Encountering Forms of Ethnic and Social Cohesion: the Polish Community in Glasgow

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Abstract

In recent years there has been increasing debate regarding the presence of ethnic diversity, community cohesion, and immigration in Scotland (Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007; One Scotland, Many Cultures, 2002; Race Equality Review, 2005). The 'Community Cohesion' agenda, as a new framework for governing 'race' relations in the UK, tends to depict ethnic minority communities as a basic unit of ethnic division and difference and it is perceived as central to discourses around citizenship, integration, diversity and multicultural British society by, in particular, New Labour Government Ministers (Alleyne, 2002; Robinson, 2005; Worley, 2005; Alexander *et al.* 2007). This study will challenge the meanings and 'place' of ethnic communities within the 'Community Cohesion' agenda based on the study of the Polish community in Glasgow. The thesis will argue that each ethnic minority and majority group has its own meaning of community which varies in relation to age, gender, social class, and other social divisions, including internal structures of marginalization and feelings of trust or distrust. This study suggests that Polish migrants do not constitute a single migration community in Glasgow but a range of diverse personal communities that can be understood as a range of dense, relative autonomous relations that vary in terms of trust, obligation, and strength. The Polish migrants maintain close and dense co-ethnic ties with specific groups of friends and family members simultaneously distinguishing them from the general, ethnic Polish community in Glasgow which was perceived as competitive and threatening.

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Introduction

Much political and public debate in the UK is focused on the cohesion and integration of increasing cultural and ethnic diversity within British multicultural society (Cheong *et al.*, 2007; Robinson 2005). This appears to occur within the framework of possible instability of social cohesion caused by increased immigration and cultural diversity (Castles and Miller, 2003). The discourse on incorporating cultural differences emerged as a result of a breakdown of assimilation theory and understanding that the 'melting pot' did not always melt, as ethnic minorities were not completely incorporated into the British nation state. Instead, the ethnic and racial diversities have reproduced and reconstructed themselves, constructing not a single ethnic identity but hybrid ethno-national, ethno-local and ethno-national, ethno-local and ethno- transnational boundaries of social identity, as a result of migrants' community experience and other established boundaries of social identity such as social class position, gender, and age (Hesse, 2000; Faas, 2009). It should be emphasized that multiculturalism is not one doctrine, but a range of strategies, politics, and ideas of incorporation and governing ethnic differences and cultural diversities within one nation state (Hall, 2000). The multicultural policy called Community Cohesion adopted by the British government is a new idea of setting and managing ethnic and cultural diversities by putting the notion of ethnic communities and shared relations and values within its central concern (Cantle, 2001). The integration and cooperation between diverse cultures should occur between ethnic communities based on shared values and mutual intercultural dialogue. According to this meaning, the community is a frame through which the issue of cultural and ethnic differences should be understood and managed (Robinson, 2005).

The Community Cohesion agenda focuses on the cohesion among communities of different races and ethnicity that should be build around common shared values, civic culture, social solidarity, social networks, and

social capital (Cantle, 2001). The recent government documents ‘Strength in Diversity’ (Home Office, 2004), ‘Community Cohesion’ (Cantle, 2001) and ‘Our Shared Future’ (Home Office, 2007) emphasise the significance of dialogue and partnership between different ethnic communities and their shared principles. There is a future vision of strategic partnership for community involvement and social cohesion that is regarded as a bottom-up process that demands a quality of integration on the local level, this determining social cohesion at the highest levels (Forrest and Kearns, 2001). Within this definition the conception of community cohesion suggests that society ‘hangs together’ in that the values and culture of each community contribute to the whole broader nation. Similarly, the debate regarding the presence of ethnic diversity, community cohesion and immigration in Scotland mainly focused on tackling the discrimination and racism by raising awareness and challenging the racist attitudes, while encouraging the dialogue and partnership between different ethnic communities (Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007; Race Equality Strategy, 2007; One Scotland, Many Cultures, 2002; Race Equality Review, 2005). Therefore community cohesion as a political agenda is about helping local communities to ‘hang together’ and to integrate into wider communities (Robinson, 2005). However, the social cohesion of one group does not necessary translate into cohesion in another – that is, some cohesive communities may form only fragmented allegiances within the broader community (Forrest and Kearns, 2001). It should be emphasised that while Community Cohesion policies are focused on dialogue and inter-connections between diverse ethnic communities, at the same time they do not appreciate their internal complexities.

The idea of community cohesion refers to traditional face-to-face communities with members sharing close kinship or strong and reciprocal ties, a common identity, and a sense of belonging. In addition, community is perceived as something that is a stable and homogeneous construct based on personal networks, territory, and shared habitus, understood as a system

of durable acquired structuring dispositions, constituted in practice and based on past experience (Bourdieu, 1986). In addition, Alleyne (2002) argues that contemporary British discourses on governing cultural diversity are based around the idea of citizenship that divides society into the majority, British citizens, and 'others', ethnic communities. In addition, using Foucault's idea of structure of surveillance and discipline Alleyne (2002) demonstrates how the justification for the images of ethnic communities have been socially constructed as one of boundaries distinguishing categories of normality (Britishness) versus abnormality (ethnic minorities) and has become a major part of the political agenda.

Placing the notion of community at its central point, the idea of community cohesion is based on the untenable assumption that ethnic groups construct internally homogenised groups. However, the notion of ethnic communities is a highly contested and ambiguous term as ethnic communities are always differentiated in terms of class, gender, and age (Alleyne, 2002). Even though ethnic communities might reflect strong ties and a sense of group identity among its members, it does not always mean that they construct a uniform and consistent group. Policies of community cohesion deny the complexities and contested interpretation of the meaning of community (Alleyne, 2002; Alexander *et al*., 2007). Admittedly, this idea does not consider the fact that each community defines its own meaning of communities in different ways through their own social networks among groups of friends and family that are different in relation to internal variations such as age, gender, class, internal structures of marginalization, and feelings of trust or distrust (Alexander *et. al.,* 2007). Indeed, the idea of ethnicity, as a theoretical concept of group categorisation used in relation to class, gender, or race, is not a fixed property but subject to change over time. With reference to the diasporas communities the maintenance, negotiation, and experiences of ethnicity is more complex and it includes migrants complex and multidimensional, both local, national and translational relations, and it varies

in terms of migrants' history, status, class and gender (Hall, 1996; Everget and Zontini, 2006).

It is argued here that the meaning of community exists in multiple and fragmented forms and therefore a more differentiated approach is required. In addition, the concept of community is impossible to define with precision as it is being constantly constructed, imagined, and reconstructed by human relations, therefore it does not explain itself but requires a fuller explanation (Cohen, 1985; Hall, 1996). Alleyne (2002) suggests a reflexive concept of community; one that focuses on the exploration of the process of community formation. This requires an analysis of how the meaning of community came to exist in the first place and how it reproduces itself. Consequently, this study is aimed at exploring the dynamics of Polish communities' formation within the Glasgow area. In particular, it will concentrate on an analysis of the meaning of 'community' among groups of Polish migrants living and working in Glasgow and how this varies in relation to gender, age, and social class. In addition, this study will analyse the extent (local and transnational) and dynamic of the social networks of Polish migrants within their ethnic group living in the Glasgow area and it will explore the factors (cultural, social, political, economic, etc.) and the ways in which social networks within the Polish community are mediated and developed. Finally, it will explore the types of activities (physical, emotional, material) that are performed by the Polish community in the Glasgow area and the attachment that Polish migrants feel towards the city and their sense of belonging and attitudes to living in multicultural diverse areas.

The aim of this research is to look at post-2004 migration from Poland to Scotland within the broader context of recent debate about the presence of ethnic diversity, community cohesion, and migrants in Scotland. By exploring of the factors (cultural, social, political, economic etc.) and the ways in which social networks within the Polish community are mediated and developed, this study will challenge the meanings and 'place' of ethnic communities

within the ‘Community Cohesion’ agenda and based on the example of the Polish community in Glasgow the thesis will argue that each ethnic minority has its own subscribed meaning of community which varies in relation to age, gender, social class, and other social divisions, including internal structures of marginalization and feelings of trust/distrust. By analysing the meaning of ‘community’ within the Polish community, the project will focus on the extent, quality, and dynamics of the social networks as well as in what conditions those networks constitute the social capital for Polish migrants. The project will be limited to the Glasgow area, as one of the largest multicultural Scottish metropolis, and will be based on a sample of Polish migrants of various age, gender ,and social status who have lived in Glasgow for at least one year prior interview.

The first section gives an overview of earlier studies defining the different meanings of the notion of ‘community’, with particular attention to the traditional, symbolic, and transnational ones. In addition, this section provides an analysis of social capital and social networks, in particular its dynamics, structures, and mechanisms of its formation within communities. The following section examines the existing official data related to the EU post- enlargement migration of Poles to Scotland proving the context for the further analysis of social interaction as well as the specific formation of Polish communities within the greater Glasgow area. The third chapter provides a detailed description of the methods applied in this study.

With reference to the earlier sections, the later chapters present the qualitative analysis of twelve in-depth interviews with Polish migrants living in Glasgow, five in-depth interviews with service providers working with Polish communities in Glasgow, and two focus groups with established Polish communities in Glasgow, in particular Govan Residents and Polish teachers from the Polish Saturday School in Glasgow. Unless stated otherwise, all the quotations are drawn from the data gathered during the in-depth interviews.

The analysis focused on the and internal dynamics and extent of social networks and social capital of the Polish migrants living in Glasgow, as well as the mechanism of community formation, the types of activities (physical, emotional, material) that are performed within the Polish community in the Glasgow area, its internal social divisions, and feelings of trust/distrust. Finally, the last section presents an overview of the thesis arguing that Poles within the Glasgow area tend to create a range of diverse personal communities understood as a range of dense, relative, autonomous relations that vary in terms of trust, obligation, and strength. In addition, the research reveals migrants' dichotomous perception of the Polish community as a distrustful and competitive one, simultaneously distinguishing it from their close and dense co-ethnic ties with specific groups of friends and family members.

1. Community - Overview of the idea

Community, as a specific unit of sociological studies, is arguably one of the most ambiguous and vague terms in sociology (Day, 2006). In general, the idea of community refers to a body of resemblance and ties that people have between each other that binds them together and creates their sense of belonging. In general, the idea of community is about collectiveness and various links that construct its internal relations. This chapter will analyse two main forms of migrant communities: firstly as a traditional community, formed among personal, dense, and kinship ties, and secondly as a symbolic community, whose internal ties are constructed by its members' awareness.

1.1 Traditional community

One of the primary questions when examining the idea of community refers to concern about a group's collectiveness or unity and what distinguishes it from individualism and isolation. The notion of community has, in particular, emerged from nineteenth century sociology, with the work of Ferdinand Tonnies (1887) standing out as a major contribution. During this time the focus was made on the way that industralisation and urbanisation have an impact upon ties and the construction of traditional communities. Tonnies distinguishes two forms of social organisations. The first one, 'Gemeinschaft', translated as communities, was associated with pre-industrial Europe, small villages or towns where kinship, religion, and bonds around a particular place were important conditions of building human relations (Hummon, 1992; Oldenburg, 2002). By contrast, 'Gesellschaft' translated as association or society, which came with European industrialisation, is built on impersonal and common aims among human relations or contracts (Alleyne, 2002). In classical sociology the idea of traditional communities are built around dense ties, close and emotional kinship links, shared religious, and moral values within particular territorial spaces (Gustfield, 1975). The idea of community is understood as a framework within which people experience continually repeated personal contacts with the same people, where ties can be created

around a group of close friends, family or neighbours, who are in regular, usually daily and face-to-face, contact with one another.

With reference to migrants' communities, other researchers have noted the fact that many migrants interact with very specific groups of friends, family, and acquaintances and while these may be made up of varying numbers of co-ethnics ties they often distinguish this group from the wider and more generalised ethnic 'community', as being trustful and reliant (Kelly and Lusis, 2006). An example of such approaches would be the Thomas and Znaniecki (1958) study on the construction and reconstruction of Polish traditional peasant communities, concentrated around personal kinship and the mutual help and obligations that individuals felt towards family members, especially within the context of migration to the United States. The study focused on transformations occurring in Polish traditional rural communities in the home country as well as among emigrants in the United States. Such changes are deeply rooted in the relevant historical background and the transformations occurring at the time of their observations are compared to an ideal and original peasant community. The *Polish peasant* analyses the construction, disorganisation, and reconstruction of immigrants' rural life within its tradition social institutions such as the church, family and wider ethnic community. Thomas and Znaniecki's study indicated that Poles were not assimilated completely to the host American community, but rather they held their own cultural values and their ethnic identity became more Polish-American than American (Zatesky, 1996). This study discussed the important socio-psychological aspects of the migration phenomenon such as the interference of individual and group psychology in the integration process, and the role of ethnic identity in immigrant assimilation in the host country, and finally the support that individual migrants might received from their own ethnic community.

1.2 Community as symbolic construct

As community can be perceived as a contested idea, attention can be drawn to the way it is defined by social actors. This means that community is constructed around aggregate relations that its members can feel, identify and describe. Community, and the ties within it, is something that members are conscious about and these brought into being through the interpretative activities of their members. The idea of community and its internal ties are constructed via the members' awareness, based on the symbolisation of the group boundaries by which the group differentiate themselves from the others (Cohen, 1985). Community is composed as a set of symbols, norms, values and moral codes, and ideological awareness which provides a sense of identity for its members. Furthermore, Anderson (1986) suggests that all larger communities, apart from primordial face-to-face contact ones, are 'imagined'. This means that the communities distinguish themselves in the way they perceive their own community and how they are being imagined by others. Thus, community is about the consciousness of it members based on the perception of its boundaries between its members of the community and the others. Symbols that a community employs in the lives of its members, and that are recognised within it, give its members the meaning of their own action, that same differentiate its members from outsiders. This means that when we are taking about the community, we refer to its entity and attachments to the social networks that arrive within it (Cohen, 1995).

In terms of migrant communities, it seems that migrants tend to define themselves primarily according to their ethnic and cultural bonds that create their awareness, sense of belonging and differentiate them from other groups (Alexander *et al.,* 2007; Alleyne, 2002). The understanding of migrants' ethnicity refers to its objective consciousness that is constructed on the basis of migrants' cultural markers, for example language, dialect, religion or customs which suggests meaning is negotiated and becomes the categories of ethnic differentiation (Pieterse *et al.*, 1995).

> *The objective traits that can form the basis of ethnic identification range widely and vary according to circumstances ethnic category or group - defined by objective cultural markers such as language, dialect, dress, custom, religion or somatic differences - and ethnic community or ethnicity, in which cultural markers consciously serve internal cohesion and differentiation from other groups.* (Brass, 1991:19)

However, as Brass (1991) points out, ethnicity is a fluid category, one that is constructed, reconstructed, and defined in relation to a variety of its cultural 'markers'. Denalty (2003) noted that one implication of multiculturalism causes difficulty in demarcating ethnic groups, as the boundaries between them are not so clearly and explicitly defined. In addition, contemporary society creates many different ways of belonging, therefore individuals are not tied to one bond but multiple, fragmented, and often overlapping bonds. It should be noted that aside from strong migrants' cultural attachment to their home culture that is significant for community self definition, the culture of the host country that migrants' interact with on a daily basis might challenge and reshape migrants' ethnic identity (Hall, 2000). This means that a typical migrant's point of reference might consist of double frames of reference that includes both home and host country. Indeed, the boundaries between different groups are more fluent and contested, therefore the vitality of the community is above all dependant on its capacity and desire to provide enduring forms of symbolic meaning (Denalty, 2003). This means that community is not only a construct of symbolic boundaries or legitimated order, but that it has an imagined meaning that is constantly constructed and reconstructed. In addition, the process of negotiating the meaning of ethnicity refers to other forms of difference such as class, gender, age and thus the idea of homogeneous migrants' ethnicity is highly arguable.

1.3 Diasporas and transnational migrant communities

It is evident that there can be many different meanings, uses, and forms of the idea of community in the social sciences. As an example, the concept of community can appear in the context of its physical territory, such as within a town, village, neighbourhood, or city. The traditional communities are conventionally understood as being bound to specific places, thus their identity and cohesion is coming from relationship that arise among particular territory and its strength, it is to assumed, depends on the density and intensity of these relations (Papastergiadis, 2000). On the other hand, a socially constructed analysis of community and its internal relations can occur without reference to place or location. Within this distinction we can talk about traditional face-to-face communities with a strong spatial emphasis, but as well we can analyse the transnational communities that operate in a global context and are not located in one particular geographic space such as virtual communities where the networks and relations are built in cyperspace, website, chat rooms or blogs (Denalty, 2003; Stewart, 2009). Thus, community can be described as a set of relationships between individuals, however these relationship do not need to operate within particular geographical boundaries but can exist on a more abstract level. Technology and communication development and international migration has made new de-territorialised social relations entirely possible. Communication technologies along with the media facilitate spreading the goods, symbols or maintaining of the memory or myths of homelands between dispersed members of the migrants' communities, simultaneously creating the feeling of being part of the community without sharing common territory. The migrants displacement effects associated with globalisation have altered their relationship with space and territory and have had an impact on the way communities are grounded within it (Papastergiadis, 2000). It can be concluded that diaspora '*disrupts the fundamental power of territory to determine identity by breaking the simple sequence of explanatory links between place, location, and consciousness'* (Gilroy, 2000:123). In addition,

the transnational migration setting has an impact not only on the ways in which migrants live and organise their experiences, but it has also favoured the establishment of broader transnational networks that involve both relations within host and home country (Basch *et. al.,* 1994; Vertovec and Cohen, 1999; Carter, 2005). Indeed, it can be concluded that the dynamics of migrants' de-territorialisation has decoupled the earlier links between place and community formation and its sense of belonging, situating the community in multiple locations, and complex sets of relationships.

Traditionally the idea of transnational migrants' relations refers to trans-state diaspora networks connecting migrants with their homeland. The notion of diasporas is used to emphasise migrant community feeling and experience of displacement and reconnection (Weinar, 2008). The term has been used to refer to the dispersal of nations, such as Jews, Roma, or Kurds and related to forced mass migration when a people '*is scattered as a result of a traumatic historical event*' (Cohen, 1995:5). However, the contemporary world and globalisation has increased the opportunities for diaspora formation. Thus, the concept of diaspora has been used to describe the geographical displacement of individuals not only due to persecution but also economic migrants, or students, and all other migrants that experience difficulties in the home country (Kelly, 2003).

