

**Ethnic Media in the Age of Migration. The Role of the Polish Ethnic Media in  
the Process of Social Integration of Poles in the United Kingdom after May  
2004 – Media Producers' Perspective**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis examines Polish diasporic media's role in the United Kingdom after Poland joined the European Union in May 2004. It focuses upon the process of social integration of the Polish migrant community, critically exploring if, and to what extent Polish diasporic media help Polish migrants to adapt socially, culturally politically and economically within the host society. The public policy context for the research is important: a time when consecutive British governments advocated a retreat from 'multiculturalism' and a renewed public policy of 'social integration'. The research investigates the relationship between ethnic media and public policy, critically exploring how this shift may have influenced the role played by ethnic media in migrants' integration. The investigation begins with critical discussion of theories of ethnic media and social integration. It argues that diasporic media has integrative potential and can play an important role in migrants' social integration, especially within culturally diverse societies such as Britain. The empirical research offers an in-depth investigation of Polish media producers' ideas, beliefs, and attitudes, employing the research method of semi-structured interviews with journalists and media producers about the strategic aims of their journalism, their practices, the opportunities and pressures upon Polish ethnic media. The approach allows for a multifaceted analysis considering the complex correlations between migrant life, ethnic media and social integration. The research highlights some key areas where Polish diasporic media in the UK play an insufficient role in social integration. The research questions whether Polish ethnic media may encourage migrants to live within a closed world of diaspora and highlights how a lack of cooperation between UK governmental institutions (central and local) and diasporic media may negatively influence social integration. The thesis concludes that whilst the social integration role of Polish diasporic media should be rethought and enhanced by media producers. There is also an opportunity for UK public institutions to (re)discover ethnic media as valuable partners in building a socially integrated multicultural society in contemporary Britain.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The scale of Poles' migration to the UK after Poland joined the EU in May 2004 has been one of the largest in post-war Britain. The Home Office records show that 900,000<sup>1</sup> Polish citizens have migrated into the UK since 2004. Polish nationals constitute the second biggest and the fastest-growing migrant community in the UK. As Burrell puts it: 'It is difficult to think of another migrant group, which has established itself so quickly and so widely, in the British history' (Burrell, 2009:7; Mori, 2014).

However, the ongoing migratory process is often associated with social tensions, misunderstandings, and sometimes hostility between the migrants and host society. The settlement process of Polish migrants continues at a time of a retreat from multiculturalism in the UK (Bailey, Georgiou and Harindranath, 2007; Castles Miller, 2009; Knott, McLoughlin 2010, MHCLG, 2018; APPG, 2018), unprecedented population growth.

The recent green paper on social integration by the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government shows examples of the pace and scale of demographic change that British communities have faced after May 2004. For example, between 2006 and 2016, Boston in Lincolnshire saw the non-UK born population rise from 7 per cent to 30 per cent. Another example here is the London borough of Harrow, where the non-UK born population rose from 40 per cent in 2006 to 53 per cent in 2016. The number of non-UK born people residents in the UK rose from 7.8 million in 2012 to 9.2 million in 2016, increasing 18 per cent (APPG, 2018), particularly in metropolitan areas. There is a rising public expectation of the British government to reduce immigration (The

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Office of National Statistics by 2017 there were 1.02 million Poles living in the UK. However, after the Brexit referendum, the number dropped by 120 000 and there are 900 000 Polish nationals residing in the country (Office of National Statistics, 2017).

Migration Observatory, 2012; MHCLG, 2018; APPG, 2018). Consequently, the management of immigration, particularly the social integration of migrants, has been one of Britain's most important political issues today (Gouleborne, 1998, GOV.UK 2018; MHCLG, 2018; APPG, 2018). As the authors of the MORI report titled: 'Perceptions and reality. Public attitudes to immigration' underline: 'it is clear that immigration is a top concern for people in the UK over recent years, it has some relationship with immigrant numbers, and we are more worried than nearly all other major countries' (IPSO Mori, 2014:12). Around 70-80% of British people consider immigration a problem for Britain (MHCLG, 2018; APPG, 2018).

The research aims to explore the role of Polish ethnic media in the United Kingdom in the process of integration of the Polish migrant community with British society. More specifically, what is their role in the social, cultural, political, and economic integration of Polish migrants? Since the British government has drifted from the politics of multiculturalism and started putting a stronger emphasis on social integration (MHCLG, 2018; APPG, 2018), it is crucial to critically explore what role the ethnic media play in building an integrated multicultural society.

The Polish ethnic media in the United Kingdom are developing. In London alone, five professional newspapers are being produced – mainly weeklies - and two radio stations, creating communication spaces for the migrants. There are many local Polish ethnic media across the UK, mainly in big cities such as Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Edinburgh. The local ethnic media include both newspapers and online media. Among the most known Polish media in Great Britain are: 'Polish Express,' 'Tydzien Polski' (Polish Weekly), 'Cooltura Weekly,' 'Goniec Polski', 'Nowy Czas' (New Times) and 'The Polish Observer'. The scholarship on ethnic media demonstrates that ethnic media constitute an inextricable element of the everyday life of migrant communities globally. The social roles and functions of the diasporic media in contemporary societies have been effectively captured by sociology professor Jerzy Zubrzycki, who points out, that the 'media seek to provide the news of the world that the settlers left behind and instruct them about the new world' (Gilson Zubrzycki, 1967:156). In other words, the media perform two main functions for diasporas: a 'connective



function' and an 'orientation function' (Matsaganis, Katz, and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). Ethnic media perform an 'orientation function' by informing diasporic community members, particularly newcomers, about the country of settlement, its social reality, surroundings, resources, and way of life. They help the migrants to comprehend the host country, settle down, adapt, and co-exist with the host society. Importantly, they help clarify what it means to be a citizen of the host country. Ethnic media plays a significant role in connecting migrant and ethnic communities with host societies and advancing social integration.

Nevertheless, the media also fulfil a 'connective function' in that they inform migrants and diasporic communities about the country of origin. This helps the immigrants connect with events and facts in the homeland and maintain their cultural identity (Gilson Zubrzycki, 1967; Fleras, 2009, Elias, 2008). This project will investigate if and how these functions are essential in Polish ethnic media's role in Britain's diverse society, focusing upon the issue of the integration process of Polish migrants with the diverse British society.

The research question is based on the outcomes of previous research findings showing that the everyday life of multicultural societies worldwide involves a considerable level of separation between host societies and ethnic minorities (Gilson, Zubrzycki, 1967; Castles Miller, 2009; Scheffer, 2007, Savage, Warde, Ward, 2003). It is also based on the recent British government socio-political analyses, which stress that the pace and scale of migration after May 2004 put much strain on local communities across the UK, leading to increased tensions and, often, to prejudice, discrimination, and hate crime (MHCLG, 2018; APPG, 2018). Therefore, building and maintaining social integration in a highly populated and diverse country such as the UK will be an essential task for many social actors, including public institutions, ethnic communities, and diasporic organisations (MHCLG, 2018; APPG, 2018). This study starts from the premise that the role played by mainstream and ethnic media in this process might be important and explores if, how, and why the media can be seen as partners in achieving the goal.

The existing scholarship on the Polish diasporic media in the UK is limited. It is mainly restricted to several historical, short, and very generic accounts of the Polish ethnic media established by the Polish immigrants after the Second World War (see Gilson, Zubrzycki, 1967; Czajkowski Sulik, 1961; Sword, Davies, Ciechanowski, 1989). There is a growing scholarship on the post-2004 Polish migration in the UK; however, it mainly focuses on social, cultural, political, and economic aspects of the process (Burrell 2009).

Nevertheless, so far, there has been very little research on Polish ethnic media established after May 2004. The recent doctoral work by Iwona Leonowicz-Bukala titled: 'Contemporary Polish ethnic media in the United Kingdom - the role, functions, and significance' is one exception. Leonowicz-Bukala's project has made an important contribution to better understanding the contemporary Polish ethnic media in the UK by describing their roles and functions. Leonowicz-Bukala's thesis provides a panoramic perspective on the phenomenon.

The main aim of the current project is to focus specifically on the media's integration role and research it in depth. The research outcomes will enrich the existing research body on diasporic media by adding into it the Polish perspective, but will also have real-world applicability. Examining a time of increasing immigration and the retreat from multiculturalism in the UK and wider Europe, the outcomes of the project will allow for a better understanding of the complex relations between ethnic media, migrant life, and the process of social integration. What is more, the research outcomes will also be of practical use for policymakers, communication practitioners, and minority ethnic journalists.

## Chapter 2

### Polish mass migration to the UK after May 2004

#### 2.1 Polish migrant community in the UK – the present

Polish migrant workers' mass migration to the UK started on 1st May 2004 when Poland formally joined the European Union. The British government estimated that the number of migrants coming from eight EU countries (A8<sup>2</sup>) to the UK would be relatively low. Nevertheless, in 2008, the number of newcomers reached 765,000, two-thirds of whom were Polish. The other East European countries accessing the EU at the same time were: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia (Burrell, 2009; MHCLG, 2018). The scale of Polish immigration significantly exceeded the UK government's estimations. The United Kingdom, similarly to Ireland and Sweden and contrary to other EU15 countries, chose not to introduce any labour market restrictions and immediately attracted a large number of migrants. In 2008 the Home Office admitted that around 540,000 Polish citizens immigrated into the UK, equal to 67 per cent of the total of all immigrants from A8 countries (Home Office, 2012). All the EU fifteen countries have experienced a mass influx of Polish migrant workers. Nevertheless, the UK and Ireland have been the most important destination countries. According to the Central Statistic Office, 122 515 Polish nationals live in Ireland (Central Statistic Office, 2018).

One of the most essential characteristics of the ongoing Polish immigration into the UK is its economic character. As this research argues, the contemporary Polish migrants in the UK can be best described as a voluntary 'labour diaspora' (Cohen, 2008).

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<sup>2</sup> Among the joining A8 countries were: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

Today, the Polish community in the UK is one of the fastest-growing ethnic minorities in the UK. Interestingly, the Poles have chosen not only London as a place to live and work but settled in large numbers in central England, Wales, and Scotland. However, it is still difficult to predict how many Poles will decide to settle permanently in the UK. Barrell has captured the phenomenon:

The fact that this migration has occurred over such a short period of time and has become so visible so quickly – in the press and on the local landscapes through shops and local businesses – also marks this movement out as new. (...) It is difficult to think of another migrant group which has established itself so quickly, and so widely, in British history' (Barrell, 2009:7)

Nevertheless, Polish immigration into the UK raised many tensions. The British press, particularly tabloids, although highlighting the diligence of the Polish immigrants, have also presented Poles as a frightening foreign 'other', taking British jobs, pushing up the crime rates, and putting pressure on the local services (Burrell, 2009). In many cases, such representations were populist. However, there seems to be a consensus among politicians and analysts that the pace and scale of change caused by EU migration were too great for many British communities (MHCLG, 2018, AAPG, 2018). For example, between 2006 and 2016, Boston in Lincolnshire saw the non-UK born population rise from 7 per cent to 30 per cent. Another example here is the London borough of Harrow, where the non-UK born population rose from 40 per cent in 2006 to 53 per cent in 2016. The number of non-UK born people residents in the UK rose from 7.8 million in 2012 to 9.2 million in 2016, increasing 18 per cent (APPG, 2018).

It is interesting to look at the socio-demographic profile of the Polish migrants in the UK after May 2004. The average Polish immigrant is young (20-29 years old) and well educated. For example, 58.1 per cent of Polish migrants in London have a higher education, and 36.9 per cent have a secondary education. They originate from medium (41.6 per cent) or large cities (23.3 per cent). Many university graduates have never searched for jobs in Poland, and emigrated after finishing their studies. Considering the relatively young age of the migrants when leaving Poland, the decision to emigrate was often taken individually (65.9 per cent) or together with the closest family (28.4 per cent). Poles who have immigrated to Ireland have a similar socio-demographic profile. Nevertheless, the

Workers Registration Scheme data shows that the vast majority of the highly educated migrants from Eastern and Central Europe have undertaken jobs that do not require professional qualifications – the process named 'brain waste', 'brain flow' or 'deskilling'. According to Lodzinski et al., 96.5 per cent of respondents were legally employed, only 10 per cent work as professionals (for example, in education or IT). 33.3 per cent of Poles in London do jobs that do not require qualifications, 16.7 per cent as blue-collar workers, 12.8 per cent in services, 9.2 as qualified labourers or IT technicians (8.3 per cent). Only 3 per cent of respondents opened their businesses. The respondents point out that it is difficult for migrants in the UK to plan careers and achieve the occupational goals adequate to their formal qualifications because of restraints with the job market, for example lack of recognition for many types of qualifications obtained in Poland (Lodzinski et al. 2014).

In terms of marital status, in London, 56.0 per cent of Poles are single, 32.2 per cent are married. 11 per cent identify with statuses including: as widow/widower, separated or divorced (Fihel Kaczmarczyk, 2009:44; Lodzinski et al. 2014).

The main push factor for young Poles to emigrate was unemployment – around 20 per cent in 2004, for high and low wage jobs. However, recent research on the Polish community in London reveals that 86.7 per cent of Poles describe their financial situation before moving to the UK as good. This may lead to the conclusion that migrants want to achieve material goals and realise other life aspirations (Lodzinski et al. 2014). Also, several pull factors encouraged so many young Poles to search for a better life in the UK after May 2004. Firstly, the UK has been one of the first EU countries to implement the 'open door' policy. Secondly, the expanding British economy needed additional workforces. Thirdly, there were many cultural similarities since British society mostly associates with a Christian heritage, and the majority of citizens ethnically identify as white<sup>3</sup>. Most Polish-educated people who speak good English also played a significant

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<sup>3</sup> The most recent Census in 2011 informs that in England and Wales, 80 per cent of the population were white British. Asian (Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi, other) groups made up 6.8 per cent of the population; black 3.4 per cent; Chinese groups 0.7 cent, Arab groups 0.4 per cent and other groups 0.6 per cent (Office for National Statistics, 2021)

role within the migratory process (Fihel Kaczmarczyk, 2009). Polish migrants point to the following characteristics of the UK that encouraged them to migrate and adapt within the host country: attractive job market (65.6 per cent), attractive pay (55.8 per cent), costs of living (25.5 per cent), socio-political climate (22.8 per cent), the education system (22.5 per cent) and the welfare state (20.2 per cent) (Lodzinski et al. 2014).

Although Polish migrants have dispersed across all of the UK, the highest number has settled in London. London has been the key destination for the newcomers from Poland. Historically, the Polish community used to concentrate in the West and South London boroughs. Nevertheless, the newly arrived Polish immigrants tend to live and work in all parts of the British capital. Poles' mass immigration is being accompanied – as in the past - by the establishment of a migration infrastructure, including ethnic media, diasporic organisations, educational institutions, and ethnic businesses (Ryan, Sales, Tilki, 2009).

Interestingly, the new economic migrants tend to focus on their private goals rather than participate in the Polish community initiatives. They tend to avoid any institutionalised forms of activity (Lodzinski et al. 2014). They associate themselves with Polish culture but are distanced from Polish public institutions and social organisation in the country of settlement. It is also worth noticing a very low political participation of the Polish migrants in the UK. Nearly 47.6% of respondents expressed their disinterest in voting, 29.2 per cent admitted irregular participation in voting and only 23.2 per cent confirmed their regular engagement during elections (Fin et al., 2013). Lodzinski et al. (2014) argue that the Polish community's social and political engagement in the UK tends not to increase until the new migrants reach a financial stability level. Based on the qualitative data gathered through in-depth focus groups, the researchers argue that the Poles in the UK will become more active within the Polish diaspora and in British social and political life when they reach economic stabilization (Lodzinski et al. 2014). These findings are important to note because they show that many elements/factors might affect the social integration process and that diasporic media are just one element of the very complex and multi-layered process. This issues are discussed in-depth in chapter six.

However, can social integration with the diverse British society be seen one of the challenges facing the Polish community in the UK? It is important to note that Polish society is relatively homogenous, and most Polish migrants have never experienced life within a multicultural society. As Burrell notes:

While there is hostility towards the notion of ethnic diversity among some new migrants, others are very comfortable with this, carving out different inter-ethnic relationships and acquaintances. (Burrell, 2009:236)

Existing research reveals that most Polish migrants aspired to integrate with British society before coming to the UK (76 per cent). After coming in the UK, willingness to integrate remained high among the migrants (74.5 per cent). 75.4 per cent of respondents declared that they wish their children to integrate with the host society. Nevertheless, 81 per cent of Polish Londoners stressed that they want to maintain their Polish identity (Lodzinski et al 2014). The Polish migrants' eagerness to integrate with the diverse British society materialises in everyday social and occupational interactions with British people (88.2 per cent of the respondents) and members of the other migrant communities (75.5 per cent). The integration process might be enhanced by the fact that 75.6 per cent of the Poles in London said during the research that their interactions with the host society have a mainly positive character and stress that being Polish does not cause discriminatory consequences (Lodzinski et al. 2014).

Social integration seems to be important because, although it is still unknown how many migrants will stay UK, there is a very high likelihood that the significant proportion of migrants may decide to settle permanently<sup>4</sup>. According to cross-European research on Polish migrants who migrated to EU countries, including the UK, after May 2004, 55.7 per cent said they would not come back to Poland, 25.5 per cent said 'I do not know yet', and only 16.8 per cent of respondents stated that their migration was temporary (Fin et al. 2013). What was clearly indicated is that the majority of Polish migrants are satisfied with the decision to settle in the UK (89.4 per cent), with only 5.9 per cent of respondents not happy with the decision made (Lodzinski et al. 2014).

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<sup>4</sup> According to UK Home Office data, by the end of September 2020, 773 000 Poles applied for the settled status (Home Office, 2021).

To conclude, due to the mass immigration of Poles to the UK after May 2004, it needs to be stressed that the Polish community, from a small invisible minority, has, in a very short time, become one of the most dynamic and fast-developing migrant communities in the UK (Burell, 2009). The Polish language is now the second language used in the UK<sup>5</sup>. The process of Poles' mass immigration is inextricably linked with the question of the social integration of the new migrants within the ethnically diverse British society.

It is argued here that contemporary Polish migration in the UK needs to be analysed in the context of the history of the Polish diaspora in the country. The existing historical accounts show many similarities and differences between migration experiences of the past and present generations of Poles. It is immediately apparent, for example, that the question of social integration of immigrants has remained vital, despite the changing historical circumstances, and therefore needs to be rethought and addressed again and again. In the context of the research on the Polish ethnic media in the UK after May 2004, the question has to be narrowed to the issue of the actual role of the Polish ethnic media in the integration process of the Polish immigrants – if these media help the newly Polish arrived migrants to integrate socially, culturally, politically and economically within the British society? Would not these migrants integrate with the host society without the ethnic media assistance?

## **2.2 The history of the Polish migrant community in the UK**

To better understand the '2004 phenomenon', it is worth presenting a short historical account of the history of the Polish community in the UK. Polish people's mass emigration started in the 19th century when Poland was not on the map of Europe. The country was partitioned under Prussian, Austrian and Russian rule. The motivation to emigrate usually had a political and economic character. Poles were migrating to US, Germany, France and England to escape

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<sup>5</sup> According to 2011 census, Polish is now the main language spoken in England after English (Office for National Statistics, 2021).



political oppressions after unsuccessful insurrections and search of work in a dynamically developing western world (Walaszek, 2009). Since then, Poland has been an 'important sending country in the global migration system' (Fihel Kaczmarczyk, 2009). It is estimated that by 1914 around 3.5 million people left Polish lands and the emigration continued in the interwar period. The Second World War opened a new, dramatic chapter of the history of the Polish migration and population movements, with millions of Poles killed, forcefully displaced and escaping abroad. Nevertheless, the end of World War II did not bring freedom for Poland and other Eastern and Central European countries, which found themselves under the Soviet influence. Therefore, hundreds of thousands of Poles, especially members of the Polish Army Abroad and the Underground State, could not return to their country because of fear of communist repressions. Hundreds of thousands of Poles decided to emigrate, forming and enriching the Polish migrant communities worldwide, particularly in the US, Canada, Australia and Kazakhstan (Gilson, Zubrzycki, 1967; Czaykowski, Sulik, 1961; Burrell, 2009).

The migration of the political refugees from Poland to the UK in 19th century was supplemented by those emigrating to US and Canada, who had to stop on the British Isles due to the lack of money to complete their journey. According to the population census, in 1891, 3000 Poles were living in London. Another 2000 concentrated in such places as Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield. It is supposed, that a significant number of them were Polish Jews, who left Poland and settled in the UK (Gilson, Zubrzycki, 1967; Czaykowski, Sulik, 1961; Burrell, 2009).

The Polish migrant community in the UK has set up its social institutions, the Polish Catholic Mission, political and social organisations, schools, libraries and Polish ethnic press (Czaykowski, Sulik, 1961; Burrell, 2009). However, the Polish diaspora in the UK in 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century was relatively small and poorly organised than Polish communities worldwide (Walaszek, 2001). Nevertheless, it is worth noting here, that Polish immigration into the British Isles has a long and complicated history and also that the Polish diasporic

community, since its beginning, has created institutions which helped it to maintain its identity and culture, but also to adapt to the new way of life in the UK.

The Polish community's history in the United Kingdom intensifies during the Second World War when around 200,000 Polish soldiers were based in the country. The British government issued the 1947 Polish Resettlement Act, allowed the soldiers and civilians to demobilise and settle permanently in the UK. Since most of them did not see their future in communist Poland, the overwhelming majority decided to settle on the British Isles. One of the 1947 Act's long-term aims was to recruit foreign workers to rebuild the country after the war and cover workforce shortages. It is worth emphasising here that, the Act laid the foundation of the Polish diaspora in the UK and needs to be seen as a first public policy of the British state to manage immigration processes and particularly migrant social integration. From March 1948, it was possible to apply for British citizenship for Poles who settled in the UK. It is estimated that by 1949, due to repatriations to Poland, and further emigration to such countries as Canada, United States, Australia, Brazil and Argentina, the Polish diaspora in the UK stood at about 160,000 (Czaykowski Sulik, 1961). The precise figures are difficult to obtain because of people's intensive mobility in the post-war period. The Poles who settled in the UK were welcomed in the country as additional manpower. Building a new life in Britain was difficult for them due to the economic situation and the attitudes of the British public towards foreigners at that time, namely hostility and xenophobia. To better understand this, it is worth focusing on the media representations of Poles in the British press and the opinion polls conducted during and after the war. British press representations about Poles have significantly changed between 1940 and 1943. Initially, Poles were portrayed in the mainstream media as 'Britain's sole allies' and 'attractive addition to social life'. Nevertheless, since Soviet Russia became part of the anti-Nazi Alliance, the Poles, whose anti-Soviet stance was open. In September 1939 Poland was attacked by both European superpowers, on the 1st September by Nazi Germany and 17th September by Soviet Russia. Both aggressors used similar methods in the extermination of the Polish nation i.e. the Katyn affair. Therefore, the Poles did not trust Russia, even when it became part of the anti-Nazi Alliance. Because of this Poles in the UK started being portrayed as

'reactionaries', 'irresponsible' and 'right-wing troublemakers' (Sword, Davies, Ciechanowski, 1989:342-354; Hartwell Williams, Bond, 2013). After the war, British public opinion was not very optimistic that the British taxpayers had to pay for the resettlement process of the Polish soldiers. Resentment that Poles will, 'take our jobs', was also strong among the British people. The public mood was enhanced by, often sensational and stereotypical, articles about the Poles. In an opinion poll conducted by Gallop in 1946, 56 per cent asked were not favourable about the settlement of Poles in the UK (Sword, Davies, Ciechanowski, 1989; Hartwell Williams, Bond, 2013). It is worth bearing in mind these facts in the context of this research. They show that tensions around the topic of Polish immigration or immigration generally is not a new phenomenon.

There were several characteristic socio-demographic features of the Polish community in the UK after the Second World War. Firstly, around 15 per cent of the group were highly qualified professionals (e.g. 131 journalists). After arriving into the UK, many of them undertook low skilled jobs at the beginning of their migration experience, but subsequently successively rose in the host society's socio-economic structure. About 80 per cent of the Poles had peasant and factory worker backgrounds - a reflection of the Polish society's rural character before the war. Secondly, there was a big disproportion between male and female migrants. In 1950, woman accounted for only 4.6 per cent of the community. This proportion changed in 1957 it was 26.1 per cent, and in 1981 the number of female Polish migrants was still only 36 per cent. This can be explained by the Polish diaspora's military character in the UK (Czaykowski, Sulik, 1961; Walaszek, 2001). Thirdly, in terms of the territorial dispersion within the UK, 90 per cent of Poles lived in England, 7 per cent in Scotland and 3 per cent in Wales. The majority of the Poles, 33 per cent, settled in London. Significant Polish communities also emerged in the Midlands, Lancashire and Yorkshire. The biggest Polish communities could be found in England - Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Bradford, Bedford, Gloucester, Wolverhampton, Hull, Ipswich, Leeds, Lincoln, Nottingham, Newcastle, Peterborough, Reading, Rugby Sheffield, Swindon, Coventry and Leicester; in Scotland - Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Dundee and Aberdeen; in Wales - Cardiff (from 1.000 to 3.000 people) (Walaszek, 2009; Czaykowski Sulik, 1961).Tens of

thousands of Poles found jobs in the building industry, mining industry, catering and hospitality, metallurgy, textile industry and agriculture.

