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"Is home always where the heart is," a critical analysis of the formation of the Polish diaspora amongst the English- speaking world.

Submitted by:
Patrycia Ptak
80017007/1061174

Supervised by:
Dr. Marcin Galent
Dr.Lubor Kysucan

MA Programme Euroculture

Declaration

I, Patrycia Ptak hereby declare that this thesis, entitled "Is home always where the heart is, a critical analysis of the formation of the Polish diaspora amongst the English speaking world", submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within it of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the List of References.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

Signed

Date

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1. Introduction

Today's increasingly global world provides us with an array of opportunities and possibilities. Contemporary migrants are able to participate and take advantage of the process of globalization by migrating to diverse and multicultural societies if they are not satisfied in their 'home country'. Approximately 5.4 million Canadians, or 18.4 percent of the total population, were born outside of the country (Simich 259). Also, fully one-third (33.6 percent) of respondents polled in southeast Poland in spring 2008 had, had members of their immediate family in the United Kingdom during the previous year (White and Ryan 1467). The settlement of international migrants is concentrated in countries that promote diversity. The notion of diaspora presents a useful framework for understanding the strategic character of identity discourses circulated across borders and between differently and differentially positioned communities.

1.1. Research question

Given the novelty of the phenomenon, the resulting hypotheses are tentative; they are used as an initial guide for exploring its onset and development. The aim of this thesis is to examine if the Polish diaspora of North America and the United Kingdom maintains its cultural identity. The main objective of this thesis is to critically analyze whether or not the Polish diaspora assimilates itself into the 'host country' or rather preserves its home countries ethnic identity. The Polish diaspora has been the subject of very little socio-cultural research and there have not been any studies that discuss the problem of attitudes towards core values of ethnicity among Polish Canadians. For this reason, the thesis will compare findings with parallel research conducted in the U.S. Canada and the United Kingdom, presumably better known to us as the West. Therefore, the key research question becomes, is there a strong connection to 'Polishness' for Poles once they migrate to a foreign country (host country) or does it diminish over time and generations? As a result, this thesis seeks to offer a comprehensive review and analysis of the process of migration as well as the role and contribution of the Polish diaspora to maintain its cultural roots.

1.2. Literature Review

The amount of literature that exists on the topic of migration itself is abundant. There are a vast number of publications in the sociological field that are meant as the foundational principles for migration research. One of the most proclaimed pieces of work and one of the first and greatly influential sociological texts to date, is a text written by, William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. This text remains as a foundational piece of work today. The text is an inspired work of the sociological imagination. Thomas and Znaniecki write on cultural identity and social change in the Polish immigrant community in the United States of America at the beginning of the last century. It was one of the earliest works to study the culture and social organization of immigrants. It was also a pioneering study because it influenced a whole generation of social scientists and led to the creation of the Chicago school of sociology in the United States. In recent years, research on migration has shifted beyond the mere notion of immigrants and assimilation, it now focuses more on diasporic citizenship and transnationalism Furthermore, scholars tended to approach the topic of immigration still from a sociological point of view, but more specifically their research consists of the causes, processes and patterns of migration. In doing so Massey and his colleagues in their book, *World in Motion,* write about the determinants of migration and how migrants become incorporated into the receiving societies (immigrant assimilation). This sub-type of literature tackles the broad issues of why people immigrant and how they are assimilated within their host culture. As time proceeds in the sociological research of migration other scholars approach the topic by moving away from assimilation and into the field of transnationalism. The concept of transnationalism arose when social scientists noticed that under the impact of changes in the nature of modern communications at this century's end, many immigrants failed to shed their old identities and totally assimilate. Instead, they developed new bicultural identities and lived their lives and were quite involved in more than one nation. There are a handful of scholarly journals available in regards to this topic, suggesting that contemporary migrants maintain transnational ties and bicultural attitudes towards their host and home countries. As a result, there are also some publications that discuss today's vividly global and

diverse world, especially pertaining to the West (North America and the United Kingdom). There is also a rich collection of publications on the topic of the diaspora and the formation of the diaspora. However, there is still little literature available on the case of the Polish diaspora. Furthermore, the Polish diaspora is a topic that was often ignored in migration literature because Poland was under communist rule which, had developed restrictions on what was allowed to be published. Therefore, scholars in Poland could not write on such topics. As a result, most of the literature pertaining to the Polish diaspora came from abroad (North America) but was not accepted into Poland. However, in contemporary international literature it has become a topic of greater discussion, especially in the past two decades. The accounts published on the subject tackle the issues of settlement, adjustments, migratory flows, relationships, connections with the homeland etc. Nevertheless, there is still scarce literature published on the study of the preservation of Polish culture abroad. Therefore, a great deal of the literature is rather general when discussing the representation of culture and preservation of ethnic identity, However, in the many studies of Dr. Joanna Lustanski, in the midst of her work she does touch upon the preservation of the Polish ethnic identity , especially in on of her recent studies titled, *Polish Canadians and Polish Immigrants in Canada: Self-identity and Language Attitude.* In this article found in the Journal of the Sociology of Language, Dr. Lustanski touches upon a number of ethnic related studies that she has conducted herself and formalized into a written piece.

1.3. Structure of the thesis

To show how and if the Polish diaspora preserves its cultural/ethnic identity in its 'host country', I will apply the following structure to the thesis:

The first chapter of the thesis is meant to discuss the multi-faceted influences on the social and cultural adjustments of migrants in a plural society. It articulates upon the more theoretical and sociological aspects of migration. It outlines the general accounts and the foundational principles that need to be addressed in order to paint the full picture. This chapter traces the developmental structures and theories of these concepts overtime and as social scientists have struggled to explain these important social processes in

regards to migration and settlement.

Chapter two is meant to help us form a better understanding of the Polish diaspora in today's globalized and multicultural society. Also, it addresses the cultural and social formation of the Polish diaspora in the English-speaking world.

Lastly, chapter three, the last chapter of the thesis is the examination of the ethnic identity of the Polish diaspora. This chapter concludes and examines upon the Polish diaspora abroad and whether or not it has kept a strong ethnic identity to its 'home country' or has it simply assimilated to its ' host country.' Also, within this chapter suggestions and directions are contested for the future of the Polonia. As befits a piece on migration, the analysis of this thesis travels back and forth between the scholarly fields of social analysis. Social analysis is a growing cross-disciplinary field involving, for example, sociology, geography, economics, cultural and political studies.

2. The multi-faceted influences on the social and cultural adjustments of immigrants/ migrants in a plural society.

Massey and his collaborators point out that migration studies are split into, research on the causes, processes and patterns of migration itself, they speak of 'determinants of migration', and research on how migrants become incorporated into receiving societies 'immigrant assimilation'. As a result, for the grounds of this thesis I will be outlining the reasons and theories of why people migrate (causes), their waves of migration (assimilation, transnationalism, diasporic citizenship) and the way they incorporate themselves into their new society, whether it be through fission or fusion. Therefore, how do we best describe that process, could it be described as assimilation, adaptation, integration, incorporation, transnationalism or diasporic citizenship or through the collective identity? This chapter traces the developmental structures of these concepts overtime as social scientists have struggled to explain these important social processes.

From international migration to transnational diaspora, Oscar Handlin wrote: "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants were American history" (Bushman and Howe 974). One should note that the study of immigrants was closely wedded with the beginnings of social science in America at the turn of the 20th century (qtd. In Pedraza 66). Immigrants and their plight were the focus of vivid studies from the early days of "the Chicago school," the first major department of Sociology in the U.S. Their work on immigration, ethnic, and urban studies laid the very foundations of American sociology .

Furthermore, within this chapter I will begin by discussing what it means to migrate and why, then I will articulate on behalf of previous sociological research that can be distinguished by prior sociologists as, 'the waves of migration'. In simpler terms this can also be classified as the process of adaption to the 'host country'. Secondly, in greater depth and analysis I will define what the collective identity is and how it is formed. Thirdly, I will express how immigrants represent and preserve their culture, cultural identity and heritage and lastly, I will contend on how important the psychological well-being and quality of life is for immigrants throughout their migratory process.

2.1 Mechanisms and effects of International migration…what does it mean to migrate and why

Historical perspectives show that migration has been a normal aspect of social life and especially of social change throughout history. The reason for the expansion of migration especially over long distances since the sixteenth century was the accelerated pace of change connected with the development of the capitalist world market ("Human Development Report" 4). It is worthwhile to begin with acknowledging one of the first and greatly influential sociological texts to date. A text written by, William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* which still today remains as a foundational text. In Norbert Wiley's review of the book he contends that the text is an inspired work of the sociological imagination. Thomas and Znaniecki wrote on cultural identity and social change in the Polish immigrant community in the United States of America at the beginning of this century. It was one of the earliest works to study the culture and social organization of immigrants'. In the context of early twentieth century America, it was a pioneering study because it 'sought to explain social problems by examining the relation between individuals and their surrounding society' (Wiley 22). Moreover, it deeply influenced a whole generation of social scientists and led to the creation of the 'Chicago school of sociology'. This book offers a concise selection of abstracts, it discusses important socio-psychological aspects of the migration phenomenon such as the interference of individual and group psychology in the integration process, the blending of old social values and new socio-economic conditions in immigrant communities and the role of ethnic identity in immigrant assimilation in the host country (Wiley 24). The Polish Peasant had captured many of the features identified by today's transnational diasporic studies however; it did this quite some time ago and, yet it is considered even today to be one of the most foundational texts of migratory research. Also, many texts of today share quite a similar nature in the underlining abstracts and methods formed and articulated in *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. It is also crucial to mention that repressed legacy of The Polish Peasant has revived with a vengeance in recent publications, which mark a sea change in the study of international migration (Wiley 28). However, with that being said we now need to focus on the major questions in immigration research, which can be summarized briefly as follows; what led people to make the decision to move, so what 'push' and 'pull' factors impelled them to displace and uproot themselves (Lee 48). The most important finding revealed by comparing historical and

contemporary studies of macro-, local, and individual-level circumstances of travels abroad of past and present immigrants is that these contributing conditions have been broadly similar over the years (Morawska "The sociology of immigration"45). Therefore, as in the past sometimes the migrants moved freely from the area of origin to the area of destination, sometimes their movement was coerced and resulted from processes not of their own making and sometimes their movement was semi-coerced and semi-free.

Let us now outline some of the triggers that have influenced international migration of the turn-of-the-twentieth-century and of present-day migrants. Nevertheless, the main similarity between the past and present situations has been the global arrangement of the economic push-and-pull forces of population movements. Then as now, these forces have drawn migrants from economically underdeveloped to highly developed parts of the world. Push factors are factors that push people away from their home country and pull factors are those factors that pull migrants towards the host country. There are a few push factors that have remained in common with past and present migrants. Firstly, the enduring poverty, the lack of employment/income opportunities in the émigrés' surroundings, and the practical need to leave in search of a livelihood have been basic similarities in past and present travelers' decisions to migrate. For many, then and now, this practical reason has been political turmoil or instability in their countries, or persecution directed at their ethnic/religious group (Morawska "The sociology of immigration"48). Lastly, another push factor can be something of immediate and more remote external circumstance which impacts potential migrants' decisions to go abroad because whatever it be it is not available within their home country and as a result they are pushed out of their country and pulled into a host country. Another good example of a push factor was the Soviet-dominated East Europe, which pushed people away, and this ubiquitous practice was called the beat-the-system/bend-the-rules coping strategy, an important resource of the powerless to play against the inimical structures (Morawska "The sociology of immigration"51). Furthermore, some pull factors that have remained universal are as follows. Firstly, different considerations have informed present day highly skilled male and female migrants' decisions to leave their country, their human capital or professional experience has already been tested in the home country and they usually have been informed about or have even prearranged before departure employment in their host country. Another pull factor has to with the receiver-countries and immigration policies. This includes regulations of entry, duration of sojourn, permission to work, the treatment of

unauthorized immigrants, and of citizenship. All this represents another layer of national-level structures, which usually have an impact on potential migrants' decisions regarding cross-border migration (Morawska "The sociology of immigration"59).

However, the question still remains, why do millions of people travel long distances to unknown places? This question has attracted the vigorous attention of immigration scholars; there are a dozen different theories explaining the mechanisms of these transnational movements. In their own widely recognized explanatory account of international migration they include, therefore, societal structures, local conditions, and migrants' personal motivations and purposes. For our purposes, our attention is brought towards personal motivations and purposes of migrants. Also, it is appropriate to mention that migration is also a dynamic process in which causes and effects reconstitute each other over time. So then, what needs to be identified in migration is the main general elements and considerations of prospective migrants as they make their decisions to leave. Hence, the focus is brought once again on the initial or 'triggering' phase of international migration.

The potential migrants' and their decisions to initiate travel abroad or stay home, includes personal ambition to succeed and an entrepreneurial spirit or a 'can do' attitude and a willingness to take risks by changing language, culture, and social environment. These orientations, in turn, depend to a considerable extent on the level of traditionalism of their society, gender, actors' human capital and life-stage, especially their marital status and family situation, is the collective or individual nature of the decision-making (Morawska "The sociology of immigration"60). Also, the need to evaluate their own and their families' current and future needs and mutual obligations, that may be both emotional, material, and, in the case of better educated or better skilled people, also professional and personal. Therefore, what needs to be taken into account are the perceived risks and expected gains of transplantation to another country, meaning the causes and effects. Another trigger of cause and effect for migrants today is the rapidly advancing communication and transportation technologies and globalization, which incorporates today practically the entire world, and the emergence of international bodies and legal regulations founded on the principle of universal human rights, including the freedom of movement, constitute the outer most frame of the multilayer structures providing the context for the prospective migrants' decisions to leave their countries (Morawska "The sociology of immigration"62). The culture of migration which 'naturalized' cross-border movement in search

of a better life, prevalent a century ago in particular localities, has today become much more widespread, even global due, first, to the already mentioned rapid advancements in transportation and communication technologies, and, second, to pervasive media images of mobile members of a successful transnational middle-class (Morawska "The sociology of immigration"63). Therefore, another important practical consideration (trigger) facilitating past and present migrants' decisions to leave their countries has been the availability of transnational support networks created by immigrants in the course of cross-border travels. As a result, transnationalism will be explained in more depth further on.

People usually tend to migrate because migration has positive consequences for migrants and their communities of origin. People may move from areas where there are low incomes and few opportunities to places where economic growth and innovation present them with new opportunities. Therefore, return flows of remittances, technology and ideas may, under certain circumstances, lead to positive changes in areas of origin. The UN Development Programme's 2009 Human Development Report draws attention to the potential of migration to enhance human capabilities and well-being ("Human Development Report" 7). Therefore, both then and now decisions to migrate often consider individually the pros and cons of emigration and individually act upon these assessments. The decisions and assessments of the effectiveness and purposes of migration are usually made through the negotiation of economic opportunities, the political situation, and potential personal problems expected in the destination country plays an important role as well. When it comes to push and pull factors or cause and effect, as migrants consider this step, they assess their present and future circumstances. These assessments are influences by the immediate circumstances of their lives as well as more remote ones, which will eventually indirectly impact and change their local environment, some of which they may be aware of, while others they are not. However, once a person has migrated, then what? Much of our interest, and much of what we must understand if we are to influence conditions for the better, arises from this question. Migration represents trade offs, which differ amongst different cultures.

2.2. The sociological research on the 'waves of immigration' and the process of adaption to the 'host society'.

This section of the chapter traces the historical development of immigration concepts overtime as social scientists struggled to explain these important social processes. One sociologist commented more than ten years ago, Massey et al. that: "The theoretical concepts now employed by social scientists to analyze and explain international migration were forged primarily in the industrial era and reflect its particular economic arrangements, social institutions, technology, demography and politics" (45). Therefore, Massey argues that the classical approach that similar of the Chicago school has now entered a state of crisis, challenged by new ideas, concepts, and hypotheses. Although, as they pointed out, 'these new ways of thinking have not yet cohered into a single theory', Massey and his colleagues believed that 'the time has come to reassess theories of international migration and bring them into conformity with new empirical conditions' (46). Yet the quest for a generally accepted theoretical framework for migration studies remains elusive. We still lack a body of cumulative knowledge to explain why some people become mobile while most do not, and what this means for the societies concerned. Although there does seem to be agreement on some matters, we do not have a common conceptual framework that could serve as the starting point for intellectual debates and the formulation of hypotheses and research questions.

This may be because it is hard for an interdisciplinary field like migration studies to develop an agreed body of knowledge, and this problem has been compounded by the rapid growth of the field over the last twenty to thirty years. As new researchers have been drawn into the study of migration, they have, not surprisingly, applied the conceptual and methodological tools of their disciplines. Migration embraces all dimensions of social existence, and therefore demands an interdisciplinary approach. Efforts have been made to achieve this through interdisciplinary research teams, as well as through theoretical work designed to talk across disciplines (Brettell and Hollifield 32). However, attempts at interdisciplinary have all-too-often been more additive than integrative, with each discipline contributing aspects susceptible to its mode of analysis, but without an overarching synthesis. Also, it does not help that most migration research has taken the situation in western destination countries as its starting point and neglecting the perspectives of origin and transit countries, and of migrants themselves. This is not surprising, since research funding and capacities are concentrated in the West. When the

US Social Science Research Council (SSRC) held its first major conference on migration theory in 1996, it commissioned papers exclusively from US scholars. Recent debates on migration and development have led to a broadening of approach and a realization of the need for the cooperation of scholars from destination, transit and receiving countries. However, there is little sign that such trends have had much effect on the dominant approaches in migration studies (Castles "Twenty-first century migration" 367).

A major obstacle for international migrant theory formation is the complexity and diversity of migration experiences, therefore, for the foundation of this thesis it is crucial that further on I outline in greater depth the reasons and processes of migration specifically related to Polish migrants, but for now we will be taking a further glance into what some scholars call 'the waves of migration.'

2.2.1. Assimilation and integration (acculturation)

Despite these varying disciplines, sociologists shared the expectation that the outcome to the process of integrating those who arrived at its shores would be a process of assimilation. To begin, I will endeavor to clarify what assimilation really means, afterwards I will examine the contexts of assimilation so, different ways immigrants assimilate and what makes them become more assimilated then their predecessors and lastly I will describe the determinants of integration.

The fundamental characteristic of assimilation theory was already evident, assimilation was expected to be a one-way process that would also be natural and evolutionary, a process that as time passed would yield the inevitable outcome of the adaptation of minority ethnic groups to the mainstream culture (Gordon 18), from the outset there was an ambiguity in the idea that Robert Park himself underscored. "Assimilation" was a four-step process to him that eventually meant to lead an individual to become alike (Park 15). Park evolved his theory of the race relations cycle as stages of interaction through which immigrant or racial groups progressed irreversibly. The stages were as follows, contact, competition and accommodation, culminating in eventual assimilation (Park 18). Park expected that the notion of assimilation and the stages of the race relations cycle could be extended to immigrants and racial minorities alike (Park 22).

However, the questions remain, like whom? And in what way? This ambiguity remained until Milton Gordon distinguished among types of assimilation. There were two types, cultural versus structural. As Gordon defined it, cultural assimilation entailed a process of acculturation on the part of the immigrants, of becoming alike in cultural patterns, such as language, behavior, and values; while structural assimilation resulted only when the immigrants had been taken up and incorporated and entailed the full integration of the immigrants and their descendants into the major institutions of the society (educational, occupational, political) and also into the social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the core society that lead to intimate primary relationships, including intermarriage (Park 26). This distinction articulated by Merton was aimed to provide a more exact conceptual tool, a yardstick to measure the extent of the assimilation of immigrants.

