peace. This matter will be analysed in more detail in the chapters that follow.

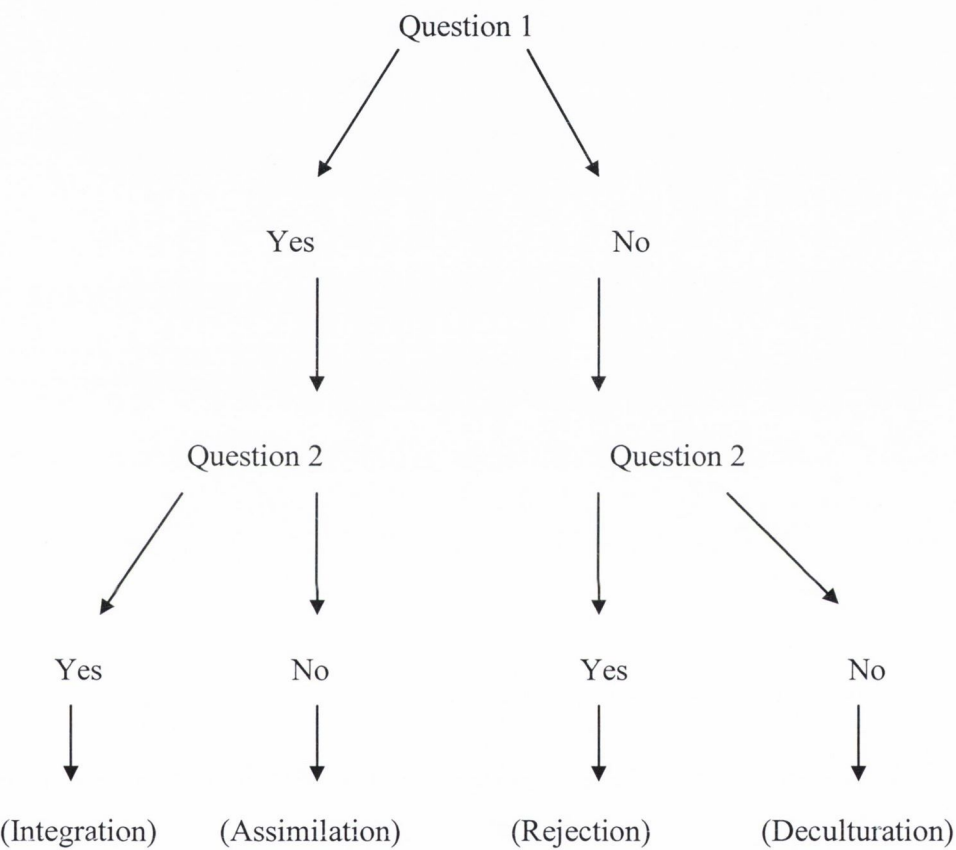
2.2.4. John Berry's Model of Acculturation

Berry (1980) developed a model which is supposed to determine which acculturation mode can best describe an individual's adaptation process. The modes he considers are: assimilation, integration, rejection and deculturation. In order for an immigrant to be allocated to a particular category, he/she has to answer two questions:

1. Whether it is important to maintain good and friendly relations with the host community (*Are positive relations with the larger society of value and to be sought?*)
2. Whether one's native culture and identity should be maintained (*Are ethnic cultural identity and customs of value and to be retained?*)

On the basis of yes/no answers to these two questions an immigrant is claimed to reveal his/her attitudes, his/her tendencies and his/her intentions regarding the host environment. This categorization can be described graphically in the diagram below:

Fig. 2.1. Berry's Model



It is worth providing a brief description of the four modes proposed by Berry in his model. Integration denotes a wish for participation in the host environment with at the same time a retention of one's own cultural values. The assimilationist mode encapsulates a need and wish to become part of the host community and a willingness to replace one's native culture and language completely with that of the host society. Rejection means withdrawal from the host society and tendencies towards ghetto-formation. Deculturation denotes a withdrawal from both the host and the native culture. From a psychological point of view, deculturation is seen as the least desirable mode of acculturation, as it is envisaged as necessarily accompanied by

the feeling of being lost (loss of identity), marginalisation and anxiety (Stonequist 1937; Park 1928; Berry et al. 1989).

From a linguistic point of view, rejection mode is associated with failure to acquire the language of the host community. Other modes are expected, although to varying degrees, to affect L2 learning positively, owing, for example, to contacts with the host community – especially in the case of individuals with integrative and assimilationist tendencies (Young & Gardner 1990:60-61).

Berry's model identifies two sets of changes in individuals. One refers to changes in behaviour when an immigrant acquires new habits and when some of the original habits are abandoned. The second is referred to as "acculturative stress" (Syed & Burnett 1999:45-46) and denotes misunderstandings and conflicts that accompany the acculturative process. In addition, Berry also stresses the fact that a particular acculturation mode is also an individual choice and not only determined by the group to which an individual originally belonged, and that degrees to which individuals acculturate vary (Berry 1992:76). Accordingly, Berry classifies changes that happen in the group such as, for example, socio-cultural developments, and individual changes like behavioural shifts and acculturative stress (Syed & Burnett 1999:49).

Berry's model is relevant to the study of Poles, as it may guide and facilitate the identification of tendencies displayed by various groups of Polish immigrants at different levels of social stratification. Some groups of Poles are perceived to fit in well, while others are reported to "stick together" and not to get involved too much in the host society. What is interesting, and indeed of great help, is the acknowledgement of a necessary choice – between the two cultural environments, or the option of keeping one's native heritage in the private domain (home) and adapting to majority ways of doing things when interacting with the members of the host community. The model not only details possible personal choices regarding acculturation, but in addition provides clues as to why an individual may opt for one particular mode or another (psychological and attitudinal analysis), and also emphasizes the fact that acculturation is stressful – involving trying to fit in, negotiation of identities, adjustments, inevitable errors, possible failure to integrate etc., to name but a few elements. The acculturation process seems in general to be most difficult when one has to adapt to a completely different environment,

for instance, where religious values diverge significantly from those of the individual (Ghuman 1991). Hence, as Syed and Burnett put it, “*acculturation has a price*” (1999:51).

2.3. The Cross-Cultural Adaptation Model of Y.Y. Kim. A New Approach

Kim’s model (2001) has undergone a change, involving the incorporation of elements of other models into the proposed vision of cross-cultural adaptation:

...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 (p. 31).

The focus is now placed on the communication process and its function: an immigrant is understood as needing to be in constant communication with the host society in order to adapt:

the necessary condition of communication between an individual and the host environment for the occurrence of adaptation (p. 32).

The purview of the model is, however, restricted to adults and the model does not address the case of children of immigrants, whose adaptation is seen as affected not only by the host environment but also by parents’ heritage and the culture they represent in the private domain, at home.

2.3.1. Kim’s Assumptions

Kim’s theory is based on three assumptions outlined below:

Assumption 1: Humans have an innate self-organizing drive and a capacity to adapt to environmental changes.

Kim argues that adaptation is necessary and inevitable in order to survive, that it is a “fundamental life-sustaining and life enhancing activity of humans...rooted in the self-organizing, self-regulating, and integrative capacity” (p.35), and views this as a natural process that happens in humans.

Assumption 2: The adaptation of an individual to a given cultural environment occurs through communication.

The adaptation process is possible, according to Kim, only as long as an individual is engaged in communication with the environment. Communication includes both linguistic (verbal) and non-verbal messages.

Assumption 3: Adaptation is a complex and dynamic process that brings about a qualitative transformation of the individual.

Kim makes a distinction between internal and external systems (conditions) that shape an individual's adaptation: “...to adapt means to so regulate behaviour as to optimize both the stability of the internal structure and its accommodation to external conditions” (p. 38).

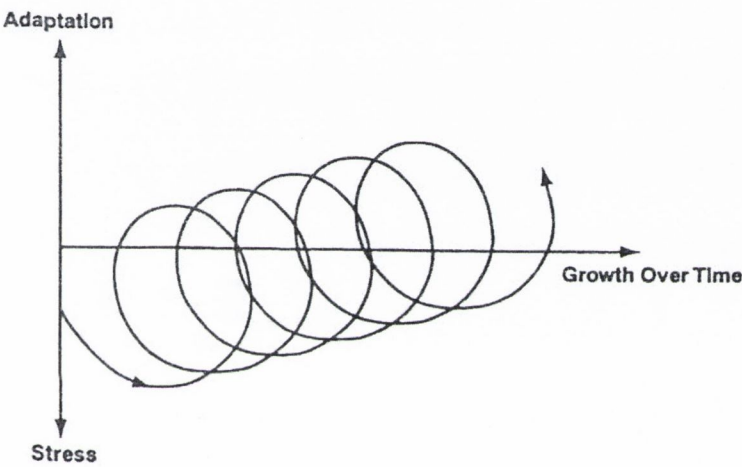
2.3.2. Explanation and Elaboration

The above account of cross-cultural adaptation acknowledges both the role of the environment – its structure and conditions – and the personal perspectives of individuals. Moreover, Kim's model ascribes to the host environment the capacity to determine (and also to limit) the adaptation process of immigrants. Kim refers to the model as describing an evolutionary process of change (p. 40) in which individuals undergo personal transformations. Living in a new environment is recognized as marked by stress and moments of crisis, especially when the cultural norms of an individual differ from the established norms of the host society. Kim argues that complete assimilation is rare (p. 52).

Usually the heritage of the native culture stands in the way of full assimilation. However, what seems to be impossible in the first generation of immigrants is observed to progress in

the next generation. Kim argues (citing Boekestijn 1988 and Zaharna 1989) that adaptive changes in individuals take place over time and that stress is inevitable – originating in the tension between the influence of sets of native customs and values and the need to adopt new habits in order to fit into the new order. However, the resultant crises, according to Kim, can prompt positive responses and attempts to overcome problems. This brings us to Kim’s stress-adaptation-growth dynamic interpretation of the process underlying an individual’s attempts to conform to the cultural norms of the host environment. Figure 2.2 below is adapted from Kim (2001:57) and represents a process model of the Stress-Adaptation-Growth Dynamic:

Fig. 2.2. The Stress-Adaptation-Growth Dynamic



The model proposes that the natural reaction to a crisis is a temporary withdrawal which allows time for consideration, reorganisation and the planning of coping strategies. Subsequently, according to the model, the individual moves on, richer in experience and self-knowledge in respect of his/her responses to crises. On this view, in the process of transformation, usually the initial stages are most difficult, when the individual does not have sufficient knowledge of the specificity and working of the environment, and his/her immediate responses may prove to be painful mistakes. In these initial stages, adaptive changes are expected to be most sudden. Over time, however, individuals are envisaged as developing necessary adaptive strategies and as evincing responses to crises that are usually less dramatic (p. 59).

Kim distinguishes three facets of intercultural transformation that are seen as taking place in individuals. One of these is *functional fitness*, which refers to the ability to conform to the host milieu. Through successful communication, immigrants are viewed as becoming able to participate in the host society and gradually become part of it, as over time, stress-related reactions diminish with the immigrants' acquisition of the necessary social skills to interact with the locals. Kim's second facet of intercultural transformation is *psychological health*, which refers to the optimal emotional balance and stability. Kim relates it to the functional fitness of individuals and their coping abilities. Problems with fitting in may, on the other hand, lead over time to emotional disturbances. Finally, Kim's notion of *intercultural identity* is seen as the result of intercultural transformations. Intercultural identity is, in Kim's eyes, a linkage between a person and other cultural groups (p. 65), usually the outcome of challenges and adaptations that an immigrant is exposed to in the host society. This intercultural identity (Kim & Ruben 1988, Kim 2001) is envisaged as being brought about by the fact that an individual is no longer in close contact with his/her native culture while being in a tight relationship with the host environment.

What Kim's model brings into the analysis that is new is the acknowledgement that cross-cultural adaptation may result in painful experiences and may also prompt responses of revaluation causing an immigrant to develop (through a process of learning) his/her own adaptation strategies (Kim 2001:69). The underlying principle of the model is that "through communication, strangers acquire at least some degree of new cultural learning (acculturation) and, at the same time, lose some of their original cultural patterns (deculturation)" (p.69).

2.3.2.1. The Structure of the Cross-Cultural Adaptation

The structure of cross-cultural adaptation as offered by Kim's model includes a number of factors. First, an individual's personal and social communication (Ruben 1975, Kim 2001) is represented as playing a significant role in adaptation to the host environment. On this view, in the initial stages, immigrants mostly rely on their native values and intuitions. However, over time, they learn how to act according to the circumstances they are forced to face in social encounters. A new environment demands an understanding of the new system of

meanings. Abilities to relate to the host environment are referred to as *host communication competence* (p.73). Equipped with this knowledge, immigrants have better chances for effective communication and a positive interaction with the host environment. Alongside social communication with the host community, immigrants interact with other members of the immigrant community and thus experience their native culture, language and values. Immigrants often organize themselves into societies or support groups (p. 76). However, engagement in the minority group's activities may cause withdrawal from the host community and its activities, and undermine the development of social skills necessary to maintain good relations with the host community (Padilla 1980, Walker 1993 in Kim 2001:77).

At the same time, strong ties with the immigrant community, especially in the beginning, is desirable in order to minimize stress associated with encounters with the host culture (p.78). Kim also incorporates the specificity of the environment into the model, and the emphasis is put on the host receptivity, host conformity pressure, and ethnic group strength. *Host receptivity* is defined in terms of openness of the host community, and their willingness to accept otherness in immigrants – their heritage, religions, race etc. – and the degree of support offered to strangers. Kim stresses the fact that different groups of immigrants may expect different kinds and degrees of welcome (p. 79). *Host conformity pressure* relates to the degree to which the host environment forces immigrants to conform to mainstream society and to comply with its cultural norms and values. Kim notes that cases of prejudice and discrimination experienced by strangers often reflect the degree of conformity pressure (p. 80). *Ethnic group strength* may be analysed from different perspectives. One approach analyses patterns of language maintenance and transmission into the next generations of immigrants. This is referred to as *ethno-linguistic vitality* and within this concept three main variables have been defined: the status of the language, the number of its users, and the amount of institutional support given to it (p. 80). Kim argues that an ethnic group with strong ties may provide a lot of help to newcomers, especially at the initial stage. However, strong interrelationship and clique-formation may impede adaptation by offering a familiar environment within an alien community and by exerting pressure on the members of the minority group to conform to native norms (p. 81).

Kim also pays attention to the strangers themselves and their predispositions and attitudes towards the cross-cultural adaptation process. The model seeks to categorize these conditions

into categories: *preparedness for change* – the degree of knowledge about the host environment and willingness to adapt; the *ethnic proximity* of the immigrant and the host communities – in terms of traits that the two communities have in common, for example, religion, cultural values etc., or in terms of factors that place the two communities at opposite poles and might cause sometimes serious misunderstandings; *personality* is also viewed as playing a significant role in the process of adaptation. Some personality traits seem particularly relevant - like openness, which can be summarized as being ready for, and willing to, experience new knowledge, explore a new environment, etc., and strength which helps an individual to minimize the effects of cultural differences (p. 84-85).

Finally, Kim's model incorporates three boundary conditions: (i) that the strangers have had a primary socialization in one culture (or subculture) and have moved into a different and unfamiliar culture (or subculture); (ii) that the strangers are at least minimally dependent on the host environment for meeting their personal and social needs; and (iii) that the strangers are at least minimally engaged in first hand communication experiences with the host environment (p.89).

Kim's model will be much referred to in the present study of immigrants for the following reasons. It looks at the cross-cultural adaptation process from both the stranger's and the host's perspectives and relates the transformations an individual undergoes at the personal and social level to communication with the host environment. The psychological conditions of the individual and the social conditions of the majority society are taken into consideration and the responsibility of adaptation is not placed solely on an immigrant. Immigrants' attitudes, their background and the fact that their heritage may, and often does, regulate to some degree their reception in the host society allow us to consider how the majority community facilitate, or limit, an immigrant's development, and to what extent an individual's attitudes contribute to the overall process of adaptation. Also interesting is an analysis of the immigrant's changing sentiments towards adaptation (cf. the Stress-Adaptation-Growth-Dynamic model) to the new environment. Because Kim's model is detailed and dynamic, it provides an insight into the communication, or dialogue, with the environment and with the self. In the present study consideration is given to a particular immigrant group (Poles) and their interaction with two specific host environments (Ireland and Austria).

Kim's model acknowledges and includes in its analysis immigrant groups' stratification in terms of historical circumstances:

Differences in host receptivity can be further traced to various plausible reasons, including...the nature of the historical or current relationship (friendly or hostile) between the stranger's home country and the host society in the case of immigrants... (p. 79).

In the study of Poles presented in this thesis the historical factor will be especially taken into account, particularly with respect to the case of the Polish community in Austria – with reference to the times of the Partitions and the mass immigration of the 1980s.

2.4. Concluding remarks

This chapter has presented an overview of a number of acculturation models that have been developed in literature. It would be impossible to mention all existing models, or even include all details of the above-presented models given the limits of space. However, the approaches described in this chapter offer directions that the current study can, and does, draw on. The reason why Kim's model of cross-cultural adaptation (2001) has been given more attention is that it focuses not only on immigrants' ability or willingness to integrate with the host community, but also because it attributes part of the responsibility in this connection to the host society and its attitudes towards minorities. It is very important to include the host environment in a broader analysis and see how cultural values, social habits and historical background all impact on the bi-directional process of communication between the communities. In chapters that follow the reader will be invited to examine how these essential elements shape the process of acculturation and what outcomes one may expect when all of these are systematically taken into account.

It is very important to acknowledge the influence of the adopted acculturation mode on the process of the second language acquisition in immigrant contexts. We can also cite in this context the work of Lambert, whose proposals precede and resemble those of Schumann. Lambert suggests that the acquisition of a second language has an impact on the individual's

identity, and that it is a bilateral process. He argues that the attitudes the individual develops towards the host community affect the process of second language acquisition. He also distinguishes between *additive bilingualism* – where the acquisition of the second language does not negatively affect proficiency in the native language - and *subtractive bilingualism* – where learning the second language takes place in more stressful environments, where, for example, owing to policies of the host community, there might be a loss in proficiency in the native language (Lambert 1963, 1967, 1974, cited in Young & Gardner 1990:61). Subtractive bilingualism among immigrants certainly happens in Austria, where policies regarding minority languages have not always been very friendly. The battle over the Slovenian language in Carinthia, for instance, or other cases of the undermining of minority languages might serve as examples here (Report by the Republic of Austria, 2000).

Other studies also link motivation, second language acquisition and immigrant contexts (Gardner 1985, Weiner 1994, Dörnyei 2001). These issues will be covered in subsequent chapters. One of the key motifs in this thesis is that in the acculturation process, which influences second language patterns, the host environment plays a very important role and might both be encouraging or discouraging, friendly, hostile or indifferent, depending on socio-historical circumstances. The chapters that follow will scrutinize these interrelationships in more detail.

Chapter Three: Multiculturalism, Diaspora and Cross-Cultural Adaptation.

3.1. Introduction to the Study of Cross-Cultural Influences

Before we proceed to an analysis of the mode of acculturation Poles adopt in Austria in comparison to Ireland, an understanding (or at least an attempt at an understanding) of the sociologies of the two immigrant communities and the two host communities in question is necessary. First of all, it must be emphasized that any such description must be considered as very general in nature, since it is impossible to provide an account of the totality of individual diversities within a society; the description in question will attempt to give an account of the

salient societal trends and sets of values and minority cultures present within the relevant societies, of their influence and contributions, and of the subcultures that emerge.

3.2. What do we mean by *Diaspora*? The Experience of Cross-Cultural Adaptation

The term *diaspora* may have different connotations depending on the historical and cultural perspective one adopts. In the context of the present thesis, we look at two specific Polish diasporas, and our interpretation of the relevant facts is that, historically, the circumstances that led to the two migrations differ, and quite significantly, even though there were only twenty years between the flows of immigrants in question - in the 1980s to Austria, and after 2004 to Ireland. Kalra et al. (2005) argue that the traditional meaning, or understanding, of diaspora carries with it a sense of forced exile and loss, associated with inability to return to the homeland (e.g. the Jewish experience), and that diasporic migration is necessarily connected to some factor(s) driving individuals out of their country - poverty, economic situation, etc. (p. 9-11).

There are a few conceptual models of diaspora which seek to categorize the basic conditions of the diasporic experience. Each diaspora is different as, quite obviously, the social behaviour of every ethnic group is specific to their cultural and/or religious heritage. However, there are certain factors that make the experience of diaspora similar for each group. Cohen (1997) refers to six main conditions, but he also distinguishes the place and circumstances of those conditions, which operate in or away from the homeland. Dispersal and usually uneasy relations with a host community, while cultivating native traditions, are classified as happening away from homeland; traumatic experience is associated with the homeland; the building of a sense of solidarity and community is seen as happening both in and away from homeland. Moreover, Cohen sees diaspora as building on one of the following: victimhood, labour, trade, imperialism, and culture (Cohen, 1997 in Kalra et al., 2005, p. 11-12). Another interesting theoretical approach to diaspora issues is the one offered by Vertovec (1999). He sees diaspora as marked by three types of conditions: a social aspect, consciousness, and cultural experience. He focuses on the social aspect of diaspora, that is, the relationship between individuals that come from the same background, involving a conflict of (homeland vs. host country) loyalties.

To be noted is that conditions involved in the diasporic process are related to ongoing circumstances – to the possibility, for example, of maintaining ethnic connections in the local or global context (Vertovec in Kalra, p. 13). Today, immigrants very often maintain ties with their homeland and thus build connections between the homeland and the host country. Because of this, Kalra argues, the term *diaspora* is appropriately applied to migration as a process – from moving away from one's country of origin to settling down somewhere else while keeping in touch with the homeland through family connections, friendship networks etc.

Are diasporas ethnic? As Kalra argues, this connection can be made, at least on a theoretical level. However, as he later explains (p. 17):

In some ways, ethnicity is like the smaller version of the nation, in that the processes described to bind an ethnic group are often similar to those used to describe and bind the nation... [D]iaspora draws attention away from the nation-state and towards a potential multiplicity of nation-states or regions within states... [D]iasporic understanding allows to survey different kinds of identity formation, as well as social organization.

When one looks at the two Polish diasporas under review here, one sees that in the case of Austria, even if the ties with the homeland were loosened owing to historical and political circumstances, for many Polish immigrants of that time those ties remained and, at least in the closest families, exchange of information and maintenance of contact with Poland continued. Because political relations in Europe have since undergone massive changes, the Polish diaspora in Austria can now almost fully enjoy opportunities connected with EU enlargement, even in respect of the job market – which from 2011 has been fully available to Poles.

Large diasporas, especially those that enjoy high status and thus a better position in the host country, have an impact on social, economic and political spheres (Kalra 2005:17). In addition, according to Kalra, diasporas provide links between the host country and the homeland and thus lay the foundations for economic (and political) exchange between countries. This is the case with regard to the vibrant Polish community in Ireland, which acts almost like a bridge between the two countries.

It is natural that people, when permanently exposed to certain new conditions, need to adapt, and the unfolding of the process of adaptation implies changes. Members of any given diaspora undergo transformation over time, but still they tend to retain certain characteristics that mark them as different from the mainstream society. Hall adverts to the notion of difference in diasporic consciousness (Clifford 1994; Hall 1990), and he suggests that accepting difference is a step towards diasporic consciousness and is necessary in the associated process of identity formation and negotiation.

Another interesting point concerns “hyphenated identities” (Kalra 2005). Karla argues that such identities may indicate either a sense of belonging and loyalty to both the homeland and the host country, or be a signal of new identity formation where the divide between the nation states concerned is blurred or perceived as irrelevant. He points in this connection to the example of Irish-Americans (p. 33):

...hyphenated identities of the Irish-American type may emphasize the difference of a group by paying attention to the “homeland” as a key way of understanding their settlement abroad

Within this general view, diaspora (p. 32) is seen as a phenomenon where ethnic identity is separated from a direct association with, or claims to, territory but where sentiments may be linked very strongly to notions of nationality and ethnic identity – so that “the Irish diaspora in America does not derive its Irishness from living in Ireland”. Kalra also sees in diasporas a chance for thinking beyond the narrow confines of nationhood and homogeneity. On the other hand, diasporas may contribute to the rise of extreme political and nationalistic movements (p. 46).

Chambers et al. (1996) note that, because diasporas, owing to their location, are exposed to other cultural influences, for example, not only of the host society, but also of other minorities, the creation of hybrid identities, that is, cultural mixing, may take place. In addition, some diasporas may become “invisible” on account of their economic status (Kalra et al. 2005:110), or, for example, their cultural or religious proximity to the host community; some diasporas will be noticed more than others because of cultural or ethnic distinctiveness. However, as Karla later points out (p. 111):

...it is not skin colour per se that we must draw attention to, but the way people are positioned in institutional structures and discursive formations, attributing greater privileges and rights to some when compared to others because of what they are deemed to represent.

Diasporic experience varies from one group to another, depending on circumstances. Obviously, for people wishing to remove themselves from political or ethnic tensions – for example, refugees – the natural feeling that accompanies them is a sense of loss and uprootedness. For others, like Polish immigrants to Ireland, the process can be described as a displacement of uncertain duration, with relatively strong connections with the homeland typically being retained, and often with the idea of eventually returning to Poland firmly fixed in the mind.

Karla argues that original roots and national sentiments may be felt more strongly when a person is abroad (p. 112); however, he applies this specifically to the children of expatriates (being brought up and living most of their early childhood abroad). He argues that such children can never become mono-cultural, and that the influences of both cultures will be ever-present in them and will show in their identities, loyalties and perceptions. Karla shows how changing circumstances can affect the perceptions of certain groups. Again, he uses the example of the Irish and their history of being oppressed by the British, while at the same time taking part in British colonial expansion:

the Irish are an example of a group that have been historically oppressed in the global ecumene, but now find themselves (mostly) accommodated in the folds of whiteness. They have been both victims of (neo-)colonialism and its perpetrators... The Irish partook in brutal oppression as part of colonial structures... on the other hand [in] the freedom struggle of the Republic of Ireland against British colonialism...

3.2.1. Integration of Immigrants – Does the Host Society Allow Them To Integrate?

The leading question in the above title may at first glance seem controversial. However, before analysing the integration patterns of immigrants, it is also worth looking at the host society and its socio-political tradition.

Ingram (2003 RIA) scrutinizes possible models of citizenship and integration relative to Irish society. The four models she investigates as interesting for Ireland's case are variants of liberalism and republicanism (p. 21-22). These are:

- *The classic liberal model*- based on the idea that the state should be neutral regarding religion and culture and not impose a particular religion or culture. Diversity is restricted to non-public spheres.
- *Liberal pluralism* - where the majority culture is favoured, where, however, minorities are provided with special privileges aimed at maintaining their respective cultures.
- *Civic republican pluralism* - where diversity is public, supported by social rights.
- *Communitarian republican pluralism* - where identities are more present in the political arena.

Clearly, however, as MacLachlan points out, it is not the immigrant community that is solely responsible for the particular mode of acculturation it adopts. The host society's attitudes also play a significant role in this process. Even if the immigrant is integratively disposed, his or her ethnic or religious background may stand in the way of full integration. Lack of understanding, unwillingness to understand, ignorance or in extreme cases prejudice on the hosts' part and their outcomes may prevent the immigrant from active participation in the host society. Thus, MacLachlan argues as follows (RIA 2003, p. 38):

The host society also positions itself...with regard to the inclusion or exclusion of the immigrant's cultural identity. Thus from the perspective of the host society the same questions may be posed with a resulting framework... [I]t seems reasonable to argue that if the host society positions itself in a way that allows individuals to adopt the most adaptive acculturation strategy, then society at large may benefit from their optimal acculturation.

Is it true that living among members of one's own community increases the feeling of "fitting in", as some research suggests (RIA 2003:40)? Or is this a case where perception and personal evaluations enter into the picture and possibly blur the real facts of the situation? It is interesting to compare the mutual perceptions of the members of communities that are in contact. Is the number of Poles, for example, in Ireland, helping them to integrate, and "fit in", or does the "fitting in" argument rather provide an excuse for forming ghettos? Does knowledge of the local language – in our study, respectively, English and German – play a role in their behaviour and choices? Obviously, there are also other factors, like personal ambitions and attitudes to the host community, and one has to remember that Poles, like any other minority in similar circumstances, have to be treated as a sample of Polish population at large, with all the "internal" diversities that are present and recognizable in Poland.

It is also argued by MacLachlan that the conceptualisation of the history of Ireland might help the Irish to understand and accommodate immigrants. He suggests that alongside the peace process, Ireland needs a pluralism process and that in this context the community memory of divisions and the struggle for identity may enable a sharing in the feelings of many immigrants who find themselves alienated and marginalized. He goes as far as to compare the Irish themselves to immigrants, as migrants from the Old (poor and conservative) Ireland to the New (rich and liberal) Ireland (RIA 2003:46).

Adaptation should be viewed as a two-way process. It has been emphasized that immigration changes not only the immigrant community but also the host society. The same could be said for cultural adjustment (Sinha, RIA 2003:83). Immigrants have to cope. However, the host society has a role to play in the process and is also challenged to undergo adjustments in some ways; for example, the legal system which is supposed to regulate the conditions of residence and employment of non-Irish nationals has evolved.

The status of immigrants and their relationship with the host community are dictated by social and political factors. In a way, official regulations like, for example, terms of entry and residence, access to the labour market etc., shape the attitudes of the host society towards immigrants groups (Weiner 1996, cited in Carmen 1996:47). Weiner suggests that government policies shape, or help to shape, relations between the immigrant and the host society. Further, he distinguishes two related sets of policies that affect immigrants (p. 48):

- *Immigration policies* which determine the terms of admission to the host society
- *Immigrant policies* which are related to the status and treatment of immigrants who are already resident in the host community.

He points out crucial factors which have a direct influence on the relationship between immigrants and the host society, such as: the degree of willingness of the native population to include immigrants in their society, the attitudes of the immigrants towards the host society and the degree of their willingness to participate in the new environment, the economic situation and the structure of the labour market, availability of jobs etc.

Weiner claims that countries with a history and ideology of immigration tend to be more welcoming than countries which do not perceive themselves as traditional countries of immigration, even if they hosted immigrant minorities in the past. Along these lines, Poland should display more xenophobic tendencies in the future than, for example, England. Can one assume that? It would be dangerous, especially for ideological reasons, to classify countries (and their people) on this basis.

The three nations involved in this study – the Poles, the Irish and the Austrians – have been in contact with other cultures, even though they are not widely considered to be *traditional* countries of immigration, like England or the United States of America. Theoretically, Poland and Ireland can be said to be (or have been) relatively homogeneous until recently (although, as has been mentioned, Poland in fact has hosted ethnic minorities for centuries within her borders). Given this fact, and the legal regulations regarding immigration, it may be assumed that these nations will react in a different way to an influx of immigrants than traditional countries of immigration (Weiner, p. 48). Questions regarding national identity, self-perception and the perception of the other are among many issues that need to be approached on both a personal, self-determinative level and a general, or societal, level (for instance, through education programmes etc.).

Weiner argues that immigrants' chances of being fully admitted into the host society are slim if the members of the native population view them as only temporary. He suggests that full integration with the host society is not possible if the immigrants are considered as temporary residents. As long as they are seen as temporary migrants, they will tend to be excluded in the

cultural, social and political sense (p. 49). A similar opinion is expressed by Cantle (2005) who makes the point that there is a difference between the degree of integration as perceived by immigrants who are trying to fully participate in the host society, and the degree to which they are accepted as equals and are allowed to participate in the majority community by the majority society itself (p. 11). In a multicultural environment dealing with differences it is an issue and the perceived differences are the basis for divisions whether ethnic or religious. This should be viewed as a broad generalization - with different degrees of validity depending on the context.

It is hard to say whether Irish people perceive Poles as temporary or permanent residents. However, despite the resentment of some Irish people towards Poles, Irish society tends to be rather welcoming – as has been shown, for example in the prevalence of Polish-Irish cultural events and the fact that Poles are employed legally throughout Ireland to the highest levels. Such facts, especially the employment situation and opportunities, are related to the positive intervention of the Irish Government. In Austria, the situation is less benign for immigrants. One cannot avoid referring in this connection to the fact that an anti-immigration political party, the Freedom Party, under the leadership of Jörg Heider, has drawn considerable support among Austrian citizens, as reflected in the results of the 1999 elections. No party of a similar complexion has come to the fore in Ireland.

At the same time Weiner, like many other scholars already mentioned in this chapter, suggests that the process of integration is bilateral in nature, and that if immigrants regard their stay in the host community only as a temporary experience, they should not be expected to acquire a new identity and willingly undergo the process of full integration and/or assimilation. He again shifts some responsibility to the host community, arguing that it is not only the structure of the political system that is responsible for integration of the new members of the community (p. 53) but also the attitudes of the host community - how they perceive immigrants, what status they are willing to give them, etc. This factor may have a crucial influence on immigrants' decision regarding whether or not to integrate. It is worth noting that where access to the homeland – for example, Poland – is not restricted, or where immigrant communities are well catered for in terms of community facilities – Polish shops, churches, social activities, etc. - the need for integration – with all the stress and effort this may involve – may be lessened.

Weiner emphasizes the point that a constant influx of immigrants from one country may undermine the integration process and the acquisition of the host community language. He also points to the fact that easy access to the homeland may slow the process of identity formation, or acquiring the second identity (p. 54). This may be supported by the case of Poles in Ireland, but not necessarily in Austria. In the cases of the two countries in question, I would argue that policies and institutions responsible for shaping the image of immigrant groups, and consequently the relations between, immigrants and their hosts, play a major role. The role of the media in both countries cannot be ignored either. Articles about Poland and Poles published in Austria are usually less positive than those published in Ireland. It is also worth looking at the issue from the legal point of view with respect to citizenship rights.

Luchtenberg and McLelland analyse the approach to multiculturalism as covered over one week in articles in two German and two Australian serious newspapers. They note that, unlike Australia, Germany does not officially consider itself a multicultural society and that there may be a connection between these countries' respective policies and media coverage of immigrants in each. In their discussion on Germany Luchtenberg and McLelland note that in this country it is ancestry rather than place of birth that determines an individual's right to citizenship, and that discussions on Germany as a multicultural society remain controversial in nature. In their analysis they found that a large majority of German first-page articles dealing with the immigration issue contain negative remarks concerning the subject of immigrants. None of the articles presents multiculturalism as a normal phenomenon (p. 193). They link this fact to the poor status of multiculturalism and immigrants in Germany. They also note a significant dose of criticism in the German press of other countries' immigrant policies and the treatment of immigrants in ways other than the German approach. Moreover, the language of the German press is reported to be negatively biased; in the discourse on immigrants the non-Germanness of further generations of immigrants is stressed and their foreignness is emphasized in context and terminology (p.200 & 202). Generally, they conclude, the language used about immigrants tends to be negative, with immigrants typically presented as perpetrators of crimes and as trouble makers, or as a burden. Positive aspects of their difference are ignored and the presence of cultures other than German culture is not portrayed as normal or as contributing to German culture (p. 204): "the German print media appear to lack the comprehension and acceptance of diversity". Similar tendencies have been observed in the Austrian press in the context of immigration and foreigners.

Breugelmans & van de Vijver (2004) examined attitudes of Dutch people towards multiculturalism and focused on three hypotheses – that attitudes towards multiculturalism among members of the majority community have a uni-dimensional structure; that support for multiculturalism is lower in the domain of minority acculturation than in the domain of multiculturalism in Dutch society; that the relationship between psychological background variables and multicultural behaviour is mediated by attitudes toward multiculturalism (2004:403-404). The results of the data analysis suggested that attitudes in Dutch mainstream society have a uni-dimensional structure. In line with other studies, it seems that the Dutch are rather inclined to support assimilation of minorities into mainstream society. The majority of people, while expressing favourable opinions on migrants' participation and opportunities in the society, do not consider cultural pluralism as a positive outcome for their society. The widespread view is that it is the minorities that are fully responsible for adaptation, with no involvement of the receiving society in the process (p. 417).

These findings suggest that, even if the majority society rejects active involvement in the acculturation process, it is involved anyway by providing a given environment, whether friendly and welcoming, neutral, or hostile. In addition, we can note that the part of the receiving country where the acculturation is taking place also plays a role – whether it is a big city or a village, a poor or an affluent district – as does the state of the economy at a particular time (Ingram, Machlachlan, and Sinha 2003; Ivarsflaten 2004; Jandl and Kraler 2003).

3.2.2. The Role of Stress in the Integration Process

It is beyond any doubt that newcomers experience stress in the host environment. Feelings of alienation, uprootedness or anxiety are relatively “mild” symptoms on the stress continuum. In some extreme cases, maladapted individuals can suffer emotional, mental or physical disorders (Kim 2001:51). Adaptation inevitably entails stress, as pressure from the host society confronts an individual's personal aspirations to maintain his/her identity, customs and at least some of the old familiar ways (p. 55). However, as some studies in the field suggest, a bad or traumatic experience opens a door on new learning (Kim 2001, Moos & Tsu 1976, Ruben 1983). As the processes of acculturation, deculturation and adaptation continue,

individuals develop new adaptive strategies which have the possibility of bridging two cultures, the native culture of the immigrant and that of the host environment.

It is suggested that the hardest part of the transformation process is in the beginning, when an individual is confronted with new conventions, behavioural patterns and norms, and when the risk of mistakes is at its most acute (Kim 2001:55). Research in the field of stress-related issues in adaptation provides evidence of the relationship between stress, progressive adaptive behaviour leading to revaluation, and growth among individuals, especially immigrants, over the time they spend in a foreign and unfamiliar environment (Kim 1976, 2001). Kim (2001:65) lists three important facets of intercultural transformation: functional fitness and psychological health, which are directly related to (increased) communication and understanding between an individual and the host environment, and intercultural identity, a process in which an individual gradually loosens close connections with his/her native culture and acquires a broader perspective by opening to the new trends and customs of the host society. However, this does not necessarily mean abandonment of the native culture but rather (Kim 2001:65) an “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”.

Berry et al. (2006) conducted a study which focused on the relationship between the way young people acculturate and how well they adapt to the host settings. The main goal of their study was to determine the degree to which young people wished to maintain their heritage culture and the degree to which they wished to socialize and interact with the hosts. According to the authors, there was a relationship between individual preferences for involvement in either or both cultures and the manner in which they acculturated. The second issue on which they focused concerned the quality of the acculturation process, that is, how well the young people adopted. The third concerned the relation between the different ways of acculturating and the levels of acculturation.

They identified four profiles that young people adopted: integration, ethnic, national and diffuse. In addition, two forms of adaptation were examined: psychological and socio-cultural. The authors of the study predicted that those individuals who were integratively oriented would adapt best, whereas those with a diffuse profile would undergo acculturative problems. The researchers examined the acculturation attitudes of individuals – their choices

for involvement in the two cultures. The main conclusion of the study was that young people should be encouraged to maintain their heritage cultural identity and try to integrate with members of the host society.

Berry (1974, 1980) identified two independent dimensions involved in the process of acculturation, that is, individuals' links to their home culture, and to the culture of the hosts (2006:305). The researchers drew on the framework developed by Ward (1996) who argued that there are two ways of adaptation involved in the process of acculturation – psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation. Both refer to individuals' well-being, the former to mental health and the latter to competence in respect of social situations (Berry 2006:306). The results of the conducted study revealed four tendencies for preferences – acculturation profiles – among the young people (p. 313-316) which are summarized below.

The ethnic profile characterized individuals oriented more towards their own ethnic group, well-maintained knowledge of their native language, and a strong ethnic peer network. They displayed tendencies towards separation from the host community and attachment to family; generally they did not assimilate. Interestingly, falling into this category seemed to be unconnected with length of residence in the host country. In addition, young people with ethnic profiles were seen to adapt better psychologically, but their socio-cultural adaptation was poor. The ethnic profile was also typical of ethnically homogenous neighbourhoods.

The national profile characterized those individuals who were strongly oriented towards the hosts (i.e. the national group) and showed rather loose links with their ethnic community and involvement in maintaining the heritage culture. Instead they displayed assimilation tendencies. The national language was their dominant language in everyday life and their network with national peer contacts was well established. Generally, this profile was more frequent among individuals with longer residence in the host country. For example, it was the second profile in frequency, after the integration profile, among those who had lived in the receiving country from their early years. Nationally oriented individuals had poorer psychological adaptation and, surprising as this may seem, they did not score more highly than other profiles on socio-cultural adaptation (p. 320-321). This profile was more often found in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods.

The integration profile was most frequent, and characterized individuals who were equally involved in both the ethnic and the national cultures. Both identities were developed, and the focus was on integration rather than assimilation or separation from the host community. Both ethnic and national languages were reported to be used and their usage was relatively balanced. As in the national profile group, individuals with longer residence in the host country tended to fall into this category. This profile was also more frequent among individuals who had lived in the receiving country from their early years.

The last group of young people fell into the diffuse category. The data analysis revealed interesting results. These individuals were classified as proficient users of the ethnic language with simultaneous low scores on ethnic identity. Their involvement with the national group was poor, and their knowledge of the national language was also not proficient. In addition, they were found to have a combination of acculturative attitudes: assimilation, marginalisation and separation. The authors interpreted those belonging to this group as uncertain of their own place in the larger society (p. 316). Also, the diffuse group included more individuals with a shorter residence in the receiving country.

The researchers predicted that the degree to which discrimination was perceived by immigrants was related to the type of profile the individuals fitted. They found that perceived discrimination negatively influenced both psychological and socio-cultural adaptations. The analysis showed that in two profiles – integrative and national –discrimination was reported less often than in the ethnic and diffuse profiles (p. 316). Individuals in the diffuse group scored more highly on the perception of discrimination than those in the other profiles. In addition, the character of the neighbourhood also seemed to play a role in individuals' attitudes. For example, if the neighbourhood was not composed mainly of people from the same ethnic group, the national profile was more frequent.

The researchers also identified four factors related to the acculturation process. The ethnic orientation factor relating to aspects of identification with one's heritage culture; the national orientation factor relating to identification with the national culture; the integration factor relating to attitudes to both cultures; and the factor involving ethnic behaviours. What the authors reported as very surprising was that national orientation did not appear to strengthen socio-cultural adaptation. In addition, ethnic orientation seemed to have an impact on both

psychological and socio-cultural adaptations, with the effect being stronger on psychological adaptation. Ethnic contact was positively related to psychological adaptation; however, it did not have such an effect on socio-cultural adaptation (p. 321-322).

The researchers stress the phenomenon of reciprocity (p. 326) which refers to mutual attitudes being held between the groups. They argue that immigrants who do not perceive discrimination to be a real problem tend to adopt an integration profile in their mode of acculturation. On the other hand, if instances of discrimination are perceived often to pose a threat, immigrants are more likely to be associated with the diffuse profile (p. 326).

The authors conclude that the best mode of acculturation for immigrants is reflected in the integration profile, where maintaining one's ethnic heritage in all its aspects - culture, language, ethnic peer contacts etc. - and active involvement in the social and cultural life of the host society are experienced simultaneously (Berry et al. 2006:329):

Adolescents who are confident in their own ethnicity and proud of their ethnic group may be better able to deal constructively with discrimination, for example, by regarding it as the problem of the perpetrator or by taking proactive steps to combat it.

Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver (2008) investigated family relationships among different types of immigrants (Turkish, Surinamese and Antillean) living in the Netherlands and compared them with a sample of the Dutch population. They distinguished between the value-related aspects of the family – family values – and behavioural aspects of families – family ties (2008:469). They suggest that the presence of families may contribute to the immigrants' psychological well-being by providing support and a sharing experience. The researchers also suggest that perceived discrimination may strengthen family ties and sentiments as a natural reaction to acculturative stress (2008:470):

The family can promote a positive emotional state as family members feel valued and cared for. Also, the family can promote health-protective behaviours...perceived family support can have various positive relations with well-being, such as experiencing less stress...

They refer to family values when analysing attitudes towards family obligations like, for example, attitudes towards support between the family members. By family ties they understand the behavioural choices of immigrants - for instance, actual support given to other members of the family in difficult times etc. They also hypothesized - and this was later confirmed by the data analysis - that individuals who had strong family ties enjoyed more well-being than individuals with weak family ties; and that individuals who strongly supported traditional family values experienced less well-being than those whose links were not so strong in this regard. Of course, it has to be taken into account that the immigrants examined in the study came from non-Western background. The researchers comment (p. 482):

Family values showed a relatively weak and negative direct relation with well-being, while family ties showed a stronger and positive direct relation. Stronger family ties, which are accompanied by more cohesion and less conflict among family members, were associated with more individual well-being in all five cultural groups... [W]ithin the context of a modern, Western society like the Netherlands, more traditional family values are associated with less well-being.

The researchers suggest that it is perhaps behaviour that changes faster than cherished values in the acculturation experience. They also conclude that differences in ethnic hierarchy in the receiving country play a role in the adaptation process of immigrants. Some immigrant groups are more discriminated against than others and this has an impact on their psychological well-being and strengthens traditional family values (p. 484).

Safdar et al (2003) proposed an individual difference model of acculturation applied to Iranian immigrants to Canada. The main three variables they focused on in their study were psychosocial adjustment, connectedness to family and culture, and the experience of upset, both related and unrelated to the acculturation process (p. 556). Psychosocial adjustment was understood as comprising psychological well-being, perceived bicultural competence and perceived outgroup support; connectedness to family and culture were examined with the help of three variables – family allocentrism, ethnic identity and perceived ingroup social support (p. 560-561). The researchers related the psychological adjustment of immigrants to outgroup behaviour and distress, while relating connectedness to family to ingroup behaviour. In their model, ingroup and outgroup behaviours as well as individuals' psycho-physical condition

were examined. They also focused on only two modes of acculturation in their analysis – separation and assimilation. The data showed that troubles experienced by immigrants, and their psychological condition, were linked to the separation mode of acculturation, and that separation was not identified as a predictor of depression (p. 573-574). On the whole, the model deals with potential concerns an immigrant may experience while adapting to a new environment and their relation with individuals' behaviours. Again, the researchers hypothesize that the more upsets an immigrant experiences the more psychologically vulnerable he/she becomes; those immigrants who adjust better have fewer psychological problems and get involved with the majority society; and those who feel more connected to their family and their culture of heritage have more and healthier relations with the members of the in-group (p. 564).

Ward and colleagues (2001:9) in their book mention two hypotheses related to culture shock; the similarity-attraction hypothesis, which predicts that people of similar cultural, social and religious background will better understand each other than groups with different cultural values; and the culture-distance hypothesis which states that the degree of difficulty in adaptation and understanding is related to the extent of cultural distance between groups; the two hypotheses are obviously related and they predict similar situations and outcomes. They also posit that people undergo social categorization by members of the new environment and that this has an impact on the way they are treated by those members relative to their status and socio-economic position within the structures of the host society. This is referred to as the process of social categorization (p. 10). In their discussion on individualism and collectivism, in the context of a discussion on ethnocentrism, the authors provide a list of potential obstacles to positive intercultural understanding and interaction. Among them is a preference for people with similar values and of similar background, a large cultural gap between groups in contact, the intervention of biases, and particular circumstances of the developmental years (primary socialization) that may potentially lead to ethnocentric sentiments in an individual.

It has been emphasized that the adaptation process involves cultural and social learning, and also experiences of difficulties that accompany the process and the learning of the necessary interaction skills useful in the new environment (Bochner 1972; 1986). Ward divided intercultural adaptation into two categories: psychological adjustment to the new environment, where individuals' experiences play a role; and sociological adaptation which translates into

the nature and frequency of contacts with the hosts, as well as the degree of cultural distance between hosts and immigrants, which determines the ability of immigrants to adjust their behaviour to the host society (2001:42). Later, they acknowledge the changes that happen in individuals, and which may involve their identities, attitudes and values.