Nevertheless, it was challenging to find adequate jobs for professional people (around 20,000) due to poor English language skills and the reluctance of the British employers, trade unions and suspicions of unfamiliar qualifications. Only a small percentage of pre-war professionals did find jobs meeting their ambitions. Consequently, many very well qualified Poles were forced to take up low skilled jobs (Czaykowski Sulik, 1961; Sword, Davies, Ciechanowski, 1989, Burrell, 2009, Leonowicz-Bukala, 2015). What was also distinctive about the Polish community in the UK after the Second World War was its outstanding organisation. In the years following the war, the Polish community set up its parishes, social, political and economic organisations, publishing houses and ethnic media - all associated under the umbrella organisation, Federation of Poles in Great Britain. In the 1970s, the Polish migrant community, through public collections, build the Polish Social and Cultural Association building in Ravenscourt Park in West London. This has served as the main centre of the Polish community's life in the UK since that time (Walaszek, 2001). One of the most important Polish diaspora elements was the Polish Government in Exile, operating in London from 1945 to 1990. The Polish President, Parliament and Government considered themselves legal successors of political power since Poland was unlawfully dominated by the communists linked to Soviet Russia after World War II. The Polish Government in Exile was seen by Poles worldwide as an embodiment of free Poland during the Cold War Era

The British Government withdrew its recognition for the Polish Government in London on the 5th July 1945 and accorded – to the big disappointment of the Poles in the UK - recognition for the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity in Poland controlled by Soviet Russia (Sword, Davies, Ciechanowski, 1989). Poland's desire to regain independence was one of the most vital values unifying the Polish diaspora in the UK till 1989 (Walaszek, 2001).

Between 1950 and 1970 only 13,470 Poles immigrated into the UK. Among them were political refugees, members of the reunited families and academic scholars.

The small number of immigrants was caused mainly by the very restrictive migration policy of Poland's communist regime. Another significant wave of emigration from Poland took place in the 1980s, when around 2 million Poles emigrated, primarily to Western Europe, US, Canada and Australia. This wave had both political and economic character. The migrants were leaving Poland because of the political system's undemocratic character and very difficult economic conditions (Walaszek, 2009).

In terms of the social integration of the Polish community within British society, it can be argued that the first generation of migrants resisted assimilation but adapted well to the new way of life. It maintained remarkably strong ethnic consciousness and links with the homeland. By creating a social, political and cultural infrastructure, the Polish diaspora in the UK maintained its Polish identity. However, the Polish migrants also adapted well into the urban life of the British cities and towns, considering that many came from a rural, peasant background. The second generation of Poles in the UK was arguably much more strongly integrated within British society, its culture and values, and maintained the Polish identity because of intergenerational influence. This generation was the first to attend and be socialised through British mainstream school system. It is worth noting that for the contemporary Polish migrants in the UK, a primary or secondary school is perhaps key social institution shaping social integration, in particular, by promoting British values and multicultural citizenship (Radzik, 2001, MHCLG, 2018).

The degree of successful integration of Poles to the British society at the time needs to be also attributed to the planned, well managed and resourced resettlement program by the British government, providing the Poles with all necessary support (housing, education, employment, healthcare and welfare) in order to help them to convert – not without problems - from military to civilian life on the British Isles. It is important to note that by contrast to this successful public policy to manage immigration after Second World War, after May 2004, the UK state has embraced a 'laissez-faire model of multiculturalism', which, according to a recent governmental green paper policy, 'encouraged communities to live separate lives (MHCLG, 2018:21). In the context of this research, the British

State's involvement in the resettlement process of the Polish soldiers needs to be seen as vital. Surprisingly, after May 2004, the British State's approach to EU migration has been 'remarkably non-interventionist.'

Two recent governmental documents – 'Integration, not Demonisation' and 'Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper' by Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government have replaced the non-interventionist approach and embrace a new public policy approach, where it is the crucial role of the state to mitigate social segregation and support social integration (APPG, 2018; MHCLG, 2018).

Compared to other EU countries opening their job markets for Eastern European workers. This observation will be necessary for further discussion on the state and its role in the integration process.

There was also another important aspect of the process of integration – uncertainty. Poles in the UK felt betrayed by the Allies, who accepted the Russian domination in the Eastern and Central Europe. Therefore, they were faced with mounting questions about an unknown future for themselves, their relatives and homeland (see Sword, Davies, Ciechanowski, 1989:266; Hartwell Williams, Bond, 2013).

In 1989, after the fall of Communism in Eastern and Central Europe, Poles were free again to travel abroad. Nevertheless, international mobility within Europe for former communist bloc countries' citizens was still restricted by laws and labour market policies. In the 1980s, before the fall of communism, thousands of Poles worked as undocumented temporary workers in Western European countries, mainly in such cities as London, Berlin, Paris, Vienna, Rome and Brussels (Fihel Kaczmarczyk, 2009). As Burrell put it: 'The actual qualitative experience of travel for East Europeans, therefore, had not improved as much as imagined' (Burrell, 2009:6). Only in May 2004, when Poland joined the European Union, Poles were able to freely migrate to live and work within the EU (Burrell, 2009). According to the British population census in the 1990s, around 74,000 people born in Poland were living in the UK (Fihel Kaczmarczyk, 2009).

### 2.3 Theorising social integration

Before focusing on theories of ethnic media and their integrative role in a society, it seems important to introduce two concepts - 'integration' and 'assimilation'. In this research, it is vital to establish the theoretical definition of social integration, as this is the project's focus.

The concept of integration became prominent at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. It has become a prominent theoretical concept and highly political one, often seen as a leading political and social policy strategy to manage immigrants' integration within a host country (Grzymala-Kazłowska, 2014).

Social integration can be seen as a two-way process, where both migrants and the host society, make an effort to adapt and co-exists. Hence the process requires mutual accommodation. Integration is understood in this way presently by the UK government (Castles Miller, 2009; The Migration Observatory, 2012; Lucassen 2005; MHCLG, 2018; AAPG, 2018;). It is worth noting here that the official European Union definition of integration overlaps with the two-way definition of social integration (European Union, 2004). The concept of integration – similarly to multiculturalism - is understood in many ways due to its complexity and often contradictory interpretations. It is an analytical concept and, at the same time, normative political concept (Geibler Pottker, 2009). Castles et al. describes the two main usages:

'Usage 1: The process through which immigrants and refugees become part of receiving society. Integration is often used in a normative way to imply the one-way process of adapting newcomers to fit in with dominant culture and way of life. This usage does not recognise the diversity of cultural and social patterns in a multicultural society so that integration seems to be merely a watered down form of assimilation.

Usage 2: A two-way process of adaptation, involving a change in values, norms and behaviour for both newcomers and members of the existing society. This includes recognising the role of the ethnic community and the idea that broader social patterns and cultural values may change in response to immigration' (Castles et al. 2003:112).

The two definitions of integration highlight several important issues for the research on the Polish community in the UK. Firstly, it is important to determine how integration is understood by ethnic media producers and British public policy. As already discussed, the recent UK public policy developments in social integration suggest that British state understands and promotes social integration as a two-way process (MHCLG, 2018, AAPG, 2018). Within this research project, Polish journalists have been asked what their understandings, expectations and experiences of the integration process are?

Integration of migrants should be seen not as a singular process, but rather as a series of relating processes, namely integration within the labour market, integration within social institutions (e.g. education), everyday social interactions, cultural integration and civic engagement in democratic life (The Migration Observatory, 2012). It also entails 'identification integration' (Bosswick, Heckmann, 2006). Lucassen emphasises that integration occurs in social, cultural, political and economic domains at different speeds (Lucassen, 2005). The postulate of integration requires migrants to adapt to the host society's social norms and conventions without any obligation to give up their cultural distinctiveness (Miera, 2012).

When discussing the concept of social integration, it is important to introduce the concept of assimilation. Assimilation can be defined as a one-way process where the migrants settle in the new country and become similar to the host society in all respects. The ultimate goal of the assimilation process is for migrants to become indistinguishable from the majority of the population linguistically, culturally and socially (Castles Miller, 2009; The Migration Observatory, 2012, Lucassen 2005). Many authors argue that the postulate of assimilation is very rarely formulated within European countries' policies, also when considering the role of ethnic media in the process of social integration (Geibler Pottker, 2009). Nevertheless, as Grzymala-Kozłowska notes, it is important to note that the reverse process might be observed in many multicultural countries, namely the reinvigoration of national identities and re-nationalisation of citizenship regimes. The scholars point out that assimilation, often criticised for its intolerance for different races and cultures, becomes popular again. It is gaining prominence



because of the retreat of multiculturalism and ineffectiveness of integration policies (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2013).

Interestingly, the integration concept's critiques often point out that it is a hidden or extended form of assimilation. Citizenship tests that have been implemented in several European countries, including the UK, and the leading culture concept, are just two examples supporting their argument. The critiques of integration argue that these are always migrants who have to adapt to the host society. For example, in the UK, the citizenship education and citizenship acquisition process implemented by New Labour have been criticised on this ground (Pitcher, 2009). Other authors argue that the 'mutual adjustment', postulated by theorists of integration, does not occur in social practice. They argue that in the age of super social diversity, the concept of integration of migrants became inadequate (Lodzinski, Grzymala-Kozlowska, 2013). For example, Grzymala-Kazlowska argues that integration is not sufficient in explaining the adaptation of migrants. According to the researcher, the concept does not emphasise identity, a psychosocial adaptation of migrants, and the need for stability among migrants.

The above academic discussion reflects paradox ingrained in the integration process. On the one hand, the process aims to find a balance between maintaining social equality and cultural recognition of migrants. On the other hand, the main process goal is to build a community embracing all citizens and maintaining cultural cohesion within a society.

Nevertheless, within this research, the concept of two-way integration is seen as a useful tool for analysing migrant's adaptation as it avoids both extremes, assimilation and ghettoisation. Although, social integration, similarly as multiculturalism has many critics, this research argues that social integration needs to be seen as most comprehensive social theory and public policy available on how to integrate migrants within a host society. Simply, no one, as yet, has come up with a theory which would more convincingly describe and explain the processes under the research.

To complicate the discussion on integration further, it is worth mentioning another, similar concept. Within the research literature on integration, the concept of or 'intercultural integration' is also proposed. The concept helps to find a middle course between assimilation on the one hand and segregation on the other hand. Contrary to assimilation, which postulates cognitive, social and identity assimilation of migrants and ethnic minorities, intercultural integration paradigm postulates a balance between the rights of the ethnic minorities to maintain their distinctive cultures and the expectations of the majority of the adaptation and acculturation of the immigrants (Geibler Pottker, 2009). In other words, intercultural integration allows migrants to maintain their socio-cultural difference.

Nevertheless, the migrants need to become familiar and learn the language, fundamental values and laws, and become open for interethnic and intercultural contacts and dialogue within the host society. Intercultural integration is also a challenging concept for state and society and forces to answer the tough question of finding a balance between diversity and unity? (Geibler Pottker, 2009). Intercultural integration concept allows avoiding both extremes, namely assimilation and segregation. According to Modood (2007), intercultural integration has also got a two-way character, and it recognises the social reality of groups and its aim is to, both to create the sense of belonging to citizenship and new country and, at the same time, help to maintain distinct cultures of the diaspora (Modood, 2007). It is important to note here that the concept of intercultural integration reminds Castles' definition of two-way integration (Castle et al., 2013); therefore, both concepts are used interchangeably within this research.

The supporters of the public policy of integration argue that it needs to be seen as an important development. If rightly implemented, the policy might help to build social unity in diversity – unity based on shared values of multicultural citizenship. Nevertheless, the question that appears here is: what are or could be the shared values that can help unite diverse society such as Britain and how ethnic media can contribute to achieving the social goal of unity in diversity? Is it

possible to find values that would be acceptable for everyone in a diverse society and not exclusionary, alienating, and stigmatising?

Parekh Report suggested two kinds of such values – procedural and substantive values. The procedural values include standards of democratic dialogue such as 'willingness to give reasons for views', 'tolerance' 'mutual respect', 'aspiration to resolve 'differences peacefully' and the 'willingness to abide by collectively binding decisions that have been reached by agreed procedures'. The substantive values can be defined as 'defensible conception of good life'. There seems to be consensus within the international community on the catalogue of the rights. Among such values are freedom, tolerance, the rule of law. The values are listed, for example, in the internationally recognised Universal Declaration of Human Rights (The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, 2000, UN, 2017).

If the desired normative model of coexistence in a diverse society is the described above social integration/intercultural integration, then the question arises - how the ethnic media, among other social agencies, impact the process?

The attention turns now to the ethnic media and their role and functions in a multicultural society.

## Chapter 3

### Ethnic media rediscovered – Polish ethnic media in the United Kingdom

#### 3.1 Conceptualising ethnic media

Before presenting and discussing the social integration role of ethnic media, a general point has to be made - ethnic media is not the only or the most important agency in the process of immigrant adjustment into the host society. As Gilson and Zubrzycki (1967:52) note: 'The ethnic community and the church, as well as other media of mass communication, play a part in this process'. Nevertheless, the underlying assumption of the research project is that ethnic media may play a role in the integration process because they transmit the host society's social norms in the native language of migrant communities. By consuming ethnic media, migrants learn about the host country's way of life, about its culture, history, geography, regulations, and rules of conduct (Gilson, Zubrzycki, 1967). However, are the observations made five decades ago, in the Australian society, accurate when analysing the contemporary ethnic media worldwide?

In the literature on ethnic media, many terms are used to describe the phenomenon. Among them, the most commonly used are: 'minority media', 'immigrant media', 'diasporic media', 'local media', 'geo-ethnic media', 'community media', 'populist media', 'alternative media', 'foreign language press' or 'émigré press'. The terms are often used interchangeably. Nevertheless, as Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach convincingly argue, since ethnicity is commonly a guiding motivation for the development, production and consumption of these media' the term 'ethnic media' encapsulates best the characteristics of the media in question (Gilson, Zubrzycki, 1967:6; Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011:8-10; Fleras, 2009:143-173; Georgiou 2013).

Ethnic media can be defined as 'media that are produced by and for (a) immigrants, (b) racial, ethnic and linguistic minorities, as well as (c) indigenous populations living across different countries' (Gilson Zubrzycki, 1967; Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011:6; Fleras, 2009; Geibler Pottker, 2009). Following the logic of the definition, the Polish ethnic media in the UK can be defined as ethnic media produced by Polish people for the Polish diaspora living in the British Isles. In the context of the research on the Polish media in the UK, however, both terms, 'ethnic media' and 'diasporic media' are used interchangeably because both concepts reflect the fact that members of diaspora produce the media for members of the diaspora, who share the same language, cultural heritage and identify with the same country of origin. Ethnic identity needs to be seen as a key concept when analysing ethnic media and their role in a multicultural society.

Nevertheless, before focusing on the role of the ethnic media in the integration process, some key characteristics of ethnic media need to be explained and critically discussed here. Ethnic media differ from the private and public media because of their content, structure, distribution and consumption (Fleras, 2009). They include newspapers, radio, television and internet-based media. All ethnic media share several important characteristics. In terms of production, the ethnic media are often produced by members of an ethnic community living in a country's particular geographic area (e.g. city or region). The participation of ethnic communities in the production process needs to be seen as one of the main characteristics of ethnic media (Gilson Zubrzycki, 1967; Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach, 2011, Fleras, 2009; Geibler Pottker, 2009; Elias 2008). It is worth noticing that the ethnic media may be produced by media firms located in the home countries or those who have branches in a host country. The media may also be produced in a collaborative effort between one or more media organisations located in a country of origin and a host country (Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach, 2011, Fleras 2009; Geibler Pottker 2009). The media may be founded either by entrepreneurs from the ethnic community or by entrepreneurs from the country of origin or as a collaborative effort. Generally, they tend to be independently owned and mostly small in size, nevertheless some of them, especially in the US, resemble the mainstream media in some aspects of their

functioning. Although some authors emphasize the community service role of ethnic media, they media should still be seen as market enterprises. It needs to be stressed that, similarly to the mainstream media, ethnic media are often profit (market) driven projects (Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Fleras Lock Kunz, 2001; McQuail, 2010).

It is immediately apparent that the Polish ethnic media in the UK share most of the above characteristics. They have been established and produced by the Polish community members and are consumed – mostly – by the Polish community. Although the media like to emphasise their community role, they need to be seen as market enterprises – they have been established to produce profits. As will be demonstrated later, only a small fraction of the Polish ethnic media market in the UK has got purely social and voluntary character. Even the media producers, which are not profitable at the moment, when asked, have a hope of some profits in the future.

In terms of location of ethnic media organisations, they can be located in the neighbourhood, where the ethnic community lives or anywhere in the host country, where some people self-identify themselves as members of a particular ethnic community, whether it is London or a small town in Scotland or a Welsh village. The ethnic media can operate either from a home country or in a settlement country and have their branches in several places worldwide (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). The size of ethnic media organisations varies considerably and include small family owned media enterprises, medium-sized organisations and large corporations and multinational organisations (Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach, 2011).

In terms of the location, the key Polish ethnic media are produced in London and Poland. They are distributed across the UK. For example, 'Tydzien Polski' (Polish Weekly), 'Cooltura' and 'Nowy Czas' (New Times) have got their editorial offices in the British capital. They all can be purchased through Polish shops, newsagents and big supermarket chains such as Tesco or Sainsbury. Nevertheless, the Polish media are also developing outside of London. They are produced in many big British cities, wherever there are Polish communities. Although the majority

Polish ethnic media is produced in the UK, either in London or in the other British towns and cities, the economic crisis that started in 2008 set up a new, interesting trend. To minimise production costs and remain competitive within the ethnic media market, some of the key media players, such as 'Polish Express' or 'Goniec Polski', have decided to move their editorials to Poland. These decisions to move the media production process to Poland have been motivated purely by economic factors. However, is it possible to produce ethnic media from abroad? How does the fact impact the quality of journalistic texts and journalistic work itself? Is it not better when the ethnic media are produced in the country of settlement by journalist and editors who are migrants themselves? All of these questions have been asked in when interviews with diasporic media producers in this study, and critically discussed in-depth in chapter six.

The ethnic media may target an ethnic community living in a particular space (e.g. city or neighbourhood), ethnic communities residing in various locations of the host country or living in several countries, and audiences in a country of origin. Ethnic media operating geographically on the local level and focusing on ethnic communities have also been termed 'geo-ethnic' media (Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach, 2011). The 'geo-ethnic' media focus on particular ethnic communities residing in particular geographical locations and help ethnic communities to develop a sense of belonging, connect with local resources, institutions and organisations (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). On the one hand, the concept of geo-ethnic media seems to be useful in the context of the research on the Polish ethnic media, as many of them are produced for the migrant communities living in particular locations, for example 'Bristol24.pl' in Bristol, 'Emito.pl' in Edinburgh or 'Leeds-Manchester.pl' in Leeds and Manchester, to mention just a few Polish titles. Nevertheless, on the other hand, it is worth noting that the new online technologies have blurred the geographical lines between local, national and international media. For example, the Polish online portal in the UK 'Emito.pl' among his users have got 75 per cent of Polish people living in the UK and 25 per cent of Polish people living in Poland (Emito.pl, 2014). Therefore, it may be argued that the concept of 'geo-ethnic media' is losing its analytical usefulness.

The ethnic media are written either in the language of a country of origin, the host country's language, or both (Gilson, Zubrzycki, 1976, Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). This can be exemplified by the Polish portal and newspaper '2B North East – Magazyn Polonii' produced in North England, both in Polish and English. The media's bilingual character is linked to its conscious editorial strategy goal to enhance the integration of Polish diaspora and British society in North England ('2B North East - Magazyn Polonii', 2014). It is worth stressing that the overwhelming majority of the Polish ethnic media in the UK is produced in Polish. Will the trend change? What may be consequences of such a change in terms of Poles' integration process in the UK? It may be assumed, that the first generation of the Polish migrants will prefer to consume the Polish ethnic media in the native language, however, when the second generation grows, less or non-familiar with the Polish language, the media might start using English as an official language.

In terms of organisation size, the following types of ethnic media can be distinguished: (a) 'small scale, local operations', (b) 'large ethnic media corporations', (c) 'the multinational media enterprises', (d) 'transnational or global ethnic media', (e) 'public and non-profit broadcasters', (f) 'virtual ethnic media organisations'. The small scale ethnic media are usually local media enterprises run by the members of an ethnic community. The media often face financial problems and the prospect of insolvency. Nevertheless, the media owners are often highly motivated to maintain the media running as they feel that the media perform important, valuable roles within ethnic communities. The sizeable ethnic media holdings often target large ethnic populations concentrating in different geographical locations (e.g. Latinos in the US or Indian immigrants in the UK). The media holdings usually produce several media outlets, serving the same or different communities (e.g. some of the Spanish language media in the US tend to serve all Latinos, regardless of their country of origin, basing on their 'conglomerate identity'), (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). The multinational media enterprises target multiple ethnic communities living in more than one countries and have the same country of origin or speak the same language. The Spanish-language media can exemplify this type of ethnic media organisations in the US or Indian ethnic media in the US targeting Indian



communities in US and Canada (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). The transnational ethnic media operate globally; they serve ethnic communities dispersed worldwide. The media have their offices in many countries and serve communities who share similar identities.

Nevertheless, because the targeted ethnic communities live in different national contexts, the transnational ethnic media need to consider the existing differences when producing the media content. Also, the transnational ethnic media need to possess strong organisational culture to overcome cultural differences of the staff employed. The public and non-profit broadcasters are not orientated to profit-making. Their aim is instead to produce and deliver programs for various ethnic communities. These media are often affiliated with educational institutions (e.g. university radio stations targeting ethnic student communities) or are owned by the central or local governments. This classification can be useful when describing the Polish diasporic media in the UK. It is immediately apparent that the market is dominated by small scale media, with a few bigger media outlets. The bigger media organisations target the whole Polish diaspora in the UK (e.g. Polish Express or Cooltura Weekly). Small ethnic media enterprises focus on particular localities and can also be described as a form of hyper-local media. This research investigates both types of media.

Finally, virtual ethnic media organisations can be seen as the future of ethnic media. More and more ethnic media (newspapers, radio and television) do have their online equivalents. Due comparatively low costs, some ethnic media choose to work only within cyberspace, encouraged by costs of production and distribution and lack of administrative barriers (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). Is this also the case with the Polish ethnic media in the UK? Based on analysis of the media (see the Polish ethnic media map in chapter three), it can be said that the overwhelming majority of the media operate online. Polish newspapers media have always online versions. More and more Polish ethnic media choose to work online only. The Polish ethnic media online presence is strong, as the Polish media map presented in chapter three demonstrates this. As explored in-depth in chapter six, interviews with Polish journalists also highlight this trend as significant. Does the Polish ethnic media's

future – both the small and big – lays online? This research, amongst others, attempts to answer this question.

In terms of ethnic media ownership, there is an increasing trend of ownership consolidation within the ethnic media market. The trend has four dimensions: (a) ownership consolidation among ethnic media that serve similar ethnic communities, (b) acquisition of ethnic media by large multinational and transnational corporations (not necessarily media organisations) that are based in immigrant sending states, (c) acquisition of ethnic media by mainstream media, and (d) decrease in the number of media owners who are members of a minority group' (Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach, 2011:165). It seems that none of these processes can be observed at the moment in the area of the Polish diasporic media in the UK. The media are still owned by the people and businesses who have created them. It is possible, however, that in the future, when the media mature enough and gain a stable market position, there may be ownership transfers and acquisitions. It can be also argued that if ethnic media become owned by big media corporations, they might become less connected with the communities they serve. Nevertheless, it seems that at the moment, the Polish diasporic media market seems to be too fragile and risky for such ownership transfers.