We should also recognize that many of the methods and theories we use to assess immigrant assimilation are derived from the study of earlier European immigrants. Theoretical approaches to immigration, especially assimilation theories, were based, for the most part, on the early twentieth century European immigration experience to the United States and elsewhere (Gordon 64). These theories continue to underlie the canonical view of how the process of assimilation plays itself out (Alba and Nee 97). So after years of immigration from around the globe, a number of summary studies of immigrant assimilation paint a rather optimistic picture of their absorption into American society. For example the already mentioned Chicago school of sociology took as one of its main subjects understanding immigrant assimilation in America. With the publication of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* by W.I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki in 1918, a new agenda for sociology was set, one that, in Martin Bulmer's words, shifted sociology "from abstract theory and library research toward a more intimate acquaintance with the empirical world, studied nevertheless in terms of a theoretical frame" (Bulmer 66). Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, and W.I. Thomas trained a cadre of graduate students to study the experience of immigrants in Chicago, and provided methodological and theoretical tools, which have already been mentioned for making sense of the patterns they found. The influence of these early sociologists is seen in the research that stressed the role of the city and spatial dynamics in the experience of European immigrants (Lieberson 34). Therefore, the concept of assimilation, which plays such a great role in

understanding the experiences of European immigrants, takes center stage.

Gordon and Alba suggest that one of its guiding assumptions is of a world divided into well-defined sovereign national political units. Accordingly, migrants move from country A to country B and either settle for good (i.e., become immigrants) or move back home after reaching their economic objectives (i.e., become sojourners).(qtd. In Bunle 8). Immigrants who settle abroad are eventually expected to assimilate into the dominant society's sociocultural and economic systems while simultaneously shedding their old cultural practices and political loyalties . The receiving country; in this case America, naturally discourages the spread of unassimilable settlements liable to be a source of hostility and to jeopardize the existence of the state (Bunle 6). The theoretical perspective generally expects immigrants to have a single identity, national allegiance, and representation in one national polity. However, the assimilation of temporary immigrants has only a limited interest, but the problem is of the utmost import to those who leave home for good with the idea of settling down in a new country. Therefore, their main concern will be to become merged with the natives of their new country so as to obtain equality of rights (Bunle 8). Natives of the receiving country are directly interested in the immediate assimilation of newcomers whether they welcome and favor it or fear and oppose it. This attitude will be conditioned not only by sentimental, moral and religious considerations but also by the powerful impact of material issues, such as increased activity, improvement in living conditions, wage questions, unemployment, etc. The problem varies with the immigrant but is vital to him in every case (Bunle 9). The core measurable aspects of assimilation formulated to study European immigrants are still the starting points for understanding immigrant assimilation today. In addition, the theories of immigrant assimilation that were developed during the twentieth century and culminated in Gordon's influential 1964 book, *Assimilation in American Life*, also highlighted generational change as the measure to changes in immigrant groups. It was concluded, that the first generation (the foreign-born) were less assimilated and less exposed to American life than were their American-born children (the second generation), and their grandchildren (the third generation) were in turn more like the core American mainstream than their parents (Waters and Jimenez 108). The main hypothesis derived from this perspective is that the longer immigrants live and are socialized into the

ways of the host society, the greater the likelihood of their becoming thoroughly absorbed in it. Considering this seems to be the general case for all European immigrants assimilated in America, does this mean that it applies to the Polish migrants living abroad as well? In order to get a more accurate analysis a further examination and breakdown will be applied to this case. However, for now let us continue by describing some of the individual characteristics for the complete assimilation experience of immigrants.

Alba and Nee rehabilitate the sometimes controversial term assimilation to describe the experience of these immigrants (Alba and Nee 51). Therefore, we may go further and state our own definition of immigrant assimilation as; conformity of immigrant behavior with that of native inhabitants does not mean total identity. When we speak of an assimilated person, we refer to someone who has become part of the receiving community and who resembles its inhabitants, as closely as can be, in certain essential points. This means unreserved acceptance of all legislation enforced in the territory where he or she has settled, together with the rights and duties, which that entails. It also means severing all legal and political ties with the country of origin. Also, religion may be a serious impediment for a number of reasons. Take for example, the French- English Canadians. The fact that French Canadians were Catholics was a strong obstacle to their blending with the Anglo-Saxon settlers who surrounded them on every side. Immigrants desire to cling to their religious beliefs; it is the wish to maintain a way of life. Another important individual characteristic is education, however, the predictive role of this variable is quite ambiguous (Waters and Jimenez 122). For assimilation theory, education should lead to a decline in home country ties, insofar as it facilitates swifter integration and mobility in the host society (Gordon 44). Educated immigrants, therefore, would be significantly more inclined to shift allegiances and transfer their energies and interests toward their new country. Nevertheless, this general acceptance is not enough. For that reason, it can be said that an immigrant is assimilated only when he speaks the language of his new country by preference, has adopted its customs, and when the general conduct and way of life become those of his/her new compatriots and his/her original outlook gives way to that of his/her new surroundings. Thus, an immigrant appears to be assimilated when the bonds of his native country have lost all hold on him, when he feels himself a whole-hearted citizen of his new community, speaks its

language, adopts its ways of life and thought, and when a practiced foreign eye no longer detects any difference between his outlook, habits and behavior and those of his new fellow-citizens. However, complete assimilation is harder to obtain in the case of adult immigrants because, habits have been formed, and it will be hard for those involved to escape from an environment in which most of their time was previously spent.

It may come as a bit of a shock but it has been observed that the bar to assimilation is strongest when there are differences of language and religion, mentality and standard of living, between immigrant and native. However, when the motherland is near, and there are numerically strong immigrant groups of the same origin, in the country of immigration, there becomes a tendency for the newcomers to settle down in their midst. Therefore, when immigrants settle in distant lands, communications with which are long, at times arduous and always costly, their assimilation is correspondingly easier. This is not the case when they settle down in contiguous or neighboring countries or regions where similarities of race and climate, language and religion, help to make them feel at home. As a result, this is especially so when these settlements receive leadership, official or otherwise, from their motherland; when they possess their own newspapers, schools, churches and organizations of every description. Therefore, sometimes when diasporic citizenship forms independent settlements, enclosed within the local population it is harder for immigrants to assimilate. Further on we will be taking a more in depth look at what is meant by diasporic citizenship. Yet as controversially as this may be other scholars suggest just the opposite. If we take for example, *The Midtown Manhattan Project* of 1962; it concludes that immigrant adaptation is affected not only by individual characteristics but also by their contexts of exit and reception. This extensive literature dating back to quite sometime ago supports the proposition that the greater the sociocultural differences between newcomers and the host society, the more difficult their process of incorporation. Hence, it can be expected that people emigrating from remote rural places to metropolitan areas in the United States will be less likely to adapt easily and, by the same token, will remain more closely attached to their past (Srole, et al. 15). Here we have observed two very different directions that have been taken but which one is the correct one, personally I am not sure but if we are to look at some of the more recent research taken in this field the former outweighs the latter.

Since the revival in the 1990s of immigration and ethnic scholars' their interest in assimilation, their approaches to this phenomenon have considerably diversified. Social scientists also generally agree that, although it takes different trajectories, the process of assimilation refers to the emergence of new attitudes, customs, and behaviors in immigrants' lives that make them resemble more closely those of native-born residents in different class and racial groups and residential locations of the host society. They agree, too, that it is inherently multi-dimensional, including the residential, economic, political, social, and cultural, integration aspects (Morawska "The sociology of immigration" 71). Therefore, this closely relates back to Merton's research, the cultural versus the structural. The assimilation process is created through the interplay of the surrounding environment orientations and activities of the immigrants themselves as they negotiate these surroundings in pursuit of their purposes (Morawska "The sociology of immigration" 78). However, these all too vague indications must suffice for the present. It is obvious that the even nationals of a given diverse community who are most alike still differ intellectually and morally.

2.2.2. TRANSNATIONALISM (TRANCULTRATION)

As a result of contemporary immigration, sociology refocused its research from immigrant's assimilation processes to a more fluid international process that reshuffles persons and cultures across nations. Immigration research has gone in search for new concepts such as those of transnationalism and diasporic citizenship with which to describe new realities. There have been two basic continuities in immigrant transnational involvements. First, although some scholars have argued that immigrant transnationalism is a product of present-day globalization of the world, this phenomenon was already thriving at the turn of the previous century. The recent explosion of interests in transnationalism led to a departure from the original meaning of the term and extended its application to various forms of dispersion and levels of transnational consciousness.

The concept of transnationalism arose when social scientists noticed that under the impact of changes in the nature of modern communications at this century's end, many immigrants failed to shed their old identities and totally assimilate. Instead, they

developed new bicultural identities and lived their lives and were quite involved in more than one nation, more than one world in effect, making the home and adopted countries both one lived social world (Mahalingam 22). Basch and colleagues formalized the definition of transnationalism now in use: the process by which immigrants "forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement"(17). Thus, they underscored, immigrants take actions, make decisions, and develop subjectivities and identities embedded in networks of relationships that connect them simultaneously to two or more nations (17). However, soon thereafter the cry arose that transnationalism is not new, although much of the literature sounds as if it is. The term was actually coined in the early twentieth century by writer Randolph Bourne to describe a new way of thinking about relationships between cultures (Pedraza 62).

At the turn of the last century, many immigrants were involved in what is now called transnationalism. For example, Italian and Russian immigrants also kept ties of sentiment and family alive with those back home by living in what today are called 'transnational households' with members scattered across households; by sending remittances back home; and by making political contributions for particular causes, such as the Irish support for the nationalist cause back home (Mahalingam 30). Therefore, transnationalism represents a novel perspective, not a novel phenomenon. The debate about whether there is anything new about the practices labeled today transnational appears to have been settled with the recognition that there are abundant precedents in immigration history, but that what was lacking was a cogent theoretical perspective to illuminate their similarities so that they could be identified as in some sense the same or similar. Merton's classic analysis of the 'fallacy of adumbration' by which novel ideas are subjected to the contradictory accusations that if they are new, they are not really true, or if they are true, they are not really new, is worth recalling at this point (qtd. in Portes 875). In Merton's own words, "once an idea has been formulated definitely enough and emphatically enough that it cannot be overlooked by contemporaries, it then becomes easy to find anticipations of it" (qtd. in Portes 876). Robert Smith brings the point home in his article for this issue, noting that ... " if transnational life existed in the past but was not seen as such, then the transnational lens does the new analytical work of providing a way of seeing what was there that could not be seen before" (qtd. in Portes 882). A

subsidiary but important point of agreement is the recognition that, although plenty of instances of transnationalism can be found in the history of immigration, the phenomenon has been given a big push by the advent of new technologies in transportation and telecommunications which greatly facilitate rapid communication across national borders and long distances. No matter how strong the motivations of earlier immigrants to sustain economic, political or cultural ties with their countries of origin, the means at their disposal to accomplish this goal were quite meager in comparison to those available today. This explains a good part, if not all, of the density and complexity achieved by contemporary immigrant transnationalism and indeed is largely responsible for its discovery as a phenomenon worth scholarly attention. In general the bulk of this literature focuses on the initiatives of common people to establish durable economic and other ties across national borders (Portes 890).

Grassroots symbolic and material relations connecting societies across national borders expanded to historic levels during the last third of the twentieth century. These transnational connections simultaneously affect more than one nation-state and are often generated from below by human migration social movements and nongovernmental organizations. However, in the past few years, the term 'transnational' has become commonly and conspicuously displayed in the titles of conferences and discussion panels at scholarly meetings in the United States and Europe. This surge in interest has been accompanied, however, by mounting theoretical ambiguity and analytical confusion in the use of the term. Thus, while some scholars have started to embrace and deploy the concept in their work, others have responded with intense skepticism. Seeking to clarify the meaning of the term, several scholars have provided explicit definitions of transnational migration and transnational fields. For Glick Schiller and Fouron for example, "transnational migration is a pattern of migration in which persons, although they move across international borders, settle, and establish relations in a new state, maintain ongoing social connections with the polity from which they originated (qtd.in Guarnizo , Portes and Haller 1222).

Therefore, the treatment of transnational migration can be seen as a structural process for other potential migrants, it helps dispersed communities preserve their roots and belonging. Massey et al. states, "each act of migration alters the social context within

which subsequent migration decisions are made, typically in ways that make additional movement more likely" (Massey, et al. 45). The developments identified in *Worlds in Motion*, which alter the social context of subsequent migrations, are of a translocal nature. They include the expansion of transnational support networks created by the first wave of migrants and the formation of group occupational niches in receiver locations where immigrants concentrate, which significantly reduce the cost and risk of further movement; increased income discrepancy in sender communities resulting from the enrichment of migrant households that generates relative deprivation which, combined with the emergence of the culture of migration, enhances the motivation of others to seek income abroad (Morawska "The sociology of immigration" 50). Therefore, as a local structure, the culture of migration provides social norms and expectations sanctioning transnational travel, which inform the decisions of people considering this step. As a result, transnationalism joins together the considerations of prospective or repeated migrants and their perception of transnational migration. It establishes a type of readiness to follow in the footsteps of the predecessors, combined with the reassuring awareness of the availability of information and assistance from fellow migrants already abroad. In sender countries where the culture of migration becomes part of national self-definition, these structure-cum-agency facilitating effects, augmented through public education and the media, are probably even stronger (Drzewiecka 2).

However, not all immigrants are transnationals. The anthropological set of studies that effectively launched transnationalism as a novel perspective suggested that it was a pervasive phenomenon in contemporary immigrant communities. It is not surprising that the initial intellectual enthusiasm linked to the discovery of this phenomenon would lead to exaggerating its scope. Subsequent research has indicated that regular involvement in transnational activities characterizes only a minority of immigrants and that even occasional involvement is not a universal practice (Drewiecka 4). Thus, we have the paradox that transnationalism, as a new theoretical lens in the field of immigration, is grounded on the activities of only a minority of the members of this population (Portes 877). Transnational activities are quite heterogeneous and vary across immigrant communities, both in their popularity and in their character. One of the principal determinants of this variation is the contexts of exit and reception of particular groups,

which condition their propensity to engage in cross-border initiatives or even adopt them as their principal form of economic adaptation. One of the initial findings of the study summarized in the following section is that immigrants from urban areas who come escaping a situation of generalized violence at home tend to seek rapid integration in the host society and avoid active involvement in the one they left behind. Conversely, migrants from small towns and rural areas whose country of origin is at peace are significantly more prone to engage in transnational political and civic action in support of their home communities. The ways immigrants are incorporated in the host society also affect their propensity to engage in transnational initiatives. The existing evidence suggests that immigrants who become dispersed and whose inconspicuous presence protects them from discrimination are less prone to engage in these ventures. On the other hand, transnational activities flourish in highly concentrated communities, especially those that have been subjected to a hostile reception by the host society's authorities and citizenry. Large co-ethnic concentrations create multiple opportunities for transnational enterprise, while extensive outside discrimination forces the group inwards encouraging durable contacts with its home communities. In such contexts, transnational cultural activities and civic associations offer a source of solace against external hostility and protect personal dignities threatened by it. Taken as a whole, these results indicate that transnationalism is not the normative or dominant mode of adaptation of these immigrant groups. Most of their members appear to pursue lives in their new country in relative oblivion of those that they left behind. To this extent, the "canonical" position in immigration theory emphasizing the assimilation of migrants to the host society is supported. Despite the limited involvement of immigrants in the transnational field, continuing research on the topic is advisable for three reasons. First, the existence of this field creates an alternative path of socioeconomic and political adaptation to the host society not envisioned by traditional models of assimilation. As the empirical evidence presented shows, it is not the case that assimilation and transnationalism are at odds since it is often the better established and more secure immigrants who engage in these activities.In some instances, as in the case of successful transnational firms, these activities can support rather than stall the successful adaptation of immigrants and their offspring to their new country (Portes 888).

The very definition of transnationalism refers therefore, to states as bounded political entities whose borders are crossed by flows or people, money or information and are spanned by social networks, organizations or fields (Baubock 701). I presume that it can be argued that transncultration is created through the process of transnationalism. Transcultration arose in Cuba, the peopling of which through conquest and immigration resembled that of the United States. Fernando Ortiz, one of Cuba's leading social scientists, proposed the notion of transculturation to signify how one culture comes to express itself in another, as was the case of Santería, the popular religious expression in Cuba that blended West African beliefs with Spanish Catholicism (Pedraza 60).

The theory of transculturation involves two faces of culture. On one hand, it portrays the process by which symbols, discourse, and ideology are transformed as one culture changes through the imposition or adoption of another, and examines the historic and socio-political forces that produce local meanings. On the other, the theory of transculturation is a political one in that it suggests the consciousness of a society's own, historically specific, cultural manifestations-in contact with but differentiated from other societies (Taylor 93). Ortiz, who was previously mentioned above, defined the concept in opposition to the term acculturation, which had been coined by U. S. anthropologists in 1936 writes that:

> The term transculturation better expresses the different phases in the transitive process from one culture to another, because this process does not only imply the acquisition of culture, as connoted by the Anglo-American term acculturation, but it also necessarily involves the loss or uprooting of one's preceding culture, what one could call a partial disculturation. However, it also signifies the subsequent creation of new cultural phenomena that one could call neoculturation. (qtd. in Taylor 93)

Neoculturation, to my understanding is a type of new cultural phenomenon, one that emphasizes the coexistence of two cultural systems but, just as importantly, it underlines the element of loss of the two systems, the host country and home into the creation of a third, which for the purposes of this thesis can be described as a mix of a new and an old culture. As a result, both the dominant (host) and the dominated (home) are modified through their contact with another culture, it is clear that the interaction is neither equal in power or degree nor, strictly speaking, reciprocal. Therefore, transculturation suggests a

shifting or circulating pattern of cultural transference.

To sum it all up the differences between yesterday and today's transnational links has to do largely with today's global economy. The changes in the technologies of transportation and communication have changed the qualitative experience of immigration. These modern communications have enabled immigrants to maintain more frequent and closer contact with their home country and to participate regularly, both actually and vicariously in the life they once left behind (Mahalingam 47). Based on substantial research by previous scholars on various immigrant communities, I argue that while immigrants in the past also led transnational lives, there is a qualitative difference in the transnational experiences immigrants live today. Because the new technologies allow immediate communication, immigrants can experience the world they left behind as if they were still there. For example, with this day and age, cable television has brought Polish immigrants the capability to enjoy festivals and other events taking place in their home countries right into their living room. Immigrants today are there not just in their memories and imaginations, but vicariously, in that very moment; they are able to participate economically, politically, socially, emotionally in a regular, constant way, often creating two homes that rest on the pillar of and identity or identities that incorporate two or more nations, social worlds, at the same time (Mahalingam 48-50).

2.2.3. DIASPORIC CITIZENSHIP

The intensification of transnational processes creates exigencies that confront cultural groups whose historical, political, and ethnic connections cross borders. A diaspora nurtures such connections as they appeal to roots and homelands in their identity narratives, and, simultaneously, are interrelated by competing national, cultural, and ethnic discourses from both the historic 'home country' and the new 'host country' (Drzewiecka 2). Michel Laguerre identifies a broader concept of diasporic citizenship as, "a set of practices that a person is engages in, a set of rights acquired or appropriated, that cross nation-state boundaries and that indicate membership in at least two nation states" (190). Laguerre further argues that a new conception of dual citizenship is developing that is dual in two senses: first, in the sense it has always been for many immigrants that

while they are in the home country they are its citizens, while when they are in the U.S. they are Americans; second, also in the new sense that the diaspora those who are, as the etymology of the word indicates, scattered asunder like seeds can now participate fully in the social and political life of both countries, exerting quite an influence on the course of the political life in the home country (192). Therefore, bicultural identity is not only the result of transnationalism but is that on which transnationalism first depends and ultimately over the course of time creates a greater system of simultaneous relationships amongst borders, therefore, creating a diasporic citizenship.

In assimilationist national ideologies mentioned above, such as those of the United States, immigrants may experience loss and nostalgia, but only en route to a whole new home in a new place. Such narratives are designed to integrate immigrants, not people in diasporas. Whether the national narrative is one of common origins or of gathered populations, it cannot assimilate groups that maintain important allegiances and practical connections to a homeland or a dispersed community located elsewhere (Clifford "Diasporas" 304). As a result, whatever their ideologies of purity, diasporic cultural forms can never, in practice, be exclusively nationalist. They are deployed in transnational networks built from multiple attachments, and they encode practices of assimilation with, as well as resistance to, host countries and their norms.