The term diaspora incorporates a particular set of characteristics, such as dispersion of a group of one national or ethnic origin between two or more places who maintain and develop networks across different destinations; a strong internal structure and symbolic or real links to the home country, and emotional identification with the home country (Kelly, 2003). This might bring a certain ambiguity within the meaning of it terms, however Kelly (2003) noted that most definitions of diaspora communities refer to its three components: 1) movement across state borders, 2) homeland orientation as a source of values and identity, and 3) boundary maintenance. Discourses on diaspora provide a useful analytical tool for migration studies. Such a

framework can conceptualise the migrants' dual orientation toward both home and host country and can take into account migrants' transnational relations. Therefore, this research will use the idea of diasporas as a framework of Polish migrants transnational networks between home and host country. In particular it will analyse how migrants develop and maintain their trans-state networks. In addition' it will explore how Polish migrants' transnational relations shape migrant dual orientation towards home and host country.

There are two terms that are emphasised when defining the meaning of community - the interconnectedness and common values between its members. Thus, community is about collective relationships and the feeling of its members to be linked to other members. This linkage can be formed based on the common experience of particular elements of culture or kinship that differentiate it from other groups or defined by common relationships to points of social reference, here meaning shared identity (culture, language, tradition etc.). Other definitions of community are possible, but an important feature of these definitions is the notion of the community as taking a collective form. There is something that the members of the community feel they have in common and which provides a link between its members. This commonality can take many forms and may be real or imagined. Different types of community have been identified, including ethnic communities, transnational communities, and diasporas. These different typologies have been created to account for the continuing salience of notions of community in the context of migration and the different ways in which migrants adapt after migration.

This study is aimed at exploring the collective relations that have created interconnectedness between Polish migrants living within and beyond the Glasgow area. Therefore, this study is focused on exploring the types of social relations and points of social reference (culture, language, tradition) that create Polish migrants' common sense of belonging. It will outline and

assess the multiple meanings of ‘community’ within the Polish community and dynamics of its internal linkage and differentiation with relation to gender, age, and social class. Focusing on the types of community formation, the research will examine the various social relations and the construct of social capital within the Polish community in Glasgow. Both the study of social capital and social networks have been selected in this research because they provide a useful apparatus for examining social relations, as it focuses on the various patterns of relations between agents, social units, and institutions that can explain the forms and processes of social organisation (Schuller *et al.,* 2000).

1.4 Social capital

The concept of social cohesion and community is strongly related to other concepts such as community, social networks, and social capital (Worley, 2005). The idea of social capital can be defined as a set of networks, norms, and trust that enable and facilitate co-ordination and co-operation between individuals to work together more efficiently towards shared aims (Putnam, 2000:2). In addition, we can identify two forms of social capital: bonding and bridging. The first one refers to exclusive social ties between homogeneous members, while the second, ‘bridging capital’, refers to the connections between heterogeneous groups based on common interests. Both types of capital refer to the idea of trust, with this distinction that ‘bridging social capital’ is based on general trust as well trust in strangers, while ‘bonding capital’ is based on the trust only in the people that the individual already knows. Therefore, bridging social capital is considered as beneficial for social cohesion as it involves the ability to co-operate with different people for the purpose of achieving a collective good (Putnam, 2000).

Compared to Putnam (1993, 2000), Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes three forms of capital (economic, cultural, and social) and these help define an individuals social standing and position. While economic capital refers to

material assets and income, cultural capital refers to the symbolic assets that a person possesses which may be embodied in behaviour or language and can also be institutionalised and expressed in the form of educational qualifications. Social capital, on the other hand, derives from the size and type of social networks that one can access and draw upon (Bourdieu, 1986: 249). It should be stressed that migrants' ability to mobilise social capital and successfully engage in bridging may depend upon their cultural capital, for a example language skills, technical skills or educational qualifications. However, although migrants might be relatively weak in terms of economic and cultural capital, they might make up these gaps with strong social capital. For example, upon arrival many migrants might have limited knowledge of the host community thus they rely on family and friendship ties which they hope might become a beneficial resource of support. The value of migrants' social networks will be explored in the following section.

It could be argued that the notion of social capital, embodying a range of theoretical assumptions and perspectives such as norms, values, trust, bonding, bridging and linking, are rather ambiguous and poorly defined (Worley, 2005). The idea of social capital relates to the notion of solidarity and trust which unfolds within formal and informal relations. The nature of trust entails sets of mutual expectations and obligations between individuals, which develops by social interaction and creates relations of reciprocality and obligation. It means that the more connections one has the greater trust it possesses, as people can gain knowledge about other individuals through social interaction.

> *In other words, we take the position that "if i trusts j , and j trusts k , then i should have a somewhat more positive view of k based on this knowledge" in order to enable the agents to learn from their experience with other agents, it is necessary to feedback the experience of following a particular recommendation into the trust relationship. This is*

> *done as follows: subsequent to an interaction, agent 'a' who has acted on a rating through its neighbour, updates the value of trust to this neighbour, based on the experience that he made* (Walter *et al*., 2008:60)

Trust makes it possible to maintain peaceful and stable social relations that are the basis for collective behaviour and productive cooperation and therefore facilitates the exchange of experiences between individuals and contributes to the continual accumulation of trust (Walter *et al*., 2008). In general, social trust is expressed by people who feel they are generally surrounded by trustworthy people. Walter *et al.* (2008) indicates that the prosperity of trust- based relations depends on three qualities: network density, as the denser relation leads to its better performance; individual's heterogeneity; and knowledge sparseness, as it is easier for individuals to interact with others with the same preferences and experience. Thus social structures such as gender, ethnicity, or social class embody different preferences, needs, and expectations towards social relations causing difficulties in exchanging trustful experiences. Indeed, heterogeneity introduce difficulties in exchanging and accumulating the required information on past relation experiences hindering the distribution of the trusting relation. In addition, it should be emphasised that the high density of mutual relations, trust, and solidarity within one community does not necessary translate into another community - thus in some cases a community with high cohesion within itself, might reject cohesion within the greater community (Hipp and Perrin, 2006). This means that high level of social capital within one group does not necessary translate into mutual relations within another and some cohesive communities may form fragmented allegiances to the broader community (Forrest and Kearns, 2001).

High levels of trust within closely connected groups create relations of reciprocity and obligations between its members. Reciprocality is established

inside a long chain of sequential, usually face-to-face, interactions, that are held in memory of relevant social encounters. These actors present vivid memories of past events and act under a social logic by which every one of them responds to previous 'moves' according to their own perception and evaluation of others' relations. Indeed, reciprocality as memorable e v e n t involves a set of gift giving practices, a rotation in the roles of giving and receiving where a favour received in the past needs to be returned in the future. The failure in returning the favour leads to individual isolation (Day, 2006). Mauss (2002) argued that gift giving practices and reciprocation is obligatory, what means that an individual obligates a person to reciprocate the present that has been received. In addition, Mauss (2002) indicated that exchange relations embodied three separated but interlinking obligations that create relations of giving, receiving or accepting the gift, and returning between individuals, that is the relations between giver and receiver. Refusal of one obligation either to give, to receive, or to return the gift means rejection of the bonds that are coming with exchanging relations (Godelier, 1999).

Migrants' complex relationships within the wider ethnic community may involve different layers of trust. In fact, the wider ethnic community may be perceived in negative terms as a source of competition, pressure, or even fear (Williams, 2006). Recent research examining Polish post-accessed migrants in London (Ryan *et al.,* 2008; Eade *et al*., 2006) revealed a tendency to regard the wider 'ethnic community' with wariness and even in some cases suspicion. This feeling of suspicion amongst the Polish diaspora was usually expressed by low skilled or illegal Polish migrants' workers who had restricted access to the labour market. The feeling of competition rather than collaboration for limited resources within the labour market among undocumented workers in Brussels (Grzymała-Kozłowska, 2005), caused the shift in trustful relations as Polish migrants tended to place their trust only in specific groups of family members or close friends, at the same time reporting a general lack of trust among other Poles. Furthermore, Polish

post-accessed migrants also tended to be mistrustful of involvement in community organisations that were mainly established by the Second World War generation of Polish migrants and such organisations seem less relevant for the new post- accessed Polish migrants. In addition, Kelly (2003) argued that the formal association can create a foundation for construction of community association, but on the other hand it may not reflect the real relations and linkage of their members. For example, an analysis of Bosnian refugees' organisations revealed that even thought there were several kinship groups, friends, and networks between Bosnian refugees, there was no feeling of obligation to others Bosnians outside the circle of close relations or other common relation among general population of Bosnian refugees that would create Bosnians community (Kelly, 2003). Indeed, the Bosnian refugees' organisations constructed formal and rather contingent communities whose existence and continuity did not depend on the internal networks and reciprocal relations, but rather the continued efforts of a few individuals and the availability of public funds to provide resources for organisation activities.

The analysis of this project aims to grasp the networks, interactions, and mechanism involved in the process of network creations that facilitate and construct desirable capital for Polish migrants. In addition, the study will answer the question in what manner, and which social networks, can create resources facilitating migrants settlement within new host community. The notion of social capital has been selected in this study to explore the values and dynamics of social connections that form resources for migrants who possess it. In addition, the theory of social capital is unable to provide a useful apparatus for examining the social relations, therefore this research will examine the various capitals that arise among the social networks, methods of its formation, use, and access.

1.5 Social networks

Social networks can be defined as sets of social contacts within a group made through personal relationships including kinship, friendship, and community ties and these are seen as important mechanisms in understanding the process of migration movement and settlement patterns (Castles and Miller, 2003; Jordan and Duvell, 2003). These relationships may influence decisions to migrate, provide money to finance moves, and, after migration, provide accommodation, employment, information, and emotional support (Boyd, 1989:651). Thus, networks may construct a key element in facilitating community formation and the settlement plans of permanent migrants (Portes, 1995).

Migrant's social networks are important sources of social capital that allow migrants to access social support and thus increase feelings of security (Boyd, 1989). However, the assumption that newly arrived migrants can easily access the networks of their local ethnic communities simplifies their experience in the host communities. In addition, the cohesion within the ethnic communities might represent a kind of power, as exclusive goods, where a community might not want to extend their privileges to share their own networks with others migrants (Collyer, 2005). For example, Kelly and Lusis (2006) argued that migration studies often assume that migrants who arrive within a host country are able to access a range of co-ethnic ties that provide support and often emphasise the meaning and implication of the network connections for reducing the costs and risks of mobility, without interpreting the value of its provision. However, their research on migrants from the Philippines living and working in Toronto revealed that migrants' networks are more often than not created within the host country but are transferred from their home country. In other words, immigrants are less likely to be integrated within their co-ethnic relations, but they tend to reconstruct their kinship within a host country. In means that migrants social networks

might be relocated and carried from the migrant home country rather than acquired upon arrival.

Migrants' social networks might provide a diverse form of support. Schrover *et al.* (cited in Oakley, 1992) made an important differentiation between the emotional, informational, and instrumental support that co-ethnic ties might offer migrants. In addition, these types of support might be provided by diverse people, in varied forms, and at different periods of time, and may not be located only within a host country but may cross national boundaries through transnational communication. For example, transnational links with close relatives ‘back home’ might constitute an emotional supportive role, as migrants might use text messages, cheap phone calls, e-mail, and internet communicators such as Skype to maintain contact with home (Ryan *et al.*, 2008). The information and instrumental support, such as access to social services such as health, education, employment, or leisure might be obtained through close ties with migrant friends or families, as people can be more motivated to help close relatives (Granovetter, 1973) However, this support may also be sought through other ‘weak ties’ with other people who possess the desired knowledge and ability to provide desirable information on employment, accommodation, and public services provision. Therefore, ‘weak ties’ might be more valuable compared to ‘strong ties’ as they provide wide range and diversity of social networks (Cranford, 2005). The diverse weak ties with other individuals such as work or school colleagues or neighbours, provide different sources of information. Indeed, the wide range of social capital at migrant’s disposal, might help them to access cultural and economic capital.

The type of networks that migrants possess might depend on socio-economic factors such as occupational social class, gender, or age. For example, it seems that skilled migrants rely more on networks of colleagues and organisations, whilst unskilled workers rely more on kin-based networks (Vertovec and Cohen,1999). In addition, more educated and wealthier

migrants might possess social networks that have a wider geographical range (Wierzbicki, 2004), while low income migrants' social networks might be limited and concentrated to a single neighbourhood area due to restricted access to resources (Blokland, 2003). Furthermore, first generation migrants are usually strongly orientated towards networks consisting of members from their co-ethnic community and might feel a stronger attachment to their home country compared to second generation migrants who have grown up in the host country and whose networks are diverse (Amin, 2002). The character of migrants' networks might be highly influenced by its economic context – for example, certain networks might receive little assistance from kith and kin due to economic contexts and low levels of resources that migrants might possess (Menjivar, 1997).

Social networks are perceived as important instruments that facilitate migrants' adaptation within a new environment (Portes, 1995). Although the presence of networks provides a sense of security and support for migrants it might lead to marginalisation and ghettoisation (Dekker and Bolt, 2005). Upon arrival, ethnic migrant networks may provide basic and necessary support with regard to employment and accommodation but over a longer period it might cause separation and marginalisation from the wider host community. Additionally, it should be emphasised that marginalisation and ghettoisation is not necessarily spatial, but might be related to a migrant's culture, nationality, or lack of proficiency in English language. Research by Ryan *et al.* (2008) on social networks and social capital among recent Polish migrants living in London revealed that even though many Polish migrants were living in ethnically diverse areas of London, migrants were socialising and working within almost exclusively Polish groups, thus their social networks remained embedded within trusted family and friends and with people back in Poland.

Migrant networks might be a source of support but they can also result in competition and distrust. Recent research on Polish migrants in London (e.g.

Eade *et al*., 2006; Ryan *et al*., 2008) and the Netherlands (Toruńczyk-Ruiz, 2008) illustrate the lack of ethnic solidarity and co-operation between Poles that can sometimes occur. This often emerges on the basis of negative experiences or widely spread negative stereotypes of a Polish person wanting to deceive his or her fellow countrymen. Such negative opinions about other Poles are mainly applied to low skilled Polish migrants with limited social (social networks), economic (financial support), and cultural (language skills) resources who are mainly dependent upon their ethnic-specific relations as sources of informational and instrumental support and is related to strong competition in the labour market. However the research by Ryan *et al.* (2008) revealed that those Poles who rely mostly on networks of co-ethnic counterparts/peers were also those who were most critical of their fellow Poles.

Apart from personal ties within migrants' networks, other forms of network can be created among, for example, organisational relations – such as schools, professional associations, agencies, recruiters, and other intermediaries (Findlay and Garrick, 1990). Garapich (2008) argues that migrant industries for example specialised social actors and commercialised institutions such as travel agencies, recruitment agencies banks, and money sending institutions, communication businesses, ethnic food economies and other profited organisations target immigrant populations and are perceived as an important agent in supporting, setting, and reproducing migration networks. London-based research on new post-accessed Polish migrants has found evidence of new voluntary organisations such as Community Centres, Saturday Schools, or the Polish Catholic Church offering advice and support, or new commercial organisations which were attempting to adapt to the needs and opportunities posed by waves of new migration from Poland (Ryan *et al.,* 2008). Similar findings from other research exist on the dynamics of Polish migrant networks in Germany within the domestic care industry (Elrick and Lewandowska, 2008). It validates the significant role of profitable actors such as employers or recruitment agencies in shaping the

migrants' networks and migration process. Furthermore, such research perhaps illustrates the fact that the role of agents in the construction of migrant networks has been underestimated, as it appears that apart from instrumental support agents also appear to offer migrants social and emotional support.

Previous research indicated that migrants' social networks construct important mechanisms for initiating migration as well as providing informational, practical, and emotional support for migrants while settling abroad. Thus, social networks can facilitate migrants' process of adaptation within a new environment or they can result in competition and a feeling of distrust leading to migrants' marginalization and gethoization. In addition, the analysis of previous studies on migrants' social networks indicated the diverse approaches in its analysis and tend to focused around migrants personal and institutionalised relations, as well as their extent (transnational, local), dynamics and strength (strong, weak ties), and roles (support, marginalization). This research will analyse the process of network formation, the role of ethnic-specific networks, and the diverse strength and density of social networks among the Polish migrants in Glasgow. In particular, the project will examine how Polish migrants access, form, and use social networks and how they change over time. The particular attention will be given to the migrants' social networks composition with relation to their age, social status, gender, and language skills.

2. Migration from Poland to Glasgow

The city of Glasgow, situated in Scotland's west central lowlands, is the United Kingdom's third most populous city with nearly 600,000 estimated inhabitants, and is the largest city in Scotland (General Register Office for Scotland, 2007). Over the eighteenth to the twentieth Century the population of Glasgow has been largely increased by the labour migration of Irish, Poles, Italians, and Jews migrants attracted by increased prosperity and industrialisation within the city. In comparison, the twentieth century marked by economic recession and depression resulting from economic transformation from industry to service based economy, followed by population outflow and high levels of unemployment and poverty by the 1960's. However, since the 1990's Glasgow has seen again experience the revival and regeneration, especially in relation to the financial and business sector and following inward investment and increases in international tourism. Glasgow today is both the largest economy in Scotland and one of the poorest cities in the UK with high levels of social deprivation and a high economic inactivity rate (McKendrick *et al.*, 2007). In addition, due to its history, Glasgow is a place where over one hundred languages are now being spoken in the city on a day-to-day basis, that ethnic and cultural difference is a constant feature in the day-to-day life of the city.

Since 2004 and the accession of various countries from Eastern Europe into the European Union, Scotland alongside with the rest of the UK has experience the increase in the number of migrant coming from central and Eastern European (predominantly from Poland, but also from: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Romania and Bulgaria). This chapter aims to provide a broader context of migration from Poland to Scotland. Drawing from both historical and contemporary perspective, this chapter focus on two main migration waves, in particular post Second War migration and EU post enlargement migration from Poland to Scotland.

2.1 Historical perspective

A substantial number of Polish migrants arrived in Scotland during and after the Second World War. Following the defeat of France, during June and July 1940, the Polish government in exile was established and around 20,000 Polish servicemen and some 3,000 Polish civilian refugees were evacuated to Britain (Kernberg, 1990). The first Army Corps was organised in Scotland and the main places of settlement for Polish soldiers were Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, and Falkirk. During wartime, the Polish government in London with local Scottish authorities organised a ‘support societies' for Poles, including education and welfare facilities. An example of this approach was the formation of the Polish V-Club which was located in Glasgow city centre (Koczy, 1980). The establishment of Polish units and institutions during wartime that offered support for Polish migrants and facilitated the knowledge acquirement for life in Scotland certainly influenced post-war settlement patterns.