An interesting question would be that of which communities – in the context of the enlarged European Union – are closer to which, and what are the degrees of (dis)similarities between the groups (nations) that may render adaptation more, or less, difficult. In the context of the present research into Polish communities in Ireland and Austria, one can observe a relative measure of similarity of the three nations concerned: they are all European; they all have a Christian heritage; they share similar values; and they all have political systems which facilitate cultural and economic exchange. As has been mentioned before, there are other factors – at the policy level and in terms of the historical dimension – that may sometimes stand in the way of full integration.

3.3. Recent Research on Language Maintenance among Immigrants.

Research provides a number of explanations for the maintenance of the mother tongue among immigrants, or at least its transmission to the second generation living outside of the country of origin. Some researchers identify social factors, such as, for example, ethnic identity and connections to the heritage culture and tradition (García 2003). However, any minority group is likely to be in one way or another disadvantaged and usually, in order to maintain good relations with the majority community, such groups have to submit to at least those requirements that are necessary to secure peaceful co-existence. Obviously, majority group pressure is ever-present, and the domain most affected by such circumstances is, naturally, the language of the minority. It is inevitable that a minority language will undergo competition from the majority language, and the first results of this competition are usually seen as early as in the second generation of immigrants. From generation to generation, the language of origin usually weakens and frequently disappears in the end, replaced by the dominant language of the host country:

Intense pressure from a dominant group most often leads to bilingualism among subordinate groups who speak other languages, and this asymmetrical bilingualism very often results, sooner or later, in language shift...

(Thomson 2001:9, in García 2003:23)

Often the host community as a whole is not at all concerned about the state of minority languages; sometimes hostile voices are raised against them; on occasion one even sees the introduction of legislation that renders language maintenance difficult. On the other hand, the expression of more favourable views on the acknowledgment and support of minority languages is not entirely absent (see e.g. Fishman 1991)⁴.

Immigrants clearly make language choices, and these choices are governed by a range of factors (Stoessel 2002:94). Stoessel argues that language shift comprises a number of phases. It is manifested in the first generation reducing their use of the L1, which leads to loss of proficiency in use, especially in the second generation of immigrants (p. 94). She observes that living in an L1 environment encourages language maintenance, as immigrants are less challenged linguistically and they manage well in their L1. On the other hand, those immigrants who, for different reasons, choose or are obliged to live outside their ethnic communities may be seen to tend gradually to shift to the host language. On this view, it is the nature of the host environment and the quantity and quality of opportunities to partake of the L2 culture that are crucial in relation to immigrants' judgments influencing their decisions about language use (p. 95). Stoessel comments that the process of language shift or maintenance is a continuum ultimately dependant on the individual immigrants' decision-making, a process highly affected by their environment, social networks and lifestyles and attitudes (p. 95). Stoessel conducted an interesting study focusing on the part played by immigrants' social networking in determining language maintenance or shift. She argues on the basis of her work that the process of socialization involves learning roles and behaviours typical of a particular culture and society; that each social role includes a certain code of conduct; that role identities are validated or rejected by the environment (p. 96); and that language is central to this process of socialization (Stoessel 2002:96):

⁴ Fishman, in his work of 1991, promotes the reversal of language shift (RLS)

If individuals can function socially, it means they are able to linguistically portray desired social identities (or social roles) and be more or less certain of the ratification of these identities by other members of the group who share sociocultural knowledge with these individuals

It is widely recognized that in the early stages, an immigrant's strategies and behaviours may lead him/her off track as he/she adopts decisions and interpretations which are inappropriate in the new environment, and that only after acquiring certain culture-specific references of the new environment can an immigrant recognize the dynamics of that environment and establish his/her way of adopting and applying appropriate strategies (Polyzoi 1985).

The role of social networks in acquiring an L2 has been also examined by researchers such as Peirce (1993:14):

It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points of time, and it is through language that a person gains access to – or is denied access to – powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak. Thus language is not conceived of as a neutral medium of communication, but is understood with reference to its social meaning.

Language acts as a connection between an individual and the society. Acquiring the language of the majority is a necessary requirement if one aspires to participate in the new society (Stoessel 2002:98).

The feeling of having inadequate knowledge of L2 for the purposes of easy communication with natives, certainly gives rise to inhibitions and feelings of frustration. Because of such feelings, immigrants might experience longing for their homeland and positive sentiments in respect of the L1 community, where they experience freedom of linguistic and social expression (Winning 1991). Attachment to the L1 may develop in immigrants owing to their sense of incapacity to express themselves and become fully understood in the L2 (Stoessel 2002:109). As Stoessel suggests, one of the reasons underlying the problem, like, for example, conceptual incongruence between the L2 and the L1 may render communication

problematic. Again, this points up the importance of the linguistic domain in the process of socialization in a new environment (Stoessel 2002:108).

Individual factors contributing to language maintenance or shift are, for example, birthplace, age, period of residence in the L2 country, gender, acquired qualifications—education, knowledge of L2 at the time of entry, reasons for immigration to the new country, and variety of language (Yagmur 1997). Also relevant are the specific domains in which particular languages are used. According to Fishman, bilingualism tends to be stable and the L1 has a better chance of survival if the L1's functions and domains differ from those of L2 (Fishmann et al 1971).

Milroy (2001) argues that whether the language is maintained or abandoned may relate to an individual's "mode of life" (in De Bot & Stoessel 2002), for example, their professional work and private lifestyles. Milroy's model analysing language maintenance and shift seeks to integrate factors on institutional, socio-political and community levels (p.2.). She also takes into account strategies applied to conversations in different domains of life. Milroy's model thus focuses on the workings of social networks of an individual, their behaviour and language use related to it, as well as language shift or maintenance. According to her (2001:4-5):

...a fundamental postulate of social network analysis is that individuals create personal communities which provide them with a meaningful framework for solving the problems of their day to day existence... the general assumption is that variation in the structure of different individuals' personal social networks will systematically affect both the vitality of the community language and the speech community's vulnerability to language shift

De Bot & Stoessel note a paradox within the field regarding the impact of social networks on language change (Zantella 1997), while others do not (Hogg & Rigoli 1996). Moreover, there is a lack of substantial qualitative evidence for the identification of any close relation or interdependence between social networks and language use (De Bot & Stoessel 2002:3).

Stoessel (2002), in her study of ten immigrant women in the United States, tried to determine factors contributing to the maintenance or abandonment of L1. Factors identified in the study included both network-related and non-network related (p. 93) factors. Also, she reports that those who tended to maintain their native language were attached to their L1.

3.4. The nature of cross-linguistic influence

During the analysis we examined our participants' language use and looked for cases of influence from the target language (German or English) on their production of Polish. We investigated the nature of such influences and tried to determine in what circumstances it most often manifested itself. We took into consideration the full gamut of such influence from the target language - for example, shifts in syntactic patterning or the use of German/English words in place of their Polish equivalents. While in some cases cross-linguistic influence happens undoubtedly at an unconscious level, in others - for instance, the deployment of German or English vocabulary - it might have a conscious, strategic nature, resulting from difficulties the participants experience in retrieving the relevant Polish equivalents. The reader will find a comprehensive analysis of the participants' speech in chapter seven. Below is provided a theoretical introduction and discussion of cross-linguistic influences like, for example, language transfer, which are investigated in later chapters.

The concept of cross-linguistic influence has been studied from many perspectives and with reference to various levels (syntactic, semantic, lexical, pragmatic, etc.) as well as code-switching and code-mixing. We had to be selective in the scope of the influence we included in our purview, and so for present purposes we left out of account instances of transfer relating to Polish-internal language variation. Before we proceed to the actual analysis, we provide a short description with respect to the nature of the problems we discuss later in the chapter.

3.4.1. Different types of language transfer.

Language transfer has been studied for many decades. Researchers have identified, and focused on, a wide range of its different aspects. The classic, commonsensical view – to an extent but far from completely borne out by research – is that when a known language and the

target language have similar grammar structures, cognate vocabularies, and a high degree of phonetic/phonological proximity, cross-linguistic interaction may be positive in the sense of facilitating the acquisition and use of the target language. When the situation is that there is a high degree of distance between features of the base and the target language, on the other hand, the traditional view, supported by everyday experience and in some measure by research, is that this may impede the process of acquiring and using relevant aspects of the target language. For example, there are sounds in English that do not exist in Polish, like [θ]. On the other hand, Polish and German have complicated case systems which are not found in English. These and similar factors may make the learning process more difficult for some learners. Learners may, for example, replace the target language structures, lexis or sound-segments with their closest equivalents in the source language.

3.4.1.1. Syntactic transfer

Syntactic transfer occurs when certain syntactic structures typical of one language are used in the production of another. Much has been written about this phenomenon and researchers investigated the issue from different angles. We will not deal here with the earliest approaches to transfer as this would go beyond the scope of the current analysis. Instead, we will look at some more recent studies.

Chan (2004) investigated instances of syntactic transfer from Chinese to English with reference to a large sample (710 individuals) of ESL learners at different proficiency levels. She studied particular types of deficiencies in the learners' production, including failure to use particular types of clauses like, for example, relative clauses. Her results showed that the participants tended to think in their native (Cantonese) language first before performing written tasks in English. She found out that many structures used by the participants were typical of their native language.

Meriläinen (2010) examined the syntactic influence of L1 Finnish on the production of L2 English among Finnish students. She studied the problem from the perspective of teaching methods applied in Finnish schools. On the basis of the results of her study, she discusses implications for teaching and the curriculum. She argues that communicative teaching may be insufficient for learners whose native language is very different from the target language. She

concludes that in such a case more structured methods than informal learning need to be applied to bring about grammatical competence in the target language. Otherwise, L2 production will be marked by interference from L1 syntactic structures.

Rothman (2010) tested his model of L3 initial state transfer which suggests that ‘typological proximity between the languages is the most deterministic variable determining the selection of syntactic transfer’ (p. 245). Recently Rothman (2011) investigated what variables facilitate (and condition) syntactic transfer. He studied the process of third language (L3) acquisition among successful learners of L2 and found that L3 transfer tended to be selective (p. 107). His data suggested that, depending on particular conditions, typological proximity of the L3 language to previously acquired languages played a significant role in the process. He offers the Typological Primacy Model (TPM) to account for cases of L3 transfer.

These and similar studies show that source language influence is inevitably manifest, at least at the beginning of the learning process. Where there is significant typological distance between the source and target language, if the training in or exposure to the target language is insufficient or inappropriate, errors resulting from L1 interference are likely to prevail.

3.4.1.2. Semantic transfer

Semantics deals with meaning. Many studies reveal the reality of semantic transfer from one language to another. Those referred to below are illustrative.

Jiang (2004) investigated instances of semantic transfer in second language learning settings. The study involved semantic judgment tasks where Korean individuals had to decide whether they perceived any relation in meaning between L1 and L2 words. The learners responded much faster to pairs of words which shared the same Korean translation than to word pairs which did not. As Jiang later explains, the result of the study was interpreted as evidence for the influence of L1 semantic structures on the process of learning L2 vocabulary, and as evidence that these representations are present in L2 processing of meaning (p. 416).

Marian & Kaushanskaya (2007) investigated cases of cross-linguistic borrowing and transfer in Russian-English bilinguals. Cross linguistic borrowings were found to be more frequent in the case of nouns whereas more verbs (than nouns) were affected by transfer. The level of

concreteness also played a role – concrete nouns and verbs were transferred more often than abstract nouns or abstract verbs. The authors suggest that the nature of cross-linguistic influence depends on the structure of language and its environment.

Torrijos (2009) studied the effect of cross-linguistic influence on the process of L2 acquisition. She investigated the role of the source language in the production of written tasks in the target language. She focused on semantic and syntactic areas of language in L2 production. She applied the methods of contrastive analysis to the types of errors she studied. The participants were Spanish-speaking learners of English and American students of Spanish. All of them showed strong influence from the L1 on L2 production. Torrijos concludes that semantic transfer seems to be an inevitable factor in the process of second language acquisition.

3.4.1.3. Lexical transfer

The lexicon plays a crucial role in the acquisition of any language. Similarly to the case of syntax or semantics, lexemic transfer from one language into another is also frequently observable. This may happen automatically, without the speaker being aware of his/her using words which are taken directly from the lexicon of another language. Sometimes, however, speakers consciously and strategically use words from another language to compensate for gaps in their lexical proficiency in the target language.

Helms-Park (2001) studied verb transfer using data from second language learners. She hypothesized that the L1 would have an influence on the acquisition of L2 verbs in those semantic areas where translation equivalents between L1 and L2 were found. The participants were divided into two groups: Hindi-Urdu speakers and Vietnamese speakers. Helms-Park concluded from her findings that semantic transfer from L1 verb lexicon is indeed a factor in the acquisition of L2 verb lexicon.

Augustín Llach, Fernández Fontecha & Moreno Espinosa (2005) examined lexical errors produced by Spanish and German learners of English in written assignments. The results of the study showed that the Spanish learners made fewer errors than the German learners. However, both groups of participants made similar types of mistakes. The results suggest that lexical transfer is a natural phenomenon in the process of the acquisition of L2 lexicon.

De Angelis (2005), in her paper on multilingualism and non-native lexical transfer identified cognitive processes in multilinguals suggesting their transfer of non-target language items from one non-native language into another. She suggests that such speakers may identify those items as belonging to the repertoire of the non-native language they use or, alternatively, not identify the item as belonging to their source language. She talks about two factors which may block transfers from the L1 and facilitate transfers from other non-native languages. These are ‘perception of correctness and association of foreignness’ (p.1).

Recently, Augustín Llach (2010) provided a review of studies on lexical transfer. She investigated the role of factors such as the level of L2 proficiency, the linguistic background of the learner (L1), motivation to learn the target language, the context of L2 learning, and gender of the learner. Lexical transfers occur more often between typologically close languages where one may find, for example, many cognates which facilitate learning L2 vocabulary. However, Augustín Llach observes that learners seem to undergo the same transfer processes regardless of their linguistic background, and that, consistently, the more proficient L2 users they become, the less they need to borrow from their native language lexical repertoire.

3.4.1.4. Phonetic and phonological transfer

Phonological transfer is the influence of a first language on phonological variations made when speaking a second language
(Tepperman et al. 2009)

Phonetic/phonological transfer is evidenced in what native speakers of a language hear when they ‘detect’ a non-native speaker. Interestingly, the claim is sometimes made that knowledge of a foreign language enriches the individual’s phonetic and phonological repertoire and strengthens cognitive processing which, in turn, helps in the acquisition of other phonetic systems (Mehlhorn, 2007). Mehlhorn investigated how knowledge of Russian or Polish may help German native speakers acquire these Slavonic languages by means of positive phonetic transfer.

Tepperman et al. (2009) investigated the role of phonological transfer on L2 articulation. Their results demonstrated that learners of a second language draw on their L1 repertoire in

the production of L2 sounds. Unsurprisingly, the participants - native speakers of English and native speakers of German – used the phonological systems of their native languages in the production of the target language sounds.

Mora (2005) conducted a perception test in order to explore the influence of two different learning contexts - formal instruction at a university and a period of time spent in an English speaking environment – on the perception ability of L2 phonemic contrasts in Spanish-Catalan bilingual learners of English. Simon (2010) investigated voicing and devoicing patterns in Dutch and English interlanguage. Lin & Johnson (2010) examined Mandarin-English bilingual children participating in an English emersion programme and studied the development of phonological patterns in their L2 production.

Recently, much attention has been given to the issue of third language acquisition and how L1 and L2 may facilitate the process of L3 learning and production, including phonetic and phonological systems. Marx and Mehlhorn (2010) explored phonetic systems of English (L2) and German (L3) with a view to finding evidence for prospective positive transfer which may facilitate the learning process of German as L3.

3.4.2. Code-switching and code-mixing.

Among different types of cross-linguistic influences, some researchers distinguish between code-switching and code-mixing. Both two terms refer to situations when speakers substitute a word or phrase from one language and use it in another (Geeta & Kamatchi, 2010:232), but attempts have been made to distinguish between them. It has to be said that the clarity and consistency of the distinctions and definitions involved in such attempts leave something to be desired.

Bokamba (1989) separates the two types of cross-linguistic influences:

Code-switching is the mixing of words, phrase and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub)systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event... code-mixing is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from a

co-operative activity where the participants, in order to infer what is intended, must reconcile what they hear with what they understand.

(Ayeomoni, 2006:90)

Myers-Scotton & Ury (1977) defined code-switching as the practice of using two or more linguistic varieties in the course of the same conversation or (linguistic) interaction. Twenty years later, the concept was much more intensively explored and various studies provide interesting data from both a linguistic and a psychological perspective. Duran (1994) dedicated her research to exploring processes of bilingual development in children. She treated code-switching as a phenomenon typical of bilinguals. She identified as code-switching the point when learners are conscious of the fact that they code-switch, and when it is their own decision whether to code-switch or not.

Muysken (2000) uses the term code-mixing for situations where lexical items and grammar structures typical of one language appear in another, while code-switching is characterized as 'the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event' (p. 1). Coulmas (2005) distinguishes between, on the one hand, code-switching, when the speakers are fluent in both languages and when the switches often occur spontaneously even if the speakers are not fully balanced bilinguals, and, on the other, code fluctuation which refers to cases where the speakers are not fluent in either L1 or L2 (p. 113). Woon Yee Ho (2007) defines code-mixing as changes from one language to another in the same utterance or text, either oral or written.

Molinsky (2007) focuses on the psychological implications of code-switching in cross-cultural settings as well as the cost of adapting one's behaviour to cultural interactions different from those typical of the native culture of the speaker. He focuses on the role of emotions in the cultural adaptation process within the context of interaction.

Nilep (2006) defines code-switching as 'the practice of selecting or altering linguistic elements so as to contextualize talk in interaction' (p.1). Poplack (2004) observes that researchers are not consistent in defining code-switching, and that many aspects of cross-linguistic influences are labeled under the term. This makes the process of analysis very difficult because in some cases particular examples may be treated as code-switching while in other contexts they may signal, for example, language attrition.

In our analysis in chapter seven, we looked at various situations when the participants used German, or English words, or whole sentences in either language while speaking Polish. The reader will be informed in advance what group of participants the individuals came from to better illustrate the nature of the analyzed cross-linguistic interplay between the two target languages, German and English, and Polish.

3.5. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter the concepts of multiculturalism, diaspora and cross-cultural adaptation have been examined, along with issues of language maintenance and ethnic identity. In addition, a theoretical framework of the concept of language transfer has been presented. A thorough understanding of these problems is believed to be crucial for further empirical analysis concerning Polish immigrant identity and attitudes to the Polish language.

Any study of immigration and adaptation must not be considered out of context. The receiving society plays an important role in the process of acculturation and integration of new comers. Answers to whether (and why) particular ethnic groups assimilate, integrate, or isolate from the receiving society, and whether they teach their native language to their children, are often not straightforward and require in-depth studies of their cultural, religious, and historical backgrounds. Contexts in which language shift occurs may be related to sociological and psychological factors present in the individual's immediate environment. Therefore, a conceptual framework of a possible spectrum of sociological and linguistic influences acts as a starting point for our further analysis presented in chapters six and seven.

Chapter Four: The Austrian and Irish Identities. Perspectives on Immigration Issues.

4.1. Introduction

The focus of this chapter is the issue of changing Austrian identity concomitant with socio-political developments in the twentieth century on the one hand, and a concept of Irish

identity on the other. Relevant immigration policies in the two countries are also summarized to better illustrate the circumstances in which Polish immigrants found themselves at the time when the study was conducted.

Austria is very different from Ireland – it has a completely different history, and its immigration laws address the immigration issue, as in the case of any other country, from its own historical and political perspective. These matters clearly need to be analysed taking account of the question of Austrian identity. Self-perceptions of both Austrians and the Irish, and their understandings of themselves, may provide valuable insights in relation to their attitudes towards other national and ethnic groups. The reader will be taken through the dramatic changes that Austrians have witnessed during the last decades on the one hand, and complexities of the Irish identity on the other. Knowledge of these processes is essential to serious engagement with a discussion of political developments in both Central-Eastern and Western Europe.

4.2. The Austrian Perspective

4.2.1. Attitudes to the Nazi Past – Austria as the Victim?

Much has been written and said about the image of postwar Austria as one of the victims of Nazi Germany. Coming to terms with, often painful, historical facts has not been easy and for many years rhetoric of victimization prevailed in the debate. In 1938 Austria was annexed by Nazi Germany (in the so-called *Anschluss*), and officially Austria became part of the fascist regime. After World War II, the ‘victim’ interpretation of historical facts became not only popular, but was also used to build a new Austrian identity, separated from Germany and German issues (Klambauer 2006). In the nineteen-fifties Austria became an independent state in Central Europe and later took on the status of a transition country, or homeland, for many asylum seekers trying to escape the terrors of communism and Soviet occupation in Eastern Europe. However, the serenity of the new democracy was shattered by the Waldheim⁵ affair in the nineteen-eighties when embarrassing facts concerning the Nazi Past of Austria and the presence of former Nazis in social and political life were revealed. Austrians became divided in the debate as to whether Kurt Waldheim was to blame for his service, active and passive, in

⁵ Kurt Waldheim, the SPÖ candidate in the presidential elections in 1986

the army of Nazi Germany during the war. He defended himself claiming that he ‘like many Austrians, had done his duty’ (Matsuoka 2003:30).

It seemed the perfect way to justify their actions during the war, especially people who were directly involved in the war atrocities, and whose family did not want to accept collective responsibility for the aggressions committed during the war. This whole debate illustrated that a majority of Austrians after 1945 managed to erase their past in order to craft themselves a new collective biography (Matsuoka 2003:30)

Owing to international pressure and pressure at home, in 1988 Waldheim was forced to recognize the reality of the Holocaust and admit active participation in it on the part of Austrians. The era of Austria’s unspotted new democracy was thus somewhat tainted, and historians, along with other social scientists and public figures, had to redefine and change the popular ‘victim’ rhetoric.

We have referred to Klambauer above. His book points up paradoxes and contradictions present in Austrian understanding of, and attitude towards, its past. In the third part of his work, for example, he focuses on memorials in two churches in Vienna: Saint Stephen’s Cathedral and the Votivkirche. While the churches may be seen to represent Austria’s distinct non-German Catholic identity, the Votivkirche hosts a memorial to the Austrian fascist Sicherheitswachebeamte⁶ (1935) together with a memorial to the victims of Stalingrad⁷ (1942-43). Klambauer sees these as a tribute to the right-wing elements in Austria. In addition, in the same church visitors can see the Jägerstätter⁸ stained glass windows (1973) together with the Mauthausen⁹ stained glass window (1968). According to Klambauer, this juxtaposition represents the complexity of Austrian pre- and postwar history. He draws attention to the diversity of symbols present in Austrian historical debate – symbols which are powerful because they assert, and reassert, certain values.

⁶ Austrofascism, authoritarian rule in Austria in the 1930s

⁷ The Battle of Stalingrad 1942-43

⁸ Austrian victim of the Nazi regime

⁹ Mauthausen-Gusen (1938-1945), German concentration camp in Mauthausen near Linz, Austria

Yuki Matsuoka (2003) discusses issues of historical memory connected to national pride on the basis of comparisons between Austria and Japan. Defining Austrian identity was problematic until quite recent times. First, the end of the Habsburg monarchy (at the end of World War I) caused a fragmentation of the Austro-Hungarian multi-ethnic society of German-, Hungarian- and Slav- speaking peoples (Matsuoka 2003:9) which had been united under Austro-Hungarian imperial rule. The establishment of the Austrian Republic did not solve the problem. From the very beginning of the Republic's existence, strong German influences were present, which eventually lead the way to the *Anschluss* in 1938. The period preceding War World II was marked by political and social tensions, including civil war in 1934, and subsequently the persecution of those who openly opposed the annexation of Austria to Germany. Thousands of those who did not want Austria to become part of Nazi Germany were arrested (Matsuoka 2003:12). Whether because of fear of nefarious consequences, or because of economic concerns, the majority of Austrians acquiesced in the Republic's merging with Germany. Matsuoka summarizes the general feeling of a lack of a clear identity among Austrians thus (pp. 10-11):

The Austrian identity of those years became faceless; or rather Austria had not a single but a double or triple identity. On the one hand in the republic domain there was a backward-looking ideology about Austria with the ideal of Austro fascism that expressed itself in the reintroduction of the old 'imperial' uniforms, parades, open-air celebrations of the Mass. On the other hand, political Catholicism expressed itself in the credo of the Christian Social Party 'as a native party of Christian German Austria', declared obedience to pan-Germanism and resistance to 'Non-German and Non-Christian influences'. Furthermore, beneath the faceless mask, an independent identity had been sought for the existence of an Austrian nation by the illegal labor movement.

During the War, Austrians took an active part in the horrors later attributed solely to Germany. The Führer himself, like many of his followers, was Austrian. One cannot forget, however, those Austrians who nevertheless opposed the Nazis, and who lost their lives in consequence or were forced into exile. Artists, supporters of other political movements, and many others tried to fight the Nazi regime at home or abroad.

As early as in 1943, the Moscow Declaration¹⁰ defined Austria as the first victim of German Nazism. After World War II, Austria tried to distance itself from the atrocities committed by the Nazis. Immediately after the war, Austrian territory was divided between four powers: the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and France. In 1955 the Austrian State Treaty was established and Austria became a (militarily) neutral, independent country¹¹. From this moment onwards a popular Austrian rhetoric of ‘first victim of Nazi regime’ became audible (Matsuoka 2003:13). Wodak & Cillia (2007) demonstrate how narratives referring to the past shape national identities. Their approach treats narratives as *changing and shifting* (p.317) and depending on contexts:

[...] there is no *one* single past, nor *one* unique narrative; quite contrary, many narratives which are informed by different interests are in conflict with each other for hegemonic status.

(Wodak & Cillia 2007:317)

Because of developments in the eighties following, *inter alia*, the Waldheim affair, the prevailing narratives were challenged and, consequently, had to be redefined. Among them was the victim rhetoric (Wodak & Cillia 2007:317). Matsuoka (2003) argues that the ‘victim hypothesis’ had been used as the basis for Austria’s new identity and that the part of the Moscow Declaration which held Austria responsible for Nazi crimes had been ignored (p. 27). In addition:

People who would have reminded Austria of its guilt, were erased from the collective memory. This strategy of forgetting, facilitated and supported by the victim theory, required that the Austrians minimize the crimes that they had committed.

(Matsuoka 2003:28)

In addition, one is confronted by a juxtaposition of real victims with ‘imagined’ victims:

¹⁰ The Moscow Declaration was signed by the United States, The Soviet Union and the United Kingdom in 1943

¹¹ A debate took place as to the extent of Austria’s neutrality partly owing to Soviet pressure regarding its definition. Austria became a militarily neutral country with economic ties; it joined the United Nations in 1955 and the Council of Europe in 1956 (Matsuoka 2003:34).

[...] one thing is particularly striking: the victims of the Nazi terror who were murdered in concentration camps are discursively placed on the same level as the soldiers who waged the war of aggression (*topos of equation*). A community of victims is thus constructed, within which all became victims of the ‘nightmare’. This is furthered by the undifferentiated construction of historical events as ‘horror’, as a ‘dark age’, which could just as easily refer to the atrocities of war, the Nazi terror or the ejection of the ‘German people’ after 1945.

(Wodak & Cillia 2007:332)

Matsuoka (2003) cites two surveys which were conducted by Americans in 1946-1948 and in the 1960s. The results of the surveys show that a large section of the Austrian population either actively supported the National Socialism, or at least did not regard sympathizing with the regime as a ‘bad thing’ (Matsuoka 2003:29). Matsuoka cites sources that attest to a general presence, and indicate the direct causes of acceptance of this presence, of former Nazis at all levels of social, professional and public life in Austria, in spite of the prohibition of the NSDAP in 1945 (pp. 45, 47). Thousands of former Nazis were amnestied and integrated into society. A meaningful process of denazification was rendered problematic by the shortages of staff competent to fill the relevant vacant posts. Eva Taxacher (<http://www.koed.hu/neighbour/eva.pdf>) analyzes the problem from the point of view of Austrian academia (p. 47):

A thorough cleansing during the process of denazification would have led to a standstill, not just at the universities, since nearly two thirds of university professors at the time of the end of the war were National Socialists... [S]ince competent successors for the positions were not available (because they vanished as dissidents in concentration camps or were forced to emigrate), the responsible Austrian and allied authorities agreed upon so-called ‘*Einzelfallprüfungen*’ (a case-by-case approach), where the moderately incriminated (*Minderbelastete*) were allowed to take up their employment again.

She also mentions other factors arising out of the political situation of the time and the division of Europe into the West and East part (p. 48):

Europe was tragically dividing into two halves, and Austria had an important role as bulwark against the Communist regimes in the center and in the east; therefore the Western forces had to warrant their support. By 1948 amnesty for moderately incriminated, a further compromise in the process of denazification, was implemented; this affected about 90 percent of the registered National Socialists.

The case of education needs to be taken into account too. Teaching about the war was limited to military facts, with deliberate omission of the Holocaust and other issues related to war atrocities and crimes until the early 1980s (Matsuoka 2003:55). Taking this into account, one cannot be surprised by the statistics showing support for, or positive sentiments towards, National Socialism and Nazis. Finally, once documented historical and later educational materials became available, the feeling of denial and rejection of one's history naturally became part of the process (p.57).

4.2.2. Austria's Role in East-West Relations during the Cold War

Much has been said about Austria's co-responsibility for the crimes committed in the 1930s and 1940s. Austria, however, also played also a very positive role during the period of the Cold War by accepting into its territory, and helping in various ways, asylum seekers from Eastern Europe. There were three waves of refugees from Eastern Europe beset by the horrors of Soviet occupation. The first was the result of the Hungarian Rising in 1956, then followed the stream of refugees from the crisis in Czechoslovakia in 1968. In 1981-2 Martial Law was introduced in Poland, and thousands of Poles tried to escape repression and to find a home in Western countries, including Austria. Austria's formal responses to the three major crises were courageous and, in Matsuoka's terms, 'provocative towards the Soviet Union' (p.37). Despite varying levels of sympathy in Austria, and despite Austrian concerns connected, for example, to Austria's military and territorial safety and its relations with other Western countries, it must be stressed that Austria helped thousands of vulnerable people. Perhaps this was possible because of its 'stated neutrality' and its implied role as a 'bridge between the West and East' (Matsuoka 2003:39). Austria's role as a mediator and representative of the interests of the vulnerable in, for example, the Middle East in their interaction with the wealthy countries of the West also cannot be ignored when composing a full and complete

picture of what led Austria to become what it is today. However, even here one encounters a paradox: while Bruno Kreisky's¹² era (1970-1983) was marked by Austria's involvement in the support of weak and oppressed peoples across the world, many former Nazis were officially reintegrated into Austrian society, including the highest levels in politics, during his chancellorship (Matsuoka 2003:67).

4.2.3. Austria's Freedom Party (FPÖ)

The FPÖ came into existence under its "proper" name – the Freedom Party – in 1956, and aimed to be of national-liberal orientation, its political ideology concentrating on liberal and German-national concepts of society. What gave the party its right-wing orientation was its early leaders, including, for example, former members of the SS. Luther (2000) provides a short description of the four stages in the party's development since 1956. Of interest here are the third and the fourth phase, from the late 1990s, which form part of the background for the study of Poles in Austria.

Like every party, the FPÖ underwent different stages in its internal reorganisation. Luther refers to the third stage of the party's development as the period of *Acceptance* – from the 1970s till 1986 – when after an initial decline in popularity, the party entered the Federal Government in 1983. Luther admits that this period witnessed some tribulations which were attributed to conflicts between nationals and liberals within the party, although he mentions conflicting political ambition as the real underlying cause. Generally, he sees a growing tendency towards the liberalisation of the party's ideology (p.6).

The situation changed in September 1986, when Jörg Heider replaced Norbert Steiger as the leader of the party. Here, Luther argues, the era of *Populist Protest* began, and a radicalisation of the party's ideology. From this time onwards, one of the key policies at the centre of the FPÖ's rhetoric and propaganda was immigration. Luther observes that the issue of immigration was ideologically linked to crime rates and this became one of the main concerns of the party's critics. Initially against Austria's joining the European Union, once the country became a member, the FPÖ started to express concerns about potential threats coming from

¹² Bruno Kreisky – Austrian chancellor between 1970 and 1983

the EU enlargement to the East and spread anti-enlargement sentiments (p. 7-8). The FPÖ became significantly popular twice in its history: in 1989-1991 and in 1999, when its members entered the political structures of the local authorities in Carinthia. After the later elections, and following a scandal which had long-lasting and international repercussions, the FPÖ re-entered the Federal Government of Austria in February 2000 (pp. 13-14).

Luther's book presents some defensive arguments in relation to the FPÖ, claiming that there is no research-based evidence that right-wing sentiments are widely held or unanimously shared among the FPÖ party leaders and that FPÖ day-to-day activities are not motivated or dictated by extremist views. Luther also suggests that the majority of the FPÖ voters were not guided by nationalist sentiments and values but that the FPÖ's success is the result of other political and social factors like, for example, mistakes of the mainstream "pillar" parties (p21, 26). Luther points to what he sees as a new outcome of the FPÖ's political activities - the abandonment of German nationalism in favour of Austrian nationalism and the party's shift from anti-clericalism to Christian values in 1997 (p. 21-22).

Luther concludes by rejecting the accusation that the party has a neo-fascist or right-wing extremist character regardless of the fact that some of its supporters have neo-fascist or right-wing extremist sentiments. He stresses the lack of evidence that the party is influenced in its policies by extremist values, and he even casts doubt on the notion that there is a significant number of people who hold such views among the party members (p. 27). He also denies any possibility that the FPÖ poses a threat to Austria's democracy, citing, for example, the fact that the FPÖ entered into coalition with the ÖVP (led by Wolfgang Schüssel), a party which is very pro-European in its ideology. The 2000 coalition of the People's Party ÖVP and the FPÖ caused much concern across Europe owing to the xenophobic and racist sentiments openly expressed by Jörg Heider. Commentators argue that the popularity of the nationalist party at the time was caused by discontent and fear resulting from the mass immigration, for example, of people from former Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

One should add that there are voices in the academic literature pointing to possible positive results arising out of a coalition of a mainstream party of the right with a populist right-wing party. Ivarsflaten (2004) provides some evidence that the FPÖ underwent a transformation once in the government, shifting, for example, from the expression of anti-immigrant attitudes to addressing issues more relevant to the functioning of the country in the European

structures, and that over time this proved to undermine the party's drawing power. In fact, as Ivarsflaten (2004:16) observes, the Freedom Party lost a significant number of its voters once it was given the opportunity to take part in the government and implement its policies:

By assuming government responsibility, the populist right in Austria all of a sudden found itself in a position where it had to defend the government's practices in the area of immigration. Moreover, and these are the issues that predictably tore the FPÖ apart, the party had to focus on other policy areas than immigration. Thereby it lost some of its capacity earlier spent on persuading the public that radical restrictions on immigration were in their best interest.

Ivarsflaten compares Austria with two other European regions where populist parties at some stage appeared to have huge support – Denmark and Flanders. Using the experience of the three countries for the purpose of a comparison of anti-immigrant sentiments among people and the influence populist parties may have on public opinion, whether in government or outside, she concludes (p. 17):

...whether or not populist right parties are included in government, and how this inclusion is handled, matters for opinion towards immigrants... [P]opulist right parties exercise opinion leadership in the area of immigration, and ... they are particularly effective at doing so as government outsiders. Secondly... drawing a distinction between government inclusion and policy cooptation is crucial for understanding how parties and public opinion towards immigrants interact.

As she further notes, the ÖVP distanced itself from the inappropriate or even scandalous behaviour of some FPÖ party members and their stated views. In addition, the FPÖ was forced to sign a declaration to keep to the rules of democratic structures (p. 18). Finally, Ivarsflaten concludes that (p. 18):

...the Austrian case suggests very strongly that the cues that are sent to the public with regards to tolerance towards immigrants are significantly different when the populist right is reluctantly included in government than when the mainstream right seeks to campaign on a more restrictive immigration policy agenda itself.

4.2.4. Selected Austrian legislation

In this section we present relevant legislation in Austria. The Irish dimension of these issues will be discussed in following sections of the chapter.

Austria does not officially belong to the group of traditional immigration countries, although immigration into Austria throughout centuries is well documented. Austria has had a relatively strict immigration policy and law has been amended many times to impose more restrictions on admission of immigrants, especially those from outside the EU.

Historically, the officially recognized minorities in Austria are Slovenes, Croats, Hungarians, Roma, Czechs and Slovaks (Hausner, 2004). After the First World War the poor economic conditions, later followed by political developments and the fascist rule, triggered emigration of Austrian citizens. After Anschluss (the annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany) in 1938, relevant immigration policy and legislation has been replaced by Nazi German law. The end of the World War II was only the beginning of new divisions in Europe which still have repercussions today. Austria found itself in the position of a transit country for refugees from Eastern European countries (Jandl & Kraler 2003¹³). Millions of people escaped communism between 1945 and 1989 until the fall of the regime.

Labour immigration in Austria dates back to the 1960s when immigrants kept the economy growing¹⁴. Since 1960s Austria had guest worker programmes, initiated with Spain in 1962 and Turkey in 1964, soon followed by other (Böse et al. 2002). Austrians were prioritized in the service sector while immigrants were supposed to fill the gaps in the production which did not have to be well educated or skilled (p. 2). These programmes were obviously influenced by the economic situation in the country and in times of difficulties the immigrants were naturally most negatively affected. The idea of a guest worker was, initially, meant to include only temporary employment and in the sectors, or jobs, that experienced demand for workers. However, this was the first step Austria took to become a country of immigration (Böse et al, p. 3):

¹³ Austria: A Country of Immigration? International Centre for Migration Policy Development, March 2003, <http://www.migrationinformation.org/>

¹⁴ Eironline, European Industrial Relations Observatory Online. European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions; <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2005/01>

...for several reasons the system never worked as expected: migrants wanted to stay longer because their income had not met their expectations, and employers refused to recruit new inexperienced workers and preferred to keep the already trained ones. As the mostly male immigrants decided to stay longer, the immigration of their family members started in the beginning of the 1970's. This phase of immigration profoundly changed the structure of the foreign population. Austria became in fact an immigration country, relative to the size of its population, even one of the foremost immigration countries in Europe. However, this status has never become part of Austria's official self-understanding (Fassmann, H, Münz, R 1995)... Following from this outlook, the need for an active immigration policy was not perceived in Austria until the mid-1990's.

As Böse observes, even though a temporary character of both the residence and employment was attached to the idea of a guest worker, times of economic prosperity caused the need for additional labour force which opened the door for family members of already resident immigrants. Following the slump in economy in the 1970s, the 1975 Foreign Workers' Occupation Act was implemented which set the preferences for Austrian employees before foreigners when filling the vacancies.

Political changes in Europe, especially in the Eastern part, caused massive refugee movements. From Eastern Europe, Austria experienced three major immigration flows caused by violent political crises in that part of Europe: in 1956 from Hungary, in 1968 Austria admitted thousands of immigrants from Czechoslovakia, followed by influx of Poles between 1981-2 after the introduction of Martial Law. However, as Jandl and Kraler note, Poles did not enjoy warm reception from Austrians and in 1981 a visa requirement was introduced for Poles. As a consequence of socio-political developments, asylum and family reunifications became visible form of immigration into Austria. The country seemed to be affected by opposing influences – on the one hand economic boom in the 1980s caused new needs for workers, and on the other the developments in Europe triggered much resentment among Austrian nationals towards immigrants and refugees from East Europe and Yugoslavia. However, in the case of both regions, Austria admitted thousands of refugees seeking protection within its borders. Negative sentiments may be partially explained by fears felt by Austrians, and the overall insecure situation of Europe, in addition to the pace at which it all

happened and brutality it was associated with. The resulting legal restrictions regarding asylum and immigration introduced by the government received applause from the majority of Austrians who became more and more discontent with the levels of immigration, especially in the 1990s (Jandl & Kraler 2003).

The political changes of 1990s brought new challenges as the fall of communist regime allowed for somewhat freer movement of people between borders. The collapse of the communist governments in the Eastern European countries opened the door for people who now looked for asylum in the West. One of the steps taken in this regard was the introduction of an employment quota for foreigners allowed to work legally in the state. This was done in 1990. However, the accession of Austria to the European Union called for changes in legislation concerning immigrants and employment of foreigners, at least those from other EU countries, as Austria was forced to share and contribute to the West European political and economic structures. Further legislation aimed at restricting the terms of entry and residence of foreigners were the 1992 Asylum Act, the 1992 Aliens Act, and the 1993 Residence Act. These lead way to the categorization of immigrants (Jandl & Kraler 2003). The enactment of the 1992 Asylum Law as well as the introduction of a yearly quota for immigrants reduced the number of foreign migrants (Böse et al.). A few years later, a new legislation was introduced and the 1997 Aliens Act replaced the 1992 Aliens Act and the 1993 Residence Act which merged and became single law. As Jandl and Kraler note, the aim of this law was to integrate foreigners already resident in Austria instead of allowing other immigrants into the state.

In 1998 Austrian legislators introduced the Naturalisation Act. Interestingly, the principle of *jus sanguinis* was retained, and the ten year waiting period for naturalisation for foreigners. In order to be naturalised, it became the duty of an immigrant to prove that he or she integrated into the Austrian society, and that they do not need social assistance provided by the State. The accession of Austria into European structures automatically forced some changes in the legislation regarding immigrants and asylum policies and a minimal protection – at least theoretically – of immigrants. They also note that at some stage the Austrian government introduced “integration courses” for immigrants from outside the EU, mainly instruction in German language and history and politics of Austria, and made them compulsory under the threat of sanctions. However, they acknowledge the fact that the government in its history also took measures in favour of immigrants, for example in reducing

the waiting period for access to the labour market for family members of immigrants. It has to be noted here that even though the government might have tried to relax the previously imposed restrictions, the “ethnicisation” of sections of the population (Austrian vs. Non-Austrian) does take place, both in law and the media, which translates into the policies and further into attitudes expressed by individuals. In addition, the 1990s witnessed a new wave of racist attacks on immigrants, like the Slovene-German school in Carinthia, Roma settlements in Burgenland (Böse et al.). (Böse et al, p. 9):

Although the extent of violent racism seemed to be smaller than in other European countries, xenophobia has always had a crucial impact on the daily lives of immigrants in Austria. Thus, in the period after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the ‘opening of the East’ an upsurge of racism was identified not only in the discourses of the yellow press but also in official, so-called ‘elite discourses’ (Matouschek 1995)... Overall, xenophobia was diagnosed to emerge rather in older and in less educated sections of the population and against immigrants from Eastern and South Eastern European countries (Lebhart, Münz 1999). Many of the prejudices against immigrants can be traced back to the period of ‘guest worker’ immigration and partly even to the social stratification within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

As Böse explains, the Freedom Party played a significant role in creating negative publicity around immigrants and minorities and even initiated an Anti-Foreigner Referendum in 1992. At the same time, also an anti-xenophobia movement was established.

Overall, the Austrian immigration policy has not been particularly immigrant-oriented, and immigration was understood more instrumentally – filling jobs which were not in the scope of interest of native Austrians – hence, one could argue, the need for educated people from abroad was not felt and, naturally, the circumstances created by the legal position of immigrants and their status attracted more unskilled workers in the sectors which required manual work instead of intellectual quality. This might have even deepened the basis for prejudices felt towards immigrants as performing menial jobs and occupying the lowest status of the society. Anti-immigrant rhetoric feeds on the dirty and unskilled image of a needy immigrant, and all accusations of being a burden to the society – which, in fact, if the migrants

are employed and perform jobs that hosts do not wish to perform, is quite the opposite – find applause within the uninformed majority society. As it is stated in the Eironline Report (2005):

There has always been a common view in post-war Austria, including the large political parties as well as the social partners, that Austrian nationals should be favoured on the Austrian labour market. In practice, this meant that ‘third-country nationals’ are permitted to be employed only if no more Austrian nationals are available for certain segments of the labour market... It is a long-standing feature of Austria’s migration policy that employment protection is provided mainly for indigenous workers. Traditionally, immigration policy is designed to recruit migrant workers primarily for the lowest wage segments... and – to a minimal extent – for key positions for which domestic labour supply is scarce. This has continuously exacerbated the segmentation of the labour market and adds up to a further segregation of Austrian society alongside ethno-cultural ‘essentials’.

4.3. The Irish Perspective

4.3.1. Immigrant Policies in Ireland

Ireland changed from a country of emigration into a country of immigration in a relatively short period of time, mainly in the 1990s when the State experienced economic growth (Ruhs 2004). Even in its recent history the country experienced a dramatic emigration. Between 1988-1989 thousands of Irish people left seeking a better life outside Ireland (<http://migration.ucc.ie>). Owing to Ireland’s economic circumstances in earlier times, it was typically not the country of choice for immigration, and the authors of an ICMS report published in 2001 argue that this probably contributed to the poor state of integration policies in the country. However, as the economic situation in Ireland began to improve, within a decade many Irish émigrés returned to Ireland with the thought of settling down there. The ICMS Report¹⁵ lists six types of immigration into Ireland:

¹⁵ Immigration into Ireland: Trends, Policy Responses, Outlook ; <http://migration.ucc.ie> ICMS 2001

- Return Irish migration
- In-migration from other EU/EEA countries
- Asylum seekers
- Programme refugees
- High-skills in-migration from non-EEA countries
- Other in-migration from non-EEA countries

The authors of the report expand on the different categories of immigrants and their legal status. People who fall into the first and second category have a legal right to live and work in Ireland and immigration regulations do not apply to them. These rights are secured by the Irish Constitution (the case of the Irish people born abroad) and other legal instruments like the 1951 Common Travel Area Agreement, regulating the case of the British citizens, and the Treaty of Rome and Maastricht regulating the case of other citizens of the EU and EEA countries. The report, in its treatment of the recent history of immigration to Ireland beginning in the 1990s, has the following to say:

Ireland thus experienced, within a short space of time, a substantial rise in non-Irish immigration, mostly from other EU countries, and a smaller but significant rise in non-EU immigrants, whether asylum seekers, illegal immigrants or migrant workers on short-term work permits. The country has thus been faced with the difficulties of constructing immigration and integration policies against a background of a rapid changing picture, limited experience, a less than positive attitude towards difference and a largely monocultural tradition.

It is noted in the report that the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform is mainly responsible for regulating the immigration policies and law, as well as for controls regarding immigration in Ireland.

As Ruhs (2004) notes, Ireland has changed a few of its policies in line of the changing circumstances or to regulate immigration law to accommodate the growing number of (economic) immigrants. Also, he emphasizes the fact that the Irish people in the referendum

held in June 2004 decided in favour of not granting citizenship to Irish-born children in cases where their parents are not Irish nationals.

In the case of citizens of the ten accession countries (affected by the EU Enlargement of 2004) the legal instrument regulating their status in terms of the right to work is the Employment Permit Bill, enacted in 2003. This legislation allowed citizens of the accession countries to take up employment upon EU enlargement without restrictions (Ruhs 2004). Ruhs also notes that the Bill did not distinguish between the newcomers to Ireland and those already in the State, whether legally or illegally. However, certain restrictions were introduced regarding access to social welfare benefits.

The majority of non-EU/EEA citizens are allowed to take up only temporary employment, and under terms regulated by the law relating to the distribution of work visas or work permits. Those who hold work visas find themselves in a better situation; the visas are put in their hands and such individuals are free to change jobs if they wish and within the allowed time stated on the visa. Holders of work permits are not given such flexibility since work permits are issued to employers. They expire after one year, but holders of such permits are allowed to apply for their work permits to be renewed.