2.2.4. COHESION VERSUS DIVERSITY (FISSION VS. FUSION)

To sum it all up, we need, finally, to pay more attention to persons who integrate as citizens in the country to which they have emigrated while also remaining active citizens of their homeland. Diasporans who become citizens in their hostlands, or wish to become citizens constitute an important element in the modern pattern of ethnic diversity. The more fully they become assimilated in these hostlands, the less likely they are to become activists in their original homelands. However, even well adjusted and successful immigrants sometimes choose to become active in the politics of their homelands (Riggs 271). Shain has argued that; diasporic mobilization on homeland-related affairs, which takes place mostly through 'official channels' of U.S. foreign policy that is, the electoral system and the lobbying of decision makers has the potential to direct diasporan energies

in ways that are conducive both to the assimilation or reinforcement of basic American values, such as freedom and pluralism, and to overall diasporic integration into American society (Shain "The Role of Diasporas"118).

As most diaspora groups are also incorporated ethnic groups, they must carefully manage their communicative negotiations of their ethnic and national identities in relationship to the homeland as well as the place of settlement. That is, they must present themselves as authentic diasporic and national subjects by creatively connecting their politics in both places so that they are not perceived as disloyal or inauthentic in either. (Drzewiecka 7). Therefore, it has been determined diasporas reflect migrations. After migrants settle they create or join a diasporic citizenship whose numbers have escalated as a result of modernity and transnationalism although, of course, they have existed in all world systems (Riggs 275). However, the idea of a diaspora as an unending sojourn across different lands, better captures the emerging reality of transnational networks and communities than the language of immigration and assimilation (Lie 303). The further approach that needs to be taken is to solicit the views of the collective identities, how are they formed throughout the immigration process.

2.3. Defining the collective identity

From the ancient Greeks, Diaspora designated a scattering, a dispersed community and the internationality of a web like space, significations that clearly resonate in the English adjective 'diasporic'. Today, thus the hypothesis that all of us in this country may be members of a diaspora (Detienne 53). The notion of diaspora advanced in this thesis refers to enduring and incorporated collective identity of diasporas which engage in new and renewed forms of appeal to the 'home country' and the 'host country'. In recent years there has been a growing academic interest in the notion of diaspora. The idea of diaspora is attractive in the sense that it offers a progressive possibility for a non-essentialized self, and can break the supposed fixed relationship between place and identity (Panagakos 54). Separate places become effectively a single community "through the continuous circulation of people, money, goods, and information" (Rouse 14). "Transnational migrant circuits," as Rouse calls them,

exemplify the kinds of complex cultural formations that current anthropology and intercultural studies describe and theorize. (18). Therefore, it can be argued that the diaspora is the oldest form of transnationalism. It initially described the forced dispersions of Jews and Armenians who maintained strong identification with their homelands and distinct group identities through community boundaries shaped by hostile responses in places of settlement (Drzewiecka 4). However, today within diasporic communities can be achieved through the maintenance of multiple connections, between the present 'here', and a past or future 'there'. As Clifford puts it, "the empowering paradox of diaspora is that dwelling here assumes a solidarity and connection there. But there is not necessarily a single place or an exclusivist nation" ("Diasporas" 322). As a result we define diaspora as a people with a common origin who reside, more or less on a permanent basis, outside the borders of their ethnic or religious homeland, whether that homeland is real or symbolic, independent or under foreign control. Diaspora members identify themselves, or are identified by others inside and outside their homeland (Shain and Aharon 455).

Diasporas, according to Basch et al. are "nations unbound, who re-inscribe space in a new way" (157). In his summary of current approaches to diaspora Cohen suggests that diasporas are positioned somewhere between nation states and 'traveling cultures' in that they involve dwelling in a nation state in a physical sense, but traveling in an astral or spiritual sense that falls outside the nation-states space/time zone (163). Clifford has quite the similar take on diasporas. Clifford offers a diacritical definition; what does diaspora define itself against? Primarily, Clifford suggests that diasporas are defined against nation-states. This is not a clear, simple, opposition, but rather a process of 'entangled tension' ("Travel and Translation" 98). Thus diaspora discourse articulates, or bends together, both roots and routes to construct and alternate public spheres, forms of community consciousness and solidarity that maintain identifications outside the national time/space in order to live inside, with a difference (Clifford "Travel and Translation" 251). Clifford further describes diaspora as 'ways of sustaining connections with more than one place while practicing non-absolutist forms of citizenship' ("Travel and Translation" 256).

Diaspora has been transformed from a descriptive condition applied largely to Jews in exile, to encompass a multitude of ethnic, religious and national communities who find themselves living outside of the territory to which they are historically 'rooted' (Carter 55). Contemporary diasporas' look neither toward the creation of a territorialized state nor for historical legitimization. Instead, they tend to define themselves systematically in terms of political and cultural actions and responsibilities that are lived locally (Carter 58). Diasporas act within national contexts from a position of deterritorialized minorities. They generally advance causes of cultural autonomy and espouse discourses of an imaginary original society, in doing so they conceptually reference the etymology of the very term nation Latin nasci, to be born, to spring from and thus strictly speaking, equate diaspora with nation (Detienne 50).

2.3.1. Diaspora formation

Sociologists have described migration as a network-building process that builds upon itself, facilitating the departure and settlement of newcomers and sustaining the movement when the original economic incentives have disappeared (Guarnizo, Portes and Haller 1226). The notion of cumulative causation has been invoked to describe the operation of networks of migration, whereby early departures pave the way for subsequent ones, lowering the costs and risks of the initial journey (Guarnizo,Portes and Haller 1227). We expect that the onset and continuation of transnational activities will follow the same logic. In the absence of large economic resources, the implementation of long distance ventures must depend on the maintenance of a strong web of social contacts (Guarnizo, Portes and Haller 1230). Most importantly, social formations are articulated through relations of dominance and subordination, which emerge through constant struggles between positions within the social field, such as nationality, ethnicity, class, race, or sexual orientation (Drzewiecka 18). In changing political and cultural conditions, diasporas struggle to reconstitute and authenticate unified collective identities to warrant collective political engagements (Drzewiecka 1). National discourses play an important role in groups' expressions of their belonging, identities, and political affiliations (Drzewiecka 19). Constitutive discourse creates a particular collective identity to

legitimate particular ways of collective life by transcending individual differences. The collective 'we' emerges as a shifting formation as the identity of the diaspora, its borders, and who counts as its members are constantly contested and repositioned (Drzewiecka 2). However, such discourses also enable groups to meaningfully express and/or reshape their collective identities by inviting them to share in particular rhetorical creations that connect them to larger political goals and grand collective identities and histories (Charland 135). Although individuals are constituted as subjects in this process, it is important to recognize the agency and creativity of communities which constantly rhetorically recreate and imagine nationalities that may transcend the boundaries of geographic space and historical time (Drzewiecka 23). Also, because diasporas are international or even global in scale, groups of emigres in one country may or may not cooperate with fellow emigres in other countries-barriers of space and politics hamper trans-state coordination among members of global diaspora communities (Riggs 285). Therefore, the formation may be comprised of similarities but the relationships amongst fellow international diasporas do not necessarily exist and nowadays to a large extent, diasporas no longer maintain a temporary status nurtured by desires to return home. They have become ethnic groups incorporated into the dominant culture to at least some extent and maintain their cultural and political distinctiveness at various levels (Drzewiecka 8).

2.3.2. DIASPORA POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Diasporas strategically construct their identities and positionalities in such a way as to gain political clout and an ability to influence politics in both homes (Drzewiecka and Halualani 343). Transnational political practices, according to Eva Ostergaard's definition in this volume, include various forms of direct cross border participation in the politics of their country of origin by both migrants and refugees, as well as their indirect participation via the political institutions of the host country (qtd. in Baubock 711). Migrant transnationalism affects both the institutions of the country of origin and of the receiving state. Thus it is not only about direct or indirect participation in sending states from outside their borders, but also about the impact of migrants' external political ties on the political institutions of the host country (Baubock 712). Therefore, political

transnationalism is not only about a narrowly conceived set of activities through which migrants become involved in the domestic politics of their home countries; it also affects collective identities and conceptions of citizenship among the native populations in both receiving and sending societies. Diasporas have influenced world affairs in numerous ways, passive and active, constructive and destructive. Such influence suggests that diasporas act as independent actors that actively influence homeland and hostland foreign policies. Diasporas' impact is being felt as part of the process of migration. Furthermore, as national minorities, diasporas serve as political conduits for conflict and intervention. Diasporas may become the pretext for state sponsored irredentism, the effort by a homeland government to recover territory populated by ethnic identity in a nearby state (Charles and Melvin 119).

The study of diasporas nowadays constitutes a growing intellectual industry, with numerous academic conferences and writings devoted to the subject. There is increasing recognition of the importance of diasporas in international affairs. Theoretically, diasporas have been posited as challenging traditional state institutions of citizenship and loyalty, and as an important feature of the relationship between domestic and international. More generally, diasporas are increasingly able to promote transnational ties, to act as bridges or as mediators between their home and host societies, and to transmit the values of pluralism and democracy as well as the "entrepreneurial spirit and skills that their home countries so sorely lack" (Shain and Aharon 464).

When focusing on how diasporas strive to influence the foreign policies of their homelands through the political process in the homeland. The basic nature of the hostland regime determines the ability of a diaspora to organize influence; indeed, it determines the ability to organize at all. The same weakness element that is important in the hostland also comes into play in the homeland (Shain "The Role of Diasporas 127). Diasporic activists may be a major source of violence and instability in their homeland. Just as diasporas can be advocates of peace processes, so too can they be spoilers. "Diasporas often support homeland struggles against neighboring states, or kin communities' struggles to obtain statehood" (Shain "The Role of Diasporas"128). Their help may be critical to nation-building and state consolidation in the homelands, making the views of the diaspora regarding national conflict a weighty factor in the deliberations of home-

land leaders (Shain "The Role of Diasporas"128). Diasporas may also constitute actors in what Samuel Huntington termed the 'clash of civilizations', and can even broaden the conflict by importing it to hostlands or by dealing in international crime and terrorism (21).

Once triggered, this dynamic can be used to influence foreign policy decision-making. This is done, inter alia, by engaging in the domestic politics of the homeland, using constructive and liberal methods. Constructivism seeks to account for actors' identities, motives, and preferences, while liberalism deals largely with explaining their actions once the preferences are settled (Shain and Aharon 469). Diasporas are among the most prominent actors that link international and domestic spheres of politics. Furthermore, diasporic activities and influence in the homeland, despite their international location, expand the meaning of the term 'domestic politics' to include not only politics inside the state but also inside the people (Shain and Aharon 469). Members of mobilized diasporas may be divided into three categories: core members, passive members, and silent members. Core members are the organizing elites, intensively active in diasporic affairs and in a position to appeal for mobilization of the larger diaspora (Shain and Aharon 470). Passive members are likely to be available for mobilization when the active leadership calls upon them. Silent members are a larger pool of people who are generally uninvolved in diasporic affairs, but who may mobilize in times of crisis (Shain and Aharon 470). Therefore, the role of diasporas is as independent actors exerting influence on their homelands' and hostlands' foreign policies, given their unique status, diasporas outside the state but inside the people attach significant importance to cultural identity. Given their international location, diasporas are aptly suited to manipulate international images and thus to trigger a national identity dynamic.

2.4. Immigrants and a representation of culture

Immigrants are exposed to dual worldviews, cultural practices, and beliefs. They are exposed to their 'home culture' and their 'host culture'. Unlike people in their home culture, the comparative social cultural context of immigrants' influences how they represent their home culture while trying to make sense of their host culture. The

relational context of their displacement makes them aware of the comparative nature of their cultural identity, and they are challenged to develop a deeper understanding of their own culture. They develop a newer appreciation of culture not merely as a set of practices and shared values, but as something that needs to be reflected on and explained (Mahalingam 77). A new immigrant, like an anthropologist in an 'exotic culture', tries to make sense of the host culture, its mores and practices and the meaning and grammar of various social cartographies. As aliens, immigrants are constantly asked to explain carious aspects of their culture to the natives (food customs, foreign policy issues etc.). Therefore, while making sense of the racial and social arrangements of the host society, they also embody the newer forms of racial and ethnic identities that codify their social and historical experiences. The dual role of informing and absorbing the new culture uniquely positions an immigrant to be aware of social hierarchies and power among various social groups (Mahalingam 78).

2.4.1. CULTURE AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

Culture is defined by Parsons as the "transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas and other symbolic-meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behavior and the artifacts produced through behavior" (Kroeber and Parsons 583). As a result, culture, can be said, to involve two facets. The "first face of culture," as Diana Taylor from her articles, *Transcultrating transcultraion* calls it in hegemony and culture, this is the one studied by social system theorists like Max Weber and Clifford Geertz, who hold that culture is tenacious and that cultural identities are given and self-reinforcing (qtd. in Taylor 100). For Geertz (in Local Knowledge), culture is "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which people communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life" (qtd. in Taylor 100). These theories emphasize the difficulty of ascertaining meaning across cultural borders. The second face of culture Diana views, is comprised of the conscious politicization of culture, the strategic use of cultural symbols, and the recognition that "cultural identity becomes a political resource" in-group action (Taylor 101). Schneider

expands and clarifies his concept of culture as:

> Culture takes man's position vis-a-vis the world rather than a man's position on how to get along in this world as it is given …Culture concerns the stage, the stage setting, and the cast of characters; the normative system consists in the stage directions for the actors and how the actors should play their parts on the stage that is so set. (qtd. in Boon, et al. 20)

However, Keesing suggests that culture is more or less subjective. We can recognize that not every individual shares precisely the same theory of the cultural code that not every individual knows about all sectors of the culture. Thus a cultural description is always an abstracted composite (qtd. in Paulston 372). Anthropologists deal exhaustively with culture and, as we see, define it in various ways, but the caution needed is that the emphasis is always on the patterned behavior of the group, not on the behavior of individual who crosses the boundaries of ethnic groups.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Cultural studies have been inserted into the long-standing disciplinary cleavage between sociologists who focus on cultural influences on social life and those who emphasize the impact of social structure (O.Lee 553). The study of the integration of immigrants into the social system of the new society has been the subject of far less effort on the part of social scientists, though recently more interest has been shown in it. Actually, the need of the immigrant for social integration may initially be greater than the need for cultural integration, for the first effect of migration seems to be, not culture conflict, but an extensive shrinkage in the individual migrant's field of social relations (O'Flannery 198).

For this reason, there is a need to make the distinction between cultural and social assimilation. Similar to Mertons destinction of cultural and structural assimilation mentioned above. One of the first analysts to distinguish between social and cultural assimilation was Peter Munch who studied the adjustment of Norwegian groups in Minnesota (qtd. in O'Flannery 199). According to Munch, immigrants are faced with a need to divest themselves of their old ways and to adopt American patterns at the same

time that they are excluded from association with many groups in the community. The result is the continued existence of ethnic groups in American society which are more or less isolated from one another and from the general American community (qtd. in O'Flannery 200). In some cases, it seems, the immigrant group has made a thorough adjustment to the new environment without losing its identity as an ethnic group. An almost complete cultural assimilation has not been followed by the expected social assimilation (qtd. in O'Flannery 201). Thus, the whole nature of immigrant assimilation or absorption has been modified. It consists of these two elements already mentioned above, cultural and social assimilation. The cultural assimilation of immigrants in American society, while ideally it may demand the total displacement of immigrant values by American values, actually requires only the acceptance of the major values, roles, and behavior patterns of American society, and allows considerable variation from customary patterns in secondary areas. Socially, assimilation of the immigrant involves the participation of the immigrant in the major institutional spheres of the receiving society. In the United States, these spheres are the political, the educational, and the occupational.

The American experience indicates that the existence of separate immigrant communities has not prevented assimilation. Seventy-five years ago Jacob Riis plotted the existence of various ethnic communities associated with particular geographic locations in New York City (qtd. in O'Flannery 202). These immigrant communities go back at least to the 1830's. Robert Ernst notes, "the coming of the Continental Europeans in the thirties transformed the Empire City into a complex agglomeration of little communities" (qtd. in O'Flannery 203). Immigrant communities have had a number of positive contributions to make to the process of immigrant absorption and to the stability of the resulting social system. For example, Mercer defines a community as a functionally related aggregate of people who live in a particular geographic locality at a particular time, share a common culture, are arranged in a social structure, and exhibit an awareness of their uniqueness and separate identity as a group (qtd. in O'Flannery 204).

In *Between camps*, Gilroy deals with the twin issues of territory and identity from a diaspora perspective (14). Gilroy begins by re-iterating the well-established point that identity is more often than not allied to territory identities are normally bounded and

particular, and are "thus revealed as a critical element in the distinctive vocabulary used to voice the geo-political dilemmas of the late modern age" (119). Rather than being understood as a process, identities are seen as a thing to be possessed, owned, carried around and displayed, which divide people, absolutely. As an alternative to the metaphysics of 'race', nation, and bounded culture coded into the body, diaspora is a concept that problematises the cultural and social mechanics of belonging. It disrupts the fundamental power of territory to determine identity by breaking the simple sequence of explanatory links between place, location, and consciousness (Gilroy 123) Gilroy, argues that diaspora consciousness is focused on "the social dynamics of remembrance and commemoration defined by a strong sense of the dangers involved in forgetting the location of origin and the tearful process of dispersal" (124). Diaspora is a way of creating a rift between places of belonging and places of residence.

There is an explicit spatiality to Gilroy's work, he proposes that the concept of space is itself transformed when it is seen in terms of the ex-centric communicative circuitry that has enabled dispersed populations to converse, interact, and more recently even to synchronize significant elements of their social and cultural lives forming a specific cultural identity for their new communities (129). The cultural representation of immigrants foregrounds the unique social positioning of immigrants and how they represent their culture in order to project and idealized self and ethnic identity. The distinction between the cultural and social assimilation plays a great role in forming a cultural identity. Various social interactions influence the production, internalization, and appropriation of these ideals while immigrants try to negotiate their status within the social hierarchy.

2.5. Preservation of culture and heritage

Erasmus observed, "The chief happiness for a man is to be what he is."

For many migrants with transnational networks and lifestyles, "the country of origin becomes a source of identity and the country of residence a source of right (O'Flannery 195).

2.5.1. BICULTURALISM

Roger Keesing argues that the basic argument is that becoming bicultural is an eclectic process which results in an idiosyncratic mixture of the two (C1 and C2) cultures with one basic cultural competence but with two sets of socio-cultural performance (qtd. in Paulston 369). The Webster's definition is defined perfectly clear: "the existence of two distinct cultures in one nation." Therefore, this could mean that bicultralism is more of a term used to identify official languages and cultures recognized under the law (the constitution), for example, Anglo-French relation in Canada. It most defiantly could be the case considering the term is so general. However, the term does not specify the precise circumstances that need to be taken into account to justify what is meant by 'two distinct cultures'. Therefore, for our purposes we will assume that biculturalism relates to the cultures of the 'host country' and the 'home country'.

If we were to use some of the past theories mentioned above under the subtitle of 'cultural identity' as a conceptual framework, one would be forced to conclude that logically a person cannot be bicultural because they already possess and have been born into a specific 'cultural identity'. However, Roger Keesing goes on to what he calls a conceptual sorting out, where he distinguishes between a cultural and a socio-cultural system: "Sociocultural systems represent the social realizations or enactments of ideational designs-for-living in particular environments" (qtd. in Paulston 370). A settlement pattern is an element of a sociocultural system, not an element of a cultural system in this sense (Paulston 370).

> A mode of subsistence technology similarly is part of a sociocultural system, but not strictly speaking part of a cultural system, people with the same knowledge and set of strategies for subsisting might be primarily horticulturalists in one setting and primarily fishermen in another, might make adzes of flint in one setting or shells in another, might plant taro on one side of a mountain range or yams on the other side. (Paulston 371)

In the oxford dictionary sociocultural is defined as: of, relating to, or involving a combination of social and cultural factors. For that matter, it makes sense that bicultural

status seems almost always to be gained as a resident in the other country or culture.