The end of the Second World War and the decision taken at the Yalta Conference (4th to 11th February, 1945) followed by the establishment of a Communist Government in Poland have prevented many Polish servicemen and civilians from returning to their home country. In 1947 the Labour Government instituted the policies called the Polish Resettlement Act of 27 March and European Volunteer Workers scheme which gave Polish servicemen the right to settle in the UK. In consequence, with reference to the National Census in April 1951 there were 10603 Polish citizens living in Scotland, where 1164 were settled in Glasgow (Census of Scotland, 1951).
The Polish community in Scotland had been formed around former wartime ‘support societies' institutions and organisations, for example the Combatants’ Associations like the Sikorski Polish Club[1] in Glasgow were a main place for gatherings of the Polish community.

[1] Sikorski Polish Club: www.sikorskipolishclub.org.uk

The post war economic development and labour shortage on the labour market facilitated economic incorporation of Polish migrant in Scotland. It should be emphasised that post war Polish migrants, mainly former soldiers, were well educated, thus have easily accommodated themselves in the local labour markets (Tomaszewski, 1976). However, between 1961 and 1971 there was a decrease in the number of Polish citizens living in Scotland, for example to the Scottish Census revealed that in 1971, in Glasgow there were 880 of Polish citizens (Census of Scotland, 1971). During this time Poles in Glasgow continued to develop and maintain the support community institutions, such as the previously mentioned Sikorski Polish Club, SPK Polish Club, the Polish Parish Church, or Saturday Polish School, that offered educational and cultural facilities. The social and cultural lives of Polish immigrants were organised around the Polish communities. Even though the development and activities of those institutions in further years has been limited due to the death of their founders, some of the members of the `second generation' Polish migrants continued their tradition. Therefore, still some of the institutionalised communities in Glasgow that acts as a place of meeting for Poles in Glasgow, for example Sikorski Polish Club which acts as a source of information and support for contemporary, post accessed Polish migrants.

2.2 Current migration patterns

In a historical context, the main migration patterns from Scotland were concentrated around either New Commonwealth Countries such as Canada, New Zealand, Australia, or England. However, more accessible travel and global communication provide migrants with greater flexibility, helping to respond to the labour demand within Scotland. In addition, declining fertility and increasing live longevity have had significant implications for the population structure in Scotland. In particular the total fertility rate is below the average required to replace their population, with the total fertility rate for Scotland in 2005 being 1.62, which was lower than it was in England and

Wales where it was 1.86 (National Statistic Office, 2008; General Register Office for Scotland, 2008). Therefore the Scottish Government has been keen to promote and encourage migration, focusing mainly on highly skilled individuals and university graduates (De Lima *et al.,* 2007). In 2004 the Scottish Executive produced a policy statement entitled 'New Scots: Attracting fresh talents to meet the challenge of growth' that became the background for the 'Fresh Talent: Working in Scotland Scheme' policy, which aims to attract and bring highly qualified migrants to Scotland (Scottish Executive, 2004). As a result, in 2008 Scotland's population increase to 5,168,500, which constituted the highest figure since 1981 and an increase of 24,300 people on the previous year (General Register Office for Scotland, 2008).

2.2.1 Post-enlargement migration from Poland to Scotland, Glasgow

The recent increase in Scotland's population has been driven mostly by net in-migration, for example in 2008 in-migration exceeded out-migration by 20,000 (General Register Office for Scotland, 2008). Since May 2004, when ten new countries joined the European Union (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovenia, and Slovakia) Scotland, alongside with the rest of the UK, has experienced new waves of immigrants coming from the newly accessed countries (A8 immigrants). As a result of EU expansion nationals from all these countries have the legal right to work and move throughout Europe and the UK. The EU pre-enlargement estimation of the annual net inflow of A8 nationals coming to the UK was around 5,000, with an increase to 13,000 in 2010 (Dustmann *et al.,* 2003). However, according to Home Office data, between May 2004 and December 2004 there were 134,555 Work Registration Scheme (WRS)[2] applications,

[2] The Work Registration Scheme (WRS) was introduced in 2004 to monitor the influx of labour migration of A8 nationals to the UK. Each national from A8 countries who wishes to take up work with an employer in the UK for at least a month is required to register with the scheme and to pay a registration fee (£90) to the Home Office. Applicants must re-register with the scheme if they change employer (but do not pay another fee) for the first twelve months of their stay in the UK.

following 212,325 WRS applications in 2005 and 217,970 in 2007 (Home Office, 2009). The initial estimate of EU post-accessed migrants inflow was significantly underestimated, as in total the number of registered migrants with the WRS in 2007 was fifteen times higher than the indicated primary estimation. However, it should be emphasised that WRS data presented an incomplete picture of the net migration of A8 migrants to the UK, as they do not monitor the outflow of A8 nationals from the UK. The WRS data includes only those A8 migrants who register when they take up a job within the first year of their stay in the UK, however it does not monitor the duration of employment nor if and when a return home occurs. The data thus give a cumulative total of those arriving but no information on departure and so cannot be regarded as migrant stock statistics. The second major problem with the data is that they do not record those migrants who are self-employed, students (unless they register to work), dependants, or migrants who simply do not register with the WRS. In addition, it can be argued that the WRS data monitors the numbers of applications for particular jobs that migrants possess during the first twelve months of their stay in the UK, not the number of applicants themselves. Apart from the WRS data, the number National Insurance Number applications (NINo) made by A8 nationals also makes it possible to identify some of the major socio-demographic characteristics of the new EU post-accessed migrants. However, similar to the WRS data, these figures do not give a full picture of the scale of migration, but only indicate general trends and cannot be regarded as a definitive representation.

According to Home Office data Polish migrants constitute the largest group registering and account for 64.4 per cent (327,538 people) of the A8 migrants in total (Home Office, 2009). In terms of the geographic concentration of Polish migrants within the UK, it seems that Poles are being widely distributed throughout the whole country. However, some parts of the UK, in particular the Scottish Borders, central valley, and the industrial North East are the main areas of Polish migrant concentration when compared to other

regions within the country. With reference to the same data, the number of A8 migrant workers who had settled in Scotland registered by the WRS up until the first quarter of 2008 was 66,345 (Table 2.1). However, the data from the Department of Work and Pensions shows that between May 2004 and March 2008, 85,396 accessed state migrants applied for a National Insurance Number. Both data sources, although they contain different estimations on the influx of EU post-enlargement migration show an increase in the number of applicants over the same time period.

Table 2.1: Number of the WRS and NINo registrations made by A8 migrant workers in Scotland 2004-2008

	WRS	NINo
2004	8,150	3,701
2005	15,895	20,581
2006	19,050	27,663
2007	19,550	27,814
Q1 2008	3,700	5,639
Total	66,345	85,398

Source: Accession Monitoring Report 2004- May 2008, Home Office 2004 – 2008

In terms of the geographical location of A8 migrants in Scotland, until September 2005 one out of every four post-accession migrants lived in Edinburgh, with slightly fewer in Perth (15%), Aberdeen (14%), and Glasgow (11%). In 2007, accordingly to the WRS data, 3,135 migrant workers from A8 countries lived in Glasgow. Similarly, figures from the Department of Work and Pensions show that between 2002/03 and 2005/2006 there were 3,730 registrations for a NINo made by A8 nationals (Blake Stevenson, 2007). Even though Glasgow City Council does not keep separate records of migration from accession states, their estimation on the basis of the WRS and NINo figures indicates the total number of A8 migrants being closer to 5,000 (Blake Stevenson, 2007). Again, it should be emphasised these are estimations and

they do not present direct figures of A8 migrants living and working in Glasgow.

Table 2.2: A8 National registration by nationality in Glasgow 2002-2006

Year	2003/2004	2004/2005	2005/2006	Total
Estonia	0	10	10	20
Latvia	0	40	80	120
Lithuania	10	40	140	200
Hungary	10	10	30	50
Poland	30	510	2060	2620
Slovenia	0	10	0	10
Czech Republic	10	60	210	290
Slovakia	10	80	330	430
Poles as a % of number of A8 migrant population	42.8%	67%	72%	70%

Source: Blake Steverson (2007)

The data from NINo applications (Table 2.2) shows that the majority of A8 migrants living in Glasgow came from Poland. The WRS data also indicated that over half of A8 migrants were male (58%) and the age distribution was markedly concentrated between 18 and 35 years old. In 2007, most of the A8 migrants were relatively young and childless, with eight out of ten A8 migrant workers being under 35 years old and most of not having dependants with them.

The general effect of migration to Glasgow has generally been a positive one regarding the economy and local population growth. However, from the perspective of Poland, the recent literature on EU post-enlargement migration to the UK suggests a wasting of migrant potential human capital (Home Office, 2009; Orchard *et al.*, 2007; Blake Steverson, 2007; Fife City Council, 2007; Scottish Economic Research, 2006). In particular almost half

of the Polish migrant workers are well educated (for example, around 40 percent of Polish migrants hold university diplomas), yet they most commonly work in low paid and low skilled positions after migrating to the Scotland. Findings from the Home Office analysis of the situation indicate that one out of four accession states' migrants in Scotland are working in the hospitality and catering industries. Scotland also has a relatively large proportion of A8 migrant workers working in the food processing sector (11%) and construction sector (7%) when compared with the UK as a whole (see Table 2.3). Additionally, it should be noted that there is a relatively low proportion of A8 migrant workers work in administration, business, or management industries, in particular only 17 per cent of A8 migrants find employment in these sectors, compared to 38 per cent of A8 migrants in the whole UK, which might reflect the specific structure of labour demand within Glasgow's labour market. It should also be noted that over the last 25 years Glasgow's economy has experienced a transformation from a major centre of production activities to a more service sector based economy. In 2004, when eight new countries joined the EU, of the highest proportion of job vacancies in Glasgow were concentrated in the business, finance and insurance sector, distribution, hotels and restaurants, and public administration (NOMIS, 2008).

Table 2.3: Employment Sector of A8 Nationals

	%of A8 nationals in Glasgow	% of A8 nationals in Scotland	%of A8 nations in UK
Administration, Business and Management	17%	20%	38%
Hospitality and Catering	24%	23.4%	20%
Agriculture	0%	17%	11%
Manufacture	15%	6.6%	8%
Food/Fish/Meat Processing	11%	11.8%	5%
Retail	8%	3.2%	5%
Construction	14%	7.3%	4%
Health and Medical	3%	3.8%	5%
Transport	8%	2.7%	3%
Entertainment and Leisure	2%	1.2%	2%

Source: Accession Monitoring Report 2004-2008, Home Office 2004-2008

Glasgow has a higher proportion of A8 migrant workers employed in manufacturing (15%), construction (14%), transport (8%), and retail (8%) compared with the Scottish average (manufacturing (6.6%), construction (7.3%), retail (3.2%)) and the UK as a whole (manufacturing (8%), construction (4%) and retail (5%)). Examining available information about the occupations of migrant workers from accession countries, it is evident that the majority of A8 migrants (both male and female) have manual and unskilled jobs.

Scotland, alongside the rest of the UK, has experienced the arrival of new communities from central and Eastern Europe since May 1, 2004 when the European Union increased in size to include various countries from this region and beyond, with the majority of these being Polish migrants. It seems that recent influx of Polish migrants to Scotland, as well as Glasgow, has

significant implications for the population structure of this region. However, the migration of Poles to Glasgow is not a new phenomena as the city experienced the migration of Polish soldieries after the Second World War and they established diverse diaspora organisations supporting and maintaining migrants' traditions and identities. Again, already established migrant communities might provide a good source of support for new post-accessed Polish migrants. Furthermore, based on the analysis of the available Home Office data, the general characteristics of the EU post-accessed Polish migrants community suggests that Poles in Glasgow are mostly in full time employment, young, with no dependent and with qualifications above their level of employment.

3. Defining the Polish community in Glasgow. Methodology

‘The city is a space which is constituted by dialogical encounter of groups formed and generated immanently within its space’. (Isin, 2002:283)

Although the national, political, and economic frame of managing and controlling the migration processes remains important, much of the debate about governing the cultural differences that accompany migration occur on a local level. As immigrants are often concentrated within particular areas of cities, those cities become a place of managing cultural dialogue/conflict and it is here that ethnic differences and cultural diversities are being performed. Bearing this in mind, the study will only focus on the city of Glasgow which is the largest city in Scotland (General Register Office for Scotland, 2007). Glasgow has been selected as the local context for the research based on the complex series of historical, political, and economic transitions that contribute to its multicultural character. The population of Glasgow has largely been constituted by diverse ethnicities and cultures with migration being a constant feature of city life. From the eighteenth to the twentieth century the growth of Glasgow’s population was accompanied by increased economic prosperity due to increased city industrialisation. This largely resulted from the arrival of migrants seeking new opportunities, particularly from Ireland, Italy, Pakistan, and Poland (Audrey, 2000). In addition, since 2000 Glasgow has also been the largest dispersal site in Scotland for asylum seekers and refugees, which have also contributed to its multicultural character. Furthermore, since 2004 Glasgow has experienced increasing surplus net migration from central and Eastern Europe, but mainly from Poland. Therefore, this study is aimed at exploring the dynamics of Polish communities’ formation within the specific context of increasing migration from Poland to Glasgow.

This project attempts to use a combination of interacting research methods, drawing on qualitative research methods such as in-depth interviews with

Polish migrants, service providers that are working or have interest in Polish communities in Glasgow, and focus groups with members of Polish migrants' institutional communities in Glasgow. The first part of the research was based on analysis of two sets of micro data: the Work Registration Scheme (WRS) produced by the Home Office and the National Insurance Number (NINo) registration undertaken by the Department of Work and Pensions. Both data sources monitor the scale and geography of A8 migrants' movement after 1 May 2004. In addition, the WRS registers migrants' socio-demographic features (their occupational title and wage level) and thus it has been used to analyse the personal and labour market characteristics of Polish migrant workers who stayed in Scotland and Glasgow.

3.1 Applied research methods

The aim of this project was to analyse the structures and dynamics of the Polish migrants' co-ethnic networks that are being created within the Glasgow area. The quantitative analysis of WRS and NINo data, focusing on the extent of EU post-accessed migration flow and its geographical spread within and to Scotland, provides the context for the further exploration of Polish migrants' communities in Glasgow. Subsequently, the migrants' socio-demographic characteristics - such as a migrants age, gender, employment status, undertaken occupations, and wage levels, have been analysed within the study. The qualitative methods, the in-depth interviews with Polish migrants, were use to grasp the relations, interactions, and other mechanisms that constitute and facilitate social networks creation. Indeed, it should be emphasised that migrants' networks involve both meanings and actions that are placed within the context of specific geographic and symbolic locale, therefore this research only focused on post-accessed Polish migrants living and working in the Glasgow area. In addition, the idea of social capital was used to analyse various patterns and types of relations that Polish migrants might have within their ethnic group. With reference to previous literature on social capital that tended to define social capital as a

goal, or functional outcome (social cohesion, social integration) of social networks (Evergeti and Zontini, 2006), this research will consider social capital as process of acquiring social relations. Thus this study will focus on the construction, development, and maintenance of Polish migrants' social relations and attached to them level of trust and distrust.

The first set of questions in the interviews mainly concentrated on the migration trajectories of Polish post-accessed migrants living in Glasgow, especially their migration histories, social statuses, and the various ranges of networks that initiate and how they shape migration patterns. The following questions investigated the extent, strength, and quality of co-ethnic and social ties as well as the level of trust and distrust among Polish communities in Glasgow. In addition, special attention was given to the investigation of social networks' dimensional structure (local, transnational) and their changeable dynamics over the time migrants stayed in the host country. Further on, the analysis focused on how Polish migrants define their own community and the feeling of belonging to it, especially to identify the use of the different conceptual themes that Polish migrants associated with the Polish community and to analyse the processes of stereotypes created within them. The last questions identified the various types of social relations that Polish migrants experience both in public and private places in Glasgow. In particular, it focused on the types of diverse activities (physical, emotional, material) that are performed within different places within the Glasgow area and their influence on migrants' sense of belonging.

In addition, apart from interviews with migrants themselves, the study included in-depth interviews with particular key stakeholders who work in Glasgow and have an interest or concern with Polish migrant populations. Based on the in-depth analysis of the available literature, recent studies on A8 migrants in Scotland, particularly in Glasgow (Blake Steverson, 2007; Clark *et al.*, 2008), Edinburgh (Orchard *et al.*, 2007), Fife (Fife City Council, 2007), and Tayside (Scottish Economic Research, 2006), I have identified

five service providers from already established migrant communities and several non profit organisations which provide assistance to Polish migrants: the Polish Saturday School in Glasgow, Sikorski Polish Club, St Simon Church, Resident of Govan, and the West of Scotland Regional Equality Council. The interviews with various service providers aim to explore both the range of trust and distrust relations within Polish communities and the diverse forms of social networks created within it.

Apart from the in-depth interviews with Polish migrants, the research includes two focus groups with Polish members of diasporas groups in Glasgow, in particular with six members of Govan Residents and five Polish teachers from Polish Saturday School in Glasgow. The aim of the focus group was to give insights into the mechanisms of groups' practices and methods of establishing formal migrants' organisations as one of the methods of maintaining migrants' collective identity. In addition, attention was given to the range of factors that influence the foundation of migrants' organisations and in the longer term its further aims and activities. Furthermore, the aim of the focus group was to grasp a better sense of complex dynamics and developments of relations that take place within Polish community.

3.2 Sample selection

The exploration of migration movement involved certain difficulties that bias the quantitative research. The main factors that limits the feasibility of quantitative methods is the fact that migrants themselves are perceived as hard-to-reach groups, that is, a group that is small in relation to the general population and for which no exhaustive list of population members is available (Heckathorn, 1997). The lack of sampling frame cause that the standard probability sampling methods produce low level of response, thus its use its very limited. Subsequently, the main sampling technique that was used in this research was a purposive sampling method to ensure that all

Polish migrants' socio-demographic characteristics are included in the sample - such as gender, age, and social class differences.