Another regulation, introduced probably for security measures, is the Habitual Residence Condition (www.greenparty.ie/en/policies/immigration/) which applies to all new immigrants to Ireland for a period of two years. During this period, immigrants who have the right to work in Ireland are not entitled to certain benefits, for example child benefit. In 2004 the government introduced a new regulation – the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act 2004 – concerning children born in Ireland of non-national parents. The child is granted citizenship if one of their parents can prove that they have lived legally in the State for at least three years before the child was born.

However, in 2007, when a further EU enlargement took place and Bulgaria and Romania joined the European Union, the government introduced certain restrictions in terms of employment and residence rights for citizens of those countries. Most likely, the reason was not only the fear of a “flood” of citizens from those countries into the State, but also the previous experience of a massive influx of migrants from the accession countries after the

enlargement in 2004. Some concern has been expressed regarding the number of Eastern Europeans in Ireland and the effect of the mass immigration from those countries on the labour market and the economy (Ruhs 2004). To protect the State from a similar experience in 2007, new measures determined that, although all Romanian and Bulgarian citizens could freely enter Ireland without visas from the first of January 2007, they did not have the right to work for the first two years after the accession. Registration of citizens of these states is also not required, and they are allowed to stay in the State for maximally up to three months without conditions. In order to stay longer in Ireland, an individual must¹⁶:

- Either be employed or self-employed in Ireland
- Prove sufficient resources to support themselves and hold health insurance
- Be a student in Ireland and hold health insurance

OR

- Be a family member of an individual from one of those countries or any other EU citizen who satisfies at least one of the above-listed conditions

For the initial two years the citizens of Romania and Bulgaria were required to hold work permits. However, those individuals who had worked legally in Ireland for a period of twelve months or more were exempt from the work permit requirement. In the case of deportation orders that had been issued prior to accession, these remained in force.

The most important fact, for the purpose of current research into the Polish diaspora, is that the Government of Ireland granted the right not only to free entry and residence but also to work to all citizens of states involved in the 2004 Enlargement. This meant a political change in Europe – a chance given to countries which after the Second World War, because of Soviet ideological and economic control, had not been able to rebuild their economies and societies and to develop democracies according to Western standards. It is also noteworthy that in Ireland, United Kingdom and Sweden the newcomers were treated, at least in law, as equals.

¹⁶ Source of information: www.inis.gov.ie/

4.3.2. Irish Identity Negotiation and Attitudes – What it means to be Irish?

What is it to be Irish? Sociologists seek to approach this question from cultural and psychological perspectives. To be someone belonging to an established national group seems to refer to the possession of certain qualities recognized by the majority of members of the society in question to be characteristic of that society – although, of course, personal feelings and opinions regarding what is “typical” may vary from individual to individual. In the sociological literature, there are a few main factors which are used to describe *Irishness*. Following Tovey & Share (2003), these relate to inherited cultural qualities generally considered as “described rather than achieved” (p. 330) - the Gaelic language (as opposed to, for instance, English), religion (Catholicism), and shared experience (history). As MacÉinrí (in Finlay 2004) notes, many in Ireland today are willing to see Irishness in terms of an exclusionary ‘we’, defined in cultural, religious or even racial terms (Gamer 2004, Fanning 2003, in Mac Eínri 2004). He further suggests that the Irish, as a former nation of emigrants, should use this emigration experience instead of denying it. He talks about an *internal denial* – a refusal to acknowledge Irish collective history, a rejection of the connection with shared history (p.88). Another explanation he offers is that of a specific identity construction in Ireland, rooted in tradition, and exclusive, hence the general acceptance of *the other* (difference, diversity) is not impressive.

Other interesting questions arise in this context. Do Irish people feel threatened by immigrants, and to what extent? Can they specify what they are afraid of, or is it a fear of “the other”, “the unknown” and “unexplained”? As Luis de Paor (Finlay et al. 2004) argues, the feeling of being threatened by the other encourages resistance to difference. He observes that exclusion of foreign influences is especially evident in times of cultural and political uncertainty (p. 51). He also cites Hijman, a native Dutch assimilated (naturalized) into Irish society, who suggested that those Irish nationals who speak Irish should take an active part in the process of integration of immigrants. His argument is that Irish speakers “have a more secure and stable sense of their own cultural identity” and should be less afraid of the effects of cultural differences (Finlay 2004: 54).

Dunne (2002) raises concerns about the relationship between the state, citizenship and education. In his article he argues that Irish people are no longer sure what it is to be Irish or

Catholic; where originally, the concept of Irishness was largely perceived in terms of a combination of nationalism and Catholicism, now this perspective seems to be weakening (p. 69). As Ireland is undergoing a process of modernization, certain revaluations are taking place, for example, of the role of civic education and knowledge. He argues that education has become a market, where knowledge plays a role of a commodity (p. 86).

Peillon (in Kirby 2002) argues that in Ireland culture has a variable character. By culture he understands (p. 39):

...the way people represent the world in which they live: the beliefs they embrace, the ideas they hold, the feelings they express, and the meaning according to which they act

O'Mahony & Delany (1998) emphasize the gap between socio-economic modernity and cultural traditionalism in Ireland. According to them, traditionalism is reflected in a sense of identification with culture which serves as the foundation for Irish society and its particular understanding. Consequently, identities and national representations of "others" are reduced to the margin. They also argue that, faced with multiculturalism and diversity, the Irish should refer to citizenship, in order to provide a place for minority cultures and identities within the dominant Irish culture (p.40).

Bell (1979) proposes that different spheres of social life are governed by different principles. Peillon observes that the plausibility of this statement was demonstrated in Ireland from the 1970s, for example, in the influence of the Catholic Church on the social and cultural spheres, through its control of schools – in contradistinction to the economic sphere, which was pushing the nation towards industrial development (p. 42). Peillon suggests that certain factors have limited "the horizon of Irish people". He refers (p. 40) to the assertion of the power of norms over behaviour, "leaving little space for quest and experiments, hindering contact with otherness, imposing a fixed concept of self".

The foregoing may go some way towards explaining why sometimes Ireland has problems with accepting otherness. Is, Ireland, however, much different in this respect from other European nations? An affirmative answer to this question remains rather doubtful. Does the

painful period of the history of a colonial and oppressed nation not rather help to understand “the other” present in Ireland? Are “the ghosts of the past” (Gibbons, 2002) not haunting Irish memory in a way which helps people to accept and host other cultures? Gibbons challenges the assumption that being concerned with one’s own culture and oppressive past lessens the feeling of solidarity with other oppressed peoples and acceptance of cultural diversity, that (p. 93) “welcoming other cultural influences requires an act of amnesia, or a disavowal of the heterogeneous and often conflicting elements within one’s own culture”.

He refers to a few political and historical figures of colonial and post-colonial Ireland, like Roger Casement’s¹⁷ involvement in humanitarian work in Africa and South America and his engagement with Irish history and reference to struggling Ireland under the British Empire (p. 101), and Frank Aiken, the Irish Foreign Minister in the 1950s and his awareness of the Irish past marked by “historical memory of domination by a foreign power” (p. 103). Of course, one could say that historical developments might have a broader meaning for some, while for others they might only strengthen pre-occupation with their own affairs, and for still others they might have no meaning at all, and might be ignored as historical relics for academics to investigate. It is also true that these “ghosts of the past” are open to interpretation today, and that may be used in the service of individuals’ personal opinions.

As in contemporary Poland, whose recent (and not only recent!) history is very dramatic and painful, referring to the collective national experience may be deployed as a powerful political tool, or may be used as the means of teaching history to younger generations and become a means of developing historical awareness and acceptance for “the other”, etc. Depending on the context, the same story can serve different purposes. Thus, Poland engages in historical debates, treats heroes of the past with respect, celebrates commemoration days and manifests considerable concern with the past and with reference to historical events and developments.

With respect to Ireland, Gibbons provides an interesting overview of possible approaches that might be adopted. Bearing in mind their own experience, people can feel encouraged to show openness towards others – immigrants. Others, however, might feel overwhelmed by the influx of diverse cultures into Irish society, and adopt an aggressive attitude because of fear of

¹⁷ Roger Casement, Irish patriot involved in campaigning against abuses of human rights

losing their identity. I would argue that the unwelcoming attitude to immigrants that some Irish people show might be caused by ignorance and prejudice rather than self-denial and cutting off the collective past (Gibbons 2002) happening at the psychological level.

The possible spectrum of reasons for suspicion or rejection of “outsiders” is broad, and it is up to sociologists to look for answers to these questions. Two arguments very frequently offered, in my personal experience, relate to immigrants’ “taking Irish jobs” and to the claim that the Irish might “lose their identity”. Perhaps deeper problems underlie such notions. For instance, the stated fear of loss of identity may have to do with a feeling of not having a strong identity, or of having lost it already? Is what is going on here a kind of “scapegoating”?

Did the rapid change in Ireland from a country of poverty and emigration to a host country for immigrants and the cultural diversities they brought with them help the Irish to lessen the pain of their troubled past (Gibbons 2002)? Gibbons suggests that it is actually remembering and identifying with one’s own community’s past that helps to open people to sufferings of others who are oppressed, or are looking for a new life in Ireland. He argues (in Kirby 2002:105) as follows:

sustained cultural loss does not lend itself to overnight cures, and it may be the process of disavowal, the surface optimism of a culture in self-denial, which poses the greatest problem to genuine engagement with cultural difference. The ability to look outward, and particularly to identify with the plight of refugees and asylum-seekers, may be best served by reclaiming those lost narratives of the past which generate new solidarities in the present

Another interesting approach is that of Moane (Kirby et al. 2002), who focuses on the legacies of colonialism that have marked Irish society leading to, or emphasizing, cultural pathologies. She concentrates on the experience of historical trauma which is still, she claims, deeply felt, and tries to establish a causal relationship between it and colonization. She argues, also citing other researchers, that historical and psychological trauma may be transmitted from generation to generation, which involves a feeling of guilt, denial, doublethink and anger. She includes the emergence of racism – after MacLachlin and O’Connell (2000) – as a possible manifestation of a pattern called “displacement of anger” or “horizontal hostility” (p. 119).

She further suggests that this feeling of anger and frustration, which is felt towards the coloniser, is directed against others who are more vulnerable, or towards peers (p. 119):

racism may also be linked to experience of anti-Irish racism and to revulsion at the sight of scenes of destitution and poverty being re-enacted. Horizontal hostility can also take the form of passive aggression, non-cooperation, backbiting, begrudgery and other expressions of anger ... as immigration provides obvious targets for anger, it may be expected that racism will continue to be expressed in virulent and hostile terms as well as in the more established institutional and everyday forms

One could ask here, whether a strong sense of solidarity and support, seen as a result of the history of resistance, perhaps enhanced by experiences of trauma and perceived as a positive outcome of colonialism in Irish history (p. 121) can be intensified and felt more strongly when faced with immigration and cultural diversities which are left unexplained and may seem to pose a “cultural threat”?

Ireland has become a multicultural society. This process began only recently, and sudden changes meet with different responses. A few analyses have been carried out to monitor the shift in attitudes towards immigrants over the years. Devereux and Breen (in Collins & Cradden 2004) investigate attitude changes towards immigrants and compare them with attitudes towards the immediate family, the disabled, or the sick. About 27.3 per cent of respondents in the 1999/2000 survey (EVS Irish Data 1999/2000) expressed concern for immigrants as compared with 81.4 per cent for the immediate family, and with 33.9 per cent for human kind in general (p. 180). The data also reveal differences in willingness to help different social groups, with immigrants being placed at the lowest level of the hierarchy – at only 34.2 per cent - as compared with, for example, the elderly – at 80.7 per cent (p.180). However, the data also show that the majority of respondents were in favour of immigrants’ maintaining their own cultural customs. Tolerance for traditions other than the Irish tradition seems, in this study, to relate to age: younger people appeared to be more frequently open to other cultures (62.5 per cent among people aged between 18 and 24, and 59.9 per cent among those aged 25-34) (p. 177).

However, if we compare these findings with those presented by Watson et al (2007), we have to conclude that there has been an overall increase of anti-immigrant attitudes in the Irish society. Watson et al (in Hillard & Phádraig 2007) focus on the relationship between national identity and anti-immigrant attitudes. Watson et al. (p. 227), following other researchers whom they cite, classify national identity according to two dimensions:

- *Civic* – associated with citizenship
- *Ethnic* – associated with ethnicity

They found a correlation between a strong identification with ethnic or civic aspects of national identity and negative attitudes towards immigrants (p. 236). Moreover, according to data collected in the context of a national identity survey (1995, 2003), there was a link between high scores on national identity, low educational level and age. Watson et al point out another interesting issue. In the Irish context, there is not a significant distinction between civic and ethnic aspects of national identity; hence they conclude that, according to the analysis of the collected data, it is true that in both 1995 and 2003 those of the respondents who identified with the nation showed more anti-immigrant attitudes. However, the whole picture resulting from a comparison of the results from 1995 and 2003 clearly shows that there is a considerable increase in anti-immigrant sentiments in all groups in society regardless of age, sex, education, or even identification with the nation (p. 240).

Another interesting shift in racist terminology and attitudes is the advent of “new racism” which puts more emphasis on cultural distinctions than on perceived biological (racial) distinctions between nations. Of course, cultural diversity has in its definition references to biological and phenotypical differences (Fanning 2002:17). Fanning argues that (p. 18)

The term xenophobia is often used in the Irish context in arguments that the exclusion faced by new minority communities is a response of a homogenous society to the unknown rather than racism

He provides a good account of how dangerous it is if xenophobic reactions are justified on the basis of self-defence responses to the others. He argues as follows (p. 19):

the monocultural Irish society is ... itself a social construct that emerged from a nineteenth-century discourse of nation building with represented nations as races... [T]he assimilation and destruction of minority cultures becomes acceptable where the fear of such cultures is legitimized as natural. If the racist basis of fears of other communities is unacknowledged the alleged dangers posed by such communities to the dominant community may be accepted as real

Fanning also explains how Irishness has been constructed around Catholicism and argues that Catholic nationalism has a lot to answer for in respect of exclusionary tendencies in Irish society, having allowed and provided an ideological base for institutionalising forms of exclusion and discrimination, both ethnic and religious (p. 35). As Thomson (in McCoy & Scott 2000) notes, ethnic conceptions of identity are still strong, especially in the North, a fact which has a direct influence on language, religion and other ethnic markers, which often act as tools for division (p. 51-52).

Hays (2006) in his article *Indigenous Others* points out to the “othering” of Travellers and strangers within Irish society. He argues that (p. 137)

Travellers have been “othered” in Ireland in a fashion uncannily similar to the way in which the Irish and other indigenous peoples were” othered” as part of the English colonial project.

Here again, we probably have another example of referencing and comparing which goes along the lines of “us” and “them”. Hay suggests further that a range of negative characteristics, for example, backwardness, are being attributed to “others” present in the Irish society. However, these are the same as those featuring in anti-Irish attitudes as expressed by the British before Irish Independence. In other words, former anti-Irish prejudices are being transposed on to non-Irish peoples (p. 138). The question remains, however, which society – the one with the history of persecution, or the one without it – is more “othering” in relation to newcomers into the native society?

We attempt in this connection to compare attitudes towards other communities that are present in both Irish and Austrian societies, with particular reference to the strength of

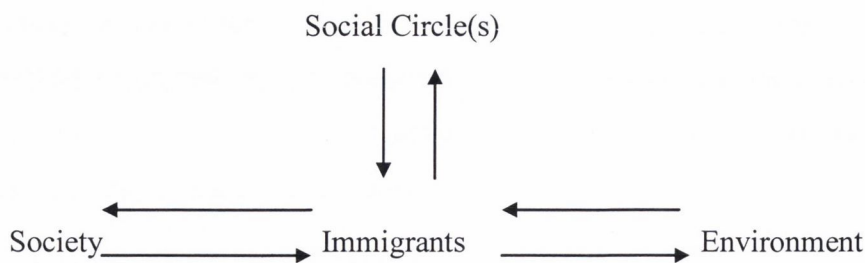
positive or negative sentiments felt towards other visible communities. We suppose that in every society large and visible immigrant communities are subject to more or less biased judgments and prejudice. In the analysis, we explore to what extent the history of being an oppressed and dominated (colonised) nation influences the strength of positive or negative sentiments felt to “others”. We take into account:

- *Historical background*
- *Political thought* as expressed in essays, manifests etc.

Against this background, we have to compare the two host societies and draw conclusions regarding acculturation modes adopted by the immigrant groups and the degree to which immigrants are actually allowed into the host communities. Without analysing and understanding the dynamics of “who we are as a nation” it would be impossible to predict and explain sociological and psychological processes present in immigrant situations and complex relations between immigrants and the local host communities.

First, however, the accounts of attitudes towards immigrants (both in Ireland and Austria) have to be brought into focus. The legal status of immigrants also has to be examined. The idea that attitudes towards strangers is referential in nature and based on the comparison between “us” and “them” is emphasized by many scholars (Barth 1969, Tovey & Share 2003, Hayes 2006). Identifying who we are and who we are not is partly achieved through a comparison with others. The recent influx of immigrants into Ireland has had a twofold impact on the communities concerned. Not only is the Irish perception of immigrants changed, but also the immigrants themselves undergo changes which are influenced by the environment in which they have decided to live. Sometimes the experience of immigration may change their way of self-perception, as some immigrants acquire “another way of thinking” and “other ways of doing things”. Figure 4.1 below summarizes graphically the idea of exchange of influences:

Fig. 4.1. Social Cross-Influences



If one imagines an individual in an immigrant situation, one can reasonably surmise that the influence is bilateral. Immigrants bring with them certain potentialities, which derive from their circumstances in their homeland (education, family background, goals etc.). The host society acts not as a background but is an active participant which might determine, or even dictate, certain immigrant strategies. We will come back to this point when we compare immigrant attitudes to the host societies with the host environments and their policies.

We need to take into account our participants' self-assessed knowledge of history and literature. It is supposed that people who are more aware of the history of Ireland, or, in Austrian case, the history of Austria, feel more confident in their identity and more understanding of immigrants, that is, do not feel lost in their own country and do not have, or at least have fewer, problems with their identity. Later on, we will attempt to check whether a strong sense of identity may actually prevent nationalistic tendencies. We will also look at how national identity develops in the three nations – via instruction at school and at home, and in such other ways as the visibility of the national emblem etc.

4.3.3. Social Stratification of Polish Immigrants: Attitudes towards the Host Society and their Impact on the Adaptation Process

Recently, there have been a number of studies conducted on Polish immigration patterns and acculturation in Ireland. For the purpose of current research, some of these are mentioned below.

Alonso et al.'s study of Polish immigrants to Ireland (2008) focused on acculturation modes and general experiences of Poles, including their mental health. They recruited 356 participants among Polish nationals living in Ireland. The researchers adopted Berry's (2001) acculturation framework, and identified seven main aspects related to positive or negative adaptation to Irish environment: acculturation, language, social support, self-esteem, expectations vs. reality, racism/discrimination, and autonomy (p. 2).

Deficient knowledge of language was identified as a serious obstacle to integration and participation in Irish society. It has been suggested that poor levels of English may contribute to the isolation of Polish communities from Irish society (p. 24). In addition, this factor may be seen as accounting for the fact that Polish people, even well educated, often work in jobs below their level of qualifications, and are subject to exploitation and even abuse in the working environment. However, other issues relating to language were raised, such as the fact of having a foreign accent resulting in being subject to different treatment by the native population.

Social support proved to be a very important factor in the integration process. The majority of the subjects who filled out the questionnaire reported medium scores (87%), with only 12% scoring high on the scale. Keeping in touch with Polish cultural institutions was mentioned as being important for immigrants, helping them to create feelings of familiarity and security. Self-esteem was found to be mostly dependent on two factors: type of employment and level of proficiency in English. According to the data obtained from the questionnaire, only 34% of participants fell in the high esteem category, with the majority (64%) scoring medium. The level of proficiency in English was suggested as one of the factors contributing to the level of self-esteem. For example, insufficient knowledge of English can be seen as a barrier to integration with Irish society and to professional development (p.39). The majority of respondents to the survey were categorised as working below their level of qualification (55%). 33% of the subjects considered themselves properly qualified for their jobs. It is worth mentioning here that financial motivation was cited as one of the main reasons for coming to Ireland.

The expectations and the reality of the Irish environment were found to be at opposite ends of the scale for many, especially unprepared immigrants. Separation from families and partners

who stayed in Poland also accounted for difficulties that immigrants experienced. Cases of men starting a new family in Ireland were mentioned in the report, as well as a high suicide rate among Polish immigrants. Alonso et al. suggested that the fact that Polish immigrants tend to form local communities (ghetto-formation) is often understood as a coping strategy. Polish cultural, religious and community institutions may facilitate ghetto-formation. It was also suggested that the sense of community developing among Poles is good for their psychological well-being.

However, voices against this tendency were also expressed, the idea being posited that a predominantly Polish network may be damaging to mental health where this leads to lack of integration with the host society (Flikert in Alonso et al. p.34). The misleading role of the Polish media in advertising the comforts and prospects of Ireland instead of providing adequate information about the reality of Ireland is believed to have contributed to the subsequent culture shock experienced by Polish immigrants. This, in turn, may have led to various psychological problems.

About half of the subjects involved in the study reported experiences of racism from Irish citizens. However, such instances were not reported as happening on an everyday basis. According to the data from the report, the majority of racist incidents took place at work. The issue of exploitation and being paid less was also raised in the interviews conducted with the subjects. In addition, instances of discrimination when trying to get promoted were reported (Flikert in Alonso et al. p. 43). Among the subjects who mentioned experiences of racism, the majority found it stressful, with 23% reporting it as extremely stressful and 45% as very/somewhat stressful (p. 44).

Economic necessity was mentioned as one of the reasons for emigrating for many Polish immigrants, and thus autonomy was interpreted as limited in those cases. Cases of immigrants leaving because of problems with the law back in Poland were also mentioned in the report (p. 47).

The data from the questionnaire piloted among the subjects of the study (210) revealed that the majority (74%) were happy about their life in Ireland, which was classified as *subjective happiness*, and the same applied to the levels of psychological health, with 78% scoring

within 'normal' range. The majority of the subjects of the study were categorized as integrated into the Irish society (66%). 29% of the subjects were classified as separated, aiming to maintain only Polish culture. Both assimilated and marginalised groups were a minority in this study (2% for each group).

Researchers note that negative views of Poland and other Polish immigrants were present during the personal interviews (p. 20) owing to the feeling of embarrassment caused by certain inappropriate behaviours of some Poles. As concerned similarities or differences between the two cultures, the data from the questionnaire suggested that 46% of the subjects perceived Polish and Irish cultures as similar, 37% as perceived them as different, with 17% of respondents claiming that the two cultures were neither similar nor different (p. 22).

In another study of Polish immigrants by Singleton et al. (2007), a background questionnaire was piloted in order to obtain data on English language learning and motivation, and general perceptions of Ireland and integration into the host society of Polish adult immigrants. 59 subjects were recruited for the study, of which a majority had tertiary qualification (64%) and a similar proportion of the subjects were classified as white collar workers (83%). What was striking was the subjects' attitude towards their (national) heritage, with a vast majority claiming that keeping the Polish language in the subsequent generation was important, as well as maintaining their original culture and contact with Poland. 88% of the subjects identified themselves as Poles, with 6.8% calling themselves Irish Poles, making possible an interpretation of their presumed high level of integration into the Irish society and willingness to become part of the host environment (Singleton et al. 2007). A majority of the participants (55.9%) expressed their contentment about their stay in Ireland, with 39% feeling neutral about this issue. Much the same applied to positive associations with Ireland and the Irish people, with 57.6% of respondents reporting positive feelings, and another 32.2% reporting neutral feelings in this regard. Among positive associations with Ireland were listed the friendliness of the Irish people in general, the greenness of Ireland, and the lack of financial problems. In the case of Poland, positive aspects mentioned were more personal domains of life such as home, family and friends. As for the negative associations with Ireland the most common were dirtiness of the cities, traffic and the inclemency of the weather. Poland, on the other hand was associated with financial problems, economic instability (unemployment), and corruption.

Interestingly, for 59.3% of the participants, Polish culture was the most familiar domain. However, 37.3% saw both Polish and Irish cultures as equal in this respect. However, 45.8% of the subjects had in mind, at least at the time of filling out the questionnaire, a return to Poland. There was also reported a willingness to and preparedness to become part of the Irish society either temporarily or permanently. For only a minority (10.2%) of subjects was English the dominant language in their lives. In addition, for a majority (50.8%) English input came from other non-native speakers. Gaining fluency in English appeared to be important to the subjects of the study with 86.4% viewing it as a very important and 62.7% reporting sounding like a native speaker as very important too. As for sounding native-like, only 13.6% of the subjects reported it as unimportant, with 23.7% expressing neutral feelings. Most respondents to the questionnaire assessed their level of English as intermediate or below, and were motivated to bring their English to perfection by chances of more rewarding employment prospects, or at least a post closer to their actual qualifications either in Ireland or in Poland, better communication with, and participation in, Irish society. There was also identified an aspect related to self-esteem of the participants, mainly their feelings of happiness about their abilities. Generally, it was found that confidence in English improved during participants' stay in Ireland irrespective of the length of their residence in the Republic. Older learners reported learning English as more difficult than younger learners. On the whole, the first encounter with the English language was seen as a positive experience by 64.4% of the participants.

4.4. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has attempted to introduce the reader to the complex background of Austria's and Ireland's social and political development over the decades of the twentieth century. It is essential to understand the socio-political circumstances and conditions in Austria and Ireland *qua* host nations prior to analysis of a particular ethnic group's behavior. References have been made to the self-perceptions of the two host communities and their attitudes to their own histories like, for instance, the failed attempts at erasing the memory of Nazi past from Austrian historical records. As the Freedom Party (FPÖ) has been an important, though very controversial, feature of Austrian politics in recent years, a separate section has been dedicated to its history and its impact on Austria's image in the world. In addition, Austria's

role as a West-East mediator has been acknowledged. A list of immigrant policies implemented by the Austrian and Irish governments throughout the years, shaping the situation of various ethnic minorities, including Poles, on the job market and influencing their general status in the society, has been discussed. The effects of these policies on individual lives have been described by the participants themselves during the sociological interviews, which will be discussed later in chapter six.

Immigration policies seem not only to regulate immigrants' rights and obligations in the host environment, but are often used as legal tools to determine their place in the receiving society. They often determine their status by setting the 'territories' which new members of the society are allowed to enter. These often refer to: residence rights – for example, whether an individual has to report regularly to the authorities; access to the job market and educational institutions; rights to use and/or learn one's native language; legal protection of dignity and property; and many other issues covered by law.

Chapter Five: Methodological Considerations

5.1. Introduction

At the outset of a piece of research one is confronted by a number of issues related to the planning and conduct of the study. The researcher has to consider the scope of his/her project, and the purpose it has with respect to its academic audience and to the wider community. Not only the theoretical questions to be treated, but also the research tools to be employed, demand careful consideration. The present chapter addresses just these requirements.

5.2. Where to Begin?

5.2.1. The Topic

In our study, we set out to examine the acculturation and integration patterns of Polish immigrants in Austria and Ireland. However, our own particular focus was on Austria since in

researching Ireland we drew not only on our own data, but also on the data of other researchers studying Poles after the 2004 EU Enlargement. We tried to compare these two completely different immigrations and to shed light on the sociological and psychological processes underlying them. In these times of an enlarged EU, where the ultimate target is to maximize each member state's and each citizen's opportunities for economic and political well-being, our goal was to examine the current reality and its evolution from earlier times from ordinary people's perspective.

Polish immigration has recently been a very popular topic among social scientists in Ireland because the number of Polish migrants moving to the Ireland far outstripped expectations. One of the factors was the opening of the Irish market to workers and employees from Central/Eastern Europe, Ireland being one of the three states that allowed newcomers to commence employment immediately after the 2004 accession. Austria, on the other hand, imposed a seven-year transitional period. A popular belief among commentators explaining the immense influx of Poles to Ireland and the United Kingdom is that more people knew English than German. There are a number of issues that may challenge (if not contradict) this popular opinion, at least for some sections of the Polish community. First, for many Poles coming to Ireland or Britain without good English was not a problem, as was confirmed by data from the project questionnaires and later by interviews. Second, German is the second most popular foreign language taught in Polish schools today, so many young people learn English and German at the same time, both at school and in additional courses.

5.2.2. The Methodology – Research Tools Used for Data Collection

Experimental approaches tend to be used in the human sciences by researchers dealing with psychology or social psychology (Macionis & Plummer 2005), to test behaviour in particular conditions. It is popular, for example, in studies of group behaviour - for instance, in organizations or other formal groups. We did not use this tool in our research because the aim of the study did not require us in a detailed manner to measure behaviours as outcomes (or not) of particular conditions.

The survey is very popular in social studies because it allows the researcher to gather data directly from the participants. Data collected via questionnaires and/or interviews are fairly

easy to handle – provided that the content of the questionnaire and interview has been designed with due care and yields interpretable results.

There are different types of questionnaires. Closed questions provide ready-to-select options in terms of responses to questions. The task of the respondent is to mark the answer he/she considers to best reflect his/her feelings on the matter raised by the question. Another type of question is open-ended, allowing participants to express their opinions without constraint, and perhaps to explain why they feel the way they do. Obviously, both formats have drawbacks. Thus, for example, in closed questions the answers, constrained as they are by the format, may be only approximate - even if the question contains rather detailed answer options like those shown below:

If there were a French Club in my school, I would:

- (a) Attend meetings once a while
 - (b) Be most interested in joining
 - (c) Definitely not join
- (adapted from: Dörnyei 2003:44)

It is hard to measure the intensity of a respondent's feelings in this kind of case. The researcher would not know, for example, whether the respondent hesitated between two or more options, or if any option truly reflected his/her actual opinion on the matter. Perhaps the respondent would really have preferred to describe certain conditions on which his/her inclinations would depend? Unless a space for extra comments had been provided, the researcher would not learn a great deal about the subjects' perspectives. Data collected in this way are, on the other hand, easy to handle and seem already in a sense 'organized'. To take the opposite case, interpreting copious notes made by participants in open-ended questions may be extremely tricky and may be susceptible to *mis*interpretation (Macionis & Plummer 2005). In the light of the foregoing, it seems advisable to combine both closed and open-ended questions on the same topics, so that participants are both focused, on the one hand, and encouraged to provide detail, on the other. We used this strategy in our study in order to verify information and help us organize data into a logical structure.

Macionis and Plummer (2005) list a number of interview strategies a researcher may adopt. Interviews, like questionnaires, may be open-ended or closed: the interviewer may ask the

participant to choose the best, according to him/her, option from a number of alternative responses, or may give the participant the opportunity to respond completely freely to a posed question. The authors also mention the informal conversational interview, which is recommended for researching particularly sensitive topics. However, they warn their readers about the difficulties in analyzing data from such interviews. Information overload, or even unrelated topics, may ‘steal in’ during the interview.

Participant observation is yet another methodological approach deployed in sociological research. Macionis and Plummer (2005) point to two important facets of this kind of research: the researcher is both an insider and observer in relation to the group he/she is studying. He/she is an insider because for the duration of the research in question he/she is embedded within the community and has the opportunity to participate in their activities. On the other hand, he/she is an observer because he/she needs to maintain a certain distance and aim at a certain ‘objectivity’ in their research. We put the word *objectivity* in inverted commas because this particular variable is difficult to measure, especially if there is only one observer and investigator drawing his/her own conclusions about what he/she sees or experiences.

In our study we decided to combine the use of questionnaires and interviews in our research approach. The participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire which took about ten to fifteen minutes to complete. Care had been taken to minimize the risk of ambiguity in the questions. Nevertheless, the participants could consult the researcher any time they wanted to clarify their meanings. The data collected in this way was meant to inform the statistics of the results – some of it is presented in chapter six below. It also helped to build a picture of the profile of the participants: who they were, their attitudes to the homeland and native language, and their plans for the future regarding further immigration (or, perhaps, moving to yet another country) and return to Poland. Therefore, we gathered important information which we later used to supplement the data obtained from the interviews.

Immediately after the completion of the questionnaire the researcher commenced the interview with the participant. The interview was recorded, with the participant’s written consent, for later transcription and analysis. Both the questionnaire and the interview were coded. We could thus compare and cross-verify information from the data we collected. This afforded us the possibility of checking whether the participants were consistent in their

responses, and at the same time we had free-wheeling, detailed responses from the interviews to juxtapose with the narrow, perhaps rather ‘dry’, questionnaire data. This part of our research proved especially helpful in our further building of the profile of the participants. The researcher could watch the participants’ reactions to the questions, and thus conduct the interview in such a way as to create a comfortable atmosphere for each individual in order to insure that their responses were spontaneous and unaffected. The researcher also reassured each participant and reminded them that they could withdraw from the study at any time they wished. It helped to build trust between the researcher and her participants.

5.2.3. Ethics

Another important issue to consider in social studies research is ethics. In some cases this consideration has no particular application – when the researcher does not deal directly with people and undertakes, for example, a historical analysis. However, even in purely theoretical research it is the nature of the study that must determine the necessity or otherwise of ethical scrutiny.

The main concern of the ethical aspect of research is respect for the subject’s dignity and his/her cultural background. Therefore, it is essential that, in a project involving human subjects, each participant should willingly accept the conditions of the research process before they engage with the researcher(s). It is obvious that ethical considerations oblige researchers to protect their participants from any psychological and physical inconvenience or harm. The researcher needs to be sensitive to the subjects’ feelings regarding the scope of the research in question – and to weigh in this connection how far she/he can go in the surveys or experiments involved. The researcher must be able to recognize appropriate boundaries and must know when to withdraw. It is crucial for the researcher to understand that it is not only the cultural background of a participant that he/she had to bear in mind. Individual differences among members of the same community or even family are also important to remember. People react differently to different problems/tasks/questions, and the researcher needs to plan carefully each stage of his/her investigation in the light of this. Very good guidelines for researchers are provided by specialists in the field like, for example, Schachman (1997) and professional websites: <http://www.research.umn.edu/>. Useful guidelines for researchers doing fieldwork and engaged in participant observation are thoroughly discussed by Social Sciences

and Humanities Research Ethics Board (SSH REB), where the rules for conduct in projects dealing directly with people are outlined.

In the case of the study presented in this thesis, the researcher met participants individually in order to provide a questionnaire for completion to each participant and to conduct interviews with each. It was necessary to circulate to the participants in advance detailed information describing the nature of the study as well as consent forms. Participants were from the outset informed about their right to refuse to answer any given question and also about their right to withdraw from project participation altogether at any time without providing reasons. Only when the consent form had been signed and returned by a participant did the researcher arrange a meeting with the signatory in question. The researcher met each individual participant only once.

Some of the questions in the interview were considered sensitive. For example, one question concerned personal observations regarding racist incidents in which the participant was directly involved as a victim, to which he/she had been a witness, or about he/she had read/heard a report in the media. Participants were instructed not to disclose any identifying information about themselves or third parties. By 'identifying information' we understood names and surnames of people, names of places and institutions, nicknames, addresses, personal data like date of birth and any similar information which could in some way or other lead to identification of the participant by readers of the transcripts. Accordingly, participants were not asked questions about their names, addresses or places of their employment, whether current and former. Any such information disclosed by accident during the interview, was removed from the transcript as shown in the (fictitious) example below. (This sentence **does not** come from any interview).

Zofia, która pracowała w Banku Centralnym w Krakowie.

Zofia, who worked for the Central Bank in Kraków.

[Name], who worked for [Name of an Institution].

This procedure was employed to secure the anonymity of the participants and rule out any possibility of future associations of particular people with particular places. In addition, the participants were reminded a number of times to keep their own identity, and that of others'

whom they wished to refer to, anonymous. Nevertheless, in certain cases the researcher had to delete information she considered as possibly identifying.

The questionnaire, although also anonymous and coded, did not contain any especially sensitive questions and was constructed in order to elicit statistical data to later support the detailed analysis of the interview transcripts. It was more a ‘technical’ tool and was aimed at establishing a set of supportive data. For example, it asked about participants’ preference for a specific language in certain settings, their attitudes towards Polish and German or English (depending on whether the respondent was resident in Austria or Ireland) and similar items which allowed the gathering of as much statistical data as possible. A copy of the questionnaire circulated among the participants can be found in the appendix.

5.3. Data Outcomes Sought

The purpose of the research instruments we employed in the study was to provide both sociological and linguistic data at the same time. The researcher collected purely statistical information and supplemented it with elaborate data recorded during the interview. The interviews were recorded not only for a better understanding of a participant’s ideas, but also with a view to reconstructing his/her speech patterns and linguistic choices in a relatively uncontrolled conversation. Our view was that if the participants were given an exercise to do, for instance, a grammar test or any other test where they would focus on being “correct” in grammar, style, or choice of vocabulary, their answers would diverge from their spontaneous expression, which was of most interest to the researcher.

From the sociological point of view, a number of issues were considered. Of special interest were acculturation and integration patterns exhibited by the participants depending on the country of their then current residence (Austria or Ireland). The interview consisted of seven parts in total. The first sought general information like the length of stay in either country, reasons for leaving Poland, and posed questions in a similar vein to help build the participant’s profile. The second part dealt with attitudes to, and relation with, Poland. In the third part the participants were asked questions related to their own attitudes to other Poles in either country. Here we wanted to compare answers to some of the questions put in the second part and see whether we could trace some relation between attitudes to Poland with attitudes

to other immigrant Poles. Part four asked about opinions concerning Irish or Austrian people; the participants were asked to describe their experience of their Irish/Austrian hosts. Part five, again, asked opinions about other Poles in either country. The participants were required to express their own perception of a 'typical' Polish immigrant, for example, their perceived social status. In the sixth part the participants were asked questions related to their attitude to Ireland/Austria, whether they (the participants) were trying to integrate with either society, and their plans for the future concerning Ireland or Austria – in particular their plans for either staying or leaving for Poland or somewhere else. The last seventh part contained, among others, questions about the participants' involvement in Polish institutions, and interest in Polish cultural events in either host country.

To be noted is that, as already indicated, parts of the interview were structured to verify information provided by the participant in previous questions or sections. For example, some questions, while phrased differently, asked about phenomena focused on in other questions. In some cases these cross-verifying questions proved supportive because they allowed participants to reconsider a given problem and elaborate on the topic discussed. This technique was employed in cases where the researcher considered it necessary to check the participant's consistency, for instance, in questions related to attitudes of Poles to other Polish people, cases of experienced racism, and other issues which could be regarded by the participants as sensitive. From the linguistic perspective, we were interested in evidence of language transfer, shift and maintenance. The recorded open interview served as the research tool in this connection, for reasons discussed earlier.

In addition, the questionnaire provided purely 'technical' data used mainly for verification of data obtained during the interviews. The questionnaire consisted of five parts and contained thirty-five questions in total. In the first part the participants were asked questions about their language contact with English or German. In part two the participants had to reply to a number of questions related to their attitudes to Polish and English/German. In the third part, the respondents were required to assess their integration into Irish/Austrian society and the Polish community in either country. Part four contained general information questions about the participants - in particular their age, sex, marital status, education, length of stay in Ireland/Austria, and current job. As in the case of the interview, the participants were asked to refrain from inserting any possibly identifying information into their questionnaire responses.

5.4. What we wanted to know about our Participants?

The research instruments we chose for the study helped us to better understand the participants' social and linguistic background, their motives behind the decision to emigrate from Poland, and psychological processes determining their behavior towards other immigrant Poles and the hosts.

We decided to include some introductory data on our participants at this stage. The aim of this was to better prepare the reader for topics which will be discussed in more detail in later chapters. We managed to invite, and get signed consents of, sixty individuals living in Ireland and Austria: twenty post-2004 immigrants to Ireland, twenty 1980s' immigrants to Austria, fifteen post-2004 immigrants to Austria, and five individuals born in Austria. All our participants in the two post-2004 immigrant groups held Polish citizenship at the time when the study was conducted. All participants who were born in Austria and the majority of our 1980s' immigrants to Austria held only Austrian citizenship.

We were not particularly interested in the participants' age. Instead, we focused on the socio-political contexts of their immigration to Ireland or Austria. As the result, we found out that one of the main reasons why they had left Poland were politics, economic situation in Poland, and educational needs. Concepts associated with the homeland belonged to four distinct domains which we later labeled as 'family and friends', 'the past', 'politics', and 'other'. At the same time, we investigated the participants' understanding of what 'homeland' was for them – whether Poland featured as a place where they wished to return to in the future, or was it more an ideological concept of a place of one's origin, but not necessarily actual homeland.

Our results suggested that living away from the homeland for more than a decade might cause significant changes in an individual's thinking of it: while for the majority of our post-2004 immigrants to both host countries, Poland featured as a place they regularly visited and planned to go back to in the future, the majority of our 1980s' immigrants to, and individuals born in, Austria regarded Poland more as a symbol of their ethnic background rather than a place of actual residence. We also wanted to know if our participants considered other countries as their prospective destinations. Our results showed that only for the majority of our post-2004 immigrants to Austria that country was the only place of destination they had considered for immigration. In all, our participants seemed to be happy about their decision to

emigrate from Poland, and tended to look at it in terms of giving oneself a chance for personal, educational, and often professional development.

5.5. Methods of Data Analysis in Sociological Research

5.5.1. Data obtained from Questionnaires

In the case of the analysis of questionnaire data there are particular methodological details the researcher has to be aware of. A very important procedure to begin with is coding, where each questionnaire needs to be given an identification number (Dörnyei 2003). For the purposes of the current project, every questionnaire was coded to match the code of the interview with the same participant and the code associated with the participant him/herself. In this way any confusion or mismatch in respect of data coming from the various participants was ruled out. Dörnyei also suggests that a research logbook should be kept where individual entries are recorded and dated for future reference (p. 97-98). This strategy was adopted throughout the data collection process and proved extremely helpful in final stages of the data analysis. In addition, Dörnyei recommends that each answer in a questionnaire should be assigned a numerical identifier. In closed questions it is enough to assign each option a number like in the example below:

‘strongly disagree’ = 1

‘disagree’ = 2

‘neutral’ = 3

‘agree’ = 4

‘strongly agree’ = 5

(adapted from Dörnyei 2003:99)

Such categorization of responses allows a straightforward analysis of obtained data. As became apparent in the course of the analysis of the open-ended questions – a fact which research theorists point out especially to novice researchers – the interpretation and coding of information coming from such items is not always easy. It may be completely up to the researcher to decide how to categorize responses, which, in turn, affects coding strategy (Dörnyei 2003).

Before analysis, it is important to make sure that all mistakes have been removed from questionnaire data. In the case of our project this was an easy task because each questionnaire was administered on a one-to-one basis. The responses were immediately checked and all misunderstandings could be clarified. In addition, the researcher did not have to worry about missing data; the researcher had the opportunity to fill gaps in statements by simply asking the participant supplemental questions directly when this was needed. In many cases of social research this is not possible because questionnaires are often mailed out to participants, to be returned later.

It has to be emphasized that the nature of the project suggested from the outset of the long and not always smooth process of participant recruitment that it would not be easy to find a great number of willing participants. Although the items in the questionnaire did not contain particularly sensitive questions, in the interview some did feature. The problem of the scope of possible generalization in research has been long observed and reported in research methodology (Dörnyei 2003). Because of the limited number of participants on account of reasons mentioned earlier, the reader should be careful in respect of generalizing the results to the whole population of the groups of Poles whose cases we studied. What we are sure we have obtained are *suggestions* of certain tendencies in the way of self-understanding, behaviour, and attitude to language that emerge in particular circumstances. However, the numbers were sufficient to conduct an interesting case study presented in following chapters.

5.5.2. Data Collected from the Interviews

There is a vast pool of knowledge and experience derived from on research interviewing (Turner 2010; Kvale & Brinkmann 2009; I-Tech 2008). Valuable guidelines have been established in the theoretical research literature, which also informed our current study. An important question to ask at the outset of research process is what one wishes to learn from the interview. For the purposes of the project, we were interested in the personal perspectives of the participants. Everyone is aware of the influence of the media in today's society, but in our project we were interested not so much in what mediatized statistics 'say' about the immigrants (although it is important to register such messages), but what the actual immigrants think about themselves. As Kvale and Brinkmann put it, "the qualitative interview

is a research method that gives a privileged access to people's basic experience of the lived world" (2009:29).

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) categorize knowledge derived from interviews with respect to seven features (p. 53-56). They argue that such knowledge – like human interaction – is *produced*, that is, formed in the course of the interaction between individuals. It is created during the interview by both interviewer and interviewee. Knowledge is also *relational* because it allows the researcher to concentrate on either the content of what is being 'produced' in the interaction between the interviewer and the respondent, or on the interaction alone. Knowledge is *conversational*: the meaning of the world experienced by the interviewee is expressed in discourse. During a conversation the individual makes sense of what is around him/her through descriptions and narratives. Knowledge is also *contextual* – meaning that what is true in one context does not have to apply to others. This emphasizes the uniqueness of each situation and the knowledge thus produced, which is treated as the outcome of particular context. Knowledge is *linguistic* because language is the medium of interaction. In the case of interviews, Kvale and Brinkmann warn against ignoring the different nature of oral and written language when it comes to analyzing data (p. 55). Knowledge is *narrative* because the interviewee's statements are (personal) narratives, stories about the individual's experiences as they see and understand them. Finally, knowledge is *pragmatic* in a sense that it proves useful for particular purposes.

Different studies require different sort of data. Accordingly, the researcher has to choose the appropriate form for the interview he/she is trying to compose. There are numerous guides for researchers, explaining techniques of interviewing for qualitative studies. A concise summary of the three types of interviews is provided by I-Tech Implementation Guide (2008). Of the three types of interview, unstructured interviews require the least control on the interviewer's part. The participant tells his/her story freely and his/her responses are often elaborate and exploratory. Here, the quality of data depends on the skill of the interviewer, who often uses a checklist to steer the conversation. Semi-structured interviews give the interviewer more control over the flow of the conversation. The researcher usually works with a prepared list of questions, the so-called interview script, and can ask additional questions to clarify ambiguous responses of the informant. As this type of interview works well in studies where details of particular problems are the target of the survey, it was applied in current study. It

allowed the researcher to use prompts when needed if the participant had problems narrowing down the response to concrete examples. Structured interviews contain specific questions developed to prevent the researcher or the informant from veering off the main topic of the conversation. The idea behind this type of interview is to put the same set of questions to each participant without additional unnecessary details. The interviewer has full control over the direction of the conversation. All three types of interviews are often recorded for later transcription.

Interesting discussion on the relation between the interviewer and interviewee are described by Lyons and Chipperfield (2000). They discuss the problem from a feminist point of view and deal with psychological dimensions of the interviewing process. They criticized the role of the interviewer as a person who shares their own opinions and feelings with the interviewee (p. 5). Instead of 'befriending' the participant, the authors suggest the goals of the interview should be clearly stated, and the researcher should inform the interviewee what will become of the collected data afterwards – how it will be presented and in what contexts. These are important guidelines, especially for novice researchers who lack a lot of experience in interviewing people and may not be able to predict (and deal with) all possible reactions on the part of their participants. Creating the right, and comfortable, atmosphere while collecting informative data is not always a straightforward task for inexperienced researchers.