Now of crucial importance is whether or not the process of becoming bicultural is voluntary or involuntary. The conclusion surfaced frequently in bicultural studies, and it is clear that the origin of the contact situation is one reason for the fact that being bicultural means different things to different people. Once again just like cultural identity, biculturalism seems to be subjective in matter. Everett Kleinjans suggests a model for learning a second culture (qtd. in Paulston 378). The model has three categories: Cognition, Affection and Action, and each domain has a number of levels from superficial down to profound (Paulston 378). For our purposes we will only be looking at the Affection category. Under the Affection domain, Kleinjans posits 5 levels: Perception, Appreciation, Reevaluation, Reorientation, and Identification (qtd.in Paulston 379). Perception and Appreciation simply refer to the coming to know and to like aspects of another culture, food and music as well as aesthetic and moral values. Reevaluation is the process of changing one's values. It might mean a shift in priorities, the giving up of certain values for new ones, or an enlargement of one's value system. Reorientation means changing the direction of one's life, spurred by values he has adopted from the second culture (Paulston 379-381). Identification is becoming one with the people of the other culture. An individual becomes part of another citizenship (Paulston 380). To sum it all up and move on to our next subject, what happens in biculturalism, I think, is that the individual simply picks and chooses different aspects of culture from their 'home country' and their 'host country' and from my personal understanding and reflections, I would have to agree with Kleinjans, that yes becoming bicultural can mean picking and choosing what fits your persona.

2.5.2. NATURALIZATION VERSUS DUAL CITIZENSHIP

As nations of immigrants, the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom have all had a long and complex relationship with the migrants who enter its territory. In the mid-199Os, these tensions came to the fore in searing debates over where to place legal and other boundaries around those who would be included in the nation (Coutin 508). Both the adoption of restrictive measures and the celebration of naturalization shed light

on the meanings of exclusion from and inclusion into. Nonetheless, in the United States, official models of naturalization presume that immigration consists of leaving one society and joining another and that naturalization creates equivalent and generic citizen-subjects (Coutin 509). The assumption that naturalization is about gaining full citizenship into a host country, led immigrants to naturalize in large numbers however, it also prevented some from being anymore citizens in their home countries from naturalizing. These migrants' experiences of exclusion led many to desire not only legal permanent residency but also naturalization, as a means of guaranteeing their rights in the United States, securing the ability to travel internationally, particularly, acquiring a greater political voice, and improving their ability to petition for the legalization or immigration of family members (Yang 453). New citizens during that time attributed naturalization to immigrants' desire for Americanization, their choice of the United States over their country of origin (Yang 454). Naturalization ceremonies celebrate the creation and incorporation of new citizen-subjects, but these subjects are created by erasing their past histories and rendering their new (Yang 460).

Individuals may naturalize not only out of a desire to become Americans or Canadians but also because they feel that, as noncitizens, their rights are in jeopardy (Coutin 510). Accordingly, cultural identity and political membership are defined as well-bounded characteristics, such that acquiring new ones implies abandoning those held previously (Coutin 511). The hypothesis derived from this reasoning is that immigrants who have naturalized as citizens would be much less likely to continue involving themselves in the politics and social aspects of their home nation (Guarnizo, Portes and Haller 67). Therefore, costs, benefits and meaning of naturalization are the most immediate considerations in immigrants' decisions to naturalize. Citizenship grants immigrants certain political, civic and social rights and privileges to which they are permanent, however, with that they have to throw away their entire past and cultural identity.

As Thomas Alexander Aleinikoff and Douglas Klusmeyer understand it, there is "an emerging international consensus that the goal [of state policies] is no longer to reduce plural nationality as an end in itself, but to manage it as an inevitable feature of an increasingly interconnected and mobile world" (87). These processes have increased the

pressure for dual citizenship, a practice that permits individuals to live and work, to invest and struggle, in more than one country. The old expectation that one should be a citizen of only one country at a time is losing force as members of diaspora communities and cosmopolitans become cross-pressured by polynational controversies and global interests (Riggs 286). Until recently there was a 'prevalent distaste' for dual nationality in states around the world; now, particularly post-Cold War, that distaste is dissipating, and we may be witnessing a long-term shift toward a more universal acceptance of dual nationality (Spiro 19-20). There is now an upward trend in claims for dual citizenship/nationality, produced especially through migration. The loosening of rules concerning dual citizenship represents a global trend, particularly among migrant sending countries (Hansen and Weil 5). International and regional instruments, according to a United Nations report that there seem to be reconciling principles of nationality with the trends towards multiple identities ("International Migration Report 2002"). This is evident by the reorientation of instruments regarding dual or multiple nationality ("International Migration Report 2002"). From an American perspective, it is estimated that more than a half million children born in the United States each year have at least one additional nationality (Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 68).

In other Western states, official attitudes on dual citizenship or dual nationality vary considerably (Hansen and Weil 6-7). However, on the migrant-sending-country side, dual citizenship has been difficult to push through many parliaments since domestic politicians see more disadvantage than advantage in allowing this. They often feel that emigrant or diaspora participation in domestic politics is distinctly not welcome, particularly absentee voting which might give too much domestic oppositional influence to people actually living outside the country (Vertovec 982). However, every country has its own laws regarding dual citizenship. Some countries allow it and others do not, while some countries have no particular laws regarding dual citizenship. For our purposes we will take a look at Poland, North America and the United Kingdom and their views on dual citizenship/ nationality.

DUAL CITIZENSHIP IN POLAND

Polish law does not explicitly allow dual citizenship, but possession of another citizenship is tolerated since there are no penalties for its possession alone. However, the problems result for members of the Polish diaspora, for being treated by Poland solely as Polish citizens. Under a particularly strict enforcement policy, named by the Polish expatriate community the 'passport trap', citizens of the United States, Canada, and Australia were prevented from leaving Poland until they obtain a Polish passport. The governments of the United States and Canada have issued travel warnings for Poland, still in effect in February 2007, to those who are or can be claimed as Polish citizens that they are required to enter and exit Poland on a Polish passport and will not be allowed to leave Poland until a new Polish passport has been obtained ("Dual Citizenship"). Therefore, Poland does not recognize, although does not forbid, double citizenship. Polish citizenship is based on bloodlines, thus someone born in the U.S. of parents holding Polish citizenship is considered a Polish citizen, unless this person formally renounces Polish citizenship. The new law was met with outrage from U.S. Poles, who enjoy double citizenship, and might vote in Polish elections while living permanently in the U.S., but want the privilege of the U.S. passport when crossing borders. Under pressure, the Polish government is currently modifying its passport laws. Passports and double citizenship, not recognized but not banned by either Poland or the U.S., are powerful examples of diasporic positional ties and negotiations. Passports are structural elements that legalize relationships between individuals and states. Those individuals who have double citizenship are freer in their travels to Poland, their purchase of property, and their use of voting and other rights (Drzewiecka and Halualani 349).

DUAL CITIZENSHIP IN CANADA

Canadian Citizens have been allowed to obtain or maintain foreign citizenship while keeping their Canadian Citizenship since February 15, 1977. Under the present Citizenship Act, a Canadian citizen will retain their citizenship even if they are granted citizenship in another country. The individual will only loose their Canadian citizenship if an application to voluntary renounce it is submitted and the request approved by a Citizenship judge ("Canada Immigration").

DUAL CITIZENSHIP IN UNITED STATES

The US Government recognizes that dual nationality exists but does not encourage it as a matter of policy because of the problems it may cause ("US Dual Citizenship").

DUAL CITIZENSHIP IN UNITED KINGDOM

The United Kingdom does not require that you give up other nationalities when you become a British citizen, although you are free to do so if you wish, therefore, the United Kingdom is 'perfectly indifferent' ("Can I be a Citizen of Two Countries").

For many individuals dual citizenship offers practical advantages, such as social security or employment. To sum it all up, before they naturalize, migrants remain citizens of their country of origin but are subject to the territorial jurisdiction of their country of residence. Under norms of international law, their external affiliation to the sending state entails a right to return and to diplomatic protection in the host country. Permanent resident foreigners nowadays usually enjoy extensive civil liberties, including the right to political association and activity, and they often have a right to return to their host country after staying (Baubock 714). In a number of European states they enjoy voting rights in local elections, and there is a general tendency towards broader toleration of dual nationality, not only when it is acquired at birth but also in case of naturalization (Baubock 717). Maastricht Treaty of the European Union, which came into force in 1993, has introduced the local franchise for Union citizens residing in other member states. Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Ireland and the Netherlands grant a residence-based local franchise to all foreign nationals. In Britain, Portugal and Spain privileged groups of foreign nationals can vote in either local or national elections (Baubock 718). Notwithstanding political reluctance or outright resistance in many quarters, the incidence and impacts of dual citizenship and nationality are on the rise around the world. Migrant transnationalism plays a significant role in this growth. For many individuals dual citizenship offer practical advantages, such as social security and mental health that all transcend into a better well-being and quality of life.

2.6. The psychological well-being: Quality of life

Will Kymlicka in his book *Multicultural Citizenship* thinks of a societal culture as a national culture, the culture of a people (qtd. in Frost 64). This term he then connects with the notion of personal autonomy by arguing that the precondition for the good life is that a person can autonomously choose (or revise) his or her conception of the good among a range of ethical options provided by one's societal culture (qtd. in Frost 64-65). A person's life can be good only if it is lived from the inside and if he or she has the freedom and the chance to find, choose, affirm and question his or her life values in the context of his or her societal culture (Frost 66). Belonging to such a culture thus is necessary to lead an autonomous and good life: "Cultures are valuable, not in and of themselves, but because it is only through having access to a societal culture that people have access to a range of meaningful options" (Frost 68). I believe that Kymlicka is right that his formal conception of autonomy as the capacity for a rational choice of one's way to a good life is justifiable, however, I do not feel that political philosophy can be used as the basis of a conception of multicultural justice in today's world. It presents a good start and introduction, but the ideal theory is the more realistic option.

2.6.1. MENTAL HEALTH

The task of settling into a new country can place an immigrant at increased of anxiety due to constant pressures and worries about being able to "make it," depression around unrealized expectations, and decreased satisfaction with life as a result of a host of concurrent stresses associated with readjustment. Although transnationalism has rarely been studied in mental health, it has been implicitly linked to certain factors such as social support, ethnic identity and perceived discrimination all of which have been associated with psychological health (Mahalingam 83). To date, there are few, if any, studies that examine the ways in which the maintenance of transnational ties plays a role in mental health outcomes of immigrants. Indices of psychological well being, such as anxiety, depressions, and life satisfaction, were measured and correlated with scored on

the transnationalism scale. Therefore, transnationalism is related to higher life satisfaction however, this is not enough immigrants also need a social support system to keep them up on their feet.

2.6.2. SOCIAL SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE

Results show that social support is perceived to play an important role in immigrant settlement and to have a positive impact on immigrant health. Some of the research that will be presented here suggests that social support systems are important to more effectively support immigrant settlement and to promote immigrant health and well being. Social support, is defined as, interactions with family members, friends, peers and professionals that communicate information, esteem, practical, or emotional help (Lagille 4), and it plays a particularly important role during major transition periods by enhancing coping, moderating the impact of stressors and promoting health (Bloom 635).

Social support is a basic determinant of health, as vital to maintaining well being as food, shelter, income, and access to health care and social opportunities ("Social Determinants of Health"). Social support also influences use of health services Life transitions, such as immigration and settlement, are situations that place health at risk (Stewart 50). As a result, during settlement, numerous disadvantages may affect immigrants' and refugees' health, stress, underemployment, downward mobility, discrimination, poor housing, lack of access to services, and inadequate social support. Most newcomers need to rebuild disrupted social networks (Simich et al. 259). Many face social isolation, especially in the beginning, and are usually without the social supports they were accustomed to in their homeland. Also, many newcomers to Canada today rely on friends and family for support to overcome settlement difficulties, rather than formal health and social service organizations (Simich et al. 262). As a result, during settlement, familiar sources of support such as friends and family, the existence of a like-ethnic community and a strong sense of belonging may enable newcomers to gradually enlarge their social networks and lead to help-seeking and opportunity within the wider society (Aroian 182). Nevertheless, social support serves several functions and has many potential sources. Several studies have suggested that using all available

personal and social resources to obtain social support is critical to reducing stress, maintaining health and achieving eventual self-sufficiency and well being (Beiser 15). Not only does social support helps individuals cope in an immediate way with stress during crisis situations but it also reinforces the self-confidence needed to manage ongoing challenges critical to the adaptation process (Simich et al. 265). Service providers and policy makers believed that immigrants and refugees faced many common challenges, such as communication and economic integration problems. Most service providers and policy makers described a holistic concept of social support that enables newcomers to meet challenges effectively. For example, one service provider said,

> Social support is contextual, because it can mean different things at different moments. What often comes to my mind is the Alma Ata Declaration of World Health Organization (WHO) and the understanding of primary health care . . . looking at the total being, not only the physical being, but also the mental, psychological, the economic, the political, the social, the cultural. Understanding social support, it is trying to adopt that kind of model or framework. The terrific challenge is how to make it real. How do you . . . actually develop potential? (qtd. in Simich et al. 263)

Other service providers and policy maker's added cultural and social dimensions to their dentition of social support, alluding to a learning process which increases a newcomers' sense of efficacy in a new environment:

> Social support is a kind of a concept that encompasses the economic, political, and cultural. People have cultural needs that relate to the values of the place they grow up, values of their friends and values of their families. When those change, the values in the communities around, they need some type of, maybe not 'support,' but maybe brokerage or translation. They need to know what the things mean here. People say, 'I need to be able to understand the value set of where I now live, so I can interact effectively and efficiently in the way I'm used to. (qtd. in Simich et al. 264)

Also, policy makers and service providers noted several common forms of social support, including informational, instrumental, and emotional. They described particular needs for information prior to immigration to prepare people for the reality of resettlement

challenges, and post migration to present the range of services available to them. They recognized that information is critical for accessing services, and best if culturally and linguistically appropriate. Instrumental or practical support is critical to meet basic needs, but also to break down structural barriers, for example, to employment and education. Emotional support is important for those experiencing isolation, enduring family separation and facing family crises. Affirmation from other immigrants is significant for giving guidance, sharing experiences, and empowering newcomers to meet challenges. Service providers and policy influencers also described newcomers' lack of awareness of the reality of immigrating to a new country and specific challenges associated with resettlement, including a lack of knowledge about health and health-related systems (education, employment, and community services) (Simich et al. 266).

They also described a continuum of formal and informal social supports. Formal supports most frequently accessed by newcomers were mainstream agencies, resettlement agencies, gender- and ethno-specific organizations, and language schools. Common informal sources of support for all newcomers included friends, relatives and neighbors from the same ethnic groups. Other sources were independent sponsors, religious organizations, and ethno-cultural associations (Simich et al. 266). To conclude, service providers and policy makers observed that having social support helps newcomers by fostering a sense of empowerment, community and social integration, building networks, sharing experiences and problems, reducing stress, and contributing to physical and mental health.

2.7. Conclusion

In most cases the diasporas' relationship is to its roots is of an ideological nature, these have often been only recently reinvented or reformulated. Within a nation state in which a particular diaspora is located, this link to an imagined past has conferred upon the diasporic population. Members of diasporas' define themselves in terms of at least a double identity, thus bracketing the unconditional fidelity associated with citizenship in a particular nation state (Bazin 99). Quite literally, they incarnate a transcending of separate cultural identities and embody what in the context of French society has been

termed a metissage identitaire et culturel (interbreeding identity and culture) (Bazin 100). Diasporas can teach us how to think about our destiny and how to newly articulate the unity of science with the diversity of knowledge as we confront the politics of difference. Today, with migration intensified and these diasporic cultures proliferating or expanding, the border has become internal and assimilation becomes a process of the unknown. Now transnationalism is at once everywhere. Ultimately, the bicultural society will become a kind of sport in which everyone participates as his neighbor's ethnographer, representing the others identity in term of typical behavior. With everyone becoming someone else native, modern (or postmodern) society must itself become a space of ethnographic inscription. All cultures are varied as they may be; today share at least the axiom of their multiplicity. Identities are never pure or single, especially in a polygot culture like the modern Canada or the United Kingdom. Whether it is through transnational ties or support services for migrants to maintain a good mental health and well being, social support systems are strongly advised for a better quality of life (Bazin 102).

3. The cultural and social formation of the Polish Diaspora

The stem for "diaspora" is "speirein," meaning to scatter, and the prefix, "dia," means apart (Riggs 269), suggesting the scattering across the world to form an collective identity outside of the home country. International migration has enormously increased in volume and diversity, playing a constitutive role in the globalization and multicultural processes that are transforming economies, nation-states, and local cultures worldwide. Sociological theories of international migration address different levels and different phases of this process, without effectively integrating them. The most comprehensive evaluation is one that focuses primarily on a specific diasporas' case. Thus far, we have discussed the general theories that exist up to date, these theories are neither inconsistent nor mutually exclusive and all of them play some role in accounting for international migration in the contemporary world although different models predominate at different phases of the migration process. As a result, for our purposes we will be taking a more in depth look at the cultural and social formation of the Polish diaspora in the English-speaking world. Within this chapter we will begin by taking a look at the beginnings of the Anglo-Polish relations, then we will continue with the topic of globalization and multiculturalism and how it effects international migration today. Further on we will continue on with discussing the multicultural policies of North America and United Kingdom today and lastly we will end off the chapter by articulating about the Polish diaspora formation across the globe.

3.1. Polish-Anglo Relations (THE BEGINNINGS)

The beginning of the Anglo-Polish Relations dates as far back as into the mid nineteenth century. The history of Polish -Anglo emigration started in 1831, following the collapse of the Polish Insurrection of 1830-1831. Historians call this phase the 'Great Emigration'. The great Polish emigration which took place as a result of the failure of the insurrection of 1830-1831 coincided in time with the appearance of the first mass movement of the English working classes. It was, too, the cause of Poland more than that of any other country that stimulated the earliest manifestations in England of radical and

working-class internationalism (Brock 141). It is important to mention that the 'Great Emigration' was primarily a self-imposed exile of members of the revolutionary government and diet of 1830-1831. In addition to the politicians, some officers and men who were released from Prussian or Austrian internment camps sought refuge in England. However, the greatness of this emigration lay not in its military significance but rather in its contribution to the maintenance of Polish cultural values suppressed in Poland by the occupying powers of the time (Zubrzycki 254). Therefore, could it be said that the reason why Poles have maintained their ethnic identity is due to international migration? This will be discussed in greater depth in chapter three. However, in contrast to the political emigration above, economic emigration from Poland consisted of the mass movement of citizens inspired by the desire to find better economic opportunities, a higher standard of living and a greater measure of economic security (Zubrzycki 255). During the period of the Polish Partition and national insurrections, some political refugees went to the U.S.A. The largest group of Poles arrived in 1832, the first Polish body of its kind on American soil. However, Dr Miecislaus Haiman, a contemporary historian of Polish settlements in the United States, made a count of Polish names of the heads of families, listed in the first census of the United States taken in the year 1790. He estimates that 462 Poles lived in the twelve States for which census returns are available (Zubrzycki 256-57). However, once again the data given is very blurred and there are no exact figures that one can draw back on . Also, it has been researched that the first Polish immigrant is known to have come to Canada in 1753, but in the next hundred years only a few other Poles followed his example (Radecki and Heydenkorn 20).

Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that, until 1918 Poland did not exist as a political entity, and for statistical purposes the migration of Polish nationals was usually registered as that of Russians, Germans or Austrians. Therefore, it is quite difficult to receive precise data regarding the beginnings of Polish-Anglo relations. However, the only exception was the U.S.A. Immigration Statistics, which from 1825 to 1898 registered persons arriving from the former Poland as Poles (Zubrzycki 260). Also, another difficulty when making statistical estimates of the volume of Polish migration is to distinguish between Poles, Lithuanians and White Ruthenians. From the middle of the sixteenth century Poland, Lithuania and White Ruthenia were united in the Polish

Commonwealth, and in the absence of national separatist movements nationals of these countries would declare themselves as Poles (Zubrzycki 262). This would then distort most of the statistical data collected in the past, therefore, as mentioned above it is extremely difficult to come up with fixed data . Also, the waves of immigration to Canada mirrored those to the United States with mostly rural migrants arriving between 1860 and 1939 and settling in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, while many of those who came after 1939 settled in the urban areas of Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, and Edmonton (Lustanski "Polish language"179).