Some academic authors point out at the impermanence and changeability of ethnic media. They stress that many ethnic media enterprises are started, but only a few survive permanently (Gilson, Zubrzycki, 1967). This observation seems to be also legitimate in the context of the Polish ethnic media in the UK. During the research project, it came out that many ethnic titles had an ephemeral character and lasted for a very short period of time. They vanished from the media landscape shortly after their creation. There could be several reasons causing this. For example, the media could be created without a robust planning and business model, or the people who started the media may have lacked journalistic and/or management experience. One contribution of this research project is that it gathers some useful data about the process of setting up successful ethnic media enterprises. How and why these media have succeeded or vanished from the market is discussed in detail in chapter six.

To conclude, the above theoretical frameworks and classifications of ethnic media can be used to describe and analyse various ethnic media operating worldwide, including the Polish diasporic media in the UK. The discussed concepts provide theoretical framework which helps to describe and analyse the topic under research. Particularly important is the definition of ethnic media, which emphasize strong connection between ethnic media and migrant life. The definition highlights inextricable links between these media and diasporic communities and helps to understand better the complex relationships between them.

The next subchapter focuses on the functions the ethnic media can play within a diverse society and their role in the everyday life of migrant and ethnic communities in particular. It critically discusses the central aspect of the research – the integrative potential of ethnic media.

### **3.2 Social integration (orientation function) of ethnic media**

In order to analyze the role of ethnic media in a multicultural society, it is important to present and analyse their functions. The purpose of the subchapter is to show, on the one hand, the diversity of these functions and their interrelations and, on the other hand, discuss the key function from the perspective of this research – their social integration function.

There seems to be an agreement in media scholarship, that ethnic media play a vital role in the life of diasporas worldwide, because they present and invite debates, values and interactions that are unavailable, restricted or self-censored in the mainstream media (Bailey, Georgiou and Harindranath, 2007; Fleras Lock Kunz 2001; Elias, 2008; Georgiou 2013; Gilson Zubrzycki, 1967). In fact, ethnic media are often contrasted with the mainstream media, which can be defined as produced by and produced for society's mainstream (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Fleras, Lock Kunz, 2001).

The list of the ethnic media functions is long. It includes, for example, providing news on what is going in the host country and the home country and in the world, forming public opinion, creating forums for the expression of opinions for the reading public, empowering migrant and ethnic communities by giving them the power to express their voices, aspirations, aims and goals and entertainment. It also includes such functions as helping newcomers with 'emotional refueling', assisting them to overcome uncertainties and the sense of uprootedness, educating migrants (teacher role). As Gilson and Zubrzycki point out, the ethnic media can fulfil a social control function within the migrant community: 'They can criticize, admonish, or extol members of the community'. By performing the last function, ethnic media, might, for example, criticize manifestations of racism within migrant communities (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Fleras, Lock Kunz, 2001; Gilson, Zubrzycki, 1967:161).

The list of the functions could be longer; nevertheless, with the context of the research, the focus is on the media's functions in relation to the process of social integration. Therefore, it is worth stressing that most scholars note that one of the main potential functions of the ethnic media is 'orientation function' and it might overlap or be linked with social integration process (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Fleras, Lock Kunz, 2001):

For example, ethnic media may include articles on how to enroll children in school, open bank account, or similar explicit guidance on how to get established in the local community. Ethnic media can be resources for new immigrants in learning about available health and social services in the community. News coverage of local events, cultural festivals, and community meetings can help immigrants connect with other residents and become integrated into new communities (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011:58).

Most [ethnic media] offered encouragement to migrants to persevere in the face of difficulties, to try to understand Australian ways and to learn the English languages as soon as possible. Information was given on legal and practical matters and various aspects of local background and current affairs (Gilson, Zubrzycki, 1967:100).

Ethnic media constitute an integrative component of inclusive Canada-building project. First, by advancing Canada's democratic discourses beyond what is normally conveyed by mainstream news media. Second, by improving the sectoral interests of multicultural minorities (...) Third, by securing crossover points for promoting intercultural awareness and exchanges. As social capital, ethnic media not only foster community bonding, but also constitute a bridging device for enhancing a two-way process of integration ("you adjust, we adapt/we adjust, you adapt") (Geibler Pottker, 2009:144).

According to many media scholars by performing the 'orientation function' these media inform ethnic communities, particularly newcomers, about the country of settlement, its social reality, surroundings, resources and way of life. In other words, the media help the migrants to comprehend the host country. They help ethnic communities settle down, adapt, fit in, co-exist with host societies, and move up. They also help migrants to understand and negotiate migrants, what does it mean to be a citizen of the host country. The media help to develop a sense of good citizenship among migrants. The scholars argue that people in diverse societies may lack a natural readiness of the people to connect and trust each other and that ethnic media may perform a significant role in addressing this - connecting migrant and ethnic communities with host societies, and advancing inter-community relationships and cooperative coexistence (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Fleras, Lock Kunz, 2001; Fleras, 2001, 2009, Elias, 2008; Gilson Zubrzycki, 1967). It is one of the aims of the research to verify if ethnic media by performing 'orientation function' support social integration? As discussed in chapter two, social integration can be understood in two different ways – as a one-way process and two-way process (Castles Miller, 2009; The Migration Observatory, 2012; Lucassen 2005; MHCLG, 2018; AAPG, 2018). It is immediately apparent that the ethnic media impact on the host society is very limited as it naturally consumes mainstream media. However, from the perspective of this research it is interesting to investigate how ethnic media producers understand social integration and which of the two understandings they promote in their everyday media work?

Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach stress that the media also fulfil a 'connective function' - inform migrants and ethnic communities about the country of. This function needs to be seen as complementary to the 'orientation function because it helps migrants to (re)connect with homeland (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011).

In the context of globalisation, international migrations and increasing population's diversity, ethnic media perform a role of rising importance in helping

ethnic communities maintain their ethnic identities and forge and negotiate 'hyphenated', 'bicultural' identities (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011:18). In the age of migration, ethnic media help migrants and ethnic minorities to construct and maintain a multi-local and transnational sense of belonging, meaning, that they may put down roots in the host countries, but still maintain strong links with their homelands (Fleras, 2009; Brinkerhoff 2009). Therefore, ethnic media roles and functions within the Western world's diverse societies might be seen as very problematic. As Elias writes:

It appears, therefore, that researchers currently investigating the roles of mass media – both in the host language and in the mother tongue – in immigrants' social and cultural adaptation to their new society, accompanied by preservation of their original identity, must account for their diverse and sometimes contradictory roles that the media fulfil: familiarisation with the host society and socialisation to its values, norms and codes of behaviour, as well as social segregation and maintenance of immigrants' cultural roots and attachment to the former homeland' (Elias, 2008).

Social integration role of ethnic media has also its important political economy dynamics – it might manifest, for example, in a cooperation between ethnic media and public institutions, like central and local governments, and business organizations. Governments, both central and local often use ethnic media to convey information, public communication and public relations campaigns aiming to shape people attitudes. On the other hand, ethnic media are often used as channels of marketing communication by business corporations who want to reach migrant and ethnic communities, often classified as 'hard to reach audiences' with their commercial messages (Fleras, 2009; Tench Yeomans 2006:589). These are important observation in the context of the research. As discussed, ethnic media are more developed in the US, and it seems that the federal and state institutions in North America are more aware that ethnic media create effective communication channels with diasporas than their European counterparts. Is the central government and local authorities in the UK, interested in reaching ethnic minorities via ethnic media? It is one of the research aims to investigate if there has been a cooperation between the Polish ethnic media and the British public institutions, both central and local. From the perspective of this research it is important to ask if the British public institutions, both central and local, see the ethnic media as autonomous partners in achieving various social

goals, including social integration or political activism? This research also attempts to explore to what extent British business organizations cooperate with diasporic media? The issues of how and to what extent public institutions, business organizations and other mainstream organizations (e.g. trade unions or health organizations) cooperate with diasporic media will be explored in chapter six.

It is worth noting here that in some polities, ethnic media can also be seen as potential threats. Karim stresses that some governments may look hesitantly at the development of diasporic media, fearing that the media may slow down or stop integrating immigrants within host societies (Karim, 2003). Nevertheless, when fulfilling their functions, ethnic media may face suspicions by the host governments. The suspicions of governments toward ethnic media often have a political character. For example, in the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 in the United States, many Western governments perceived some ethnic media as collaborators and supporters of transnational terrorist networks (Karim, 2003). This research also put some light on how British central and local governments relate to diasporic media - if they see these media as antagonists, or as potential partners in achieving various social goals (e.g. social integration)?

Recent scholarship on the Polish ethnic media provides some important observations on the functions of diasporic media in a multicultural society such as Britain. Qualitative research project on the Polish ethnic media in London, for example, touches upon the roles the journalists and editors attribute to the media. Among the most important functions are: informing, supporting migrants, integrating Polish diaspora, assisting the integration process with the host society, educating migrants, providing entertainment, maintaining Polish identity and establishing links with the homeland (Leonowicz- Bukala, 2014). The same research project, by using quantitative research, reveals the functions which the Polish migrants (media audiences) attribute to the media. 24 per cent of the respondents identified at information role of the media, 18.7 per cent underlined the supportive role of the media and 13.7 per cent stressed their commercial role. Among other functions mentioned by the Polish migrants are maintaining a relationship with the homeland, shaping the Polish identity. Only a small minority

– 0.7 per cent of the respondents stressed the media's role in the integration process with British society (Leonowicz- Bukala, 2014).

As already outlined, the key emphasis of existing research on the Polish ethnic media in the UK seems to be upon the extent to which and how ethnic media fulfil an 'orientation function' – helping new economic migrants to integrate with British society. Would these migrants be able to successfully integrate with the receiving society without the assistance of the ethnic media? Could these media be seen, along with other social institutions and organizations, as partners in enhancing social integration? To gain such knowledge, it is essential to give voice to those who produce the media - Polish journalists and editors. As such, their voices are central to the research, in order to explore, how the media perceive their role in the everyday life of their audiences and how this can help in the social integration process.

The above considerations inspired and informed the following research questions. How do Polish ethnic media producers in the UK understand the social integration role of their media? How do they support the process of social integration of the Polish migrants, who came to the UK after May 2004?

To summarize considerations of the roles and functions of ethnic media within multicultural societies, it is worth noting that, as the theory of ethnic media and the previous research have identified, ethnic media might help build and maintain greater social integration in a diverse society such as Britain. They might do it by performing their roles and functions. In other words, they might help in building links between ethnic groups and host society whilst, at the same time, encouraging migrant communities to maintain social, cultural, political, and economic distinctiveness. The issues of how the Polish ethnic media perform their 'orientation' - integration role, how the media help the migrants in maintaining their mixed, bicultural identities, and if, and to what extent, the media producers understand and support the public policy of social integration, are discussed in chapter six.



The next subchapter includes the historical account of the development of ethnic media in Europe, Australia and North America, locating the subject of the research in a broader, historical-international context.

### **3.3 Ethnic media – history and international context**

Although the research project focuses on contemporary ethnic media, it is worth focusing for a while on the history of ethnic media. The history of the media and social processes linked to them may help understand contemporary issues and predict future developments. For example, the brief historic account highlights the demand for ethnic media from diasporic communities worldwide and complex roles these media may play in diverse societies. Importantly, the historic account shows that these media played a role in the settlement and social integration processes (Gilson Zubrzycki, 1967; Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011).

Historically, the first ethnic media was created in the 17th century in Europe. In the 19th century ethnic media were developed in Australia and North America. The first ethnic medium recorded in Europe was the newspaper 'Gazette de Leyde', first published in 1677. Produced by French Huguenots living on exile in Holland, it was disseminated among the denomination members, who fled to other European countries such as England, Holland and Scandinavia, and among its readers in France. Therefore, the 'Gazette de Leyde' can be seen as one of the first examples of international journalism and the example of the first ethnic medium (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011).

On the other side of the Atlantic, in the United States, the first ethnic media were published in the early 1800s. Their development was inextricably linked with the social problems of that time, namely slavery and segregation. The 'Freedom's Journal', established in New York in 1827, served the literate black community of North African-Americans. It was expressing its social, political and economic aspirations. In the following decades, there was an 'explosion' of African-American newspapers. They played a significant role in the campaign to end

slavery. Other ethnic communities living in the 19th century United States developed their own media, including the Spanish-language ethnic media or Chinese ethnic media. The development of ethnic media in the United States was also enhanced by Europeans' mass immigration (e.g. French, German, Italian, Polish, Bohemian, Norwegian, Yiddish, Slovak, Hungarian, Slovenian, and Ukrainian, and other immigrants into the country). Although the reasons to immigrate to America among the European migrants, they all came there to look for a better life (Gilson Zubrzycki, 1967; Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). It is worth noting that in the US, the indigenous tribes also developed their media that served their communities. Also, the indigenous communities in Canada, Australia and Mexico created their media (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Fleras Lock Kunz, 2001). These facts illustrate diversity of roles which ethnic media may play in multicultural societies, including human rights campaigning, social integration and cultural identity maintenance. It also shows that through history, various ethnic communities benefited from having ethnic media in different, positive way.

In Europe, in the 19th century, ethnic media were strictly controlled and often banned by political authorities who saw them as instruments of nationalist movements and a potential threat to national unity. Later, however some national communities started being granted rights to their ethnic media. In 1923 the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) started to broadcast some programming in Welsh and Scots Gaelic. The same trend was observed in Norway, where the indigenous Sami community was granted the right to its programming within the Norwegian public broadcaster service (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011).

The era after World War II in Europe is associated with the rapid development of ethnic media on the continent. The labour immigration to such countries as France, Belgium and Germany from eastern and southern European countries and from Turkey and Yugoslavia created substantial ethnic communities within the host countries. The decolonisation process resulted in the migration of South Asian, the Caribbean, and African people to the colonising countries (e.g., the British Empire's decline and mass immigration from ex-colonies into Britain). The

processes mentioned above caused substantial demographic changes within European societies and created a fertile environment for the development of ethnic media (Geibler Pottker, 2009). Interestingly, as Ormond argues, in the countries with indigenous ethnic communities (e.g. France, Norway, Sweden, and Finland), the immigrants could develop their media because of the existing media policies related to the ethnic media of indigenous people (Ormond, 2002).

The short historical retrospect shows that ethnic media is not a new phenomenon. They emerged as a voice of minority or migrant communities and played an important role in important social, cultural and political processes (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). As mentioned before, sometimes, the media were even seen as a threat to national unity (Karim, 2003). In the context of this research, the important observation is that historically ethnic media played a role in the process of migrants' adjustment and integration with receiving societies.

The development of ethnic media in the United States is inextricably linked with American society's multicultural character and the current demographic trends within it. It is predicted that by 2050 in the US there will be more non-whites than whites. Between 1990 and 2000, 16 American states' foreign population grew from 100 to 199 per cent. The demographic changes are reflected in the dynamic development of ethnic media in the US (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). According to New American Media, 29 million Americans (13 per cent of the adult population), prefer ethnic media to mainstream media, as a source of news and information, and 51 million Americans regularly use ethnic media (Roy, Close, 2007). The dynamic development of ethnic media in the US needs to be seen in the context of more liberal immigration laws after 1965. The new laws allowed immigration from Latin America, Asia and Africa into the US. Ethnic media then developed to serve the new migrant communities as a consequence of the process. It is worth noting that in an era when the American mainstream audiences have been declining, the ethnic media audiences have grown in numbers (New American Media, 2014).

The American ethnic media are organised and cooperate within the New American Media (NAM) – the most prominent national collaboration associating around 3000 ethnic media operating across the US. It was established in 1996 by the Pacific News Service and has got its headquarters in California and offices in New York and Washington. The organisation's main aim is to 'promote the editorial visibility and economic viability of ethnic media' (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011:98). NAM is dedicated to bringing the marginalised voices - ethnic minorities, immigrants into the national discourse. It produces, aggregates and disseminates multimedia content and services for and from ethnic media sectors. In order to achieve its aims NAM organises awards and EXPOs, initiates journalism school partnerships, conducts newsmaker briefings, organises seminars and workshops for professional development, publishes 'National Directory of Ethnic Media' and focuses on ethnic editorial and marketing (New American Media, 2011). As professor Felix Guttierrez, writes, the ethnic media in the US create a 'parallel' or 'alternative media universe' (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011: 267).

As noted above, ethnic media in the US have created an umbrella organization, NAM. Interestingly, there has not been similar organization in the UK. If it is created, it could be a platform of sharing best practices, networking, training, and representing the sector, for example, with the British government. The issue of why Polish diasporic media in the UK are not organized and whether such organization is needed is discussed in chapter six.

In Australia, ethnic media developed within two strands. First, the indigenous, Aboriginal communities have developed their media. Second, immigrants from all over the world in Australia created their ethnic media. Focusing on the second group, since the country liberated its immigration policy in 1975, large Greek, Italian, German, Chinese, South Asian communities and many others have been established. Apart from ethnic media run by ethnic communities for ethnic communities, there are also community ethnic media, both television and radio, supported by the Australian government (Gilson Zubrzycki, 1967; Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011:267). The community media sector in Australia is vibrant and diverse. For instance, the community television stations, which are

located in Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, Perth and Brisbane reach over 3.8 million Australians (C31, 2011).

In Canada, where both English and French are the mainstream media languages, the ethnic media are referred to as third language media. Also, the indigenous citizens of Canada – First Nation, with the governmental support, have developed their media, including radio stations, television and newspapers (e.g. launched in 1999 Aboriginal People's Television Network). Like American and Australian societies, Canadian society has a diverse character and long multicultural history. The Canadian society's multicultural character has increased since the country's government lifted the non-White immigration laws in 1960s. Since the new laws have been implemented, Canadian cities have become increasingly diverse. In the 1990s the Canadian government implemented licensing policies supporting multilingual and language-specific ethnic media. Similar to the media policies, the policies, created first for the indigenous citizens, encouraged a dynamic growth of ethnic media, particularly in the big cities such as Vancouver or Toronto. For example, the total circulation of all the ethnic media in Vancouver outnumbers the circulation of the two biggest English-language newspapers (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Fleras, Lock Kunz 2001).

It is important to note that in Canada and Australia, contrarily to multicultural countries in European Union, for example the United Kingdom, there has been financial support from the governments for ethnic media. This relationship model between government and ethnic media has its public policy roots and is further discussed in chapter four.

To sum up, the ethnic media sector worldwide is developing. The phenomenon is evident in the immigration receiving countries of the developed West. Currently, the UK population is 66.75 million, including 9.5 million people who were born abroad. By 2061, the population will be 86.9 million of which 40.4 per cent will be no white, British or Irish (Lomax, Norman, Rees, Wohland, 2019). The social trend creates fertile ground for the development of ethnic media in the UK. This can be observed in the US and less multicultural countries such as UK, France,

or Germany. It can be expected that the ethnic media will be growing in the countries hosting migrants, proportionally to the size of migrant communities (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). Will the Polish ethnic media in the UK share the trend? Within the research, the Polish journalists and editors have been asked about the future of the Polish media in the UK (see chapter six).

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the ethnic media in the UK are not as organised as in the US, Canada or Australia. Interestingly - there is no ethnic media umbrella organization for the ethnic media as yet.

The next subchapter discusses the interrelations between ethnic media and global migration, analysing media as micro-social institutions in the context of macro processes.

### **3.4 Ethnic media and global migrations**

It is estimated that about 272 million or about 3.5 per cent of the world population of 6.5 billion people live outside their countries of origin (United Nations Population Division, 2019).

Castles and Miller emphasise that, although the number of migrants globally is substantial, the vast majority of human beings remain in their countries of origin. Therefore, it is justified to say that migration is the exception, not the rule (Castles Miller, 2009).

To analyse the correlation between ethnic media and the process of global migration, it is important to define the process of migration and its theoretical characteristics. It is also important to explore the roles ethnic media play in immigration and settlement. A migrant is any person who moves from one country to live in another country (Castles Miller, 2009). Nevertheless, the category of immigrant needs to be distinguished from 'sojourner'. While the former comes to another country to settle permanently, the later visit the host

country for a short time. However, it is worth noting that the temporary stay of sojourners in a host country may become permanent settlements (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach 2011:52; Castles Miller, 2009). As demonstrated in chapter two, many Polish migrants came to the UK as 'sojourners' or with the intention to settle permanently. Many Poles, however, are still undecided about their future plans. Other important classification of migrants have been proposed by Franck Düvell and Dita Vogel (2006). They distinguished four types of migrants: those who are oriented towards returning to their homeland, migrants who have settled in a host country, trans-migrants with bi-national identities and, so-called, global nomads who have a cosmopolitan identity. Another typology of migrants has been suggested by John Eade, Stephen Drinkwater and Michal Grapich (2006). They distinguished: 1) 'skylarks'- circular migrants, who migrate temporarily to work, often taking low paid jobs, 2) 'hamsters' – those who migrate temporarily to accumulate enough capital and then to come back to the home country, 3) settled migrants, 4) 'explorers' – open-minded migrants, with highly individualistic orientations towards opportunities and personal success. These classifications seem to be important in understanding the ongoing Polish migration into the UK and the degrees of migrant integration. For example, using Eade, Drinkwater and Grapich (2006) classification, it might be assumed, that 'skylarks' are less open for social integration with the host society than 'settled migrants'. To complicate it further, it is worth noting that many migrants are 'skylarks' and 'hamsters' (Eade, Drinkwater, Grapich 2006). It is difficult to figure out how many migrants will stay permanently in the UK, and how many will put roots down in the UK? The Polish migration into the UK has got a very dynamic character and is continually changing. For example, the Brexit process has triggered Polish return migration. According to Polish Embassy, since Brexit Referendum, around 100 000 Poles have left the UK (Polish Foreign Ministry, 2020).

As discussed, there seems to be a consensus among scholars that ethnic media support immigrants in the new countries of settlement, particularly in the process of adaptation. For example, Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach (2011) highlight two functions of ethnic media that help achieve the goal of adaptation: a 'connective function' and 'orientation function'. The connective function helps the

immigrants to connect with events and facts in the home country. The orientation function helps the immigrants to orientate in the country of settlement. The impact of both functions creates a 'dual frame of reference', within which migrants are able to know 'social norms' and 'communicative rules' of both the country of origin and the host country (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011: 58). The realisation of both functions can be exemplified by the ethnic media of the Polish migrant community in Ireland. The outcomes of the research conducted in the summer of 2006 by Kerr on the Polish ethnic media in Ireland show the visible imbalance between the connective and orientation functions. As Kerr points out, the Polish ethnic media in Ireland have a strong focus on the home country. Kerr explains: 'an implicit assumption by the producers that many Polish workers will return home, and they have a constant need for basic information on Ireland and information about communicating, travelling, and sending money home to Poland' (cited in Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011:59).

Interestingly, by September 2020, 773 000 Poles applied to UK Home Office for settled status in the UK (Home Office, 2020). Therefore, it is important to investigate to what extent the trend has impacted the Polish ethnic media's editorial strategies – how they perform the 'orientation' and 'connective' functions?

Scholars often emphasize that ethnic media help migrants in numerous ways. They often become vital sources of information on the job market for both skilled and unskilled workers. The media also provide for the migrant's information on understanding their rights and help to understand them. They conduct 'citizenship education' informing migrants about their rights and responsibilities as citizens (Gilson Zubrzycki, 1967; Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). The media serve advocacy roles, helping the migrants to win their legal rights. For example, the US ethnic media have strongly supported the naturalisation process of illegal immigrants. In 2015/2016, in the Brexit debate, Polish migrants have been often represented, especially by the British tabloids, as dependants of the welfare state. This rhetoric was also used by the Leave Campaign members (e.g. The Sun, 10.03.2016). The strategy of the Polish ethnic media to respond to this



situation was to separate facts from fiction. When the most popular British tabloid - The Sun, published an article titled: "Pole chancers: Migrants get the guide to raking in thousands of pounds in benefits from UK based newspaper' (The Sun, 10.03.2016), almost all the Polish ethnic media in the UK published the response of the Polish Embassy in London to the article. It is worth citing the letter as it shows that the Polish diasporic media are not passive in such situations. Here is the letter:

'Sir

I was saddened by your front-page article's sensational tone on a migrant's guide by the Polish Express newspaper (March 10). Poles pride themselves in the highest rate of individuals in employment or further education among all ethnic groups in Britain – at 92 per cent. Poles have also opened more than 22,000 businesses in this country and thereby create new workplaces. Higher wages rather than social security are the primary motivation for 84 per cent of Poles migrating to the UK. According to the House of Commons Statistics on migrants and benefits report, Polish families receiving child benefit for their dependants living abroad constitute a negligibly low 0.2 per cent of the overall number of families claiming child support in the UK. Suggesting that Poles come to the UK only to live off benefits is far from the truth and offends the valid Polish contribution to this country's economy, culture, and society, Witold Sobków the Polish Ambassador' (The Sun, 10.03.2016).