The first stage of the sample selection was to define the characteristics of Polish migrants living and working in Scotland, particularly in Glasgow. The sampling frame based on the number of WRS or NINo registrations proved to be of limited use. Despite the fact A8 migrants are obligated to register with the WRS within one month of the date they have started employment in the UK, the records of the WRS data do not record those who are self-employed, students (unless they register to work), dependants, or migrants who simply do not register with the WRS. As was previously indicated, the WRS and NINo data presented information about the influx of A8 migrants, giving data relating to the cumulative total of those arriving in the UK but provides no information on departure. Thus, it indicates only general trends and cannot be regarded as a definitive picture of EU post-accessed migration of Poles to the UK. Therefore the further in-depth analysis of the available literature, recent studies on A8 migrants in Scotland, particularly in Glasgow (Blake Steverson, 2007; Clark *et al*., 2008), Edinburgh (Orchard, Szymanski and Vlahova, 2007), Fife (Fife City Council, 2007), and Tayside (Scottish Economic Research, 2006) were required to identify the target migration population. Based on exploration of local studies and available data I have identified the contact to Polish migrants communities and other service providers who provide assistance to the Polish migrants living in Glasgow. The service providers and members of established communities served as initial contacts that provided the researcher with the names and contact information of other potential Polish migrants living in Glasgow who fulfilled the research criteria.

In selecting interviewees attention was given to factors such as nationality, age, gender, migrants' professional/working status, and area they were living in throughout Glasgow. However, to avoid the situation where the whole sample was narrowed down to one group of friends or relatives (Erikson,

1979), which is a possible result when using the snowball method of data gathering, the initial contact was differentiated with various contacts via the service providers, members of established migrants communities, or the dedicated migrants' web sites www.emito.net, and http://www.glasgow24.pl to ensure that subjects from different areas and subgroups appear in the final sample. In addition, each subject who agreed to participate in the research provided an additional number of respondents, this process continued until the desired number of names was reached (Goodman, 1961). At the final stage the sample of interviewed migrants included twelve Polish migrants of diverse ages, genders, professional/working statuses, and living in various areas of Glasgow.

Table 3.1: Sample of interviewed Polish migrants

Age	
between 40 and 50 years old	4
between 25 and 35 years old	8
Gender	
Male	4
Female	8
Working status	
professionals/ highly qualified migrants	5
low paid migrants	7
Area of living in Glasgow	
West End	3
Govan	3
City Centre	1
East End	2
Sout Side	3

3.3 Positionality

The interviews usually lasted up to two hours and were conducted face-to-face , in a location and at a time selected by the interviewee themselves to create a good atmosphere and to ensure respondents perceived the interview as a natural conversation. The questions that the researcher was asking were grouped into sets of problems, the order of which were rather flexible and resulted from the context of the conversation. The presence of the researcher during the in-depth interviews may result in interviewer bias in that the researcher's behaviour during the interview is read and interpreted by their participants and it might influence their responses. The fact that the interviews were conducted in Polish language and that the interviewer was of the same nationality facilitated access to the sample group and resulted in balance of power relations during the interviews. To produce a gentle and friendly approach to the research participants, the respondents were introduced to the researcher either by people already interviewed or by service providers. The interviews involved a range questions of a sensitive nature, in particular that related to employment, benefits claims, poverty, and traumatic experiences relating to migration etc., therefore all interviews were handled sensitively and anonymity guaranteed. All interviewees signed a consent form agreeing to their involvement in the research. These can be produced on request.

The presence of a Polish interviewer made it possible to interview those Polish migrants who have little or no competence of spoken English language. The researcher's nationality facilitated negotiation of the access and arrangements of the interviews and thus the study benefited from a broader access to the data. However, it creates the bias which to an extent depended on the interviewer's appearance and perception of being native Polish could interact with respondents' perceptions of the Polish community. In fact, the Polish nationality that researcher drawn into the research field facilitated an informal discussion with the Polish migrants that was drawn

upon the shared migration experiences and Polish culture attributes, but as well may affect migrants' responses and behaviour during the interviews. Again, on some occasions the researcher's gender and age (25 year old, female) put some of the interviewees in an uncomfortable situation. This was especially true in terms of middle aged male interviewees who feel uncomfortable taking about their wages or negatives experiences in Glasgow. With this in mind, the questions about migrants' social status and traumatic experiences about being a migrant were asked at the end of interviews or in reference to migrants' previous answers.

All the interviews with Polish migrants were conducted in Polish language and were type-recorded, transcribed, and translated into English. The interviews were analysed using the thematic categories that arise from the literature review and findings emerged from deconstruction of the multiple meanings of these transcripts.

4. Us' and 'Them', diversification of Polish community in Glasgow

The notion of community is understood as a framework within which people experience continually repeated personal contact with the same people, thus the ties can be created around a group of individuals who are in regular, face- to-face contact. Polish migrants in Glasgow experience a complex range of relations within their community that involves different levels of trust and reciprocity. Most of them interact with members of their families or specific groups of friends and while those groups of networks are based on varying numbers of co-ethnic relations, they often distinguish their close ties and communities from the wider perceived and more generalised ethnic community, as a different and trustful one. Polish migrants in Glasgow tend to report a lack of solidarity within their co-ethnic community and a general feeling of distrust towards other Polish migrants. The findings are consistent with other research on Polish migrants in London (Eade *et al*., 2006; Ryan *et al.,* 2008; Ryan and White, 2008). The interviewed Poles in Glasgow emphasised the general suspicion towards the Polish diaspora community in Glasgow and they tended to be mistrustful of Polish strangers.

> *In general, when you meet other Poles on the street you have this distance. I remember three years ago when we went shopping and we heard Polish voice, it was something great, but now, when we hear Polish voices we go to an another direction, you know how the Poles are here.*
> (Kasia, female, 29, on maternity leave)

The increasing number of Polish migrants coming to Glasgow introduces competition for employment opportunities. For example, while between 2003/2004 there were thirty Polish NINo registrations in Glasgow, while in 2006 the number of Polish NINO registrations reached 2620 (Blake Steverson, 2007). It was especially true in terms of low skilled migrants for whom co-ethnic ties were the only source of support in terms of employment

or accommodation. It should be emphasised that the Polish migrants' co-ethnic relations often provide the support for other relatives living in Glasgow, but at the same time the appearance of the numbers of Polish migrants in Glasgow constitute the source of competence over limited resources on the labour market. These often cause the broken expectation and lead to conflict between Polish migrants. In fact, this sets up discrepancies in perception between particularly close, personal Polish communities and the general population of Polish migrants living in Glasgow who were often recognised as competitive and threatening. From the interviews, it could be argued that Polish migrants had a dichotomous perception of their own community, ranging from close and trustful relations with their close family and friends to suspicion and distance towards Polish strangers. The research in London (Ryan *et al.*, 2008) suggested that in the longer term migrants tend to rationalise their distrust relations and balance them with on-going reliance upon co-ethnics.

> *I think that Polish community is not well organised. I think that we are too lazy and egoistic for that. However, in general my experiences with other Poles are rather positive. I try to avoid the contact with other Poles who I don't trust* [...] *I think that Poles are meeting only with their own friends and families.*
> (Renata, female, 45, cleaner)

Respondents tended to emphasise their supportive and trustful relations, mutual help, and support from their relatives or other circles of Polish friends, which often comprised their main source of emotional and informative support. The research of undocumented Polish migrants in Belgium revealed the substantial changes in social relations among Polish workers, as in the beginning migrants' cooperate with one another and it was sufficient to know other Polish migrants to successfully access the informal job market.

However, after migrants settle within the host community they often brought their family, thus family networks steadily replaced broad ethnic cooperation and relationships on the basis of kinship began to play the most significant role (Grzymała-Kozłowska, 2005). Indeed, interviewed Polish migrants in Glasgow suggested a lack of cooperation between closed, small kinship, and friendship network groups. Thus, it could be argued that Polish migrant daily life was bounded among specific, trusted, and close groups of networks between members of the family and close friends (Evergeti and Zontini, 2006). In addition, based on research of undocumented migrants in London, Jordan (2002), suggested that while there is a general low level of social trust within post-communist societies the networks of friends and family were highly trusted. It should be emphasised that many Poles during the communist era relied on a wide range of kinship and other informal social networks to obtain desirable goods and services, compensating inadequacies in official provisions (Sztompka, 1999). According to the Public Opinion Research Centre in Poland (2008), almost three out of four Poles indicate a low level of trust towards the people they do not know, compared, to one out of four who indicated that they should trust most people.

> *Apart of my husband, I have some friends from my college and from my home town. They are all Polish. Apart of those people there is Andrzej, my husband's work colleague. He is this kind of person who you can trust and count on, he is always willing to help whenever we ask for it*.
> (Renata, female, 45, cleaner)

In addition, the low level of trust among the Polish community was associated with widely- recognised stereotypes of 'immoral Poles', who were perceived as those migrants who compete between each other, live on social benefits, have a tendency to emphasis their economic status, and in particular have a tendency to show off their economic status and wages, but at the same time they complain about a lack of social justice. The

reinforcement of this stereotype often justified migrants' dichotomous perception of the Polish community and gives a reasonable explanation for selectivity in terms of given support.

> *Sometimes I feel ashamed of Poles behaviour, for example, I'm standing in the grocery shop and I can here 3 Poles behind me buying vodka and swearing all the time. I know that Scots swears too, but we, Poles, are here as a guest, this is not our country. This is Scotland, and this is their [Scots] country and we suppose to respect their law and culture. I don't like those Poles who are coming here with this demanding attitude, looking only for occasion to apply for social benefits.*
> (Kasia, female, 29, on maternity leave)

The rationalisation process of mistrust and competitiveness was strongly referred to the notion of 'immoral Poles', meaning 'benefit abusers' or 'dodgers'. The previous research on undocumented Polish migrants in London (Jordan, 2002) and Brussels (Grzymała-Kozłowska, 2005) indicated that the increased competitive situation in the informal labour market resulted in frequent examples of exploitation throughout the Polish community. Low levels of cultural capital and limited access to economic resources of undocumented Polish migrants resulted in little assistance and cooperation within their ethnic community. However, the legal status of post-accession Polish migrants in Glasgow and their migration experience differed from that undocumented ones, although the notion of competitiveness and exploitation among Polish community in Glasgow was still an issue.

> *No, I wasn't deceive by Poles personally, I don't have that experience maybe because I can count on my family, but I heard from other Poles the stories like that.*
> (Barbara, female, 50, cleaner)

Migrants tend to adopt strategies to rationalise the support that they receive from other Polish migrants, simultaneously distinguishing it from the general Polish community. As it was anticipated above, many Polish migrants in Glasgow receive various support from other Poles despite the widely recognised rhetoric of suspicion and lack of trust. In addition, ascribed, a shared meaning of 'immoral Poles' was often used by Poles to interpret the various relations within the Polish community.

> *When I meet other Poles on the street I keep the distance, I don't know why it is like that, it is stupid, because we should help each other as one nation and what is more, we should not feel ashamed of each other.*
> (Kasia, female, 29, on maternity leave)

It should be emphasised that the lack of solidarity amongst Polish migrants living in Glasgow was also associated with social class stratification. The Verdaguer (2009) argues that scholars who concentrate on the ethnic solidarity often overlook class stratification among co-ethnics groups. Indeed, compared with migrants who have little knowledge of the English language, the Polish students or professionals indicated that they had little contact with the Polish community, apart from their close relatives and friends. Their social networks branched out from their co-ethnic relations and often included various networks with other nationalities. In addition, they often stated that their perception on the general Polish community in Glasgow did not change due to their migration.

> *I don't work with Poles and don't study with Poles, and I don't go to the church, and I don't think that because of the fact I'm from Poland I need to find a friend who is Polish. I don't have a need to meet with other Poles. Maybe if I didn't have Polish*

partner, I would have this need to meet other Polish people, perhaps just to talk in Polish language.
(Daniel, male, 25, architectural assistant)

Polish migrants level of cultural capital, mainly their proficiency in English language, limits their social networks to co-ethnic ones. Indeed, those migrants tend to depend on their co-ethnic relations as a source of emotional, informational and practical support. It should be emphasised that Polish migrants define the meaning of support mainly in terms of provision of various information on employment opportunities, arrangements of accommodation in Glasgow, and other information referring to accessing public services, health, education, or leisure. For some Polish migrants in Glasgow participation in co-ethnic networks strains their relationship with other Poles and often results in conflict and broken expectations. This could support Evergeti and Zontini's argument (2006) that theory on social capital tends to overemphasise the positive role of co-ethnic networks, in a sense idealising its cooperation nature and overlooking its diverse power relations. On some occasions Polish migrants perceive helping other migrants as a burden.

My husband Michal works with many Poles who, of course, don't speak English at all. There was a time when they called Michal all the time asking about everything, for example, to help them with housing benefit applications, to help with NINo registrations, to help with working tax registrations, or many, many things. I didn't mind for a first and second time, but there were more and more calls and you need to have your limits, but then you can hear from that same person, that as usually, you can't count on Poles.
(Gosia, female, 26, cleaner)

*I used to work in recruitment agency, so I met a lot of Poles whose English was rather poor. I was trying to treat them professionally and equally. Some of them where coming and crying that they need a job, and they are desperate to get it. It was this kind of psychological blackmail that because I'm from Poland I should treat them differently than other nationalities, what was not fair. And when I managed to organised something for them and I called with information that they can start the new job on the next day, sometimes, of course, they appreciated it a lot, but there were some occasions that something suddenly has happened that they couldn't take the job. There were some situations like this. I know that I'm from Poland, but some people tried to use this, thinking that I should give them the job, just because I'm from Poland, not because they have sufficient qualifications. It is not like tha*t.

(Weronika, female, 29, HR assistant)

Surprisingly, the Poles who relied the most on the co-ethnic networks were very critical about other Polish migrants living in Glasgow, indicating a lack of solidarity and support within Polish community. A high level of dependence was sometimes evident due to lack of fluency in English and this created unequal power relations between Polish migrants and often led to unrealistic expectations toward other Poles in Glasgow.

Sometimes you can help people not because you want to have financial benefit from it, but just to feel good about it. Sometimes when you refuse to help other Poles, or that you are sorry but you don't have time, you can get really negative reaction, something like, 'this is how it is', or 'you can't never count on other Poles'.

(Maciek, male, 28 factory worker, photograph)

Indeed, lack of proficiency in English language limited Polish migrants abilities for developing social networks to those within the Polish community. Different expectations, needs and migrations aims introduce the difficulties in exchanging and accumulating the trustful relations within the Polish communities in Glasgow. Solidarity of immigrant networks is not only contingent on structural forces in the context of reception, but also on specific pre-migration characteristics and the demographic traits of a particular immigrant community (Verdaguer, 2009). It should be emphasise that within groups of post-accessed Polish migrants we can distinguish diverse groups with different demographic and social characteristics such as Polish professionals, business people, students, low skilled migrants, families/single parents, and other Polish migrants who came to the UK and who stay abroad for various period of time. Polish migrants social structures such as gender, class, age and proficiency in English language embody different needs, expectation towards the social relations causing the difficulties in exchanging the trustful relation. As it was indicated above migrants' social status, and language proficiency created internal social boundaries that influenced the process of social network creation between Poles in Glasgow. Again, different migrant trajectories constitute the important factor creating further social boundaries differentiating and influencing Polish social networks within their ethnic community. Those differentiations amongst Polish migrants living in Glasgow shaped their social relations and influenced their experience of forming and maintaining ethnic ties. Indeed, different migration experiences, migrants' social class, age and gender lesser the mutual, co-ethnic relations within Poles living in Glasgow. In addition, some of the respondents emphasised that they have no need to meet other Poles in Glasgow as they have little in common regarding social and cultural capital.

> *Here, Polish community is very diverse, people need to have common aims or links to feel this solidarity between each other, but as I said there are various aims, class, social*

habits and needs and even though we are all from Poland it is not enough. In Poland you would not make friendship with someone with who you have nothing in common apart from your nationality, same in here. However, here it is much more possible that you will meet other Poles with who, apart from being Polish you have nothing in common. Ok, we have the same history, tradition, we speak the same language, but it is very general. To make strong ties you need to have something else that you can refer to on daily basis. Yes, I meet many Poles on the street, but I won't jump to each of them and say 'hi I'm from Poland, let's become friends'; it is so unnatural and rather weird.
(Agnieszka, female, 25, PhD student)

It seems that for Polish migrants the process of negotiation, maintenance, and construction of their ethnic identity was complex and includes diverse migration history, social class position, age, and gender. Everget and Zontini (2006) suggest that it is not enough to define what is ethnicity but also 'when' and 'how' it is mobilised as communicative resources. In addition, Fenton *et al.* (2002) argued that the character of ethnic minorities' distinctiveness is marked both by their culture and their specific position in the social class hierarchy. It means that ethnicity often corresponds with other markers of social stratification such as gender, social status, age, and religion that often overlap within each other and are constituted by processes of formatting and maintaining social boundaries that arise in particular contexts and construct significant factors influencing individuals' social identity. One of the teachers in Polish Saturday School indicated the complexity of factors that construct identity of Polish migrants.

There are many different Poles coming to Glasgow, thus it is hard to describe them as one 'Polonia'. Those people are bringing with them they habits, customs, language, culture,

networks, social class, that are different among all Poles. Thus, even those we [Polish migrants] are using this same language, there are many things that make us different. I mean, some Poles will never get a chance to meet within each other, because they work, live in a different places and they have a different aims, values, perspectives, that as well define who they are.

(Beata, female, 32, teacher in Polish school in Glasgow)

From the interviews, it could be argued that some of the traditional or well established boundaries of social identity such as social class, religion, gender, age and so on, are important components of migrants' sense of belonging. Again, Polish migrants tend to maintain the different forms of community consciousness and solidarity that were embedded and brought from their home country. In addition, Polish migrants suggested that despite their transnational citizens' status they tend to reproduce and reshape their values carrying some of their cultural and social attachments across borders, thus social class, age, and gender are seen to be important factors diversifying migrant communities.

I think that I'm from different generation, I noticed it comparing my children and in general younger people behaviours. I think that my generation is more responsible. I have experienced a lot in my life, so I appreciated more what I have now. Younger people, they don't care, for example my son, I told him that he can't be late at work and he needs to respect his job whatever job it is. I think he realised what I was talking about when there were redundancies in our factory.

(Barbara, female, 50, cleaner)

There are two Poles working in our factory who know English language, but they don't work with us, they sit with Scots in the offices, they are different than us.
(Wojtek, male, 30, factory worker)

Polish migrants tend to position themselves with relation to a range of categories including class, ethnicity, age, gender, and religion. Migrants' day-to-day experiences of working, studying, looking after children, and their experience of the communities they live in appear to be critical in influencing their attitudes to Glasgow and the extent to which they feel part of it.