Having done all fieldwork, however, what to do with the data afterwards? Massive amounts of data and piles of folders might look quite intimidating. Kvale and Brinkmann provide a comprehensive guide for researchers analyzing interviews. The issue may not always be straightforward. It depends what the researcher wishes to obtain from the interview data – whether it is the meaning or language. In the case of the study of Polish participants it was both. Another approach involves the condensation of meaning, that is to say, long statements taken from the interview are presented in the form of short statements to facilitate their analysis. When the focus of the analysis is on language, researchers have a variety of options, again depending on what they want to get from their study. Kvale and Brinkmann provide clear descriptions of various approaches (p. 219-232). Linguistic analysis is applied when the researcher looks at the characteristics of language used by the respondent, for example, the grammatical structures he or she uses. This particular method was used in the study presented in this thesis. Conversation analysis applies to studies where the researcher is interested in

‘talk in interaction’ (p. 221). It focuses on turn-taking and sequencing, these aspects being in this context more important than the actual intended meaning of the statements. The ‘interplay’ of statements is studied and how they influence the conversation. This particular method played no part in the analytical stage of the present project. In the case of narrative analysis, this approach is used to organize information obtained from stories told during the interview. Its function is to analyse their structure, plot, and genre (p. 223). Again, this particular method was not applied in current study as it did not address the questions posed in the project. Discourse analysis, for its part,

[...] studies how language is used to create, maintain, and destroy different social bonds, and is in line with the postmodern perspective on the human world as socially and linguistically constructed [...]

(Kvale & Brinkmann 2009:226)

In this perspective, discourse has social and political power. Different readings may have different interpretations and, in consequence, different effects (Parker 2005 in Have & Brinkmann 2009:229). This method was used in the analysis of data collected during the interviews for the purposes of the project. Finally, deconstruction refers to opportunities for the arrival at other readings of a text via the decomposition of interpretations that have been taken for granted.

In the study presented in this thesis, a semi-structured interview format was devised and was implemented as one of our research instruments. Given that during the interviews a massive amount of data would be collected, both sociological and linguistic, the recording of the interviews was seen to offer clear benefits. The recordings would register all answers given by the participants precisely *as they expressed them*. The researcher wished to rule out the noting of ‘approximate’ replies during the course of the interviews. The exact number of questions was fifty four, but some of these were skipped if the participant had already provided relevant information while responding to one or more previous questions. This happened quite often, as many participants tended to respond to questions with elaborate answers and anecdotes. This was positive, in the sense that it communicated to the researcher that they were willing to open up and speak freely about the problems discussed. On the other hand, in addition to answers related to the problems the discussion was addressing, they also provided information

that was not always relevant in the strict sense. However, recording whole interviews proved beneficial because the researcher could capture each participant's uniqueness. This was very helpful at the later, analytical stage because it allowed the researcher to immerse herself fully in individual conversations. The researcher, while transcribing, could experience the interviews as an attentive listener and re-play (parts of) the recording whenever she thought necessary. The greatest value of the recordings was their genuineness.

With regard to the linguistic dimension of the project, the data captured by the recordings represented a corpus of the participants' output absolutely unchanged by the interviewer. Of course, an obvious limitation was the lack of laboratory data in respect of the recording and analysis of the respondents' accents. The phonetics of the participants' speech did not, however, form any part of the focus of the study. The recordings in any case provided data clear enough to be safely relied upon for the reporting of "broad-brush" tendencies occurring in particular cases in relation to the accent of certain individuals.

The focus of our linguistic study was on cases of semantic and syntactic transfer between the pairs of relevant languages: Polish and German interfering with one another in the case of Poles living in Austria, and Polish and English in the case of Poles living in Ireland. For an analysis of these tendencies, the recorded statements constituted valuable data to which the researcher could constantly refer in the course of the analysis. The transfer analysis was able to proceed on the basis of whole, relatively freewheeling conversations, and did not depend on data from exercises where participants would have striven for correctness and, where as a result, the material would have had the limitation of being form-focused and planned.

For detailed analyses of the sociological and linguistic data obtained from the interviews and questionnaires the reader is now referred to the chapters that follow. In the analyses the reader will be guided in a thoroughgoing manner through the particular methods adopted and through the issues, both sociological and linguistic, which emerged from the data.

5.6. Implications for future research

What are the implications for future research following our analysis? It would be interesting to see if, and how, the situation has changed for Polish immigrants in Austria since Poles were given access to the entire EU job market in May 2011. Further research, including

longitudinal research, is called for to examine new tendencies in integration patterns under the new régime, which (theoretically!) grants so many opportunities for ambitious and hard-working Polish migrants. In addition, it would be interesting to investigate language shifts among individuals living in two cultures and how their attitudes relate to such shifts.

Chapter Six: Sociological Profiles of the Polish immigrant communities in Austria and Ireland as seen from their own perspectives.

6.1. Introduction

It is interesting how Poles structure their own community within Irish society and Austrian society. In order to better understand the process of integration or withdrawal from the host society, like, for example, ghetto-formation, one has to take into account a number of important factors:

- The level of English/German (perhaps the most important and determining factor)
- The willingness of different social groups of Poles to integrate with the local community
- The openness of Irish society and Austrian society in general, and of different social groups (assuming broadly similar levels of stratification for both host societies).

Are Poles in Ireland and Austria forming ghettos? Is this a general perception of Poles among Irish and Austrian people, or are Poles perceived as integrating well? Can the question be answered in simple terms, or does it have something to do with the “nature” of the Polish nation, or maybe it is a general tendency of humans to form groups and cliques. The analysis of group-formation and maintaining group coherence will be taken into account here, and we will try to apply it to the Polish ethnic minorities in Ireland and Austria. It is important to understand the concept of “Polishness”, and what it means for Poles. Again, the answers to this question may vary. For example, one has to acknowledge different understandings of this concept in general, like, for instance, blood-relation as it is in Germany, or different

interpretations and individual sentiments of individual Poles. It is important to note that these opinions may vary from country to country: Poles in Poland may perceive themselves in a different light than Poles in Ireland and Austria. What is it then to be Polish? During the interviews Poles had to explain what it meant for them to be Polish, whether they considered themselves typically Polish, and whether it mattered to them at all.

Previous chapters aimed to introduce the reader to some relevant theoretical considerations and to present the socio-political conditions faced by immigrants in Austria and Ireland. Linguistic realities are very often closely related to, and dependent on, particular socio-political factors at play in the society. Doing social research is not an easy task, especially if the researcher deals directly with people and his/her results depend, at least to some extent, on their willingness and the quality of their cooperation. Regardless of certain obvious limitations of qualitative data, they have a clear advantage in potentially giving access to more of an in-depth understanding of the processes being researched than quantitative data. Interviews with people directly involved in particular situations provide a more personal account of the circumstances and allow researchers, and readers of their work, to get to the core of individuals' experience and perception of the problems examined.

There are many useful guidebooks for social scientists dealing with qualitative data, including linguistic (discourse-related in particular) dimensions of collected material (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Marvasti, 2004; Vaus, 2005; Fairclough 2005). What is important about these books is that the authors provide suggestions and guidelines for researchers but do not recommend, or rule out, any particular method. In fact, when confronted by a massive amount of data, it is often difficult to decide what one should focus on, since everything seems very important. The researcher necessarily has to make decisions in favour of some aspects at the cost of other aspects.

In the following analysis of the collected data, the reader will find two general themes – sociological and linguistic. The data obtained from the collected materials had to be examined with reference to relevant processes taking place in society on the one hand, and the role of language in identity negotiation in immigrant situations on the other. Therefore, sociological and linguistic processes were studied simultaneously. As in the case of any detailed qualitative data where subjects are dealt with directly, immigrants' realities are presented not

from the theoretical point of view of the researcher, but from the perspective of often vulnerable individuals living in a country other than their (native) homeland. The language they used has been analyzed with a special focus on cross-linguistic influences such as cases of transfer, code-mixing, and code-switching.

We decided to make a parallel comparison between the subjects' resident in the two countries for a better illustration of similarities and differences between them. In addition, our analysis was informed by the theoretical models and reflections presented in previous chapters, especially those relating to the role of society in the process of integration, the part played by the influence of historical and political conditions in human relations, and the role of the media in shaping particular representations of groups within societies. For obvious reasons the analysis had to be limited to the range of issues which had been selected for investigation and discussion in this thesis.

All interviews with the participants were conducted only in Polish. The choice of the Polish language as the only language of the interview conversations had two main grounds. First, the participants differed in their knowledge of either German or English. Some were fluent, some had only conversational knowledge of the relevant language, and some hardly spoke it at all. Therefore, in order to ensure that detailed and comparable data were elicited from each participant it was decided to use the code which all our participants knew well. Second, we wanted to analyze participants' responses from a linguistic perspective and to explore the extent and modalities of the influence on participants' Polish of the official language of the host country.

6.2. The Project Participants

As has already been mentioned above in the methodology chapter, the process of subject recruitment proved to be quite difficult, especially in Austria. The reasons for this may relate to the nature of the project: it did touch on sensitive issues, especially for those individuals who emigrated to Austria in escaping from the communist regime in Eastern Europe. What the reader needs to bear in mind when reading the analysis is that it became safe to talk about one's experiences openly and without fear of being denounced only a few years after the

official collapse of communism in 1989. The memory of painful years and the necessity of constantly monitoring what one said, and to whom, was in the air even during the process of recruitment. It took very considerably more time to persuade Poles in Austria than in Ireland to give favourable consideration to participation. Refusals in Austria were relatively frequent. In Ireland, the process was easier; people were less suspicious and thus more willing to participate. All interviews were conducted in 2010 with two exceptions - in cases where two individuals in Austria were interviewed in November 2009. In Austria we managed to have access to individuals with a rich immigration history, whose length of residence averaged twenty years. These individuals were able to provide a wide spectrum of information and views on the social and political changes that had taken place over the years. This, perhaps, was the reason why interviews with them were usually longer than the interviews conducted in Ireland.

6.2.1. Length of stay

The longest period of stay in Austria reported by the participants at the time of the interviews was forty-two years, and the shortest, one year. Here, the first, significant difference became apparent between the two groups of immigrants, as during interviews with Poles in Ireland, the vast majority of individuals we had access to reported the year 2004 as the time of their arrival. That is, the year when Poland joined the European Union. Therefore, the majority of the Irish-based participants had had a relatively short experience of Ireland - an average of six years at the time of the interviews. This does not mean that their accounts had less value or were incomplete. On the contrary, it made it clear to us how different the experiences we were dealing with were in the two countries. The longest stay in Ireland as reported by the Irish-based participants was eight years, and the shortest, two years.

6.2.2. Reasons for leaving Poland

In the case of Poles interviewed in Austria, more than half of the participants who had emigrated from Poland in the nineteen-eighties or before (66.6 %) mentioned the political situation as the main or only reason for leaving Poland. Communism, Poland's political

dependence on the Soviet Union, terror¹⁸, lack of prospects for independent intellectual and professional development¹⁹, the need for a change and freedom – these were the factors most often mentioned by the participants. Belonging to the same domain of reasons mentioned by the subjects were also interest in the wider world, the desire to become part of the independent, Western world, and hopes for a normal life. On the other hand, Poles who arrived in Austria after 2004 cited similar reasons to those reported by Poles in Ireland. They included mainly access to study, better financial prospects in a stronger currency, employment (not necessarily in one's own profession) and the desire to live one's life 'to the full': participants referred, *inter alia*, to higher salaries, to better prospects, and to freedom to move around Europe without permits and visas. So, while younger generations of Poles in the two countries had similar feelings regarding their emigration, in the case of the older generation the perspective that emerged was, in the majority of cases, totally different.

6.2.3. Why Austria?

In regard to questions about other countries participants might have considered as destinations, a frequent response of Poles escaping the communist regime was that Austria was initially regarded as a staging post – a transition country from which many of the subjects planned eventually to move further, to a yet safer, in their eyes, place like America, Canada, or Australia. European countries that the interviewed individuals mentioned as possible prospective destinations were England and Germany. It seemed to some that the further away from the communist borders of Easter Europe they could get, the safer they would be. From those who had such plans, none did, and for various reasons, achieve that goal. Visa restrictions were the main obstacle. For example, one of the participants said:

First, I heard that I was too young, so for sure I would want to stay in America and look for a husband there. When I applied for the second time, all my friends lent me their dollars and I had at that time so much money in my account that to

¹⁸ For example, members of the National Army (AK), which fought for independence during World War II, were declared betrayers of the system. If caught they were tried, sent to prison or executed.

¹⁹ Only certain 'versions' of history were taught at school. Soviet propaganda was present everywhere and only those who obeyed the communist system had opportunities for development and social advancement.

this day I have not been able to earn such an amount. Then, a very nasty consul at the American Embassy with an ironic smile announced to me that I was too poor to enter America. I do not regret this in the end, because it is hard to think of such a country in terms of a democratic state. Even more so, when many people belonging to the Party²⁰ and their children did get visas and could enter America. I never got a visa.

The participant to whom the above statement belonged was, at the time of visa applications, a university-educated professional. Similar cases were reported by other participants. Some of them thought that applying from Austria would increase their chances of getting a visa to America. None of the participants interviewed obtained a visa, however.

The second issue mentioned was the distance from the family who still lived in Poland and the prospect of separation for decades, even for ever as it then seemed; this factor discouraged some from pursuing their earlier ideas about travelling further. In addition, Austria offered asylum and shelter at a time when other countries did not offer such organized help. Friends' networks also played a role in helping people escape the regime. Invitations from family members and acquaintances were made use of whenever possible, and for many it was the only chance to leave Poland. In all, about half of the Austrian-based participants (54%) had considered other countries as their prospective final destination. However, on account of various reasons they eventually stayed in Austria. The rest had chosen Austria because of a variety of factors, usually family-related. For some, the critical determinant was marriage to either an Austrian person or another Pole living in Austria.

More than half of the interviewed Austrian-based participants (63%) held only Austrian citizenship. The main reason for their decision to acquire it was the political situation in Europe at the time of their migration. It was safer to hold Austrian citizenship from a number of perspectives – to have a better start in the new country, for example, and to have a protection against possible deportation, if the overall situation suddenly got unstable. The statement below comes from a university-educated professional:

²⁰ Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza (United Polish People's Party), the ruling party under the Soviet communist regime in Poland. In the hardest of times one had to become an official member of the Party if one wished to occupy a high position in the society, or travel abroad.

I came to Austria with the intention of staying for three months, but I eventually stayed here...[I]t was a time when visas were required. I wanted to stay longer here and, unfortunately, I had to acquire Austrian citizenship and give up Polish citizenship.

There were individuals, however, who decided to keep their Polish citizenship. The most oft-cited reason was attachment to one's country, as in the statement below, which came from a female professional:

If I had acquired Austrian citizenship I would have had to give up Polish citizenship, but personally I do not like this idea. I cannot make the decision to be only Austrian.

This issue was also evident in the interviews held with the younger generation of Poles who came to Austria to pursue their studies, or followed their future spouses, as in the statement below of a then recent university graduate:

I hold only Polish citizenship. And I do not mean to change this.

What seems to be evident here is that the choice concerning whether to keep Polish citizenship or not was driven by personal considerations of the situation the individual was in. The general political circumstances seemed to have caused the participants to decide according to their own judgments of their situation in consideration of the political developments in the background. All participants (100%) who held Austrian citizenship at the time of the interview considered themselves 'ethnic Poles' regardless of the intensity of their attachment to Austria. Austrian citizenship did not make them reject their Polishness. Initially, it served as an instrument to help them out of the tragic situation in their homeland but without occasioning any forgetting of who they were. Later, it gave them a chance to start a new life as free individuals in a free country. Younger Poles who belong to, let us call it, the 'post-2004' immigration wave, had or have quite different reasons for keeping, or not, their Polish citizenship.

It appears to be necessary to make a clear distinction between the socio-political conditions faced by older and younger generations of Poles who came to Austria. These circumstances shaped individual experiences and render precise comparisons difficult, if not impossible. The situation of an asylum seeker in the 1980s who had to wait months in a refugee camp until he/she was offered official help by someone, or an institution, cannot be put in the same category as that of a twenty year-old Polish student in Vienna, or a man in his thirties following his fiancé to Linz (characters hypothetical). At the same time, any comparison with the experiences of Poles in Ireland after the year 2004 do not seem to be in place when one considers the kind of choices others, much less fortunate, had to make elsewhere thirty years ago.

6.2.4. Why Ireland?

In the case of Poles interviewed in Ireland the situation was far less complicated, as they came to Ireland as free people with all opportunities open to them. Ireland was one of the three countries that opened its job market to citizens of the 2004 Enlargement states. People did not have to report to the authorities, could live wherever they wanted, could commence studies or work without any legal restrictions of the kind, for example, that Austria introduced. Those individuals who considered going to another country than Ireland mentioned the United Kingdom, in particular, Scotland and England. The most common reasons for leaving Poland included economic factors like the low salaries that qualified people often had to accept in Poland if they wanted to work in their profession, the desire to pursue tertiary-level studies, and the draw of professional opportunities. Some participants also mentioned their need for a change and their interest in other cultures, different environments and a better understanding of the Other.

The answers the Poles provided were rather concise. They usually did not provide a lot of additional information. They did not detail the background for their choices. There seemed to have been no stress attached to their decisions. They knew that they had a home in Poland to come back if things went wrong. That was a huge comfort, and thus the decisions neither carried any serious risk, nor were particularly stressful. Quite to the contrary, the participants seemed rather excited about their adventures, and perceived their emigration from the

homeland as a new stage in their life, and as a great chance to live an interesting life. All of the interviewed participants (100%) held, at the time of the interviews, Polish citizenship. Only one participant reported considering applying for Irish citizenship because of the better opportunities it would afford:

I wanted to apply for Irish citizenship, for which you are eligible after five years of residence in Ireland. Unfortunately, you need to have some strong arguments and reasons to apply for Irish citizenship... [B]ecause we can do more with that citizenship. We, as Poles.

In this case, acquiring Irish citizenship seems to have had only an instrumental attraction. The individual was reasserting a felt sense of Polish belonging by saying *we can do more... We, as Poles*, and/or was emphasizing that Poles are not treated the same as Irish people are and, therefore, that it is good to have the advantage of Irish citizenship *because then we (Poles) can do more*. The participant was not, however, asked to clarify this particular issue because the question concerned only the issue of having one, or both, citizenship(s). Therefore, we leave the statement open to the interpretation of the reader.

6.3. Relations with, and Attitudes towards, the Homeland

It seems important at this stage to analyze the theoretical framework of the concept of *nation*. Different sources will provide different definitions of the term. We will understand the concept of nation as applying to a society whose members share common cultural links (Ziemiński 1994). We will ignore issues of the ethnic origins of people belonging to a nation. According to Ziemiński, one often finds ideological elements included in the definitions of *nation* (p. 76). Indeed, one does not have to look far back in the recent history of Europe to appreciate the might of ideology in shaping not only political orders, but creating particular representations of specific groups in the eyes of larger communities.

For centuries, Poland has hosted many nations within its shifting borders. While Poland's current borders are officially accepted by all European countries, the process of the formation and interplay of intercultural relations is very much to the fore at the present time, especially

now that Poland actively participates in, and contributes to, European Community. It is quite possible that if Poland becomes a country that offers financial rewards appropriate to people's qualifications, numbers of citizens of other European, and not only European, states will pursue their careers in Poland. However, at the moment such rewards are often not on offer. Nevertheless, caution is advised when one speaks about Poland's 'monoculturality'; this appellation does not take account of the rich cultural contributions of Belarusians, Lithuanians, Jews, Germans, and many other ethnic groups throughout centuries of Poland's history.

We will here adopt Ziemiński's approach to this issue, in order not to privilege one group over another in regard to the shaping of Poland's identity. We find Ziemiński's approach ideologically 'safe' as it does not get involved in the dispute of 'who is more Polish than whom'. Ziemiński's approach is even more appealing when we consider the question of territoriality. This topic seems relevant to our discussion as we are investigating the profiles of people living outside their homeland but who often still feel, although to varying degrees, attachment to it, or at least do not reject their native country, culture and language. Ziemiński cites Ossowski (1982) and his concepts of an *ideological homeland* and *private homeland*. The former refers to a particular place, a territory, which culturally links members of a nation. The latter refers to a place where an individual spent a significant portion of his/her life, especially his/her youth, and which remains important to this person (Ziemiński 1994:76). Poles often refer to the latter as *małe ojczyzny* (little homelands) when they talk about places dear to them because of their life's history.

In this part of the analysis, we explore the participants' attitudes to their homeland in the sense of both ideological homeland and private homeland.

6.3.1. Contacts with Poland and interests in Polish matters.

During the interviews, the striking thing was that the Poles in Austria often gave very detailed descriptions of their feelings, elaborating their statements with anecdotes which they thought relevant to the topic, and taken from their life. This rendered the collected data highly valuable and interesting from a variety of perspectives.

As could be predicted, most of the participants in both countries declared that their contacts with Poland were mainly related to their family and circle of close friends. Many also mentioned that, in the course of time, these contacts were tending to become weaker. Naturally, the reasons behind this were, above all, the distance between their current homes and Poland, and the consequent lack of opportunity to meet as regularly with friends and family as they would have in Poland. However, when we analyze the statements in more detail, we are able to perceive the differences of contexts in respect of these connections. For the Poles in Austria with whom we held interviews, Poland was often thought of in terms of Ossowski's (1982) ideological homeland, a place that connects all Poles, but not necessarily still referring, from their perspective, to *the homeland* in the concrete, literal sense of the term. Many of the Austrian-based participants did not even plan to go back to Poland when they retire(d), because their new homeland provided them with everything they needed. However, Poland was often depicted metaphorically as 'home' in terms of its connection with the participants' childhood and youth, and in terms of the language, and culture in which they were brought up. Interestingly, this theme was often referred to in the course of the conversations. Poland was *the Past* and everything connected to it. Let us consider the statements below, all of which came from individuals with a long history of immigration (twenty years on average):

I am Polish. I feel Polish... [Y]es, I hold (only) Austrian citizenship and I have all the rights of an Austrian citizen. But I am sure I will never forget Poland, and I will always feel Polish.

Here we can see that this individual expressed strong attachment to his/her Polishness; after many years of residence in Austria he/she does not consider him/herself Austrian at all. The Austrian citizenship she/he holds has seemed to perform, and to perform still, an instrumental role. However, later in the interview the same participant said that he/she did not have many friends in Poland and was not interested in trying to find more Polish friends in either Poland or Austria, regarding those she/he already has as 'enough'.

His/her representation of Poland is thus that of an ideological homeland. Noteworthy in this connection are his/her comments on the attitudes of some other Poles (not interviewed by the researcher) towards the Polish language:

I know people here who have lived in Austria as long as I and they have already forgotten Polish. They... (pause) Can you imagine that? Married people, both Polish, and they speak German at home. To me, this is... (sentence not finished) I have always spoken Polish at home, I taught my daughter Polish. She speaks Polish and I am happy about that. Because many people here unfortunately do not want to speak Polish. They lose contact with Poland. They don't want it, I do not know why. Some have personal reasons.

As was apparent during the interview, and as is clear from the transcript of this fragment, this individual considers the fact of speaking Polish as a Polish person as something natural and obvious - even if, as was the case for this person's child, knowledge of Polish was not a necessary requirement for school, professional goals, career development, and so on. German had the crucial instrumental function in such matters, not Polish. For this participant, however, it was important that his/her daughter spoke Polish fluently, even if she did not formally need it in the future.

We also recorded statements somewhat in line with what the above-cited participant suggested about varying degrees of attachment to Poland as demonstrated by other Poles. The fragment below comes from a different individual who stopped travelling to Poland after their mother's death. They talked about their connections with Poland thus:

I do not really travel to Poland. It has been like that since my mother died seven years ago. I do not have the need for it. I have never been a patriot, but I come from a very patriotic family... [M]y mother was also a patriot. She belonged to Solidarity. But personally I have never felt that love for that country. For me, the homeland is where I live, where I work. Austria has become my homeland. I love my family, my past.

Here, of course, it is a matter of interpretation to what extent the participant felt attached 'ideologically' to Austria. If they had lived in Italy, they would probably have considered Italy their homeland in the same way as they considered Austria at the time of the interview. It seems that the loss of a close family member (and, perhaps, not having more people whom they would think worth travelling to) closed a particular stage in their life. What remained

was what was remembered. The rest seemed to have been totally rejected. In the course of the conversation, German words often appeared, like *also* (Eng.: *so*) at the beginning of a sentence, or *Unterstützung* (Eng.: *support*). It seemed that the speaker was not at first conscious of the code mixing, perhaps did some monitoring and correction later, or not at all. This may be attributed to the degree to which German was used on a daily basis by the participant – at work, and in the context of a large circle of Austrian friends.

Generally, we identified two tendencies among our participants in relation to the homeland concept, and noticed that we could include in this classification the interviewed subjects in both countries. There was almost no difference between individuals who came to either country in, or after, 2004. The following summary of the classification in question draws on the concepts borrowed from Ziemiński (1994) and Ossowski (1982).

Table 6.3.1.1.

Ideological Homeland		Real Homeland	
1980s’ emigrants to Austria	Poles born in Austria	2004 onwards Polish immigrants to Ireland	2004 onwards Polish to Austria

On the whole, family and friends were the main reasons why interviewed Poles kept in touch with Poland. Business and otherwise work-related contacts were mentioned by 8% of the participants resident in Austria. The subjects interviewed in Ireland did not have at the time of the interviews any business contacts in Poland at all²¹. As for the means of keeping in touch with Poland, the majority mentioned TV updates and the internet as the main sources of information about current developments. In addition, the overwhelming majority of the participants travelled to Poland at least once a year (96%). 20% of all participants in both countries declared that they visited Poland more than twice a year. Most of the children born in Austria were among those who travelled to Poland at least twice a year. However, we did not have access to many such children - five adult individuals altogether, out of which four regularly travelled to Poland.

²¹ This, of course, cannot be generalized to the whole population of Polish immigrants in Ireland. The data come only from the sample.

6.3.2. What is Poland associated with conceptually?

With regard to associations with Poland, from the responses the participants provided, we identified a few concept domains. The concepts differed across groups of participants. While Polish immigrants in Ireland and Poles who arrived in Austria after the 2004 Enlargement thought of very similar and sometimes even identical associations, Poles of the 1980s emigration together with Poles born in Poland differed significantly on the matter. The table below shows the identified domains and the percentage of individuals who quoted them:

Table 6.3.2.1.

Participants	Concepts			
	Family and friends	The Past	Politics	Other
1980s immigrants to Austria	30%	72%	18%	13%
Poles born in Austria	20%	0%	40%	60%
2000 onwards Polish immigrants to Ireland	81%	63%	27%	18%
2000 onwards Polish immigrants to Austria	66%	33%	20%	33%

As can be seen from the table, the percentages for domains do differ across the four groups of immigrants. The past was the most commonly cited aspect for Poles of the 1980’s immigration. In this particular domain we included such concepts as childhood, youth, school

years, and the history of Poland. The significance of these issues for these individuals could have been predicted from the general historical background of that group. Family and friends figured as the second most often cited domain. A striking difference in this respect can be observed when we compare the case of young Poles who were born in Austria. None of these mentioned the past in general, nor any aspect that could have been associated with it and included in the domain. The family and friends domain was not too important either. This may be attributed to their different perspective on the family. For these individuals, *family* was distributed across both its members resident in Austria and in Poland, and the majority of their *friends* were resident in Austria. Interestingly, Poland was associated with politics. These participants referred to watching TV as one of the means of learning about Poland. The cited Polish TV channels were Polsat News, TVN 24, TVP 1. They lacked actual, long-term experience of living in Poland, except for one individual who spent a few months there as a student at a university. This could also explain the larger number of references to the “other” domain.

As for the participants who came to Ireland after the 2004 EU enlargement, family and friends were the most important concepts, together with the past domain. Here, concepts like childhood and school were most often mentioned. For the last group included in the table, namely Poles who came to Austria in, or after, 2004, family and friends were also the most important concepts associated with Poland. Interestingly, the past domain equalled the “other” domain in the case of that group. This domain simply included everything that could not be included in other domains, and included such diverse concepts as, for example, ‘walks in the forest’, ‘food’, ‘eatable bread’, ‘my dog’, ‘terrible roads’ and ‘hospitality’. The ideas the subjects had were numerous, and the longer they considered, the more extraordinary the concepts that emerged. We did not want to ignore these less readily categorizable thoughts, however, and so we included them altogether in one domain. The diversity of associations may attest to the fact that while certain, perhaps obvious, domains are shared by all participants (although to varying degrees), there are also individual associations that people draw from all aspects of their lives, from books, or the media. Below is a fragment of a statement taken from a young Polish individual living in Ireland:

Food. Good Polish food. When I come to Poland, I always think of what I will eat next day, or what I will ask my mother to cook for me.

6.3.3. Poles perceptions of, and attitudes towards, themselves as Poles.

Under the inspiration of some informal (unrecorded) conversations held with Polish friends living in different countries across Europe and in Canada, we decided to ask a few questions concerning Poles' attitude to themselves as Polish immigrants. We asked, for example, whether the subjects admitted their Polish origin openly in social situations among Austrian/Irish people; whether they distanced themselves from Polish issues; if they perceived striking differences between Poles in Austria/Ireland and Poles living in Poland. By examining these issues we wanted to check whether we could find any particular tendency among our participants. The results were interesting, because many (although not all) Poles in both Ireland and Austria not only seemed to categorize fellow immigrants, but also to distinguish between the mentality of Poles in Poland, and the mentality of immigrant Poles on the whole. This was apparent especially among Polish individuals resident in Austria, where the subjects drew clear distinctions based on their knowledge, their understanding of Polish issues as guided by what they read or heard in the media, their own perceptions, and their interpretations of those perceptions.

In our sample of Polish immigrants in Austria every single individual we interviewed (100%) declared that they always openly told everyone they were Polish. It did not matter what age they were, what their earlier, or later, opinions of their immigrant experiences were, or what attitudes they had to Poland, or other Poles. Some Poles born in Austria mentioned unpleasant situations they had experienced because of their origin when they were children. Out of five such individuals interviewed, three (60%) mentioned this problem in relation to their school. The statement below comes from one of those subjects:

Today I say openly I am of Polish descent, but in the past it was better to hide it.
The worst was when I was a teenager, in junior high school. You know, other children were cruel.

In the case of Poles interviewed in Ireland, only one person (5%) claimed the appellation 'Irish Pole', tried to sound like a native speaker of Irish English, and avoided speaking Polish at all even with other Poles. This was later attributed to their bad experience in Poland in terms of perceived prospects concerning educational and professional (financial)

development. Sad memories of ‘general greyness and sadness’ made that particular individual want to disengage from the past and Poland. The only links they kept with Poland were family connections and connections with close friends, and these constituted their only reason for visiting Poland. Polish individuals in Ireland tended to provide straightforward answers to the question of whether they always admitted their Polish origin. ‘Yes’ or ‘yes, always’ were the usual replies. However, interesting and elaborate explanations came from individuals with a long history in Austria. They always considered themselves ‘very Polish’ and often declared they said that to Austrians with pride and without complexes. Let us consider a few examples taken from the interviews held with them:

I know my worth (my qualities) very well. And because Austria had established links throughout history, especially at the time of the Annexations²² I always say to them that I am ‘the best combination of the old monarchy’, because from my father’s side Hungarian blood runs in my veins, and from my mother’s side a small percentage of French (blood). And, naturally, the majority (of my blood) is Polish.

Another example taken from a different individual:

I have only Austrian citizenship, but I am Polish. And I use Polish when- and wherever I can. I have a [type of business] here in Vienna and both Poles and Austrians come here. I always speak Polish there. Austrians ask me why I speak Polish all the time when [the name of business] is in Austria. To which I always reply that that they are in a Polish [type of business] and if they want to understand what we (Poles) are talking about they have to learn Polish. And I continue talking to my friends and acquaintances in Polish because it is my mother tongue and I will always use (speak) it.

Another example, although short, was very expressive:

Oh, absolutely, yes! Everybody knows that. (Everybody knows that I am Polish).

²² Annexation of Poland’s territory by three empires: Russia, Prussia (Germany) and the Austrian Monarchy

Interestingly, while a hundred per cent of individuals resident in Austria whom we interviewed said they always openly admitted their Polish origin, when they were asked whether they distanced themselves from Polish issues they often admitted they did. By ‘Polish issues’ we meant any social, political and historical matters related to Poland and Polish life, whether in Poland or abroad. The participants had the freedom to include in their considerations whatever they thought relevant. We wanted, in this way, to see how far Poles were interested in Polish matters (the scope and range of issues) without asking detailed, invasive questions. We also wanted to rule out the possibility of suggesting to our participants what to talk about by asking, for example, ‘*What do you think about Polish politics? Do you distance yourself from it?*’ We did not want to ask about political orientations nor to discourage the subjects from being open and honest in their answers. Therefore, an open question seemed advisable. The same questions were put to Poles in Ireland. Here, more elaborate answers were given across groups.

Among the issues which discouraged Poles from involvement in Polish matters in both countries, politics was often mentioned. Another factor often cited was the behaviour of certain groups of Poles considered as having an influence on the overall status of Polish immigrants (understood as a group) in Austria and Ireland.

Table 6.3.3.1. Issues discouraging Poles from involvement in Polish matters.

Participants	Concepts	
	Politics	Behaviour of fellow Poles
1980s’ immigrants to Austria	80%	52%
Poles born in Austria	41%	60%
2004 onwards Polish immigrants to Ireland	75%	35%
2004 onwards Polish immigrants to Austria	60%	60%

These two factors seemed to play the main discouraging role. By way of elaborating on the numbers presented in the table to give more insight into what Poles felt, we provide a few statements taken from the interviews:

I have always felt that it is better to love Poland from far away. I have the impression that I need, sometimes, to look at things from a distance. In order not to worry about the political situation in Poland, and how it affects people's lives. It is my own, personal distance. I do not go around Dublin and announce to everybody that I don't like Poland... [I]f something bad happens in Poland, or my views become suddenly unpopular there, I know I have a refuge here (in Ireland).
(a young individual resident in Ireland)

Another example we chose for the presentation was:

I distance myself from Polish politics. I do not like talking about it. Austrians do, sometimes, ask me about the political situation in Poland, but I try to cut the matter short. And the longer I live here, the more I come to understand that politics is the same everywhere... [I] am embarrassed when I see groups of Polish workers, dirty, smelling, and cursing. I stop talking to my husband in Polish in such situations and we switch to German so they do not understand us.
(a young individual resident in Austria)

One more statement, made by an individual from the 1980s' immigration group, was the following:

Polish politics does not make me proud of my country. Polish politicians often make fools of themselves and ridicule Poland in the eyes of other nations.

6.3.4. Can we talk of 'Poles here (Austria/Ireland)' and 'Poles there (Poland)'?

We were interested in yet one more sociological aspect of immigration. We initially predicted that Poles would, naturally, divide themselves into different groups on the basis of their level

of education, their profession, and possibly other factors. We also thought that it would be interesting to look at how Poles might create those divisions along a slightly different axis – the distance, the differences in their everyday experience in different countries. In these times of globalization it seems that almost everybody in Europe has, if they wish to, access to the mass media, means of learning about current affairs and so on. In the light of the fact that the borders are open and travelling is allowed without restrictions, we asked a question whether Poles in the two countries we investigated differed in certain ways from Poles living in Poland. The question was intended to probe what was *perceived* (by our participants) rather than concrete facts.

Interestingly, the majority of participants declared that they did, indeed, see differences: 64% of the subjects interviewed in Austria portrayed the differences in terms of mentality and attitudes to politics. Standards of living were not an issue much discussed by the participants. Generally, they concluded that since in Poland the salaries were much lower than in Austria, the standard of living was inevitably worse in Poland. Here we could see a sort of generalization of problems related to salary levels offered in Poland for all sorts of jobs. Let us consider some of the fragments recorded:

In Poland, tradition sometimes limits people. It blinds them.

(young Pole born in Austria)

In Austria, people do not ‘live politics’ so much as they do in Poland. Their private life there is absorbed by politics. Here their lives are not so much dependent on politics... [B]ecause Poles here are away from their homes and families, they are freer, more independent. They know they can do more here than if they lived in Poland, where they would have been trapped by tradition.

(young Pole resident in Austria)

By living here, one has more distance in relation to things that are happening there. I think it depends on the length of stay in Austria.

(1980s’ immigrant to Austria)

For sure there is a difference. Nowadays, it is getting somewhat smaller. But in the past, when university educated people came to Austria and had to re-start their careers by taking up cleaning first and walking about Austrian houses with a cloth and dusting, it did, for sure, influence them psychologically and, later, their mentality. We have to realize that we are one of the poorer societies in Europe and this, unfortunately, affects peoples' lives a lot. Here, in Austria, there are many different groups of Poles.

(1980s' individual in Austria)

However, we recorded one very different approach to the matter, as if the person did not accept our concept of differences at all:

In Austria, we cannot treat Polonia²³ as one homogenous entity. People come from very different environments associated with various cultures. Those are all Polish cultures, but yet a Silesian behaves differently from a person from Wrocław or from Warsaw... [T]hose who have acquired a high position in their professions do not mix with guest workers... [I] always have one and the same answer to this issue. Poland is a home to thirty eight million people. They are all very different people. We (Poles in Austria) are like a drop of a Baltic Sea here. We are the same as Poles in Poland. So, we are different from each other. Let us be realistic. Let us not create our own stereotypes and frame ourselves in them. Poles in Austria are identical to Poles in Poland because we all come from Poland.

(1980s' immigrant to Austria)

Unfortunately, we are not able to analyze every fragment of the very long transcripts of the conversations held with our participants. However, we owe it to the reader to offer some important issues to consider while thinking about the data. We put the above question to our participants not because we wanted to launch an original discussion, but because, while considering the prospective domains of topics before the start of the project, we took into account the quite different environments the subjects were part of.

²³ Polish diaspora

Besides, one can imagine that the histories of people's lives do shape, at least partly, their outlook, their mentality, opinions, and attitudes. Even if we think of Poland as the ideological homeland of all people who consider themselves Polish, we see clearly that their real homelands – the here and the now, with all influences of the host societies – play an active role in their lives. Let us consider the role of the media, by way of example. If, hypothetically, people who live outside of Poland relied solely on what they heard on Polish TV, like, for instance, Polsat News, or TVN 24, one may naturally suspect that the news coverage will be, if not 'filtered', often presented in terms convenient for the ruling authorities, whatever they are (whether left, center, moderate, right, or extreme). If one looks closely at what is happening in Poland, one will see that while certain debates are becoming increasingly popular where different opinions are given equal chances to be expressed²⁴; attempts at imposing the only one and right interpretation of facts while discussing others (advocated representation) are clearly visible; and yet discussion of some issues is almost totally silenced²⁵. Accordingly, when a person has to, for various reasons, rely only on what is conveyed by the media, he/she cannot confront the information at his/her disposal with perspectives coming from independent voices - independent organizations, independent sociologists, ordinary people and their experiences, newspapers not owned by institutions related to the Government, and so on. This was especially the observation of one participant we interviewed:

We talk to our family and friends about the situation in Poland. We do not want to rely solely on the internet or TV. We know more than what is prepared in advance and given to us.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

Therefore, when one is away from Poland, if one bases one's opinions solely on what one reads or hears in a selection of media, one's perspective is obviously limited. Another thing, as has been evident in the case of the role of history in associations with Poland among Poles in Austria, the past almost could not be separated from it. Those who rejected Poland totally - and some of our participants mentioned they had met such

²⁴ Attitudes towards Warsaw Rising of 1944

²⁵ Unresolved issue of Afera Hazardowa

people - must have had some cause or trigger for their rejection. Therefore, while thinking about individual differences among individuals and groups of individuals, one needs to gather as many materials from the individuals' past as possible (or as much as they consent to divulge to the researcher), as well as familiarize oneself with the generality of pertinent history and current affairs. It was interesting, and very instructive, to hear the subjects' accounts and opinions on the matter.

6.4. Attitudes towards other Poles

In this section we come to the subject of the attitudes of Poles towards other Poles. Attention is first directed to the social psychology of society and how this may influence the attitudes of groups towards other groups, and also how individual attitudes might be formed. This applies not only to ways members of the receiving society might perceive the immigrants, but also how this might shape the attitudes of immigrants towards other immigrants – in our case, the relations among Poles who are resident in Austria or Ireland.

6.4.1. Attribution

In some of the interviews with the participants, particularly those resident in Austria for a long time, the problem of being 'classified as members of a group' – (Polish) immigrants – has been emphasized. What this means is not only that these individuals have been classified as members of 'the other', 'not Austrian' group, but also that traits have been *attributed* to them which are supposedly common to that group, or at least frequent enough to constitute a basis for making generalizations about the (immigrant) group:

Some ten years ago Poles were associated with car thieves
(young individual born in Austria)

It is very difficult for an individual to debunk a myth or any negative belief concerning the group he/she belongs to. This is partly because generalisations help people to explain and understand – that is, simplify – the environment (Gross, 2005:401):

Even though almost all behaviour is the product of both the person and the situation, our causal explanations tend to emphasize one or the other. According to Jones and Nisbett (1971), we all want to see ourselves as competent interpreters of human behaviour, and so we naively assume that simple explanations are better than complex ones...

The fundamental attribution error (FAE) refers to the general tendency to overestimate the importance of personal/dispositional factors relative to situational/environmental factors as causes of behaviour (Ross, 1977). This will tend to make others' behaviour seem more predictable which, in turn, enhances our sense of control over the environment.

Thus, it is important to remember that attributions are linked to attitude formation, whether on an individual or a general level.

6.4.2. Attitude Formation

This short section focuses on attitudes and their social consequences for vulnerable groups. Below are some definitions of the term *attitude*:

A learned orientation, or disposition, toward an object or situation, which provides a tendency to respond favourably or unfavourably to the object or situation... (Rokeach, 1968)

The term *attitude* should be used to refer to a general, enduring positive or negative feeling about some person, object, or issue. (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981)

An *attitude* is an *evaluative disposition toward some object*. It's an evaluation of something or someone along a continuum of like-to-dislike or favourable-to-unfavourable... (Zimbardo & Leippe, 1991)

Attitudes, according to the above definitions, are linked to the perception of an object or situation in particular in a favourable or unfavourable way. They are formed, learned, and connected to feelings (Gross 2005:406-7):

Beliefs represent knowledge or information we have about the world (although these may be inaccurate or incomplete) and, in themselves, are *non-evaluative*... To convert a belief into an attitude, a 'value' ingredient is needed. Values refer to an individual's sense of what is desirable, good, valuable, worthwhile, and so on... attitudes provide us with ready-made reactions to, and interpretations of events...

As a result, attitudes may influence individuals' behaviour toward another person, situation or object of their evaluation (Gross 2005:410):

It's generally agreed that attitudes form only one determinant of behaviour. They represent *predispositions* to behave in particular ways, but how we actually act in a particular situation will depend on the immediate consequences of our behaviour, how we think others will evaluate our actions, and habitual ways of behaving in those kinds of situations. In addition, there may be specific *situational factors* influencing behaviour... Thus, sometimes we experience a conflict of attitudes, and behaviour may represent a compromise between them.

For example, Poles or Eastern Europeans in general may have had a negative reputation for a number of reasons: the division between the East and West, criminal incidents involving immigrants from Eastern Europe etc. However, individuals who eventually managed to achieve professional success were able to provide examples of 'other' and 'better immigrants' and thus lead people to acknowledge individual differences within that particular immigrant group. What follows from the foregoing is that the link between attribution and attitude formation may have a direct effect on actual relations between different groups within society.

It is instructive to consider some definitions of the word *immigrant*. For instance, the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2005) provides the following definition:

A person who has come to live permanently in a country that is not their own
(2005:776)

Another definition, taken from the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2001:710) describes an immigrant as

Someone who comes from abroad to live permanently in another country

What these definitions patently suggest to the reader is that an immigrant is a stranger, an alien and a foreigner. In other words, they label such a person as someone who is ‘not originally from here, but from somewhere else’ and therefore, from the very beginning, as a member of a distinctive (and often disadvantaged) group.

It is also interesting to see how people understand the word *immigrant*. Below are a few definitions by college postgraduate students (of different nationalities) who had been asked to say in their own words how they understood the term:

An immigrant is a person who, though not being born in a specific country nor being its citizen, lives in that country for reasons of study or work.

Someone who comes from a different country in search for a better life – most often it is like that, though an immigrant is also someone who is offered a contract in another country for a fixed period of time. Immigrants are also people who travel to another country to live with their loved ones...

It is a person from a different country than the one to which he or she is coming with the intention of staying there permanently.

I would say an immigrant is someone who has moved to a country (with the intention of staying there) different from the one in which they were born, have citizenship, and previous generations of their family have lived.

Someone permanently settling in different nation/state/country, than his own citizenship.

Again, what is striking in these definitions is that an immigrant is perceived as someone 'from somewhere else' therefore 'not from here', 'originally not from this country'. The concept revolves around peoples' representations of someone 'not from here' – perhaps someone who might be very different from 'us', who could be misunderstood in some way or other, and who might cause problems etc. For some people it might not matter at all, but the general societal perspective may be more pernicious.

Of course, this is not to suggest that this term should be erased from the dictionaries of all languages. However, because of the very contexts in which it usually appears in the media or even in academic work, what it often does is simply a matter of stereotypical labeling. One has to bear in mind that associations are powerful and they stay in the society's representations of concepts and its identity as well. This is a difficult subject to discuss indeed, and very controversial too. The following statements made by some of the project participants resident in Austria are worthy of consideration in this context:

They rather mention negative things. I have not read anything really positive about Poland in Austrian newspapers... they are rather critical.

They write about faux pas made by Polish politicians

Once I found an article in the *Heute* newspaper about Polish workers that they are standing in the streets, waiting for a job... I think the media are looking for scandals to have something controversial to write about, to exaggerate and magnify it... I think they are rather sceptical. They look down on us, people from Eastern Europe, who come to Austria to do cleaning jobs or work as waiters. They associate us with menial jobs. A German will not come to Austria to clean houses or work in a bar. So Austrians see in us the lower class of the society.

They (Austrians) are not very open to the integration of us, Poles. They see us as members of... maybe not a country of the Third World, but... well... for sure less developed than Austria. Yeah... you could actually feel that.

6.4.3. How does this all translate to real immigrant situations?

In the following sections we will look at the subjects' responses to a number of questions related to their attitudes to their fellow immigrant Poles in both countries. Let us begin with the kinds of questions we asked our participants. There were six related topics we wanted to discuss with them in order not only to learn what they thought of other Poles, but possibly to identify the deeper reasons for those feelings. We also wanted to see whether the participants were consistent in their statements, and if their declared opinions could be confirmed by other factors. We have already presented some important data which serves as a sort of a background. For example, let us remind here that the overwhelming majority of our participants in both countries declared they always admit they are of Polish descent. This would obviously suggest that the attitudes, even if sometimes negative towards groups of people, cannot be generalized to the whole concept of the participants' Polishness. Otherwise, they would have rejected their feelings of attachment, and language. Again, the vast majority of Poles interviewed said they had kept their language and taught it to their children (in the cases of participants who had children). By asking our participants particular questions, we expected to obtain information on: an approximate estimation of Polish connections in Austria/Ireland and Poland; the perceived status of Poles in the respective countries, and who is responsible for creating this status; the perceived attitude of Poles to other Poles; their own attitude to other Poles; concepts associated with the Polish communities in Austria/Ireland.

6.4.3.1. Poles in Austria

In the case of young Poles born in Austria, the number of Polish friendships they sought seemed to depend on their personal preferences and interests. All five individuals whom we interviewed had a wide circle of international friends – groups made up of immigrants from different countries – as well as Austrian friends. One individual told us that he became more

interested in acquiring Polish connections after a few months of study at a Polish university. The same person said that he was interested in contacts with students or other educated people. His circle of Polish friends was described as increasing every year. In other cases, the relative number of Polish friends and acquaintances differed from one individual to another. It seemed to depend on the person's job, the amount of time available for social activities, and their interest in social life. In some cases it was directly related to the length of stay in Austria, or the direct environment one was in, as shown by the following statement by a young individual resident in Austria:

I do not have many friends. It is a narrow circle of Polish individuals. Maybe because I followed my husband and he only had Austrian friends. I met some Poles at the university. In addition, my husband's parents and family are Polish. They are the only Polish people I know here.