When David Cameron made the controversial statement about 'benefit tourism' by EU migrants, including Poles. Most of the Polish diasporic media in the UK were asking the British Prime Minister: 'If Britain gets our taxpayers, shouldn't it also pay their benefits?' (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Dziennik Polski, 2014).

The ethnic media might play a key role in such debates as they provide facts which can be used in the public debate. As demonstrated, the media represent migrants and defend their public reputation. They also provide moral support for the communities who may feel under attack.

According to Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach (2011), ethnic media help connect newcomers to immigrants with similar experiences and become part of migrant communities. All the roles performed help migrants to overcome and to reduce 'cultural shock': 'The cultural shock is defined as the set of short-term feelings of disorientation and discomfort caused by unfamiliar surroundings'

(Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011:63). The shock might be partly attributed to the tensions related to identity maintenance/formation, particularly in the new culture and way of life in the host country.

As already noted, the ethnic media perform a vital role in identity formation by providing migrant communities knowledge associated with their ethnic identity (cognitive dimension), channels of expression for ethnic identity (behavioural dimension), and developing a sense of belonging to a particular ethnic identity (affective dimension). Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach explain the process: 'Ethnic identities are negotiated on an ongoing basis, and ethnic media create spaces where people negotiate how they identify themselves as communities' (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011:75).

The points about the cultural adaptation of migrants seem to be particularly important within the research on Polish diasporic media. As discussed, there is little research on how the media help migrants overcome problems related to their cultural adaptation and how they assist identity maintenance and formation. Therefore, addressing this research gap is another key issue for understanding migrant integration. The issues have been reflected in the formulation of the research questions.

The following subchapter focuses on those who create and produce ethnic media – ethnic journalists.

### **3.5 Ethnic media journalists (media producers)**

Ethnic journalists are sometimes seen as less professional, less objective than their mainstream media counterparts. The stereotype is based on the assumption that the ethnic media are often small organisations and they rely on people who do not have a professional media career or qualifications behind them and on those who are taking their first steps on the journalistic path. Nevertheless, the truth about who works in ethnic media is more complicated than the common

stereotype. There are several types of ethnic journalists. Many ethnic journalists combine work in both mainstream and ethnic media. Their motivation can be the need to extend opportunities for journalistic self-expression or the need to contribute to an ethnic community's life. Among them may be foreign correspondents, working for media in home countries and at the same time for ethnic media in the host country. Some ethnic journalists have a non-journalistic background and come from other professions.

Nevertheless, they may possess the knowledge and transferable skills to adapt to work in the ethnic media. Often ethnic media rely on students who came from the home country to undertake their degree programs and are keen to gain work experience in an ethnic media environment. It is widespread, particularly in small-sized ethnic media, that the journalists work voluntarily. Nevertheless, the ethnic media editors increasingly hire only journalists with adequate professional qualifications and work experience (Gilson Zubrzycki, 1967; Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). The ethnic media are always exposed to losing their staff at the mainstream media's expense (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011:231). This project will explore what is professional background of the Polish media producers and if they treat the work in the media as primary job, as an additional job, or maybe as a way to gain necessary work experience. The Polish online ethnic media's initial analysis suggests that only the larger media outlets rely on professional and experienced media staff and majority of small media portals are produced by people who have not journalistic career behind them. The interviews with the Polish journalists and editors have provided some in-depth data about ethnic journalists, their backgrounds and careers. The biographies of the Polish journalists and media producers are presented in the appendix three.

The stereotypes of ethnic journalists may also cause problems for them when accessing sources and resources. The problem can be exemplified by separate press conferences, especially in the US and Canada, which are often organised separately for the mainstream media and ethnic media. Nevertheless, if the ethnic community is large, its ethnic media are treated with greater attention. For instance, in 2008, the newly elected president of the United States eschewed

mainstream media, choosing instead to give his first interviews to the US ethnic media (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011).

Ethnic journalists are sometimes accused of lack of objectivity. The assumption is that ethnic journalists tend to identify with and mainly advocate the interests of the ethnic community and the country of origin, not with the host society. Therefore, it is important for ethnic journalists to consider both perspectives simultaneously and negotiate them constantly; however difficult it is. This will help diasporic media to remain independent (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). The above issues have been researched in the US and Canada (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). Nevertheless, it is interesting if the same trend can be observed in the UK.

The doctoral research on Polish ethnic media in the UK conducted by Leonowicz-Bukala (2014) needs to be seen as the first recent attempt to characterise the contemporary Polish journalists' community in the UK. According to the research findings, most Polish journalists came to the UK after May 2004, when Poland joined the EU. Only the editor-in-chief of 'Nowy Czas', Mr Grzegorz Malkiewicz, represents the 'Solidarity' migration from the eighties. The Polish journalists are rather young - most of the people within the surveyed group are 18-36 years old. In terms of employment, the Polish media in London is based on full-time employees and freelancers. The majority of the Polish journalists live in London. One-third of the respondents admitted that they work for more than one media outlet, either in the UK or Poland.

Half of the journalists worked in media before coming to the UK. It is worth noting that most of the Polish media staff members are not satisfied with their incomes. On the other hand, they emphasise that the job allows them to fulfil their occupational ambitions. The majority of the journalists hold a higher degree (Leonowicz-Bukala, 2014). It is worth noticing that there is a lack of cooperation between the Polish ethnic media in London. This needs to be attributed to the fact that the community is relatively small and there is intense competition within the market (Leonowicz-Bukala, 2014). In concluding her research remarks, Leonowicz-Bukala stresses that Polish journalists in the UK are well educated

and experienced. However, they are often not satisfied with their work's financial conditions, which impacts their everyday work and quality of journalism (Leonowicz-Bukala, 2014). It might be assumed that the low financial satisfaction from work among the Polish journalists in the UK might have a detrimental impact on their work quality and how the media fulfil their functions.

To summarise, ethnic journalists are the key people within the ethnic media, shaping the role media plays and creating the media's content. Within the project, it will be vital to answering the following question: how do the Polish ethnic journalists in the UK understand their role in the integration process of migrants?

For example, how do the Polish journalists understand the 'connective role' and 'orientation role' of the media they produce? This research also provides an insight on how the ethnic media in the UK are treated by British governmental institutions, both central and local.

### **3.6 Polish ethnic media in the United Kingdom – history and contemporary developments**

After presenting and discussing the main theoretical frameworks on ethnic media, it is time to turn to the history and present of the Polish ethnic media in the UK. This section presents and critically discusses some of the essential issues, characteristics, and developments of these media.

The emergence of the Polish ethnic media in the UK after the Second World War has been facilitated by the Polish diaspora's character - its political, intellectual and professional character. Leading Polish literates, journalists, writers and poets settled in the UK, hence the very high standard of the Polish ethnic media at this time. Between 1945 and 1984 an astonishing 600 Polish ethnic media outlets (periodicals, bulletins, news-sheets, and pamphlets) were published, which – taking into the account the circumstances – seems remarkable today (Radzik, 2001). The phenomenon was well described by the British wartime Minister of

Information who commented upon: 'If you were to plant two Poles in the middle of Sahara Desert, they would certainly start a newspaper' (cited in Sword, Davies, Ciechanowski, 1989:405). Nevertheless, only one-fourth of the Polish ethnic media lasted more than several years. The Polish ethnic media in the period can be classified into six generic categories: armed forces-veteran press (183 titles), information press (42 titles), political press (92 titles), religious press (92 titles), social and cultural press (15 titles), scientific press (27 titles), occupational press (92 titles) and youth press (93 titles). The two titles with the most significant circulation were 'Dziennik Polski i Zolnierza' (31.000 copies) and 'Gazeta Niedzielna' (8000 copies) (Radzik, 2001, Sword, Davies, Ciechanowski, 1989). In the period 1946-47, the main titles of the Polish ethnic media were: 'Dziennik Polski' (Polish Daily), 'Wiadomosci Polskie' (Polish News), 'Mysl Polska' (Polish Thought), 'Robornik' (The Worker), 'Jutro Polski' (Poland's Tomorrow), 'Sprawa' (The Issue), 'Skrzydla' (Wings), 'Co Slychac?' (What is happening?), 'Polska Walczaca' (Fighting Poland), 'Na Przelomie' (At The Turning Point), 'Trybuna' (Tribune) and 'Swiat Mlodych' (The World of Youth), (Sword, Davies, Ciechanowski, 1989).

The 'Dziennik Polski' (Polish Daily), the oldest and most influential Polish ethnic media on the British Isles, has been published continuously in London since 12th July 1940 and deserves special attention. Initially, it was an official press organ of the Polish Government in Exile. In 1944 it merged with 'Dziennik Zolnierza' (Soldier Daily). During the war, 'Dziennik Polski' had a political character and was used as a propaganda tool by the government to inform and mobilise the Polish military community. Nevertheless, after the war, it gained journalistic independence and based its incomes on advertisements (Bzowska, 2000). There was also visible shift from the focus on Poland, to the increasing attention of every day of the forming Polish diaspora in the UK, 'resettlement and adjustment to life in Britain (...) explaining British society, culture and mores to the newcomers' (Sword, Davies, Ciechanowski, 1989:407).

Interestingly, during 1946-47, Poland's communist regime attempted to distribute its newspapers among the Polish community in the UK, having the British government's acceptance for doing this. Nevertheless, the initiative was

unsuccessful due to exile Poles' zero interest (Sword, Davies, Ciechanowski, 1989).

Zubrzycki argues that the role of the Polish ethnic press after the war was positive; it was:

a vital factor in maintaining social cohesion of the migrant group and providing social controls that are indispensable in preventing such manifestations of personal disorganisation among migrants as delinquency and mental disorders arising from cultural isolation' (cited in Sword, Davies, Ciechanowski, 1989:411).

The point made by Zubrzycki seems to be very important for this research. Ethnic media can help migrants overcome the feeling of isolation in the new environment of a host country, especially at the beginning of the migration process and may significantly impact their general well-being. The point needs to be seen as another argument supporting the claim about the positive role of ethnic media for migrant communities in society.

To summarise, the historical accounts on the Polish ethnic media - especially those describing the after-war period - highlight both at their 'connective' and 'orientation' roles. These accounts emphasise their role in supporting adjustment to a British way of life whilst maintaining the Polish cultural heritage within the diaspora. These accounts are vital in the context of the research, because, they stress the role and functions of the ethnic media in the life of migrant communities and offer explain their functions. They also create fertile ground for comparisons between past and present.

In May 2004 the new chapter of Polish ethnic media history in the UK was opened. The mass migration of Poles to the UK has created the social grounds for developing the existing media titles and creating the new channels of ethnic communication. Since the research focuses on ethnic media produced in urban, multicultural contexts, it aims to map and analyse only the biggest media - those produced in London other major British cities and towns. The Polish ethnic media map is based on an analysis of the information provided by the media on their websites. Before describing the Polish ethnic media in n the UK, it is worth noting their importance among the Polish migrants. According to Lodzinski et al., 81.9

per cent of the migrants use online media, 71.5 per cent use newspapers and 27.8 per cent ethnic radio stations (Lodzinski et al. 2014). The Polish migrants' research in London reveals that 81.3 per cent of the migrants use Polish ethnic print media, 45.9 per cent online media, and 15.1 per cent listen to the Polish radio stations (Leonowicz-Bukala, 2013).

The Polish ethnic media map has to begin by describing the oldest and biggest Polish quality newspaper in the UK – 'Tydzien Polski, (Polish Daily, and since 2015, Polish Weekly). Here, the focus is on the period after May 2004. Since Poles' mass migration to the UK started, 'Dziennik Polski' reformulated its editorial mission. The main editorial aim has become to inform but also to support the new economic migrants in the process of adaptation in the UK. It is worth noting that in the period 2004-2005, 'Dziennik Polski' went through serious financial problems due to mismanagement and the daily was nearly closed.

Nevertheless, the new management was appointed and the newspaper has been substantially capitalised by several Polish organisations in the UK. The problems have been overcome and 'Dziennik Polski' remains on the media market. The editorial mission of the newspaper is to be a forum of social, political and cultural life of the Polish diaspora in the UK. For many Poles living in the UK, it is an important source of news on UK, Polish affairs ('connective' and 'orientation' role of the ethnic media'). The daily also aims to promote social initiatives within the Polish community, be a meeting platform for all professional Polish people including writers, artists, teachers and academics. It also produces events, for example, the yearly prestigious ceremony 'Pole of the Year', celebrating the most distinguished members of the Polish diaspora. It also organises concerts and theatre spectacles. There is a big emphasis in the editorial strategy on maintaining Polish culture, tradition and language. The daily has got a small editorial team, which prepares around 100 pages of the newspaper every week. The Polish Daily can be either subscribed to or bought in around 2500 places across the UK, and also has an online version. In terms of a business model, the newspaper is based on subscriptions and advertising. Bases in Ravenscourt Park in London (Dziennik Polski, 2014), in 2015 the title became a weekly,



renamed 'Tydzien Polski' (Polish Weekly) – a decision was motivated by financial factors.

Another Polish quality newspaper is 'Cooltura – Polish Weekly'. The newspaper brands itself as 'the most prestigious Polish weekly in the UK' and 'the most popular'. It was established in 2004. It is owned by 4YOUK, which also owns the Polish Radio London. The newspaper's editorial mission is to provide reliable home and international news and analysis to the UK's Polish community. The content of the paper includes information from London, United Kingdom and Poland. The main focus is also on upcoming cultural events, but Cooltura includes several thematic sections like news, politics, culture, history, community life, and interviews, as well as and substantial adverts. The newspaper also organises cultural events, such as festivals, concerts, and job fairs.

Interestingly, contrary to 'Polish Weekly', the newspaper website's editorial information does not mention the 'orientation role' as one of its editorial goals. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the newspaper does not fulfil this function in practice. Each issue contains about 116 pages, produced with the use of high-quality paper and circulates 55.000 copies and is distributed through 500 shops, Polish cultural centers, Polish parishes, job agencies and schools across the UK. The newspaper has professional online version. The newspaper has a free and its business model is based only on advertising, with a marketing and sales team of six staff. The newspaper is used as a channel of ethnic marketing by Polish and British business including, for example ASDA, EasyJet, HSBC, Lloyds TSB, PKO, Samsung, and Western Union (Cooltura – Polish Weekly, 2014). It is worth noting that 'Cooltura' has been the most recognisable Polish newspaper in London. In the survey conducted in 2011, 87 per cent respondents said they recognise the title (Leonowicz-Bukala, 2014). In 2015 a new media initiative emerged – a professional online portal titled 'MAXIMUS.MEDIA'. This portal provides news commentaries from UK and Poland and offers merchandising online platform. Its news portal is linked to 'Cooltura' and 'PRL Radio', and the portal includes news and articles produced by the two partner media, in addition to a small editorial team in Krakow, Poland. The aim of the MAXIMUS.MEDIA's

editorial is to achieve a leading position amongst the Polish online media in the UK.

In terms of the Polish tabloids, it is 'Polish Express' has the strongest market position. It was established in 2003, initially as a two weekly publication, although since 2005 it has been produced as a weekly magazine. The editorial strategy states that the tabloid aims to build a positive image of Poles in the UK and Northern Ireland and to help Poles adapt in the host country, especially those who may 'feel lost on the British soil'. The editorial strategy also suggests that the newspaper's aim is to support Poles in the host society's integration process. One of the editorial aims is to build bridges between the new economic migrants and the long-settled Polish diaspora in the UK. The newspaper provides news on the UK, the World and Poland. The newspaper's content has a simplistic and sensational character, with a strong focus on entertainment and gossip, matching the character of the media genre. 'Polish Express' also organises community events, such as concerts and job fairs. According to the newspaper's data, 75.000 copies are distributed weekly through 5000 points, such as big supermarket chains as Tesco, ASDA, and Polish shops, parishes, and schools. The newspaper reaches 300.000 readers. It has also got a professional online version. The business model of the paper is based on advertising as the paper is free. The newspaper's editorial office is based in Willesden Green in London; however, in 2014, it moved to Poland to reduce the operational costs (Polish Express, 2014).

'Goniec Polski – Polish Times', another Polish weekly, in a concise editorial strategy available on its website, states that it aims to help Poles in the UK to adapt and integrate with British society. It provides news on UK, the world and Poland. It also focuses on the job market, housing issues, setting up a business in the UK and available services - all the issues that may be important for Poles living in the UK. It is worth noting that, similarly to other Polish media, the newspaper organises cultural events, such as, for example, the annual Polish Festival in Ealing. The newspaper's website does not provide any information on the number of copies and its business model. Nevertheless, it is free and at least some its income must derive from advertising. Similarly, to other Polish media

described above, *Goniec Polski* it has a professional online version. It was based in Ealing, West London, however recently it moved to Poland to reduce the costs (*Goniec Polski*, 2014).

'*Nowy Czas*' (New Times) was set up by *Czas Publishers Ltd.* in 2006, initially as a weekly, although recently, it has become monthly. Within the Polish ethnic media market, it is a unique newspaper. Its editorial strategy clearly defines its audience – educated people, intelligentsia. It targets different groups within the Polish diaspora: the settled, Second World War migrants, 'Solidarity' era migrants, and the new wave of economic migrants. It aims to create a diasporic community conscious of its rights and obligations. The editorial strategy emphasises that what distinguishes the title from the others are: responsible journalism, professional, experienced writers, representing diverse worldviews, modern design and high-quality photographs. It provides news on UK, World and Poland. Since 2009, '*Nowy Czas*' has also organised social and cultural events for the Polish diaspora. It has got an impressive network of 30 journalists working for the newspaper as freelancers. The newspaper is distributed mainly through Polish shops, parishes, schools and cultural centres in London and other British cities. '*Nowy Czas*' is free, its business model based on advertising. It is based in Peckham, London. In September 2016 the paper celebrated its 10th anniversary.

The above Polish diasporic media need to be seen as the key players on the market. Among the most recognisable titles within the Polish diaspora in London are: '*Cooltura*' (87.2 per cent), '*Goniec Polski*' (72.5 per cent) and '*Polish Express*' (58.8 per cent), '*Dziennik Polski*' (46.4 per cent) and '*Nowy Czas*' (36.6 per cent), (*Leonowicz-Bukala*, 2013). They are stable and reputable media outlets. It is worth noting that most of the editorial statements analysed, stress that the media's aim is to support the adaptation process of migrants. This fact is important because it suggests that the Polish ethnic media in the UK are conscious of their role in integrating migrants with British society. One key aim of this research is to critically investigate the extent to which these media implement these aims in practice through the production process and, importantly, how do they seek to shape the attitudes, knowledge and behaviour of their audiences. Is

it just an empty declaration to support the integration of migrants, or rather a conscious editorial strategic aim reflected in media practices?

One of the key trends shaping ethnic media is the adoption of new online technologies. All the analysed Polish media are already widely present online. Leonowicz-Buka suggests the following classification of the Polish ethnic media: online portals linked to paper press, electronic publications of the printed press (e.g. PDF) or online ethnic media without links to the paper press. Leonowicz-Buka also extends the media classification by suggesting the categories: generic online portals directed at the whole Polish community in the UK, regional and local ethnic media, advertising portals and social media (Leonowicz-Buka 2012). Within her classification, Bukala suggests the subcategory of local ethnic media.

This point deserves a short consideration. Interestingly, many local Polish ethnic media in the UK cover small localities (British towns or even villages). However, the vast majority of the media operate outside of London. It worth noticing that the hyper-local Polish ethnic media has not developed in London. There are currently not Polish portals in London covering one, two or three boroughs. Whether this is because such initiatives would be not profitable enough, or it is just a market niche to be filled is an issue explored as part of the discussion of interviews with the Polish journalists in chapter six.

Here, the dynamic sector of the online Polish ethnic media is presented and discussed. Analysed media operate online only. The key player on the market seems to be the portal called 'Londynek' ([www.londynek.net](http://www.londynek.net)) run by JD Blayer Ltd. Londynek is the most recognizable Polish portal the UK (Leonowicz- Bukla, 2014). It has got 11 million page impressions and 10 thousand new classified ads per months. The portal's editorial strategy underlines that it plays a significant role in the Polish community's life in the UK and is seen as a credible source of information by the Polish media in Poland – it is often cited by such media outlets as One.pl, Wp.pl or the BBC. The content of the portal provides news on UK, World and Poland. It also includes diverse practical information on all aspects of life in the UK, such as job seeking, bringing up children, legal rights, entertainment and even dating. The popularity of 'Londynek' needs to be linked

to the portal's very comprehensive character - the business model is based on different forms of advertising. Different businesses can reach the continually growing Polish community in the UK through the portal. The editorial team of the portal includes seven people, including two staff in newsroom. The content of the portal relies on news agencies as well as the network of 17 freelance bloggers. It is based in Chiswick in London (Londynek, 2015).

'Polish Radio London' is the biggest professional 24/7 Polish radio in London. It was established in 2006 and is run by Sara Ltd., which also owns 'Cooltura – Polish Weekly'. The radio does not reveal its strategy. Nevertheless, it mainly focuses on entertainment and information. The station reaches 350.000 Poles living in the Greater London Area and covering London and neighbouring counties. It is transmitted in the DAB system (Digital Audio Broadcast), but can also be listened to in the UK and worldwide via the internet. The average age of radio listeners is 28-34 years old. Polish Radio London is produced by radio journalists and presenters who have gained experience in Poland in Polskie Radio, RMF FM, Radio ZET, ESKA and WAWA. The station cooperates with Radio Zet from Poland, which prepares for it the news from Poland. The business model of the radio relies on advertising and it also offers ads production. The radio organises Cooltura Festival and Migrants Have Talents. It is based in Hammersmith in London.

Another key player on the Polish ethnic online media market in the UK is 'Emito.net'. Arguably, it is the most technologically developed Polish portal in the UK. It was established in 2005 by Efero LLP in Edinburgh (on the previous portals Edinburgh.pl and Szkocja.net). The portal's editorial strategy is to provide information for the Poles in the UK on the UK, World and Poland. Its editorial strategy stresses that its aims, amongst others are to support Poles in the process of adaptation. Apart from the news, the portal also provides diverse information on different aspects of life in the UK, for example, on job seeking, housing, healthcare and education to mention just a few. 'Emito.pl' is produced by a team of seven professionals, including IT, marketing, journalism and public relations specialists. According to the portal's statistics, it has 700.000 visits a month, 77 per cent from the UK and 25 per cent from Poland. Its users are

predominantly young - 22-39 years old. 40 per cent of them have higher education, and 43.3 per cent secondary education. The business model of the portal is based on advertising. Its headquarters is located in Edinburgh.

The above online Polish ethnic media can be seen as the most developed in the UK. Their editorial strategies largely emphasise the integration role of the media. It is important to stress that all declare a strong emphasis on maintaining Polish identity, culture, sense of community and solidarity. It is also important to note that all the media are business enterprises focused on making a profit, predominantly from advertising. From the analysis of the editorial programs, however, it can be deduced that the media also have more normative goals, namely, community building, maintaining identities, and supporting migrants' integration with the host society. On the one hand, the ethnic media has utilitarian goals, focusing on profit-making. On the other hand, they also place a strong emphasis on normative aims too (McQuail, 2010). Interestingly, there have been no Polish TV station in the UK. Despite several initiatives to establish such TV stations, all of them were unsuccessful (Leonowicz-Bukala, 2012). This may be due to a high risk of investing money in the enterprises, including the relatively high costs of running TV station from which a return cannot be guaranteed.

Nevertheless, the Polish media story only begins here, as there are dozens other Polish portals in nearly all British cities. The high number and high-quality of these media initiatives may be surprising. It reflects the dynamic development of the Polish diaspora in the UK after May 2004. The amount of Polish online media operating in the UK confirms that diasporas frequently are on the cutting edge of technology adoption (Karim 2003, Dahan and Sheffer 2001). The portals can be defined as virtual communities congruent with Polish communities residing predominantly in British cities. Brinkerhoff argues that such virtual communities are likely to support diaspora's integration into the host society as well as homeland identity maintenance, reinterpretation, and hybridity for diasporas. He also points out that the internet is a powerful tool for representation and construction of identity. The Polish portals presented in Table 1 may play a similar role. They provide news on the UK, the World and Poland, and, thanks to

their substantial interactive components, they facilitate storytelling, discussion, and the sharing of experiences among Polish migrants.

Here, the map of the local Polish portals is presented in the form of a table including the media's key information. The listed portals include portals linked with paper titles, electronic versions of printed titles (PDF) and portals operating online only. They can be classified into several categories: news portals targeting a whole Polish community in the UK, local and regional news portals and online community portals (Iwona Leonowicz-Bukala, 2012).