Now let us take a look at how many Poles live in North America and the United Kingdom today. In the 1990 U.S census counted 9.4 million Americans of Polish origin, the largest group of east European ethnic Americans, however, the 2000 census counted for not a full one million, meaning that the Polish population has decreased almost four percent over the past ten years, accounting for a total of 3.2 percent of the total population in the U.S ("United States Census 2000"). As for Poles living in Canada, in the 2006 census, it was estimated that around one million Poles live in Canada, compared to the 1991 census their were only 200,000 poles living in Canada, which accounted for four percent of the immigrant population. However, the numbers are so low for the 1991 census because their was a big boom of Polish immigrants arriving between 1988 and 1992 and not all these Poles had their citizenship for the 1991 census, meaning they were not allowed to partake in the census (Lustanski "Polish Immigrants in Canada" 39). As a result, the numbers would have been much higher in percentage. Nevertheless, let us now take a look at the United Kingdom. It has been estimated that two million Poles have arrived in Britain since EU enlargement in 2004 (Doughty). But the actual numbers working in the economy are notoriously difficult to count. The Government's Worker Registration Scheme attempts to record employees from the eight new EU countries. It currently lists 345,000 eastern European workers, including 205,000 from Poland (Doughty). The two million figure for Polish visitors is projected from ONS estimates for travel and tourism in Britain between 2003 and 2005.According to the ONS breakdown, there were over a million Polish arrivals in Britain in 2005, compared to just 325,000 in 2003. Today, there are one million poles living in the United Kingdom, however, these numbers are unofficial estimates. The 2010 ONS estimate that there are roughly half a

million Polish born citizens living in the UK (Doughty).

To conclude, it has been noted above that the Polish-Anglo relations go as far back as to the early nineteenth century. However, when looking at the more recent years of Polish migration one can concluded that most Polish migrants today are either migrating within close proximity, to the United Kingdom as a result of the EU enlargement or in the late 1980s and early 1990s they chose to migrate to North America as a result of the fall of the iron curtain, that gave them the freedom to move outside of their 'home country.' With that being said let us now take a look at the effects of globalization and multiculturalism on international migration.

3.2. Multiculturalism and Globalization

MULTICULTURALISM

Immigration, voluntary or involuntary is what created all multiracial and multicultural nations. Multiculturalism (polyethnicity) arose thousands of years ago and persists today. Cross-cultural relations (polyethnicity) have existed since the dawn of civilization. "Ethnic differences and interactions between groups sharing different cultural norms based on language, religion, customs, and ancestry, continue into the present age, often without serious change" (Riggs 284). Therefore, multiculturalism is modern and anti-modern at the same time. It is a thoroughly modern phenomenon in that it reflects the collapse of social hierarchies and the precarious nature of identity in an individualized social structure where traditional, identity-providing milieus of class, religion, or region have melted away (Joppke 450). The particularistic identities advocated by multiculturalism are chosen, not received, to be built by means of consciousness raising rather than ready made (Joppke 451). Ethnic heritage, racial features, or sexual orientation are elevated into exclusive master statuses that totally fix an individual's identity and interests. The world of multiculturalism is populated not by individuals with a multitude of overlapping, and often conflicting, group affiliations and interests, but by groups or communities (Joppke 453). Multiculturalism stipulates culturally integrated associations, i.e., 'communities', which penetrate and regulate not only specific aspects, but also the entire life conduct of the individual (Joppke 455).

Therefore, multiculturalism reflects a novel situation where culture is no longer contained, controlled, and homogenized by the national state. As Michael Schudson has put it, today "cultures flow in, out, around, and through state borders"(77). As a result, migrations, particularly from the periphery of the modern world system, have produced the ethnic and racial diversity that is a central backdrop of multicultural claims.

If related to immigration, multiculturalism appears as a critique of and alternative to traditional assimilation, which assumed that the cultural difference imported into the receiving society by immigrants should and would be extinguished in the long run. Assimilation, whose literal meaning is 'making alike', is indeed no longer plausible, for a variety of reasons (Bauman 104). A recent American survey of attitudes toward societal multiculturalism versus assimilation has found surprisingly widespread support for maintaining heritage cultures among immigrant minority groups (Lambert et al. 391). In the United States and Canada, the vast majority of people can truthfully say, "we are all immigrants", unless they happen to be American Indians or Inuit. Consequently, the issue of immigrants and their integration into the main society is commonplace and meaningful, and is as salient today as it ever has been, because the United States and Canada are still very active immigrant receiving nations. Even though immigration is often thought of as a natural and potentially enriching process for the nation involved, many North Americans are preoccupied with the various kinds of societal strains associated with the process (Lambert et al. 342). Underlying this preoccupation are concerns about attitudes and policies toward immigrants and established ethnic minorities. Two contrasting ideological positions dominate: assimilation, the belief that cultural minorities should give up their so-called heritage cultures and take on the American (or Canadian) way of life, versus multiculturalism, the view that these groups should maintain their heritage cultures as much as possible while establishing themselves in North America (Lambert et al. 350). This policy debate is an ancient one in the United States and Canada because both countries were initially settled by diverse national and lingual groups.

A brief review of recent U.S. findings will make evident why one might be interested in gathering comparable data from other national settings. The study of Lambert and Taylor was conducted with parents in a multiethnic urban center in the

United States. The results indicated, firstly, strong cross-group support for the option of culture and language maintenance as compared to assimilation, among ethno linguistic minorities. Secondly, support for the multicultural option among certain sub-groups of immigrants who have resided in the United States for over twenty-five years (e.g., Polish- and Mexican-Americans). Thirdly support for bilingualism for their children among all subgroups (immigrant or host); and lastly, endorsement by all ethno linguistic immigrant groups of public school involvement in teaching the history of heritage cultures (Lambert et al. 402). One conclusion drawn from this research is that some members of ethnic minority groups in the contemporary United States are evolving a new perspective on immigration. Rather than choosing between heritage and adopted cultures, the option is to develop full biculturalism .In other words, it appears they want two cultural identities rather than relinquishing one for another, Surprisingly, they may also be able to count on support in their efforts from large subgroups of long-established Americans. To sum it up, many immigrant minority groups in North America rejected the idea of giving up their heritage cultures and languages in favor of biculturalism for themselves and their children. This we see as a novel, relatively recent, and fairly widespread compromise of two cultures rather than one (Lambert et al. 404). Most importantly, in contrast to earlier migrations, contemporary migrations occur within a developed nation-state system, in which there is a strong disinclination on the part of migrants to abandon entrenched national loyalties (Lambert et al. 405). Secondly, due to advanced transport and communication technologies migrations are no longer one-way trips,which Tzvetan Todorov considered the basis of the classic immigrant's willingness to become assimilated (qtd. in Lambert et al. 406). Thirdly, liberal states are reluctant to impose particular cultural forms on its members, aside from a procedural commitment to basic civic rules (Lambert et al. 408). There is a widely held sense that forced assimilation or acculturation violates the integrity and dignity of the individual, whose cultural habits should be a matter of his or her choice alone. To a certain degree, liberal states today are necessarily multicultural.

In Will Kymlicka's book, Multicultural *Citizenship*, mentioned above, Kymlicka extends and reinterprets his case first made in *Liberalism, Community, and Culture* for the recognition of specific rights of cultural minorities on the basis of liberal principles

(qtd. in Frost 66). He convincingly argues that we need to find arguments for cultural rights within the framework of a "comprehensive theory of justice in a multicultural state" (qtd. in Frost 66). The basic values and norms of such a multicultural basic structure and the reasons for important political decisions have to be equally acceptable to all citizens; thus no cultural group may simply generalize its own values and self-understandings and impose them on others. This means that the unavoidable cultural character of the basic structure (its official language and symbols, for example) reflects the cultural diversity of the state and that its decision-making processes are structured in such a way as not to exclude some individuals or groups and their legitimate interests (Frost 69). What is needed, therefore, is a common normative framework in which their respective claims can be raised, i.e., some basic principles of justice which allow for a concretization and interpretation that justly respects the claims of, long standing national minorities (such as the indigenous culture) as well as the demands and interests of other groups (such as those who originally were forced to enter the state as slaves, or refugees) or of immigrants who chose to become part of a country (Frost 69). According to Kymlicka's suggestion, the basis of such a framework is a 'liberal' notion of personal autonomy, a certain conception of a 'societal culture', a notion of equality between cultural groups and an awareness of historical agreements (qtd. in Frost 67). Fundamental to his argument is the connection between autonomy and a societal culture as a context of choice. According to Kymlicka, a multicultural society may be of two kinds (or a mixture of both): either it is 'multinational' and thus consists of two or more 'societal cultures' or it is 'polyethnic' and consists of one 'societal culture' that integrates a number of different ethnic, cultural groups that do not and do not want to form a societal culture of their own (qtd. in Frost 68). A societal culture is defined as,

> A culture, which provides its members with meaningful ways of life across the full range of human activities, including social, educational, religious, recreational, and economic life, encompassing both public and private spheres. These cultures tend to be territorially concentrated, and based on a shared language. (Frost 71)

To conclude, the novelty of multiculturalism is that ethnicity is a matter of private choice; it does not attain public status. Multiculturalism is not just an empirical

description of culturally diverse societies, but also a normative claim that cultural difference is to be publically recognized and instituted, and thus to be made the business of state rather than of private initiative. Therefore, multiculturalism is the ideal for members of a national minority to be members of that specific minority as well as being citizens with a full set of civil liberties. Thus, Kymlicka's multinational state consisting not of one but of two (or more) 'political communities' is problematic, because if these two political communities were on the same level, there would be no way to defend a common set of citizenship rights that a politically partly autonomous because, other national minorities may not violate (Frost 70). It is important to note that this argument that members of national minorities have certain individual rights is not based on a liberal conception of autonomy, but on reflection about what the rights and duties of citizenship are. Therefore, for further purposes it is crucial to take a deeper look into the stance on multicultural policies in North America and United Kingdom today.

GLOBALIZATION

The great wave of industrialization from the nineteenth to the early twentieth century led to what Hatton and Williamson call the first 'age of mass migration' (Lambert et al. 410). The second 'age of migration' led to an acceleration of globalization of the post- 1945. This current wave has gone much further than the first, because it has drawn in virtually all regions of the world, while the first focused mainly on the 'Atlantic economy' (Lambert et al. 411). The territorial order, if it ever existed, has become increasingly disrupted by processes of globalization, both from 'above' (transnational capital, global political bodies, regional political and economic union) and 'below' (transnational communities, global civil society, separatist national movements) (O.Lee 548). Migrants now maintain such connections through uses of technology, travel and financial mechanisms more intensely than ever before possible largely associated with facets of globalization. Much of the literature on migrant transnationalism focuses on the ways that specific sociocultural institutions have been modified in the course of being stretched across the globe. Transnational migrants create modes of transformation. Such modes of transformation concern: 1) an enhanced 'bifocality' of outlooks underpinning

migrant lives lived here and there; such dual orientations have considerable influence on migrants identities among subsequent post migration generations; 2) heightened challenges to for migrants' political affiliations in more than one nation-state; these particularly arise around questions of dual citizenship and nationality; and 3) potentially profound impacts on economic development by way of the sheer scale and evolving means of remittance (O.Lee 560). These modes of transformation, and the practices of migrant transnationalism. surrounding them, both draw from and contribute to wider processes of globalization (O.Lee 561).

Some analysts have suggested that we should abandon the term migration, because it is thought to imply long-term movement from one nation-state to another, following the patterns of labor and settlement migration seen as typical of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The twenty-first century, by contrast, is regarded as an era of fluidity and openness, in which changes in transportation, technology and culture are making it normal for people to think beyond borders and to cross them frequently (Castles "Understanding global migration"1570). In a world of globalization and multiculturalism the freedom to be mobile should prevail in today's society more so then back in the nineteenth and twentieth century, where globalization was just arising. However, this may seem to be the common assumption but in reality that is not the case. As Bauman has pointed out, the right to be mobile is more class-specific and selective than ever (qtd. in Castles "Understanding global migration"1572). Therefore, national border controls and international cooperation on migration management have become highly restrictive. Most people have neither the economic resources nor the political rights needed for free movement (Castle "Migration and comminity"1580). Only three per cent of the world's populations are international migrants (Castle "Understanding global migration"1581). The postmodern utopia of a borderless world of mobility has not yet dawned, so that it still seems appropriate to focus on migration as a process based on inequality and discrimination, and controlled and limited by states. (Castle "Understanding global migration"1582). However, when speaking in terms of the member states of the European union, one may suggest that it has globalized so far as to refer to it perhaps as the postmodern 'utopia'. However, when taking a look at the overall picture, international recruitment of highly skilled personnel is considered valuable, while lower skilled

migrant workers are seen as out of place in the new post-industrial economies. Movements of the highly skilled are celebrated as professional mobility, while those of the lower skilled are condemned as unwanted migration. However, there is good reason to believe that the structural factors driving labor migration, particularly from low and middle-income countries to richer countries, will quickly reassert themselves after the global financial crisis of 2007-2009 comes to an end (Castle "Understanding global migration"1583).

Therefore, it can be concluded, that migration has grown more than ever in the last little while because of the accelerated pace of globalization and multiculturalism. However, there do seem to remain some constraints due to the recent economic crisis and the change for more highly skilled professionals then in the past. Yet due to globalization and multiculturalism migrants are given greater freedom, to communicate, travel and be able to express their ethnic identity across borders.

3.3. Multicultural policies of today (NORTH AMERICA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM)

The very notion of multiculturalism conveys that not one but multiple cultures coexist within a limited, state bounded territory. Multiculturalism, is the seeking of equal rights and recognition for ethnic, racial, religious, or sexually defined groups, is one of the most pervasive and controversial intellectual and political movements in contemporary Western democracies (Lambert et al. 387). In its insistence on equality and emancipation, multiculturalism is clearly a movement of the left (Joppke 449). Following Charles Taylor, one may characterize multiculturalism as a "politics of difference" that fuses egalitarian rhetoric with a stress on authenticity and rejection of Western universalism, which is seen as falsely homogenizing and a smokescreen for power (qtd. in Castle "Understanding global migration" 1577).

As a result, the integration of migrants is also an issue of ongoing political debate, immigration countries have to decide whether they wish to actively force the integration of foreigners into their social and political structures, or whether they prefer that migrants from different nations maintain their national and cultural identities (Dustmann 47). Therefore, receiving countries are either interested in newcomers who will mix rapidly

with the local population or they could care less and allow immigrants to develop their own new communities in their new host country. This then brings us to the analysis of the multicultural policies of North America and United Kingdom in the present day.

UNITED KINGDOM

Britain has a long history of absorbing people from different cultural or ethnic groups. In a similar way the UK itself has long adopted a policy of multiculturalism in relation to immigrants. Put in very simple terms this means that the UK allows people from different cultures to live in the UK whilst continuing to practice their own cultural traditions rather than expecting them to adapt to, so-called, 'British' ways (Dustmann 41). It is important to fist of all to understand something of the background to the question of multiculturalism in Britain. In many ways, historically, Britishness is very flexible; it is much less racially defined than the identity of any other European nationality (Marrin 1). Nevertheless, in the light of these somewhat alarming developments, the New Labour government, during the years 2007-2008, somewhat switched direction and decided that everybody needs to ascribe to a certain dimension of Britishness, even if they retain their own separate cultures (Marrin 3). Therefore, Britain results as tolerating multiculturalism for years now, however, in recent years it has also put a push on its national identity and as a citizen of Britain you are allowed to retain your own culture as long as you possess some Britishness. Yet, it does not have a distinct policy that the citizens of the United Kingdom must abide by.

UNITED STATES

In the United States, multiculturalism is not clearly established in policy at the federal level. The idea of the melting pot is a metaphor that implies that all the immigrant cultures are mixed and amalgamated without state intervention. In the early twentieth century, the playwright Israel Zangwill coined the phrase, "melting pot" to describe how immigrants from many different backgrounds came together in the United States. The melting pot metaphor assumed that over time the distinct habits, customs, and traditions

associated with particular groups would disappear as people assimilated into the larger culture. A uniquely American culture would emerge that would accommodate some elements of diverse immigrant cultures, such as holiday traditions and language phrases, in a new context (Dustmann 44). This 'American model' of assimilation was reinforced by core values and ideals established by the country's original Anglo Protestant settlers that are embedded in the American Creed, which promotes the principles of liberty, equality, individualism, populism, and laissez-faire that underpin the U.S. Constitution (Dustmann 45). Since the 1960s, scholars and political activists, recognizing that the melting pot concept fails to acknowledge that immigrant groups do not, and should not, entirely abandon their distinct identities, embraced multiculturalism and diversity. The curriculum, which had for decades relied upon the melting pot metaphor as an organizing framework, began to employ the alternative notion of the American mosaic. Multiculturalism, in the context of the American mosaic, celebrates the unique cultural heritage of racial and ethnic groups, some of whom seek to preserve their native languages and lifestyles. In a sense, individuals can be Americans and at the same time claim other identities, including those based on racial and ethnic heritage, gender, and sexual preference (Dustmann 45-46). Many Americans have embraced multiculturalism and government agencies advocate tolerance for diversity. Still, multiculturalism has been a source of significant societal and political tension. However, substantial support for the melting pot assumptions about racial and ethnic assimilation persists among the mass public. Survey data indicate that 95 percent of Americans believe that the United States is the world's greatest melting pot where people from all countries can be united in one nation (Dustmann 47). A study conducted in June 2005, found that 67 percent of respondents believe that immigrants should adopt America's culture, language, and heritage, while only 17 perecent believe that they should maintain the culture of their home country (Dustmann 48). Conflicts become especially pronounced when multicultualism translates into policy initiatives, as some citizens believe that society has gone too far in fostering diversity and a significant number of people disagree with promoting multiculturalism in the United States.

CANADA

"The government will support and encourage the various cultures and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to our society. They will be encouraged to share their cultural expression and values with other Canadians and so contribute to a richer life for us all." (qtd. in Wayland 33). So declared Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau upon announcing Canada's multiculturalism policy in 1971. Canada is one of only three officially multicultural countries in the world (Wayland 34). The ideology of multiculturalism has become part and parcel of Canadian identity, reinforcing the 'ethnic mosaic' that dates from Canada's origins. The sanctioning of cultural pluralism went even further in 1988 when Canada's Parliament passed the Multiculturalism Act, the only such act to exist in the world. Upon the announcement of Canada's multiculturalism policy, then Prime Minister Trudeau declared:

> National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity, out of this can grow respect for that of other and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes, and assumption. A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help to create this initial confidence. (qtd. in Wayland 35)

To conclude, out of the three countries mentioned above only one has an official policy that represents multiculturalism as a public policy that not only is to be tolerated but also is a part of strict government regulations. However, the United Kingdom seemed to have no problem with multiculturalism as long as the migrants express some form of Britishness along with their own cultural identity. Yet, the United States tolerates multiculturalism but the term 'melting pot' still dominates for the most part. As for Canada it seems to be the only country that not only tolerates multiculturalism but also has created a distinct Act with regards to the multicultural policy. Therefore, it can simply be concluded that as an immigrant, racial or ethnic minority one may feel more comfortable living in a country that not only tolerates multiculturalism but also has an entire Act dedicated and rendered towards the implementation of multiculturalism.

3.4. Polish Diaspora formation across the globe

"There have been those who have come to stay because of peace and stability. Some are refugees tired of running and waiting. Others want no further part of Europe in her destruction and suffering. Some come because of a spirit of adventure" (Radecki and Heydenkorn 18).