From the interviews, it could be argued that Polish migrants experience and understanding of their ethnic community results from the interconnection of a migrant's social status, ethnicity, and migration experience. Those social boundaries constitute the criteria that shaped the access and maintenance of social relations of Polish migrants in Glasgow. From the interviews, it seems that Polish migrants tend to operate within different social spaces and economic opportunities that from their social networks and influence community formations. The internal social divisions of Polish migrants in Glasgow position their social relations and influence their experience of forming and maintaining their ethnic collectivises. From the analysis, it seems that Polish migrants tend to acquire their ethnic identity with relation to their social statues, thus apart of ethnicity construct important component of migrants' identity which reproduce their social networks

I used to work in Poland as a teacher, I have 10 years experience teaching in Primary School, however my English is rather poor so will never find a job in Scottish school. I miss working with children and since we have started running the classes and other activities for Polish children in Glasgow, I was able to do what I always wanted to do. The Polish school is different than those once in Poland, but it

reminds me a lot about Poland as well, and what is more important I met here a lot of great Poles.
(Anna, female, 38, teacher in Polish School in Glasgow)

From the interviews it could be argued that Polish migrants' sense of belonging largely was determined by their overall experience that included more of the traditional or more well-established boundaries of social identity like ethnicity, but also a complex combination of other characteristics including social class in the host country and back home, religion, gender, age, and marital status, that often overlap on each other. Therefore, it can be suggested based on the example of Polish migrants in Glasgow, that the notion of migrants' identity requires a more holistic view and consideration. Indeed, the differences in obligations towards various co-ethnic relations help to gradate diverse networks in terms of migrant personal commitment. Polish migrants based their close, intimate, and trustful relations with high level of obligation within their family relations, mainly those relations between a migrant and their partner, siblings, or parents. It should be emphasised that those relations were not spatially bounded, as most of the interviewed migrants experienced close and dense transnational networks with their family and close friends back in Poland. Again, the high level of commitment within the close ties involves a high level of trust and solidarity. The interviewed migrants revealed the dichotomous perception of Polish community, as they tended to perceive their own community as a competitive and threatening one, simultaneously distinguishing it from their close and dense co-ethnic ties with specific groups of their friends and family members. In addition, the low level of trust was associated with the widely recognised stereotype of 'immoral Poles'. This category of certain modes relating to particular Polish migrants justifies the selectivity in terms of given support.

It could be concluded that the Polish community in Glasgow can not be defined as an aggregate of a certain population of Polish migrants living in Glasgow, but as a range of personal and institutional relations diverse in

strength and extent, that migrants experience and maintain both in Glasgow and back in Poland. Indeed, migrants tend to maintain diverse personal relations with particular circles of Polish friends and family, with certain characteristics and common aims, values, and experiences. The degree of commonality of migrants aims, migration experiences, values that strongly reflate to a migrants social class, age, and gender, helps to determine migrants' co-ethnic relations. This study revealed that the Polish migrant community can be described as several personal communities defined as a set of various networks within which individual migrants are embedded. In addition, Polish migrant's personal communities and their own social networks were built among groups of friends and family and were different in relation to internal variations such as age, gender, class, internal structures of marginalisation and feelings of trust or distrust (Alexander *et. al,* 2007). Interviewed migrants indicated social stratification within their ethnic community that came along the social class, age, and gender, and tended to influence both their co-ethnic relations, thus diversify and define their personal communities.

5. Encountering the social networks and process of community formation among Polish migrants in Glasgow

5.1 'Coming to Glasgow' - social networks as a migration initiator

Social networks, understood as interpersonal relations including family, friends, colleagues, neighbours, and/or other formal and institutional networks are seen as an important mechanism shaping migration patterns (Jordan and Duvell, 2003). These relations can facilitate migrant settlement in the host community providing migrants with accommodation, employment, and other necessary support and information. Recent research on the Polish community in London (Ryan *et al*., 2008) reveals that migrants' social networks were one of the main factors initiating migration to London. Similarly, pre-existing social networks among Polish migrants in Glasgow were one of the main reasons in choosing Glasgow as a destination. In addition, Polish migrants were often involved in a complex range of networks and relations, both in Glasgow and back home in Poland that played a crucial role in the initial period of migration.

> *We chose Glasgow, because my partner's friend lived here, it was because of that. However, I didn't know him, but my boyfriend did, we just wanted a place where we can stay until we would find our own flat.*
> (Agnieszka, female, 25, PhD Student)

Many respondents decided to migrate to Glasgow to support their family in Poland, however, on some occasions family migration strategies could change over time and become extended to long-term stay. Migrants were attracted by higher wages abroad, which in the most cases they were sending back home where the cost of living is much lower (Fihel, Kaczmarczyk, Okólski, 2006). However difficulties relating to the separation

of family and tensions involved in split families sometimes encouraged migrants to change their migration strategy.

> *I had really difficult financial situation in Poland, my husband had a car accident. The plan was that I will come here, earn some money and I will come back, didn't think that my whole family would come here. After a while I met a lot of Poles and I realised that my family can't be separated, I was on my own for 9 months, it was too long. When I came back home, during the summer, we decided that my family is coming back with me*.
> (Barbara, female, 50, cleaner)

Strong family ties often involved the feeling of an obligation to help migrants' close relatives in difficult economic situations. Moving close family members from Poland to Glasgow appeared to be beneficial for migrants who could have a trusted and reliable partner close to them. When migrants become more settled in the host environment, they were able to bring their close relatives to live with them in Glasgow. For example, one of the main migration patterns among Polish families was that wives were migrating to Glasgow to join their husbands who were already living and working there. In addition, the previous research on correlations between gender, employment status, and migration reveals that family migrations are often detrimental for women's employment status, therefore married women are more likely to act as the 'trailing spouse' or to be a 'tied mover' in the process of migration decision making (Boyle *et al.,* 2001). However, it appears that Polish women were active players in process of decision making.

> *After we graduated our studies we started to work in our professions but, still we had a difficult financial situation, so we decided to go abroad. My husband really wanted to go to the UK, but it was ours decision, we did it together.*
> (Anna, female, 30, graphic design)

Women tend to plan their family migration strategy, often it was agreed that the husband would move first and his wife with children would join him after finding a proper job and suitable accommodation. Similar to findings on the migration strategies of Polish families in London (Ryan *et al.*, 2008), Polish women in Glasgow emphasise a different range of motivations underlining their strategies. They tend to highlight that their decision to migrate was made on the basis of long term considerations. By migrating, they could provide a better standard of living and quality of life for their families. In addition, the separation of the family, a bad economic situation in Poland, and difficulties in reconciling women's employment with other household duties were one of the main reasons for joining their husbands in Glasgow.

> *I had two jobs in Poland, one full-time and the other part-time . Apart from that I was looking after my five children and our home and I was doing it all on my own. I need to say that it was too much for me, I was so tired. What is more, my children needed their father, and my husband couldn't find a job there, it was not an easy decision but I needed to make it to let my family be together.*
> (Renata, female, 45, cleaner)

In terms of the younger Polish migrants in Glasgow, their siblings or further cousins were the main facilitators of migration to Glasgow. Chain migration was usually formed through the pattern of one person inviting another person, who later on, brought another person (Orgen, 1984; Roel 2007). In addition, it should be emphasised that accessible, cheap transport and communication facilitates also helped to spread networks, encouraging Polish migrants' relatives to come to Glasgow.

We helped many people to come here, I mean our family and friends of our friends. When we went to Poland during the summer term, my partner's sister asked if she could come with us to Glasgow, so she could go to her husband who at that time stayed in England. It was no problem for us, so we agreed. We went to England, and her children went with us to another Piotr's sister who already was living in Glasgow. After a month they came from England to Scotland. We helped our friend as well, actually we didn't know this person, Piotr used to know his girlfriend, she was the daughter of a good friend of Piotr's mum. So Piotr's mum asks if we could organise a place to stay for Darek, just for a while, again there was no problem for us. I saw him for the first time here in Glasgow. Piotr picked him up from the bus station, he was living here with us for a month.
(Kasia, female, 29, on maternity leave)

The chain migration effect can operate through extended family and friends networks. Maintaining complex social networks both in Glasgow and back home was a crucial factor initiating the migration process. Only young Polish migrants in Glasgow, mainly school leavers, migrated on their own using dedicated diaspora web sites as facilitators of their migration plans and as sources of suitable information. Indeed, the networks arising upon these dedicated web sites, can play a similar role to personal relations in initiating migration patterns.

I came to Glasgow on my own, I didn't know anyone here, but I used emito[3] to arrange accommodation and to get more information about this city. A lot of things started there [diaspora web site]. People use the web site as a first point of contact. You can find many information there, as an example

[3] www.emito.net - one of the main dedicated diasporas Polish web site in Scotland

how you suppose to look for a flat, job, an information about health system, benefits, and so on.
(Maciek, male, 28, factory worker, photograph)

These different examples show the diverse migration strategies that Polish migrants may have in terms of their migration plans. The interviews suggest that migrants' decisions to migrate are based on a range of negotiations and considerations including personal, economic, and social ones. In terms of Polish migrants living in Glasgow, the process of decision-making about migration appears to involve complex relations such as strong (family, friends) and weak (cousins, friends, diasporas dedicated web sites) ties in both local and transnational dimensions. It appears that the mobilisation of migrants' social networks including a range of friends, siblings, cousins, and neighbours played an important role in choosing Glasgow as a destination. The interviews revealed that for younger Poles, siblings, cousins, and friends played an influential role in their migration decision, although older migrants mainly counted on their partners and other close family. In addition, the findings presented here are consistent with other research on Polish migrants in London, Brussels, and Amsterdam, and suggest that Polish migrants' pre- existing social networks are a key factor in initiating migration. However, the study revealed the correlation between migrants' age, migration patterns, and involved social networks, as while complex family, close relationships, and long terms considerations were involved within a family migration, younger, single migrants often used their weak ties as a facilitator for their migration plans.

5.2 Strong versus weak ties: actors, dynamics and dimensions of Polish social networks

5.2.1 Strong ties among Polish migrants in Glasgow

Polish migrants in Glasgow maintain a diverse range of social contacts, made through personal relationships including kinship, friendship, and community ties. Such networks vary in commitment and feelings of trust, solidarity, and reciprocity. Those personal ties in which Polish migrants were embedded had complex and multi-stranded levels of personal confidences and emotional support, as well as common interest and companionship. Indeed, migrant feelings of commitment and trust towards other groups or individuals determined the way in which migrants gradated their personal relations from strong ties with a high level of commitment and trust to weak ties. Interviewing migrants suggested that most of their strong ties were concentrated around their family relations.

> *I live with my partner here, and apart from that in Glasgow I have my parents and my brother and sister. Those are the people I can count on, and vice versa. I can say that I'm lucky because I have my closest people with my here in Glasgow*.
> (Kasia, female, 29, on maternity leave)

Polish migrants define family relations through blood relations, marriage, or partnership and tend to feel a high sense of obligation towards each other. The research on illegal Polish migrants in Belgium suggests that social networks among Polish migrants based on common ethnicity began to lessen in value in comparison with family networks (Grzymała-Kozłowska, 2005). Family relations provided an important instrument and construct of social capital that could be used in order to pursue migration and facilitate adaptation within a new environment. The presence of the family in Glasgow

for many Polish migrants provided emotional, informational, and practical support like arranging accommodation, employment, or helping with access to public services.

> *My daughter came here first to join her partner, she told me that when she will organised herself here, in Glasgow, she would help me as well. One day she called, and asked me to come to Glasgow. I used to stay with my daughter and her partner, until she helped me to apply for social house, and to register with working agencies, where I was working for several months.[...] I finally found a job because of my daughter's partner. He said that in the place where he was working in, there was a vacancy for a cleaner, and thanks to him I find that job. It was a part time job at the beginning and after a while I received full time position, so there was some stabilisation. My son is working in that same factory as well, it was me who helped him to find this job.*
> (Barbara, female, 50, cleaner)

Often when relative does not have a job, it is a family member who will use their contacts or resources to help him/her find one. Relations between Polish families involve sharing useful information, co-operating on the labour market, and supporting each other. They tend to exchange various pieces of information and favours such as helping with registrations for health, education, housing services, social benefits, or employment opportunities, both to maintain good relations and because of a feeling of obligation and expectation to help their close relatives in Poland.

> *I helped my both sisters, their families and my parents to come here. They had a difficult economic situation in Poland*

similarly to mine. They are my family, so who else should I help if not them.
(Joanna, female, 26, student in college)

In addition, bringing the family to Glasgow appeared to construct emotional, material, and practical benefits for Polish migrants.

My father can't work, so he will be looking after my baby and I will go to college, just not to seat at home. I have applied to few colleges in Glasgow, but Piotr's sister goes to Paisley and she really like it, so I would prefer to go there as well.
(Kasia, female, 29, on maternity leave)

The respondents tended to demonstrate that family, or other close intimate and long standing relations provide the main emotional support and assistance in critical moments in their life. In addition, Polish migrants suggested that thanks to those intense, deep, and durable relationships involving a good deal of trust and empathy, Polish migrants did not feel lonely in Glasgow. Indeed, those close relations constructed the feeling of stabilisation and security and made migration easier to bear emotionally.

If there is a problem I can always count on my partner, I think that this migration make us even closer to each other, because we finally have more time for each other. It is some kind of paradox, but it gives me the feeling of stability in this rather unstable situation.
(Bozenna, female, 40, account assistant)

In comparison to Polish migrant families in Glasgow, younger migrants (mainly students or school leavers), were more likely to have their close networks outside the family.

I don't have a partner here, but I have two close friends on who I can count on. I met them at my work.
(Maciek, male, 28, factory worker, photographer)

Even though younger migrants tend to maintain their close ties with their partners and friends, the pattern of choosing friends from outside the family to choosing friends from, within the family including migrant partner, parents, siblings or cousins, tends to change with migrants age (Pahl and Pevailin, 2005). Similarly, the case study of migration patterns from a small close-knit Polish village Monki (Osipovicz, 2002) revealed the prevalence of family based relations on non-family, individual relations. However, it should be emphasised that the strongest ties are generally those within nuclear families. In addition, although most post-communist families labour migration has taken the form of one parent leaving their family behind in Poland (Kępińska and Okólski, 2001), since 2004 migration for family reunification has become increasingly common (Ryan *et. al.*, 2008). It should be demonstrated that the quality of relations within extended family members cannot be assumed to reflect biological closeness, but may rather depend on whenever there is a mutual link, common interest, or values (Pahl and Pevailin, 2005). On some occasions, Polish migrants indicated a lack of close relations but rather some tension between migrants' relatives.

Some of my family live here in Glasgow. Even though it is a family, we are not staying in good relation. My cousin doesn't work, stays on benefits, and makes laughs at me that I graduate University and I work as a cleaner. She has this attitude, that for some reason she needs to show that she is better than me, and I'm just no one, comparing to her. I don't feel good in her company, and because of that, I don't stay in touch with her and her mum.
(Gosia, female, 26, cleaner)

The close, deep and trusting relations among Polish migrants living in Glasgow were mainly limited to their nuclear family, including partner, migrants' parents, and siblings. The quality of relations with other extended family members depended, as indicated above, on mutual liking, feelings of respect and trust, and common values and aims. Therefore, apart from the family most of the youngest Polish migrants indicated close relations with their friends. However, they tend to indicate fewer close friendship relations in Glasgow than back home.

> *I miss close relations with my friends, and family. Me and my husband have some friends, a couple in Edinburgh and in Glasgow, but they are coming back to Poland in January.*
> (Anna, female, 30, graphic designer)

> *I have few really good friends in Poland, and I really miss them, but on the other hand I don't think I'm able to find the same friends here, but it doesn't mean that I don't have a friends here. I mean such friends that, how I can say that, they would tick all the boxes for close friendship, they are mainly my work colleagues.*
> (Daniel, male, 25, architectural assistant)

These comments support Kelly's and Lousis's (2006) argument that migration studies often assume that migrants who arrive within a host country are able to access co-ethnic ties that provide meaningful support and often over emphasise its meaning without interpreting the value of its provision. Similarly to the studies on Philippines migrants in Toronto (Kelly and Louis, 2006), Polish migrants networks in Glasgow were often not created within the host country, but they were transferred from their home country. This was especially true in terms of Polish migrants' strong ties, which were relocated and carried from the migrant home country than acquired upon arrival. Migrants often indicated the fact that they had already established close and

trusting relations either with their family and friends in Glasgow or back home, thus they did not have a need to search for a new ones.

> *I'm staying with my partner, and apart from that I have a few good friends here, and some, back in Poland, and to be honest it is enough for me. Those people I'm talking about are the real friends to me and we know each other for a while. I think that in general the real, close relations between people need a time, and situations when they can be check, and if they have been checked, you don't need to look for other friends.*
> (Agnieszka, female, 25, PhD student)

5.2.2. Weak ties

Polish migrants use a range of weak ties to pursue migration and operate in a foreign labour market. The weak ties were mainly with individuals who possess desirable information, such as how to register with a GP or how to register a child to the school, or how to apply for social house sources of information or other instrumental and practical support for Polish migrants in Glasgow. In this way, Polish migrants acquired information and support such as how to access public services. Those information were sought from a wide range of social networks around work colleagues or neighbours who were more familiar with the local environment, or in general possessed the necessary knowledge, and know how access particular services.

> *This September I'm starting a year course for medical administration at Cardonald College. I heard about this course from my friend who I met on one of my friend's parties. She told me that Cardonald College provide those kind of courses, and there is a lot of vacancies in medical administration, that why I should try.*

(Gosia, female, 26, cleaner)

It should be emphasised that different Polish migrants possess diverse levels of human capital defined as migrant level of education, migration experience, and communication skills that often influence the extent and diversity of acquired social networks. In addition, migrants' human capital affects their ability to access and create desirable networks. For example, more self-assured migrants, often professionals with good language skills, young school leavers, or students, possessed a greater range of social networks comparing to migrants with poorer language skills (often slightly older, working in a low paid jobs) who mostly depend on strong co-ethnic networks.

> *Most of my friends are my work colleagues, I need to say that I'm working in international office, so I have friend from Germany, Canada, Chile, France and USA.*
> (Daniel, male, 25 architectural assistant)

In addition, networking required an effort and investment of time and resources, thus migrants' ability to participate in and access to a wide range of social networks vary in terms of possessed human capital (Vertovec, 2002). Referring to Bourdieu (1986), individuals may have different forms of capitals: social (wide extent of social networks), cultural (language skills, education qualifications), and economic (financial resources). However, it seems that a wide range of social capital at Polish migrants' disposal might help them in accessing cultural and economic capital. Knowing people with necessary knowledge and skills compensates for migrants' lack of language skills or suitable qualifications.