Title, Location	Editorial Strategy	Content
www.Bristol24.pl Bristol South Wales South West England	Informing Poles about local issues and community matters	Community news, local news, UK and Poland news, advertisements
www.Glasgow24.pl Glasgow	Providing local information for the Polish community in Glasgow	Local news and community matters in Glasgow, advertisements
www.Polscott24.com England and Scotland	Informing the Polish community in England and Scotland on the UK and Poland	News on UK and Poland, community information
www.polemi.co.uk UK	Information and integration media platform for Poles in the UK	News on UK, world and Poland, advertisement
www.mojawyspa.co.uk UK	Providing information for the Polish community in the UK	News on UK, world and Poland, advertisements
www.emito.net UK	Providing information for the Polish community in UK and Poland	News on UK, world and Poland, advertisements
www.manchester-leeds.pl North England	Local information for the Polish community in North England	Local information, community events, advertisements
www.bham.pl East Midlands	Local information, entertainment and integration of Poles	Local news, community events, thematic sections,

		advertisements
www.nottinghampl.co.uk Nottingham	Local information, integration of Polish community	Local news, advertising
scotland.pl Scotland	Information and community building	Local news, advice, chat, advertising
www.mojesouthampton.com Southampton Hampshire	Information, community	Local information, forum, advertising
Exeter.pl Exeter Devon	Giving advice, community building, integration networking	Local news, community information, advertisement
www.polishplymouth.co.uk Plymouth	Networking, platform of discussion, community building	Chat, advertisement
www.hull.pl Hull	Informing, community building, community integration	Local news, discussions, advertising
www.norwich.pl Norwich Norfolk	Information, platform for discussion	Information, advertisement
www.derbypl.co.uk Derby, Derbyshire	Providing information, civic forum, discussions	Information, advertisement
www.portbrighton.co.uk Brighton, Sussex	Information, advice, discussions, community building	Information, local news, advertisement
www.merseyside.eu Liverpool, Merseyside	Information, discussions, community building	Local news, advice, community forum, advertisement
www.bradford24.pl Bradford, West Yorkshire	Information, community forum, community building	Local news, advices, discussions, advertisement
www.sheffield24.co.uk Sheffield	Information, community building, platform of discussion	Local news, advices, advertisement
www.leicester.pl Leicester Leicestershire	Information, news, community forum	Local news, advices, advertisement
www.mojeleicestair.pl	Information, news,	Local news,



Leicester	community forum	discussions, advertisement
www.northampton.pl Northampton	Providing information, news, and community forum	Local news, discussions, advertisements.
www.oxfordshire.pl Oxfordshire	Providing information, news	Local news and civic advice
www.mojecoventry.pl Coventry	Providing information, news	Local news, civic advice, advertising
www.mykent.eu Kent	Information, community building	Local news, advice, community discussions
www.sunderland.polnews.co.uk Newcastle, Sunderland	Information, business forum	Community forum, advertising
poloniawdevon.co.uk Devon	Information, community building, networking	Local news, advertising, forum of discussion
www.poloniagloucester.co.uk Gloucester	Information, news, community building	Local news, discussions, advertising
openscotland.pl UK	Providing information on UK. World, Poland, community building, integration	UK, World, Local news, advertising
www.pl-merthyr.org.uk Merthyr Tydfil, Welsh Valleys Run by Polish Community of the Valleys Association	Community building, civic information	Community news, civic initiatives and events
www.elondyn.co.uk London	Information, adaptation and social integration, networking	News on UK. World, Poland, community forum, advertising
www.polonia-worcester.co.uk Worcester	Information, community building	Local news and community information
www.poloniapeterborough.com Peterborough	Information, community building, community promotion	Local news, community forum, advertising.
www.2b.nepco.org.uk North East England (bilingual)	Information, intercultural integration, community building	Local news, intercultural dialogue and discussions, advertising (not for profit)
www.empp.co.uk	Information, community	Local news, community

East Midland (Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire)	building and integration	forum, advertising
www.thepolishreview.co.uk UK	Providing information	News on UK, World, Poland. Advertising
www.doncaster.pl Yorkshire	Providing information, community building, integration	Local and national news, forums, classified ads, local events
www.square.pl, UK	Providing information, serving community	News on UK, World and Poland. Advertising
www.twojsukcesuk.co.uk, UK	Providing information	News from North and Central England, World and Poland
www.radiostar.net (based in Peterborough)	Providing information, serving the community	Entertainment and news on UK, Poland and UK

Table 1 – The map of the Polish diasporic media in the UK

Basing on his extensive analysis of digital diasporas and their transnational engagements, Brinkerhoff argues that they play several important functions: 1) create hybrid identities, 2) create social capital, which in turn 3) may support integration within host society and enhance peace and society in the homeland (Brinkerhoff, 2009). In terms of fostering integration, Brinkerhoff points out, that through digital diasporas, dispersed, often isolated, groups bond, negotiate identities, mobilise and act. Here, particularly important is the observation, that digital diasporas enhance migrant's integration into the host societies, mainly through a collective expression of hybrid identities (Brinkerhoff, 2009). As Brinkerhoff put it:

The various outputs of diasporic organisations – identity negotiation, community, bonding and bridging social capital and organisational resources – all of which can be IT-enabled, combine and reinforce one another to facilitate outcomes with potentially important implication for quality of life of diasporas and their compatriots in the homeland (Brinkerhoff, 2009:2003).

Nevertheless, it is worth noting here that diasporans do not live in virtual communities. They take part in virtual communities – digital diasporas, but in

their everyday lives, they are part of the physical world, namely the host society and its social, political and economic systems. The ideas, values and information within the digital diasporas may influence and mobilise diasporans and encourage them to engage in purposive activities towards the homeland and host land. However, it is worth highlighting that it is impossible to measure the potential impact the digital diasporas on migrants – how many ideas circulating in cyberspace mobilise diasporans to act (Brinkerhoff, 2009). Also, Vertovec warns that diasporas do not always behave rationally. The diasporans' behaviour might be shaped by many factors, including subconscious ideas (Vertovec, 1997) or, as argued in chapter 2, their material status. Therefore, it is crucial to be very critical when assessing migrant's motivations and behaviour, as it is to be sceptical when interpreting the impact of the ethnic media.

Nonetheless, in the context of this research, it is worth bearing in mind that digital ethnic media may enhance integration of migrants. By diminishing identity stress and hybridisation of identities, digital diasporas and their media might help migrants integrate into the host society. The Polish diasporic portals mapping exercise presented in this chapter suggests that the media may play an important role in the Polish migrant community's life, which can also be defined here as a digital diaspora (Brinkerhoff, 2009). Considering the information gathered, the Polish digital diasporic media in the UK may play the following functions. Firstly, they provide news on UK, World but also on Poland. By doing this, they may perform both 'orientation' and 'connective' roles. Secondly, they play community building and issue framing roles, enhancing the social ties between different groups within the diaspora (McQuail 2010). Thirdly, the Polish digital media may foster the process of building hybrid identities, ' a sense of self that is neither wholly of the homeland, nor exclusively reflective of the hostland' (Brinkerhoff, 2009:14). The final section of this chapter will explore further how ethnic media has been argued to perform these various functions.

### 3.7 Ethnic media and social integration of migrants

After discussing ethnic media theory and the history and present of the Polish media in the UK, it is important to focus on what role media, and ethnic media specifically, perform in the process of the integration of migrants within diverse societies such as contemporary British society? As the bellow citation shows, the question is very tricky:

Integration or separatist? Insular or isolationists? Inclusive or exclusive? Bonding or divisive? Buffer or barrier? Bridges or roadblocks? Inreach or outreach? Progressive or regressive? Society building or society bashing? (Fleras, 2009:144).

It is worth noting that the above questions have been at the centre of scholarship on ethnic media for a long time. Rapid industrialisation, urbanisation, and mass migration of people into cities at the beginning of the 19th century have raised important questions on the media's actual functions within the emerging mass society (Park, 1922; Elias, 2008). Do the mass media enhance social integration of new diverse urban populations or, conversely, do they contribute to an erosion of community, greater rootlessness, anonymity, social isolation and anonymity – these were the questions nurturing early media scholars (Park, 1922; Elias, 2008).

Historically, the media has been seen as a unifier within emerging, diverse industrialised societies. It has been argued that the media performed the following roles: 'uniting scattered individuals', 'integrating the newcomers into urban communities', 'integrating immigrants into a new country by providing a common set of values, ideas and information and helping to form identities' (McQuail, 2010:90; Elias 2008). Nevertheless, there is also significant scholarship portraying the media as a force undermining social cohesion and increasing social fragmentation (Elias, 2008). Social theorist argued it, that media have performed both functions. On the one hand, they promoted negative, individualistic values and attitudes. On the other hand, the emerging modern mass media played a significant role by connecting people, maintaining their identities and enhancing social integration in mass societies (Park, 1922; Anderson, 2006, McQuail, 2010, Elias 2008).

The question of the media's role in social integration processes has been extensively analysed by media scholars. For instance, Pottker provides a historical account of the unsuccessful integration of the so-called Rhur Poles, who emigrated between 1871 and 1914 in search of work from the four eastern provinces of the then German Empire – Posen, Silesia, Eastern and Western Prussia to the industrial hubs in the German Reich. Among the reasons why the social integration of the 500.000 Poles was unsuccessful, Pottker contends that German local media and the Polish ethnic media, which discouraged and undermined the process of intercultural integration between the immigrants and the host society. Pottker concludes:

To further intercultural integration, the local German press should have taken note of the Poles in the Ruhr area, informed the majority about the particular way of life, and thus prepared the way for public acceptance of this lifestyle. The Polish ethnic media press, on the other hand, should have helped interest its readers in the German majority culture instead of promoting uncompromising and exclusive positions. Neither of these developments took place. Hence, the media's effect on the process of intercultural integration was detrimental rather than encouraging (Pottker, 2009:23).

However, Pottker omits to note that German and Polish ethnic media's functioning needs to be seen in the broader, political and cultural contexts. The German Empire's political aim was not to preserve Polish culture but rather to assimilate - germanise the Polish citizens. On the other hand, the Polish ethnic media's aim was to maintain Polish culture. As such, the integration process could not be enhanced by the media at that time. Therefore, when analysing diasporic media's social integration role, it is vital to consider the process's cultural and political context, particularly the public policy aspect.

Geibler and Weber-Menges suggest three theoretical models of the ethnic media's role in the social integration process: 'media segregation', 'assimilative media integration' and 'intercultural media integration' (Geibler, Weber-Menges, 2009). In the media segregation model, minorities primarily consume ethnic media. Ethnic media in this model primarily focus on the country of origin, its culture and either do not inform the audience about the host society, or do it sporadically, often in a hostile, confrontational way. Consequently, the ethnic audiences remain segregated from the host society's public sphere, enhancing

their isolation from the host society (Geibler, Weber-Menges, 2009:30-34). In this research, it is assumed that the media segregation model entirely undermines the social integration process and helps to create parallel lives<sup>6</sup>.

At the other extreme, there is the assimilative media integration model. There are no ethnic media within this model, as is assumed that ethnic minorities have no need for it since they can be fully assimilated with the host society. They consume mainstream media, and moreover are to be involved in the mainstream media production as journalists, managers and members of controlling authorities. The mainstream media do not tend to cover ethnic topics because the ethnic groups are to be fully assimilated (Geibler, Weber-Menges, 2009).

From this research's perspective, the two above models need to be interpreted as extreme and undesirable in a multicultural society. As normative models, they do not include positive, integrative goals which also respect cultural difference.

Finally, the intercultural integration model tries to avoid the disadvantages of the previous two models. The model might be seen as a desirable solution for multicultural, multi-ethnic societies such as in Britain. Within the model, the ethnic media operate alongside an ethnically pluralistic mainstream media. The mainstream media employ ethnic minority staff in all spheres of media production, making media balanced, representative, and better promoting active acceptance. The mainstream media help to build awareness of the necessity of immigration and integration of migrants and ethnic communities in all aspects of social life, in other words, to build unity within diversity. As already mentioned, within the model, there is much room for dynamic ethnic media which play a complementary role to mainstream media. Journalists working for the ethnic media possess comprehensive knowledge on the host society and produce the media content that informs audiences about the home country and its society, its institutions and culture that enhances intercultural integration. The ethnic media

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<sup>6</sup> The concept of parallel lives was first established in the report of the Community Cohesion Review Team (the „Cantle Report“), and denotes separation of communities by ethnicity and/or faith meant that there was a lack of shared experiences, with little opportunity for the emergence of shared values (Cantle Report, 2001).

target migrants and often bicultural, bilingual ethnic minorities. Ethnic minorities, in this model, use both mainstream and ethnic media in order to become interculturally integrated. In the ethnic media, they find in-depth information on their homeland, and diasporic issues, which are often too specific for the mainstream media to cover. The ethnic media content has an 'integrative nature', often focusing on and offering information about the homeland and the accommodating country equally (Geibler, Weber-Menges, 2009). It is worth stressing that migrants and ethnic communities must use mainstream media to achieve the desired intercultural integration within this model. In the mainstream media, they will find rich information on the current affairs and knowledge which help them fully integrate into social structures (e.g. socio-cultural, educational and economic).

The intercultural integration model needs to be seen as a normative postulate and may serve as a theoretical framework for analysing the Polish ethnic media and their multicultural integration role. The fact can explain the usefulness of the model, that, when focusing on multicultural integration, it takes into account the whole circuit of communication and, importantly, the media producers. Therefore, the model allows analysing the multicultural integration of the Polish migrants in the UK, from the perspective of the Polish media producers.

To conclude, according to prominent media scholars, ethnic media may perform a positive role in diverse societies and might be seen as an integrative component of well functioning diverse, inclusive and integrated society. Ethnic media might constitute 'bridging device' to enhance a two-way integration process, intercultural awareness, and dialogue (Fleras, 2009:144, Elias 2008). Therefore, it is interesting to investigate the extent to which the intercultural media integration model has been reflected in media practice by the Polish ethnic media in the UK.

The next chapter presents and discusses the shift from multiculturalism politics to politics of social integration in the UK – this research's socio-political context (AAPG, 2018; MHCLG, 2018). It also aims to show how it is possible to link

ethnic media and social integration theories to define the main analytical framework for this research project.



## Chapter 4

### Theorising multiculturalism in the United Kingdom

In the literature of the subject, the term 'multiculturalism' is usually used in three ways: as a description of the fact of diversity of a given society, as a desirable standard of diversity in a given society or as ways of recognising and supporting diversity by the given state, namely official government policy and programs (Taylor, 1992; Kymlicka, Norman, 2000; Fleras, 2009; Fleras Lock Kunz 2001; Triandafyllidou, Modood, Nasar, 2012). From the perspective of this research, the first and third understandings are particularly important as they are linked to the research project aim – to examine the relations between migrant life, ethnic media and social integration.

Taylor defines multiculturalism as a 'politics of recognition' (Taylor, 1994:25). The scholar argues that everyone needs to be recognised for his or her own unique identity. Recognising individual citizens' unique identities and those of their communities should be seen as a fundamental requirement for a healthy democratic society. Taylor argues that lack or withholding of such recognition might create second-class citizens and be seen as a form of oppression. To sum up, Taylor strongly argues that a democratic country should be based on equal recognition for different cultures (Taylor, 1994). Kymlicka points out that multiculturalism needs to be conceptualised as recognising cultural diversity and as the political and legal accommodation of such diversity. Political and legal multiculturalism expresses itself in various public policies and constitutional provisions (Kymlicka, Norman 2000). Castles and Miller distinguish two generic variants of multiculturalism. The first model of multiculturalism is best exemplified by the US. Within this model, the state helps to develop a sense of belonging within a diverse society, based on common, shared values. The state recognises the existence of ethnic and cultural diversity; nevertheless, it is not the state's role to support national, ethnic cultures. In the second model, implemented between the 1970s and 1990s in many developed countries, multiculturalism

takes the form of public policy. Within this variant, the state accepts cultural diversity and actively supports the maintenance of the minority cultures (e.g. through cultural or educational public policies). Different variants of this model have been implemented between the 1970s and 1990s as an official state public policy in Australia, Netherlands, United Kingdom, Canada and Sweden (Castles Miller, 2009).

Broadly, this study approaches multiculturalism as a fact of the social diversity of a given society and of public policy. There are two reasons for this choice. Firstly, the academic and political discussions about multiculturalism informing it are firmly rooted in the sociological, political and legal realms. Secondly, because the research focuses on relationships between ethnic media and social integration processes, such an approach will anchor the topic under research in its socio-political and legal contexts.

In terms of this research's socio-political context, namely the retreat from multiculturalism in Europe and the Anglophone West, the year 2001 can be seen as a turning point. The 9/11 attacks in the USA, the London bombings of 7 July 2005, the riots in the northern English cities, and the development of messianic jihadism in Europe, undermined trust in multiculturalism as public policy. Since 2001 multiculturalism has been criticised for segregating communities (supporting so-called 'parallel lives'), enhancing social fragmentation, creating social divisions, making a fetish of difference, not encouraging minorities to be British, and empowering radicalism and even terrorism (Vertovic, 2010). According to critics, the public policy has failed to provide a 'unifying national identity'. Within academia, multiculturalism has been criticised for 'undermining core values, identity and unity and also for draining public resources (the trend has been noted and described by Moodod, 2007; Triandafyllidou, Modood, Nasar, 2012; Kymlicka, 2012; Alibhai Brown, 2000; Castles Miller, 2009:254, Lucassen, 2005; Fleras Lock Kunz 2001; Gozdecka, Ercan, Kmak, 2014).

The critique of multiculturalism has been expressed by the leading European politicians, who proclaimed the end of multiculturalism (Vertovec, Wessendorf,

2010). For instance, the British Prime Minister David Cameron said at the Munich Security Conference on 5th February 2011 that 'multiculturalism is dead.'

At his speech at Munich Security Conference on 5th February 2011, David Cameron argued that 'Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream'. During the speech, Cameron advocated what he called 'muscular liberalism' as a desirable political philosophy and public policy strategy that might help overcome problems caused directly or indirectly by the public policy of multiculturalism, including terrorism (Gov.UK, 2011). The German Chancellor Angela Merkel similarly said: 'multiculti has utterly failed'. Speaking at the conference for young members of Christian Democrats (CDU) on 16th October 2010, Angela Merkel said:

'This (multicultural) approach has failed, utterly failed'. She argued that the state program of multiculturalism encouraged people with different cultural backgrounds to live 'side by side' (Reuters.Com 17.10.2010).

The critique of multiculturalism as a public policy has become more robust in the context of the ongoing migration crisis in Europe (Kymlicka, 2012). Although there seems to be an unquestionable master narrative of the 'rise and fall of multiculturalism' (Kymlicka, 2012:70), that dominates in mainstream public discourse, many academics see the processes differently. For example, Kymlicka and Vertovec argue that instead of the retreat of multiculturalism, we have entered the era of 'post-multiculturalism' (Vertovec 2010, Kymlicka 2010). Both academics argue that 'post-multiculturalism' should be seen as another phase of multiculturalism. According to the scholars, 'post-multiculturalism' 'fosters both national identity and recognition of social diversity. Before these two forces were pulling in two different directions' (Vertovec, 2010:83).

Kymlicka argues that the narrative about multiculturalism's failure is disputable and that a combination of multiculturalism and social integration policies is possible and desirable. He points at the key factors that impeded multiculturalism:

1) securitisation – relationships between states and minorities started being seen as a security threat, 2) certain ethnic groups started being seen as unable to respect human rights and democratic values, 3) the lack of border control (e.g. in EU) enhanced a backlash against multiculturalism. To sum up, Kymlicka points out that the multiculturalism has lost support, particularly in the countries where immigration processes triggered social, political and legal problems. Interestingly, the scholar also admits that there is no conclusive evidence that multicultural policies were making progress towards building democratic citizenship (Kymlicka, 2014).

Gozdecka, Ercan and Kmak argue that instead of retreat from multiculturalism, we have entered so-called 'post-multiculturalism' times. The scholars suggest that the governments' responses to 'failed' multiculturalism, paradoxically, reinforced multiculturalism's problematic features, particularly in the areas of law, policy, institutions, and discourses. The scholars go even further - they argue that 'post-multiculturalism', reinforces 'monoculturalism' (Gozdecka, Ercan and Kmak, 2014). According to these academics, 'post-multiculturalism' can be characterized by: 1) excessively focusing on gender inequality within minority cultures, 2) shifting its focus from ethnicity and culture towards religion (in particular Islam), 3) increasing the emphasis on social cohesion and security, 4) the emergence of new forms of racism, 5) the relativisation of international and transnational human rights law (Gozdecka, Ercan and Kmak, 2014). For instance, ethnic cultures are often seen as oppressive and coercive and creating obstacles to social integration. Similarly, religion has been described as incompatible with democracy, with Islam, in particular, seen as a threat to state and security. Also, migrants are often portrayed as a threat to national values and national security in a process termed 'securitisation'. To sum up, Gozdecka, Ercan and Kmak point out that the paradoxes of 'post-multiculturalism', might lead to cultural homogeneity and often to new forms of racism and hostility towards migrant groups, instead of greater social integration (Gozdecka, Ercan and Kmak, 2014).

Vertovec and Wessendorf note that although multiculturalism has disappeared from mainstream the political rhetoric, the multicultural measures, institutions,

frameworks and programmes nevertheless continue (Vertovec, Wessendorf, 2010).

Although there is continuing debate among leading academics about the status of multiculturalism in public policy, amongst politicians in Europe and the Anglophone West, not only from right but also from centre-left movements, there seems to be agreement, that the era of public policy of multiculturalism has ended and new public policy paradigms are needed to accommodate social diversity in multicultural societies.

In the UK, the idea of the public policy of multiculturalism used to have strong political support. The New Labour Party government formed in 1997 put in its program emphasis on the plural, multi-ethnic character of British society<sup>7</sup>. However, the Conservative-Liberal coalition from 2010 decided to shift from the state-supported politics of multiculturalism. The retreat from the politics of multiculturalism and implementation of politics of social integration by the British government has been best reflected in the document 'Creating conditions for integration' (Communities and Local Government, 2012) and two recent public policy documents, 'Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper. Building Stronger, More United Communities' by the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG, 2018) and 'Integration, not Demonisation' by the All-Party Group on Social Integration's Inquiry Into the Integration of Immigrants (APPG, 2018). It is worth citing the new public policy definition of social integration as it clearly reminds the academic definitions of the process discussed in chapter two (Castles et al. 2003):

Integration is not assimilation. We want everyone to feel confident and proud of their identity and heritage. (...) This is what true integration looks like – communities where people, whatever their background, live, work, learn and

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<sup>7</sup> In 2010 there were 6.5 million foreign-born people in the UK. The UK occupies the seventh position in terms of the number of total international migrants, behind such countries as USA, Russia, Germany, Saudi Arabia, Canada and France. The share of the international migrants in the UK population is about 10.4 per cent (compared to average 9.5 per cent in Europe), (The Migration Observatory, 2012).

socialise together, based on shared rights, responsibilities and opportunities. Communities where many religions, cultures and opinions are celebrated, underpinned by a shared set of British values that champion tolerance, freedom and equality of opportunity. A society in which everyone is a potential friend. These values – which include a proud history of defending people’s right to practise their religion within the law – have helped make Britain what it is today, one of the most successful multi-faith, and multi-ethnic, societies in the world. Integration is a two-way street. Everyone has a part to play in upholding these values. This includes not just the people who are already here, but those who want to make it their home (MHCLG, 2018:1-10).

There is a strong emphasis in the above definition on recognizing citizen’s unique identities – the value postulated by Taylor (Taylor, 1994). It is also important to note that the the process of building socially integrated society requires involvement not only of central government, but also active engagement of communities, voluntary and faith organizations and businesses, including media businesses:

This means that building a more integrated society is not just a job for government. It requires collective action across a wide range of issues, at national and local levels, by public bodies, private companies and, above all, civic society at large. (Communities and Local Government, 2012:6)

According to the new public policy approach, social integration needs to be underpinned by British values (MHCLG, 2018). In June 2014 Prime Minister David Cameron defined, what he thought, were core British values. Among them is a belief in freedom, tolerance of others, accepting personal and social responsibility and respecting and upholding the rule of law. He termed the values a 'bedrock of Britishness' and argued that they needed to be actively promoted. The Prime Minister also stressed:

Our values have a vital role to play in uniting us. They should help to ensure that Britain not only brings together people from different countries, cultures and ethnicities but also ensures that, together, we build a common home (www.gov.uk, 2014).

This research employs the understanding of core values suggested by the Parekh Report, because the values he points out do not derive from the values of any particular society or migrant community, but on universally accepted human rights transcending national cultures. There seems to be widespread consensus within the international community on the catalogue of the values. The catalogue

includes such values as freedom, tolerance, and law (The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, 2000, UN, 2018).