3.4.1 WHY MIGRATE?

At an ever-increasing pace, significant globalizing trends, global economic shifts, new business alliances, adjusted trade relations, the spread of information technology, increased airline routes to formerly inaccessible parts of the world, changing immigration policies, and political change have all encouraged and pressured cultural groups to move from their homelands to new sites of permanent settlement (Drzewiecka and Halualani 340). Poles constituted as the largest group among transnational migrants from post-communist East Europe, accounting for about three-quarters of the estimated twenty million annual border crossings (Morawska "The sociology of immigration" 58). Many displaced Poles chose to immigrate permanently out of antipathy for Communists and in protest against what they saw as a Soviet Communist take-over many Polish immigrants to the United States and Canada were readily given refugee status and political asylum in the 1970s and 1980s although most of them had come to North America to improve their economic conditions (Morawska "The sociology of immigration" 60). They were seeking better opportunities and taking advantage of anticommunist international politics, however, these immigrants saw poor economic conditions as legitimate grounds for choosing freedom and seeking asylum (Morawska "The sociology of immigration" 61). As a result, the anticommunist diasporic cause has been lost since Poland began to develop a democratic political system and free-market economy. Poland's impending NATO membership provided an attractive, although short-term, political platform for ethnic or diasporic institutions which lobbied the U.S. Congress in support of Poland's NATO candidacy (Drzewiecka and Halualani 342). Therefore, until 1989, historic misfortunes caused massive emigration of Poles to the unknown. Those who were exiled,

escaped, or left because of hunger are today highly esteemed and loyal citizens of countries of settlement and that is the world Polonia (Drzewiecka and Halualani 343).

Today as in the past a distinction of two types of immigrants can be drawn. These can be classified as the decisions of the college-educated Polish men and women and the decisions of the lower class Poles. The decisions of college educated Polish men and women to migrate to the United States were likewise based on a combination of practical and projective considerations. They spoke passable English and although their professional diplomas, in areas of demand in America required licensing in the destination country which involved the necessity of taking and paying for courses followed by a series of exams, all this was feasible, as they were advised by their middle-class fellow-nationals already in America. These expectations were reinforced by the habituated culture of migration in their socioeconomic group and by the risk-diminishing presence in American cities of the already established Polish colonies (Morawska "The sociology of immigration" 59). As for lower-class Poles' decisions to leave for America involved different considerations than those of the much better socioeconomically or politically positioned groups considered above. The majority of them planned to go to America on tourist visas with the intention of undertaking unauthorized employment; their stays were to be sojourns, long enough to accumulate enough savings to return to Poland with the means for a better life. Their practical element included a constellation of factors (Morawska "The sociology of immigration"60). First, they had a sense of 'can do' as unauthorized workers in the informal sector of the American economy, based on the well-tested coping strategy of beating-the-system/bending-the-law informed by disrespect for the laws, policies, and institutions and preference for informal dojscia (ins) and kombinacje (shady arrangements as in wheeling and dealing) (Morawska "The sociology of immigration"61). Second, they had good skills in diverse services very much in demand,(construction, carpentry, plumbing, and mechanics in the case of men, and, in the case of women, house-cleaning and home- care) .Third, there was the risk-diminishing presence in America of pre-established Polish ethnic communities whose members would provide assistance in finding housing and unauthorized employment. The overall projective element of the decisions made by lower-class Poles to go to the United States was the expectation of saving enough money to afford a much higher standard of

living back in Poland (Morawska "The sociology of immigration" 68).

Nevertheless, nowadays with regard to motivation, there are also two categories of Polish migrants often identified. On the one hand there are the people seeking adventure and life experience. Often these are students, including students from prosperous Polish cities. On the other hand are there are the classic labor migrants, a very similar case mentioned above the lower-class Poles, and they are made up of the very large number of low skilled residents of stagnant small towns and villages for whom Poland can offer no career prospects (Morawska "The sociology of immigration" 80). While accepting the important distinction between economic motivations and the desire for adventure, it can be argued that many migrants, of all ages and social and geographical backgrounds, experience both types of motivation, although in different measures. However, more important for this argument is that migrants also display a spectrum of confidence. Migrants have very varied levels of personal capital. On the one extreme are more self-assured migrants with quite good language skills, often-professional people, or students. Less confident migrants include those with poorer language skills. More confident migrants are less dependent on strong co-ethnic networks at all stages of the migration process. And the less confident, poorer migrants often need stronger support and frequently come from regions with pre-existing migration traditions and networks (White and Ryan 1468).

In the study of Ryan and colleagues, Interviewees in Poland sometimes asserted that only very young people, such as school leavers, or youngish men, migrating on their own, would go 'into the unknown' (w ciemno), knowing no one and having nothing fixed in advance (Ryan et al. 18). A number of interviewees in the UK reported that they or their husbands had used recruitment agencies or responded to advertisements (Ryan et al. 21). The survey by Ryan and colleagues found various examples of the use of recruitment agencies. Agnieszka, aged 31, works in a care home. She was recruited in Poland through an agency and she stated,

> I came to Great Britain 100% secure, because I found a job in Poland. The
> interview was carried out in Poland, I knew I was going to have accommodation
> guaranteed for three months and maybe that's why I chose this job, because it was
> easy to come here …There was a three-day training course in Poland and the

employer paid for our accommodation in Krakow, the interview was carried out in

Poland. People from this company came to Poland, they carried out an interview,

and everything was secure. (Ryan et al. 22)

In 2008 a Polish government survey suggested that the use of recruitment agencies for migration more than doubled over the years 2004–2006 (White and Ryan 1483). It is difficult, however, to determine the scale of Polish family migration. Only 7,861 Poles aged fewer than 20 were officially registered as having emigrated from Poland, to all countries, in 2006 (White and Ryan 1486). However, official figures underestimate the scale of migration.

3.4.2. THE FORMATION

"Man, a rational creature, in certain circumstances weighs the advantages and disadvantages of joining a certain group or participating in a collective enterprise and, on the basis of the outcome of this deliberation joins the group" (Radecki and Heydenkorn 60). Ethnic communities have been constructed over a period of time. Each has grown out of specific historical circumstances. For our purposes, we will be discussing ethnic communities that are dispersed geographically, and more specifically we will be discussing and analyzing the 'Polonia'. The Polonia is a term used for the Polish diaspora and it refers to people of Polish origin living outside of Poland. The Polish diaspora developed in the historical context of struggles for independence of the Polish state in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the post World War II opposition between Communism and capitalism, and the post-Communist democratization (Drzewiecka and Halualani 341). A feeling of victimization and exile forced by foreign oppression and political as well as economic conditions shaped the Polonia. When Polish immigrants began arriving to the U.S. around 1870, Poland had not existed as a political unit since 1795. Polish diasporic nationalism began to take form under the leadership of political activists who led the struggle to liberate and unify the state partitioned by Russia, Prussia, and Austria (Drzewiecka and Halualani 344). After World War II, Poland came under Soviet domination, and the historical mission of the diaspora to liberate Poland from oppressors took on a virulently anti-Communist turn. In this context, the Polish American

Congress, one of the chief Polish American ethnic organizations, was created. Its mission was to continue the struggle for a free and independent Poland. The Polish American Congress adopted an American agenda aimed at assuring that its members become better informed American citizens and a Polish agenda to help Poland in its great hour of need, keeping the American public and administration informed on what was happening to the enslaved people of Poland and how this affected the security of the United States. A similar stance occurred in Canada with regards to the Polish Canadian Congress (Drzewiecka and Halualani 344-47). Therefore, the structural dimension refers to the nation-state/political/economic structures and regulative bodies of power that delimit and frame the formation and dissolution of diasporic communities, their identities and ways in which they respond to such structures. The cultural dimension refers to those symbolic expressions and community practices, identity discourses, and narratives that a diasporic community creates to unify and maintain their group.

Recent migrants actively try to bring their friends and close family members over from Poland. Using the typical terms for this process, an interviewee from Ryan and colleagues describes how usually one person collects (zabiera) someone else. Mostly a woman invites her best woman friend, or a man his male friend. That's how the chain is formed as one person pulls in (sciaga) the next (Ryan et al. 16). Therefore, often the new migrant recruits the next person in the chain. Nevertheless, the dynamics of the Polish diaspora have to be understood in the structural context of the nineteenth and twentieth century struggles for the independence of the Polish State, the post-Word War II opposition between Communism and capitalism, and the more recent post-Soviet developments. Polish Western and Eastern diasporas are distinct. They have been created in structurally different political, historical, and cultural circumstances, and have had different evolving relationships with the Polish homeland.

3.4.3. PRODUCTION OF ETHNIC PRIDE (THE POLISH HERITAGE)

"Poles tend to believe that a man born a Pole cannot stop being one. The children and grandchildren of Polish immigrant are often said to have a 'Polish nature' which will come to the fore in the important moments of life" (Radecki and Heydenkorn 200). Polish culture and the quest for authenticity and authentic experiences seems to stimulate

many practices of the diasporic life. Traditional refers to an Epimethean orientation that values the past, and should be contrasted with a Promethean (futurist) point of view that stresses change and new possibilities (Drzewiecka and Halualani 350). The complex identity of the French Canadians in Quebec was captured through a single term, 'Québécois,' which legitimated the claim to the people's own state (Charland 138). In contrast, the Polish American diaspora does not seek its own state but attempts to authenticate its unique identity and legitimate it's in between position in two different nation-states. Consequently, a variety of labels were used in different texts including, 'American citizens of Polish heritage' 'Poles,' 'Poles by blood,' 'Poles with Polish passports,' and 'exiles' (Drzewiecka 5). These labels were used in different texts not to constitute different groups or because,"the identity of a people, as a rhetorical construct, is not even agreed upon by those would address it"(Charland 136). Rather, the labels are used strategically to assert different positionalities and rights of the collective 'we' in specific situations.

Grzymała-Kazłowska illustrated with reference to Brussels that it is possible to build 'little Poland's' even where most Polish migrants are temporary workers who come and go, and the membership of the 'quasi-community' is constantly being replaced (qtd. in Drzewiecka 5). Changes in the local, non-Polish, community, such as shops stocking more Polish food products also enable Poles to keep their sense of national identity and to bring up their children to feel Polish. Poles create their own formal organizations, through the church, Saturday day school, Polish Halls etc. However, in Ryan and colleagues study, whether or not they participated in formal organizations, almost all of the respondents found other ways of connecting to their Polishness (Ryan et al. 24).Not only did they buy Polish food products and cook Polish meals, but they also celebrated Easter, Christmas, confirmation ceremonies and weddings in a traditional manner, and accessed Polish media such as the internet, satellite television, newspapers and radio. In Ryan and colleagues study, the Polish migrants often displayed a strong desire to keep their national identity intact. Nonetheless, it is crucial to mention that not every migrant has such conscious identity-preserving strategies. In chapter three it will be explored and discussed in greater depth the different ways and the type of construction in maintaining 'Polishness' and Polish networks in the receiving communities.

As a result, according to Will Kymlicka, in the case of the Polish diaspora, any diaspora for this matter, they do not want recognition of being different through equal citizens of a state, (like the indigenous groups) but they do want recognition as dual citizens of both a national minority and the larger state (qtd. in Frost 69). Therefore within a diverse society, it is enough to say that it is legitimate for a culture to preserve its traditional way of life so long as it does not force its members to remain within a rigid social structure lacking any possibilities of dissent or right to exit, because then it coincides with the multicultural policies and it precludes the right to multicultural citizenship of the Western world. To sum up, persons belong to their cultural communities however they are not owned by it.

3.5. Conclusion

Diasporic identity is not simply fluid, it is constantly changing its shape and it is strategically enacted in response to changing political and cultural conditions. Changing international relations, globalization, multiculturalism and the political positions of the nation-state, help shape the dynamic development of diasporic groups. Moreover, migrants have different levels of personal capital, such as adaptability, energy, education or migration experience, and this is reflected in their differing levels of confidence as well as performance in their host country. That is why it is difficult to justify a general success rate for the preservation of the Polonia abroad. As a result, chapter three will examine in more detail the ethnic identity of the Polish diaspora abroad and whether or not its cultural identity is up kept and maintained or dispersed and assimilated into the host country.

4. The examination of the ethnic identity of the Polish Diaspora

The purpose of this analysis is a modest one, to sharpen our sense for the distinct contours and variations of the Polish diaspora debates in the English-speaking world of diversity and multiculturalism. The critical analysis is used to detect common patterns across cases and, to bring out the particular contours in more clarity than a single-case analysis would allow. Within this chapter I will examine and address the present stance of the Polish diaspora within a multicultural world. Firstly, I will observe the relationship between the Polish diaspora with regards to its ethnic identity. Secondly, I will discuss in greater detail the core values of the diaspora, which are categorized as the social, cultural and political principles. Thirdly, I will examine weather or not the Polish culture has been maintained outside of its borders. Fourthly, I will study the diaspora's connection with the homeland and lastly, I will articulate upon the future of the Polonia and weather or not its ethnic and cultural identity will preserve itself for future generations to come. Progress for immigrants is measured in time since arrival, and progress for groups such as diasporas' overall is measured by generation. Therefore, for the purposes of this chapter and thesis we will be examining whether or not the Polish diaspora has preserved itself from generation to generation within and amongst the diverse English-speaking globe. Throughout the mass of this chapter we will be incorporating Dr. Joanna Lustanki's research on the Polonia in Canada and their ability and future aspirations to maintain the Polish identity abroad. Dr. Joanna Lustanski is the current President of the Canadian Polish Research Institute located in Canada.

4.1. The present stance of the Polish diaspora in a diverse society

There has been increasing interest in the concept of diaspora to examine ethnic identity maintenance. This chapter seeks to contribute to the understanding of the concept of the Polish diaspora and to examine the preservation of ethnic identity. The dispositions and practices generated by transnationalism have a substantial impact on the diasporas' life course and strategies, patterns of consumption, collective socio-cultural practices, language transmission and other modes of cultural reproduction. Within this chapter we

will explore these dispositions and practices among Polish migrants in the English-speaking world. Dr. Joanna Lustanski presents the debate surrounding the term Polonia, which since the 1920s has come to mean roughly "Poles residing abroad" (Lustanski "Polish language"163). However, there is much discussion as to who exactly belongs to Polonia. Dr. Lustanski suggest that there are two general positions: the exclusive view, according to which to be a member of Polonia one must be born in Poland or be a child of Polish immigrants, speak Polish, and feel loyalty to Poland. The inclusive sense of Polonia, which the author adopts, is less closely tied to ethnicity. As a result, for Dr. Lustanski, Polonia means a group of people who regardless of country of birth and degree of proficiency in Polish maintains Polish traditions, has ties to Poland, and exhibits an interest in Polish culture and an understanding of Polish national interests (Lustanski "Polish langauge"164).

4.1.2. ETHNIC IDENTITY

The concept of ethnic identity, like identity itself is a multi-faceted phenomenon; very similar to cultural identity that was mentioned in chapter one. As Ryan notes,

> The construction of identity is not an individual or exclusively personal thing. Selves are neither made nor change in isolation. Rather the process of identity formation is dialogical in nature. Who we are and what we become is tied very closely to the social circumstances in which we find ourselves'. (James 42)

Thus, like cultural identity, ethnic identity, is also concerned with cultural origins and cultural behavior and, is a socially constructed act and describes one's social relationships to the world. Despite the fact that acts of identity are always negotiated, they are constructed from certain fundamental components. For Fishman, ethnicity pertains to peopleness, that is, actions, views, or attributions pertaining to and belonging to a more or less well-defined group of people. The group's actions and views are manifested through a number of symbols, such as language, religion, customs, culture, etc. (Fishman "Foundations of a theory" 68). Therefore, this also brings us back to chapter one and the formation of the collective identity, which seems to more or less be quite similar in subject matter. Chapter two and the section on the production of ethnic pride for the

polish heritage is also quite relevant to Fishman's description of identity. It should be noted that these symbols of ethnicity have many meanings and are exploited in various ways, depending on the character of the group (Drzewiecka and Halualani 356).

Dr. Joanna Lustanski, briefly mentioned above, developed a survey that was distributed among representatives of two generations of Poles living in Canada, a group of Polish immigrants (called also first-generation Polish immigrants) and a group of second generation of immigrants (called young Polish Canadians). The immigrant groups are Poles born mostly between 1940 and 1969 in Poland, who came into Canada as adults, mostly between 1987 and 1993 ("Polish Canadians and Polish Immigrants in Canada" 39). According to the motive criteria of immigration, they represent two types of immigrant waves: post-solidarity and economical (Lesniewska 115). Among the second-generation respondents, born between 1986 and 1988, 114 were born outside Canada and 102 in Poland, but arrived in Canada before they fully acquired the Polish language. The rest of the young representatives were born in Canada. Every speaker filled out a personal questionnaire which first of all aimed to examine the respondents' opinions about the Polish language, their language competence, their participation in Polish organizations, ethnic self-identity and so on (Lustanski "Polish Canadians and Polish Immigrants in Canada" 40).

Ethnic-identification was one of the first questions asked in the Dr. Lustanski's survey and the question was meant for the first generation versus the second generation. The actual question given in the survey was the following: Do you feel Polish? Yes, partly and no were the answers that you could choose from. As for the immigrants, 90 percent of the immigrants who surveyed provided an affirmative answer to the question. In comparison with the responses of the immigrant generation, considerably fewer respondents representing the second generation of Poles view themselves as Polish, accounting for 78 percent versus the 90 percent of first generation immigrants. Among the young Polish Canadians, 17 percent declare presumably a Polish identity, whereas 3 percent of the groups refuse a Polish identity for the Canadian one ("Lustanksi Polish Canadians and Polish Immigrants in Canada" 40). Also, in Dr. Lustanskis survey she found that there is a relationship between the factors of place of birth and self-evaluation of ethnicity. Even if the young respondents firmly picked a Polish identity over a

Canadian one, the group born in Canada demonstrates a stronger tendency to Canadian identity than the group of respondents born in Poland. Nevertheless, when one takes into account the fact that second generation respondents grew up in the English-speaking world, these self-declarations can be interpreted as showing quite positive attributes of Canadian multiculturalism. Therefore, it can be said to be in a direct contradiction to, for example, the American straight-line theory, which argues that the life of American ethnic groups is marked by a continuing process of acculturation and assimilation that is not likely to be preserved in the future (Sandberg 8).

Another question in Dr. Lustanski's survey dealt once again with the topic of ethnic-identity and reasons for ethnic-identification related to Polishness. Groups that were surveyed were individuals born in Poland, born in Canada first generation, born in Poland with Polish parents respect for Polish traditions and customs, interests in Polish culture, interests in Polish affairs and participation in Polish organizations and lastly the second generation. The representatives of all groups were asked for a reason for their ethnic-identification with Polishness and if yes they did consider themselves Polish and why did they? Results showed that the young respondents admitted that having Polish parents is the fundamental factor determining being Polish (75 percent). In second position, following Polish traditions and customs was indicated (65 percent), and in the third place, the ability to read and write in Polish was chosen (60 percent) (Lustanski "Polish Canadians and Polish Immigrants in Canada" 41). Overall, Dr. Lustanski concluded that the place of birth is an indicator of being Polish for only half of the number of representatives of the second generation of Polish immigrants. In terms of place of birth, the data reveals a noteworthy pattern, for the respondents born in Poland, the fact of being born there is definitely the most important reason for ethnic-identification with Polishness (93 percent), whereas for the persons born in Canada, having Polish parents is the extremely dominant cause for being Polish (95 percent) ("Polish Canadians and Polish Immigrants in Canada" 41). I would have to agree with Dr. Lustanski that the place of birth factor plays a very significant role in second-generation ethnic-identification. Therefore, the place of birth is the first and most important criterion of Polishness, while parents' Polish background is the second one.