Sudden transformations were also reported by Poles who had spent many years in Austria:

I used to work in a pure Austrian environment. Two years ago, accidentally, I met an individual who introduced me to the Polish community here. It was through [name of the institution].

(a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

Since last year I have been in contact with the Polish community through a friend. Till that time I did not look for Polish connections. I focused on integration with Austrians and I looked for contacts with Austrian people.

(a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

Some individuals, usually because of the function or job they performed, declared a wide circle of friends, acquaintances, and work colleagues. Some of them performed high-profile jobs, and/or were additionally engaged in social work. Naturally, they knew more people than others. The only conclusion we could draw from data was that the number of Polish friends did not seem to be related to attachment to Poland or 'Polishness'. It was rather determined and driven by other factors mentioned above, which we can generalize as 'the particular

private circumstances of the individual'. No participant declared openly any determination not to meet other Poles. We will not, therefore, venture any hypothetical interpretations.

As for *perceived* differences in overall social status, or otherwise clear divisions between different groups of Poles in Austria, the participants seemed to distinguish particular job-related, or income-related subgroups. The statements below illustrate the situation as seen by the interviewed individuals:

There are, say, three groups of people here. The working class people who stick together ... [T]hose like me who lead a normal, simple life, who work and have decent homes. And there are those really rich who, thanks to their intelligence and clever ideas, live much better lives than us.

(a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

The social status of those who are educated is higher. But I guess it is true for all societies... [A]ustrians do notice and respect those Poles with certain (higher) education. For sure they notice.

(a 1980's immigrant to Austria)

Those differences are noticeable on both sides (Polish and Austrian). It is simply obvious. Here, people are classified according to the professions they do. It is, probably, the result of Austrian mentality and Poles have learnt from them to divide people according to the kind of job one has. Or titles²⁶. In Austria, people love titles. If a Polish person holds a title, is university educated, and has an interesting profession, he or she is noticed by Austrian society. They say, then: 'Ah! He/she is one of those good Polish people'. And there are also workers who are respected as good employees, because they are very well educated people. I mean all professions connected with construction. Poles do everything here... [a]nd they do it, they say, best. And I know it from Austrians who told me that... [P]rofessions are important here. It does not matter what you are like. Your job matters. (a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

²⁶ Academic or professional degree

Yes, there are status-related divisions. Yes, Poles do create them themselves. Poles are trying to create elites. I mean, I noticed that medical doctors make friends and deal with only with other medical doctors. Not with others.

(a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

Years ago, as it used to be in Reiskirchen²⁷, when a professor was digging a ditch alongside a simple worker and they were able to understand each other and make good friends; divisions like this do, in certain circumstances, disappear. Because even if someone is well educated, but nobody helps him, they may be forced to do simple jobs to keep their family... [W]hen we take a taxi, we cannot be sure whether the driver is a PhD or a person who only drives the taxi. And it is typical of Poles here. If someone was not helped by somebody else to get a job in their profession, he or she is forced to do other, often menial, jobs.

(a 1980s' immigrants to Austria)

You can hear from Austrians good opinions about Poles that they are conscientious and hard-working.

(a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

As for the, again, perceived attitude of Poles to other Poles in Austria, what struck us were repeated predictions of negative sentiments one could expect from others. We were inspired by the idea of researching that particular aspect of inter-Polish relations by what we sometimes heard from Poles with long experience abroad. Our predictions were to some extent confirmed throughout the interviews. Let us consider the following fragments:

I only heard what others said about this. We have a Polish lady who is a cleaner in our firm. She does not speak German so I talk to her. I am trying to help her because I know that her situation is not an easy one. And then I heard from a Polish individual that 'one does not help other Poles here' because 'they can cheat you, hurt you, etc.'... [M]y [spouse] (a Polish person) tells me that I will be let down by that Polish cleaner. That I should not take her side. I do not believe this.

²⁷ Camp for refugees

... [I] also think that these opinions are stereotypes. Well, someone heard something from someone else that they got hurt, and then the story goes around. I think that Austrians do similar things to Poles, don't they? It is a human thing. I do not personally think that Poles hate one another here, or envy each other, or the like. I do not think it is true. I think it is exaggerated. Some people seem to feed themselves on it (on this opinion). It happened once somewhere and they generalize to others... [W]e help one another, me and my friends.

(a young individual resident in Austria)

What can we say about the above statement? The individual draws a clear distinction between what she thinks herself and what 'others' told her. Second, her positive attitude is juxtaposed with the definitely negative disposition of those who warned her against other Poles. We cannot ignore, however, the fact of the individual having good Polish friends who 'help each other'. But let us consider other examples:

I have to cite one member of [name of institution] who said the following, and I think she is right, that 'when a new person arrives among us they are respected, praised and everything. But after a short period of time they are badmouthed by others, and their quality is ignored.

(a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

The above cited individual was not able, however, to provide examples from their personal experience of such behaviour of Poles. What we find here is only a relating of the opinions of others.

I can see that some people are cautious. Before I got involved with the Polish community I was careful. Even my (Polish) acquaintance told me once that in the place where she lived when a Polish person arrived, Austrians would tell her: 'Hey! There is a Polish person living in this town'. To which she would reply: 'So what? It does not matter. It does not mean that he/she has to be my friend'... [I] think it depends on the individual approach. When I think of the Polish community I am in touch now, I think they are rather nice and open people.

(a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

What we can see here is, again, a quotation from another person whom the individual met. On the other hand, the person also spoke about the ‘nice and open’ Polish people she met, and compared her own attitude of the past and present.

Why would some Poles, especially of the older generation, be so cautious and careful? Here, to seek a plausible explanation for such tendencies, one would have to refer to historical developments of recent past. Those who sought political asylum in Austria were fleeing a country in the grip of a totalitarian regime. They were trying to run away from it for different reasons. Some had to keep their plans secret even from close friends. Betrayals did happen; deportations – as the result of being given away – also took place from time to time. We are not talking about criminal people who were hiding from the law. We are not talking about a safe and peaceful period. We are talking about times when not everyone could travel – borders were closed. The movement of people was monitored.

One possible interpretation of the above-mentioned cautious behaviour on the part of Poles might be, simply, fear or ‘the ghosts of the past’. But we are not in a position to judge. Let us consider, instead, another fragment:

I have always had the impression that all other nations here in Austria stick together. They create something like a lobby. Look at the Turks here! If you hurt a Turk even his worst enemy will stand up for him, because he or she is a Turk... [P]oles are in many ways individualistic. They somehow, maybe after all those bad experiences, lock themselves in a very narrow circle of people.

Here, again, this individual was trying to explain why Poles in Austria ‘do not stick together’ as much as other nations, in her example, Turkish people, whom she provides as a good example of (ethnic) solidarity. She provides a, let us call it, hypothetical explanation of the situation *perceived* by her. Taken together, more than half of our participants (64%) declared that they either experienced, or heard from others, that Poles have negative attitudes towards other Poles. We should also take into account those individuals reported by our participants (those referred to by the subjects during the interviews were not included in the statistics) as living examples of the problem under discussion here.

What are, then, the main concepts associated with the Polish community in Austria as expressed by the interviewed participants? The younger participants who came to Austria in recent years – in or after 2004 – seemed to draw more on their experience at a university, or at work. They gave answers like ‘studies’, ‘university’, ‘the Polish café in Bezirk 1²⁸’, Polish shops, ‘construction’, ‘cleaning’. Poles born in Austria tended to make more associations, perhaps through their parents’ experience, with ‘underground literature’, ‘emigration’, and the ‘Polish Church’. As for Poles with a long immigrant history in Austria, their associations with the Polish community revolved around such concepts as ‘emigration’, ‘worries’, ‘the Polish Church’, ‘history’. Clearly life history did, indeed, have an influence on general associations with the Polish community in Austria.

6.4.3.2. Poles in Ireland

During our interviews with Poles in Ireland, some similarities were recorded with what the participants of the 1980s’ immigration declared in relation to attitudes of Poles to other Polish people. Some stereotypical comments of ‘a Pole on emigration is like a wolf to a fellow Pole’ seemed to be imbedded in the overall picture of Polish immigration. Let us consider the following fragments:

I do not feel a need to meet more Poles here... [A]nd I do not know why, but I think that the attitude of Poles to other Poles is more hostile than friendly. If a person is not a close friend, I do not think others would have a positive attitude toward them. At work, for example, you know? I have, personally, not experienced anything bad from other Poles. But I have a general impression that you have to rely on yourself here. It is not that we all mean well and keep together as a coherent social group.

(a young individual resident in Ireland)

Note this particular part of the statement: *I have, personally, not experienced anything bad from other Poles. But I have a general impression that you have to rely on yourself here.* The

²⁸ City districts of Vienna are numbered.

participant admitted that they cannot say anything about their *own* bad experience. They *have an impression*. Only, one wants to add, impression. At the same time, the person in question, according to the beginning of this account, *does not feel a need to meet more Poles here* (in Ireland). Having only a narrow circle of Polish friends, and having no bad experience of ‘other Poles’, the individual in a way contradicted their own opinion of alleged hostility among Poles in Ireland. But let us consider another example:

Poles on emigration are a very mean nation and I try not to trust them. When we meet for the first time, yes, we are from the same country but we will not be best friends because I came to realize that it is not worth to. You may be seriously disappointed... [P]oles in Ireland are very mean. This is only my opinion.

(a young individual resident in Ireland)

What we can detect in this statement is that this individual has made a very sweeping generalization - *Poles on emigration are a very mean nation and I try not to trust them* - based on personal bad experience with fellow Polish people in Ireland.

We did not experience hostility from other Poles. And we were not treated badly in any way. Do you know this popular opinion ‘hey, be careful with Poles abroad’? You could hear this around in Poland. But we have never experienced anything bad. We met people who had to pay other Poles who found jobs for them. Yes, we met those who had to pay other Poles for this. So there was help, but it wasn’t for free. ‘I will help you, but I want something in return’.

(young couple resident in Ireland)

What we can see here is that these individuals make a clear distinction between their own experience and the *reported* experienced of someone else. The reader is encouraged to consider the following sentences taken from the fragment above: *Do you know this popular opinion ‘hey, be careful with Poles abroad’? You could hear this around in Poland*. This stands in line with our prediction that stereotypes related to a particular group are sometimes created by members of the same group. The people who spread the opinion ‘one should be careful with other Poles’ are Polish. It ‘could be heard around Poland’. Indeed, it could, and not only around Poland. It also travelled abroad with the Poles.

Another interesting example comes from yet another participant who assumed the designation ‘Irish Pole’:

My attitude to other Poles in Ireland is positive. Especially, when they talk to me in English. Then I like them very much. But I think it is changing. I think I am becoming more open and willing to speak Polish than I used to be before. Although I always start in English and if the person I am talking to does not mind, I keep talking in English... [N]o, I do not have a negative attitude to other Poles. I even think my attitude has changed already for the better. I like it when I hear Polish in the streets.

(a young individual resident in Ireland)

Here we can notice a sort of a negotiation of the subject’s attitude to fellow Poles: *I think I am becoming more open and willing to speak Polish than I used to be before*; even though the individual ‘always starts in English’ and continues the conversation in English with other Poles ‘if they do not mind’, they still ‘like it when they hear Polish in the streets’.

Let us consider one more example of a participant addressing the issue of inter-Polish relations:

I have the impression that, especially at the beginning, it happens that when you meet another Pole you feel happy. You think ‘Oh! There is one of us’, so when people meet they start talking to each other only because they are Polish. A connection is made which would not have taken place when the individuals were in Poland, because everyone is Polish there... [M]y general experience with other Poles in Ireland is positive... [O]nly when I wanted to rent a flat in Dublin, the first time the guy did not want me to sign the lease, and the second time when I needed to rent an apartment it appeared that the guy wanted to sublet the other rooms and the living room, and the overall price for all the rooms was higher than the rent. So he took that extra [amount of money] for himself... [S]o I am not sure what my relations with Poles would be if they were connected to money matters.

(a young individual resident in Ireland)

In this fragment, the subject describes what it usually ‘feels like at the beginning’ and points out to something others did not mention: that in Ireland (perhaps it is true for other immigrant situations across countries and different national groups) Poles start to talk with each other naturally in the streets, in shops, and other social situations more freely than in Poland - because in Ireland one thinks ‘*Oh! There is one of us*’ but in Poland almost *everyone is Polish* (although there is a growing international community in Poland, especially in big cities, like Warsaw or Kraków). According to this statement one may infer that it is easier to make contacts with ‘one’s own’ national group than with the native residents of a country, or immigrants from other countries also living there.

As for the average number of Polish connections, the subjects provided different numbers. Some declared they had a wide circle of friends and acquaintances while others limited their contacts to three or four close friends. What the majority of them acknowledged was that the number of Polish people they knew was growing with time. They often concluded that the situation resulted from the (then) increasing number of Polish individuals coming to Ireland.

As in the case of Poles resident in Austria, we also asked our participants in Ireland what they thought about issues related to the *perceived* status of Poles in Ireland and divisions driven by differences among Poles themselves. Interestingly, a few individuals declared they did not know enough Polish people to comment on the topic:

I know too few Poles here to say whether such a division exists or not.

(a young individual resident in Ireland)

Some answers seemed to suggest that the alleged divisions were connected to the kind of work one was doing – whether white-collar or blue-collar:

I do not think education matters here too much. I think it is the sort of job one has that matters here.

(a young individual resident in Ireland)

There were also those, who tried to look at the problem with more insight, and looked for explanations as to why the divisions were taking place (if and when they did):

The divisions probably do exist. I think they exist. But they may result mainly from the level of English the person has. There is a large group of Poles who know English well and they are doing well. They can go out and integrate, work in the same professions as Irish do. When someone comes here with little English, naturally he or she will take up jobs where direct communication with people will not be required. They will be locked in within the Polish community here, they will not meet Irish people, and because of that he or she will not have motivation to learn English. He or she will depend on the Polish community. As a result, the Polish community and Irish society will become more and more distant. But do Poles create those divisions? I think they do, but I am thinking now whether they do it on purpose, or is it a natural process? Or is it happening because those who work physically do not socialize with those who work in offices... [I] think the division is mainly based on people's knowledge of English.

(a young individual resident in Ireland)

Often the internal divisions among Poles in Ireland were attributed to the level of education (and, obviously, knowledge of English):

Poles with a better education will look for a better job here.

(a young individual resident in Ireland)

As for the concepts associated with the Polish community in Ireland, the participants had a variety of ideas like: 'Polish Embassy', 'work in Polish shops', 'jobs beneath qualifications', 'children in two schools (Polish and Irish schools)', 'young people', 'Polish community', 'nothing particular comes to my mind', and Polish swearwords which we decided not to cite here.

6.4.3.3. Table summary of the problems discussed in sections 6.4.3 – 6.4.3.2.

As we were interested in attitudes only and did not (want and need) ask for additional explanations if the participants themselves did not provide them, and finally because all our participants were adults and talked about the ‘now’ at the time of the interview, we decided to divide our participants into two groups only (Austrian and Irish), and compare factors we identified during the conversations. The reason for this was that the ‘neutral’ concept of the problem seemed rather blurred and meaning nothing. The participants provided straightforward answers. In other words, they were either well disposed to other Poles or not.

We summarize the main problems in the table below:

Table 6.4.3.3.1

Participants	Identified concepts							
	Number of Polish friends		Social division perceived		Perceived Attitudes of Poles to other Poles		Subjects' attitudes to other Poles	
	many	few	yes	no	positive	negative	positive	negative
Poles in Austria	77%	33%	88%	22%	6%	94%	82%	18%
Poles In Ireland	40%	60%	65%	55%	75%	25%	88%	22%

6.5. The host countries and their native citizens in the eyes of Poles. Perceptions of Austria/Ireland and Austrians/Irish by Polish immigrants

In the following sections the readers will be introduced to another topic much related to issues of immigration – the immigrants' perceptions of the hosts and receiving countries. Among subjects we discussed with our participants were the, again, *perceived* image of Poland in the eyes of Austrians/Irish after the accession of Poland to the EU structures; whether the host communities were open to the integration of Poles into their society; attitudes towards minority languages in general and Polish in particular as expressed by the hosts; typical reactions of Austrian/Irish people in encounters with Poles (positive/negative?); attitudes of Austrians/Irish people towards their own countries and culture; opportunities of Poles for educational and professional development in the receiving countries; attitudes of Poles towards the German/English language. The problems we discussed with our participants included very complex issues. We had to take into account, like in previous sections, personal circumstances as our point of departure.

6.5.1. Changes in Poland's image and perceived attitudes of Austrians towards the Polish language after Poland's accession to the European Union

We began by asking about the perceived changes that were noticeable after Poland's accession to the European Union. The changes concerned interest in Poland as shown by Austrians, increased media or press coverage, academic discussion in the universities, contexts that were discussed with friends, etc. Interestingly, young Poles born in Austria did not perceive many changes at the time of the interview – six years after accession. What they often mentioned was Poland's politics and the focus of the Austrian media on particular politicians. Therefore, political developments in Poland seemed most interesting for the media. Cultural or travel issues were not reported by our Austrian-born participants as significant in terms of any serious coverage.

I think Austrians do not really care what country joins the European Union. As long as they have a good life, they do not care. They don't care about Poland, as Poles don't care about Austria... [P]olitics, yes, especially [name of the politician]

is focused on... [T]here is not much interest in Poland in terms of the economy, so you don't hear much about it in the media.

(a young individual born in Austria)

None of the five Austrian-born individuals (100%) perceived major changes in the way Poland was generally portrayed, or thought about, after its accession to the European Union. Similarly, they did not report the Polish language as a popular language for learning:

They are not interested in Polish. There is a rule in Austria that whoever comes here must learn German. In economic terms, Polish is a small language. So, English and Spanish are popular languages.

(a young individual born in Austria)

As could be, indeed, predicted by economic and political factors, Polish did not figure as important language among the subjects' Austrian connections. Polish would not have been beneficial for prospective learners in terms of invested time in respect of future careers.

As for young individuals who came to Austria in or after 2004, their opinions were based on what they saw taking place subsequent to the time of their arrival – in their case not more than six years at the time of the interviews. Many had problems drawing clear comparisons between the period of Poland's being a member of the European Union structures and the period prior to it:

It is difficult for me to say much about it because I did not live here before Poland's accession. But I think it is changing. Because the borders are open there are more Polish students in Austria, you can see it. There are many of them and now a new image of Poles is forming such that he or she does not have to only clean peoples' houses... [Y]ou can see that Poles want to achieve something here. They learn here and it is not easy because they do it in a foreign language. So I think that the image of Poles has changed. But I cannot say exactly because I arrived here when Poland was already a member of the European Union... [A]s for language, they consider it impossible to learn. I mean its pronunciation or grammar. (a young individual resident in Austria)

Those individuals who came to Austria in the eighties were able to develop elaborate ideas as to the change (or its lack) they were witnessing:

Yes, of course! They no longer think it is only that Eastern Bloc and communism, that you can meet a bear in the streets, and the like... [T]hey are interested in Kraków. They know they can travel there and, you know, Kraków, Franz Josef, the monarchy. That is the older generation. Young people are more interested in the Jagiellonian University and exchange. They are interested in what the former Eastern Bloc countries are like... [T]hey consider the East as a prospective market. Many of them have started to learn Russian and Polish... [M]oreover, those who have travelled to Poland before are surprised by the massive changes. You know, in the past the shops were empty, I remember that, and today we talk about American malls. So Austrians see the changes that are taking place in Poland.

(a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

Like with all other Eastern countries. They think that the accession of former Eastern Bloc countries is a financial burden. I would say the attitude has not changed... [A]ustrians travel more. They go to Poland when someone invites them.

(a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

In my city people thought that Poles would flood Austrian job market. But in the end it was proportionate. Nothing special happened. Today's immigration to Austria is from Germany. They usually talk about Germans who come here to take up employment because salaries in Austria are higher than in Germany. Yes, they tend to talk more about Germans than Poles.

(a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

Each group of our participants talked about their impressions of what Austrians thought of Poland's membership in the EU and the resultant changes. In any analysis of such issues one needs to take into account the region the person is talking about, the length of stay in the host country and the individual's immediate environment, for example, the individual's circle of

friends and their work connections. These factors will most likely determine the subject's experience with members of the host community and thus create opinions regarding whether or not the image of Poland has changed. It is important to consider the attitudes of the media in the debate. Articles in the press are often opinion-forming because they prepare people who are not acquainted with an issue to think on the matter in particular ways. Not everyone has the time, or will, to verify information they encounter in newspapers or on TV.

6.5.2. Do Poles consider themselves a part of Austrian society? Are they perceived to be a part of the majority society by Austrians?

We have to remind the reader that we are considering the *felt* and/or *perceived* circumstances of the individuals who were interviewed. We were interested in how the individuals thought of themselves and their hosts in a larger context of immigration. The participants who grew up in both cultures admitted that they had never thought of the problem before. They were rather trying to consider the issue while responding to the question:

It is hard to say whether they (Austrians) consider me a part of Austrian society. It is almost impossible to learn that from people because nobody will tell you openly what they think... [B]ut I think that those who know me well do not pay attention to this issue... [W]hen, however, I enter a new environment where people don't know me yet, I think they perceive me as one of them till they hear my surname... [I] do not feel as part of either Austrian or Polish society... [W]hen you live within two cultures at the same time, it is difficult to concentrate on one particular country.

(young individual born in Austria)

The problem of feeling neither Austrian nor Polish was mentioned by four (out of five) of our Austrian-born participants. They seemed to have created their own, as one of the subjects called it, 'third', mentality and identity between the two cultures that they were involved in: Polish because of their parents, and Austrian because of their immediate, everyday situation.

As for the participants who arrived in Austria after Poland's accession to the European Union, they often considered themselves new to the community and therefore they did not feel particularly close to the host society, perhaps because they did not have to negotiate borders between the two countries:

I do not consider myself part of the Austrian society. And I do not want to think of myself in this way. I respect this culture, but I am a Polish person and I want to keep Polish culture in my family. I am open to the culture but I want to be Polish... [I] do not think Austrians think of me as a member of their society. I do not think so.

(a young individual resident in Austria)

All of the interviewed post-2004 immigrants were free individuals who came to Austria mostly to study, or they followed their spouses there. They did not have to 'burn their bridges' behind them and they hoped for a better future by coming to Austria.

Those with a long experience of being an immigrant in Austria grew up in Poland, and came to Austria as adults. They spent the other 'half' of their life in Austria; their experience was balanced. Therefore, did not seem torn between the two cultures. They did not have problems defining their clear identity like those who grew up as children of immigrants in Austria had. Let us consider some examples:

They call me a Polish Austrian. You see, when I show my passport, it tells people that I am Austrian. But I have Polish roots. So I am not hundred percent Austrian, you know? They (Austrians) see that... [I] feel really comfortable among Austrians because I speak German. I do not have any language barrier... [A]ustria has become my second homeland. My chosen homeland.

(a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

Yes, I do feel a part of Austrian society. This is my second homeland. I feel, above all else, a Central European. I appreciate being a European... [I] have to be considered an Austrian by Austrians because I hold Austrian citizenship.

(a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

I am part of this society. I have worked here for all these years. And I think I am considered part of Austrian society by Austrians as well. At least in my environment.

(a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

The above-cited opinions derive from participants' sentiments about their own place in the majority society. Some met with acceptance and therefore built relations with Austrians. Those who spent many years outside Poland naturally sought a second home, and they found it in their environments. Although all participants of the 1980s' immigration reported it was 'difficult at first' – let us always remember the conditions they faced in that period – eventually they grew more comfortable and learned to cope with such problems.

6.5.3. Do Poles have opportunities for educational and professional development in Austria as Austrian people do?

The questions we asked our participants sometimes caused their eyebrows to rise with surprise. This was the case with the following topic we wanted our participants to elaborate on and provide, if possible, examples to support their opinions. The fact that no one before had asked them similar questions meant that they were unprepared for these questions and prompted them to consider the issue in detail. The replies differed across groups, which could be, at least partly, explained by the different political circumstances they were thinking of and considering. Poles who struggled with immigration problems a few decades before as refugees looked at the issue from a different perspective, as did Poles born in Austria who had all the rights of Austrian citizens. The group of Poles who came to Austria in or after 2004 had to deal with yet different problems. This is why we thought that talking about this particular subject and listening to views of so diversely experienced groups of Poles would be especially interesting and informative.

Do Poles have opportunities? Yes, they do. One of my friends owns a café here and he employs Austrians... [B]ut it depends on the profession you want to join. Some circles are very tight (closed)... [D]o I have a chance to make a career? I am a student of [name of the institution] and I think that if one day I want to do

something particular in [name of the profession] I think I will have to leave this country. Austria is not a country where one can act and change things. The system is controlled so much that you have to adapt to it. You can't be different. If you are different, you have problems... [I]f one wants to introduce something new to Austria, unfortunately, it is, really, very difficult.

(a young individual born in Austria)

The post-2004 immigrants to Austria often felt they had equal opportunities with Austrians in all aspects of educational and professional development. They also tended to compare Austria with Poland in this respect and claimed they had more opportunities in Austria owing to higher incomes – thanks to these higher incomes they could learn, travel, and have hobbies:

Poles have equal opportunities with Austrians. But it often depends on the level of education. I can talk about myself as an example and prove that we do have equal chances. There are no restrictions at universities for immigrants from Eastern Europe. I know a few Polish individuals who hold executive jobs in [name of the institution] in Austria. They work with my husband... [T]hanks to a better salary I can develop here. I remember in Poland, as a [name of profession] I could not afford to go to America to learn English. I would have to save my whole salary for two years and not spend a złoty²⁹ during that period. Here, because I earn more, I can afford more things related to my interests. I can travel and learn.

Opinions of the older generation of the 1980s immigration included reference to other aspects of the situation related to the overall immigrant circumstances of people in Austria:

Are we talking about a political position? Well, one can achieve a lot professionally, but one will not become a politician. The Schwarzenegger-type careers are not possible for immigrants. But it may change. If the plans our Ambassador wants to implement meet with acceptance we will have the status of

²⁹ Polish currency

an ethnic minority. Then, and only then, we will be able to exist politically...
[B]ut all other professional positions are open to Poles³⁰.
(1980s' immigrant to Austria)

The best promotion is when you open your own enterprise. You immediately become a manager. Well, none of my colleagues who work with me at [name of institution] to acquire an executive position in the firm. But it is the result of the hierarchy of officials.
(a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

I am [name of profession] and when I arrived here years ago I had to qualify again here. I had to take many exams and I had to pay for additional training. I had to prove my quality as a [name of profession] to everybody. But those were different times. Today, those who come here can make progress quickly.
(a 1980s' immigrant to Austria)

As can be seen in the examples, the time and socio-political conditions individuals find themselves in, often determine their experience. The situations we are now talking about can hardly be compared. Clearly, we are discussing three groups of people: those who fled Poland and had to re-start almost everything in their lives, those who were born in Austria and automatically granted Austrian citizenship (and all rights that come with it), and those who came to Austria as free people with the only restriction regarding free access to the job market to be lifted in 2011.

6.5.4. Austrians' attitudes, as perceived by Poles, to their own country.

The main theme that was often repeated throughout the interviews and concerned the perceived attitude of Austrians to their own country was apparent pride in the Habsburg Empire:

³⁰ The reader has to consider the fact that before 2011 citizens of Poland could not, owing to the seven-year transition period, take up employment unless and issued official permission was granted.

Every Austrian wants to be perceived as a descendant of the empire
(a young individual born in Austria)

While reference to history of the Habsburg empire was often cited by many of the participants, some seemed to notice conflicting sentiments among their Austrian friends. Those were related to recent history of Austria and dealing with Nazi past previously discussed in chapter five:

I know Austrians who do not like their country. I find it odd. One of my friends told me he did not like Austria because of its conservatism. He says it is not open to other nations. I asked him once why he cycled to work such a long distance. He told me that he did not want to look at [offensive word] faces on the U-Bahn³¹... [I] also met Austrians who were proud of their country. But in a healthy way, they did not consider themselves better than others. Personally, I have not met with extreme nationalistic sentiments on the part of Austrians... [I] feel comfortable among Austrians.

(young individual resident in Austria)

Ah! In love with themselves. Monarchists. Austrians love the Habsburgs. Look at the images on souvenirs. Cups, T-shirts, all with Franz... [T]hey love the mountains, their folklore, their clothes. This is the nation that always announce to everyone where they come from.

(1980s' immigrant to Austria)

The majority of our participants decidedly agreed that they perceived Austrians as people who took pride in their country. Although certain problems related to Austria's conservatism and attitudes to the past remain a painful subject, on the whole Austrians were thought of as a nation happy to be Austrian.

³¹ Underground train (metro)

6.5.5. Are Austrians open to integration of Poles into their society?

Opinions expressed by the participants on this issue were very interesting in terms of their deep consideration of the discussed problem. While many did mention Austria's conservatism and 'impermeability', they tried to reason as to why this was happening. However, their personal experience obviously determined their own attitude to the situation. It also depended not only on the socio-political circumstances but the people they encountered:

Austrians, if we have to generalize which I do not like doing, are a closed society. But among people whom I know, for example at work or at the university, I think they are more open to others. I am sure they have a different attitude to Poles than to Turks, or even Germans. Yes, because Germans, as far as I heard from Austrians, are not very popular in Austria. But these are all stereotypes. Among my friends, it doesn't matter where I came from. I am a human being, an employee and I have to do my job well.

(young individual resident in Austria)

Integration? Integration is a lovely word. Integration is, simply, another word for selection. But Austrians will have to understand that, whether they want it or not, they will also have to adapt to other cultures.

(young individual born in Austria)

No, not at all. I do not think Austrians are very happy about this multicultural policy. That there are so many immigrants and asylum seekers. There are public debates concerning these issues. They wanted, quite recently, to open another place for asylum-seekers in [name of the place], and all political parties got involved in the debate... [A]ustrians are worried about their existence. Not only are borders open now but you get the news all the time that someone stole something, or someone was attacked. You hear and read about this every single day. That criminal offences are on the rise, and those responsible are from poorer countries. And these negative sentiments are growing, so it is the reason why I do not rule out my return to Poland when I retire.

(1980s' immigrant to Austria)

No, Austrian society is not open to integration of Poles. I do not want to be vulgar here, but I heard certain opinions. Well, the level of the person was not very high anyway, but he said that for him, 'a Polish man will always be a car thief and a Polish woman always a lady who will willingly jump into your bed'.

(1980s' immigrant to Austria)

As can be seen in the above examples, every person had their own experiences and they often based on such experiences their opinions regarding the level of integration of Poles. Naturally, it depended on the people the individuals met. When they dealt with open people their experience was pleasant. When the situation was otherwise, they were sometimes offended and met with stereotypical attitudes.

We believe that, indeed, one cannot generalize to the whole society concerning either the willingness or open distance to integration of Poles. Legal regulations are only official rules which are applied or cleverly ignored. Besides, Austrian law is related to the European law owing to Austria's European Union membership. Whether Austrian politicians agree with the idea or not is a matter of secondary importance. To say whether Austrians are open to the integration of Poles or not, one would have to ask this question to millions of Austrian people, be sure they are telling the truth, and analyze the results statistically to see how many are, or are not, disposed to integration of Poles specifically, as attitudes to other minorities may differ owing to cultural or historical reasons. Therefore we come to the conclusion that it is safest to analyze people's integration from the legal perspective on the problem, on the one hand: how much the receiving country helps immigrants to integrate in terms of equal access to education, culture, aspects of social life, in other words, what are the rights of particular minorities; from the perspective of the immigrants themselves, on the other hand: are they learning the majority language? Are they creating their own communities? Are they trying to integrate by participation in social and cultural life? Here, again, while the legal and social conditions provide a particular background, individual differences have to be taken into account concerning each individual person researched in the future.

6.5.6. What is Austria associated with?

In previous sections we have discussed concepts associated with Poland and Polish communities resident in the two countries. We also asked our subjects to tell us what their associations were with Austria and Austrians. They came up with many ideas like: ‘the Habsburg Empire’, ‘the Alps’, ‘skis’, ‘Mozart’, ‘Vienna’, ‘multiculturalism’, ‘Waltz’, ‘Strauss’, ‘monarchy’, ‘music’, ‘paintings’, ‘tourism’. On the whole, the concepts circulated largely around themes related to culture (88.2%) and history (94.1%).

One participant, when asked about personal associations with Austria replied thus:

If I had a piece of paper I would divide the page in two. In one column I would write positive things, in the other, negative. Positive aspects are: it is a country where I work in my profession and where I have family. It is my second homeland. I also think of culture and science. On the negative side I would mention emigration, bad experience with Poles and Austrians, being on the dole, upbringing in a culture which detests other cultures, contempt for the poor.

(a 1980s’ immigrant to Austria)

6.5.7. Changes in Poland’s image and perceived attitudes of Irish towards the Polish language after Poland’s accession to the European Union

In the previous sections we considered perceptions of Polish immigrants from three different perspectives: asylum seekers in the 1980s, Poles born in Austria, post 2004 immigrants. The three groups considered their experiences according to the circumstances they met with. In this section we will look at Poles resident in Ireland and at changes in the representation of Poland in the eyes of the Irish. We supposed that the statements given by our participants in Ireland would be, at least in some respects, similar to those expressed by our post-2004 immigrant participants in Austria, at least in terms of integration issues. We hypothesized that the situation of the two post-2004 immigration groups in the two countries would be comparable due to the socio-political circumstances, mainly, the enlarged European Union no longer torn by global divisions (Cold War). We expected some differences, of course, given

that we were comparing two different countries with different histories, and separate official languages. As to the perceptions of change of Poland's image after its accession to the European Union, considering both the average age (20+) of the participants and the average length of their residence in either country (4+ years), we anticipated more similarities than differences between the two groups of individuals. Let us consider the following fragments of statements:

I think that since Poland is a member of the European Union, the Irish have a more open attitude to us now. But I do not think a huge change has taken place, no... [I] know two Irish women who are very interested in Poland. But generally, I think people are not interested. I think those who are interested in Polish issues are a minority... [I]nformation about issues important for Poland is scarce. You will find more on the internet than on TV. If I want to know what is happening in Poland I phone my family. I think the media here focus mostly on the internal issues. They do include other countries as well, of course. But those are the countries more interesting for Ireland. It doesn't necessarily have to be important news from that country. Sometimes the information is really trivial such that if I were a journalist, I would not bother myself discussing it at all, and naturally they omit important news about those countries as well.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

I did not have any encounters with Irish people before 2004. But I have an impression that the attitude has changed because they know more about us. You know, they more or less know where Poland is, what the capital city is, so generally they got to know more. We came to Ireland and naturally an information exchange took place... [M]any Poles share accommodation with the Irish, and they teach them Polish. I remember when the president of Poland died they were interested in the matter but not so much anyway. If someone likes sport, they know the names of Polish footballers, for example. I think that the young generation, because they have never experienced real poverty, they have always led a happy life. So, they are interested in particular issues. They are interested in entertainment, what you can do in Poland. Not so much in the history of Poland, wars, and so on. (young individual resident in Ireland)

For sure it has changed a lot. In the beginning many Irish people did not know where Poland was on the map, even people whom you would normally expect to know such things. When we arrived here in 2004 some people thought that in Poland people speak English. I think I must have had fairly good accent in English. Generally, people seemed well-disposed to us. There were not so many Polish people just then. It was us, Poles, who started to draw a picture of Poland. You know, here we are, and we are from there. We met people and told them about Poland. And I have an impression that in the beginning they had a slightly better opinion of us than they do now. But at the same time, how could they have an opinion about people they knew nothing about? I wonder. But to give them justice, it was the same with Poles. When we came back to Poland after our first visit to Ireland, some of our friends thought that our salaries were in pounds.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

What we can see in these statements is that the Irish seemed, in the eyes the cited participants, to have been quite ignorant of Polish issues prior to Poland's accession to the European Union. The subjects, also those who were not cited above, admitted that it was them who taught the Irish about Poland by telling them stories of their lives, talking about history and tradition, and by drawing comparisons between the two cultures. As to any changes of the image of Poland in the eyes of the Irish in general, one would have to research this topic within a large sample of the Irish population to draw valid conclusions. Since we were not able to do that, what we can present is the perception of Poles whether the process took place at all. A very interesting observation was this: *how could they have an opinion about people they knew nothing about?* taken from the last example in this subsection. Indeed, supposing that, on the whole, the Irish did not have knowledge about Poland and did not have a clear idea of it, it is hard to talk about change. Rather, it is acquiring some knowledge of how Poles they are talking to see it³².

Another interesting issue was the scope of interests that Irish people seemed to have in connection with Poland. The media were also mentioned as not reporting anything important

³² Opinions of Poles about Poland should be treated as individual opinions of particular people, not as facts true for all Poles in Poland. Individual experience is what often forms opinions.

for Poland. Articles were often cited as providing incomplete information, as shown in the example below:

I think it is rather indifferent attitude the media has towards Poland. Yes, they talked about Smoleńsk a few months ago. But the information was not complete. And it is always like that. Even when you read an article, the facts described there are often confused. We are from Poland and we know the matter well, so we can compare the news in both countries. Here they focus more on unimportant things, trivialities, and they go on about those anecdotes, like that of a politician being accused of eating apples or something stupid like that. Important information is not focused upon. But this is the Irish way, you know. Always easy-going, always joking and not treating things seriously.
(young individual resident in Ireland)

The media seem to play an active role in creating, or at least helping to create, particular representations of other countries, Poland included. Maybe one of the conclusions really worth taking into account in a wider context of socio-political life of any country would be that the role of a high profile journalist should be somewhat redefined?

6.5.8. Do Poles consider themselves as part of the Irish society? Are they perceived to be a part of the majority society by the Irish?

As was the case with our participants in Austria, these questions surprised many of our subjects. They referred to them as ‘untypical questions’ and considered the matter. The answers were always full and elaborate, no one reacted to them with only ‘yes’ or ‘no’. Below we provide some examples:

I feel as part of the Irish society. I am always comfortable among them... [Y]ears ago I was even considering applying for Irish citizenship. But when I later discussed the matter with my Irish friends, I have to admit, I was surprised by their reaction. Namely, they, especially one person, asked me why. They could not understand why I wanted it for? As a Polish citizen I could live and work

everywhere, they reasoned. But for me it was a need for membership, something they person did not understand... [B]ut now I begin to think differently. I am more open. I think of the European Union as one entity. I do not think about one particular member state... [M]aybe I will, one day, consider applying for Irish citizenship, but to be honest, it is not that important for me now. Actually, it is getting less and less important every year.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

I do not feel a part of the Irish society. But I consider myself a part of Dublin society. Dublin is quite cosmopolitan... [I] am not sure if they (Irish) see me as a member of their society. I think I have been here for too short a time. There are no issues that connect me directly with this nation. I think that, generally, Irish people do not consider me as really belonging here. [M]aybe if I spoke with Irish accent they would then treat me as one of them. I don't know.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

Yes, we are a part of this society. We vote because we think that since we live here all those matters concern us. We are trying to engage in social life here as well. We go out with people, have Irish friends, Irish neighbors. But are we perceived as members of the Irish society? I think that the majority of people would not see us in this light. Today one Irish woman at work asked me if I considered applying for Irish citizenship. So I do not know what she thinks of me in this respect. Whether I am planning to stay in Ireland or what... [Y]es, I could have Irish citizenship but only on one condition: if I did not have to give up my Polish citizenship, which I will never do.

(young couple resident in Ireland)

For some people the fact that I have lived here six years now means something. I work with Irish women in office and once, when I came back from a holiday in Poland, one of them said to me: 'I know you must miss your homeland, but it is nice to be back home'. She said this as if she considered Ireland to be my home. It seemed obvious to her. It was very nice to hear that. But I think it only happens

after years. Yes, after years of your residence here they start to think about you in this way.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

As could be predicted, each response reflected individual experiences of the cited individuals. While in the first example, the individual seemed to feel discouraged from applying for Irish citizenship by her/his Irish friends even though they felt attached to Ireland, in the second example one considered themselves (roughly) as a ‘Dubliner’. The third example comes from people, a married couple, who took active part in Irish life because they saw themselves as part of the larger society. That was the reason of their involvement in social issues. Formal membership (Irish citizenship) was conditioned on being able to keep Polish citizenship, as openly declared by one of the couple. In the last example, the length of stay was, like in the second statement, treated as determining factor of being (speaking metaphorically) included into, or excluded from, the society by the Irish. What is apparent in the statements is the ‘originality’ of each experience. The people one meets, and their behavior towards them, make people form an opinion whether they are accepted as the ‘in-group’ or thought of as ‘the others’.

6.5.9. Do Poles have a chance for educational and professional development in Ireland as Irish people do?

By asking questions related to the title of this subsection we tried to verify one of our hypotheses that it would be easier to achieve professional development in Ireland than in Austria. We considered such factors as the job market and access to legal work, lack of tragic historical links between Ireland and Poland, legal conditions of Poles. We hypothesized that there would be fewer stereotypes about Poland than in Austria where links with Poland dated a few centuries back. Before we consider our arguments, let us look at the statements cited below:

It depends on what you want to achieve here and what you bring with yourself. It depends on what you begin with, whether one is educated and knows English well. If they have a job that is popular here they may have a better chance. I think

that all minorities, Poles included, have a much more difficult start as they have to learn English first. Naturally, the language barrier blocks you, even if you have a highly required job here... [I] think that Poles might be more affected by the crisis than Irish. But personally, I have not met with a situation when an Irish would be employed and a Pole rejected only because of their nationality.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

I would not expect equal opportunities for immigrants. Look, take the issue of language. You never know the language as well as the native speaker... [I] think it depends on the workplace.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

No, Poles do not have equal chances for a professional development like the Irish do. You have to prove your quality to everyone. You have to show that you are better than an Irish person, that you deserve the position you are applying for. And you have fight for acceptance as well, because you may often meet with ideas and opinion about you that I do not know where people get them from. Stereotypes... [I]n many jobs the Irish are better paid than people from other countries. Yes, there will be differences in salaries. For example, I have met with people who doubted my qualifications, did not believe I knew what I knew. In Poland I would not have experienced that. I have to admit I met people whom I had to report to when others did not have to do it. I was checked. They did not trust me, that was my impression. Especially one person. It was not pleasant. Only after years of working there they started to trust me and my abilities.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

It really depends on the place. When I was a student at [name of institution], I thought of Irish people through my university experience, which was marvelous. The situation changed by hundred and eighty degrees when I started to work in a [name of workplace]. I realized that at the university I dealt only with students, people not independent yet, and people from other countries, like France, Germany, America. At work I dealt only with Irish. And it was a shock. I realized that I did not know Ireland before. I had to prove everyday that I understood what

people were saying to me. And there were some who always corrected my accent. I did not have the courage to tell them to [swear word] because I wanted to be a well-mannered person. So my impression is that only the academia is a safe place for immigrants, because there it matters what you can do and not where you are from. Nobody cares about your accent. But out there, in an Irish-only environment, things change automatically. And it does not matter if you work in a shop or in office. You cannot be the only one who is different.
(young individual resident in Ireland)

As can be seen from the examples, the experiences were not always easy. At the same time, expectations differed. It is apparent in the different approaches of individuals as shown in examples two and four. While the person cited as second did not expect equal treatment with the Irish, the person whose statement is cited as last considers the academia as ‘the only safe place for an immigrant’. The difference between that person’s academic experience and work experience in the same country (and the same city) must have been huge.

None of these statements can be generalized to a larger society. As it has been apparent throughout the study, each case deserves individual consideration of facts and representations of those same facts. Psychological processes are at work all the time. In addition to legal regulations, other factors like levels of education and English, type of workplace (public or private?), the region of the country one resides in (rich, poor, agricultural, industrial?), and people one has to deal with professionally make up an overall picture of the situation one encounters. Therefore, the law sets the stage but the people – both immigrants and the hosts – are actors.

6.5.10. Attitudes of Irish people, as perceived by Poles, to their own country.

‘They write you as they see you’ – a common expression (translated word-for word) in Poland suggesting that the way people see you, they judge you accordingly. They base opinions on what they can see, or they think they see. It does not have to be a correct judgment, but nevertheless it often happens that people base their opinions on impressions. So we decided to look at how Poles perceive and understand the ‘Irishness of the Irish’. In other words, what

was seen as important for the Irish in relation to their attitude to their country, its history, its culture, and so on:

I know so many different Irish people that it is difficult for me to generalize. Those who are educated seem to be interested in culture and art, and not only in Ireland, but also in other countries. Those people are usually in their thirties, and more. But those who are not fully educated yet, who are in their early twenties and are still doing their degrees, are not necessarily interested in broadening their horizons. And even if they are, they do not talk about it. If you want to hold an interesting conversation about culture, it would be difficult to achieve when talking to young Irish people.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

The Irish are peculiar in certain ways. I think they do not like telling people what they have achieved. They see it as something... pooh! Something not nice at all. But also talking about films, culture, interests, well, I think they already see it like 'oh, look at him, a know-all!'. Talking about mutual friends, yes, that is fine and only then, when they know each other better, you talk about other topics of your interests and the like. I do not know if this is Irish modesty, or if it comes from the fact that the Irish do not like to stand out. I think their philosophy is 'do like the other Irish do. Do not stand out'... [A]nd they joke about everything. 'oh! That's grand! That's nothing!'. And I think they also have this attitude to their country. They are like 'okay, we do not talk about this, we joke about this', you know? Not serious.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

Young people have a particular approach to their culture. It is a pub culture. Culture of pubs and entertainment. And they keep that culture, they celebrate it... [T]hey have in some respect similar history to ours. They always had to fight for independence. But today I think they do not care too much about it.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

Well, I remember that, although I am not Irish, I felt appalled when they laughed with that idiotic painting of their prime minister. You know the story? Someone who calls themselves an artist put a picture of the Taoiseach in the National Gallery or somewhere else important, where people could see him painted while sitting on the toilet. They all seemed to see it as a great joke, the people, the press, the gallery. I think it shows their wider attitude to everything, you know. I understand they wanted to criticize the government. But not in this way. This is something I do not like in Poland too. In place of a cultured discussion, we create a circus. But in Poland there are always two voices in the discussion. There are those who criticize and those who defend. Here they all seemed to applaud that artist's behavior. Do you know his art was purchased by someone? It is like jeering at everything that is Irish, in my opinion. It is like saying to everyone in the world 'look what great clowns we are'.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

I might say something very unpopular now but, well, I think that the Irish can be divided between the Southern Irish and the Northern Irish. I have lived in the Republic for five years now and discovered that whenever I talked to people here they often said, which as a Pole I found very strange, that they did not care about Northern Ireland, that they just wanted peace. I do not know what older people would say about this if you asked them, however, because my contacts were limited to younger generations like students, or people in their twenties or thirties. And when I went to Northern Ireland what struck me was a clear division between the Irish Catholics and the Protestants. All those flags marking the borders between districts, my God! I had an impression that the conflict was not over. I thought, wow, these people must be very different. They have become, in my opinion, like a different Irish nation now. I think the attitudes of the Northern Irish must be serious towards everything what is Irish. I know bits of their history, and perhaps because I am from Poland, I understand what they must feel about their country. The people in the South have lost it long ago. Long ago. They only become true Irish suddenly, usually after a few drinks, when they want for some reason to signal to you that you are different by, which I have experienced a few times, switching to conversational Irish, you know. Then others do not understand

what they are saying and are excluded. It is unpleasant to be the only one in a group who doesn't understand what the others are talking about. You just want to stand up and leave the place, you know. But I have noticed that this happens only when they are in a group of people who know each other well. I do not know what it is. I never understood this behavior.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

In the fragments cited above we can see individual accounts of perceptions of the Irish society. While we can roughly detect one, common to all statements, idea that the younger Irish society is 'distanced' to what is happening around them which shows in a generally happy mood they tend to exhibit, joking attitude, small talk, light topics of conversations and so on, one person tried to draw a line between the two Irish communities: one in the North and one in the South. Although they had lived in the Republic all the time (five years) and did not have many encounters with people from Northern Ireland, they concluded, according to what they saw and how they understood the situation, that people living in the North were *like a different Irish nation*. Be it the case or not, the person was surprised to see such differences they did not expect to behold. Being in Northern Ireland felt as if 'the conflict was not over'. Perhaps because all our participants lived in the Republic, the individual who included Northern Ireland in their analysis was the only one who mentioned it.