> *Apart from my family, on who I can count on, I know few Poles here. I met them here in Glasgow, but to be honest when I have a problem there are various people I can count on, it basically depends if this require knowledge of English*

language, than I need to ask my friends who know English language.
(Renata, female, 45, cleaner)

The weak ties were often more instrumental ones, compared to strong ties, as they provide an important source of information that helped to facilitate migrants settlement in Glasgow. In addition, Polish migrants suggest that their social networks have changed over the time they have stayed in Glasgow. This was especially true in terms of weak ties, where migration had a large effect on the likelihood of changes in friendship choices ((Pahl and Pevailin, 2005; Path and Spencer, 2004). Lack of regular, face to face contact and similar life experience can cause a decrease in the level of commonality and mutual linking, thus migrants often reconstruct their weak ties.

I remember when I was in Poland, I met with my old friend and I realised that I have nothing in common with this person, and that we live in the different worlds now.
(Wojtek, male, 30, factory worker)

Hmm, when it comes to my friends from my home town, the fact that I'm living here for 5 years affect our relations, we stay in contact, using skype from time to time or we write to each other an emails, but this is not that same as it used to be. It is because I can't see them, the contact is very weak and irregular. But I met a lot of people here, so my relations actually change in this kind of way that they expand with other people.
(Weronika, female, 29, HR assistant)

Changing a place of work, study, or living often influence and reshape the

Polish migrants' casual or weak ties. Each of those changes involves both introduction to the new relations such as new work colleagues or neighbours and loosens the previous ones. This happens mainly because the changes in working or living space influence the frequency of meetings and thus chances to create the relations that arise in those places, simultaneously introducing new actions and experiences with other actors.

> *When you live here you start meeting new people, but your relations with people may changed if you change the place you work or in general, what you do. Some of the people I knew here started the study in other cities or stayed in Glasgow, and they met there their new friends. I think that in general people surround themselves with people that are close to them because of their common experience, aims and values. Of course you can have many friends with who you can go out, but at the end of the day they won't remember you*.
> (Maciek, male, 28, factory worker, photographer)

Life transitions involve readjustment of migrants' social networks. It seems like Polish migrants' friendship relations were more fluid over time and depended on a range of factors that created the ability for the regular and personal contacts. This regularity of face-to-face relations constructs the basis for common experiences and mutual links between migrants. In addition, in terms of both weak and strong ties, Polish migrants tend to group themselves around common experience, values, and interest.

> *What I noticed, Poles are grouping themselves in the groups of particular interest. For example, I used go to regular Polish migrants meetings in 'Budda' bar. Now I don't go there because the venue of the meetings has changed. Some people, that same as me, didn't want to change the place of*

our Wednesday meetings and they stayed in 'Budda', other decided to change it for the different location and start their own meetings, so whole group divided into a small groups with particular interest.
(Maciek, male, 28 factory worker, photographer)

While social networks based on friendship were more transient, family and kinship networks are more likely to be long lasting. It should be emphasised that some Polish migrants, mainly younger ones, have friends who feel family-like, and with who migrants creates strong, intense, stable, intimate, and trustful relations.

I don't have family here, apart from my boyfriend, but I have two of my girlfriends who I can trust and count on. They are like the family to me.
(Agnieszka, female, 25, PhD student)

In comparison to strong ties, weak ties were often more contextual and temporary. A change in work, study, or living areas often caused a readjustment in migrants' relations. In addition, the migrants' extent and number of social relations depended upon the cultural capital (language, skills and educational qualifications) at their disposal. However, a wide range of social networks often compensates for a migrant's lack of language skills or desirable knowledge. Indeed, the weak ties with migrants' work colleagues, neighbours, friends from school, or other relations were main source of practical and informal support.

5.2.3 Transnational relations.

All of the interviewed Polish migrants stayed in regular contact with their relatives and friends back in Poland. Development of communication technologies makes it possible for Polish migrants to be socially, politically,

and economically involved in their homeland while residing in Glasgow. As Granovertter (1973) has suggested, the emotional support provided by close, intimate, and long-lasting relations may occur outside a migrant's immediate physical environment, thus several Polish migrants in Glasgow indicated that their main sources of support were relatives and close family back in Poland.

> *I'm staying in regular contact with my family. We usually talk on the phone, or on skype, it helps me a lot.*
> (Daniel, male, 25, architectural assistant)

> *Two of my children are living in Poland, so I talk to them on the phone, or skype, sometimes we talk to each other few times during the day. Sometimes when I feel really bad and depress here, I call them, and we can hang on the phone for ages.*
> (Renata, female, 45, cleaner)

Previous research suggests that the greater the distance between family members the less likely support exchange relations are to appear (Litwak and Kulis, 1987). A close proximity to one another makes it much easier for family members to exchange support, whereas long distances caused by family migration hampers support exchange. Indeed, for some of the Polish migrants in Glasgow, the territorial distance restricted the forms of provided support between family members. Therefore, Polish migrants maintain their close social networks through frequent phone calls, emails, text messages, and other forms of conversation using internet chatting programs or phones. In addition, apart from emotional support, transnational relations were often the source of practical support and information.

> *Apart from my husband and 2 years old daughter, I don't have the family in Glasgow. It was especially difficult for me*

just after I gave birth to Asia. I know that it seems funny but my mum used to give me a lot of advice on the phone.
(Anna, female, 30, graphic designer)

From the interviews it can be argued that women played the greater role in family support than men (Mulder and Marieke, 2009). Indeed, younger Polish migrants tended to received various instrumental and practical advice from their mothers back in Poland in relation to their various every day problems. Internet based tools such as email, internet messenger, and internet calls, were the most common methods of maintaining transnational relations among Polish migrants in Glasgow. In addition, some Polish migrants indicated that they used networking sites, mainly 'Nasza Klasa'[4], to maintain their transnational relations with their friends and family back in Poland. It could be suggested that the communication technologies facilitating transnational actions among Polish migrants were often fulfilling the role of 'social glues', contributing to the development of transnational actions (Vertovec ,2004). It seems that transnational communication has enabled dispersed members of Polish families or groups of friends to converse, interact, and even to synchronise significant elements of their social and cultural lives (Gilroy, 2000:129). In addition, those communication practices, which were directed mainly towards migrants homeland constituted the form of dispersed dwelling that appeared both in the host and home country. However, the majority of Polish migrants in Glasgow tried to visit Poland, at least two or three times a year. From the interviews, it seemed that Polish migrants tended to visit their home country at specific times and moments throughout the year, in particularly to celebrate religious holidays (Christmas or Easter), festivals, and family ceremonies (the first holy communions of family members, wedding ceremonies, and funeral services).

[4] Nasza Klasza is a kind of networking web site in Poland, equivalent to 'Friends Reunited' in the UK

We usually go to Poland three or four times during the year, definitely for Christmas, because I can't imagine Christmas here. It is different atmosphere, different than in Poland, I would miss this family atmosphere, I can't imagine being here for Christmas.
(Agnieszka, female, 25 Phd student)

Other motivations for travelling back home were to simply take some rest, to invest money, to arrange legal formalities such as national IDs or passports, or to receive medical treatment. For many migrants established patient-doctor relations back home and price differences encouraged them to access the health service back in Poland.

When I'm in Poland, the plan is to simply rest, but sometimes it is impossible because there are friends and families that waiting for my visit. In addition, I usually go to dentist and gynaecologist when I was in Poland. I know that I can use this service here in Glasgow, but I used to get my medical treatment in Poland, and I know my doctors, and they know me, so it is easier, and cheaper.
(Marta, female, 25, NGO worker)

Similarly, the majority of Polish migrants in Glasgow were regularly visited by their friends and relatives from Poland. Interestingly, the motivations for such visits were similar, such as attending family events, the celebration of religious holidays, or just simply to visit. In addition, younger Polish migrants in Glasgow indicated that family members' visits, gave their relatives the opportunity to experience the life they had in Glasgow, allowing them to see the places and routines that they used to know only from emails or phone call conversations.

My parents visited me for the first time during this Easter. They finally have that opportunity to see the places, people which I was talking about on the phone or Skype. They could have that experience, so now when we are talking on Skype and I'm telling them a story what has happened during my day, it is not that abstract for them.
(Agnieszka, female, 25, PhD student)

The analysis of social networks among Polish migrants in Glasgow revealed that migrants' co-ethnic relations were embedded in a range of ties which were likely to vary in types, commitments, and obligations. The set of meaningful and close social relations arrived mainly within family relations, between a migrant and his/her partner, parents, or siblings. In addition, the data illustrates the role of transnational relations in the maintenance of close and intimate relations, thus becoming an integral part of Polish migrants' social life in Glasgow.

6. Institutionalised networks, Polish organisations in Glasgow

Apart from personal social networks, the voluntary and ethnic organisations as well as the profit driven institutions such as travel and recruitment agencies, schools, dedicated diasporas websites were important agents in responding to the Polish migrants needs, providing the informational support, initiating institutional networks, and assisting in assessing host-society institutions in Glasgow. It should be emphasised that increased migration from Central and Eastern European Countries have made migrants a highly profitable type of consumers, therefore many advisory institutions or recruitment agencies constitute their activities based on migrants economic, social, and cultural needs (Garapich, 2008). In addition, for some of the respondents, organisations that were established mainly by those from the generation of Polish post Second World War migrants did not reflect the needs of new waves of post-accessed Poles in Glasgow. In fact, those organisations that were established by Poles who migrated to the UK after the Second World War, and thus within a different context of migration and with the migrants having different experiences, constituted a distinctive migrants' community that differed from the new post-accession one. For example, in Glasgow the Sikorski Polish Club, based near Kelvingrove Park is one of the Polish communities established by post Second World War Polish migrants. It has over 500 members and self-reports that 70% of its members speak English to at least a basic level. There is evidence to suggest that the club is attempting to adapt to the needs and possibilities posed by new migrants by offering legal advice, language classes, chess tournaments, salsa dancing, and mother and toddler groups as well as advice and guidance on seeking employment and accommodation in Glasgow. However most of interviewed migrants remained detached from and wary of this community.

> *I have never been in Sikorski Polish Club, I didn't have the need to do so, but my husband went once, and he told me*

that he will never go there again. Basically, what he said that it is a mainly middle age, male club, where people are coming to drink a Polish beer. For me if I want to drink Polish beer I can go to the shop and buy it.
(Gosia, female, 26, cleaner)

I was in Sikorski Polish Club, maybe once or twice, because there is a Polish restaurant there, but it is not a place for me.
(Daniel, male, 25, architectural assistant)

Polish migrants did participate in a wide range of migrants' organisations in Glasgow of certain characteristic aims and interests that reflected the complexities of identities within Polish diasporas society in Glasgow. Garapich (2008) argued that private and profit driven migrants' industries in London have a positive impact on migrants' process of integration into the host community, as for many Polish migrants a limited knowledge of English language created a significant barrier to accessing public services, thus the migrant organisations provided a desirable source of support and information. The wide range of profit based institutions such as travel and recruitment agencies, interpreting services, tax and benefit advisors, money sending agencies, Polish shops, and Polish restaurants construct a wide range of activities that offers their services to Polish migrants and facilitate setting migration networks in Glasgow. In addition, Polish migrants were offered health service, hairdressers, beauticians, mechanics, electronic specialists, baby-sitters, transport services, interpreters, lawyers, and photographic services that often provided a common communication platform for Poles in Glasgow (Garapich, 2008). Even though Polish migrants still strongly relied upon their social networks, formal recruitment agencies were important actors in initiating migration processes. For example, the transport company First Bus or the Turner Group Company have actively recruited from Poland as a means of filling workforce vacancies.

I found the advertisement in Polish newspaper that there will be recruitment day to the one of the factories of Turner Group Company, so I called the number that was on advertisement, and the next few day I went for recruitment day. There were around 100 Poles, and they chose only 6, including me. The organised everything for me, the air ticket and accommodation, so when I arrived in Glasgow, everything was waiting for me.
(Wojtek, male 30, factory worker)

Apart from stimulating migration flow the profitable organisations often provide information support on migrants' employment rights and entitlements or assist in migrants' social and economical incorporation. However, on some occasions migration institutions had an exploitative character towards Polish migrants (Castle and Miller, 1998). According to the service providers there were some examples of exploitative activities towards Polish migrants in Glasgow.

I remember it was I think in 2006, there was one organisation called 'gang Bachy and Kachy'. They advertisement themselves as recruitment agency in Polish newspapers, and they were charging people for accommodation and employment arrangements, so people [Polish migrants] were pre-paying for the service around £500, and when they were arriving in Glasgow, there was no job and no accommodation.
(Anna, female, 30, Sikorski Polish Club)

After 2004 a wide spectrum of media dedicated to Polish migrants started to appear in Glasgow. Apart from the two main diasporas web sites[5] that are dedicated to Polish migrants in Glasgow, the post-enlargement migrants

[5] www.glasgow24.pl www.emito.pl

have also set up their own newspapers (‘Szkocjapl’, ‘Emigrant’) and radio stations, ‘Szocjafm’ and the ‘Sunny Govan Radio’ in Glasgow which was the first in Scotland to broadcast the Polish language program called ‘The Rainmen's Land’ (‘Kraina Deszczowców’). Those institutions provide information and practical support about employment, housing, health and education in Glasgow. In fact, as a result of regular media information, Polish migrants could learn about free of charge English classes, how to claim benefits, how to sign up for trade union membership, and other help and support that before could be obtained only among migrant social networks. In addition, the dedicated diaspora websites bring forth external links to other organisations that provide further support for immigrants. In addition, most of diasporas websites provide public forums where Poles are able to share their migration experiences, acquire support and advice, or arrange meetings with other Poles in Glasgow. The public forums construct and develop migrants’ social networks and establish mutual communication and relations between Polish migrants in Glasgow. It should be emphasised that the social capital that emerged from the public forums often creates a specific form of social control, as migrants used the public forum to exchange information of exploitation experiences in order to prevent and to protect other migrants from similar situations.

> *Dear All, did some of you have an experience with Mrs Kasia and her company? do you have any information her service? I think I’m not the first person in Glasgow who has been cheated by her company? How many people are in the situation like me? we should do something with that.*
> (Rafal, male, public forum user)

> *Dear All, Please pay attention, and be aware that the Mr Jacek, aged 28 and Mrs Basia, aged 27 are offering false services. Their company is calling ‘Repair service’, and I paid*

them in advance to do some repairs with my bathroom. After I have paid them, they never called me back.
(Joanna, female, public forum user)[6]

For many Polish migrants dedicated diaspora websites were one of the key sources of social networks. By using the public forums Polish migrants tend to arrange regular meetings In particular many young Polish mothers often use the website to communicate with other Polish mothers in their local area to meet in the local park or go for a walk with their children. The maintenance of the networks within diaspora dedicated websites refers only to those migrants who were living in Glasgow, or who were about to come to Glasgow. It should be emphasised that the dedicated websites were not used to maintain transnational networks. In addition, the use of the public forums often helps to establish the range of relations with migrants of similar interests or needs.

Apart from the private and profit driven institutions, the Polish Catholic Church was a traditional institution that created social networks within the Polish community. In Glasgow, there were three Catholic Churches that provided masses in Polish, St Patrick and St Simon located on West End area and St. Constantine's Church in Govan. The Church creates a space where Polish migrants are sharing a particular action that is the same, common action that construct the common experience for them all. Similar to the study of Hindus in Southern California (Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2009) the maintenance of religious places by Polish migrants in Glasgow helped to create co-ethnic, social networks. Indeed, maintenance of the same space and participation in place rituals on a regular basis often encourages individuals to form and sustain casual relations.

[6] Both quotations are from the public forum on the dedicated diaspora web site www.emito.net

Each Sunday we go to the Polish church on Partick. I know many people [Polish migrants] there, so usually after the mass we stay to have a chat, or we go all together to the Polish restaurant to eat good Polish cake.
(Renata, female, 45, cleaner)

I think that lot of Poles knows each other from the church, you can see those same faces each Sunday.
(Anna, female, 30, graphic designer)

Church activity was mainly concentrated on supplying migrants with religious services such as masses in Polish language, sacraments, or religion lessons for Polish children. However, the priest also offered emotional and moral support for Polish migrants.

People [Polish migrants] are coming to the Church for many reasons. On many occasions they asking me for various, sometimes simple practical advice, for example how the sacraments are different in Scotland. As you may be aware of, Poles life experiences in Glasgow are different, and especially in difficult time, they want to have the Polish priest with them.
(Father Marian, Polish Catholic Priest)

The Polish priest often assists migrants in critical moments of their lives such as serious illness, accidents, or death. For many Polish migrants participation in Polish masses and Catholic religion played an important part in maintaining their identity. Some of the migrants chose to attend the Catholic masses given in the Polish language on purpose in order to experience the Polish tradition. In addition, the church helps to strengthen migrants' ethnic and cultural identity, as during the masses the priest often refers to the Polish traditions, history, and literature, or provides current information from Poland.

I chose a Polish masses on purpose, it helps me to feel like almost like at home, I need this.
(Renata, female, 45, cleaner)

Polish migrants organisations in Glasgow were not exclusively organised by Polish migrants and even though they were directly targeted at the immigration population they did not have to be exclusively initiated by migrants or the ethnic community themselves. On some occasions the local authority was an initiator of either meetings or drop-in sessions that over a longer time period of time came to construct informal and formalised networks.

It was Angela's initiative of and Strathclyde Police. Because she is working in Housing Association she had the home addresses of all Polish migrants living in Govan, so she has sent the information about the first meeting to all Polish houses on Govan.
(Jan, male, Member of Govan Residents Focus Group materials)

Participation in immigrant organisations enables opportunities to acquire desirable support and information on employment, accommodation, and public service provision. The members of Polish Residents in Govan indicated that they decided to take part in local meetings to obtain desirable support. In fact, the regular meeting where migrants could exchange and share their migration experiences created mutual and linking relations among

them[7] In addition, the Polish Govan Residents indicated that participation in such collective activities bolsters their possessed social capital and self confidence.