The above political and academic discussions about the 'rise and fall of multiculturalism' are essential in the context of this research for two reasons. Firstly, as mentioned in the introductory chapter, the outcomes of previous research findings show that everyday life of multicultural societies worldwide involves a considerable level of separation between host societies and ethnic minorities (Gilson, Zubrzycki, 1967; Castles Miller, 2009; Scheffer, 2007, Savage, Warde, Ward, 2003). For example, the British government's socio-political analyses stress that the pace and scale of migration after May 2004 put much strain on local communities across the UK, leading to increased tensions and, often, to prejudice, discrimination and hate crime (MHCLG, 2018; APPG, 2018). Therefore, it seems to be important to establish what the alternative for the public policy of multiculturalism could be. How has the British state has been managing social diversity, particularly in the context of EU migration to the UK after May 2004. Secondly, by discussing the process of transition from the public policy of multiculturalism to the policy of social integration, it might be easier to figure out the role of ethnic media in the process.

To sum up all the theoretical discussions of ethnic media, social integration and socio-political context of the research (chapters one, two and three), three general conclusions can be made. Firstly, there seems to be a clear link between the discussed theories of ethnic media, social integration and public policy on social integration. As discussed, the content of the ethnic media might have an 'integrative nature', often focusing and informing on homeland and the accommodating country equally (Geibler, Weber-Menges, 2009). By fulfilling the 'orientation function' and 'connective function', the media might influence social integration. The media might support the settlement process by instructing migrants about the host country, its social reality, surroundings, resources and way of life (Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). Therefore, the media might be seen as potential partners for the central and local government in achieving desirable social goals (e.g. social integration), particularly in the times of mass migrations and the new public policy implementation.

Secondly, this research notes that although the role of the ethnic media might be helpful in the integration process, their role should not be overestimated. It is worth bearing in mind that ethnic media is not the only or the most important agency in immigrants' adjustment into the host society. It should be remembered that ethnic media serve predominantly migrant/ethnic communities and we might expect their capacity to change the values, norms and behaviour of the host society – processes postulated by the two-way theory of social integration - to be very limited. This fact needs to be seen as a significant limitation of ethnic media. Do the Polish ethnic media producers understand the opportunities and limitations of their media with respect to social integration? Thirdly, this research focuses upon exploring if and how the Polish ethnic media in the UK perform their social integration role. The research question seems to be particularly important because, as discussed earlier, multicultural societies often lack the people's natural readiness to connect and trust each other. Therefore, it is interesting if the ethnic media perform any significant role in connecting migrant and ethnic communities with host societies in the UK. Do they advance inter-community relationships and cooperative coexistence by fulfilling 'orientation function' (Gilson Zubrzycki, 1967; Fleras, 2001, 2009, Elias, 2008; Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011) or might they rather hinder the processes? This research aims to find out what the Polish media producers think about the process.

The literature review discussion has led to the formulation of the research questions. The research questions and the chosen research methods are introduced in the next chapter.



## Chapter 5

### Research questions and methodology

The following research question has been formulated after conducting the literature review. The question is rooted in the discussed scholarship on ethnic media and social integration. The main research aim, emerging from the literature review, is to critically explore how Polish ethnic media producers perceive the role of the Polish ethnic media in the UK after 2004, focusing in particular upon the question: How do the Polish ethnic media producers in the United Kingdom understand social integration and promote the process in their practice?

#### 5.1 Interview research method

In order to investigate the role of the Polish ethnic media in the integration process, the method of semi-structured, in-depth interviews has been employed. This qualitative strategy has been chosen because it allows researchers to see the social world 'through the eyes of the people being studied' (Bryman, 2008). As Gubrium and Holstein put it, the qualitative interviews approach allows for exploring respondents' feelings, emotions, experiences, and values within their 'deeply nuanced inner worlds' (Gubrium, Holstein, 2002a, p. 57). The strategy is also flexible, allowing for both structured conversations and free expression from participants in a systematic and rigorous enquiry. By using the qualitative interview, rich, natural, detailed and in-depth data can be collected (Bryman, 2008; Hansen et al. 1998; Schroder et al. 2003; Brennen, 2017). This strategy allows for the collection of very rich data, including often very personal, insightful and subjective positions that might not be captured through more rigid, fixed-structure approaches (Brennen, 2017).

Interviewing has been used as a data gathering method when researching the Polish ethnic media in the United Kingdom. There are several reasons why the method has been employed within this project. Firstly, it assists in developing rich, in-depth understandings of the participant's knowledge of the media (Daymon, Holloway, 2011:222; Brennen, 2017). Secondly, semi-structured interviews include more broad questions than a structured survey and have a very flexible character. Whilst qualitative methods are described as 'soft', 'flexible', 'subjective', 'political' and 'speculative' (Schroder et al. 2003:30-43), these qualities are particularly valuable strategically, in the context of a research project, where adaptation to the particular research situation, may be necessary – including, for example, openness to new strands of discussion emerging during interviews. The flexibility should be seen as one of the most significant advantages of the method, as it gives much freedom for both, researcher and interviewee. For example, it allows gathering unexpected data and talking on topics that were not initially considered. Thirdly, the data collected is situated in its social context – it bases on participants' interpretations and is expressed through speech styles characteristic for particular interviewees (Daymon, Holloway, 2011; Brennen, 2017). In terms of ethnic media scholarship, the method is often used by researchers. For example, it has been recently applied by Iwona Bukala-Leonowicz in her doctoral thesis on the roles and functions of the Polish ethnic media in London. When interviewing the Polish ethnic media editors, she collected very rich data on the Polish ethnic media roles and functions (Bukala-Leonowicz, 2014).

To sum up, the method has allowed insight into how the Polish journalists and media producers understand and promote social integration in their everyday work in the Polish diasporic media in the UK.

Turning to the sampling method, the journalists were selected based either on the 'who is who' information provided by the Polish media on their websites or through other interviewees' recommendations. The journalists were informed about the project and invited to participate in the research project via email or telephone. They were informed about the aims of the research. Their

participation in the project had a voluntary character. The consent was obtained from all the participants before the research started. They were informed in non-technical language about the aims of the project and their role in the interviews.

The interviews were conducted in Polish and translated during the transcription process by the researcher. The research participants were also informed about the voluntary and confidential nature of their participation in the project. They were informed that extracts from the interview may be quoted in the final draft of the thesis and may be used in subsequent publications. The example of the consent form can be seen in Appendix 1. It was the aim of the project and to conduct face-to-face interviews with journalists. This interviewing method is always helpful in maintaining rapport between the interviewer and respondent (Bryman, 2008, Brennen, 2017). Most of the journalists were interviewed either in the Polish ethnic media offices or in London cafes. Two journalists, who live in Scotland, were interviewed via Skype. Nine journalists were interviewed within the project. Short biographical notes of the research participants can be seen in Appendix 2. All of the responses were recorded on a digital voice recorder. Although the list of questions was prepared in the form of the interview guide, both the interviewer and interviewee could be flexible in asking and responding to the questions, for instance, to alter the order of questions during the interviews.

When using the method, some irrelevant data, without connection with the research project's aim, was gathered, which often occurs when interviewing (Daymon Holloway, 2011). Nevertheless, by using the above method, rich data has been collected on how the journalists and communication professionals working for the Polish ethnic media or cooperating with the media understand the media's role in integrating Polish migrants with the British society.

The next section outlines the key areas of explorations in the interviews.

## 5.2 Interview research questions

One of the most important tasks was to formulate the clearly stated interview questions linked with the general research question (Bryman, 2008; Brennen, 2017). Brennen stresses the importance of conceptualising research questions: 'a superficial, insincere question will get you an equally shallow answer' (Brennen, 2017:132). Therefore, the following list of the questions that guided the Polish journalists' interviews was carefully developed. All the questions are anchored in the literature review discussion and linked with the overarching research question: how do the Polish ethnic media producers in the United Kingdom understand social integration and promote social, political, cultural, and economical integration of the Polish migrants living in the country?

When formulating the above list of research questions, the key research questions have been divided into more specific questions. All the specific questions are interlinked and correlated with the key question and helped to gather data on the complex relationships between ethnic media, migrant life and the process of social integration. The first two questions were designed to collect data on Polish journalists in the UK and their media. As discussed earlier, it is interesting to explore who producers of the Polish ethnic media in the UK are, what are their professional backgrounds and if they treat the work in the media as a main job or as an additional job? The journalists' background seems to be important because, as discussed earlier, ethnic journalists are the key people within the ethnic media. They are the ones who decide what role and how the media play and what is the journalistic content of the media. As discussed in chapter two, most of the Polish journalists in the UK are migrants themselves. Whilst we know some facts about their biographies and professional background (Bukala-Leonowicz, 2014), there is little research on how their earlier experiences might affect their understandings of social integration or multiculturalism. The question about history, audiences and business models (question 2) was designed to gather data which will help to understand their functioning better. As discussed in the literature review, in order to perform a social mission, diasporic media must

generate sufficient profits first. It was vital to figure out how the ethnic media generate their profits and how the media producers understand the relationship between social and economic functions (Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Fleras Lock Kunz, 2001; McQuail, 2010). The questions 3-9 are linked to the project's key research goal – to investigate complex relationships between ethnic media, migrant life, and social integration process. Here, the Polish journalists are asked about their understandings, expectations and experiences about the processes of social integration and multiculturalism. As demonstrated in chapter four the topic of 'rise and fall of multiculturalism' in the UK rises many controversies in academia and politics. Here it was important to explore how the Polish journalists see the process and how do they understand the role of the ethnic media in building a more integrated society. As argued elsewhere, the research question seems to be important because, as discussed, multicultural societies lack the people's natural readiness to connect and trust each other (Gilson, Zubrzycki, 1967; Castles Miller, 2009; Scheffer, 2007, Savage, Warde, Ward, 2003). It also seems important because, as discussed in chapter four, British government has made social integration one of its public policy goals (AAPG, 2018; MHCLG, 2018). Therefore, it is interesting if the ethnic media producers can connect migrant communities through their media with British society and how they understand such process?

The questions 9 and 10 were designed to collect data on relationships between British mainstream media, public organisations and the ethnic media. As demonstrated in chapter two, diasporic media might be used as communication channels by social, cultural, political and economic organisations, who want to reach migrant and ethnic communities. The channels help the institutions to reach ethnic communities, which are often classified as 'hard to reach audiences' (Guilhemere Santon, 2005; Tench Yeomans 2006:589; Fleras, 2009). From the research perspective, it seems to be vital to establish if and how the channel of the communication is used by the British mainstream media and public organisations (e.g. central and local government). As highlighted in chapter two, these media might play a role in achieving social goals, including social integration. The questions 9 and 10

were designed to explore how the ethnic media producers perceive the relationships between British media, public institutions and the media they produce.

Finally, question 11 asks about the future of the Polish ethnic media in the UK. The question has been designed to gain an insight on how the media producers predict the future of the media sector in the coming years. As discussed earlier, ethnic media are inextricably linked with the historic and present events within migrant communities they serve. Whilst we possess in-depth information about ethnic media past and presence, there is little evidence on the potential future developments within this media sector. Therefore, question 11 is designed to gather some information to explore the research gap.

The key research question and the specific research questions have been formulated, considering the research context. As Brennen stresses, the research context needs to be seen as a central part of the research process. When conducting the research and research interpretations, the relevant historical, cultural, political and economic contexts need to be considered (Brennen, 2017). Therefore, the gathered data has been interpreted in the context of the retreat from the public policy of multiculturalism. As highlighted in chapter four, by analyzing the collected research data in the context of public policy transition, it might be easier to explore the 'orientation' role of ethnic media.

To sum up, the gathered research material has been conceptualized and discussed within the theoretical framework outlined in the literature review chapters.

The specific questions are as follows:

1. What is your history as a journalist, and what does it mean for you to work in diasporic media?

2. Could you describe your medium - its history, platforms, audiences, staff, and business model?
3. How do you understand social integration between migrants and host society?
4. Do the media you produce help to integrate the Polish migrants within British society? If yes, in what way?
5. What is your editorial strategy – to focus on Poland, the UK or both? Explain why?
6. How important are the Polish ethnic media for the Polish diaspora in the UK? Why?
7. Do you think there is a crisis of multiculturalism in the UK? If yes, how does it affect the Polish diaspora and its media?
8. What are the core British values? Do you promote them in your journalistic work?
9. Do the mainstream and diasporic media in the UK cooperate? In what way?
10. How the British public bodies, organisations and business cooperation with the Polish ethnic media in the UK?
11. What is the future of the Polish ethnic media in the UK? Are you predicting any new trends, developments in the media sector?

The last two chapters present the research findings and conclusions. Chapter six discusses if and how the Polish media producers understand multiculturalism, social integration and core British values. It critically explores how the interviewees understand the relationships between ethnic media, migrant life and social integration. It investigates the ethnic media and identity formation and focuses on the Polish diasporic media operations and the Polish ethnic media's future in the UK. Chapter seven lists and discusses the key research findings and conclusions.

## Chapter 6

### Research findings and discussion

#### 6.1 From multiculturalism to social integration in the UK – Media producers' perspectives

As discussed in chapter four, in the UK, the public policy of multiculturalism is being replaced by a policy of social integration (Integration Hub, 2016; AAPG, 2018; MHCLG, 2018). However, the public policy transition is not straightforward, and the process has caused numerous controversies, both among politicians and academics (Taylor, 1994; Kymlicka, 2012; Gozdecka, Ercan, Kmak, 2014).

In the context of the research on the Polish diasporic media in the UK, it is important to establish the media producers' perspective on multiculturalism in the UK (understood as public policy and social fact). Have Polish journalists in the UK noticed the public policy transition from multiculturalism to social integration, and what are their understandings, experiences and expectations about this process?

The interviewed Polish journalists were divided on this topic, but most of them said they noticed a shift from the public policy of multiculturalism towards the public policy of social integration. They also expressed their views on multiculturalism, with most associating it with social diversity. It must be noted that some of the informants had very defined, often radical views, whilst others presented more balanced opinions. The most critical interviewees described the policy of multiculturalism as an artificial ideology. According to them, the policy was imposed by politicians on British society. One of the media producers argued:

I think there is a crisis of multiculturalism in the UK. Multiculturalism has been imposed by the state artificially. Thirty, twenty years ago, politicians in many countries believed sociologists and psychologists that multiculturalism's politics would allow us to build a paradise on Earth. They thought that different cultures,



by living close, will enrich each other. The policy was intentionally imposed (Interview with a Polish journalist H).

My opinion is that multiculturalism is not working. The idea was that there would be many ethnic groups in the UK who maintain their cultures and at the same time accept the British culture above them. The idea was that those groups would not assimilate. What an ideal! The idea cannot be real because there are too many differences between the groups. In practice, we can observe ghettos in the UK. We live next to each other. Communities do not mix; they live next to each other. Only the elites within the groups integrate with elites with other ethnic groups. These are elites. They are often educated and naturally open. Therefore, multiculturalism works mainly among elites within society. The masses choose to live in ghettos. Thank God that the UK is a prosperous country. If there was an economic crisis in the UK, people would start to fight with each other. A few years ago, the riots that took place were an example of such tensions (Interview with a Polish journalist G).

The interviewees argued that public policy of multiculturalism was imposed on British society by politicians and as ideal, is not effective in managing social diversity in practice. The informants stressed that one of the main challenges to social diversity in the UK is that there are too many differences between ethnic communities. They also seem to assume that such differences might lead to conflicts, particularly when economic crisis occurs. As discussed in the literature review, some academics and politicians argue that community values might not always be compatible with human rights and democratic ideals (Kymlicka, 2014; Gozdecka, Ercan and Kmak, 2014). Communities live next to each other, but they do not mix. The journalist G, argued that, if there is an integration between people in modern Britain, it mainly integrates educated elites. She insisted that British people are not interested in integrating with the migrants. The journalist G seems to suggest that multiculturalism might be classed – and does not accommodate social groups across of the economic strata of the society. The journalist seems to be also concerned that multiculturalism is not realistic because of the attitudes of the dominant, already settled or ‘host society’. The Journalist H seems to suggest that the problem with multiculturalism are not located with migrant groups, primarily, but with policy makers and cultural politics towards migrants and minority ethnic groups. Interviewees H and I also stressed that what is particularly concerning is that, often, second-and third-generation migrants, such as Jamaicans, Indians, and Pakistanis, are not integrated with the receiving society:

But let's look at Pakistani or Jamaican communities in the UK. They came here with good English. This groups also do not integrate with the rest of society. We were invited to the birthday party by our black neighbours. We came at 9 pm. When we were leaving the place around 12 pm, other guests started coming. The black girls were born in London, so, theoretically, they should have a lot of friends from different ethnic groups. In fact, we were the only white people who visited them. It is just another example of how the integration looks like in everyday life. (An interview with Polish journalist H).

Last year the meeting with Nigel Farage took place in Edinburgh. When we were leaving the meeting with Farage, we decided to take a taxi. The taxi driver had Pakistan roots - he was probably the fourth generation living in the UK. He was observing the crowd of people living the meeting and he was saying... 'those British'. He was emphasising that he did not feel British. It was a bit shocking for me (An interview with Polish journalist I).

The above statements highlight the underlying assumptions about some kind of mythical homogenous British culture. They also stress diversity of British society and problematic assumptions about British identity with which culturally diverse groups might identify. The above statement reminds very much of the views expressed by many academics and social thinkers. For example, Malik argues that the politics of multiculturalism was implemented thirty years ago to answer Europe's social problems. Today, many social thinkers see multiculturalism as a cause of the same problems (Malik, 2013).

According to the research participants, the host society acknowledge the problem of parallel lives and are concerned about the lack of integration among the migrants. Most informants also believed that the host society 'have had enough' of the privileged position that ethnic minorities enjoy in the UK. It is noteworthy that the arguments also seem to be similar to the opinions of academics who are convinced that the failure of multiculturalism as a public policy in the UK was caused in part by the fact that it has focused predominantly on minorities and the host society was excluded from the multicultural project (Moodod, 2007; Triandafyllidou, Modood, Nasar, 2012; Castles Miller, 2009:254; Lucassen, 2005; Fleras Lock Kunz 2001).

Other journalists presented less radical arguments on British multiculturalism. Nevertheless, they also expressed some significant concerns and doubts about social integration in the UK. Some of them responded that they did not see the crisis of multiculturalism (social diversity) as such, but had noticed a rise in anti-

immigrant rhetoric. The rise of such rhetoric is often visible in elections when political parties want to benefit from radicalising and mobilising the voters. Such rhetoric was observed, for example, during the Brexit campaign (EU Referendum Analysis, 2016). According to All Parliamentary Group on Social Integration, a reason for the eruption of racism in British society is the fact that: 'the rhetoric deployed by some politicians during the referendum has led some to feel that they could act on racist attitudes which had previously gone unexpressed' (AAPG, 2018:57). Another line of argumentation that was noticeable within interviewee's responses refers to the economic crisis, which started in 2008. During the crisis, EU migrants, among them Poles, became scapegoats. 'Someone always has to be blamed for the crisis', stressed journalist E. This type of anti-migrant rhetoric within British society met with clear opposition from some research participants. One of the interviewed journalists said:

The groups who blame migrants for the crisis, groups like BNP, the Defence League, or UKIP, criticise multiculturalism and blame migrants for everything. They forget that migrants in the UK work hard, when – for example – half of Liverpool's native community live on benefits, doing nothing. The migrants work for them so they can have this lifestyle. This is how it is. This is true (Interview with a Polish journalist E).

It is worth noting, nevertheless, that the scapegoating strategy is not a new phenomenon. Similar situations took place in the UK in the past. For example, after the Second World War, when the British economy desperately required workforce, thousands of Afro Caribbean, Indians, and Pakistanis came to the country. They created vibrant ethnic communities in many British cities. In times of economic recession, they were also treated as scapegoats (Golebourne, 1998). When the economic crisis started in 2008, migrants from Central and Eastern Europe were blamed by some politicians and media, particularly tabloids (Burrell, 2009). Interestingly, a reflection of such rhetoric can be found in Theresa May's manifesto speech at the Conservative Party Conference in October 2016 when she said:

If you are one of those people who lost their job, who stayed in work but on reduced hours, took a pay cut as household bills rocketed, or – and I know a lot of people do not like to admit this – someone who finds themselves out of work or on lower wages because of low-skilled immigration, life simply doesn't seem fair (Conservative Party, 2016).

The collected data challenges the official political narrative. Most interviewees argued that Polish, or more generally, EU migrants, do not 'take British jobs', but rather fill workforce shortages and job markets gaps that would be vacant otherwise.

Nevertheless, the Polish journalists seemed to be convinced that, despite social tensions, misunderstandings, and occasional discriminatory or xenophobic acts, the Polish community and ethnic minorities in the UK in general, are treated well by the host society. Poles can freely develop parishes, institutions, organisations, and media in Britain. Discriminatory rhetoric might often be present in politics, mainstream or tabloid media, but in their view, it is relatively rare in everyday life. They asserted that negative attitudes might be encountered more often in Britain's provincial areas, but they are not so common in big cities such as London, Edinburgh, Manchester, Cardiff, or Birmingham, which are naturally more diverse and, consequently, more cosmopolitan. The following statements are representative of these ideas as expressed by most interviewees:

If you closely analyse the situation, you would see that there is a crisis of multiculturalism. But in everyday life of citizens, the process is unnoticeable. There are no dramatic or alarmist situations (Interview with a Polish journalist H).

However, such comments are commonly expressed in all multicultural societies, and to some extent, they are unavoidable. This anti-migration rhetoric is directed not only at the Polish people but also at other EU citizens who live and work in the UK (Interview with a Polish journalist A).

The crisis is not visible so much, I think. There are not intense clashes between communities. I think that the idea of tolerance is very deeply rooted in British culture. It is essential to respect each other. It starts at school. The people (in the UK) are taught about the need to respect each other from the beginning of their education (Interview with a Polish journalist A).

No. There is no such crisis in the UK. If anything, there was an economic crisis. Well, it continues. However, it will stop soon. People will feel improvement in 2-3 years though. There is no crisis of multiculturalism in the UK. There has not been such a crisis in the UK in the past, either. The multiculturalism, migrants have been treated as a scapegoat in the times of economic crisis. Someone had to be blamed for the crisis (Interview with a Polish journalist E).

According interviewee A, the fact that the crisis is not so visible in everyday life can be attributed to tolerance – a deeply ingrained British social and cultural value. The value has been integral to the idea of multiculturalism in the UK since

1960s<sup>8</sup>. Two media producers (D and I) from Scotland argued that Scotland is very open to Poles, who are genuinely welcomed there. This information could be explained by the fact that Scotland needs people because of its decreasing population. It can be also explained by the fact that Scottish mainstream politicians have advocated different politics on emigration and that Scottish people voted in favour of Remain in EU referendum. In the debate about multiculturalism, the interviewed journalists stressed that it is important to look at the phenomenon from the perspective of the host society, too. British people are welcoming, but they are understandably irritated by the excessive demands of the newcomers. The interviewees also stressed that tolerance is taught and supported by the British education system.

The research participants seemed to be convinced that there should be the same law for all UK residents. If there is an equality of cultures in the UK, they argued, there should be no privileges or financial support for ethnic groups. The ethnic cultures should be maintained by themselves, without public support. Consequently, the Polish culture, they felt, must be sustained by the Polish community independently, without the British state's involvement. It is worth noting that these opinions correspond very much with the US model of multiculturalism's theory and practice. As discussed, in the US, the state recognises and values ethnic and cultural diversity. However, the federal government does not materially support ethnic cultures (Castles, Miller, 2009).

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<sup>8</sup> On 23rd May 1966, Roy Jenkins, UK Home Secretary, delivered a speech on race relations. Addressing a London meeting of the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants he defined social integration as: '... not as a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance' (MacArthur, Brian, 1999).

## Challenges for British multiculturalism

### Polish media producers perspective

- Social integration occurring only among educated elites
- Second and third generation of migrants are often not integrated
- British people have had enough of (what they perceive as) the privileged position of migrants
- Rise of the anti-migrant rhetoric in the UK
- Migrants treated as scapegoats
- British people are irritated by (what they perceive as) the excessive demands migrants

Table 2. Challenges for British multiculturalism (social diversity) – Polish media producers' perspective

What narrative has been emerging from the collected data about the condition of British multiculturalism? According to the respondents, the public policy of multiculturalism seems to be not sufficient. The evidence above suggests that there were a range of beliefs about whether or not the policy had 'failed' but a general acceptance that, in mainstream political discourse at least, this concept has been discredited as a basis for public policy. In terms of social situation (multiculturalism as a social diversity), rather than a multicultural crisis, the informants observed negative trends within the multicultural society, such as hate crimes, anti-immigrant rhetoric in politics, privileged status for ethnic communities, or unwelcoming attitudes from the host society.