6.5.11. Are Irish people open to integration of Poles into their society?

Interesting accounts of the process of integration were expressed. Again, the reader is reminded that we were asking our participants about their perceptions based only on their personal experiences:

I think the Irish are open to integration of Poles to the degree they can integrate with anyone, other Irish people included. I think they are open to other cultures, but only to a particular degree, and not more.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

The Irish are very, very nice in the beginning, when they meet you for the first time. But I am not quite sure how far they would let other nations in. You know what I mean? To what degree you would be allowed to approach them. It also depends what you mean by integration. If we see it as Polish people would become Irish and adopt Irish traditions, maybe the Irish would allow that. But then I am not sure if Poles would agree to that and accept certain Irish ways. If we see integration as a compromise between the two cultures, I mean, partly Irish and partly Polish, I do not know if the Irish would let us keep our otherness and at the same time, include us among them. I am not sure if that would be possible.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

I think it used to be an open society. I am not sure what it is now like. After this whole economic crisis. It has changed some people's financial situation. And because they are no longer so well-off, their attitude might have changed, you know? Some say that Poles take their jobs. But I think that on the whole they are rather friendly nation, at least in my opinion. I have not experienced any open hostility or racism against me. It is not like my friends who live in England. They walk a street and someone comes up to them and says 'you Polish swine'. No, such things generally do not happen here, I think.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

While the Irish were perceived as generally a friendly nation, some of our participants tended to describe Irish as open to only a certain degree and not beyond it. We might look for reasons for these perceptions in cultural differences among the two nations. While Irish kindness might be sometimes interpreted by Poles as a 'mask' put on in order not to show more sincere feelings directly, Polish openness and straightforwardness might be, in turn, interpreted by Irish people as invasion of private spheres.

Interesting analysis of what the process of integration may include was presented by the participant in example two. This individual considered what possible directions the process of immigrant integration can take and hypothesized what outcomes one may expect on both Polish and Irish side. This is an interesting idea because it considers the issue from both perspectives equally taking part in the process but on slightly different terms: one would

normally see immigrants as those of whom one expects more: to comply with the rules of the majority society, observe its traditions, and generally ‘do as the native citizens of the host country do’. The question whether, and to what degree, Poles would be willing to adopt Irish customs, and to what extent they would like to become Irish, could open a new debate, far beyond the scope of this book.

Reference to the global crisis appeared during the interviews with many subjects. In the third example, the individual tries to explain why the attitude of some Irish people could have changed for worse. It often happens everywhere in the world that moods change with the situation. This has been often repeated by the participants. The feeling that the relations and excitement ‘have cooled’ was attributed to the overall economic situation in Ireland.

6.5.12. What is Ireland associated with?

We repeated our question regarding particular associations with the host country to our participants in Ireland. Below are listed typical answers we were given: ‘Dublin’, ‘second homeland’, ‘greenness’, ‘Guinness’, ‘quietness’, ‘harp’, ‘rain’, ‘kindness’, ‘Irish music’, ‘pubs’, ‘leprechauns’, ‘better salary’, ‘better opportunities’. The associations circulated around abstract concepts like ‘greenness’ and concrete examples taken from life experience as ‘better salary’.

One of the participants described his typical association with Ireland thus:

I am inside a pub, there are some guys drinking beer and musicians playing live. It is raining outside. But I am in a warm pub, Guinness on the table in front of me. I am relaxed.

(young individual resident in Ireland)

6.6 Integration of Poles into the host communities in Austria and Ireland. Do Poles seem to integrate with the majority societies?

This issue has been a very popular subject of research in recent years. What we were particularly interested in was the process of integration of Poles into Irish and Austrian societies as seen by our participants. We asked them to address a number of questions related to this topic, for example: *Do you think Poles, taken as a minority group, are trying to integrate with the Austrian/Irish society, or are they isolating themselves? Are Poles forming a distinct, visible minority group in Austria/Ireland? Are Poles creating their own societies or support groups to help other Poles adapt in a new environment?*

Another topic we tried to investigate was status-related conditions of immigrants in either country. We were particularly interested in people's own accounts of their (felt and perceived) status as Polish individuals as compared with the overall status of Poles as a minority group. The status of Polish immigrants served as background conditions. The individuals were encouraged to explain their feelings and, if possible, provide examples to support their ideas of integration.

6.6.1. The case of Poles in Austria

6.6.1.1. Do Poles integrate with Austrians?

The most interesting part of the conversations with the participants regarding this problem was their individual understanding of what integration actually meant for them and how they understood the process. For some, as in the first example, history seemed to be the most important factor that shaped Poles as people able to adapt to new circumstances and to finding their way out of problems. Flexibility seemed to play a role in coping with the difficult situations they encountered in Austria:

It depends on Poles themselves. But Poles seem to be more adapted to integration than Austrians. It is because of history: wars, communism, emigration. So one had to adapt. I think it is easier for Poles to adapt than for Austrians... [S]ome

circumstances, like working on your own all day in an isolated place, encourages isolation rather than integration.

(an individual born in Austria)

In the example below the participant emphasizes the role of the German language in the process of integration. Good knowledge of German is understood as the main factor helping individuals to integrate with the Austrian society:

I think that Poles do integrate with Austrians by learning German and dealing with Austrian people on an everyday basis. I have never heard anyone complaining about Poles forming ghettos or not learning German. So I would say that, generally, Poles integrate with Austrians. I even think that some tend to assimilate. But I am saying this only on the basis of my personal experiences. Yes, I think they do integrate... [W]hen you know the German language you can find a better job and have a better salary. Austria gives its immigrants many opportunities by sponsoring various courses for them like integration programmes and language courses. There are also courses giving better access to the job market. So learning German is the main factor in the integration process.

(a young individual resident in Austria)

The next three fragments come from individuals who immigrated to Austria in the early nineteen-eighties. Their experience of integration (or isolation) was long, and we predicted that we would hear some interesting responses. As in the first example below, some individuals focused on Poles themselves. Poles' responsibility to integrate with Austrian people seemed to them to be central to the process. Others, on the other hand, emphasized the role of the host community, as shown in fragments two and three:

It all depends on whether they quickly achieved something in Austria. What position they have. If their situation is good, then they integrate very quickly. I have to cite [name of person] at a meeting held by [name of institution] who said that 'if an Austrian lends you a hundred euro, you are integrated'.

(1980s' immigrant to Austria)

Yes, they integrate. There are no Polish ghettos. There are no typical Polish districts. Yes, in Bezirk 3 there is a Polish church, there are Polish shops, but the buildings and apartments are not owned by Poles... [T]here are many mixed Polish-Austrian marriages, but usually she is Polish and he is Austrian. Not the other way round. Austrian men willingly marry Polish women because they seem to them to make perfect wives.

(1980s' immigrant to Austria)

It depends on people and their attitude. Some people do not care where you are from and what is important for them is that they like spending time with you. But for others you will be a foreigner, an outsider, and they will keep you at a distance.

(1980s' immigrant to Austria)

Therefore, the role of the host society did not go unnoticed and for many participants Austrians figured as contributors to the overall situation of immigrants in general, and issues related to their integration in particular.

6.6.1.2. May the status of Poles as an immigrant group influence lives of individual Poles?

In this section we come back to the problem of attribution and representation. This time, we investigated whether clichés about minority groups, popular Polish jokes, press articles, and other opinion-forming means influenced the quality of our participants' experiences with Austrians:

Well, I never took it so personally. I don't think the status of other Poles had any influence on how Austrians perceived me, [name of the participant].

(young individual born in Austria)

No, I don't think so. Once I read in a newspaper that Poles belong to the Austrian middle class. And that they generally do particular kinds of jobs like nurse, shop assistants, and so on. But this does not influence my position at work. I do not compare myself with others. I also think that at work I am not compared to other Poles. My employer is interested in what I, [name of the person], can do and not in what other Poles can, or can't, do... [A]ustria is one of those countries that introduced employment restrictions for people from Poland. But as far as I can see, when one has good qualifications and an additional skill, like knowledge of Polish in our case, one is given a work permit. I can see what happens at my husband's workplace. Some Poles who live here are bankers. You will find those who perform other high-profile jobs too. So it depends.

(a post-2004 immigrant resident in Austria)

No, definitely not. When it comes to your job, they look at your skills and qualifications, not the country one comes from... [B]eing from a different country may also be an advantage actually. I got my job because I speak German but also Polish and Russian. The best clients of our firm are Russians. So the fact that I am from Poland helped me when I applied for the job.

(1980s' immigrant to Austria)

Yes, I think that the status of Poles in general affects me. That is why when I read an article full of negative opinions about Polish people or Poland I really suffer. Because it all goes further. I have to admit that in the beginning, when something at work got lost or could not be found or something, I was afraid they would accuse me of stealing it. I feared that my colleagues would think that I took it. And it was because of this cliché about Poles, that we are thieves... [N]ow I think the status of Poles is much better because the times are different. We are no longer the cheapest workforce. Yes, this status of 'the cheapest workforce' did hurt me.

(1980s' immigrant to Austria)

In the first three examples the participants declared that it was only their quality that Austrians took account of. Other Poles and their conduct did not, in their opinion, affect them personally. They did not consider negative representations about Poles as dangerous to their

own position at work or among friends. Only in the last cited fragment above did the individual admit having in the past feared accusations based on popular prejudices of that time about immigrants from Poland – the group she belonged to. The participant in the second example referred to the seven-year transitional period and restrictions Poles encountered in terms of access to the Austrian job market. The respondent in question indicated, however, that the rules were not rigid and those with exceptional skills could find prestigious jobs nonetheless.

6.6.2. The case of Poles in Ireland

6.6.2.1. Do Poles integrate with Irish people?

We put the same questions as outlined above to our participants who were resident in Ireland. We were interested in the perceptions of the same problems but from a different perspective. Obviously, all of the following statements need to be treated as the individual opinions of the respondents in question:

It is very hard for me to make any generalizations because I do not know so many Poles. I can talk only about my friends. I think Poles are generally accepted by the Irish. And I think that Poles accept the Irish as they are. In many cases there are problems with communication when Poles do not speak really good English and they tend to integrate more with other Poles. And when they spend most of their time among Poles they do not develop their language and social skills... [I] have never experienced aggression against me. I only remember that shortly after my arrival a few years ago, I used to work in [type of institution] and that was my first encounter with Irish people at work. I noticed then that older Irish people were extremely helpful and really friendly towards me. They were in their fifties or older. They appreciated me. But there were also young Irish people there, in their twenties or something. Their attitudes were completely different. The five women who worked there formed a closed, hermetic group. And it did not matter how long you had lived in Ireland, you did not have any chance of becoming a member of their group. I had the impression that those five women treated me as someone

inferior to them. But that was the only experience of this sort I have had in Ireland.

(a young immigrant resident in Ireland)

It really depends. I have different friends with different stories. Some of them have Irish partners, so they do integrate with the Irish through their marriage, although there are issues which they do not like about the Irish society. But they have to fit somehow because of their situation. Some of my friends came here to work or study. They do not create barriers but they know that the situation is temporary, only for a few years as they are not planning to stay here forever. So their approach is more like 'okay, I am here for a while and I will try to organize things for myself but I will not integrate at all costs'. But I also know others who absolutely hate this country. Sometimes they do not even feel like going out at all. So whatever bad happens, it is Ireland's fault. I think it depends on what goal people have, and if they are planning to stay here or not. And whether they want to stay here or not probably depends on the way they feel here. If you like the place, you integrate quickly. If you do not like the place, you are not even motivated to learn the language, and they start finding fault with everything that is Irish... [I]f you work with Irish people it may happen that they will stick together and form a closed group which is difficult to enter for non-Irish people. But you know how it is, different things happen among people.

(a young immigrant resident in Ireland)

Oh, it really does depend. There are already Polish-Irish married couples. I think that there are those who integrate and they are usually young people who know English well enough. They go out and meet Irish people, make friends with them, so they integrate. But older generations who often do not speak a word of English form closed groups and they stick together. They do not integrate. So it is often related to the level of English people can speak.

(a young immigrant resident in Ireland)

You see, it depends. It depends on your level of English. And you have to meet a good person as you go along. We were lucky to meet Irish people with whom we could make friends. But I am afraid many Poles are not as fortunate as we were because they do not speak good English. Unfortunately, there are Irish people who take it badly when they talk to someone with weaker English. You need to meet a really open minded person who will understand that living in a foreign country and speaking a language other than one's own is not easy at all.

(a young immigrant resident in Ireland)

In the first fragment the participant has the impression of general acceptance and tolerance between the Irish and Polish communities. She/he sees the language as the source of many misunderstandings. Based on work experience, they also consider older generations of Irish people to be more open to Poles than younger generations seemed to be.

In the second example the subject talked about totally different attitudes of Poles towards integration: from mixed marriages to total isolation. They attributed the degree to which a person is willing to integrate with the majority society to the degree they feel happy about living in the country of their choice. They also mentioned that it might sometimes be difficult to be treated as a member of the in-group in Irish-only environments.

In the third fragment, the language problem is mentioned again as the main obstacle to integration. Due to different levels of English, older people seemed to this participant as integrating to a much lesser degree than younger Poles whose language training has been better.

In the last example, the individual emphasizes the role of the Irish in the process. Because *you need to meet a really open minded person who will understand that living in a foreign country and speaking a language other than one's own is not easy at all*, people will necessarily have different experiences depending on whom they meet.

6.6.2.2. May the status of Poles as an immigrant group influence lives of individual Poles?

We also investigated the problem of attribution and representation among our participants resident in Ireland. Our leading question was whether the popular opinions and clichés about Poles influence our subjects' lives in Ireland. The participants were free to talk about their experience at work or in other social situations with Irish people they met:

I am not sure if the status of Polish immigrants influences my own. None of my Irish friends ever told me something negative about Poles. I think the opinion has been rather positive from the very beginning.

(a young immigrant resident in Ireland)

Yes, it does, but only in the beginning when they (the Irish) do not know you. It is more like 'oh, that Polish man/woman'. Later they start to know me and recognize me as [name of the individual]. It became apparent when the President of Poland died. Most of my friends were talking and discussing it until they suddenly exclaimed 'oh! Of course! It was your president! You are from there!'. Only then did they associate the President of Poland with me, a Polish person. So I conclude they do not attribute to me anything that is commonly seen as typically Polish. They know who I am, what I do, where I work. They can distinguish me from other Poles... [I] have never experienced aggression against me as a Pole. But I have heard about attacks on other people. But those may be just rumors and not necessarily true, you know?

(a young immigrant resident in Ireland)

No, I don't think we have a bad status here. I don't know any popular negative opinions. What do you hear about Poles? That Polish women are beautiful, that Polish food is good, that a Pole can drink a lot of vodka, that we are hard-working people. We do not have to fight desperately to debunk these opinions. Maybe we also have the aura of a post-communist society. But then again, what do they know about communism? It is all exotic to them. I came to this conclusion after a few conversations with the Irish. They really do not know what communism was.

You need to explain everything to them before you start talking about it... [I] have never experienced open aggression. I have heard about things, yes. But it was not like in the North, you know, burning houses where Poles lived, breaking windows. No, nothing of that sort.
(a young immigrant resident in Ireland)

The status of Poles as a minority group was declared as not affecting our participants' lives. Experience of open aggression as the consequence of racial or ethnic animosities was not reported during the interviews. We did not provide our participants with any idea of what our own understanding of the actual status of Poles might have been. The reason for this was that we did not want to suggest our own ideas to the subjects. We were also interested in what our participants understood as 'the status of Poles'. We can see how the individual cited in the third fragment tried to think of possible 'general opinions' about Poles – those he/she had read about, or heard about, somewhere (not necessarily in Ireland). In the second fragment, on the other hand, the participant argued that clichés might play a role in the initial stages of Irish-Polish relations. When people do not know each other and happen to be from different countries, they may try to simplify the picture of the person they are talking to by using either one's previous experience or reports of other people. This simplified portrait of a 'typical Pole' (if one ever existed) helps to define one's expectations regarding the person one meets, for example, their behavior. Later, however, when people start to know one another better, they perceive individual differences among individuals belonging to the same nation and come to understand that a 'typical Pole' has, most likely, never existed.

6.7. Tabular recapitulation of data in Chapter Six

In this section we have attempted to organize our data into tables. We present the main concepts and comment on the results.

6.7.1. The participants

The number of participants we chose for the project was sixty altogether: twenty young post-2004 immigrants in Ireland; fifteen young post-2004 immigrants in Austria; five young Polish adults born in Austria; twenty individuals who immigrated to Austria in the early nineteen-eighties:

Table 6.7.1.1.

Participants	Number of participants	Percentage
Post-2004 immigrants to Ireland	20	100%
Post-2004 immigrants to Austria	15	100%
Poles born In Austria	5	100%
Immigrants of the 1980s to Austria	20	100%

6.7.2. Reasons for leaving Poland

Reasons for leaving Poland differed between the four groups of participants:

Table 6.7.2.1.

Participants	Political reasons	Economic factors	Education	Other
Post-2004 immigrants to Ireland	0%	75%	25%	5%
Post-2004 immigrants to Austria	0%	26%	80%	13%
Immigrants of the 1980s to Austria	66%	60%	0%	25%

Only three groups of the participants were included in this analysis. The individuals born in Austria were excluded owing to the nature of the issue presented in the table above – they did not emigrate from Poland.

The categories ‘Economic factors’ and ‘Education’ were sometimes mentioned by the same individuals. The ‘Other’ category included reasons that could not be included in the other three categories of concepts: political reasons, economic factors, education. For example, if an individual followed their fiancé or described their reasons generally as ‘personal’, we included them in the ‘Other’ category.

As can be seen from the table, politics was not mentioned by any participant in the two post-2004 groups. The main reasons mentioned by the two groups were economic factors and education. In our sample, the number of individuals who immigrated to Austria for economic reasons was much smaller than in Ireland. We attribute this to three factors: first was the seven-year long transition period in Austria generally blocking Poles from unlimited access to the job market. Second, fewer Poles can speak German than English. The third reason may be attributed to the kind of people we had access to - in other words, who were willing to talk to us. In the case of Poles with an average length of stay of twenty years, political reasons were the main reason for emigrating from Poland.

6.7.3. Were other countries also taken into consideration as prospective destinations?

We asked our participants if they considered going to other countries other than Austria/Ireland. In this category, as in the previous subsection (6.7.2.) we excluded the group of Poles born in Austria.

Table 6.7.3.1.

Participants	Other destinations	
	yes	no
Post-2004 immigrants to Ireland	65%	35%
Post-2004 immigrants to Austria	20%	80%
Immigrants of the 1980s to Austria	54%	46%

In the case of the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland, the majority of our participants belonging to this group considered other countries like the United Kingdom or Scandinavian countries as potential destinations. Young Poles in Austria had usually considered Germany and the United Kingdom as alternatives to Austria. Interestingly, the majority (80%) of our post-2004 immigrants to Austria did not think of alternatives when leaving Poland. This might be connected to their academic targets in Austria. It also may be related, more or less directly, to the seven-year transitional period which to an extent must have determined the aims of the post-2004 immigrants to Austria. Let us recall from the table in a previous subsection (6.7.2.) that 80% of our post-2004 immigrant subjects declared education to be their main reason for leaving Poland and going to Austria.

No one in the first two groups mentioned America, Canada or Australia as potential destinations. We conclude that in the 'era of open borders' in Europe, when Poles can, at last, travel freely between so many different countries, other distant regions may no longer seem as attractive as they used to ten or twenty years ago. Another factor might be that Poles need to apply for visas to enter countries like the United States. All things considered, when young Poles do not have to go through formal procedures with no guarantee of a positive result, they prefer to save money, time, and effort. As for the immigrants of the 1980s, the situation was so unstable that many admitted they wanted to travel as far as possible. Those who did not consider going anywhere other than Austria mentioned family and friends as those who helped or encouraged them to stay there.

6.7.4. Citizenship

This table presents data related to citizenship held by our participants. All four groups of our participants have been included in the analysis:

Table 6.7.4.1.

Participants	Citizenship		
	Polish	Irish	Austrian
Post-2004 immigrants to Ireland	100%	0%	n/a
Post-2004 immigrants to Austria	100%	n/a	0%
Poles born in Austria	0%	n/a	100%
Immigrants of the 1980s to Austria	35%	n/a	65%

6.7.5. Associations with Poland

In this subsection we use the table from section (6.3.2.) to recall data regarding typical things our participants associated with Poland:

Table 6.7.5.1.

Participants	Concepts			
	Family and friends	The Past	Politics	Other
1980s immigrants to Austria	30%	72%	18%	13%
Poles born in Austria	20%	0%	40%	60%
Polish immigrants of 2004 or after to Ireland	81%	63%	27%	18%
Polish immigrants of 2004 or after to Austria	66%	33%	20%	33%

In the case of the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland and Austria, concepts related to the ‘family’ category were most often mentioned. The past (childhood, school etc.) were very important associations with Poland in the case of Polish immigrants of the 1980s and the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland. Concepts from the ‘politics’ and ‘other’ categories were most

often mentioned by the participants born in Austria. We conclude that, having been born and raised in Austria, they could not particularly associate Poland with the past. Therefore, what they heard about Poland from their family members, or the media, formed their knowledge and shaped particular associations with Poland.

6.7.6. Contacts with Poland and Poles. Involvement in Polish institutions in the host countries.

In the table below data related to the number of Polish friends, frequency of travels to Poland and involvement in Polish institutions in Ireland and Austria is presented.

Table 6.7.6.1.

Participants	More Polish friends			Contacts with Polish institutions		Frequency of travel to Poland	
	Poland	Ireland	Austria	yes	no	Once a year	Twice or more a year
Post-2004 immigrants to Ireland	65%	35%	n/a	25%	75%	10%	90%
Post-2004 immigrants to Austria	93%	n/a	7%	20%	80%	0%	100%
Poles born in Austria	20%	n/a	80%	40%	60%	40%	60%
Immigrants of the 1980s to Austria	25%	n/a	75%	85%	15%	15%	85%

In the case of the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland, the majority had more Polish friends in Poland than in Ireland. They also travelled to Poland on regular basis, usually to visit family

and friends during holidays. These individuals did not seem to need to be in contact with Polish institutions in Ireland like, for example, the Irish-Polish Society.

Similarly to the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland, the post-2004 immigrants in Austria had more Polish friends in Poland, but they differed in their involvement in Polish institutions. The majority of them wanted to participate in events organized by Polish societies in Austria, including student societies. Individuals in this group often travelled to Poland.

The third group, Poles born (of Polish parents) in Austria, had more Polish friends in Austria through college, student societies and other societies not directly connected to universities. The majority of them took active part in events organized by those societies. They also tended to travel to Poland at least twice a year.

In the case of Poles who had immigrated to Austria in the eighties, the majority had more Polish friends in Austria. They had usually met them through Polish institutions and events organized by those institutions. Individuals in this group also often travelled to Poland.

6.7.7. Poland and Poles in the European Union social structures

In this subsection we present data related to the participants’ perceptions of Poland’s status after its accession to the European Union, perceptions of the openness of Austrians and Irish to the integration of Poles, perceptions of opportunities for professional development and promotion, and feelings regarding life in Ireland and Austria.

Table 6.7.7.1.

Participants	Whether there has been a change in Poland’s status in the perception of the host communities since accession to EU in 2004		Whether the host communities are open to the integration of Poles		Whether opportunities for professional development are comparable to those of the host community		Whether happy with the decision to immigrate to the host countries	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Post-2004 immigrants in Ireland	90%	10%	45%	55%	40%	60%	100%	0%
Post-2004 immigrants in Austria	73%	27%	40%	60%	86%	14%	100%	0%
Poles born in Austria	0%	100%	20%	80%	60%	40%	n/a	n/a
Immigrants of the 1980s in Austria	90%	10%	15%	85%	75%	25%	100%	0%

The data presented in this table are very interesting for a number of reasons. Let us consider changes in perceptions of Poland after its accession to the European Union. The majority of the participants in three immigrant groups saw, or expected, a change. Only those of our participants who were born in Austria and grew up there did not perceive any shifts in general opinions about Poland. The number of individuals in this group was only five. Nevertheless, those individuals came from different backgrounds and did not know each other so the possibility of their having discussed the problem and having formed an opinion together has been ruled out.

The hosts' openness to immigrants and their willingness to integrate them into their society was not rated high among our participants in all four groups. We have to recall here the discussion of the 'integration process' and different points of view as to what it actually means to 'integrate'; our participants always tried to take account of the limits of inclusion of the Other into the majority society. Indeed, the question of 'how far' the process may go, or 'to what degree' one can integrate, is not out of place. The majority of our participants in all four groups did not consider their hosts as fully open to integration of immigrants in general. We conclude that, in many cases, cultural differences may be responsible for these sentiments. Sometimes, the reasons may also be trivial. For example, 'Irish politeness' may clash with 'Polish directness' and cause misunderstandings which do not necessarily mean hostility. It is easier to understand one another if all come from the same country, simply because the common code of behaviour is well understood by everybody and nothing has to be explained. On the other hand, a lack of basic knowledge of the immigrants' country, and clichés that still prevail in Western Europe about Eastern Europe, do not help.

In the case of Poles' opportunities to achieve as much as the hosts can, Ireland was perceived (perhaps surprisingly) as a country where such achievement would be difficult, but not impossible, in practice. Indeed, there are cases of highly qualified people working as waiters in Ireland, but we take it that Ireland is not the only country where this is happening. What our participants mentioned was the barriers created by their employers or colleagues. The reasons for such barriers may include, for instance, the level of English that Polish people have, the *perceived* level of English of the individuals as judged by Irish people ('she/he is from Poland so I have to use simple sentences'), and the qualifications held by individuals, to

name a few. The reasons for underachievement may be real or imagined (and created) by either side.

As for our participants resident in Austria, they generally considered Austria as a place where they could achieve much in their own professions. Of course, this does not mean that all Poles in Austria are successful. What we think there may be at work is, paradoxically, the transition period and its consequences. Austria opened its market only for professionals who were needed. Others had to fill those jobs which were not taken by Austrians or other immigrants. Students' perceptions may be distorted as well, because students often take up jobs well below their qualifications (which are in the process of being gained) and do not even think about it. The real test comes when one graduates and starts applying for jobs in one's chosen profession. What we could not investigate was the phenomenon of the 'glass ceiling' – how successful Poles actually are allowed to be across different firms based in Austria and Ireland. How many Polish people in both countries consider themselves successful only because they work in offices, and not bars or pubs? These points may serve as guides for a further research project.

The last column displays amazing results: all participants in the three relevant groups declared that, in spite of problems they sometimes encountered, they were happy they had emigrated from Poland, whether temporarily or permanently. The reasons were mainly educational and economic. By living in Austria or Ireland, the participants felt they could study at interesting institutions, and earn better money than in Poland.

6.7.8. Poles’ relations with other Poles in Austria and Ireland.

In this section we have summarized the main concepts related to inter-Polish relations that were identified during the interviews with our participants.

Table 6.7.8.1. below is adapted from section (6.4.3.3.):

Participants	Identified concepts							
	Number of Polish friends		Social divisions perceived		Perceived attitudes of Poles to other Poles		Subjects’ attitudes to other Poles	
	many	few	yes	no	positive	negative	positive	negative
Poles in Austria	77%	33%	88%	22%	6%	94%	82%	18%
Poles In Ireland	40%	60%	65%	55%	75%	25%	88%	12%

Factors discouraging Poles from active involvement in the Polish community in the host countries, and Polish issues in general, are summarized in the table below, also adapted from section (6.3.3.):

Table 6.7.8.2.

Participants	Concepts	
	Politics	Behaviour of fellow Poles
The 1980s' immigrants to Austria	80%	52%
Poles born in Austria	41%	60%
Post-2004 immigrants to Ireland	75%	35%
Post-2004 immigrants to Austria	60%	60%

As can be seen from the tables above, our participants resident in Austria tended to have more Polish friends than their counterparts in Ireland. Social divisions between groups of Poles were perceived by the majority of our participants in both countries. Interestingly, inter-Polish antipathy was more often mentioned by Poles resident in Austria than in Ireland. However, our participants' general attitude to fellow Poles was positive. Our participants in both Austria and Ireland seemed on the whole well disposed to other Poles, this being marginally more the case in Austria.

Polish politics and bad behaviour of some Poles were mentioned as main factors which made our participants embarrassed and caused some of them to distance themselves from Poland while abroad.

6.7.9. Participants’ perceived place in the host societies

In this section we present our participants’ feelings concerning their place in the host societies and the place of Poland in their plans for the future:

Table 6.7.9.1.

Participants	Feeling part of the host society		Planned return to Poland in the future	
	yes	no	yes	no
Post-2004 immigrants to Ireland	65%	35%	95%	5%
Poles born in Austria	20%	80% ³³	100%	0%
Post-2004 immigrants to Austria	34%	66%	20%	80%
Immigrants of the 1980s in Austria	90%	10%	10%	90%

Whether the participants considered themselves members of the host societies seemed to depend on a variety of factors: the length of stay in the host society, their attitudes to the host countries, or people (both Polish and hosts) they met in private life or at work. Those who immigrated to Austria in the eighties built their new life there and gradually grew attached to their environment. Those of them who did not consider themselves members of Austrian society after such a long time had already reported arrangements, including business contacts,

³³ Four out of five Austrian born individuals reported that they felt neither Polish nor Austrian.

to move back to Poland in a couple of years. The group second most attached to the host country were Poles resident in Ireland. The post-2004 immigrants to Austria, in the main, did not see themselves as becoming part of Austrian society at large. Finally, the individuals born in Austria reported problems identifying with either society and built, in turn, their own identity by combining elements of Polish, Austrian, and other cultures present in Austria.

As for a prospective return to Poland, the majority of the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland and Austria planned on going back to their homeland in the future. The term ‘future’ was differently understood, however. For some it meant immediate return after the completion of their studies. Others planned to stay in either country for a couple of years due to work or personal arrangements, while some of the participants saw Poland as their home only when they retire. Those individuals who spent their childhood in Austria, or who had lived there since the 1980s, were less willing to return to Poland. Having organized their lives in Austria for all those years, perhaps it would be very difficult for the majority of them to re-adapt to their country of origin and start almost everything from the beginning.

6.8. Summary

Chapter six deals with various sociolinguistic issues connected with Polish immigration to Ireland and Austria. The data presented in the chapter came mainly from the transcripts of recorded interviews with the participants, but in some cases information taken from the questionnaires was also used.

The chapter began with a description of the project participants, length of their stay in the host countries, their own reasons for leaving Poland and the choice of Ireland or Austria as their countries of destination. The study investigated, among other issues, the relations between Poles while away from the homeland, the participants’ perceptions of themselves as members of the minority community, and the perceived images of the host societies. As for the concept of a homeland, we adopted Ziemiński’s theoretical model to inform the study of the degree of attachment to, and contact with, Poland as showed by our participants (Ziemiński, 1994; Ossowski 1982). The most often cited concepts associated with Poland were: the past, family, and politics – an interesting combination of ideas which shaped the conceptual representation of the participants’ homeland.

Other issues explored in the chapter were the relations between Poles and members of the host communities. The participants were asked questions regarding their own opinions of the hosts (the degree of openness to ‘the Other’ in general and ‘the Polish’ in particular), what they associated the host countries with, whether Poles integrate with the receiving communities and have equal opportunities for educational and professional development as the native community, and perceived changes, or their lack, in Poland’s image in the eyes (and attitudes) of the hosts. Finally, we asked questions regarding the perceived social status of the participants themselves in relation to the host communities. We were interested if the overall status of immigrants, particularly from Eastern Europe, affected, either positively or negatively, the quality of their professional and private lives.

Because the above-presented analysis was based solely on the results of the conducted interviews and circulated questionnaires, the data makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the nature of Polish immigration depending on its socio-political contexts. It has been presented not in the form of a ‘dry’ statistical report, but provides deep insights into both positive and negative aspects of immigration experienced by particular individuals belonging to a certain (ethnic) group.

Chapter Seven: Analysis of cases of cross-linguistic phenomena in the participants’ speech.

This chapter is dedicated to an analysis of the participants’ speech with a view to exploring cases of cross-linguistic influence and other aspects of cross-linguistic relationships. We examined selected parts of the interview transcripts and decided to focus on five aspects that we had identified: syntax, lexis, grammatical cases, pronunciation, and the role of language as a symbol of identity. The participants were not given any additional language tests. What we were interested in was their natural speech – as unaffected and uncontrolled as possible. We were not interested in carefully shaped essays or grammaticality judgments. What we wanted to investigate was the way our participants spoke in semi-formal and informal situations. For a more structured analysis, we decided to continue the analysis within the four groups into

which we had initially divided our participants for the sociological study presented in the previous chapter. In the last section of this chapter a tabular presentation of the analyzed data is presented, and some concluding remarks summarizing the discussed topics.

An explanation of the notation that we used in the transcription of the recorded material has been included in the Appendix (see section 3).

7.1. Points of analysis.

7.1.1. Style and syntactic structures

In the section dedicated to the analysis of syntactic structures we were looking for traces of influence of German or English on the production of Polish by the participants. We analyzed parts of the interview transcripts and, using the syntactic norms of the three languages as our point of reference, we scrutinized the arrangement of items in the participants' sentences. We took into account the stylistic effects of the syntax deployed. In this latter connection, we bore in mind that stylistic departures from normal native speaker patterns do not necessarily originate in any kind of cross-linguistic influence.

7.1.2. Foreign lexical items in the participants' speech.

In the section dedicated to the lexicon, we investigated how often, and in what circumstances, the participants used German or English words during the interviews. We considered a number of factors: whether the participants used German/English words because they wanted to sound fashionable; whether they replaced Polish words with German or English words when they forgot a Polish word in order to maintain the flow of the conversation; whether they used German/English words without being aware of the fact of using them, etc. We decided to take account of the whole context of the situation: the fact that it was a semi-formal or informal interview, the topic of the conversation, the mood of the participant at the time of the interview, etc.

7.1.3. Grammar Cases

Another aspect we were interested in was if, and when, the participants transferred grammar cases from the target language and used incorrect forms in the Polish language. Of special interest was the Polish production of the Poles interviewed in Austria in the light of the case system of the German language, which has four grammatical cases: Nominative, Genitive, Dative, and Accusative. These four cases also form part of the case system in the Polish language which has three more: Instrumental, Locative and Vocative. We also investigated the context in which the errors were made. For example, the topic of the conversation at a given stage might have been a sensitive one for participants, resulting in problems in expressing themselves. We also looked at the quantitative aspect of deviancy of grammatical case usage in given fragments of conversations.

7.1.4. Language as an identity marker

We were interested in investigating not only what the participants thought of the Polish and German/English language as markers of their identity, but also in what contexts they spoke about language in these terms - for example, in what circumstances they seemed to emphasize the role of Polish (or any other language) regardless of their plans concerning a prospective return to Poland. Interestingly, even participants who did not plan to go back to Poland considered the Polish language as an important part of their identity.

7.2. General syntactic rules of relevant Polish, German and English sentence structures.

In order to render the analysis that follows more accessible we offer below a (brief and selective) introduction to relative aspects of Polish and German. Where necessary, additional explanations are provided in sections dedicated to the analysis of the participants' statements.

7.2.1. The Polish language

7.2.1.1. Affirmative Clauses

The Polish language belongs to the group of inflected languages (Jadacka, 2009) and is characterized by a relatively flexible word order. For example, in simple sentences one can

leave out personal pronouns (I, he, they, etc.) because the form of the verb (the root of the verb + appropriate inflected verb ending) already carries information about the subject. It shows the gender and number of the subject, as well as the grammar tense of the whole sentence.

For example, in the sentence below the verb *zjadłam* informs the reader/hearer that the subject is a female and is speaking about a past and completed event:

(POL): Zjadłam (V) ciasto (N, Object).
(ENG): [I (PRON, Subject) ate (V) the cake (N, Object).]

The basic syntax of the Polish affirmative sentence has an SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) pattern. However, because the syntax of Polish is flexible, it is possible, for emphatic or other effects, to begin a sentence with a verb or verb phrase (Jadacka, 2009 ; Bąk, 2004):

(POL): Powiedział (V) Paweł (N, Subject) do Piotra (Object).
(ENG): [Said (V) Paweł (N, Subject) to Piotr (Object).]

In Polish, unlike in German or English, there are no compound or phrasal verbs.

7.2.1.2. Negation

In Polish, the word *nie* [no; not] used in front of the verb or noun makes the sentence negative. The word *nie* is never inflected:

(POL): *Nie* lubię (V) Kasi. vs. *Lubię* Kasię
(ENG): [I (PRON, Subject) do *not* like (V) Kate (N, Object.)] vs. [I like Kate]

The particle *nie* precedes the verb:

(POL): *Nie* lubię.
(ENG): [I do *not* like.]

or the noun:

(POL): *Nie* Zosia ale Kasia.
(ENG): [*Not* Zosia but Kasia.]

It can also precede pronouns, adverbs, adjectives, and numbers.

In Polish, negatives are doubled in cases like the following:

(POL): *Nic nie* widziałem.

(ENG) (Lit): [*Nothing* (I) *didn't* see.]

(ENG): [I saw nothing] or [I didn't see anything].

7.2.1.3. Relative clauses

In this type of the clause the verb usually follows the pronoun:

a) (POL): Lubię dzieci, które(PRON) są(V) reżolutne.

(ENG)(Lit.): [I like children who(PRON) are(V) smart]

b) (POL): Lubię oglądać, jak(PRON) wschodzi(V) Słońce

(ENG)(Lit.) [I like watching the Sun when it is rising]

It is also possible to place the verb at the end of the clause. This has emphatic effects and may make the clause sound less natural in spoken language.

7.2.2. The German language

7.2.2.1. Affirmative Clauses

The German language is of the SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) type. However, in the main clause the usual structure of the sentence is of the SVO type. This makes the analysis of syntactic transfer in this language particularly difficult. Verbs are inflected but the inflection patterns are not as complicated as they are in Polish. There are regular, irregular, and compound verbs. In the case of the compound verbs, affixes (usually prepositions) are separated from the main verb and put at the end of the utterance in present tenses or Präteritum³⁴. In perfect tenses, the compound verbs are not split.

(GER): Er *hörte* gestern Abend dem Redner eine halbe Stunde lang *zu*.

(Schmitt, 2002:43).

(ENG): [Yesterday evening he *listened to* the speaker for half an hour.]

³⁴ E.g. past tenses, Imperfect , Konjunktiv II

In German, the most important item in the sentence is the inflected form of the verb. The location of the inflected verb form in the main clause is different from that in the subordinate clause. In the main clause, the verb comes as the second item in the sentence whereas the subject may move around. The location of other parts of the sentence changes depending on the context and meaning of the sentence (Schmitt, 2002).

7.2.2.2. Negation

In negation the particle *nicht* [no, not] is used. This form is never inflected. It may precede the subject:

(GER): *Nicht* Barbara, sondern Zofia
(ENG): [*Not* Barbara but Zofia.]

If the speaker wishes to negate the whole sentence, the word *nicht* is placed at the end of the sentence:

(GER): Susanna kommt heute *nicht*.
(ENG): [Susanna is *not* coming today.]

In other cases, the particle *nicht* is placed before the negated word:

(GER): Der Postbote kommt *nicht* heute, sondern morgen.
(Schmitt, 2002:126).
(ENG): [The postman is coming *not* today, but tomorrow.]

(GER): *Nicht* Barbara, sondern Zofia
(ENG): [*Not* Barbara but Zofia.]

In German, the indefinite pronoun *kein(e)* [no, none] is used to denote absent or non-existing people or objects:

(GER): Ich habe *keine* Kinder.
(ENG): [I have *no* children.]

The pronoun *kein* is inflected for grammar cases (four in German).

7.2.2.3. Relative clauses

The typical German relative clause has the structure illustrated in the examples below:

- a) (GER): Ich sehe das Mädchen, dem(PRON) du gestern Blumen geschenkt hast(V).
(ENG): [I can see the girl whom(PRON) you gave(V) flowers yesterday.]
- b) (GER): Ist das die Katze, für die Manfred das Essen kaufen soll(V)?
(ENG): [Is this the cat for whom Manfred should buy(V) food?]

As can be seen from the examples above, the verb is situated at the end of the relative clause. All examples were taken from Woynaroski & Woynarowska (2005:60).

7.3. Grammatical Cases

7.3.1. Polish

In Polish there are seven grammatical cases (Gruszczyński & Bralczyk, 2002:203-206). These are summarized in the table below, adapted from Bąk (2004:283):

Table 7.3.1. Polish Grammar Cases in the singular³⁵:

Grammatical Case	masculine	feminine	neuter
Nominative	kwiat-	chat-a	święt-o
Genitive	kwiat-u	chat-y	święt-a
Dative	kwiat-owi	chaci-e	święt-u
Accusative	kwiat-	chat-ę	święt-o
Instrumental	kwiat-em	chat-ą	święt-em
Locative	o kwieci-e	o chaci-e	o święci-e
Vocative	kwieci-e!	chat-o!	święto!

In Polish nouns, adjectives, numbers (numerals), pronouns and determiners are inflected for case.

³⁵ kwiat – [flower] ; chata – [cottage] ; święto – [holiday]. In the above examples, the case inflections are given after the dash.

7.3.2. German

In German there are four grammatical cases. Below is a tabular representation of the four cases together with examples of inflected nouns (adapted from Duden Wörterbuch, 1996:28):

Table 7.3.2.1. German grammar cases with examples of inflected nouns.

Grammar Case	masculine	feminine	neuter
Nominative	Der Vogel	Die Nacht	Das Bild
Genitive	Des Vogel-s	Der Nacht	Des Bild-es
Dative	Dem Vogel	Der Nacht	Dem Bild(-e)
Accusative	Den Vogel	Die Nacht	Das Bild

In German, nouns, adjectives, pronouns and articles are inflected for case.

7.4. Analysis of the participants’ speech.

While in many studies the influence of L1 on the production of L2 is examined, we decided here to reverse the situation. In the analysis we looked for cases of syntactic, semantic, lexical, and phonetic/phonological influences of the L2 (English or German) on the participants’ L1 (Polish). In the sections that follow, the reader will have an opportunity to look at the examples of cross-linguistic influence found in the participants’ production of Polish in semi-formal and informal settings.

7.4.1. Poles born in Austria

Our participants who were born in Austria grew up in two cultures and learned two languages early in their childhood. The parents of all five individuals were Poles. Polish was spoken at home and with Polish friends of the participants’ families. German was used outside the home in other contexts unrelated to family life like, for example, school, playground, etc. These participants were taught Polish both informally (by their family) and formally (in Polish classes at Polish school). In fact, the first language these individuals learned to speak was Polish. German was introduced later and meant as preparation for regular Austrian primary and secondary school.

The participants cannot be said to have acquired two languages simultaneously because they learned Polish first at home from their parents and family, and only then started learning German. However, they learned German before they reached the age of seven, that is, primary school age. Therefore, by the time they started formal education at school they were, taking into account their age at that time, relatively balanced bilinguals. They still attended additional lessons at Polish school during the years of primary school. Accordingly, the two codes may be considered to have been kept separate from the beginning: Polish only at home and Polish school vs. German only outside the home/Polish school. Later, of course, as the participants grew older and their parents became more integrated into the Austrian society, the ‘Polish only at home vs. German only outside the home’ rule had its exceptions – parents started to have Austrian friends who would visit them at home, and the children had Polish friends outside the home.

In order to make the analysis clearer for the reader, we numbered all excerpts taken from the transcripts of the recorded interviews. Each excerpt contains part of an interview - both question(s) and answer(s) to familiarize the reader with the whole context of the relevant conversations.

We were interested in whether, and to what extent, the participants’ L2 (German) influenced their production of L1 (Polish). We interviewed our participants and transcribed parts of the recorded material for a closer analysis. What we immediately discovered was that the participants would use complex structures with relatively flexible word order in Polish. At the same time they would make many stylistic mistakes, choose wrong words to name things or actions, and make up words that do not exist in the official Polish lexicon. Moreover, formal expressions were often mixed up with informal, or even colloquial, language.

Each excerpt is first given in Polish. The English translations are provided below the excerpts in Polish. Interviewer’s questions were not linguistically analyzed and are provided in bold only in the Polish version. The reader will notice that some terms may be differently notated in different contexts in the transcriptions. This is due to their different functions within the analyzed sentences. For example, the Polish word *nie* may have the function of a particle (PART) like in:

(POL): On *nie* jest taki stary.

(ENG): [He's not so old]

or interjection (INTER) as in:

(POL): dzisiaj wtorek? Nie, środa.

(ENG): [Is it Tuesday today? No, Wednesday.]

or conjunction:

(POL): pies nie pies

(ENG): [(is this) a dog or what?³⁶]

One and the same word may sometimes have different transcription symbols even within one sentence. Therefore we decided to attach notation in brackets to every word (or phrase) in the examples in Polish. The English translations are as close as possible to the Polish original fragments, sometimes even word-for word, to better illustrate the Polish syntax. The sentences may, therefore, at times sound awkward in English. In brackets are provided additional translations.

7.4.1.1. Selected examples and explanation

Excerpt 1.

Interviewer (I): Jak bliskie są twoje relacje z Polską i sprawami polskimi bez względu na częstotliwość podróży do Polski?

Participant (P): Ahm+ moje(DET) relacje(Npl) opierają się(REFL V) w sumie(PREP P) na(PREP) telewizji(Nsing) polskiej(ADJ), na(PREP) mediach(Npl). Istnieje(Vform) Internet(N), czyli(CONJ) jeśli(CONJ) chodzi(V) o(PREP) polskie(ADJpl) informacje(Npl) to(PRON) z(PREP) tych(PRON) źródeł(Npl) pobie+ pobieram(Vform) moje+(DET) info(inform)(Npl), a(CONJ) po drugie(PREP P) jeszcze(ADV) też(PRON) no+(PART) przez+ przez(PREP) rodzinę(N) tak samo(PRON P), no(PART) to(PRON) wiadomo(PARTIC), że(CONJ) często(ADV) do Polski(PREP P) się wyj+ wyjeżdża(REFL V). No(PART) i kol+ koledzy(N), koleżanki(N) głównie(ADV).

³⁶ All three examples come from Wielki Słownik polsko-anglieski PWN (2004:563)

(I): Czy utrzymujesz kontakty z Polakami w Polsce?

(P): Tak tak(PART), oczywiście(PART). Głównie(ADV) no(PART) to(PRON) przez(PREP) Internet(Nsing), bo(CONJ) jest(V) najtaniej(ADV) wychodzi(V). No(PART), zazwyczaj(ADV) z+(PREP) no(PART), z rodzina(PREP P), z kolegami(PREP P) głównie(ADV), nie(CONJ).