> *My mum started attending our meetings to get more the information about housing benefits, Mrs Barbara had a car accident and she wanted more information about her rights, Ula wanted to know about employment benefits and we all knew that it will be an interpreter during the meeting, so there won't be a language barrier. We came because we had some aims and this made us closer.*
> (Maria, female, the Chairman of the Govan Residents, Focus Group materials)

The Govan Residents are a good example of a social network that has become accepted within the local community and that acts to promote and defend the interests of 'new' Polish local residents, simultaneously contributing to improvement of local neighbourhoods and helping the various migrant communities to sustain their tenancy and enjoy the areas they live in. The Association is supported by Govan Housing Association, Elderpark Housing Association, and Govan Integration Network and aim to improve housing conditions, the local environment, and the social and community life of the area for both Polish residents and the whole community. The Association acts as a source of information about access to public services especially social benefits, employment rights, and accommodation as well as providing diverse activities such as language classes, coffee places/meeting rooms for Polish people, and cultural trips through Scotland. In terms of recent events, in February 2009 the association organised the festival called

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[7] This thesis is primarily concerned with internal social, economic, and political relations both within and between the Polish community in Glasgow. Due to restrictions of space the thesis does not fully examine the relations that the Polish sample group have with other ethnic groups living and working in the city. This aspect will be considered through further PhD level study in the future.

‘Ostatki - Pancake Carnival’ Polish Style’ the joint celebration of the Polish Ostatki Carnival and the British Shrove Tuesday. By creating this link between some of the local communities living in the Govan area, the Association can serve as a good example of the implementation of the Community Cohesion agenda. However, it should be emphasised that the Govan Resident Association is an organisation that represents the interests of only particular Polish migrants living in Glasgow. In addition, the Association is a rather new organisation, as it only started its activities as informal meetings in June 2008 and was inaugurated as a formal institution in March the following year, therefore its Board indicates that its internal membership is rather fluid.

> *Some people are coming and going just after they will receive the help from us. There were few people who used to come for our meetings, do you remember Tadek [asking to the group]? He was coming to our meetings regularly, he was homeless for a while and we where trying to provide him with accommodation and food, but just after he find a new place to stay with, he has never come again. There is another example, Andrzej, he had problems with his benefits, so Anna helped him to solve it, he said that he will be coming for our meetings but I haven’t seen him for a while. I think it is because we are new organisation, and we need to spread the information about our activities, but on the other hand we don’t need a lot of people [Polish migrants]. We know each other and we spent our time nicely, if we will organised bigger event for whole community, than we would like to invite more people to come. We don’t need new members who won’t engage with our charity, but we want people who believe in our aims.*
>
> (Grazyna, female, Vice chairman of Govan Residents, Focus Group materials)

From the interviews with the service providers it seems that the institutionalisation of migrant organisations provides some kind of guarantee of its duration, regularity of the meetings, and provided activities. Furthermore, some of the service providers suggested that formalisation of the migrant organisations helped to provide a clear internal structure and to clarify its aims and objectives. Hanna, a Polish NGO worker working on the Good Relation Community Project in one of the NGO organisations in Glasgow indicated,

> *If you won't formalise the group, it will be difficult for you to keep it, I mean if you won't give the clear division who will be co-ordinating the meetings, perhaps the the group will divide its self on smaller groups. If there is no co-ordination and formalisation the group usually break down.*
> (Anna, female, 28, NGO worker)

Members of Polish Resident in Govan anticipated that widely recognised suspicion and lack of trust throughout the Polish community was one of the main difficulties preventing them from spreading their activities to other Polish migrants. In addition, for other migrant workers, especially those who were on low pay, long working hours left little time for additional activities. These migrants formulated the most vulnerable group that experienced various institutional, social, and economic difficulties that could lead to their human and civil rights being exploited.

> *It is this suspicion and luck of trust among Poles towards our group because it is organised by us, Poles. Poles may think that because it has been established by other Poles, the group aim is to gain the extra profit not to help other people [Polish migrants]. Again, the day of our meetings, Sunday, is*

> *the only day off work for many migrants, so they don't have a time to come here or they want to spend it with their family.* (Grazyna, female, Vice Chairman of Govan Residents, Focus Group materials)

Despite the recognised rhetoric on the lack of solidarity within the Polish community, the Govan Residents are a good example of a formal and institutional organisation that fulfill migrants' information, social, and security needs. The focus groups materials revealed that migrants decided to come for group meetings to obtain specific information on provision of public services, although the opportunity to share information and experiences during the meetings created a bond between its participants which additionally fulfilled migrants social needs. Indeed, common needs and experiences that migrants had facilitate the institutional relations between Polish migrants simultaneously challenging the feelings of suspicion and lack of trust amongst Poles in Glasgow. In addition, the fact that the Govan Residents receive regular financial and advisory help from the local authority facilitates and accelerates the group activities and builds up it internal structure. Thus, the Govan Residents can be a good example of cooperation between local authorities and migrants themselves in the negotiation and creation of migrants' social networks, social stability, and welfare. Indeed, the Govan Resident Association connect migrants with the local authority by enabling their involvement in general modes of activism such as attending local meetings and participating in local planning agendas. In this occasion, it can be argued that local authorities contribute to building and inhibiting the bringing capital (Leonard, 2004).

Again, establishment and participation of Polish migrants in their co-ethnic organisation set up a binary opposition between a particular trustful Polish networks and general population of Poles in Glasgow who were often perceived as competitive and threatening. Even though some of the migrants clearly suggested some concern about the lack of trusting relations amongst

the general community of Polish migrants, on a day-to-day basis many of the Polish migrants in Glasgow were often interacting with each other. This was especially true amongst older migrants and Polish mothers with a little knowledge of English language and who found life in Glasgow slightly challenging as moving to a new place had had a large effect on their personal relations. Indeed, migrants suggested that on some occasions they felt lonely in the city and they missed their social life back in Poland. This need often became a strong push factor for participation in Polish organisations that brought them a little familiarisation in a new social and cultural environment.

> *Some people feel lonely here, and even though they may live with their partners, they miss those relations that they have back home. This creates the need for meeting other Poles. It especially true it terms older people, for example my dad. My mum still lives in Poland, so my dad has only me here, I'm the only family for him, but I won't go with him for a beer, I won't understand his problems like he would like to, that why he has his Polish friends here. Even though my mum is moving to Glasgow as well, still they can live on their own all the time, they need other people they can meet for a coffee or something like that. Another example, there are a lot of Polish mothers who don't speak English, and whose husbands are working whole days, six days during the week, so they are looking for a contact with another Polish mothers. There are many drop-in sessions where Polish mums could come, but they won't, because there are no other Polish mothers there, and they would like to see at least one familiar face there.*
>
> (Marta, female, 25, NGO worker)

In addition, Polish migrants tended to indicate that they did not consider Scotland to be their home and rather they thought that they were ‘guests’ in the country, therefore participation in Polish organisations was a good method of finding their own place in the new environment. The participation in the Polish communities was part of the maintenance of the different forms of community consciousness and solidarity that were embedded and brought from the migrants’ home country (Carter, 2006). The members of the Govan Residents who were interviewed said:

> Jan, member of Govan Resident: *I think, that I’m living here more that 3 year and I will always be the guest on this land, it will never be my home, so I should respect their [Scottish] customs and traditions.*
> Grazyna, Chairman of Govan Resident: *Yes, you need to respect their traditions.*
> Jan, member of Govan Resident: *We will be always the second class citizens.*
> Kasia, Vice Chairman of Govan Resident: *Yes, I always take this into consideration, that were are second class citizens, if there will be Pole and Scot they will always chose Scots’*
> (material from the Focus Group with Govan Residents)

From the interviews it seems that participation in Polish organisations was one of the coping strategies used by migrants in response to the social, cultural, and institutional environment of their new country of residence. Thus, it could be argued that such strategies and experiences both support and create opportunities in gaining improved control over determinants of migrants’ welfare and wellbeing in the host community. In addition, the feeling of loneliness and the need for social and cultural familiarisation gave a strong foundation for the creation of Polish migrants’ organisations. Indeed, Polish migrants set up organisations to create, express, and maintain a collective identity (Schrover and Vermeulen, 2005).

My daughter spoke little English, so it was hard for her to start new friendships, therefore we decided to help her to get to know more Polish children just for beginning. Therefore, we decided to establish the charity of Polish parents and teachers 'Children for future', it was February 2007. We gathered the group of Polish children who started to participate in many additional classes such as drama and theatre classes, Polish literature and many others. As time past by, there were more children who were willing to participate in those classes, a lot of parents, who were living here longer, were coming to us with complains that their children lose the contact with their mother tongue. They emphasised that they would like their children to continue learning Polish language but at that time they were not able to. Therefore we thought that it could be a good idea if we open the Saturday Polish School, so we started gathering the applications, and we realised that there is this huge need for this kind of institutions.

(Karolina, Director of Polish Saturday School in Glasgow)

The Polish Saturday School in Glasgow aimed to assist Polish arriving in Scotland to integrate into a new cultural environment by promoting Polish culture to other nations living in Scotland, simultaneously helping Polish children to sustain their own culture and heritage. Apart from the provision of Polish language classes, the school runs mathematics, history, geography, and music classes and range of workshops such as drama, children drawing, dancing, and a newsletter and journalism club. The teachers use the Polish curriculum in preparation for their classes and organise the various traditional celebrations such as the Polish Independence Day on the 11th November, celebrations of the Polish National Education Day, a concert of Polish carols in December, and other drama and art festivals such as 'My place in

the world' or 'How does my homeland taste like?'. The Polish Saturday School is a good example of the reconstruction of immigrants' everyday life within its tradition social institutions such as schools, churches, families and the wider ethnic community. It creates a place for regular meetings both for Polish children and their parents. Again, this regularity creates a particular action that Polish migrants can experience together, while having children of the same age often gave a further common link between Polish parents.

> *My daughter has a few friends in Polish Saturday School, so from time to time we are visiting each other or we go together for various trips. My daughter needs a company of Polish children, and thanks to that I have more friends here as well. Sometimes, the school ask us parents for help in organisation various events, and when you do, again you meet various people* [Poles].
> (Bozenna, female, 40, Account assistant)

The Polish Saturday School activities were maintained and dedicated to Polish migrants and were not pursued at the expense of connecting Poles to other communities in Glasgow. This could support Forrest and Kearns' (2001) argument that integration on the local level or within ethnic groups does not necessary determine social cohesion at the highest levels. In fact, it is unclear if the voluntary migrants' organisations exert bridging and bonding effects on their members. In comparison, the recent study of Chinese communities in southern California (Uslaner and Conley, 2003), found that individuals with strong ethnic identification associate primarily and belong to organisations made up of the own nationalities. However, from the Polish migrants perspective it seems that migrants' organisations may serve a dual bringing and bonding function. However, further research is required to explore the role of migrants' organisation in stimulating both bridging and bonding social capital.

From the interviews, it can be concluded that Polish migrants create and maintain a range of community associations that express their particular aims and interests. The Polish migrants' organisations often reconstruct their everyday life back home and thus help to familiarise them with new social and cultural environment in Glasgow. The organisations were mainly used by Polish migrants who have little or no knowledge of English language and for whom it creates the ability to access diverse social networks spreading their social capital.

7. Role and the meaning of place in network creation

The precondition of face-to-face relations is often a time-space coincidence. It means that both agents need to meet in particular spaces if they are to get to know each other. It should be emphasised, that it does not happen randomly but in certain places that might facilitate connection and construct personal relations. Those places may become a link or common experience between two agents as they provide an opportunity for people to gather in the same location at the same time. In addition, these places can create the space where a particular action takes place and which is the same common action or experience for both actors. Just as individuals have a sense of themselves through their connections to places in their lives, social groups ranging from families and friends to neighbourhoods and communities develop their sense of affiliation and common identity based upon their connections to places (Orum and Chen, 2003).

Polish migrants experience diverse types of relations that are accompanied with various activities (physical, emotional, material) within particular urban spaces in Glasgow. The explorations of the types of activities that are performed within the Polish community in the Glasgow area gives a greater understanding of how Polish migrants experience the city in everyday life. From the interviews, it seems that migrants tended to identify certain places such as workplaces, domestic places, and other private and public spaces like schools, colleges, universities, churches, parks, pubs, bars, shops, and restaurants where they experienced various strengths and frequencies of relations with other Poles, and in which experiences and value were created (Mean and Tims, 2005). In some of those places, Polish migrants experience close, intimate, and casual relations. For example, for many Polish families their home was the space where they create very deep, tight and reciprocal personal relations. In addition, Polish migrants' homes were the places where they created their own private space, where they often transferred their every day habits and traditions from Poland. Kasia indicated:

I love flowers, in Poland we used to live in house that has a small back garden. I miss that, so here I bought some plants, just to have at least few at my home.
(Kasia, female, 29, on maternity leave)

The migrant's domestic area in Glasgow was the most prominent place where migrants maintained Polish culture by primary speaking their native language, eating and preparing home meals, or celebrating the families' events. Social relations that referred to the preparing, cooking, and serving of food took place mainly in domestic mode and were often a part of maintaining extended family networks that were engaged in creating 'home space' for Polish migrants in Glasgow (Beardsworth and Keil, 1997; Germov and Williams, 2004). In addition, the consumption of particular meals and their preparation with traditional recipes played an important part in shaping and maintaining Polish identity.

I always prepare a Christmas at the same way as I used to in Poland. We always trying to spend our Christmas in that same way as we did in Poland, so I prepare the traditional meals such as beetroot soup, carp for Christmas Eve and at midnight we usual go to the church.
(Renata, female, 45, cleaner)

Polish migrants tend to choose and prepare particular meals because they know them from home and they want to restore it within their domestic space. In addition, special family events were followed with the special meals, styles of service, and dress of the table. It should be emphasised that consumption of food for Polish migrants was part of maintaining their close relations mainly with family and close friends, as well as playing an important part in social and cultural reproduction (Warde and Martents, 2000).

Compared to Polish families living in Glasgow, younger, single Poles often shared their flats with other migrants with who they had rather casual relations. On some occasions sharing a domestic space caused tension, Agnieszka the PhD student indicated.

> *When I came here, we were living in a two bedroom flat, and there were eight people living there. It was too many of us, and each of us have different habits, so it causes problems and tension between us. We didn't have our own space, and it is different to live with someone and to meet from time to time. Because of this I don't talk to one of my friend who I used to know, and who I though was a rather good friend of mine. But living with someone is a different situation, and she behaves in this way that I could stand it*.
> (Agnieszka, female, 25, PhD student)

In addition, while all the Polish families were sharing their domestic area with other Poles, single Poles often shared their flats with different nationalities and they tended to indicate that it helped them to develop their language skills and to appreciate their own and other cultures and traditions.

> *I decided to move to the flat with one Scot and French person from my work, and I need to say that it forces me to use English language on daily basis, not only just at work. What is more important, living with people from different countries gave me opportunity to learn and to understand the other cultures better, and to appreciated mine own one*.
> (Maciek, male, 28, factory worker, photograph)

From the interviews, many of Polish migrants were sharing their working space with other migrants. Maintaining the same working place encourages conversations and creates a space that becomes the same common

experience for both Polish migrants. As was previously anticipated, many Polish families were working in that same place.

> *My mum is working with Piotr [Kasia's partner], and my brother is working in that same factory as well.*
> (Kasia, female, 29, on maternity leave)

The regularity of the meetings and the exchange of mutual experiences constructed at least casual relations with others. However, it should be emphasised that Poles often selectively choose their work friends depending on whether there were further mutual linking, common interests, and values.

> *There are many Poles in my work, however I have good relations only with some of them. Maybe it is because I'm older and and because I'm the only women working there, but sometimes I don't have common topics to talk about with those younger Poles*.
> (Barbara, female, 50, cleaner)

Sharing a working space with other Polish migrants was especially true in terms of Polish migrants with little or no knowledge of English language who were working in low qualified or low paid occupations. Those migrants indicated that Poles constructed more than half of the working staff. Therefore, it may be concluded that Polish migrants' segregation was mainly related to a lack of proficiency in English language, which corresponds with the findings on Polish migrants in London (Ryan *et al.,* 2008). Indeed, interviews with Polish migrants in Glasgow revealed no evidence of spatial segregation as migrants were living in ethnically diverse areas of Glasgow. Even though some of the interviewed Polish migrants indicated that they knew other Poles who were living in their neighbourhood they usually did not construct personal relations with these people.

There is a Polish couple living next to us, they are around 50 years old, but they treat other people with distance, so we don't keep good relations. There is another Pole who is our neighbour but every time I see him, there is someone new living with him. There are many Poles in these areas, but we don't keep close relations with everyone. I have my whole family here, and few Polish friend from my partner's work, those are the people I spend my time with.
(Kasia, female, 29, on maternity leave)

From the interviews, it could be concluded that the marginalisation of Polish migrants in Glasgow depends on the level of English language proficiency. Those Polish migrants who have little or no knowledge of English language were often exclusively working and socialising with other Polish groups. Although all the interviewed migrants had lived in Glasgow for over two years some of them limited their contact to Poles from their close-knit family networks and shared their domestic place and work place with exclusively Polish migrants.

I don't go out that much, if I do so, I usually go to my Polish friends' places. I have only one day off during the week so I want to spend it with my family.
(Andrzej, male, 45, car valeter)

Even though the data revealed a low level of co-ethnic neighbourhood relations and a lack of migrants' spatial segregation within Glasgow, on some occasions living in one neighbourhood, but rather, using those same local amenities such as local housing association, advisory centre, or local schools facilitate the social relations between Polish migrants.

Anna is working in 'Money Matters', she is Polish adviser in Govan. There is always a long queue there, because many

Poles are waiting to see her. Once my dad had a problem with his benefits and we went to 'Money Matters'. We met there other Poles from Govan.
(Kasia, female, 29, on maternity leave)

The opportunity for informal relations was one of the main valued aspects of public spaces (Mean and Tims, 2005). Regularity of meetings in particular urban space such as neighbourhood streets, local shops, or local parks, helps to maintain casual relations that in the longer term might result in closer relations. When people are meeting in particular urban spaces on a regular basis they start to recognise and know each other. Gatherings at the school gate, shopping malls, cafés, and car boot sales are all arenas where migrants tend to meet and create places of exchange to use and share particular experiences and activities. The routine and regular meetings usually take place in spaces where migrants every day, routine actions were likely to be crossed.

I know a lot of Polish mums in this area. We know each other because our children are going to that same school. Because I'm picking up my children from the school, we usually waiting together, and while you wait you start chatting.
(Renata, female, 45, cleaner)

The informal and casual meetings of Polish mothers help to create loose ties. The relations that arrive in such contexts can be described as casual friendships, which arrive in a certain time and space. Those particular urban spaces can create a mutual link and common experience that in the longer term can result in personal relations. Even though those relations are often casual and based on weak ties they may create important source of social capital.