As a result, to conclude, the immigrant group respondents identify themselves

with their place of birth, Poland, which symbolizes their past, their childhood, adolescence, self-identity and language attitude and, to some extent, adulthood. In Poland, they grew up in a very Polish specific cultural background, received most if not all of their education in Polish schools, developed friendships, and started their families. Thoughts about Poland engage them emotionally, especially given that they have not been able to live a similar lifestyle upon immigration. Thus, it is not surprising that Poland per se becomes a kind of ideal country with which most of the first-generation immigrants identify (Lustanski "Polish Canadians and Polish Immigrants in Canada" 42). Conversely, for the young Polish Canadians, Polishness is mainly determined by having Polish parents, not by their place of birth because, even if some of them were born in Poland, the most significant periods of their lives have been spent in Canada. They know Poland through their parents' recollections rather than through their own experiences. That is why the young Polish-Canadians' feeling of Polishness comes predominantly from being children of Polish parents and respecting Polish customs and traditions, which are closely related to growing up in Polish families (Lustanski "Polish Canadians and Polish Immigrants in Canada" 42).

4.1.3. CORE SOCIAL-CULTURAL VALUES

On the basis of Dr. Joanna Lustankski's survey distributed among representatives of two generations of Poles in Canada, mentioned above and more specifically the Ontario region. She examines how the participants position themselves and others with respect to not only their ethnic identity but she explore their self-reports regarding core values of ethnicity such as the social cultural aspects regarding language, relationships, organizations and religion; in the context of the historical past and the contemporary situation of the community. As well, she looks for answers to the questions of what connects Polish Canadians to each other, and why this is the case. Smolicz's notion of core values serves as a point of departure for Dr. Lustanski's study. Smolicz argues that, core values can be regarded as forming one of the most fundamental components of a group's culture. They generally represent the heartland of the ideological system and act as identifying values, which are symbolic of the group and its membership. He contends

that, whenever people feel that there is a direct link between their identity as a group and what they regard as the most crucial and distinguishing element of their culture, the element concerned becomes a core value for the group (Smolicz 75). He also argues that, "core values provide the indispensable link between the group's cultural and social systems; in their absence both systems would suffer eventual disintegration" (Smolicz 76). Indeed, it is through core values that social groups can be identified as distinctive ethnic, religious, scientific or other cultural communities. Furthermore, for the purposes of this thesis we will be discussing five types of core social-cultural values, these include, first and foremost organizations. We will be answering what they are and what there main purpose is served for. Secondly, religion, which is closley, linked with organizations, as it remains to be a type of organization. Thirdly, we will look more into the meaning of language as more specifically the preservation of a culture specific language and lastly, we will look at the relationships and social support that are maintained throughout the diaspora.

A). ORGANIZATIONS

The Polish organizations in Canada (as well the UK and the U.S), can be divided into three broad categories, all emerging during the earlier phases of immigration and retaining levels of distinctiveness even to the present day, Firstly, there are the Catholic Church oriented organizations, under the guidance and leadership of the clergy or clergy sponsored individuals, adhering to the same faith, and wishing to associate with their fellow communicants (Radecki and Heydenkorn 62). Secondly, there is a numerically large body of lay organizations, socially more encompassing and serving a great variety of special needs of Polish citizens, generally stressing the culture and identity for the various phases and generations of the immigrants. This category includes fraternal associations, professional and business organizations, mutual aid societies, social, cultural and sports and hobby clubs (such as harsterstwo) girl guides and boy scouts. The third category involves the political organizations, however, today there are only a few organizations, which can be termed explicitly political (Radecki and Heydenkorn 63). Parishes formed the first organizational units, providing a framework for community and

social life. However, lay organizations appeared in towns only shortly before World War I. The 1930s marked the appearance of social clubs that helped maintain Polish customs and traditions, as did the Polish government through its consulates. Moreover, not so long ago dating back to the early 1990s the establishment of Polish credit unions were created across Canada. The first, the St Stanislaus Credit Union, was organized in Toronto; it is now the largest financial institution of its kind in North America, with capital assets of $223 million in 1994 and 38 530 members. In the mid-1950s women formed a self-contained and independent organization (the Federation of Polish Women in Canada), which was concerned with cultural and political issues. Also, various folk groups or dance ensembles surfaced at different times and in different communities for people and children of all age groups. Another very important formation was the development of the first Polish newspaper, which appeared in Winnipeg in 1904 however; it did not last very long. Therefore, the were numerous of other attempts and the Polish press in Canada today is very active and includes one daily, one semiweekly and several different publications. As a result, the national association of polish organizations across Canada has calculated that up to date there are approximately 250 organizations (Stolarczyk "Polish Heritage in Canada").

The goals of these organizations is to encourage each of the regional branches of the Canadian-Polish Congress to research and develop a component to reflect polish heritage in each of the provinces across Canada and to maintain and protect the livelihood of the Polish diaspora. For the Polish Diaspora to continue on being a fruitful community for up and coming immigrants, organizations such as the ones mentioned above are extremely necessary in order to sustain and support the distinct Polish culture within the realm of multiculturalism in North America. Nevertheless, modern-day Polish Canadians are not very involved in Polish- Canadian organizations (only about 5 percent participate), though there are about eighty Polish parishes and Polish is taught at twelve Canadian universities, seven of which are in Ontario (data from 1994) (Lustanski "Polish language" 171). Therefore, it can be assumed that as the Polish immigrant generations get older and the new Polish generations become more established within their 'host country', they tend to pay less attention to cultural organizations such as these mentioned above and with the lack of participation the Polish identity begins to fade. Hammersmith

and Fulham a borough located in London, England contains a long established Polish community, created by Second World War refugees and displaced persons as well as by subsequent waves of immigrants and their descendants (Garapich and Eade 143). The construction of the Polish Social and Cultural Centre on King Street in 1974 was a visible sign of this community's presence, not just locally but across London and further afield. In many respects the social foundations of current dynamic migratory flows were laid down at least two decades ago (Sword 30). Since the EU enlargement at least five major Polish commercial advice and information offices have opened in the area and one of the main Polish magazines and media group (a radio and television station) is based on King Street just opposite the Town Hall. In 2004 three Polish delicatessens had been established in the borough but by 2008 the number has grown to at least seven with most of small corner shops and newsagents advertising Polish and other Eastern European food and newspapers. In addition, a number of businesses from bars and restaurants to hairdressers and even an estate agent specializing in property in Poland have opened. From an analysis of a Polish Directory, and the local Polish press, some 91 Polish businesses and organisations can be identified within the borough (Garapich and Eade 145). As noted, the 2004 EU enlargement did not only set the basis for mass migration of Poles to the United Kingdom but it also created the reestablishment of the past Poles organizations. As a result, it can be suggested that new waves of immigrants seem to advocate the answer for further preservation of the past foundations of organizations of the Polish diasporas' abroad.

B). RELIGION

The Catholic Church has played a very important role in the life of the Polish nation, especially in difficult times. For many immigrants in the past it provided the sole contact with their native country and its culture. The priests were advisers, defenders, spokesmen, religious leaders and community leaders. Catholics in Polish communities still observe the customs of Christmas, Lent, Holy Week and Easter (Heydenkorn "Poles"). In reference to Dr. Lustanski's survey mentioned above, one of the questions in the survey takes a look at respondents' attitudes towards religion and the respondents'

position regarding the Catholic religion as a basic value of Polish identity. It is evident that during the twentieth century, the basic indicator of Polishness was the Catholic religion. For example, Cohen, who explores the labor movement's activities in the 1920s and 1930s in the United States, notes that both first and second generation Poles placed the church at the centre of their ethnic identities. She notes that, "For the immigrant with memories of Poland, the church represented all that was left behind… For second-generation Poles, the parish defined their Polishness" (85). Parochial schools, as well, became a way of preserving Polishness for subsequent generations, "as the guardian of the Polish parish's, and hence community's, future" (L.Cohen 87).

Furthermore, the Communist system in Poland, in power between 1945 and 1989, attempted to minimize the influence of the Church, which resulted in a resurgence of the Catholic faith and made religion the fundamental value of Polish culture for the whole Polish nation in Poland (L.Cohen 55). Those who were then leaving the country kept this attitude about religion and effectively grafted it onto Polish communities living abroad. Despite the fact that Polish immigrants are still noticed by others as very religious and devoted to the Church, the data from Dr. Lustanski's survey shows that keeping the Roman-Catholic faith is the least significant reported component of Polish ethnicity. Only 11 percent of the immigrants and 7 percent of the second-generation immigrants truly practice their Roman-Catholic faith. However, if one takes into account the fact that the Catholic religion, in Canada, is isolated and not reinforced by new immigrant waves, then in some way it is threatened to loose its very Polish character (Lustanski "Polish Canadians and Polish Immigrants in Canada" 48).

C). LANGUAGE

The learning of a new language is a long and difficult process for any immigrant. It is noticeably made easier by daily contact at work between natives and immigrants employed by the same concern. However, with regards to the preservation of the 'home country' language in chapter four of Dr. Lustanski's book, *Jezyk polonijny w Kanadzie*, she describes in great detail the Polish language used by the Polish immigrants and first generation citizens. Dr. Lustanski concluded in her study that in phonetics and

phonology, the speech of immigrants does not differ greatly from standard Polish, while the speech of first- generation respondents is much influenced by English. She sums up that Polish spoken by Polish Canadians maintains genetic features of standard Polish, but also contains much interference from English. However, the language of immigrants is closer to standard Polish than the language of first-generation Canadians due to their higher language consciousness, i.e., linguistic intuition (knowing what sounds right). The Polish of first-generation speakers is characterized by defective knowledge of language norms and considerably lower language consciousness (Lustanski "Polish language" 180). Also, it is important to mention that other then Lustanski's recent analysis, there has been little or no sociolinguistic research on the Polish language in Canada as well as there are little to no studies of ethnic identity among Polish immigrants in Canada.

However, according to the 2006 census, Polish was the mother tongue of 217 605 Canadians, and considering that there are around one million Poles in Canada this seems to be a relatively large group that still maintains their national language (Heydenkorn "Poles"). Also, in England, Polish-speaking children now form the largest group of 'non-English speaking newly arrived migrant schoolchildren' in England, which means that these children will most likely maintain their national language for a longer period of time then second and third generation Polish children. This then entails that the maintenance of the Polish language in the United Kingdom will continue on because of the new immigrants and immigrant children (White and Ryan 1500).

D). RELATIONSHIPS

It can be understood that when Poles decide to migrate to a host country they rely heavily on relationships such as their pre-established networks. Networks are increasingly seen as crucial to understanding patterns of migration, settlement, employment and links with home (Castles "Migration and community" 1150). Polish analysts of migration acknowledge the importance of social networks in explaining migration from Poland, both historically and in the 1990s. These relationships and contacts may influence decisions to migrate, provide money to finance moves and, after migration, provide accommodation, jobs, information and emotional support (Boyd 651).

Thus, networks may be a key element in facilitating community formation and permanent settlement (Portes 882). Poles traditionally have relied heavily on informal networks of all kinds. In the communist era, people used informal networks to obtain what they needed, compensating for inadequacies in officially provided goods and services (White and Ryan 1492). A corollary of this was that networks of friends and family were highly trusted while state institutions and officials were not. However, Polish studies of the related issue of trust consistently show high levels of trust in families and friends, and low trust in institutions and strangers, suggesting that a preference for informal networks continues. In January 2008, 72 percent of Poles believed that 'you should be very careful in relations with other people', while only 26 percent agreed that 'generally you can trust most people'. In contrast to their suspicious attitude towards strangers, many Poles trusted acquaintances (88 percent), colleagues (85 percent) and neighbors (76 percent) (White and Ryan 1493). As mentioned, in post-communist Poland, social networks have continued to play an important role in many people's lives. Although the very poorest people often have limited social networks, there is a much larger group of people whose networks have helped them survive the transition, across post-communist Europe (White and Ryan 1494-1496).

Nevertheless, the mushrooming of recruitment agencies and the proliferation of internet and paper press advertisements for jobs abroad suggest that there is in fact a market of Poles who will respond to such advertisements, rather than relying on friends for advice. In some regions migration capital has been amassed over decades, in others (such as Warsaw) migration capital is acquired quickly, thanks to easy access to knowledge and information. Furthermore, Marek Okolski argues that the huge and sudden deflection of migration flows towards Britain and Ireland after 2004 is circumstantial evidence that networks are no longer a major determinant of migration direction ("Working Paper 13"). With regard to networks in the receiving country, it seems that competition, rather than collaboration, has often been a hallmark of post-communist Polish migrant communities. Jordan documents 'unrestrained competition' among Polish workers in London before EU accession (11-15). Poles are mistrustful of Polish strangers and there is rhetoric of suspicion among the Polish diaspora. In Ryan and colleagues a interviewee contends, "There are also Poles that compete against each other,

and it is quite obvious that no one tries to support each other; everyone looks at the other person as an enemy."(Ryan et al. 13). This wariness was usually fuelled by competition for jobs. For example, Marysia said that many Poles were reluctant to pass on information about their employment because they are afraid that you will take up their place. Several of interviewees mentioned the issue of envy among Poles, "complaining and jealousy" are our worst features said another interviewee. To sum it up, there seems to be rhetoric of mistrust amongst the Polish Diaspora (Ryan et al.14). However, the situation is perhaps different where Poles can work legally and there is less pressure on jobs. John Eade and colleagues uncovered 'high levels of mutual cooperation' in London after EU accession, suggesting that in practice Poles were often working together, despite a great deal of rhetoric about how fellow Poles were competitive and not to be trusted (15). For young Poles, Western Europe functions as a kind of marriage market, and to some extent it is the prospect of forming new socializing networks abroad which motivates migration. The possibilities for making new friendships and relationships are part of the charm of the adventure, especially for young people from small towns with limited social possibilities (White and Ryan 1468). Although Poles have been migrating to London in substantial numbers during the whole post-communist period (Eade et al. 9), Okoslki is right to stress that pre-existing networks are not the main factor explaining Poles' turning to Britain as a destination after 2004.

In regards to Dr. Lustanski's survey she also studied peer interactions, in the survey Dr. Lustanski asked the respondents the following question concerning peer interactions: Do you seek any contacts with Polish in Canada? Her study showed that the immigrant generation respondents who came to Canada as adults experience more difficulties in entering into friendships with Poles in Canada than the young Polish Canadians who either were born in Canada or arrived in Canada as little children. A basic reason is distrust among Polish immigrants. However, when it comes down to seeking of contacts with Polish people in Canada, Dr. Lustanski looked at those born in Poland, born in Canada first generation and second generation into friendships with other Poles. The results showed that the immigrant generation members look for contacts with Poles living in Canada more frequently (65 percent) than the representatives of the second generation (53 percent). The immigrant respondents seek their fellow countrymen more often for the

simple reason they keep in mind a similar vision of Poland and, going through a comparable immigrant experience, face the similar linguistic and social barriers. In contrast, the second-generation respondents tend to identify with the new country's culture rather than with their parents' culture. Since they communicate fluently in English, their first language, they are able to create their own identities in the multicultural Canadian mosaic (Lustanski "Polish Canadians and Polish immigrants in Canada" 49-51).

Therefore, networks are important as well as not so important, where it is possible to settle legally, without a visa, networks can be created and activated almost instantaneously for that reason contemporary migration to the United Kingdom does not play as of an important role as it does in North America. Yet, it seems that Poles have an in scripted sense of distrust when it comes to other Poles due to historical contexts as well as the act of competition. As a result, the findings due to relationships are rather mixed because some migrants rely on networks for support, as others may not. Also, once these migrants become citizens of the host country they tend to experience difficulties within relationships with other Poles. However 65 percent of the respondents who were first generation immigrants agreed to seeking relationships within their collective identity. Therefore, with this in mind the preservation of the ethnic identity is maintained when other Poles enter into relationships with fellow Poles. However, when it comes to second and third generation Poles the need for friendships with other Poles tends to decrease.

4.1.4. POLITICAL VALUES

The changing political and economic situation of Poland, most notably democratization and the break up of the Soviet Union and its influence over Poland, necessitated a re-negotiation of the role of the Polish American diaspora. Jolanta and Rona make a distinction between the Polish nation and the Polish government, they contend that the Poles have never had any problems with the Polish nation. They go on to say that they came from it, they identify with it, they respect and maintain Polish culture, and they will defend it, if God forbid, a need came. However, they note that the Poles have a different relationship with the Polish government. The World Polonia has no

formal relationship with the Polish government. The Poles cooperate where their interests intersect, in other cases, they do what we please and only those Polonias, or their parts, that achieved political integration, i.e., they actively participate in the political life, feel a part of their countries of settlement, and forced those countries to treat them like their own can have an influence on the internal and international politics of their governments (Drziewiecka and Halualani 353-355). As a result, voluntary emigration would have manifested disengagement with the homeland. Emigration forced by political or poor economic conditions seeks to legitimate continuing involvement with the homeland national politics for emigrants of whom only a small percentage had a legitimate claim to political persecution and asylum (Drzewiecka and Halualani 361). Simultaneously, identifying the Polish diasporic subject with the nation but not the state warrants the desire to represent the nation and its interests outside, and if necessary against, the Polish state. Nevertheless, let us now go back to the topic of multiculturalism.

Will Kymlicka, argues that political equality requires that a national minority be granted the kinds of self- government rights necessary to secure a cultural context of choice for its members and to avoid its being endangered by an economic and political structure favoring the dominant national group (qtd. in Frost 64). As mentioned above Will Kymlicka believes in the liberal view, from a political aspect this, however, only justifies certain external protections, not internal restrictions of the basic civil liberties of the members of such a minority culture. "In short, a liberal view requires freedom within the minority group, and equality between the minority and majority groups" (qtd. In Frost 63). According to Kymlicka's definition, immigrants are equals within the nation, however, equality calls for a more receptive and open national societal culture. In regards, to Poles living in multicultural states the have the freedom of equality. As a result, until 1980 the majority of Poles voted Liberal in federal elections, candidates of Polish origin have always been supported by their ethnic constituents (Heydenkorn "Poles"). Stanley Haidasz, born in Toronto of Polish parents, was the first Polish Liberal Member of Parliament; he later became minister for multiculturalism in the Trudeau government and the first Polish representative in the Senate (Heydenkoren "Poles"). "The people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alternation in the character of our population" (Radecki and Heydenkorn 43).

Therefore, multicultural states give Poles the freedom to express their ethnic identity freely without being discriminated upon, as mentioned in chapter two. The United Kingdom America and Canada tolerate multiculturalism. However, one more then the others and since Canada is one of the only countries out of the three mentioned throughout the thesis to have strict multicultural policy, it then creates a safe zone for the Polish diaspora to preserve their collective identity and cultural needs. As a result, it can be assumed that political dynamics such as multicultural policies and freedom of equality enables diasporas to better preserve their ethnic identity for future generations to come.

4.1.5. MAINTAINING CULTURAL IDENTITY

The collective subject of the constitutive discourse has to override individual differences to establish a collectivity (Charland 140). This strategic shifting between 'English' and 'Polish' national identification is driven by bifocal politics in response to the varying demands posed in a complex situation. The changes in Polish national identity and international relations led to different responses from the Polish American diaspora struggling to remake and authenticate its identity. On the rich terrain of cultural memory, the self is entangled in relationships with many others that influence each other. These relationships greatly influence how the identity of the diaspora is constructed and perceived in the West. The others are evoked in discourse constitutively in order to strategically position the diasporic self.

However, maintaining culture identity is becoming much harder for the Polish diaspora these days then it would have for early Polish settlers. A number of aspects lead to this clarification. However, social-cultural values and traditions are two of the most prominent variability's sustaining 'Polishness', so what should one do to maintain their Polishness? Attitudes towards language versus culture and past studies of Polish ethnic identity in the U.S. show that in Polish culture, language and religion have the status of central values (Lustanski "Polish Canadians and Polish Immigrants" 58). Smolicz believes that Poles provide a good example of a culture where the native tongue has the status of a core value. He maintains that for Poles language has been considered a core value ever since it was banned in the nineteenth century. The attempt to extirpate the

mother tongue succeeded in elevating the Polish language to a symbol for the survival of the group as a separate entity and for the preservation of its culture (Smolicz 84). Also, Anderson maintains that, the degree to which an ethnic group feels that its identity is being eroded is related to the emphasis which the group traditionally places on language, religion and/or customs as the keynote to group identity (Anderson 215). In other words, if an ethnic group has tended to emphasize maintenance of its own traditional language, loss of that language will be equated largely with loss of group identity. Therefore, it can be predicted that if there are no new waves of Polish immigrants into Polish diaspora communities the Polish language is bound to lose its communicative functions, be reduced almost entirely to nothing but a token of identity expression for the vast majority of Polish families. According to Statistics Canada, although Polish still remains on the list of the ten most frequently used home languages other than English or French, in 1996, almost 38 percent of people with Polish as mother tongue spoke English most often in the home domain (Lustanski "Polish Canadians and Polish immigrants in Canada" 60).