To sum up the discussion on British multiculturalism (understood as social diversity and as public policy), it can be said that, according to the research participants, there have been clear challenges to multiculturalism in Britain. Although the research participants stress that there is no multicultural crisis in the UK, it seems that they do not invest their confidence in public policy of multiculturalism as a vehicle for social integration.

## **6.2 Theorising social integration – Polish diasporic media perspective**

Based on the literature review, this research defines social integration as a two-way process, which requires mutual accommodation from migrants and host societies. Therefore, it was essential to investigate what the Polish media producers think about the process. What are their understandings, expectations and experiences about the process of social integration?

The interviews with the Polish journalists provided a rich pool of data on their ideas and attitudes towards social integration. Most of the interviewees stressed that the process is very complex and multidimensional. According to the interviewed journalists, integration may be understood as gaining knowledge about the host country's language, history, culture, political system, and law. Learning the language of the host country or improving it is the first stage of integration. The primary goal of a migrant is gaining language proficiency. Without knowledge of the language, we cannot talk about integration. The interviewees agreed that most Polish people know English at a basic level. Other research projects have confirmed this is indeed the case in the Polish community in the UK (Burrell, 2009; Fihel Kaczmarczyk, 2009; Leonowicz-Bukala, 2015). It is worth noting here, that, according to the data coming from the 2011 Census, 770,000 people in England can not speak English well or at all (MHCLG, 2018). As the 'Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper recommends: 'Everyone living in England should be able to speak and understand English so that they can integrate into life in this country'. The document suggests that to speak English should be seen as a right (MHCLG, 2018:35).

Another stage of social integration – according to the informants – is participation in British culture; examples include attending British performances, visiting local galleries, and becoming familiar with British art. One of the informants pointed to charity engagement as a form of social integration:

Secondly, it is participation in British social and cultural events. I mean attending the British performances, visiting British galleries, becoming familiar with British art generally. It is also charity engagement if someone does considers it necessary (Interview with Polish journalist A).

The desirable goal is when a Pole does not go to POSK (Polish Cultural and Social Centre located in Hammersmiths) and look for a Polish play, but he or she takes 'Time Out' and looks for a British play at West End. Another dimension of integration would be to stop buying food from Polish shops only and try foreign dishes. For example, not only drink Polish Vodka but also try foreign alcohols. This is how I understand integration (An interview with Polish journalist E).

We were encouraging our readers to take part in the Glastonbury Festival. We had free tickets for the event, and we were distributing them among our readers (An interview with Polish journalist F).

It was a common theme in almost all the interviews with the media producers that Poles tend to participate in the Polish culture in the UK but are not open enough to participate in and consume the British culture. For example, many Poles in London prefer to attend Polish band concerts at POSK (the Polish Cultural and Social Association in Ravenscourt Park, London) but would not attend a musical or theatre play in the West End.

Most of the interviewees saw this trend as a threat, potentially undermining the integration process. As one of the journalists said:

What do the lives of Polish people in London look like at the moment? They work with Poles but also with other nationalities. When the weekend comes, they stay at home or go to a Polish disco or a Polish concert. This is one of the primary incomes of 'Cooltura Weekly'. We organise big music events for Poles in London. We invite big Polish music stars. The problem is that Poles tend to attend only this type of events; I mean Polish events. We are talking about the masses. I know how quickly tickets are sold. We are planning another concert in April, and almost all the tickets are sold (Interview with a Polish journalist E).

The above statement touches on one of the issues that have been described by some academics and social analysts as the biggest obstacle on the road to the social integration of migrants and ethnic minorities into British society – the phenomenon of 'ghettoisation' or 'isolationism' (Sheffer, 2011). Are 'ghettoisation'



or 'isolationism' problems within the Polish diaspora in the UK according to the Polish journalists? The answer seems to be not straightforward. On the one hand, there has been well-organised Polish migration industry in the UK. Today, as the research participants described, Poles can fulfil almost all their everyday needs while remaining in the ethnic bubble. The Polish community in the UK has achieved a high level of 'institutional completeness' that might be stopping Poles from integrating with the host society (Breton, 1964; Leonowicz-Bukala, 2015). Migrants often prefer to rely on ethnic community resources and tend not to look for opportunities within the host society (Leonowicz-Bukala, 2015). On the other hand, the Polish diaspora has built its institutions and organisations creating a familiar environment in a new, unknown country and creates an opportunity for the host society to familiarise with Polish culture, food and community. A good example here is ARTeria – a cultural initiative by 'Nowy Czas' ('New Times'):

Apart from our editorial work, we were organising cultural events called ARTeria. The events took place in British venues, not in places linked to Polish community only. There were cultural events based on art, poetry and culture. Many nationalities attended the events. After the events, I saw many social media comments, saying positive things about the events organised by 'Poles' and 'Nowy Czas'. It was organised in a way we understand integration. We could show British people us, our difference. It was also a way to show British people our culture as something equal. We have a beautiful culture, heritage, traditions, and something we can share with the host society and be proud of (An interview with Polish journalist H).

From the data collected during the interviews, journalists believe that Polish people have integrated with the British society structurally. In other words, they integrated economically, occupationally, and educationally, but, so far, it might be less certain that they have developed identification integration - a sense of belonging (Bosswick Heckmanna, 2006). The research participants also believe that there is also a visible tendency among some Poles to isolate or distance from the host society.

Why do some Poles living in the UK do not integrate socially, politically, and culturally? What stops them from feeling and being part of British society? The opinions of journalists seem to be very divided. Some of the informants argued that this is because Poles learnt this type of behaviour in Poland. According to one informant, Polish people are 'scared to get out of the fence' or, in other

words, to leave the Polish ghetto. Another journalist argued that Poles have deeply rooted low self-esteem and see themselves as second-category citizens in the UK. This conviction might have its roots because Poles come to the UK from Eastern Europe, the part of Europe that is sometimes described in the UK as worse and less affluent than Western Europe.

Poles do have low esteem, and it is deeply rooted in our history, communism. Poles for many generations did not have their state (An interview with Polish journalist H).

Here in Hammersmith, there are dozens of pubs. You will not be able to meet Poles on Friday night or during the weekend there. They will instead go to 'First League' or to 'POSK'. This is the 'ghetto' mentality. They feel homely in POSK - that is where their identity is. However, they do not identify with the local community in Hammersmith, with their English neighbours. These are for Poles the 'Other', the English (An interview with Polish journalist E).

Living in the conservative society such as British we sometimes are a little bit scared; we are ashamed of the fact that we are migrants. It should not be like that (An interview with Polish journalist E).

What can the consequences of the ghettoisation process be for migrants themselves? In the opinion of interviewed journalists, by hiding in the ghetto, people 'harm themselves' and 'narrow their world views'. It is interesting – he continued – that Poles in the UK do not celebrate their identity and culture as much as their counterparts do in the United States (An interview with Polish journalist G).

Polish people in the UK tend not to manifest their identity by wearing national symbols and flags during national days, as other nations do. I have not observed anything like this here in the UK (An interview with Polish journalist G).

Nevertheless, almost all the interviewed journalists stressed that such inferiority complexes or hang-ups are somewhat unjustified. It was stressed many times by the informants that British society is open, and most British people treat immigrants well and appreciate their contribution to the receiving society. British employers value Polish staff members very much for their diligence and work ethic. Poles have filled many job market gaps in the UK. They often do jobs that British people do not want to do. It is worth stressing that other researchers have made similar observations (Burrell, 2009; Lodzinski et al. 2014; Leonowicz-Buklala, 2015). The observation is well reflected in the few journalists' statements:

As Poles, we are appreciated in the UK. It was difficult for me to find anybody among my friends who would have been discriminated against because of his/her nationality. I think that anti-immigrant trends are more visible outside of London, in smaller cities and towns (An interview with Polish journalist A).

To be honest, in Scotland, I have not heard from anybody that Polish people are taking their jobs. Scottish people are not exceptionally hard working. Polish people are perhaps filling the gap in the job market. I live between Edinburgh and Glasgow, in Falkirk (An interview with Polish journalist D).

Generally, British society is open. They have had immigrants for hundreds of years. This is one of the most open societies in the world. To achieve integration, Poles need to open themselves (An interview with Polish journalist E).

So, generally, we have not observed big examples of discrimination. However, I know that some places in the UK are more hospitable than others. London is a very cosmopolitan place, but the attitudes in British province can be different. So, it all depends, where you are, what is your job, and what sort of people you encounter in your everyday life (An interview with Polish journalist I).

I think that British society is very open. As in every society, there are xenophobes or racists, but generally, society is very tolerant. You can even notice it on the streets. People smile to each other (An interview with Polish journalist C).

The Polish isolationism manifests – in part – in a lack of participation in local or national elections. As in every society, different groups have different interests. Only by effectively communicating its interests can an ethnic community maintain its relative independence and gain strength in the wider society. What is more, the political activism of a diaspora community is often appreciated by the host society. As one of the informants said: 'If we engage in the host society's social and political life, we will become an asset as active members of civil society'.

Nevertheless, during the 2015 UK local elections, a few Polish candidates, mainly within the Conservative Party and Labour Party, but the Polish community did not get involved in the election. Other researchers have also captured the low political participation trend (Fin et al., 2013; Lodzinski et al., 2014; Leonowicz-Bukala, 2015). Why do Poles in the UK do not want to gain an influence proportional to the community's size? One of the interviewees explained the phenomenon:

The Polish people do not have the willingness, a habit to vote, yet. They do not have the willingness to shape the political reality to influence what happens in the state. For them the most important thing is to have a good life, to earn good money. If it is the Conservative Party or Labour Party - who rules - it is not vital for them (An interview with Polish journalist C).

The above data suggests that the Polish community's social and political engagement in the UK is low and there are the disengagement attitudes dominate. It is worth noting, these beliefs about Polish migrant political disengagement overlap with the observations made by other scholars (Fin et al. 2013; Lodzinski et al. 2014).

Economic integration is another crucial dimension of the integration process. As one of the research participants noted: 'In almost every British business, you can find a Polish staff member'. The economy can be seen, therefore as a key integration platform for migrants. Integration takes place in business. As one of the journalists stressed:

Thank God that the UK is a prosperous country. If there was an economic crisis in the UK, people would start to fight with each other. A few years ago, the riots that took place were an example of such tensions (An interview with a Polish journalist in the UK E).

You are talking about ideology. However, it is the economy that plays the role of social glue in the UK (An interview with Polish journalist G).

As demonstrated in the literature review, in the case of serious economic turmoil in the UK, the state of social integration might worsen. Migrants who come to the UK integrate with the host society at workplace first. Therefore, it can also be argued that a prosperous economy, similarly to more symbolic values, needs to be also seen as integrative social value - 'a social glue'. This observation is also supported by policy discourse. The All Parliamentary Group on Social Integration report, which also argues that: 'work and progression bring confidence and a sense of belonging' (MHCLG, 2018:50). Interestingly, British employers tend not to offer integration programmes for their employees. They seem to assume that the process will occur naturally. To some extent, the assumption appears to be correct as every business is based on people's collaborative effort towards achieving common goals. It is worth noting here, however, that a very different approach has been chosen and implemented by many employers in other EU countries. For example, German businesses have developed well-resourced integration programs. This research suggests that British employers, particularly big corporations, could also develop similar social programs.

Two of the interviewees shared their observations and personal experiences about mixed-marriages and their role in the social integration process:

I have observed the mixing of both Polish and Scottish traditions, particularly in mixed marriages. I have noticed how adaptable Polish-Scottish marriages are in order to create a nice family. For example, I met a couple where the Scottish husband learns Polish to be able to talk only in the Polish at home. He wanted his children to learn Polish, the culture of their mother home country. The children will learn English in school anyway. They will be bilingual. This is an example of integration (An interview with a Polish journalist D).

When I came to the UK, I was 18 years old. I was a very young person. At the beginning, I did not have many Polish people around me. Today, I feel integrated, my wife is British. We have a child. We have bought a house in Edinburgh. My personal experience regarding integration is different from the people who came here after May 2004 (An interview with a Polish journalist I).

How far and how deep does the process of integration go? Does it require migrants to abandon their language, culture, and traditions? The interviewed journalists did not have doubts on this topic. They clearly distinguished between integration, which they see as a positive process, and assimilation as something undesirable. As discussed in chapter four, an assimilation policy as form of migrant adaptation is seen by politicians, academics, and civil servants as passé, at least declaratively. As one of the journalists argued:

For me, the process of assimilation is a negative one, particularly in maintaining someone's identity. I firmly believe that we must preserve our identity and have a deep respect for the host society's rights and responsibilities (An interview with journalist H).

In my opinion, if someone avoids integration, if the person hides in a ghetto, he or she harms themselves. By doing this, the person narrows his or her worldview. The person does not participate in the processes within the host community and society by bypassing the processes. So, integration: yes, assimilation: no (An interview with journalist H).

One of the media informants stressed that being integrated means 'being integral'. He argued that joining another ethnic group or, in other words, to assimilate is wrong. We will always remain different. Assimilation would be equal to losing one's identity and originality. The same informant suggested another term for integration – 'subjectivity'. In order to integrate, we have to maintain our subjectivity. By doing this, we can maintain our original identity when living in the host society. A journalist argued:

None of us will become British. We should not deceive ourselves about this. British people will be interested in us more if we maintain our identity when a British person will see in us something new, something he does not know (Interview with a Polish journalist H).

It is worth noting that the media producer's remarks about the importance of originality and subjectivity remind very much the concept of 'authenticity' suggested by Taylor (1994:6-7). Taylor argues that each of people has something unique to say. Therefore, people should not mould their lives to external conformity demands (Taylor, 1994). This observation also helps better to understand the usefulness of the social integration concept. As demonstrated, the concept of two-way social integration allows individual migrants to remain 'original' and identify more with the host society's core values or cultural citizenship. It helps migrants create a sense of belonging to society and – importantly - to maintain distinct cultures or - in Taylors words - 'authenticity' (Taylor, 1994:6-7; Modood, 2007).

It seems that one of the reasons that some Poles still have not fully integrated with British society could be the fact that they might understand their identity, nation, culture as 'fixed' and 'stable' (Braziel, Mannur, 2003:233; Brinkerhoff, 2009). This research argues that Polish diasporic culture should be seen differently. It is continuously meeting and mixing with British culture. Consequently, Polishness, like other cultures, should not be seen as a homogenous, mono-cultural identity but, rather, as a mixed identity that is continuously in the process of formation and reformation. Polishness, similarly to Britishness, is constantly being defined and redefined within the process of cultural hybridisation. The process must be seen as enriching through the meeting of cultures, not detrimental. The process does not require to abandon one's identity. Contrarily, it allows maintaining 'authenticity' or 'originality' (Taylor, 1994:6-7). These considerations have significant social consequences because they might help to understand better the (un)readiness of the Polish migrants to integrate with the host country (Bailey, Georgiou, Harindranath, 2007; Hall, 2001, Weedon, 2004; Hall, 2001; Brinrkenhoff, 2009).

Nevertheless, the lack of 'identification integration' among migrants might be explained by yet another way. Since the 1960s, the UK has been trying to define

the core British values. As discussed, there is no consensus in the host society on defining British cultural citizenship (d'Acona, 2009). Therefore, because the process of defining British values seems to be unfinished, migrant communities might simply not know what they should integrate with (Castle Miller, 2004). It is worth stressing here that citizenship, similarly to identity, is not a fixed concept and depends on changing political situations.

It can be said, according to the Polish media producers, Poles in the UK went through 'cultural integration', meaning that they have obtained sufficient knowledge of the language, norms, and values of the host society but are not so open to 'identification integration' (Bosswick, Heckmanna, 2006). Naturally, the integration process takes different speeds in different spheres (Locassen, 2005), so the 'identification integration' might take place in the future. The above observations reflect the complexity of the social integration process and remind the fact that social integration needs to be seen as a never-ending process.

#### **Dimensions of social integration process according to Polish media producers**

- Gaining knowledge about the language, history, culture, political system of the host country
- Participation in British culture
- Economic integration – work and progression enhance sense of belonging
- Mixed marriages – they enhance social integration
- Remaining original and authentic

- Political participation
- Internalizing British culture, customs and personality features

Table 3. Dimensions of social integration process according to Polish media producers

The process of integration requires time. One of the media producers captured it referring to the Maslow's hierarchy of needs:

I think integration needs to be seen as a process. We can refer here to Maslow's pyramid theory. The first needs are the basic needs, and it is natural. Poles need some time to start integrating with the host society. After a while, a person starts understanding the new country's politics, how it works, etc. So, I think it is a process. It is a matter of time (Interview with a journalist I).

The narrative about British society that emerged from the interviews with media producers and media consumers is relatively positive and optimistic. The informants portrayed the host society as welcoming and very open. According to the research participants, some people display xenophobic, racist, and discriminatory behaviours in every society, but it is a relatively small group. Such attitudes might often have roots in a lack of education and, consequently, very narrow worldviews.

In the research participants' view, Polish people do not constitute a threat to the host society whatsoever. The general trend is that British people seem to welcome Poles well and sympathise with them: 'In Scotland we are welcomed very much. They need people here. We are very much appreciated in Scotland, because of our work ethic, good education' (An interview with journalist). This openness also can be explained by the fact that, as discussed, there are many cultural similarities between the Polish and the British cultures, and the differences are not significant. This is perhaps why Poles are often pointed at as ideal migrants for Britain. One of the interviewees defined the integrated migrant:

For me, integration is a situation where migrant feels at home here in the UK because he or she is very familiar with the reality of the new country, its rules and



way of life. The integrated person should be familiar with the society, politics, culture and economy of the host country (Interview with journalist F).

Whether Poles will fully integrate with British society remains to be seen. Some academics believe that, in 10 years, the Polish community will be totally integrated with the host society (Burrell, 2009; Polish Migration, 2013; Lodzinski et al., 2014; Leonowicz-Bukala 2015). They also predict that the second generation will be completely indistinguishable linguistically, socially, and culturally from the host society. Because of the UK's well-established Polish community, the positive experience of integration, and the fact that the UK government promotes social integration, there is an encouraging socio-political environment enhancing such processes (Morawska, 2009). As discussed, there are many similarities between British and Polish people, and the similarities might enhance the migrant integration process. Most Polish migrants have obtained a workable knowledge of the English language, that there is a large Polish migration industry in the UK, and that Polish migration is purely voluntary, enhancing integration processes too. Besides, the Polish migrant community's social capital and the social networks that operate within it must be seen as positive factors facilitating integration processes (Leonowicz-Bukala, 2010). Finally, it is essential to note that all interviewees defined as social integration as a one-way process, where migrants have to integrate with the host society. This could be linked to the fact that, as noted before, ethnic media have minimal impact on the host society. As demonstrated in chapter four social integration needs to be seen as a two-way process, including both migrants and host society (Castles, Miler, 2009). Therefore, the findings suggest that the ethnic media producers might have distorted views on social integration.

### **6.3 In search of core British values**

As discussed in chapter four, in the past four decades, the United Kingdom has made a significant effort in redefining its citizenship and core social values. The process can be best defined as retreating from a monocultural model of citizenship towards multicultural citizenship. Contemporary Britain does not

expect migrants who have settled in the country to assimilate to become equal members of society (Castles, Miller 2009; Triandafyllidou, Modood, Nasar, 2012). The topic of core British values has been hotly debated in the UK, especially by academics, politicians, and media and ordinary citizens. The topic of national identity remains very important for British people (Integration Hub, 2016; AAPG, 2018; MHCLG, 2018). As mentioned before, in 2000, the Parekh Report postulated that, in order to build a more integrated society, Britain must find common values that enhance a sense of belonging among its citizens. Parekh suggests two types of values – 'substantive' and 'procedural'. Such values – the report explains – are not based on the values of a particular community but embodied in international human rights standards and can be exemplified by people's right to plan their lives or the equal dignity of every human being (The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, 2000:53; Weedon, 2004). As discussed, the Eastern and Central European migrants, including Poles, who have been coming to the UK since May 2004, entered the country when the debate on core British values was still going on. As demonstrated in chapter four, the discussion arouses some controversies. That is why, within the research, Polish journalists, editors, living in the UK were asked which values – according to them – can be named as core British values?

Which values constitute the core British values according to the research participants? One of the journalists stressed that British values are the same as European values:

In my opinion, the core British values are the same as the values of the whole of Europe – European values. They include freedom, democracy, widely understood openness for other cultures (Interview with journalist A).

Most of the interviewees pointed to tolerance and mutual respect as the key values. Other frequently mentioned values were democracy, politeness, political correctness, calmness, diplomacy, civil society, social mobility, and responsibility (self reliance) for one's life. These values – according to the informants – are deeply rooted in British social and political culture. The research participants argued that any violation of the above values by both newcomers or citizens would meet with strong resistance from society.

It seems to be worth asking whether tolerance is a key British value. How can we understand the rise of anti-immigration sentiments in the British media and broader society in the UK, especially during parliamentary campaigns? Is it just a temporary manifestation racism? According to the research participants, it is unlikely that such rhetoric or acts will undermine or weaken British tolerance. Anti-immigration rhetoric – they argued – needs to be seen purely as part of the ongoing political competition. Particularly during election times, immigration often becomes one of the most debated topics among competing political parties and into the broader society. Such opinions suggest that xenophobic rhetoric and hate crimes must instead be seen as temporary racism triggered by, for example, elections and referendums. It is not surprising that in the UK, as in any other democratic country, in such key moments, the public debate becomes influenced by emotions and ideology. Nevertheless, the public debate often calms down after such key moments and becomes more tolerant and conciliatory. As journalist H noted:

Even David Cameron seems to behave in this way. If he says something negative (about migrants), at the same time, he says between the lines: 'I say it, but I do not think so' (Interview with journalist H).

Democracy, freedom, and sanctuary were often mentioned by the research participants as core British values. The research participants have described the UK as a democratic country tolerating a diversity of cultures and different lifestyles and serving as a sanctuary for refugees and asylum seekers. Without tolerance, there would not be a possibility of peaceful coexistence within a diverse society. The interlocutors seemed to be of the view that British people might be seen as an example of tolerance in the world:

Tolerance too. Without tolerance, there is no possibility of peaceful coexistence within society. English people can still be seen as an example of tolerance in the world. For example, after so many British politicians have criticised Poles in the UK, the British society has not embraced such a negative tone or has not shown such attitudes (An interview with journalist, H).

This tolerant culture causes Polish people to feel good about living in the UK. According to the research participants, Poles seem to feel respected here. They were often missing this respect in their own country. During the interviews, it was stressed that the tolerance is so great that it is even open to various

eccentricities in the UK. One of the interviewed journalists backed this observation by giving a colourful example of British tolerance:

I sometimes need to buy whiskey in the late evening or in the night-time. I often travel just in a gown by bus to the nearest shop, and most of the co-passengers seem not to be surprised that I am not dressed. In Poland, everyone would stare at me. I like the British attitude (Interview with journalist C).

British racism – according to some of the research participants – is hidden. According to the informants, British people seem to be tolerant publicly, but privately, they sometimes think something different.

One of the interviewed journalists doubted that there is anything like British values and pointed to the economy as the only uniting factor within the society. The informant argued that without a strong economy, people would dis-unite and there would be social unrest. This observation overlaps with the report's findings on social integration by All Parliament Group on Social Integration, which also argues that: 'work and progression bring confidence and a sense of belonging' (APPG, 2018:50).

For other interlocutors, the whole idea of British values seems to be pretentious. One of the interviewed journalists said that it reminds him of 'an Oxford Lord who has got his vision of the world and social hierarchy'. 'What are the British values? Certainly, these are not values of the Church of England. The English churches are empty', another research participant stated. It is worth noting that only two research participants mentioned Christian values as essential British values.

To sum up the discussion on core British values, several points can be made. As discussed, defining core social values needs to be seen as a difficult yet important enterprise because it might play an integrative role within a diverse society (Modood, 2010). They help the migrants become a part of the fabric of the society they have joined and help maintain and enhance social integration. The values also provide migrants with psychosocial comfort (Weisner, 2000). They are forming cultural capital – a tool for adaptation (Brinkerhoff, 2009). In other words, such values help citizens to develop a sense of belonging. The values pointed at by media producers can be classified into three general

categories – social, political and economic. The classification can be presented in the form of a table.