(I): Ilu masz znajomych czy przyjaciół w Polsce? Wielu, niewielu? Czy są to kontakty bardziej osobiste czy towarzyskie?

(P): Ahm+ znaczy(V) jeśli(CONJ) można(PRAED) teraz(ADV) o grupę(PREP P) polską+(ADJ) Polaków(Npl) w(PREP) Polsce(N) powiedzieć(V) mam(V) dużo(ADV) znajomych(Npl), rodzina(Nsing) też(PART) jest(V) duża(ADJ), ahm+ kontakty(Npl) są(V) osobiste(ADJ) i(CONJ) towarzyskie(ADJ).

(ENG)(Lit.): **[(I) How close are your relations with Poland and Polish issues regardless of the frequency of your travels to Poland?**

(P) Well, my relations (connections) with Poland are actually based on Polish TV, on the media. The Internet exists, so regarding Polish information (information about Poland), I gain (have) information from those sources, and secondly, also, well, through+ through family as well. Well, obviously, one often goes to Poland. And friends+ friends, female friends mainly.

(I) Do you keep in touch with Poles in Poland?

(P) Yes, yes of course. Mainly, well, through the Internet because it is the cheapest way. Well, usually with+ well with my family, with friends mainly, you know.

(I) How many Polish friends do you have in Poland? Are they many or few? Are those people your close friends or acquaintances?

(P) Well, I mean, if I can talk about (my) Polish group of Poles in Poland I have a lot of acquaintances, my family is also big. Well, my contacts are both social and personal.]

The participant quoted above used relatively flexible word order while speaking Polish as shown below in examples a) b) and c). However, this is allowed in the Polish language as long as the subject and predicate are properly signaled and no ambiguity is created as to what the subject (and the object) is. However, when the participant tried to compose longer sentences, he/she started to finish sentences with verbs:

- a) Istnieje(Vform) Internet(N), czyli(CONJ) jeśli(CONJ) chodzi(V) o(PREP) polskie(ADJpl) informacje(Npl) to(PRON) z(PREP) tych(PRON) źródeł(Npl) pobie+ pobieram(Vform) moje+(DET) info(inform)(Npl), a(CONJ) po drugie(PREP P) jeszcze(ADV) też(PRON) no+(PART) przez+ przez(PREP) rodzinę(N) tak samo(PRON P), no(PART) to(PRON) wiadomo(PARTIC), że(CONJ) często(ADV) do Polski(PREP P) się wyj+ wyjeżdża(REFL V).

(ENG)(Lit.): [The Internet exists, so regarding Polish information (information about Poland), I gain (have) information from those sources, and secondly, also, well, through+ through family as well. Well, obviously, one often goes to Poland.]

This might be considered as, at least, a slight influence of German SOV syntax on the participant's Polish. A more natural sounding expression than *często do Polski się wyjeżdża* would be, for example, *często wyjeżdżamy do Polski* [we often travel to Poland] where the verb would occupy the second place in the clause – typical of the SVO Polish syntax.

In addition, in example a) an incorrect form of the verb *wyjeżdżać* is used. The participant made the verb *wyjeżdżać* [leave for] reflexive while in standard Polish it is not a reflexive verb. It is hard to determine whether the participant transferred the German reflexive verb *sich bewegen* and translated it directly into Polish. There are other verbs in German which are not reflexive and could have been used in this context as well: *gehen* [go], *fahren* [go; drive; ride], *reisen* [travel]. Moreover, Polish reflexive verbs cause a lot of problems to monolingual Polish speakers as well – one would hear and read many sentences where reflexives are used colloquially and in non-standard forms:

(POL): spytać się kogoś

(ENG)(Lit.): [ask oneself someone*]

(ENG): [ask someone]

These forms, however, became so popular that they seem to have finally won recognition among Polish linguists: entries like *spytać się* are now found in dictionaries as acceptable colloquial forms (Wielki Słownik polsko-angielski 2004:1059).

The participant also used over formal words for naming simple actions which made his/her statements sound unnatural at times. The statements were often combinations of formal and informal language (in bold):

- a) **Istnieje**(Vform) Internet(N), czyli(CONJ) jeśli(CONJ) chodzi(V) o(PREP) polskie(ADJpl) informacje(Npl) to(PRON) z(PREP) tych(PRON) źródeł(Npl) pobie+
pobieram(Vform) moje+(DET) **info**(inform)(Npl)

(ENG)(Lit.): [The Internet exists, so regarding Polish information (information about Poland), I gain (have) information from those sources]

In example a) the phrase *czyli jeśli chodzi o* [when it comes to; concerning...] is informal and should not be used with formal expressions like *istnieje Internet* [the Internet exists]. Mixing up formal and informal expressions makes the message confusing and brings it closer to a ‘non-native talk’ style of speech.

In example b) the participant used an extremely flexible word order:

- b) **znaczy(V)** **jeśli(CONJ)** **można(PRAED)** **teraz(ADV)** o **grupe polską+ Polaków w Polsce(O)** **powiedzieć(V)**, **mam(V)** **dużo(ADV)** **znajomych(Npl)**, **rodzina(S)** **też(PART)** **jest(V)** **duża(ADJ)**.

(ENG)(Lit.): [Well, I mean, if I can talk about (my) Polish group of Poles in Poland I have a lot of acquaintances, my family is also big.]

He/she overloaded it with unnecessary words that repeat the already stated message:

(POL):	<u>o grupę polską</u>	<u>Polaków w Polsce</u>
(ENG)(Lit):	<u>about the Polish group of</u>	<u>Poles in Poland</u>

In addition, as in example a), the participant again put the verb at the end of the first clause and began the second clause with another verb (in bold and underscored):

- c) **znaczy(V)** **jeśli(CONJ)** **można(PRAED)** **teraz(ADV)** o **grupe polską+ Polaków w Polsce(O)** **powiedzieć(V)**, **mam(V)** **dużo znajomych (O)**

(ENG)(Lit.): [Well, I mean, if I can talk about (my) Polish group of Poles in Poland I have a lot of acquaintances]

The general SVO pattern would have been preserved, like in the example below:

(POL): Jeśli można(PRAED) opowiedzieć(V) o grupie (znajomych) w Polsce

(ENG)(Lit.): [If I can talk about (my) Polish group of Poles in Poland]

Instead, the participant used the typical German SOV pattern and put the object before the verb. This made the sentence sound ‘heavy’ in Polish.

As can be seen in example d) the sentence is, again, overloaded with verbs:

d) Głównie(ADV) no(PART) to(PRON) przez(PREP) Internet(Nsing), bo(CONJ) **jest**(V) najtaniej(ADV) **wychodzi**(V).

(ENG)(Lit.): [Mainly, well, through the Internet because it is the cheapest way.]

It would have been enough to use either the form *jest* [is] or *wychodzi* [here: amount to] but not both. This ‘verb overload’ often occurred in longer statements where the participant was trying to link different topics in one sentence. This time, like in the other examples cited above, the participant tended to use the SOV pattern of German sentences while speaking Polish. This tendency was found in other parts of the interview transcript. In addition, the participant spoke with German accent which attested to a rather strong influence of German on their production of Polish not only on the level of syntax but also phonetics. We will return to this issue in due course.

We can summarize what we have identified in a table:

Table 7.4.1.1.1.

Preferred syntax	SOV
Style	A mix of formal and informal expressions
Accent	Moderate German accent heard during the interview

Excerpt 2.

(I) Jakie są twoje pierwsze skojarzenia z Polską?

(P) Głównie(ADV) chyba(PART) myślę(V), że+(CONJ) jedzenie(Nsing). Polskie(ADJ) jedzenie(N) to(PRON), to jest(V) pierwszy((NUM ORD) temat(Nsing) z(PREP) czego(PRON) się zawsze(ADV) wychodzi(PREFL V). No(INTER) i(CONJ) jeszcze(PART) ewentualnie(CONJ) polska(ADJ) gościnność(Nsing).

(I) Czy czasem dystansujesz się od polskich spraw, na przykład, polskiej społeczności w Austrii z jakiegoś powodu?

(P) Ahm, tak(INTER), zależy(V), bo(CONJ) wiadomo(PRAED), że(CONJ) w(PREP) każdym(PRON) kraju(Nsing) też(PART) mamy(V), niestety((PART), ale(CONJ) każdy(PRON) kraj(Nsing) jest(V) krajem(Nsing) selekcyjnym(ADJ) więc(CONJ) mamy(V) też(PRON), ahm+, grupy(Npl) społeczne(ADJ) które(PRON) właśnie(ADV) w(PREP) różnych(ADJ) kręgach(Npl) żyją(V). No(INTER) wiadomo(PRAED), że(CONJ) niestety(PART) jest(V) też(PART) dużo(ADV) Polaków(Npl) w(PREP) Austrii(Nsing) którzy(PRON) nie(PART) osiągnęli(V) tego(PRON), co(PRON) może(PART) by(PART) planowali(V), więc(PART), ahm+ zazwyczaj(ADV) ich(PRON) budowa(Nsing) czeka(V). Wiec(PART) raczej(PART) tutaj(PRON) próbuję się(REFL V) od(PREP) tej(PRON), od(PREP) tego(PRON) społeczeństwa(Nsing) dystansować(V).

(I) Czemu tak się czujesz?

(P) To(PRON) akurat(PART), to akurat teraz(ADV) w(PREP) sumie(Nsing) nie(PART) ma(V) z(PREP) Polakami(Npl) dokładnie(INTER) wspólnego(ADJ), tylko(CONJ) no(INTER), bo(CONJ) to(PRON) wśród(PREP) Austriaków(Npl) wśród(PREP) kar+ każ+ każdego(PRON) ludzie(Npl) jak(CONJ) to(CONJ) można(PRAED) powiedzieć(V), są(V) te(PRON), właśnie(PART), opcje(Npl). Ale(CONJ) z(PREP) reguły(Nsing) się(REFL PRON) do(PREP) takich(PRON) rzeczy(Npl) dystansuję(V).

(ENG)(Lit.): [(I) What are the first associations you have when you think about Poland?

(P) Mainly, I think, it is food. Polish food is the first topic you always begin with. Well, and, perhaps, Polish hospitality.

(I) Do you distance yourself from Polish issues? For example, from the Polish community in Austria?

(P) Well, yes, it depends because, you know, in every country we also have, unfortunately, each country is a selective country so we also have, well+, social groups that live in different circles. And, obviously you know, unfortunately there are Poles in Austria who have not achieved what they planned to achieve so, well+ usually the building site is waiting for them. So I am rather trying to distance myself from this, from this society.

(I) Why do you feel like this?

(P) This actually, this actually has nothing to do with Poles only, well, because among Austrians, among all+ all people as one can put it, there are those options (circles). But in principle I distance myself from those things.]

The utterances of the participant whom we quote above were very hard to analyze. First of all, the sentences he/she produced were often fragmentary and, sometimes, seemed to be unfinished when suddenly another idea was introduced. Second, the syntax of the statements was very flexible, which added to the degree of difficulty we experienced during the transcription.

In examples a), b), and c) we can see that, like in Excerpt 1, this participant also preferred the SOV syntax typical of the German language and tended to put verbs at the end of the clauses. This occurred in main clauses as well as subordinate clauses:

a) Ale(CONJ) z(PREP) reguły(Nsing) się(REFL PRON) do takich rzeczy(O) dystansuje(V).

(ENG)(Lit.): [But in principle I distance myself from those things.]

b) [...] mamy(V) też(PRON), ahm+, grupy społeczne(S) które(PRON) właśnie(ADV) w różnych kręgach(O) żyją(V).

(ENG)(Lit.): [we also have, well+, social groups that live in different circles.]

Sometimes, the pattern would be untypical of either language:

c) [...] ahm+ zazwyczaj(ADV) ich(O) budowa(S) czeka(V).

(ENG)(Lit.): [well+ usually the building site is waiting for them.]

d) mamy(V) też(PRON), ahm+, grupy(Npl) społeczne(ADJ) które(PRONrel)
właśnie(ADV) w(PREP) różnych(ADJ) kręgach (O) żyją(V).

(ENG)(Lit.): [we also have, well+, social groups that live in different circles.]

Another identified aspect of this participant's speech was that the sentences were overloaded with words which made the actual meaning of the intended message very difficult to decode. This could have been the result of the influence of German on the participant's Polish – the participant had problems clearly expressing their idea in simple sentences. A German accent was also perceptible, especially in the production of vowels³⁷.

Underscored and in bold are words which obscure the meaning and make the whole statement 'heavy', thus difficult to understand:

e) To(PRON) akurat(PART), to akurat teraz(ADV) w(PREP) sumie(Nsing)
nie(PART) ma(V) z(PREP) Polakami(Npl) dokładnie(INTER) wspólnego(ADJ),
tylko(CONJ) no(INTER), bo(CONJ) to(PRON) wśród(PREP) Austriaków(Npl)
wśród(PREP) kar+ każ+ każdego(PRON) ludzie(Npl) jak(CONJ) to(CONJ)
można(PRAED) powiedzieć(V), są(V) te(PRON), właśnie(PART), opcje(Npl).

(ENG)(Lit.): [This actually, this actually has nothing to do with Poles only, well, because among Austrians, among all+ all people as one can put it, there are those options (circles).]

In this utterance, one expression attracted our attention:

³⁷ We will return to the issue of accent In due course

(POL): [...] nie(PART) ma(V) z(PREP) Polakami(Npl) [...] wspólnego(ADJ)
(ENG)(Lit.): [this has nothing in common with Poles]
(ENG): [this has nothing to do with Poles] [this does not concern Poles]

In Polish, this expression allows for a double negative (negatives in italics):

(POL): *nie* mieć *nic* wspólnego z
(ENG): [have nothing in common with].

In German, it does not:

(GER): *keine* Gemeinsamkeiten haben.

The participant used a single negative in Polish:

(POL): *nie* mieć wspólnego

This made the sentence sound awkward, however, still understandable from the overall context of the statement. We cannot of course say for certain that the oddness of the expression in Polish is due to German influence.

We may summarize the above analyzed elements in a table:

Table 7.4.1.1.2.

Preferred syntax	SOV
Style	Fragmentary sentences overloaded with particles, conjunctions, adverbs and interjections.
Accent	Slight German accent heard during the interview

A more detailed tabular presentation of the data from all participants will be presented in later sections.

7.4.1.2. The 1980s Polish immigrants to Austria

The participants in this group came to Austria as adults (20+ year olds). They did not speak fluent German at the time of their arrival. Many of them had spent a few months in camps for asylum seekers before they eventually decided to stay in Austria and seek employment. They may be said to have learned and/or mastered German in Austria. At the time of the interviews they were Polish-German bilinguals. The average length of their residence in Austria was twenty years.

7.4.1.2.1. Syntactic structures

The syntactic structures that this group of participants used while speaking Polish were far less influenced by German word order patterns. This is probably attributable to the fact that the first language they acquired to a very high degree of proficiency was Polish, and that this took place before they started learning any other language. Therefore they never experienced code-mixing as children in bilingual families often do, neither did they have to (as children and teenagers) use two separate languages alternately on an everyday basis as the participants born in Austria did throughout their lives.

7.4.1.2.2. Selected examples and explanation

Excerpt 3.

(I) Czy czytuje pani polskie gazety i ogląda polską telewizję?

(P) Oglądam(V) polską(ADJ) telewizję(Nsing). Nie(PART) czytam(V) polskich(ADJ) gazet(Npl), ale(CONJ) jestem(V) aktywna(ADJ) jeżeli(CONJ) chodzi(V) o+(PREP) o tą+(PRON), o polskie(PRON) życie(Nsing) kulturalne(ADJ) tutaj(PRON), jeżeli(CONJ) chodzi(V) o(PREP) te(PRON) organizacje(Npl) polskie(ADJ). Ostatnia(ADJ) akcja(Nsing) w(PREP) której(PRON) brałam(V) udział(Nsing) to(CONJ) właśnie(PART) była(V) ta(PRON) orkiestra(Nsing) pomocy(Nsing) dla(PREP) Owsiaaka(NAME). W(PREP) sztabie(Nsing) tutaj(PRON) aktualnym(ADJ) wiedeńskim(ADJ). Także(PART) na+(PREP) na tyle(PRON) odkryłam(V) to(PRON) dla(PREP)

siebie(REFL PRON), muszę(V) przyznać(V), to(PRON) zainteresowanie(Nsing), gdzie(PRON) stwierdziłam(V), że+(CONJ), znaczy(V), na(PREP) samym(ADJ) początku(Nsing) bardziej(ADV) interesowała(V) mnie(PRON) polityka(Nsing) austriacka(ADJ). Udziałałam się(REFL V), że(CONJ) tak(PRON) powiem(V), na+(PREP) na rynku(Nsing) austriackim(ADJ), ale(CONJ) ten(PRON) zwrot(Nsing) nastąpił(V). Wiedziałam(V) o(PREP) tych(PRON) polskich(ADJ) organizacjach(Npl) i(PREP) w(PREP) ogóle(Nsing). [...] Nie(PART) miałam(V) takiej(PRON) potrzeby(Nsing) wewnętrznej(ADJ), żeby(CONJ) się(REFL PRON) tym(PRON) jakoś(PRON) zainteresować(V), ale(CONJ) to(PRON) mniej(ADV) więcej(ADV) się stało(REFL V) trzy(NUM) lata(Npl) temu(PREP), gdzie(PRON) miałam(V) więcej(ADV) czasu(Nsing), bo(CONJ) akurat(PART) byłam(V) na+(PREP) w(PREP) okresie(Nsing) zmiany(Nsing) pracy(Nsing) i(PREP) poznałam(V) bardzo(ADV) fajną(ADJ) osobę(Nsing), tą(PRON) panią(Nsing) [name of the person] i(PREP) ona(PRON) mnie(PRON) wciągnęła(V) w(PREP) to(PRON) właśnie(PART) zabierając(PARTICIP) na+(PREP) na różne(ADJ) wieczory(Npl) poezji(Nsing), czy+(CONJ) czy+ czy wystawy(Npl). [...] Stwierdziłam(V), że(CONJ) może(PART) czas(Nsing) żeby(CONJ) coś(Nsing) dać(V) od(PREP) siebie(REFL PRON). [...] Nie(PART) czytam(V) polskich(ADJ) gazet(Npl), ale+(CONJ) czytam(V) może(PART) je(PRON) w(PREP) Internecie(Nsing), co(PRON) polskie(ADJ) forum(Nsing) pisze(V).

(ENG)(Lit.): [(I) Do you read Polish papers and watch Polish TV?

(P) I watch Polish TV. I do not read Polish papers, but I am active when it comes to (in the area of) Polish cultural life here concerning those Polish organizations (in Polish organizations). The last event in which I took part was that Orkiestra Świątecznej Pomocy³⁸ for Owsiak. I was a member of the local team in Vienna. So I discovered this for myself and I must say, this interest in it, when I concluded that+, I mean in the very beginning, I was more interested in Austrian politics. I was active on, if I can say, the Austrian arena, but this change occurred. I knew about those Polish organizations and everything. [...] I did not have (feel) the need to be interested in all that. But it changed, three years ago more or less, when I started to have more time because at that time I was changing jobs and I met a very nice person, Ms [name of the person] and she involved me in all of this by taking me to different events like poetry evenings or+ or+ or exhibitions. [...] I decided it

³⁸ Charity organization run by Jerzy Owsiak. Wielka Orkiestra Świątecznej Pomocy organizes fund raising every year in January to collect money for hospitals to buy equipment etc.

was time to give something from myself (to others). [...] I do not read Polish papers but I read news (from Poland) on the Internet, news on the website of the Polish Forum.]

This excerpt shows that SVO syntax typical of Polish word order patterns is consistently used by the participant. The length of the excerpt is not without reason – we wanted to show how the participant composed their sentences within a longer statement. In example a), b) and c) below this is demonstrated in more detail. The fragments are taken from Excerpt 3 quoted above:

- a) **Oglądam(V) polską telewizję (O). Nie(PART) czytam(V) polskich gazet(O), ale jestem(V) aktywna(ADJ) jeżeli(CONJ) chodzi(V) o+(PREP) o tą+(PRON), o polskie życie kulturalne(O)**

(ENG)(Lit.):) [I watch Polish TV. I do not read Polish papers, but I am active when it comes to (in the area of) Polish cultural life]

- b) **Także(PART) na+(PREP) na tyle(PRON) odkryłam(V) to(O) dla(PREP) siebie(REFL PRON), muszę(V) przyznać(V), to zainteresowanie (O)**

(ENG)(Lit.): [So I discovered this for myself and I must say, this interest in it]

- c) **na(PREP) samym(ADJ) początku(Nsing) bardziej(ADV) interesowała(V) mnie polityka austriacka(O).**

(ENG)(Lit.): [in the very beginning, I was more interested in Austrian politics.]

In Excerpt 3 absolutely no shifts from SVO syntax to SOV patterns were recorded. In Polish, as already indicated, subject pronouns may be omitted. This occurred in the examples above where there was no need for an explicit subject:

(POL): (Ja) odkryłam to dla siebie

(ENG)(Lit.): [I discovered this for myself]

(ENG): [I discovered that I could (do/have something)]

Another feature of this participant’s speech was that they composed extremely long compound sentences. However, these were of the SVO pattern and their meaning was relatively easy to decode. Adjectives would either precede or follow the noun:

d) w(PREP) sztabie(Nsing) tutaj(PRON) **aktualnym(ADJ) wiedeńskim(ADJ)**.

(ENG)(Lit.): [I was a member of the local team in Vienna.]

e) poznałam(V) **bardzo(ADV) fajną(ADJ)** osobę(Nsing)

(ENG)(Lit.): [I met a very nice person]

This is allowed for some adjectives in the Polish language. Normally, the adjective would precede the noun, but some adjectives may either precede or follow the noun. In spoken language, a misplaced adjective does not usually change the meaning of the phrase – it may simply sound a bit more emphatic.

Relative clauses were also composed according to the rules of Polish grammar:

a) **Ostatnia akcja(S)** w(PREP) której(PRONrel) **brałam(V)** udział(Nsing) to właśnie była ta **orkiestra pomocy dla Owsiaaka(O)**.

(ENG)(Lit.): [The last event in which I took part was that Orkiestra Świątecznej Pomocy for Owsiak.]

In this participant’s speech a slight German accent was detected in the production of Polish sounds.

Below we present a tabular summary of relevant factors that we identified during the interview:

Table 7.4.1.2.2.1

Preferred syntax	SVO
Style	Long compound sentences
Accent	Slight German accent heard during the interview

7.4.1.3. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Austria

This group of Polish immigrants came to Austria with very good, or fluent, German. Their linguistic situation differed from that of the previously analyzed groups of immigrants insofar as they had learned German in Poland and arrived in Austria linguistically prepared for either work or study. Their L1 (Polish) had been fully acquired, and established, before the acquisition of German (L2).

7.4.1.3.1. Syntactic structures

Our participants in this group spoke Polish without any influence from German on their syntactic choices. They composed sentences which were easy to transcribe – compound sentences were not too long - and with a clear SVO word order pattern. No confusion as to the meaning of the intended message was registered during the transcription process. This could be attributed to the ‘well-trained’ SVO syntax pattern used on an everyday basis for most of the participants’ lives. Even in Austria, they spoke Polish every day with Polish friends or during social events organized by Polish societies. As with the group of the 1980s’ immigrants to Austria, these individuals’ L1 (Polish) had been well established before the acquisition of the L2 (German). All participants came from regions of Poland where there are no German influences on culture or language³⁹.

7.4.1.3.2. Examples and explanation

Excerpt 4.

(I) Czy uważasz że obraz Polski po jej przystąpieniu do Unii Europejskiej zmieniła się w oczach Austriaków? Jeśli tak to w jakim sensie?

(P) Ahm+ no(INTER) myślę(V), że+(CONJ) myślę(V), że powinien(V) się zmienić(REFL V) na(PREP) pozytywny(ADJ) z(PREP) tego(PRON) właśnie(PART) względu(Nsing), że(CONJ) jest(V) właśnie(PART) wspierany(PARTICIP) rozwój(Nsing), czy(conj) to(PART) na(PREP) wsi(Nsing)

³⁹ Regions where some German influences are present include, for example, Silesia and the Mazury Lake District.

czy(CONJ) w(PREP) regionach(Npl) przez(PREP) te(PRON) subwencje(Npl) z(PREP) Unii Europejskiej(Nsing). No(INTER) ale(CONJ) też(PART) ostatnio(ADV) właśnie(PART) przeczytałam(V) artykuł(Nsing), też(PART) właśnie(PART) w(PREP) gazecie(Nsing) Standard, że(CONJ) Polska(Nsing) jest(V) jakby(CONJ) drugim(NUM ORD) krajem(Nsing) w(PREP) liście+(Nsing) na(PREP) liście(Nsing) państw(Npl) które(PRON) otrzymują(V) jak(PRON) najwięcej(ADV) pieniędzy(Npl) właśnie(PART) z(PREP) Unii Europejskiej(Nsing). Pierwsza(NUM ORD) była(V) agresja(Nsing). Z(PREP) drugiej(ADJ) strony(Nsing) mogą(V) też(PART) mieć(V) pretensje(Npl) że(CONJ) dostajemy(V) bardzo(ADV) dużo(PRON) pieniędzy(Npl) z(PREP) Unii Europejskiej(Nsing) i(CONJ) to(PRON) też(PART) pochodzi(V) z(PREP) ich(PRON) funduszu(Nsing).

(ENG)(Lit.): [(I) Do you think that Poland's image has changed since its accession to the European Union? In what sense?

(P) Hm+ well, I think that+, I think that it should be changing for the better because nowadays development is promoted. Development in the country or other regions where EU funding goes. Well, but I also read an article in the Standard about Poland that it is the second country on the list of countries which get largest amounts of money from the EU. The first reaction was aggression. On the other hand, they may have problems with us getting so much money because the money comes also from their budget.]

As can be seen in the examples below, the sentences are composed according to the SVO syntactic pattern. No shifts to other types of word order were identified. There was nowhere any confusion as to which words denoted the subjects or objects of the sentences. The interview was an informal conversation and the participant was not asked to compose a beautiful speech on the discussed topic. Nonetheless his/her speech was a smooth flow of unambiguous and grammatically correct sentences:

- a) ostatnio **przeczytałam(V)** **artykuł(O)** [...] w gazecie Standard

(ENG)(Lit.): [I also read an article [...] in the Standard newspaper]

- b) Polska(S) jest(V) jakby(CONJ) drugim(NUM ORD) krajem(O) [...] na liście państw które otrzymują jak najwięcej pieniędzy [...] z Unii Europejskiej.

(ENG)(Lit.): [Poland that it is the second country [...] on the list of countries which get largest amounts of money [...] from the EU.]

- c) moga(V) też(PART) mieć(V) pretensje(O) że, dostajemy(V) bardzo dużo pieniędzy(O) z Unii Europejskiej

(ENG)(Lit.): [they may have problems with us getting so much money from the European Union]

In the above examples, subject pronouns were appropriately omitted. Excerpt 4 may be considered as, at least in terms of syntactic structures used by the speaker, an example of ‘good and standard Polish spoken in informal contexts’. No German accent was detected in the participant’s production of Polish sounds. The participant did not experience problems expressing him/herself. The speech was fluent and the individual did not exhibit any need to pause for thinking or retrieval time.

Relative clauses were composed according to the rules governing Polish grammar:

- d) Polska(S) jest(V) jakby(CONJ) drugim(NUM ORD) krajem(Nsing) [...] na liście państw które(PRONrel) otrzymują(V) jak najwięcej pieniędzy(O) [...] z Unii Europejskiej.

(ENG)(Lit.): [Poland that it is the second country [...] on the list of countries which get largest amounts of money [...] from the EU.]

A tabular representation of the above identified linguistic elements is given below:

Table 7.4.1.3.2.1.

Preferred syntax	SVO
Style	Grammatically correct composition of sentences
Accent	No German accent detected

7.4.1.4. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Ireland

The individuals in this group evidenced as little English influence on their syntactic production in Polish as the group of post-2004 Polish immigrants to Austria. This may be attributed to the relatively short period of time that they had spent in Ireland prior to the interviews. Similarly to the post-2004 immigrants to Austria, five years was the average period of their residence outside Poland.

Typically, the individuals in this group would speak English most of the time, both at home and outside the home. Polish would be reserved for communication with other Poles like, for example, in the context of private meetings with friends and phone calls with families.

These individuals had learned English in Poland. Their level of English varied but they may be considered as ‘comfortable bilinguals’ – their levels of English were adequate, for example, to work in an English-speaking office environment or to commence studies at an Irish university.

7.4.1.4.1. Syntactic structures

The Poles in this group did not show much influence of English on their production of Polish syntax. The preferred syntax of their statements corresponded to Polish SVO word patterns. This may be attributed to the fact that the first code they had learned was Polish and they had started learning English only in primary or secondary school. By this time, Polish was well established as their first and dominant language. In addition, the period of their stay in Ireland had been relatively short. No English accent was detected in any of these participants.

7.4.1.4.2. Examples and explanation

Excerpt 5.

(I) Kiedy mówisz, że jesteś z Polski, jakie są zwykle reakcje Irlandczyków?

(P) Wiesz(V) co(PART), to(PRON) zależy(V). Ale(CONJ) to(PRON) jest(V) chyba(PART) kwestia+(Nsing), to(PRON) nie(PART) jest(V) chyba(PART) kwestia(Nsing) tylko(PART) Polski(Nsing). To(PRON) zależy(V), czy(PART) Irlandczycy(Npl) kojarzą(V) Polskę(Nsing), czy(CONJ) nie(PART). Często(ADV) to(PRON) zależy(V) też(PART) od(PREP) tego(PRON), jakiej(PRON) odpowiedzi(Nsing) ode(PREP) mnie(PRON) oczekiwali(V), czy(PART) jakiej(PRON) odpowiedzi(Nsing) się spodziewali(REFL V). To(PRON) się stało(REFL V) akurat(PART) mojej(PRON) koleżance(Nsing) Czeszce(Nsing), nie(PART) mnie(PRON). Ale+(CONJ) mnie(PRON) się stało(REFL V) kilka(PRON) właśnie(PART) rzeczy(Npl) takich(PRON) też(PART) podobnych(ADJ). Byłyśmy(V) razem(ADV) w(PREP) [type of institution] i(CONJ) widać(V), że(CONJ) się spodobała(REFL V) jakiemuś((PRON) tam(PART) chłopakowi(Nsing) który(PRON) tam(PRON) pracował(V) w(PREP) [name of the institution] [...] I(CONJ) tak(PRON) patrzył(V) na(PREP) nią(PRON), patrzył(V) i(CONJ) pyta się(REFL V) ‘a(CONJ) skąd(PRON) ty(PRON) jesteś(V)?’ I(CONJ) chyba(PART) się spodziewał(REFL V), że(CONJ) mu(PRON) powie(V) ‘z(PREP) Dublina 2(Nsing), albo(CONJ) z(PREP) takiej(PRON) i(CONJ) takiej(PRON) dzielnicy(Nsing)’. A(CONJ) ona(PRON) mówi(V) ‘z(PREP) Czech(Nsing)’. On(PRON) na(PREP) nią(PRON) popatrzył(V) i(CONJ) uciekł(V).

(ENG)(Lit.): [(I) When you say that you are from Poland what are the typical reactions of the Irish?

(P) You know, it depends. But it is a matter of, I believe it is not a matter of (does not concern) only Poland. It depends whether the Irish know anything about Poland, or nothing at all. It often depends on what answer they expect to hear from me, what they thought I would say. This happened to my Czech friend, not me. But+ I also experienced similar situations. We were together in [name of the institution] and we could see that the boy who worked there in [name of the institution] liked her. And he was glancing at her and asked ‘where are you from?’ And I think

he thought she would say ‘from Dublin 2, or from this or that district’. And she goes ‘from the Czech Republic’. He looked at her and ran away.]

This fragment demonstrates that the individual used a typical SVO syntax while speaking Polish. The style of speech was casual and the participant did not mix formal and informal expressions. In examples a) and b) the pronoun *to* [it] is the subject. In example c) the subject is implied – it is obvious from the inflected form of the verb that the subject of the sentence is a woman – in this case, the participant’s Czech friend:

- a) To(S) nie jest(V) chyba kwestia [...] Polski(O).

(ENG)(Lit.): [it is not a matter of (does not concern) [...] Poland.]

- b) To(S) się stało(V) akurat mojej koleżance Czeszce(O).

(ENG)(Lit.): [This happened to my Czech friend]

- c) widać(V), że się spodobała(V) jakiemuś [...] chłopakowi(O) który(PRONrel) tam pracował w [name of institution]

(ENG)(Lit.): [we could see that the boy who worked there in [name of the institution] liked her.]

English, like Polish, is an SVO language; therefore, for obvious reasons, we did not expect to find data regarding word order shifts. However, we looked at other possible influences of English. For example, levels of ‘(in)directness’ of the statements expressed by the participant, and the overall style of speech. Relative clauses were composed according to the rules of Polish grammar. In fact, the main structures of relative clauses in English and Polish are very similar:

(POL): Chłopak, którego lubiłam

(ENG): The boy whom I liked

Another feature of the sentences in this particular utterance is the position of the reflexive pronoun *się* [(Lit.) oneself]. It either precedes or follows the verb. This is acceptable in the Polish language and does not change or confuse the meaning of the sentence. During the conversation it was not a feature that would arouse the attention of the interviewer. Rather, it became more apparent during the transcription as a particular characteristic of this participant’s style of speaking.

This participant spoke very good and grammatical Polish. Both affirmative and negative clauses were perfectly grammatical – it was clear during the whole interview what the participant was trying to express. No ambiguity was identified even in long complex sentences or within relative clauses. The interviewer did not have to ask additional questions to make sure that she understood the intended message. No foreign accent was detected in the production of Polish sounds.

Below is a tabular summary of the characteristics of the participant’s speech that we focused on:

Table 7.4.1.4.2.1.

Preferred syntax	SVO
Style	Grammatically correct composition of sentences
Accent	No English accent detected

7.4.2. Foreign lexical items in the participants’ speech

In the analysis we also looked for examples of lexical items which seemed to have been transferred from the target language (German or English) into the native language (Polish) of the participants. We did not find many examples of such transfer, however. No unconscious code switching or mixing was evident during the interviews. What we discovered instead was that participants sometimes apparently consciously and deliberately used a German or English word when they suddenly forgot its Polish equivalent, or when they thought that a German or English word would better render the intended meaning.

Initially, we expected to find a good deal of lexical transfer data while researching this group of participants. We thought that the participants’ linguistic history would influence their

vocabulary choices in Polish. In fact, although sometimes their speech was heavily accented, we did not discover any particular tendency for them to transfer vocabulary from German into Polish. We found more ‘word-formation errors’ than actual transfer; in problematic situations the participants would try hard to arrive at the correct form of the Polish word rather than use the German equivalent instead:

Excerpt 6.

Mnie jako ten [offensive word] wyzywali, czyli jako ten niedobry, obcy... obcokrajowiec jak to teraz można *ułagodzić** z niemieckiego. [...] to było kiedyś normalnym określeniem [...] ale to potem *zmutowało się** w obraźliwe przezwisko. [...] takie niedobre, *niesforne** sytuacje panowały.

(ENG)(Lit.): [They would call me [offensive word], you know, a bad alien person... a foreigner as you could *put it mildly** in German. [...] it used to be a normal word [...] but later it *mutated** into an offensive nickname. [...] such unpleasant, *naughty** situations occurred]

We also found examples which we can call cases of semantic transfer, but not necessarily lexical:

Excerpt 7

Jak sie jest bardziej kompetentnym od drugiego czlowieka, no to trzeba *pod tym punktem** patrzec, a nie kto skad i z jakiego kraju jest.

(ENG)(Lit.): [When one is more competent than another person, well, one should look at that person (consider them) under this point* (from this perspective) and not where one comes from.]

In German, one could say *in diesem Punkt* [on this point] so it seems that German could have had at least some influence on the speaker’s choice of vocabulary. In Polish, the word *kąt* [angle] is used in this context: *pod tym kątem* [(ENG)(Lit.): under this angle]. The speaker did not make a mistake in the form of the noun – he/she used it in the appropriate grammatical case.

Other examples of mistakes included word-formation errors: *wychwytać* instead of *uchwycić* [catch], *wrogowość* instead of *wrogość* [hostility], *jesieniowy* instead of *jesienny* [ADJ: autumn, autumnal], *obruszać* [get offended] used instead of *poruszać* [move. Here: hang out with].

Surprisingly, no actual lexical transfer was registered. No German word appeared in the transcripts. This may be attributed to the fact that the participants were careful to speak only Polish with the interviewer. They seemed to put a block on German directly influencing their Polish at the lexical level.

7.4.2.2. The 1980's Polish immigrants to Austria

Surprisingly, in this group of our participants we found more examples of German words in Polish sentences. Rather than look for a word to name a thing or express a thought, the participants would often use a German term instead. Each time they encountered problems expressing themselves they would switch to German. This never happened in the group of the participants born in Austria.

Let us consider the following fragments. German words are in bold and underscored:

Excerpt 8.

Oczywiście, przede wszystkim już w ogóle nie mają tej oceny, że to jest ten **Ostblock**, że tam tylko komunizm.

(ENG)(Lit.): [Of course, first of all they do not have that opinion any more, that it (Poland) is that **Ostblock**, that only the communism is there.]

Excerpt 9

Może to brzmi, że tak powiem **eingebildet** ale to jest na tej zasadzie, że dostając w osiemdziesiątym trzecim roku obywatelstwo austriackie, powiedziałam sobie, że jeżeli już mam austriackie obywatelstwo to punkt jeden: muszę się szybko

nauczyć języka niemieckiego; punkt dwa: zainteresować się w ogóle krajem w którym żyję, jego historia.

(ENG)(Lit.): [Maybe it sounds, I would say eingebildet (standoffish) but it works in this way that when I got Austrian citizenship in 1983, I said to myself that once I have this Austrian citizenship it means that: first, I have to learn German quickly; second, become interested in this country in which I live, and in its history.]

Excerpt 10

I tu było takie zaskoczenie, że te osoby, które mówią po niemiecku z akcentem jakimś innym, wiadomo, że to nie jest ich Muttersprache, że to jest Sprache nauczona. [...] Ale Austriacy są podobni do Francuzów, nie umieją innych języków i rzadko mówią w jakimś innym języku obcym niż, powiedzmy, angielskim, gdzie jeszcze ze szkoły mają te szkolne Schulkentnisse.

(ENG)(Lit.): [And it was surprising, that those people who speak German with a different (non-native) accent, it is obvious that it is not their Muttersprache (native language) that it is a Sprache (language) which they learned. [...] But Austrians are similar to the French, they do not speak other languages and rarely speak a foreign language than, let us say, English on the level of Schulkentnisse (school curriculum; what they learned at school).]

Excerpt 11.

W niemieckich zdaniach jest [...] Betonung na pewne części słowa. Ta Ausprache jest zupełnie inna, także po prostu już ten wpływ tej niemieckiej mowy wpłynął na mój język

(ENG)(Lit.): [In German sentences there is a [...] Betonung (stress) on a particular part of the word. This Ausprache (pronunciation) is totally different, so it is simply this influence of the German language on my (Polish) language.]

As can be seen from the above examples, German words appeared throughout the interviews where Polish words could not apparently be automatically retrieved from memory.

It is difficult to say in all certainty what the exact reason for this was. It could be that the participants had been under much pressure to acquire German quickly in order to be able to start new lives in Austria upon their arrival in early 1980s. Perhaps German was ‘competing’ with Polish and, at least in the beginning, the participants tried to suppress any influence of Polish on their production of German on all levels. Let us recall here the socio-political circumstances these individuals found themselves in some twenty years prior to the interviews. The length of stay in Austria may have played a role. However, this interpretation may be problematic when we compare data obtained from this immigrant group with data on Poles who were born in Austria. The length of stay is more or less the same for both groups. Rather, we are more inclined to suggest the language competition factor.

7.4.2.3. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Austria

Interestingly, the participants in this group did not use German words during the interviews. They were very careful to use only Polish terms. We did not obtain any data on lexical transfer from this group of participants. Neither did they seem to evidence any semantic transfer from German into Polish as was the case with the two previously analyzed groups. This corresponds with our results of data analysis which dealt with syntactic structures used by the participants in this group. The Polish spoken by these participants was very good in terms of grammar and the lexicon.

7.4.2.4. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Ireland

In the case of the post-2004 Polish immigrants to Ireland, an interesting phenomenon was identified. The participants seemed to create their own ‘Polish versions of English words’ as shown in the examples below (in bold and underlined):

Excerpt 12.

Pamiętam, że odtąd zawsze mogłam korzystać z **Reading Roomu** [name of the institution] oraz innych bibliotek. I to mi bardzo pomogło w pisaniu esejów na uczelni.

(ENG)(Lit.): [I remember that since then I could always use the Reading Roomu in [name of the institution] and other libraries. And it helped me a lot with (writing) essays.]

English words that seem to have entered the Polish lexicon permanently like, for example, the word *busy*, were also used. In the example below a combination of Polish, English, and transformed (according to the rules of Polish declension) 'English-like' words were used:

Excerpt 13.

Zawsze rozmawiamy po polsku w naszym polskim gronie. Spotykamy się tak raz na dwa tygodnie, tak, pogadać niekoniecznie o czymś ważnym. No chyba, że większość jest busy, no to wtedy nie wypała, ale zwykle udaje nam się coś zorganizować. Zwykle spotykamy się na Stephen's Greenie albo bezpośrednio na Graftonie i stamtąd gdzieś razem idziemy.

(ENG)(Lit.): [We always speak Polish among ourselves (with each other). We meet every two weeks to chat, and not necessarily about anything important. Well, if the majority of us are busy, well, it does not work out (we do not meet) but we usually manage to organize something. Usually we meet around Stephen's Green or directly on Grafton (Street) and from there we go somewhere (else).]

Why did the participants in this group use English or 'English-like' words in Polish while their counterparts in Austria (the post-2004 immigrants to Austria) did not? At the time of the interviews, the average length of stay in both countries for each group was five years. We found this problematic to explain. Is it possible that the reason for this may be the fact that English is the main language of international communication and a lingua franca for the majority of people in the world (therefore influencing lexicons of other languages)? Words like *alienować się*, *establishment* etc. are already part of the Polish lexicon. English words are also used by Polish people who are not fluent in English. In addition, there are more people who can speak good English than people who speak good German. Moreover, English is usually the first foreign language taught at schools in Poland. German and other languages,

like French or Spanish, are introduced later. Therefore, these factors may be considered as contributing influences.

7.4.3. Use of grammatical cases

In the following subsections we will study the use of grammatical cases in Polish by our participants and try to determine whether the participants' L2 (German or English) influenced the grammatical structures they used in their native language.

7.4.3.1. Poles born in Austria

During the analysis of data for this group of our participants we identified certain confusions of grammatical cases in their production of Polish. This is in line with some other data, on syntax in particular, that we obtained from this group. Let us consider the following examples.

In a) we can see that the pronoun *każdego* [each] does not agree with the noun in terms of number and grammatical case (the relevant words are in bold and underscored):

- a) [...] **wśród(PREP)** kar+ każ+ **każdego(PRONsing)** **ludzie(Npl)** jak(CONJ) to(CONJ) można(PRAED) powiedzieć(V), są(V) te(PRON), właśnie(PART), opcje(Npl).

(ENG)(Lit.): [among all+ all people as one may put it, there are those options (circles).]

In example a) the pronoun *każdego* is singular and used in the Accusative. The noun *ludzie* is plural and in the Nominative. Therefore the structure is ungrammatical.

Consider example b) below:

- b) Byłem za mały więc **wielu(PRON)** **z(PREP)** **tego(PRON)** nie pamiętam

(ENG)(Lit.): [**Many(QUANT)** **of(PREP)** **this(PRON)** I do not remember]

The word *wielu* (the form of *wiele* [many] in the Nominative or Accusative depending on the context in which it is used) indicates that the object of the sentence refers to a masculine

plural noun whereas the word *tego* [this] (in the Accusative) refers in this sentence to a singular neuter noun. Therefore, the meaning of this sentence is not clear if taken out of context. However, the participant meant his/her past experience which he/she did not remember because he/she was too young to register any events in his/her memory. The word *tego* refers here to ‘everything that was happening at that time in the past and which the participant did not remember’ – in Polish: *wszystko* [all; everything] – therefore it is clear that the incorrect form of *wielu* poses relational problems in the sentence. It is possible that the speaker confused the case systems in Polish and German. The German equivalent of the Polish word *wiele* is the word *viel*, which is also inflected for cases. The speaker could have thought (GER): *wen?* (ENG): [who(m)]? in the Accusative while composing the sentence:

(POL): *Kogo nie pamiętam? – Wielu z tego* nie pamiętam*

(ENG)(Lit.): [*Whom I do not remember? – Many of this I do not remember*]

In this case, instead of the word *tego*, a noun denoting a particular masculine object or event in the plural form in the Accusative should have been used.

In c) another similar example is presented. The words which are analyzed are underscored and in bold:

c) [...] to właśnie **zaistniało*(V)** **tam(PRON)** **dużo(ADV)** **Polaków(Npl)**
wyjechała(V), dlatego to był główny wybór Austrii

(ENG)(Lit.): [[...] and many Poles existed* there left (for Austria), therefore Austria was the main choice]

However, the second verb *wyjechała* in example c) is used in the feminine singular form which does not agree in gender and number with the previous verb form *zaistniało* (masculine plural). Perhaps the participant had in mind the phrase *duża ilość Polaków wyjechała* [a great number of Poles had left] and used the verb *wyjechała* in the feminine form to correspond with the noun *ilość* [number] which is feminine in Polish and also in German: *die Menge*. The form of the adjective *duża* [big] is used in the feminine singular as well. However, the form of the verb *zaistniało* does not correspond with the other parts of the sentence.

In example d) we identified a structure which might be a case of transfer from German (underlined and in bold):

- d) [...] dzisiaj to można powiedzieć, że raczej ludzie neutralnie podchodzą, bo **Wiedeń(N) jest(V) takie(PRON) specyficzne(ADJ) miasto(N)***, gdzie [...]

(ENG)(Lit.): [[...] today, one can say, people are neutral about it because Vienna is such a unique city where [...]]

In this sentence all nouns, the pronoun and the adjective are used in the Nominative as they would be in a German sentence:

(GER): Wien ist eine besondere Stadt.

(ENG): [Vienna is a unique (specific) city]

In Polish, however, in this context only *Wieden* should be used in the Nominative whereas other words following the verb *jest* [is] should be in the Instrumental case:

(POL): Wieden jest takim(PRON, INSTR) specyficznym(ADJ, INSTR)
miastem(Nsing, INSTR)

If the participant wished to use the noun and the pronoun in the Nominative, an additional pronoun *to* [it; this] should have preceded the verb *jest*:

(POL): Wieden *to*(PRON) *jest*(V) *takie*(PRON, NOM) *specyficzne*(ADJ, NOM)
miasto(Nsing, NOM)

(ENG)(Lit.): [Vienna *it is* a specific city]

In example e) we identified a classic example of transfer from German into Polish. This participant used the verb *interesować się* [be interested in] with a wrong preposition for this verb in Polish *dla* [for]:

- e) [...] to jest główne to dlaczego Austria **się** nie **interesuje(REFL V)** za bardzo **dla(PREP) Polski(N)**

(ENG)(Lit.): [...] this is mainly why Austria is not interested In Poland]

In German, the verb *sich interessieren* [be interested in] goes with the preposition *für* [for] – the same which the participant used in the Polish sentence, so it is very probable that this was the reason why the speaker intuitively used the preposition *dla* [for]. In addition, in Polish the preposition *dla* does not take Accusative like in German. For this sentence to be correct, the noun *Polska* [Poland] should take the Locative:

(POL): Dlaczego Austria nie interesuje się(REFL V) Polską(Nsing, LOC)

It is possible that the participants encountered problems with cases because of the differences between Polish and German cases systems.