Overall, since the Polish migration rate has decreased noticeably in North America in last two decades, Dr. Lustanski argues, that there is great probability of reinforcing the native language in the Polish minority group in Canada. Based on these findings, it could be inferred that a language shift is slowly but surely taking place in favor of English. At this point, the question that emerges is whether it is possible for an ethnic group to lose its traditional mother tongue eventually without losing its sense of identity. Naji and Maya argue that that shifting away from the ethnic language does not necessarily mean that the community has lost its sense of ethnic characteristics. They maintain that, language is but one aspect of ethnic and cultural distinctiveness (qtd. in "Polish Canadians and Polish Immigrants" 46). Ethnicity can still be maintained by use of other symbols. In the case of the Polish diaspora group, it is illustrated that the function of identity appears to be gradually transferred from the Polish language to other values of ethnicity. It means that the Polish minority, at least that living in Canada, would not be defined as ethno linguistic, but rather ethno-traditional. A recent study seems to support this thesis that language is not theoretically a sine qua non for maintaining ethnic-group culture (Herberg 101), and it is neither a necessary nor specific condition for ethnic group membership (Fishman"Sociolingustics"159). This then raises doubts about the core

value concept of Smolicz. As a result, the discussions on the place of language in maintaining ethnic identity, it is worth mentioning the sociological notion of Polonia commonly used in Polish studies. As mentioned previously, this term, taken from the Latin, refers to all generations of Poles abroad. It describes people who have Polish origins and are aware of them, maintain the Polish tradition and culture, and have some understanding of Polish national affairs. Even if they were neither born in Poland nor speak Polish, they are labeled as Polonia. Consequently, in the concept of Polonia the language value is not taken into account at all, with awareness of Polish ethnicity being the pivotal factor in identifying one's Polishness. In some cases, language is considered of the greatest importance for a group's identity; in other cases, it is seemingly overlooked or taken for granted.

Furthermore, a Polonia may develop in the migrant generation and it may persist for several generations. It is, therefore, likely that the category 'birthplace' underestimates the identity of the Polonia because it does not include descendants of the Polish born who may well retain a sense of identity and loyalty (Temple 19). Moreover, whilst the concept can be used to break the deterministic ties between particular places and ethnicity, researchers need to be aware of the dangers of neglecting the role that location can have. The idea of a Polish diaspora can be circulated as a means of uniting people dispersed all over the world. However, identifying with a Polish diaspora does not mean that being Polish is the same for a Polish woman living in England and a Polish woman living in America. Avtar Brah has developed the idea of a 'diaspora space' as a basis from which to investigate such complex issues of identity (qtd.in Temple 20).

4.2.Connections with the homeland

The flow of millions of income-seeking migrants from post communist East Europe to the West (including North America) has been the consequence of and an important contributor to the political and economic transformation of this region and its incorporation into the global democratic capitalist system (Morawska "Structuring migration" 77). The largely neglected Polish case offers additional purchase in understanding the emergence and limits of diasporic public spheres and membership it

chronicles how the Polish diaspora, 'Polonia' supported Poland from 1863-1991 (Smith 725). Poland has always had strong links to its Western diaspora, especially to the U.S Polonia that was able to provide substantial economic assistance to the nation (Drzewiecka and Halulani 357). While Poles in the U.S. have been assimilated on a variety of different levels, and have created Polish culture within the parameters of the U.S. ethnic mosaic, they have also maintained various levels of national consciousness expressed through material and symbolic links. These links include significant financial aid, cultural imports, and political affiliations. Likewise, the feeling of unity among Polish Canadians has been expressed primarily in support of the Polish nation. Political and financial support for Poland was strong during WWII, when Poland was under German occupation, and later when the communist government attempted to suppress the church. An extensive 'Help for Poland' program established in Canada after October 1956 has recently been revived. Contact with the motherland remains vivid through Polish-organized travel tours, family visits and language courses for the young. National pride was reinforced by the election of Pope John Paul II, the choice of Czeslaw Milosz in 1980 for the Nobel Prize for Literature and the selection of Lech Walesa in 1983 for the Nobel Peace Prize (Heydenkorn "The Polish Group in Canada" 208-210).

In regards to Dr. Lustanski's survey she researched relationships with Poland. The respondents were asked whether they keep any contact with Poland, surveyed were those born in Poland, born in Canada first generation and second generation. The results show that representatives of both generations give an almost equal positive response to the question (94 percent of all answers presented by the immigrants and 95 percent by the second generations) ("Polish Canadian and Polish Immigrants" 47). It is observed that although it does not seem statistically significant, the young Polish Canadians declare even more often than the Polish immigrants that they keep contact with the country of origin. The explanation for this is not very simplet. Immigrant parents are usually anxious about keeping strong ties with relatives in Poland, because they have little time, they encourage their children to talk on the phone to babcia (grandma) and their cousins living in Poland. Nowadays, contact among family members living in separate countries is facilitated more by the Internet (Skype), which is changing the character and the frequency of the contacts. Furthermore, for many Polish families in Canada, spending

their vacation time in Poland is very common. Even if the parents have to stay in Canada because of work, they send their children to Poland. Therefore, ties with the homeland can be considered to be a significant component pertaining to the development and preservation of ethnic identity.

Pre-existing transnational social support networks coexist with pre-established local cultures of migration. In an example representative of the groups considered here, the parents of Lech Wałesa, the leader of the Polish Solidarity Movement and the former President of independent Poland, came to America for the first time in 1980 invited by their relatives to earn money to support their family back home. Their decision to go, reminisced Wałesa in 1987, was dictated by common sense and tradition. "In our family there had always been someone on the other side of the ocean. It was in our blood, one or the other went over there so that the rest of the family could count on some security and a chance of financial help" (qtd in. Morawska "The sociology of immigration" 67). Guarnizo and colleagues have argued that migrants' loyalty and commitment to their homelands from afar constitute an alternative political force that not only alters local traditional structures but also opens up new opportunities for their communities of origin. Migrants are depicted as agents of change, who support and promote local development initiatives through hometown associations, as well as active political participants and direct international investors (Guarnizo et al. 1220). The act of sending a remittance, buying a house in the migrant's hometown, or traveling there on occasion have purely personal consequences, however, they can modify the fortunes and the cultures of these towns and even of the countries of which they are part (Guarnizo et al. 1221). These and similar actions, multiplied by the thousands, translate into a flow of money that can become a prime source of foreign exchange for sending countries, into investments that sustain the home construction industry in these nations, and into new cultural practices that radically modify the value systems and everyday lives of entire regions. Thus, the diasporas created by myriad independent decisions of men and women seeking to improve their individual life chances become transformed over time into a key 'export' of sending nations and one of the primary means of maintaining their integration into the world economy (Guarnizo et al. 1228). This is the primary reason why sending country governments have taken such a keen interest in their expatriates in recent years, rushing

to pass dual nationality and dual citizenship legislation and granting migrants' representation in national legislatures (Portes 878).

With reference specifically to transnational networks, in view of what has already been said about the density of networks criss-crossing from Poland to the UK, from Poland to North America it is hardly surprising to learn that transnationalism benefits diasporas through emotional support and advice of relatives back in Poland. As Granovetter has argued, emotional support may be provided through a close, intimate and long-standing relationship with someone who lives outside one's immediate physical environment (qtd. in Portes 881). Through frequent phone calls, e-mails and texts, people maintained regular communication with close friends and family members. This kind of transnational contact and support is recognized in the migration literature and has been termed 'caring at a distance' (Portes 882). Today, social networking sites such as Nasza Klasa and Facebook add a new dimension to Polish networks. Operating in Poland, between Poland and foreign countries, and within the receiving countries themselves, social networking sites reactivate, cement and extend acquaintances and friendships simultaneously. .

Any study of 'Polish society' therefore, has to take into account the Polish diaspora, and the many, constantly evolving links between Poles in the West and Poles in Poland. Diaspora groups maintain sentimental and material links to the homeland, create diasporic identity that is not simply an extension of the homeland, construct community boundaries, and pursue a cause on behalf of the homeland (Clifford 308). Such groups repeatedly re-turn towards the homeland as a referent for maintaining their identities (Castles "Migration and Community" 1153). Discourses emerging from these texts reveal the continuing importance of Poland as a homeland, although in a new form, contradictions and conflicts in definitions of 'Polish', 'Polish American' or 'Polish Canadian' identity, and the pervasiveness and durability of self-other relations in the constitution of identity. However, as incorporated minority groups, diasporas seek to legitimate their continued involvement with the homeland both to the homeland and the new home. Such a community does not dream of returning but turns towards the homeland as a basis for social and emotional support, political involvement, a political voice and most importantly ethnic identity.

4.3.Articulating the future Polonia (NOW AND THEN)

A review of the extensive literature on assimilation of turn of the twentieth-century and contemporary immigrants in the North America reveals five main areas of difference in the patterns of their adaptation to the host society now and then. The first important difference is that the modes of assimilation of contemporary immigrants have significantly diversified in comparison with those of their predecessors a century ago. The second considers that both now and then immigrants' transnational activities involved several social, cultural, economic, and political areas. However, present-day immigrants' transnationalism differs from that of their turn of the twentieth-century predecessors in four ways. First, the former's transnational engagements cover much larger distances and are more frequent and intense than those of their predecessors a century ago. Second, new immigrants' transnationalism is more diverse in form and content than that of old ones. Third, contemporary immigrant women who, like their predecessors a century ago, engage in family and home-sphere transnationalism, have also been active in transnational involvements in fields not traditionally designated as feminine. And fourth, unless they choose so, contemporary immigrants do not keep their transnational activities hidden within the confines of their ethnic circles, as did their turn-of-the-twentieth-century predecessors; as is ethnic-path assimilation, multiple connections with their homelands of the present-day American foreign-born population are lived in public. The third difference has to do with the availability then and now of transportation and communication technologies making it possible for immigrants to maintain their transnational connections and such characteristics are obviously much more advanced today than they were a century ago. The fourth alteration has to do with the active solicitation of immigrants' loyalty by past and present sender-country governments has also played a role in sustaining transnational engagements in the diasporas. Thus, today contemporary sender governments try to gain a following in expatriate communities because a considerable number of home-country economies depend on immigrants' remittances and business investments, and/or because they desire to secure a political lobby for their interests with the host-country's political

establishment (Morawska "The sociology of immigration" 47-58). As a result, symbolic commitments to Poles and their nation of origin have constituted another enduring mechanism sustaining their transnational engagements. As it has already been noted, the majority of Poles today still engage with their home country in order to keep their ethnic identity alive. The period before 2004 was characterized above all by the labor migration of 'transition losers', whereas young adventure seekers, taking advantage of opportunities for mobility conferred by EU membership, are prominent among more recent arrivals, particularly to the United Kingdom and Ireland (Ryan et al. "Recent Polish Migrants in London"). I suggest the possibility that the change in direction of migration towards the UK results not from the declining role of networks in North America, but rather from the fact that networks can be created more rapidly in the United Kingdom now, than in the past. This is significantly linked to the EU Accession that has given greater opportunity for mobility rights to the UK then North America. In the study carried out by Ryan and colleagues, they found that many Polish citizens have close family in North America and this is why despite the falling value of the U.S dollar, the North America continues to be attractive. However, one interviewee, Dorota claimed that, "I have lots of acquaintances who haven't migrated but have tried to get a U.S visa" and this applied to several of the interviewees , however irrational it might seem to spend a small fortune on unsuccessful U.S visa applications rather than just trying one's luck in Europe.

The Polish community has grown so large that it can hardly be considered a community at all. Poland has simply spread over into Britain in all its diversity. In London, new voluntary organizations, such as Poland Street, have been founded to reflect the needs of the new migrants; a host of new commercial organizations also offer advice; and some older organizations are attempting to adapt to the needs and opportunities posed by the new wave of migration (Ryan et al. "Recent Polish Migrants in London"). Formal migration channels are abundant in Poland today, both in the form of recruitment agencies and the media, including specialized publications such as Praca i nauka za granica (Working and Studying Abroad). Also, cheap travel from Poland to the UK allows friends and relatives to make frequent short visits to England, often working for a few weeks and helping out with childcare at the same time (White and Ryan 1499). Nowadays people prefer to travel shorter distances. "If you go to the States you need to

stay at least six months to pay off the cost of the ticket, and it's a long way, but here in Europe the costs are low and it's near to home, you can always come home to visit, whereas if you go off to America, that's for a long time" (Ryan et al."Recent Polish Migrants in London"). As a result, it can be suggested that the preservation of ethnic identity is more dominant these days within the new generation Polish diaspora in the United Kingdom as opposed to the older generations that were formed in the UK and North America. Especially since the 2004 Enlargement, which generated greater opportunities and easier access to the United Kingdom for Poles then it has in North America at this point in time .Therefore, with the large flow of Polish migrants migrating to the United Kingdom it creates the key element needed to sustain and maintain the 'Polishness' of the diaspora abroad. Thus, it can be concluded that the new generation of Poles are what may preserve the Polish ethnic identity abroad.

4.4. Conclusion

The results of Dr. Lustanski's study show that respondents themselves break the stereotypical vision of Polish identity in which language matters are central. They explicitly indicate respecting Polish traditions and customs as the most fundamental token of Polish ethnic identity, placing the value of the Polish language identified by speaking Polish and teaching children Polish in second and third positions (qtd. in Lustanski "Polish Canadians and Polish Immigrants" 42). The ethnocultural orientation, which they present, can be accounted for in two fundamental ways, the socio-historical past of the community and the specific characteristics of Canada as a country of settlement. So then, what connects Poles abroad to their culture/ethnic identity? Edwards notices that the issues of group identity, most pronounced in immigrant or minority-group situations, are social rather than linguistic in nature, "reminding us of a broader set of relationships which embed the individual in his or her society" (qtd. in Lustanski "Polish Canadians and Polish Immigrants" 42). Dr. Lustanski surveyed on this topic, amongst those born in Poland, born in Canada first generation and second generation. The above question, "what connects Poles abroad?" has elicited very interesting judgments. In Dr. Lustanski's study, the immigrant children suggested that Polish people living outside

Poland are mainly connected on the basis of having Polish mentality, which is defined, by the specific way of thinking and the attitude to reality. This Polish mentality is something separate from the common struggles and the social status shared by the immigrant respondents. We can judge that the Polish mentality as perceived by the second generation is shaped by this group's particular social experience. However, it is not necessarily what the first-generation immigrants would consider to be the Polish way of thinking. In short, the children of immigrants have a distinct idea of not only what it is that connects them to each other but also what connects their parents to each other. However, a careful analysis shows that according to the Canadian born and the respondents born in Poland, attachment to the homeland is that what most often connects Poles living in Canada. Stephen Castles suggests, "It is possible that transnational affiliations and consciousness will become the predominant form of migrant belonging in the future (Castles "Migration and Community" 1158). Therefore, it can be concluded that transnational ties are a great contributor to the preservation of the Polish ethnic identity abroad. Also, new Polish migrants are what keep these Polish organizations/networks going, because the older the generations (second or third generation Poles) are less likely to participate within the Polish community networks. However, the newer generations who are categorized, as recent comers are the ones who engage in relationships with other Poles as well as participate within the Polish networks for reasons such as social support and maintaining their cultural identities.

5. Overall Conclusions

Differences within the collective are evident , the diaspora is neither a stable identity nor a stable community form. Rather, it is a specific form of 'collective life' a continuing sphere of cultural group consciousness, deployed in specific moments in response to specific situations and involving different levels of engagement with the homeland (Charland 136). Diaspora groups play an identity game legitimating their in between position in two different national contexts. Diasporas have to protect themselves from possible accusations of betrayal of their 'Canadian', 'American' or 'British' nationality. They also struggle to remain viable cultural subjects in the homeland. To

these ends, the texts produced by the Polish American, Polish Canadian diaspora strategically connect the Polish and American Polish and Canadian national symbols, and emphasize the American or Canadian identity in some contexts and Polis" or Polish American ,Polish Canadian identity in others. In this context, diaspora no longer signifies a community separated in the place of settlement but a community that extends international linkages from a position of political and cultural incorporation and is careful to claim its current citizenship as a primary identity in its activities on behalf of the homeland. The Polish Diaspora situation is evolving so rapidly that any conclusions can only be provisional for the time being. There were many historical periods as that of the 1945-1989 communist era or the 1795-1918 time of dependency, where circumstances forced Polish people to leave their homeland and living abroad allowed them to keep alive a form of Polishness, which was banned in Poland. In contrast, most of the recent immigrants left Poland of their own free will, mainly for economical reasons. It should be said that in the diaspora the symbolic charge of language, religion, and culture generally increases when it cannot be practiced in ones home country. While in the homeland few people ever consider the question of whether these values should be retained, immigrant groups must actively answer the questions of group and self-identity as they settle in a new environment. Nonetheless, it appears that the core components of ethnic identity attain different values for the community if they are not threatened in the homeland. Overall, the last two decades are characterized by some crucial changes in the definition of Polishness among Poles living abroad. All of the above findings lead to the conclusion that nowadays it can be prescribed that the Polish diaspora group in Canada could be defined as an ethno-cultural community in which the native language takes on symbolic rather than communicative function. Undoubtedly, there is a true need for further research within the field of these issues in the hope of eventually validating the thesis regarding the preservation of the polish culture in a host country. As mentioned above, the teaching of minority languages in Canada, including Polish, receives financial support from various governmental programs, facilitating language maintenance in minority groups. On the other hand, the Canadian society is becoming linguistically unified quite rapidly. The current Polish minority group in this country may find itself in specific circumstances, requiring adaptations that are quite different from those of earlier

immigrants.

Like Dr. Lustanski, and substantial research, I believe that in the past the Polish community in Canada (North America) did not differ from the other Polish communities of similar size and social situation, but in the last two decades it has been in the process of transition especially when comparing it with the United Kingdom. This may be because of the decreased migration of Poles to North America since the 2004 EU Enlargement. Nowadays, as previously mentioned, Poles are moving to the United Kingdom and Ireland as opposed to North America, due to the ease (distance, visas, costs). As a result, the preservation of the ethnic identity is more evident in the countries where new Polish migrants reside in. Therefore, what specific conclusions can we draw from the above case histories? If there is one general conclusion to be drawn from these case histories, it is this; having accepted significant numbers of immigrants at one point or more in the postwar period, diverse states had to tolerate the multicultural transformation of their societies. This is because diverse states, while nominally tied to particular nations, are still hesitant to impose particular cultural ways on their members. Therefore, diverse states are neutral vis a vis substantive life forms and world views, which prove to be the major inroad for multiculturalism and preservation of ethnic identity. In summary, diverse states have multiculturalism, because they have given up the idea of assimilating their members beyond basic procedural commitments. Therefore, both the United Kingdom and North America fall into this generalization, however, Canada seems to prevail. As a result, it can only be concluded that the preservation of ethnic identity relies heavily upon the Polish diaspora itself and today the Polish diaspora in North America is becoming older and less Poles migrate in that direction making it much harder to maintain the Polishness within this continent. However, even though the numbers are much lower from generation to generation, studies still show that relationships and connections with the homeland are still greatly maintained which in the long run helps preserve the Polish ethnic identity. Therefore, second and third generation immigrants may not be able to speak Polish or participate in the Polish networks but they still do maintain transnational ties with Poland.

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