Maybe it is weird but I learn a lot while I was waiting in a queue to the Polish advisor in Govan. There were other Polish people with similar problems, and we could share our experiences. I think we were helping each other in some way.
(Kasia, female, 29, on maternity leave)

Sharing public spaces helps Polish migrants to create casual relations, as well as to develop local attachments. The interviewed migrants suggested that a variety of public spaces within a local area met a range of migrants' everyday needs. In addition, there were distinct rhythms and patterns of the use of the diverse public spaces, by time of day, day of the week, and even season. Polish migrants on a daily basis go to shopping malls, they will pick up their children from school, in the evening they will spent their time at home with their families or friends, but during the weekend they will go to the parks, town centre, church, cafes, or restaurants.

We stay close to the park, so after work, or during the weekend, when ever it is a nice weather, I take my daughter there, she likes to play on one of the playgrounds that are in the park.
(Anna, female, 30, graphic design)

The area where we are staying is not a great place to live in, but there are few nice places which I like such as the local fruit market, or shops where I usually do my daily shopping, and few Parks which I do like a lot.
(Barbara, female, 50, cleaner)

The green places were the main anticipated places where interviewed migrants tended to spend their leisure time. In addition, public parks created a space where Polish migrants, especially Polish parents and their children,

maintained close and intimate relations. However, it should be emphasised that for many Polish migrants green spaces were valued for providing an opportunity to be alone.

> *Sometimes, usually after work, I like walking at the local park, it helps me to relax.*
> (Daniel, male, 25, architectural assistant)

From the interviews, it could be argued that Polish migrants tend to spend their leisure time with close friends and family. This was especially true in terms of Polish families living in Glasgow, who tended to spend their free time either on in-door activities, staying at home and watching Polish TV, visiting family and friends, or out-door activities such as going to the local parks, leisure centres, or shops. It should be indicated that different migrants have different stocks of resources such as knowledge, time, and finance that together shape their ability to access different spaces and places within the city. The range of activities that Polish migrants were using within the city depends on their knowledge of local amenities, time, and financial resources.

> *I work six days during the week, so when I have a day off I usually go to the church and apart of that I need to do the weekly shopping.*
> (Andrzej, male, 45, car valeter)

Apart from financial resources, long working hours were a key factor influencing migrants' use of public spaces. Comparing to Polish parents, younger migrants often possessed greater knowledge about local services and had more time at their disposal. In addition, while Polish families spent their leisure time mainly with their family or close friends, the single migrants' leisure relations and the places where they experienced them were more diverse.

After work I tend to go to the gym, on Thursday there is my favourite class, it will be a year I'm participating in it, so I recognise the faces of the people that are at the same class as me. What is else, during the weekend, it depends, sometimes me and my friends are going out, or I'm visiting my friends on their places.
(Weronika, female, 29, HR assistant)

From the interviews, it could be argued that migrants' economic and cultural capital such is language skills and knowledge of public facilities affect the access and the use of various public spaces, and shape migrants' social networks within it. In addition, the opportunity to experience various social relations within a particular urban space depends on the endurance and regularity of migrants' relations. It should be emphasised that negotiating migrants' own public space within Glasgow city was one of the main aspects of negotiating a migrant's sense of belonging and a feeling of attachment toward the city. Even though Polish migrants maintain diverse co-ethnic ties within a particular area of Glasgow, the spaces where migrants maintain their close and intimate relations played important roles in shaping and negotiating migrants' identity. However, it should be added that some of the Polish mihtants were frequently marginalised in the public spaces, either for economic reasons or because they feared becoming victims of crime. This was especially true in terms of Polish migrants who live in the deprived areas of Glasgow.

I live in a quite dangerous area, everyday the kids from the neighborhood smash someone's window. Again during the night you can hear people shouting, fighting between each other. I don't want that, so usually when it is getting dark I don't go outside.
(Wojtek, male, 30, factory worker)

Polish migrants were discouraged from using certain public spaces due to security concerns and sometimes there was a general lack of interesting places, activities, or venues around them. Migrants' geographical locations within the city often influence their ability to access and use public spaces. The lack of adequate facilities and transport has constituted a series of challenges and problems for migrants and limited their participation in cities life. It is especially important from the policy perspective, where attractive public places within the local area offering accessible facilities can initiate social networks between individuals within local area.

From interviews, it seems that the place still remains the important factor creating the community. In fact the notion of place, its design, and rituals provides is an important component for forming and sustaining community. This chapter aims to provide the evidence of the importance of public space, in particular how Polish migrants use both traditional and new public space and how these places function and influence their sense of belonging.The better knowledge of how Polish migrants use and maintain the public places may provide better understanding on the meaning and values that they subscribed to particular places. From the interviews, it seems that public space can act as 'social glue' providing the opportunity to meet and socialise between individuals, subsequently rising their awareness and ability to interact with other diverse cultures and ethnicities. It is especially valuable for policy-makers and practitioners to recognise and design increasingly more public spaces with mixed-use functions, allowing the co-existence of diverse individuals, and thus fostering the potential for social integration. Therefore special attention should also be given to urban design to include accessible areas for individuals that provide the opportunity to meet, socialise, and promote the potential for social integration.

Conclusion

Contemporary migration patterns to the UK indicate that various individuals and families are coming from a number of diverse countries, with different immigration and employment statuses, ethnicities, rights and entitlements. Recent debates about migration to the UK are largely concerned with the appearance and management of increasing social, cultural, political, and economic challenges that are generated by the presence of ethnic and cultural differences within multicultural 'super-diverse' Britain (Vertovec, 2006). The UK governments' new multicultural policy called 'Community Cohesion', as a new framework for managing multi-cultural diversities, appears to place the notion of ethnic communities as its central concern, making the ethnic community a main structure within which the issues of cultural and ethnic differences should be negotiated and managed (Cantle, 2001; Robinson, 2005). In addition, by putting an emphasis on common dialogues and partnerships between different ethnic communities, the agenda of Community Cohesion considers the idea of ethnic community as a main unit of multicultural differentiation (Hipp and Perrin, 2006; Alleyne, 2002; Alexander *et al*., 2007). By looking at the example of Polish post-accessed migrants in Glasgow, this study has argued that ethnic communities (both minority and majority) construct diverse and fragmented communities that are based on a range of dense but autonomous networks of social relations that are differentiated by migrants' age and social status, involving various levels of social trust, reciprocality, and obligation. The thesis argues that the concept of community is impossible to define with precision as it is being constantly constructed, imagined, and reconstructed by human relations, therefore it does not explain itself but requires a fuller explanation (Cohen, 1989; Hall, 1996). The in-depth analysis of processes that constitute and reproduce the community itself would provide a good starting point for building the dialogue and inter-connections between diverse communities. In addition, greater knowledge of communities internal differentiations, its structures of marginalisation would provide fuller background of its

functionality within these structures. The answer to the question how the structures of differences within community came to exist and how their function within it, would give a greater understanding of the processes the diversification within the community simultaneously contributing to its sustainable governance.

The aim of this research was to examine processes and experiences of new migration from Poland to Scotland within the broader context of recent debates about the presence of ethnic diversity, community cohesion, and immigration in Scotland. The starting point of this research was to review previous studies and look at how the idea of community, in particular, its traditional and symbolic meaning, was defined and enacted. Subsequently, the Polish ethnic community, especially in its diverse form of social networks, social capital, and other internal structures of marginalisation and feelings of trust or distrust, was placed under further scrutiny. In order to provide a broader understanding of the research context, current migration trends and patterns to Glasgow and other areas of Scotland were also discussed and these involved an analysis of EU post-accession migration to Glasgow. The particular focus was on Poland in this regard, given the strong and enduring historical connections, as well as the significant contemporary patterns of population movement of Poles to Scotland, and Glasgow in particular.

The aim of this study was to investigate the meaning and the mechanism of community formation among Polish migrants living in Glasgow. With regards to post-accessed Polish migrants in Glasgow, the data indicates that Polish migrants did not constitute an integrated or ‘one’ ethnic community, but rather a range of different ‘personal’ and ‘casual’ communities that were constructed either around common aims, interest and mutual linking that appears in a certain time and space or via their kinship ties and close friendships that they experienced in Glasgow as well as back in Poland. The Polish migrants were bounded among specific, trusted and close networks between members of their family and close friends that distinguishes this group from

the wider and more generalised ethnic 'community'. From the interviews, it can be argued that migrant feelings of commitment and trust toward other groups or individuals determined the way in which migrants gradated their personal relations and what constitutes the base of migrant personal communities. In addition, interviewed migrants revealed a dichotomous perception of the Polish community as they also described some Poles in Glasgow as being competitive whilst, at the same time, distinguishing this wider community from their own personal (trusted) community that were constituted via particular co-ethnic ties with specific groups of friends and family members. It is interesting to note that this finding corresponds with previous research on post-accessed Polish migrants living in London (Eade *et al.*, 2006; Ryan *et al*., 2008; Ryan and White, 2008; Garapich, 2008) and Amsterdam (Elrick and Lewandowska, 2008). Apart from different 'personal' (trusted) communities the Polish migrants in Glasgow did participate in a wide range of migrants' organisations with certain characteristic aims and interests such as education (Polish Saturday School), information/support (Sikorski Polish Club, Govan Residents, private institutions), religion (Catholic Church) that reflected the complexities of needs, interests and expectation among Polish diaspora society in Glasgow. Indeed, Polish migrants tend to group themselves around common experience, values, and interest that construct the commonality, mutual linking and internal relations between them. The relations that arrive in such contexts can be described as 'casual' friendships and communities, which arrive in a certain time and space. Whether at work, college/university, at Church, in the park or shop Polish migrants experienced various strengths and frequencies of relations with other Poles and in which common experienced and links were created. It should be emphasise that the study was limited to the analysis of community formation of Polish post-accessed migrants in Glasgow context. The project only focused on of social networks, social capital and notion of trust and reciprocality as agencies of community formation, however further research on mechanisms that constitute 'community' is required.

This study draws on a social networks perspective to explore the different dynamics and mechanisms of community formation (Beys and Murdoch, 2008). For this research the key research question was to investigate the structure, composition, and dynamics of social relations amongst Polish migrants living in Glasgow. From the interviews it is evident that Polish migrants in Glasgow were embedded in a complex range of personal and institutional relations that operate in both the local and transnational dimension. Indeed, the complex range of social networks was an important factor initiating migration to Glasgow. In addition, a set of close, meaningful relations arise mainly within family ties, between a migrant and his/her partner, siblings, parents, and other members of family or close friends. Such close, intimate, and trusting relations with high levels of commitment and reciprocality often provide both emotional and informational support for Polish migrants. In comparison to these strong intimate relations, the weak ties played mainly instrumental or 'background' roles, providing Polish migrants with desirable information on employment, accommodation, and access to public services, and were often more contextual and temporary. However, from the interviews, it seemed apparent that younger migrants, when compared to adults or Polish families, were less 'fixed' in their social relations and more able to shift themselves into new networks in different socio- economic and cultural situations.

This study was aimed at exploring the dynamics of Polish communities' formation within the Glasgow area, thus the analysis of social networks and social capital is limited to those created between the Polish migrants living in Glasgow. From the interviews it seems that different Polish migrants possess diverse levels of human capital defined as migrant level of education, migration experience, and communication skills influencing their level of acquired social capital. More self- assured Polish migrants, often professionals with good language skills, young school leavers, or students,

possessed a greater level of social capital both bridging and bonding one, compared to those Polish migrants with poorer language skills (often slightly older, working in a low paid jobs) who exclusively cooperate with and depend on specific and strong co-ethnic networks. In addition,the findings revealed that low levels of trust among Polish migrants again correlated with their social status and this was associated with widely recognised stereotypes of 'immoral Poles' defines as the category of certain descriptions and characteristics' ascribed by Polish migrants to unknown Poles partially justifies the selectivity of social networks within Polish migrant communities in Glasgow. It was especially true in terms of low skilled migrants with low proficiency of English language, whose feeling of commitment and trustful relations referred to specific co-ethnic ties. The further research on the levels of trust among post-communist communities is required, especially when such communities are located abroad.

By analysing the diverse social networks among Polish migrants, in particular the values, strength, and density of such networks, as well as the actual mechanisms of community formation, this research sheds further light on correlations between class position, gender, and ethnicity in the formation of migrants' sense of belonging and its internal stratification within wider ethnic communities. Indeed, Polish migrants in Glasgow celebrate the distinctive 'markers' of their Polish culture by taking part in family events, Christian holidays such as Christmas or Easter, establishing various diaspora communities, or diaspora dedicated web sites. Such events both involve maintaining ethnic relations and play an important role in reproducing and maintaining Polish ethnic identity. From the interviews, it is evident that Polish migrants distinguish themselves from the native Scots, although this same distinctiveness did not result in a feeling of solidarity and trust amongst the population of Polish migrants in Glasgow. From the analysis of the data, it seems that Polish migrants tend to acquire their ethnic identity in relation to their social statuses, thus a part of their ethnic identities are constituted within, to a significant degree, their identity as migrants. Indeed, as we have

witnessed from the interviews, Polish migrants experiences and the maintenance of their ethnic affiliation does vary in terms of their social and marital status, age, and gender. Despite acknowledging ethnicity, it can be argued that Polish migrants' social class alongside their gender and age involves distinctive relations and stratification which influence the creation and mechanism of social networks and subscribed feelings of trust and obligation in relation to one another. From the interviews, it seems that Polish migrants were living within different social spaces, and tend to have different economic opportunities that shaped their social networks and influenced their understandings of ethnic community to which they belong to. In addition, such differences within and between Polish migrants living in Glasgow positioned their social relations and influenced their experiences of forming and maintaining their ethnic collectivises.

In closing this thesis, I would like to refer to Insin's words which suggest that 'the city is a space which is constituted by dialogical encounter of groups formed and generated immanently within its space' (Isin, 2002:283). Indeed, as has been argued here, Polish migrants did construct a range of social networks within their ethnic communities in Glasgow. The city itself does become a place and the framework for Polish migrants' personal, tight,institutional, or instrumental relations simultaneously influencing their sense of belonging. With regards to critical debates on globalisation, it can be suggested that the communities become more internally divided, being socially stratified via issues such as gender, ethnicity, or class that tend to overlap each other. Therefore, we can consider Polish families, Polish low skilled workers, or Polish women but not a Polish community as a whole. Taking this into consideration, the political approach regarding the management of 'differences' within multicultural societies should, ideally, implement a more holistic view of what 'community' actually means. It is suggested here that when it comes to assessing or simply trying to make sense of migrant identities and feelings of belonging in a 'new home', then a holistic view is required and essential. From the interview data, it seems that

Polish migrants sense of belonging is largely determined by their overall experiences in new surroundings, including the complexity of characteristics of their ethnicity, age, gender, and social status that remain flexible and fluid in constructions of migrants' perception of 'self' and 'other' when faced by changing circumstances and situations, both geographically and economically. As we have witnessed throughout the commentary and interview quotes above, feelings of security, acceptance, bonding, and trust were lively and enduringly shared among specific groups of Polish personal communities. The experience of Poles in Glasgow illustrates that some migrants create their own communities within specific groups of close friends and family members. In this regard, community is ultimately family for many of those Poles whose voices are heard in this thesis.

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Appendix 1 Interview Schedule

1) Migration trajectories Moving to Glasgow:

When did you move here?
How did you decide to move to Scotland?
How did you prepare to move to Scotland? (planning, jobs, housing etc.)
What made you come to Scotland and not go to another country?
Did you come on your own?
Do you still have close family left back home? (e.g. one of the adults may still live there, children left behind etc.)
How did the move make you feel? (were you anxious, excited, etc.)
Did you live in or visit other countries before you moved to Scotland?

Life in Scotland:

Tell me a bit about what you expected your life to be like in Scotland before you came here. Has this perception changed now after you live here?
Is it better or worse than you imagined?
Why is that?
Where do you live in Glasgow?
What are the best things about living in Glasgow? And the worst?
What sort of job do you do in Glasgow?
Have you had any difficulties with your employment?
Do you think you are doing a job that is better or worse than your previous job?

2) Polish community in Glasgow

The extent (local and transnational) and dynamic of the social networks of Polish migrants within their ethnic group living in the Glasgow area

Do you know any other people from your country in Scotland?
How important is being in touch with people from your own country?
Where do you usually meet other Poles?

What sort of things do you do with other Poles in Scotland?
What kind of relationship you have? Have you made any Polish friends in Scotland?
Who are they?
What sort of things do you do together?
Who are the most important people in your life?
Do they stay with you?
What nationality are they?
With whom do you stay in Glasgow?
Has this changed since you came to Glasgow?
Do you still have friends/family back home or in other countries?
How and how often do you keep in touch? Is this difficult?
How often do you travel back to Poland?
Did your migration affect your perception on Polish people in Glasgow? How?

3) Explore the types of activities (physical, emotional, material) that are performed within the Polish community in the Glasgow area

Home place:
With whom you are staying?
How you know those people?
Has this changed since you come to Glasgow?

Work place:

Do you work with any Poles?
What are their positions?
What are your relations with the people you work with?
Do you meet after work? How often?

Leisure time:

What do you usually do in your free time?

With whom do you usually spend your free time?

What kind of leisure services do you use?

How often, on what occasions?

And with whom do you usually use these services?

Where are your favourite places in Glasgow?

How often you go there? With whom? Are there any other services that you use? (church, shopping, private services etc.) And with whom do you usually use these ?

Education services:

What kind of education services do you use? (how often, where are they? who you can meet there?)

Community centre:

Are there any community services for the Polish community?

What kind of services they offered?

Have you ever been there?

Why? How often do you go there?

Is it important for ethnic groups to have their own community centre?

4) The meaning of 'community' within the Polish community

What is Polishness for you? What is unique about it?

Has your perception about Polishness changed since you come to Glasgow? How?

What does the 'Polish community' mean for you?

Do you feel the part of this community?

5) The attachment that Polish migrants feel towards the city and their sense of belonging and attitudes to living in multicultural diverse areas

Where would you say that home is now?
What is 'home' for you? How do you consider Glasgow?
Would you say that you have changed as a person since moving abroad? In what way?
How would you define your national identity now, would you say you will always be Polish? What does it mean for you to be Polish? How it is unique?

6) An exploration of the factors (cultural, social, political, economic etc.) and the ways in which social networks within the Polish community are mediated and developed

Who are the people you can trust and count on?
What would you say is the most difficult thing for you since moving to Scotland?
If you have difficulties here, who do you speak to? Who can help you?
Have you had any negative experiences since moving to Scotland?
What is the worst thing that has happened to you?
Who helped you?
Have yo had any bad experiences with relations to other Poles?
How did you dealt with them?