7.4.3.2. The 1980's Polish immigrants to Austria

In this group of Polish immigrants to Austria we did not identify many mistakes in the use of grammatical cases. Such deviations were rare and seem to have occurred when participants suddenly forgot a Polish word and switched to German for help:

- a) To były tylko osobiste sprawy, które mnie do Polski gnały. To była moja mama, która(PRON), że tak powiem, dawałam+(V) Unterstützung(N) chciałam powiedzieć po niemiecku. Czasami są słowa, które lepiej oddają daną sytuację. Also (so), moją mamę finansowałam.

(ENG)(Lit.): [Those were only private matters that drove me to Poland (forced me to go there). It used to be my mom to whom, I can say, I used to give Unterstützung(N) (support) I wanted to say in German. There are words, which better illustrate the situation. Also(so) I helped my mom financially.]

In the example above the pronoun *którą* was used in the Accusative. In German, the expression would be *jemanden stützen* [support someone]. The word *jemanden* is in the Accusative.

In the example above, one more word comes from the German language: the word *also* [so].

In examples b) and c) below the mistakes did not seem to have been the result of any direct transfer from German:

- b) Istnieje grupa ludzi takich frustratów, którzy oczywiście mają wykształcenie ale za słabo znali język albo jakieś inne powody doprowadziły do tego, że nie zajmują(V) należnej ich(PRON, ACC)+ im(PRON, DAT) pozycji(Nsing).

(ENG)(Lit.): [There exists a group of frustrated people who, of course, are educated but did not know the (German) language well enough or some other reasons lead to the fact that they did not occupy the right place (in society)]

In example b) the participant corrected him/herself immediately. The pronoun *ich* [their] used in the Accusative confuses the meaning of the sentence. The correct form of *im* [them], used in the Dative, corresponds with the German equivalent of the phrase: *an der richtigen(DAT)* *Stelle sein* [be in the right place].

- c) Nazwisk polskich(N, ACC) rzadko się pojawiają(V). Raczej w negatywnym albo ironicznym kontekście.

(ENG)(Lit.): [Polish names rarely appear. And if they do, rather in negative or ironic contexts.]

The example c) above comes from a participant who also confused cases. The participant used the noun (the subject) in the Accusative *polskich nazwisk* instead of Nominative *polskie nazwiska*. In German, the subject should be used in the Nominative as well and – in this context – the object would be in the Dative, like in the examples below:

(GER): Es erscheint mir(DAT) ...

(ENG): [It seems to me ...]

(GER): Die Küste erschien am(DAT) Horizont

(ENG)(Lit.): [The shore appeared on the horizon]

We cannot say for certain why the participant used the subject in the Accusative. It is possible that the participant meant to use the inflected form *ma* of the word *być* [be]. Then the noun *polskie nazwiska* would be an object of the sentence:

(POL): Nie ma(V) polskich(ADJ) nazwisk(Object, ACC)

(ENG): [There are no Polish family names]

Therefore, it is possible that the participant did not mix up the cases but the subject with object of the sentence and, by using the verb *pojawiać się* in an incorrectly inflected form, made the sentence grammatically incorrect. Direct transfer from German did not seem to have taken place.

7.4.3.3. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Austria

In the group of the post-2004 immigrants to Austria no examples of transfer related to grammatical cases from German into Polish was identified. The speakers did not seem to confuse the Polish and German case systems. No data on German influence on the production of Polish can be presented in this section for this particular immigrant group. This is in line with our previous finding on other aspects of language that we had identified for this group, and which are related to the high level of Polish spoken by the individuals in this group.

7.4.3.4. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Ireland

In this group of participants we also did not find any cases of transfer of grammatical cases from English into Polish. In fact, we did not expect to find any because of the lack of a real case system in English. Our predictions were right and we did not collect a lot of data on this particular aspect for this participant group. No mistakes were made, in fact, and so any case of transfer or other cross-linguistic influence on the production of Polish in this respect had to be ruled out in this part of our analysis.

7.4.4. Foreign accents in speech

7.4.4.1. Poles born in Austria

Foreign accent in Polish as well as non-native accent in German was something that characterized each participant (five individuals) in this group. While they had been exposed to native Polish and native German production for all their lives, the five participants who were born and grew up in Austria did not have native-like pronunciation in either language. This had been reported by the participants themselves – they informed the interviewer that Austrians would ask them where they were from, which attests to the fact that their production of German was not perfectly native-like. Their production of Polish was marked with non-native-like intonation and a German accent as well, especially in the pronunciation of vowels, but also consonants - like, for instance, the [t] and [p] sounds as in *komputer* [computer] pronounced as in German [kɔ:m'pu:tɐ] instead of Polish [komputer].

It is very interesting from both a sociolinguistic and a psychological point of view. More in-depth research projects investigating the issue of a lack of native accent in any language would help us understand the nature of this phenomenon and its implications for a number of academic disciplines like sociology, psychology and language education.

7.4.4.2. The 1980's Polish immigrants to Austria

Some of our participants in this immigrant group spoke with a slight German accent in Polish. The average number of years that they had spent in Austria was twenty years at the time of the interview. Not everyone, however, had a non-native like pronunciation of Polish. In addition, the accent those participants spoke with was fainter than that of the participants who had been born in Austria. The fact that the participants belonging to this group had spent at least twenty years of their lives in Poland prior to moving to Austria may have played a crucial role. The Polish and German phonological and phonetic systems did not 'compete' during the period of the participants' childhood – one repertoire (Polish) had been fully established before the second (German) was introduced and acquired. The slight changes in the pronunciation of certain Polish sounds which we identified during the interviews may have resulted from the frequency of the use of German and the participants' efforts to speak

with as native-like an accent in German as possible. Therefore, while being totally unaware of the fact, they may have transferred certain sounds from German into Polish.

7.4.4.3. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Austria

Our participants in this group did not speak Polish with a foreign accent. They sounded like Poles who had spent all their lives in Poland. No data on noticeable changes in the pronunciation of Polish sounds was obtained from them.

7.4.4.4. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Ireland

As in the case of the post-2004 immigrants to Austria, the individuals in this immigrant group did not speak Polish with a non-native accent. Their Polish was not influenced by the phonetic and phonological systems of English. No relevant data can be, therefore, presented in this section either.

7.4.5. Language as an identity marker

7.4.5.1. Poles born in Austria

Language often plays an important role in identity formation and negotiation. Research has been conducted on various aspects of language as a marker of identity (Starks et al. 2005; Clarke 2005; Specker 2008). What we were particularly interested in was whether our participants considered the Polish language as an important part of their identity. We present relative data in tables below:

Table 7.4.5.1.

	Percentage %
Polish language is an important part of my identity	100%
In the future I will teach Polish to my children	100%

The total number of our participants in this group was five individuals. All of them claimed that the Polish language was an important part of their identity. This did not necessarily have

to be related to a particular attachment to Poland or the language itself. It was something they possessed and which distinguished them from the mainstream society. Being a Polish speaker had both positive and negative sides to it: in the past it used to be a marker of ‘foreignness’ not always accepted by the majority society. Later, however, it became a distinguishing characteristic of the participants and constituted an additional commodity – a good knowledge of a foreign language.

As for willingness to teach one’s children Polish in the future, arguments for maintaining the Polish language in the family included the fact of having an extended family in Poland, and an opportunity to teach one’s children a language that could be given at home for free.

7.4.5.2. The 1980’s Polish immigrants to Austria

Table 7.4.5.2.

	Percentage %
Polish language is an important part of my identity	100%
I taught Polish to my children	45%
I would teach Polish to my children	55%

The total number of the participants in this group was twenty individuals. Some of them had children. All the participants who had children (9 individuals = 45%) had taught their children Polish. Their children were born in Poland and followed their parents to Austria. The reason for teaching the children Polish was obvious – they were born in Poland and had lived there for a number of years prior to moving to Austria. The concept of identity was not necessarily an issue at the time. The participants considered it an obvious and natural thing to teach Polish to their children. It seemed that language became a factor related to identity when the participants became confronted with other linguistic codes. In other cases they did not tend to even think about it. Those of our participants who did not have children – for example, childless couples – claimed they would have taught them Polish. The main reasons were family connections and the child’s (ethnic) origin. It seemed natural to the participants to teach the children their parents’ native language. As can be concluded from the presented data, the Polish language formed an important part of the participants’ identity, but only when confronted with other linguistic codes.

7.4.5.3. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Austria

Table 7.4.5.3.

	Percentage %
Polish language is an important part of my identity	100%
In the future I will teach Polish to my children	100%

The number of participants in this immigrant group was fifteen. As can be seen from the tables above, Polish formed an important part of the participants’ identity. All participants expressed their willingness to teach their future children Polish as their native language or simultaneously with the language of the partner if he or she was not from Poland. Therefore, language as a marker of identity proved to be a very strong factor for this group of the participants as well.

7.4.5.4. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Ireland

Table 7.4.5.4.

	Percentage %
Polish language is an important part of my identity	95%
In the future I will teach Polish to my children	100%
Polish is not a part of my identity	5%

The number of our participants in this group was twenty individuals. In the case of the participants in this immigrant group, one person (5%) declared that the Polish language did not constitute part of his/her identity. However, even this person expressed his/her willingness to teach his/her future children Polish because of his/her family resident in Poland. All other participants in this group openly declared that Polish was an important part of their identity as Poles – the Polish language was considered as a factor connecting them directly to their heritage, homeland, their families and friends in Poland.

7.5. Tabular presentation of collected data

In the following subsections we provide a tabular summary of the data we have described in this chapter.

7.5.1. Poles born in Austria

Table 7.5.1. Identified transfer-related aspects

Concepts	Description
Syntax	The preferred, although not exclusive, syntax pattern was SOV as in German.
Lexical items	Lexical items taken directly from German did not appear. Instead, the participants would make up words in Polish and use incorrect forms of nouns, adjectives and verbs.
Grammar cases	Confusions of grammatical cases were frequent. Some mistakes suggested direct transfer from German.
Style	Often fragmentary statements, overloaded with conjunctions, particles and sometimes verbs. The SOV syntax sometimes confused the meaning of the utterances.
Accent	Foreign accent in both Polish and German characterized the participants.
Identity	Polish formed an important aspect of the participants' identity regardless of some negative incidents in the past which were connected their 'foreigner status'.

7.5.2. The 1980's Polish immigrants to Austria

Table 7.5.2. Identified transfer-related aspects

Concepts	Description
Syntax	The preferred syntax of the statements was SVO - typical of Polish
Lexical items	Actual transfer of German words was recorded, especially, apparently, when the participants could not retrieve Polish terms from their memory.
Grammar cases	The participants did mix up the grammatical case systems. However, this was not frequent and was not a striking characteristic of their utterances.
Style	Long complex sentences were usually composed, sometimes overloaded with conjunctions and particles. Sentences were sometimes fragmentary and expressed ideas seemed unfinished.

Accent	The participants' Polish was often influenced by German pronunciation of vowels and consonants.
Identity	The Polish language formed an important part of the participants identity.

7.5.3. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Austria

Table 7.5.3. Identified transfer-related aspects

Concepts	Description
Syntax	The preferred syntax was SVO. No shifts to SOV syntactic patterns were recorded.
Lexical items	No German words appeared during the interviews. The participants used only correct forms of Polish words.
Grammar cases	No confusion of the grammatical case systems was identified for this group of participants.
Style	Smooth style and grammatically correct sentences characterized this immigrant group.
Accent	No foreign accent influenced the participants' production of Polish sounds.
Identity	The Polish language formed an important part of the participants' identity.

7.5.4. The post-2004 Polish immigrants to Ireland

Table 7.5.4. Identified transfer-related aspects

Concepts	Description
Syntax	The preferred syntax was SVO. No shifts to SOV syntactic patterns were recorded for this immigrant group.
Lexical items	English or English-like words were used by the participants during the interviews. Incorrect forms of Polish words were not identified.
Grammar cases	The participants in this group used correctly inflected words and no mistakes resulting from transfer from English were recorded.

Style	The participants composed grammatically correct sentences. The style was smooth and fluent.
Accent	No foreign accent was identified in the production of Polish sounds.
Identity	The Polish language formed an important part of the participants' identity.

7.6. Concluding remarks

In this chapter we tried to analyze certain linguistic characteristics of our participants' production of Polish. We decided to focus on those traits and factors which we believed were relevant to our study.

What we have identified was that a foreign accent in the production of native language seemed to be related to the length of exposure to the target language. However, we cannot say after how many years this actually begins to happen. Like every process, it is not a characteristic which one acquires automatically; it is gradual and a number of other factors may play an active role in it like, for example, attachment to L1 as shown in the frequency of use and exposure to it (talking with friends, reading books, watching TV, etc.).

All five individuals who were born in Austria spent all their lives there and travelled from time to time to Poland. They spoke Polish with parents at home and their Polish friends outside the home, while they spoke German in all other contexts like school, Austrian institutions, etc. What we know is that they acquired foreign accents in both codes they had been using on everyday basis for years. We also know that they made grammar mistakes and tended to prefer the German (SOV) word order pattern while speaking Polish. However, we cannot claim that their German was better than Polish because we lack any data on their production of German. Here, again, caution is advised: not all stylistic mistakes are related to a lack of fluency in a language. The reader is encouraged to recall his/her own compositions in their native language written for school and corrected for style by their teachers. Nevertheless, the participants in this group of immigrants showed that the cross-linguistic influences may be bidirectional. One needs to recall that the number of participants in this group was very small and more data on their production of German would help to understand the nature of cross-linguistic processes that took place over the years. What we can say for

sure, however, is that the early start does not always guarantee native-like production in the target language.

In the case of our participants who immigrated to Austria in the early eighties, their pronunciation of Polish was often influenced by the German language. However, there were those who did not speak Polish with a foreign accent (3 individuals = 15%). Those individuals who no longer travelled to Poland on a regular basis spoke with a much stronger German accent than those who travelled there often. The preferred word order of composed statements was SVO – like in Polish. We have suggested that this was the case because the Polish language (and its syntactic rules) had been fully established before the acquisition of the target language with its SOV syntax. In addition, the individuals in this group started learning German in their twenties and achieved high levels of fluency. They used both German and Polish on everyday basis. German lexical items were used when they spoke Polish, especially, it seems, when the participants forgot the relevant Polish terms.

The post-2004 immigrants to Austria spoke very good Polish. They did not make grammatical mistakes or shift word order within sentences. No German influences were identified in their pronunciation either. They did not use German words while speaking Polish. In addition, the average number of years the participants spent in Austria was only five years.

The post-2004 immigrants to Ireland showed minor influences of English lexicon on their production of Polish. English and English-like words were sometimes used during the interviews. However, the overall grammar structures were correct. Nouns, adjectives and verbs were properly inflected. The preferred syntax was of the SVO type – typical of both Polish and English. The participants did not speak with foreign accent either. Similarly to the group of the post-2004 immigrants to Austria, the individuals in this group had only spent (on average) five years in Ireland prior to the interviews.

The results of the linguistic analysis that we conducted suggest that, at least in the case of our participants, changes from the native language word order pattern into the target language syntactic pattern may be more typical of those individuals who grew up in bilingual environments or who were equally exposed to both L1 and L2 from early stages of their lives. As for acquiring foreign accents, it seems right to suggest that, at least for some individuals,

the length of stay in a country may play a role. The lexicon may also be influenced over time, as was the case of our subjects who immigrated to Austria in the early eighties. However, this does not correspond with our data collected from the participants who were born in Austria – although the period of time they had lived in Austria was, on average, the same as that of the 1980s Polish immigrants. They did not use any German vocabulary during the interviews. This calls for more research into the issue of lexical transfer from L2 into L1.

Chapter eight: Discussion and Conclusions

8.1. Summary of the purposes of the Project

This chapter seeks to recapitulate the results obtained from data presented in the previous chapters. The project was not only oriented towards a comparative sociological analysis of Polish immigration to Ireland and Austria, but also investigated the language issues which accompanied the process of the acculturation and integration of immigrants into the host society. The aim of the project was to establish the importance and inter-relation of national identity expressed through attitudes to one's own and the host culture, as well as language maintenance (or abandonment) in the process of acculturation of Polish immigrants in Ireland and Austria.

Initially, a number of aspects were taken into account and these included:

- The profiles of the Polish communities in Austria and Ireland – the social stratification of Polish immigrants;
- Reasons for emigrating from Poland (economic, educational, political, etc.);
- Immigrants' attitudes towards the host communities and their languages – 'Polish life' in Austria and Ireland and social and cultural network-forming, Polish institutions and their popularity among Poles and, perhaps, the local communities;
- Attitudes of the host communities towards Poles as immigrants along with their perceived political and economic status;

- The degree of integration or assimilation of Polish immigrants into the host environments;
- Problems faced by the host communities and immigrants with regard to the process of integration and/or assimilation;
- The impact of the local languages on the Polish language as spoken by the immigrants themselves;
- The social context of language in use – whether speaking with a foreign accent is an obstacle to social and professional success and in which contexts – analysed on the basis of personal experiences;
- The impact of motivation on learning the local language, and the determinants of motivation – personal, social, political, etc.;

Later, we identified other factors contributing to the situation of our participants and which we decided to explore a little further. These include:

- Stereotyping of one's own ethnic group;
- Differences between the immigrant groups – the role of history and socio-psychological influences;
- The relation between the number of return visits to the homeland and actual attachment to the homeland;
- The nature of perceptions of personal experiences – the perceived vs. the real;
- Language as identity marker and the circumstances when the native language becomes especially important in the process of identity negotiation.

In order to ensure that we did not bias our findings in any way, the interview questions were composed in such a way as to allow the expression of arguments **against** our hypotheses as expressed by our participants. It should be remembered that the analysis did not focus only on the Polish perspective. The overall context of immigration does not involve just one group – the immigrants. The attitudes and policies of the environment always play a crucial role, and they have been acknowledged in the analysis.

8.2. What were our findings? – The results of the analysis.

8.2.1. The First Hypothesis: Austria is perceived as less welcoming to Poles than Ireland. Poles are more likely to integrate with the host community in Ireland than in Austria.

Poland and Austria have had a long and rich experience of shared history – with both positive⁴⁰ and negative⁴¹ aspects – periods of cooperation, and difficult times of conflict. This means that there exists a historical reference for discussing bilateral relations today and in the future. Polish people do not associate Ireland (in contradistinction to Austria) with any negative event that would concern them directly. In addition, upon Poland's accession to the EU Austria – unlike Ireland – introduced a seven-year delay period in respect of free Polish access to employment in Austria (from 2004 until 2011). This blocked Poles from full participation in the European Union. Political developments and relations between the governments of countries or regions are, at least sometimes, reflected in the attitudes of ordinary citizens towards members of 'the other side'. In the study we tried to investigate to what extent this historical background may have influenced people in their thinking about themselves and others.

One of our arguments was that Poles in Austria and Ireland would probably have a lower status than immigrants from Western Europe because of the worse economic situation in Poland **also resulting from historical circumstances**: political and economic isolation from the West caused (or rather imposed) by the Soviet communist occupation of the country (1945-1990). The fact that Poland was associated with the Eastern Block for almost five decades did, somehow, instill in peoples' minds this image of Poland that may still prevail, especially among those who are prejudiced and do not travel to Eastern Europe 'because there is nothing worth visiting'. Whether this influenced peoples' opinions about Polish immigrants seems, however, to be a very individual matter amongst Irish and Austrian people – a matter of individual opinions and attitudes.

⁴⁰ Polen Hilfe programme in the 1980s for asylum seekers

⁴¹ Austrian annexations of Poland's territory in 1772 and 1795 until 1918; Hitler and the Austrian Nazis in 1930s and 1940s; popularity of the far right FPÖ party whose members did, sometimes, express openly extreme and racist views.

As for access to Polish educational and cultural institutions and a Polish press, in both host countries we found Polish schools, cultural institutes, and Polish magazines functioning without major problems. This would mean that in this respect Austria does not differ much from Ireland, and so our predictions were not confirmed. Poles in both countries have access to Polish institutions and a Polish press; the fact that these exist means that they are popular enough among Poles resident in the two countries. Another aspect which should be considered is that a lack of active participation in 'Polish life' does not necessarily reflect actual attitudes of individuals. People may simply be too busy with their everyday life, or may be interested in other things. If a Polish person does not attend Polish events it does not automatically mean that he or she rejected Poland or anything related to Poland. One should be careful with such hasty interpretations.

To sum up, our data did not fully confirm this hypothesis for a number of reasons. First, there seem to be both very successful Poles in Austria and Ireland - who have good jobs and live comfortable lives. At the other end of this scale there are those in Austria who have failed to achieve what they had hoped for, often because they did not know German – a necessary requisite for full integration into the host society and participation in Austrian life. Similar cases exist in Ireland, where English is a language which one simply has to learn if one wishes to take up a white collar job. The fact that Poles come from a poorer part of Europe is not always an obstacle – it is an individual matter amongst Irish and Austrian people, what they think, and how they translate their opinions into decisions regarding employment and treatment of Eastern Europeans. Poles have had both positive and negative experiences with both Irish and Austrian people. Similarly, both Irish and Austrian people certainly have had both positive and negative experience of Poles. We simply cannot generalize about either of the two host countries, or about the relevant Polish minority communities. Concerning the legal dimension of the problem, Austria **was in this respect less welcoming than Ireland** - especially with regard **to** the seven year transition period blocking Poles and other Eastern Europeans from easy access to certain aspects of Austrian life.

Our participants' stories prove that whether one integrates with the host society depends on individual effort – learning the language of the hosts, for example – and good will on part of the hosts, their willingness to give an immigrant a chance to become part of their society in terms of legal regulations on the one hand, and personal attitudes expressed through their

conduct towards individual immigrants on the other. All include choices and decisions – a fact, perhaps, often not stressed enough.

8.2.2. The second hypothesis: In Austria, Poles divide themselves into different ‘immigrant categories’: assimilation tendencies are stronger than integration tendencies

In our study, this hypothesis was not confirmed across the groups of Polish immigrants in Austria. Following our discussion of the socio-political circumstances of immigrants in the host countries, our initial expectations regarding stronger assimilation tendencies in Austria were not fully confirmed. Our participants did report having met Poles who rejected Polish culture altogether and spoke German to one another, but those individuals seemed to constitute a minority among Polish immigrants in Austria. None of our participants interviewed in Austria rejected Poland or the Polish language. There were some who no longer travelled to Poland and had, perhaps, negative associations connected to their painful past, but those individuals **did not assimilate with Austrians and did not reject Poland or their own Polish heritage**. As for Poles in Ireland, our participants did not seem to assimilate at all except for one person who preferred to speak English even with other Poles. Integration with the hosts – to an extent allowed by the host societies themselves – was our participants’ choice.

Our participants were concerned about other Poles’ behaviour and its influence on the status of Polish immigrants. They often distanced themselves from those individuals whose conduct was, in their opinion, embarrassing or shameful. On the basis of how professionally successful Poles had managed to become in Austria and Ireland, our participants perceived social subgroups of Polish immigrants: those who were educated, spoke the language of the hosts and had good jobs vs. those whose knowledge of English or German was weak and who had to take up menial, blue-collar jobs. This distinction of subgroups of Poles was reported by our subjects in all four participant groups.

Another issue that was identified during the interviews was self re-definition and identity negotiation. Poles who were born in Austria created their own identity – a combination of different aspects of Polish and Austrian cultures. This was also connected to the way they

spoke: both in Polish and German they had non-native accents; therefore they were not considered as members with equal rights by some Poles, nor by some Austrians either – a fact which is likely to have had serious psychological implications. As for our participants in other groups, the 1980s' immigrants to Austria had undergone a series of complex psychological processes in order to adapt to new circumstances and leave behind their problems in communist Poland of the nineteen-eighties. The post-2004 immigrants to Austria and Ireland did not have to negotiate completely new identities because their situation did not require them to completely 'redefine themselves' like the other two groups of Poles; they were free individuals who had come from an independent country to which they could return at any time they wished without any complications. They were free in their decisions about themselves and their future.

Adaptation, integration, and assimilation are processes connected with change. However, the changes in question may be more or less intense, depending on the socio-political situation of the region(s) concerned, and the state of the economy.

8.2.3. The third hypothesis: Poles in Austria are less welcoming to other Poles, have stronger opinions on Polish immigration, and are less concerned about Polish issues

Our results showed that the participants in Austria were not less welcoming to other Poles than their counterparts whom we interviewed in Ireland. Questions regarding personal sentiments towards other Poles yielded interesting results. Some of the 1980s' immigrants to Austria did express their distance from other Poles on the basis of their negative past experience. The political situation they used to be in was very difficult: immigrants often had to 'watch their backs', fear reports to the secret services and, in extreme cases, even deportations. According to the hypothesis, the post-2004 Polish immigrants who were resident in Ireland should be more welcoming to their compatriots because the situation they were in was not comparable to that in which immigrants of the 1980s had found themselves three decades earlier. Nevertheless, sometimes very negative opinions were expressed by some members of this group also. Some individuals who said that Poles were not always well disposed towards other Poles while abroad could not support this claim by any real examples but relied on 'what they had heard from others'. This inspired us to look more closely at

another issue which we did not even expect to find among Poles: stereotyping of one's own group. We will return to this topic later.

The post-2004 immigrants to Austria whom we interviewed were open to other Poles and willingly participated in Polish student organizations. Of course, we cannot expect this to be true of all individuals who emigrated after Poland's accession to the EU. However, our participants in this group (15) were either friendly towards other Poles in Austria, or simply neutral about the issue, which suggests that they were, at least, not unfriendly or guided by suspicion. Our initial hypothesis, however, helped us identify other problems worth examining like the afore-mentioned stereotyping and stigmatizing of one's own ethnic group. On the other hand, our expectation that the older generations of Poles in Austria would be more watchful towards and more distrustful of members of their own ethnic group was fully confirmed: people had in the past been afraid of secret agents and possible deportation. These issues were totally foreign to the post-2004 Polish immigrants in both host countries.

8.2.4. Fourth hypothesis: Parents' efforts to maintain their native language and culture are stronger in Ireland than in Austria

In this hypothesis we again returned to the perception of 'Austria being less welcoming than Ireland'. We based our initial supposition on the legal aspect of Polish immigration to Austria (the transition period) and historical experience (the Annexations, World War II, incidents around the Slovenian minority concerning their language rights, etc.). We also suspected that Poles would find more affinities with the Irish because of similar historic contexts of fighting for independence, periods of poverty and oppression, martyrdom, etc. Our expectations were not always proved to be reflected in reality, however.

In both countries there are opportunities to learn the Polish language and maintain Polish culture. There are Polish schools and Polish institutes in both host countries. Poles and the Polish culture and language are not ostracized. Whether to teach one's children Polish is for the parents to decide – no one on the Austrian or Irish side is officially trying to change the situation in any way. Polish children are not punished for speaking Polish; at least, we have not heard or read any official reports confirming such incidents to have taken place. All our

participants (sixty individuals altogether) either had taught their children Polish, or expressed their willingness to teach their future children their native language regardless of their sentiments towards Poland or other Poles. This means that, at least among our participants, the Polish language formed a strong aspect of their identity regardless of the political and social circumstances in which they were, or used to be. This made us consider another, perhaps not very original, hypothesis: that the stronger one's ethnic identity is the more chances the language has to survive (be maintained and transmitted from one generation to the next). In all probability, the Polish language will be maintained among our participants and their families. Whether their children will share their enthusiasm is yet to be seen.

8.4. Summary of the findings from Chapters Six and Seven.

We divided our participants into four groups according to the socio-political circumstances they were in and/or had experienced in the past. We investigated a number of issues related to the socio-linguistic aspects of their immigration.

As for the reasons for leaving Poland, economic and educational motives were most often mentioned by the post-2004 immigrants to Austria and Ireland. Education seemed to be the main reason cited by young Poles interviewed in Austria (80%) while economic issues predominated among their counterparts resident in Ireland (75%). The 1980s' immigrants to Austria declared that political (66%) and economic reasons (60%) were behind their decision to emigrate from Poland. We obviously excluded the individuals who were born in Austria from this part of the analysis because they did not emigrate from Poland.

For many participants, Austria and Ireland were not the only prospective target countries of emigration. While the post-2004 immigrants to Austria in great majority did not consider other countries than Austria for their emigration from Poland (80%), many of the 1980s' immigrants to Austria (54%) and the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland (65%) considered other countries before finally deciding in favour of Austria or Ireland.

All our post-2004 immigrants to Austria and Ireland held Polish citizenship. All of the participants who were born in Austria held Austrian citizenship. In the case of the 1980s'

immigrants to Austria, the majority (65%) held Austrian citizenship. Holding double Austrian-Polish citizenship was, in the past, ruled out on legal grounds.

Concepts associated with Poland varied across the groups. Associations with the past were often mentioned by the 1980s' immigrants to Austria (72%) and the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland (63%). Close links with the family members resident in Poland and the concept of home were frequently mentioned by the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland (81%) and the post-2004 immigrants to Austria (66%). Poles who were born in Austria seemed to have random associations with Poland and, sometimes, so different that we decided to group them all under the label 'other'. Those random concepts associated with Poland accounted for 60% of responses by those participants.

The Polish institutions in Austria and Ireland were not as popular among our participants as we had predicted. The majority of our post-2004 immigrants to Ireland (75%) and the post-2004 immigrants to Austria (80%) did not maintain close connections with the Polish institutions like, for example, PAN⁴². Only 40% of our participants who were born in Austria declared that they attended some Polish events organized by those institutions. The 1980s' immigrants to Austria seemed to be most interested in events organized by those institutions. 85% of them declared that they were actively engaged in various aspects of Polish life in Austria.

The majority of our participants in all groups travelled to Poland twice a year or more. The post-2004 immigrants to Austria (100%) and the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland (90%) accounted for the greatest numbers of individuals who often visited Poland. 85% of the individuals who emigrated to Austria in the eighties and only 60% of our participants who were born in Austria declared that they travelled to Poland at least twice a year.

As for the number of Polish friendships, the post-2004 immigrants to Austria (93%) and Ireland (65%) declared having more Polish friends in Poland than in the host countries. The 1980s' immigrants to Austria (75%) and the individuals who were born in Austria (80%) had more Polish friends in Austria.

⁴² Polska Akademia Nauk (Polish Academy of Sciences)

Our questions regarding the perceived change of Poland's status after its accession to the European Union in May 2004 yielded interesting results. Positive changes were reported by the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland (90%), the post-2004 immigrants to Austria (75%) and the 1980s' immigrants to Austria (90%). Surprisingly, the individuals who were born in Austria (100%) declared that they had not noticed any changes for the better.

The host societies were generally perceived as not particularly open to the full integration of immigrants. The participants who were born in Austria (80%) and the 1980s' immigrants to Austria (85%) judged the hosts to be rather closed, in certain aspects even 'hermetic' societies. However, this opinion was based on the perceived **degree of openness to the Other**, willingness to include immigrants into mainstream society and to treat them as equals. Legal aspects of this issue such as, for example, employment or residence regulations etc., and the nature of the participants' encounters with ordinary members of the receiving societies were considered. 60% of the post-2004 immigrants to Austria declared that they did not consider the hosts as open to full integration of Poles. The most positive opinions concerning this issue were voiced by the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland. However, even in this group of our participants, only 45% considered the Irish as people open to the inclusion of the Other.

Considering equal chances with the hosts for professional development, the post-2004 immigrants to Austria (86%) and the individuals who emigrated to Austria in the eighties (75%) thought that they had very good opportunities for professional development. Only 65% of the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland and 60% of the individuals who had been born in Austria voiced similar opinions. Nevertheless, all our participants who emigrated to Austria and Ireland claimed that they had no regrets, and considered their decision as good in spite of problems they sometimes encountered. They perceived their emigration as a learning process full of experiences which, they hoped, would pay off in the future.

The issue of Poles socializing with other Poles was also investigated. The results showed that, on the whole, our participants in Austria tended to have many Polish friends (77%), while our participants in Ireland did not seem to be particularly interested in acquiring many Polish contacts – only 40% declared that they had 'many' Polish friends. This analysis included contacts with Poles in Poland, the host country, and other countries where our subjects had

Polish friends or family. The majority of our participants in Austria perceived social divisions between different groups of Poles (88%). 65% of our participants resident in Ireland also perceived those social divisions among Poles. Concerning the attitudes of Poles towards other Poles, our participants in Austria judged them as rather negative (94%) while the majority of our subjects resident in Ireland perceived them as positive or at least neutral (75%). The majority of our participants had a positive attitude to fellow Polish immigrants: 82% and 88% of the participants in Austria and Ireland respectively.

Among many issues which seemed to discourage our participants from Poland and active engagement in Polish life in the host countries, politics and the bad behaviour of fellow Polish immigrants were most often cited as causing embarrassment and fear of growing anti-Polish or anti-Eastern European sentiments and prejudice.

According to our analysis, the participants who had immigrated to Austria in the nineteen-eighties (90%) and the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland (65%) considered themselves in the main to be members of the mainstream societies. On the contrary, our post-2004 immigrants to Austria (66%) and the individuals who had been born in Austria (80%) declared they did not consider themselves to be part of Austrian society. However, a prospective return to Poland in a few years was considered as possible only by the majority of the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland (95%) and the post-2004 immigrants to Austria (80%). Those individuals who had been born in Austria (100%) and the 1980s' immigrants to Austria (90%) were determined **not to return** to Poland.

From the linguistic perspective of our analysis, Poles born in Austria showed much influence of the German language on their performance in Polish: the systems of grammatical cases were sometimes confused, and the participants would make many lexical and grammatical mistakes. In addition, these individuals spoke both German and Polish with foreign accents. Nevertheless, Polish and German formed important aspects of the subjects' identities.

The participants who immigrated to Austria in the eighties also showed much influence from German in their spoken Polish. For example, German words would appear in the course of the conversations. Some participants would confuse the two systems of grammatical cases (Polish and German) as well as form incorrect collocations. A slight German accent was also detected

in the pronunciation of certain Polish sounds, especially vowels. Similarly to the case of other immigrant groups, the Polish language was considered as an important aspect of these participants' identity.

The post-2004 immigrants to Austria and Ireland spoke very good Polish. Those who were resident in Austria did not use German words during the conversations with the researcher and did not confuse German and Polish declension patterns. German influence on the pronunciation of Polish sounds was not detected. Similarly, the group of the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland spoke very good Polish. However, some of them would use English-sounding words instead of their Polish equivalents. No foreign accent was detected in pronunciation of Polish sounds, however. Finally, the Polish language formed an important part of subjects' identity in both groups of the post-2004 immigrants.

8.5. Other aspects identified in the analysis

Our initial hypotheses were developed to guide and help our research. As we have already mentioned, we tried to structure the interviews in such a way that participants were free to offer reports and opinions both *pro* and *contra* the hypotheses. The questions did not suggest any particular answers. We gave our participants the opportunity to talk about discussed matters for as long as they wished and also mention other issues related (or sometimes even unrelated directly) to the topics of the interviews. In this way we identified other aspects of immigration which we summarize in the following subsections.

8.5.1. Stereotyping of one's own ethnic group

Stereotyping of one's own ethnic group was one of the issues which we identified during the interviews with our participants. Some Poles who did not even experience anything untoward from other Polish immigrants would be suspicious and careful when dealing with one's compatriots. They would stereotype other Polish immigrants by believing in and repeating other people's opinions, not their own. Negative sentiments towards other Poles were expressed by some of the 1980s immigrants to Austria and, surprisingly, the post-2004

immigrants to Ireland. Individuals who had been born in Austria as well as the post-2004 immigrants to Austria did not express negative opinions about other Poles. While the older generation of Poles may be justified in their fears due to the circumstances accompanying their immigration to Austria in early eighties or their **actual** experience, Poles in Ireland could not be motivated by similar factors. Their motives may have included inter-ethnic competition, fears regarding their own position within the host society when the number of Poles in Ireland suddenly increased. This is worrying because it may contribute to spreading prejudice and anti-Polish sentiments in certain environments. In this way, some Poles may be said to be partly responsible for maintaining prejudice against themselves.

8.5.2. Attachment (or its lack) to one's Polish heritage is not reflected in the frequency of travels to Poland or active engagement in Polish life.

During the interviews we discovered that attitudes towards one's identity are not easily identified and cannot be understood as directly reflected in the degree of active engagement in Polish life or frequency of travel to the homeland. Some of our participants in Austria no longer travelled to Poland on regular basis and they still considered themselves Polish, maintained the Polish language in their families (taught Polish to their children), had Polish friends, spoke Polish with other Poles, etc. According to some of our subjects, travelling to Poland twice a year meant that they travelled 'often' while for others it was 'rarely' – in some cases it simply depended on whether the participants had enough time to travel to Poland more than twice. In other cases it was a question of their willingness to do so. Those individuals who expressed concerns about other Poles and their conduct did not reject Poland or the Polish language. Our conclusion is that identity is a very individual matter and cannot be understood, interpreted or explained by simply counting visits to the homeland per year or the number of visits to a Polish library per month. People have different motives and what is important in research investigating issues related to ethnic identity seems to be the 'end result' – whether Poles want to be Polish and keep their native language and culture alive.

8.5.3. Our subjects seemed to participate in and integrate with the host society. At the same time they maintained their own native culture.

Our participants in all groups seemed to integrate well with the host societies. Except for one individual (1.6%) in the post-2004 immigrant group in Ireland who was tending towards assimilation with Irish society, the majority of our participants were determined to maintain their Polish heritage and language. Those individuals who were born in Austria combined aspects of both Austrian and Polish cultures to create their own distinct identity without rejecting either culture. Those participants who had immigrated to Austria in the nineteen-eighties were, due to their political status of the asylum seekers and scant knowledge of the German language, initially isolated from the majority society. Later, when their level of German improved they took up employment and started to participate in social activities of Austrian people; they made Austrian friends, attended social events, got better jobs, etc. As for the post-2004 immigrants to Austria and Ireland, they came to their chosen host countries full of hopes for educational and professional development. Therefore they were quite naturally oriented towards integration with the hosts, interested in the new environments, and wanted to avail themselves of a maximum number of opportunities to practice German or English, not Polish. The political and social situation that they were in did not require them to abandon any part of their Polish identity, as there was no perceived pressure from the host society to assimilate.

8.5.4. Language is a strong identity marker even among Poles who do not intend to return to Poland.

Language appeared to be a strong identity marker among Poles whom we interviewed. All of our participants planned to keep the Polish language within their families. Even individuals who did not intend to return to Poland in the future, as some of our 1980s' immigrants to Austria claimed, had taught their children Polish and spoke it among themselves at home. Their native language was understood as something inherent to them, something that distinguished them from the majority society in a positive sense. Our participants who had been born in Austria also considered Polish as an important aspect of their identity regardless of unpleasant experiences at school and problems with Austrian children based on their

foreignness, of which the Polish language formed a part. All of our participants who did not have children, notably among the post-2004 immigrants to Austria and Ireland, claimed they would teach their future children Polish as their native language. This implies that the role of language not only has a symbolic value to our participants, but also constitutes an active component of their individuals identities – something they decided to transmit to future generations.

8.5.5. The stronger the ethnic identity the better the chances for language survival

What we identified as a characteristic which almost all of our participants had in common was their rather strong Polish identity, which seemed to have been distinct from other sentiments regarding their past experiences (especially among the 1980s' immigrants to Austria who had suffered under the communist regime and its terror), their attitudes to other Poles, and various experiences, both positive and negative, with fellow Polish immigrants, etc. This strong identity was connected directly with the subjects' willingness to teach the Polish language to the future generations – the participants' children. The individuals who had been born in Austria and who had created their own identity by combining elements of both Polish and Austrian cultures into another hybrid 'third' culture, considered the Polish language and the German language as of equal importance to them. The two languages made the participants' identities complete. The reader's attention is drawn to the importance of **both Polish and German** for those individuals who were born of Polish parents, raised and educated in Austria. For Poles who had immigrated to Austria in the nineteen-eighties, German also became an important aspect of their identity as they became members of Austrian society by acquiring Austrian citizenship. It seems plausible to claim that, at least for some people, being able to speak the language of their ethnic group or any other language to which they are 'emotionally connected' helps the individual to form a stable identity: he or she can take pride in being able to speak that language with other members of the ethnic group or other speakers of that language, has access to the original literature and can emotionally relate to the ethnic group's heritage (not necessarily the concrete realities of the ethnic group itself!). An important finding is that the attitudes to language may be, at least in some cases, separated from other factors like the frequency of travel to the homeland, and attitudes towards or relations with other members of the ethnic group. These should not be considered as

determinants because, for example, there are different reasons for a particular number of visits per year to the homeland. They may be, for instance, financial, time-related, or other.

8.5.6. Language seems to emerge as an issue of identity especially when confronted by other linguistic codes. In other cases, when two or more languages do not compete people do not tend to think about their native language as an important part of their identity.

Poles in Poland do not experience situations where the Polish language is challenged in any way. It is the official language of the state and a necessary requirement to take up employment in a public institution or sectors dealing with the civil service. In a way, Poles do not have to think about Polish as something vulnerable which should be especially protected, as it used to be in the past. In Austria and Ireland the Polish language, as well as the official languages of the two countries are in a way confronted by one another. We propose that this is when the issue of language as part of the individual's identity becomes especially important: we can cite in this connection the language issues in Belgium dating back to 1840, the situation in the former Yugoslavia, the law case in Hamburg to allow Polish children to speak Polish during meetings with their Polish parent⁴³, actions against the Slovenian language in Carinthia in Austria, to name only four examples which illustrate the problem. It does not matter what real reasons behind such conflicts are; the fact is that language is often used as an argument in issues related to identity, statehood, territory and similar debates.

8.5.7. Simultaneous acquisition of two languages does not guarantee balanced bilingualism. In bilingual children the official language may become the dominant code and in time these individuals may become more fluent in the target language. Poles who were born and raised in Austria speak slightly better German than Polish.

Our participants who were born and raised in Austria spoke both Polish and German fluently. However, they admitted that it was easier for them to speak German, while in Polish they

⁴³ Polskie Stowarzyszenie Rodzice Przeciw Dyskryminacji Dzieci w Niemczech t.z., www.dyskryminacja.de

sometimes had to consider how to express themselves properly. They also made minor grammatical mistakes and made up words in Polish to name a thing or activity. This suggests that over time German had become the dominant language for them, regardless of their everyday contact with Polish spoken at home with parents or heard on Polish TV channels. Therefore, our participants who had been born in Austria should be considered German-dominant bilinguals, because they had become more proficient in German than in their native language, Polish. This could be attributed to the status of German in Austria as the official language of that country, to the status of Polish as a small language spoken by a minority, and to the pressure to adapt linguistically to the ambient environment early in their lives as very young children.

8.5.8. It depends on the individual's experience(s) what attitudes he/she will have towards the host society and fellow immigrants of his/her own ethnic group, and also other minorities.

While researchers today can carry out huge projects involving large numbers of participants and are able to predict situations or attitudes based on statistical generalizations, individual experiences different from those labelled as 'usual' or 'typical' of the group are also worth considering. An individual's personal experiences with the Other often shape his or her attitudes towards members of that group, whether based on ethnicity, religion or profession. It is connected to psychological processes described in earlier parts of this thesis like, for example, attribution. It also holds true for both the immigrants and the hosts – the quality of encounters with members of particular groups shapes the individual's mental representations of those groups and may result in certain responses in future situations perceived as similar to the past experiences.

While generalizations seem to be necessary and even useful for some purposes, accounts of individual experiences should never be dismissed as marginal and unimportant. They constantly remind us about individual differences in personality, attitudes and, eventually, behaviour.

Our participants were, in great majority, integratively disposed towards the hosts. Only one individual in the group of the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland displayed more assimilation tendencies and preferred to talk in English even with other Poles because of his/her bad experiences in Poland. That individual came from a poorer part of the country and had experienced financial hardship regardless of their university education and fluent English. Others in the group of the post-2004 immigrants to Ireland seemed to prefer to keep their Polish heritage and maintain close connections with the homeland. Even if they had experienced problems of some kind in Poland, they did not reject it or the Polish language. They rather tried to build positive links between Poland and Ireland and use aspects of both cultures to create their immigrant identity. Similarly, the post-2004 immigrants to Austria combined both cultures to live their new experience in a different country. The 1980s' immigrants to Austria remembered Poland as a communist country and associated it with political terror and economic hardship. Some of them planned to return to Poland in the future; some declared they wished to remain Austrian citizens and resident in Austria. That group may be said to have had similar experience of their communist homeland, but their attitudes towards prospective return to today's independent Poland differed significantly. It is difficult to determine why people whose reasons for emigrating from Poland were almost identical, and all of whom have become successful professionals in Austria over the last thirty years, had such different opinions regarding the idea of their future return to Poland.

8.6. Final comments

In this section we will try to draw together a general description of our participants in the two host communities. We will compare the two communities and their respective environments. Making a comparison like this was at times difficult because the participants were divided into rather distinct groups. Even drawing a picture of the socio-political situation was not easy due to our participants' different immigration experiences throughout years spent outside their homeland.

Table 8.6.1.

	Ireland	Austria
Dual citizenship	Restricted to particular circumstances	Restricted to particular circumstances
Transition period	No transition period was imposed by the Irish Government	Transition period was imposed for seven years in the period between 2004-2011
Shared history	No direct historical or cultural connections in the past	Close historical and cultural connections in the past
Language situation	Irish and English are official languages of the state.	German is the official language of the state.
Polish institutions	Polish institutions exist in Ireland	Polish institutions exist in Austria
Polish schools	Official Polish schools exist in Ireland	Official Polish schools exist in Austria
Polish press	A Polish press exists in Ireland	A Polish press exists in Austria

The differences between the two host countries lie, first, in the historical and political relations between Poland and Austria, and which never appeared in any context of Polish-Irish relations. Second, the Irish government decided not to introduce the transition period – an opportunity of which the government of Austria availed.

Our participants in all three groups were tending towards integration with the host society rather than assimilation. Isolationist tendencies were not identified even in those participants who had had a painful past as asylum seekers. Problems they had experienced in either country in the past did not usually discourage them in their relationship with their homeland or the host community. Rather, they had a positive and healthy attitude to their lives and the circumstances they were in at the time of the interviews.

One aspect which we identified, however, among Poles who had had spent many years outside their homeland – particularly the 1980s’ immigrants to Austria – was that they tended to think of Poland as it was decades ago. By relying solely on what they heard or read in the media, including Polish press and TV, they missed other aspects of Poland because they were not able to directly experience it any more. This is, perhaps, natural and true for all immigrant societies who started a new life outside their homeland.

8.7. Implications for future research

While we had access to individuals who were willing to talk to us about their often painful experiences in the nineteen-eighties, more research into those issues would provide valuable information to better illustrate the social and psychological processes that take place in similar circumstances. The desirability of more projects with former asylum seekers is indicated. However, the topics covered by such projects are sensitive and the process of recruitment may be difficult. It may be good to begin with someone whom the researcher knows and who would encourage other prospective participants to talk about their past experiences.

It would also be interesting to see how the identified aspects of the relatively young Polish post-2004 immigration in the two countries develop. At the conclusion of the project, Poland had been a member of the European Union for only seven years (since May 2004). Time will tell whether the post-2004 immigrants to either country decide to stay there or return to Poland after some years spent abroad. Decisions whether to come back to the homeland or to stay in the host country will no doubt be influenced by complex psychological processes (whether the individuals ‘feel at home’ in the receiving society), economic factors (the individual’s financial situation, the economic circumstances of the host country and the homeland) and the political situation of the countries in question (whether peaceful or conflict-torn).

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