<b>Core British values according to journalists</b>	
<b>Values category</b>	<b>Values</b>
social	Tolerance, mutual respect, privacy, politeness
political	Democracy, diplomacy, civil society, political correctness
economic	Thriving economy as a social glue

Table 4. British core values according to the journalists

The fact that the research participants pointed to values that overlap with the discussed substantive and procedural values may suggest, that these values are accepted by EU migrants, who came to the UK after May 2004. It would be difficult to argue, that values such as free speech, democracy or the rule of law are alienating or exclusionary for anybody. As demonstrated in chapter four, the values are rooted in international human rights and widely accepted by the international community. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, defining British core values seems to be complicated and full of doubts. Some researchers even argue that, in the age of globalisation, high diversity, and transnationalism, it is impossible to develop shared values or shared symbols of belonging within a diverse society. Most migrants feel attached to more than one culture and have

developed a transnational or even cosmopolitan sense of belonging (Castles Miller, 2009). Radoslaw Zapalowski, Polish journalist from London, eloquently captured the phenomenon:

Everyone can be seen as 'the other', 'different'. So, with whom to integrate? The contemporary world seen from above seems to be an archipelago of diasporas, a multi-layered reality woven from various identities, experiences, and traditions, also, within a nation' (Cooltura Weekly, 2016).

The above statement very overlaps with the discussion on identity formation in chapter two. People's identities are never fixed: 'they are in a process; they are coming and becoming rather than being (Georgiou, 2006:119). It also reflects the paradoxes of the debate on core British values and highlights the difficulties with finding the values which might integrate multicultural society.

It is worth noting that the idea of reimagining Britain as a multicultural, cosmopolitan nation united by common values is still seen by many British people as a dangerous fantasy. As Castles and Miller argue, for very many British people, this is purely an academic argument, and they would still prefer to put a common culture at the heart of nation-building (Castles, Miller; 2009).

To sum up, it seems that, in the 21st century – an era marked by dynamic migrations and social instability – the question on core social values will remain important in the public debate in the UK. It would be naive to think that a diverse society will be free of tensions or even hostility between people and communities. Some degree of conflict will always exist in any society. As one of the participants commented:

However, it is not possible to reform society so that all people would love each other and live in peace. This is an absurd (Interview with journalist H).

Nevertheless, these social tensions or hostile relations can be minimised by implementing wisely designed public policies. There will always be groups in a diverse democratic society, which question widely accepted values or share values which are incompatible with fundamental human rights (Golka, 2010; AAPG, 2018; MHCLG, 2018). However, it does not mean that a democratic state and civil society should not make attempts to define such values. As

demonstrated in chapter five, international human rights laws seem to be the best references when discussing social values (The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, 2000, UN, 2018).

British values promoted by academia, media (both mainstream and diasporic) politicians, and citizenship education have been already shaping the growing generation of young British people. As discussed, in 2002, the British government decided to introduce citizenship education as a compulsory subject in secondary schools. Ministry of Housing has recently stressed the importance of teaching the young generation about British values, Communities and Local Government and All Parliamentary Group on Social Integration (MHCLG, 2018; AAPG, 2018).

The above considerations have significant importance for discussing the role of the diasporic media in the integration process. This research argues that if ethnic media promote core social values, it might help migrants integrate with the host society.

The next subchapter addresses the question: In the view of Polish journalists, do the Polish migrants need the diasporic media to integrate with British society? Would not the process of social integration occur naturally anyway, even without such media existing? Do the media producers think that their media support migrant's social integration?

#### **6.4 Polish ethnic media, migrant life and social integration**

As discussed, according to many scholars, ethnic media, along with other social actors, may play a role in building social integration between minority communities and receiving societies (Gilson and Zubrzycki 1967; Elias, 2008; Brinkerhoff 2009; Fleras Lock Kunz 2001; McQualil 2010; Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). They see ethnic media as an integrative component of a well-functioning diverse and inclusive society, asserting that, the media can play

a 'bridging' role, enhancing a two-way process of integration, intercultural awareness, and dialogue (Fleras, 2009; Elias 2008; Geibler, Weber-Menges, 2009). Do the participants in this research recognise this argument in their practice?

This research suggests that in the era of mass migrations and increasing social diversity, diasporic media's role in a multicultural society such as Britain might be reconsidered. From the perspective of this research project, it was essential to determine if, and to what extent, these media, in the view of their producers, fulfil an 'orientation function' (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). This function seems to be important because social integration is not always an automatic process and can be enhanced by various public and private organisations, civil society and media, including ethnic media (APPG, 2018; MHCLG, 2018).

Most of the interviewed journalists were convinced that the media they produce helps the Polish migrant community in the UK integrate with British society. They argued that they follow the editorial strategies in their everyday media work, which emphasise social integration as an important function of the media they produce. How do they believe the media enhance the settlement process? For example, they do it by writing about British social, cultural, political and economic affairs. Doing this allows the migrants to understand better the new country they live in and familiarize themselves with the new reality, surroundings, resources, and way of life. By providing the migrants with knowledge about Britain, these media help them settle down, adapt, and coexist. In short, the media fulfil the 'orientation function' (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). Many informants stressed that the Polish migrants often work very hard and do not have much time left to learn about British society. The diasporic media help the migrants to gain such knowledge:

As I said before, we try to write about the affairs of the Polish community in Scotland. We take part in events for the Polish community. We offer our patronage to such events. We also write about Scottish affairs to make them closer to the Polish migrants (An interview with journalist I).



We encourage our readers to engage in social life in the UK. We encourage them to take part in elections. Our media campaigns have ad hoc character. We usually start them before elections. 'Dziennik Polski' often presents Polish people in the UK who have integrated very well with British society and, at the same time, maintained their strong attachment to the Polish roots. By presenting such people, we show our readers that it is possible to be British and Polish. So, we enhance integration by promoting role models (An interview with journalist G).

Of course, the media I work for help Poles to integrate. We write about British cultural, social and sports events. We promote the events, attend them, and write about them for those who have not attended them. Many people do not attend such events because they do not have time to do so. We also try to interest people about such events (An interview with journalist E).

It is natural and unavoidable that Polish people are interested in their community, culture and identity. So, Polish ethnic media should write about this aspect. However, we should give them more. Perhaps they still struggle to find information about the host society. So, it is our role as media to guide them (An interview with journalist A).

Without the media, Polish people would have to find out everything on their own. They would not have had our support in explaining, for example, the health system in the UK or how the benefits system works etc. They would not have known so quickly all the information and knowledge about the system. We made it for them accessible (An interview with journalist F).

Our role is to show the Polish people what country they live in and what country they have settled down. We describe the new world that surrounds them. We encourage them to open up for the new opportunities, not to close in the ethnic world of the diaspora (An interview with Polish journalist D).

Two out of nine interviewees expressed an opposite opinion about the Polish media's role in the UK in the integration process. According to these journalists, the media mainly provide practical information for the migrants; for example, how to get benefits and navigate the British welfare system. They argued that the media do enhance the social integration process, but to preserve the status quo. 'Polish people should be together' - this the plan, stressed the research participants C. How can we talk then about integration between the Polish economic migrants and the British society - asked the interviewee? The interviewee C is clearly not comfortable with this state of affairs – ethnic media not advocating that communities should integrate. He said:

The media [Polish ethnic media] do not encourage Polish people in the UK to choose the integration route. There is a tendency among us Poles to close up within the world of the Polish diaspora only. Poles in the UK are a bit nationalist and megalomaniac. There is also a tendency in the media to present Polish people as victims. We are the only ones who believe in God. We are faithful to our homeland. We were betrayed in 1939 by our western allies etc. This bitterness can be observed within the old as well as a young groups of the Polish

dispora. These myths are reinvigorated and maintained, also by the Polish Catholic Church. The victim syndrome does not help to integrate with British society. It only helps to integrate the Polish diaspora internally (An interview with journalist C).

However, integration is not our *idée fixe*; it is not our main editorial line. For instance, we do not have in 'Dziennik Polski' section about British culture (An interview with journalist G).

No. They do not help to integrate. They help Polish people to apply for benefits. They instruct Polish people to navigate everyday life in the UK. The media inform Polish people about necessary addresses or cultural events. The media do not encourage Polish people in the UK to choose the integration route though (An interview with Polish journalist).

The data on the Polish ethnic media and their orientation function suggests that there is the conviction among most of the journalists that they facilitate social integration in their everyday media work. It is worth noting that their statements reflect the official declarations included in the editorial guidelines presented earlier. To sum up, most interviewees think that the Polish ethnic media do perform an 'orientation role' (social integration role) satisfactorily. Nevertheless, two interviewees stressed that they could fulfil the role in better way than they currently do. Also, it is worth bearing in mind that to get a bigger picture about the role of the media in the social integration another form of research would be needed, for example, focus groups with Polish media audiences and content analysis. Such research would allow to gain an insight whether the journalism that is produced influences people in terms of social integration.

As discussed, ethnic media fulfil several functions in a diverse society such as Britain, the US or Germany. Apart from an 'orientation function' and 'connective function', which are key from the perspective of this research, they also perform other functions, which help migrants to integrate and function in a host society (e.g., advocacy, agenda-setting and identity formation functions) (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). All the functions need to be seen as complementary and interrelated.

According to the research participants, the media fulfil several other key functions. First and foremost, these media are the first point of contact and information for the coming migrants; they perform information function (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). As one of the journalists noted:

The Polish newspaper for Poles in London at the time (2004 – 2009) – without an exaggeration – was like a Bible. When a Pole in London was looking for a kindergarten for his child, he looked for it within the Polish ethnic media. When a Pole wanted to open a bank account, he looked for advice and helped in a Polish newspaper. The same situation was with sending parcels to Poland, transport etc. Nowadays, the Poles are so familiar with British reality, and with London, they do not need so much help when looking for such information (Interview with journalist E).

It seems that without the diasporic media Poles would have to find all the information themselves. It would make the migratory experience more difficult for them, especially for those who did not speak English or their language skills were very poor. This research has noted that these media were particularly important at the beginning of the migratory journey and the longer the migrants live in the host society, the less they seem to need and rely on the diasporic media.

As outlined in chapter three, diasporic media can: 'criticise, admonish, or extol members of the community' (Gilson Zubrzycki, 1967:161). By doing this, they perform a social control function. In this context, it is noteworthy, that the diasporic media producers, who took part in the project, have been noting significant numbers of hate or discriminatory statements in the online discussions

Our portal has got a significant problem with hate speech online. Unfortunately, most Polish people in London and the UK have still got middle ages world views. There are a lot of racist comments on our portal which we must delete. We delete especially those comments, which, in our opinion, breach social norms of coexistence. We started doing it last year. There are many hate comments. Through the moderation of the comments, we teach our audience how to conduct a reasonable debate. I have observed that, for some time, there have been less such comments. I assume that people have noticed that such comments are not acceptable. The discussions are becoming more professional (An interview with journalist F).

Ethnic social media experience the hate speech problem. Traditional newspapers and TV stations do not experience this problem on such a scale. Their electronic versions do. We do have 125 000 fans on Facebook. We publish much news there regularly (An interview with journalist F).

The administrators of the Polish diasporic portals try to monitor and eradicate such comments. By doing this, they perform a social control function, promote British core value of tolerance, and support social integration. The interviewee from 'Londynek.net' noticed a slight decrease in the number of such comments on the portal:

There can be dozens of hate speech comments under one news. We must moderate them regularly. Because of the link between FB and our portal, we can see the names of the people. Interestingly, people still express such views, even without being anonymous. So, we all have to learn tolerance, democracy and respect (An interview with journalist F).

As argued earlier, a diverse society such as, for example, Britain, will never be free of social tensions. Tensions and conflicts, including ethnic tensions, are inevitable elements of every diverse society (Gilson, Zubrzycki, 1967; Savage, Warde, Ward, 2003; Scheffer, 2007; Castles Miller, 2009; APPG, 2018; MHCLG, 2018). Nevertheless, state institutions, social organisations and media, including ethnic media, might minimise the existing and potential social tensions. Therefore, from the normative point of view, Polish journalists' attempts to eradicate discriminatory language, racism, and hate crime within the Polish migrant community in the UK need to be seen as essential activities, which might help enhance intercommunity integration.

As outlined in chapter three, the diasporic media create community elites and promote opinion leaders. By doing this, they create diasporic role models. For example, 'Tydzien Polski' (Polish Weekly) organizes a yearly event entitled 'Person of the Year'. Within the event, a committee nominates outstanding Polish people living in the UK, who have achieved successes in social, cultural, political or business fields. For instance, in 2015 the award was given to Ms Kasia Madera, BBC presenter with Polish roots and Ms Malgorzata Lasocka, the director of Polish Sunday School and Deputy Director of 'Polska Macierz Szkolna' (Polish Educational Society), an umbrella organisation for 130 supplementary Polish Language Saturday Schools operating across the UK. The interviewee explained the motivations behind the yearly awards:

When we chose the award winners, we try to choose representatives from the old 'Polonia' and new people, representing new migrants. There are young Poles who are active in the social arena and have got achievements. When deciding about allocating the award, we try to choose representatives of all the diaspora groups (An interview with journalist A).

Among other media functions, producers are advocacy, agenda-setting and identity formation functions. One example of the advocacy role was the campaign 'Save Polish at A-Level (2015), organised and coordinated by 'Tydzien Polski' (Polish Weekly). The campaign successfully stopped David Cameron's

government's attempts to remove Polish from the available language options at A-Level exams. As a result of the campaign, the government reconsidered the controversial matter and stepped back from the planned decision. The media also need to be seen as opinion formers – they set an agenda of the topics discussed and, consequently, become important for the diaspora (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011).

<b>Ethnic media functions according to the research participants</b>
<b>Media producers</b>
Informing migrants about host country (orientation function)
Informing Poles in the UK about Poland (connective function)
Eradicating hate crime and racism (control function)
Promoting role models within the Polish diaspora (promoting role models)
Advocating migrant rights (e.g. A-Level Campaign) (advocacy function)
Identity formation function
Agenda setting function
Ethnic media as a historical record
Integrating the Polish diaspora in the UK
Maintaining Polish culture within Polish diaspora

Table 5. Ethnic media functions according to the research participants

The diasporic media are involved in preserving, maintaining and developing Polish culture and tradition within the Polish diaspora and playing a role in integrating the Polish diaspora. The media do it, for example, by organising cultural events. For instance, 'Goniec Polski' (Polish weekly in the UK) organises yearly event titled 'Goniec Festival', and 'Cooltura Weekly' organises regular concerts by big Polish stars:

'Goniec Polski' organises 'Goniec Festival' (Polish community festival that takes place every year in London). This is another example of building a Polish cultural enclave within London. There are always Polish music groups at the festivals. The events are sponsored by Polish businesses mostly. However, recently, I have noticed mixed, British-Polish families attending the event (An interview with journalist B).

We regularly organise big music events for Poles in London. We invite big Polish stars. The problem is that Poles tend to attend only this kind of events, I mean Polish events. We are talking about the masses. I know how quickly the tickets are sold. We are planning another concert in April ('Dzem', 'Ira' – both are very well known Polish rock bands), and almost all the tickets are sold (An interview with journalists E).

Finally, as it was stressed by one of the journalists 'the paper media will be a mark, a legacy of our work and existence here in the UK, not electronic media'. Therefore, diasporic paper media can be seen as records of facts for future generations – all interested in reconstructing the past, particularly historians and all those interested in diasporic past (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011).

Why did any of the interviewed media producers did not point to the media's advertising and commercial roles? Leonowicz-Bukala explains that money seems to be a taboo among diasporic media producers. There is a widespread assumption that diasporic media should fulfil mission not focus so much on money (Leonowicz-Bukala, 2015). This observation is reflected in one of the research participants' statement:

The journalistic materials in Cooltura might be seen as a sort of alibi for the advertising. 'Nowy Czas' works differently. We try to realise missions. We want to say something to the world, and the economic factor, although important, is not crucial for us. Very often we have to add our own money to the title in order to keep it functioning. Our competitors are money-driven. If there is no profit, there is not a title. That is what they think (An interview with journalists H).

The above statement shows a sense of service to the Polish community by ethnic media. This might be seen, from the perspective of social integration, as a positive development. On the other hand, as demonstrated earlier, the more precarious ethnic media are, the lesser their ability to survive and thrive within ethnic media market. As discussed, in order to perform the social mission, the diasporic media must generate sufficient profits first. Although some authors tend to emphasise community service role of the ethnic media, this research argues that the media should be seen as market enterprises. It needs to be stressed again that, similarly to the mainstream media, ethnic media are often profit (market) driven projects (Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Fleras Lock Kunz, 2001; McQuail, 2010). To sum up, it seems that the Polish ethnic media might help Polish economic migrants integrate with British society by exercising the following functions: orientation function, control function and identity formation.

## **6.5 (Re)discovering Polishness – ethnic media and identity formation**

As Myria Georgiou has observed, people's identities are never fixed: 'they are in a process; they are coming and becoming rather than being (Georgiou, 2006:119). However, do diasporic media help ethnic communities to construct and reconstruct their diasporic identities? As discussed, many media scholars argue that these media might help migrants to negotiate, develop and maintain three dimensions of identity: cognitive dimension, behavioural dimension and affective dimensions (Hall, 1992; Brinkerhoff, 2009; Georgiou, 2006; Martin, Nakayama, 2007; Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). By shaping mixed (or hybrid) identities, the media help migrants to achieve psychosocial comfort – a sense of belonging to the host country (Weisner 2000:142).

Taking into consideration the above observation, it was interesting to explore what role the Polish media in the UK play in the identity formation process - if and how these media help the migrants in developing mixed or hybrid identities? It was particularly important to establish the extent to which the media producers

believe this media play a role in the process and how it is reflected in their everyday media work. Nevertheless, before exploring the media's role in the identity formation processes, it was important to figure out how the journalists understand the migrant's identities as they are at the moment.

After conducting the interviews with the Polish journalists and analysing the data, it becomes immediately apparent, that they seemed to be divided on how they see Polish identity in the UK. Amongst participants, three general trends were noticed.

Firstly, some participants observed the rise of patriotism among Polish economic migrants who live in the UK, noting that migrants seem to be more and more interested in Polish history, politics and society. When living far from the home country, they are re-discovering their Polishness, and, according to the interviewed journalists, the migrants seem to be increasingly proud of their identity:

I have observed two trends within the Polish diaspora. Polish people rediscover their identity when leaving abroad. Polish people rediscover the Polishness - they start missing Poland. I meet with such attitudes and opinions regularly when working as a journalist. Poles who were not interested in Polish history, politics, and day-to-day events started rediscovering the country again after leaving the country. On the other hand, I have observed another trend. Polish people in the UK turn their backs on Poland and embrace cosmopolitanism. Poland is important to them only because they have families there. They feel attached to the Polish food and some customs. That's it. (An interview with journalist G).

I think the critical trend still dominates; however, patriotism is evidently on the rise. In the past few years, I have observed the trend within the Polish diaspora in the UK. The trend also reflects the reinvigoration of identities across the EU (An interview with journalist G).

Secondly, the journalists observed that some migrants prefer to embrace cosmopolitanism as their identity. Many Poles who live in London do not want to be part of any identity and feel as citizens of the world. People who define their identities in this way can be described as global nomads, who have cosmopolitan identities (Düvell Vogel, 2006). The trend has also got a more extreme version, where everything Polish is seen in a derogatory way and is rejected.



Thirdly, the research participants also notice a trend within the Polish diasporic community, which can be defined as the manifestation of national megalomania or nationalism. Those who embrace such identity tend to see the Polish nation as unique – the only nation holding true values. From the perspective of the nationalistic identity, it would be wrong to integrate with British society. Poles who follow this ideology, tend to separate themselves from the host society and look at it in a derogatory way.

Which identity model did journalist believe are promoted by the Polish diasporic media according to the media producers? One of the interviewees openly argued that the Polish media in the UK support the isolationistic identities:

I am not sure why. Maybe it is just easier to act in this way. They do not want to change the status quo. Maybe the owners of the media are so very Polish that they do not want to change anything. It is easier. Polish people should be together. That is it. Polish people do not integrate with British society, but I would say they even cannot integrate among themselves (Interview with journalist C).

Do the Polish diasporic media support isolationistic identities? As shown in the media map in chapter two, the vast majority of them declare in their editorial strategies that they support integration processes. Do these media declare that they support integration, but in practice, focus predominantly on maintaining Polish culture? Do the media producers really think about identity formation in their everyday media work? These are key questions if one wants to understand the diasporic media's role in the social integration process. Also, to better understand the effects of media producers' work, other forms of media research would be needed, for example, focus groups with the migrant audiences.

To sum up, these findings have significant consequences for understanding the interrelations between ethnic media, migrant life, and social integration process. The collected data suggests that media producers see nationalism and cosmopolitanism as undesirable in migrant integration. As discussed in chapter two and three, from the perspective of the social integration theory, ethnic media need to promote identity that celebrates Polish patriotism which is open for mixing with the culture and values of British society. If the ethnic media want to enhance intercultural integration among their audiences, they need to more

consistently implement this normative postulate in their everyday media work (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011).

## **6.6 Polish diasporic media operations**

As discussed, ethnic media, apart from their social functions, have an important utilitarian goal - profit-making (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). On the other hand, they emphasise normative aims, too (McQuail, 2010). This research argues that both goals can be seen as complementary, not contradictory. As demonstrated in chapter three, in the UK, without profit-making, it would be difficult for ethnic media to fulfil social functions, such as supporting social integration. Therefore, it was important to investigate the business models of the Polish media in the UK?

Within this research, two general diasporic media business models have been identified within the Polish media sector. The majority of the titles are free of charge and get their incomes from advertising. As one media producer defined this: 'it is (diasporic medium) a meeting place for audiences and advertisers'. Some media producers stressed within the interviews that Poles in the UK do not want to pay for the media; therefore, inevitably, the incomes must come from advertisements. The following two statements explain this:

The newspaper is free. This is the only solution within the Polish diasporic media market which works. The Polish migrant community has been changing. Maybe the migrants will be able to pay for the media soon. However, in the era of online media, we have to fight with the paper media to stay attractive for our readers. I do not think the readers would like to pay for the paper at the moment, even if a newspaper paper costs one pound only. That is how the situation looks like at the moment (An interview with journalist D).

Secondly, a small minority of the media are run by charity organisations. For example, 'Tydzien Polski' (Polish Weekly) is owned by Polish Cultural Foundation, a Polish charity based in London. The title has got three sources of income: sales and subscriptions, donations and grants. It also earns money from

advertising; however, because of the charitable status, advertising is only a marginal element of its business model.

Both described business models have been significantly affected by the financial crisis, which started in 2008. The Polish diasporic media experienced a financial boom between 2004 and 2008. As many media producers stressed, within the period, the advertisers were 'queuing' to promote their product and services in the Polish diasporic media in the UK. This translated in rocketing incomes. However, all the interviewed media producers stressed that the financial crisis changed everything. As two journalists noted:

In 2008 we were affected by the financial crisis. All the big corporations, banks, like, for example, O2 or Lloyds TBS, reduced their spending for advertising. When the crisis came, such organisations stepped back from small markets. One of them was the ethnic market and ethnic media. Because of the mentioned credit crunch, we lost about 40 per cent of our incomes – six big advertisers decided to leave us. Now, together with the economic recovery, the businesses are returning to us. Also, there have been many articles on migrants in the UK in the mainstream media, facilitating and increasing interest about diasporic markets among UK businesses (Interview with journalist E).

Since 2008, the media have less pages, less adverts and they are shrinking. Poles need less and less the media. After the boom, the market is shrinking. I think we still have a few Polish newspapers in London that need to be seen as a success (Interview with Polish journalist). When the crisis started in 2008, everything has changed. The English businesses stepped back from advertising with us. Also, the Polish businesses had to produce a magazine on the lower quality paper and reduce the number of pages. The Polish ethnic media in the UK have survived the crisis, but they are not the same media as before the crisis (Interview with journalist H).

The economic crisis affected all the Polish diasporic media in the UK. Although the media owners and producers have been noticing a recovery, the media's financial situation is far from the situation before the credit crunch (Interview with journalist I).

The market is shrinking, but it is not easy to estimate how much. At the moment, we feel that our business is stable. I would not say that there is 50 per cent less advert, but there is much less advertisement than in the past. But this needs to be seen as a general trend. The paper media are competitors for online media. The advertisers choose more and more often online media rather than print media (Interview with journalist H).

Many interviewees stressed that decreasing incomes from advertising needs to be seen as a global phenomenon affecting all media markets. The main reason for the trend is the migration of news media to internet. This process's key consequences are: a decline in circulations and loss of advertising revenues

(Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach, 2011). The ethnic media experience the process more intensely, because – as discussed earlier - they are more fragile, compared to the mainstream media.

Another important factor shaping the current financial situation of diasporic media is that advertisers also shift to online media. In the context of decreasing profitability, the Polish diasporic media have adapted several strategies to survive economically. Some titles, like for example, 'Polish Express' or 'Goniec Polski', have moved their media production processes to Poland. The decisions in each case were dictated by lower production costs in Poland. One of the interviewees expressed her doubts about such a strategy:

It is not possible. They perhaps think in this ways – let's produce the media from Poland, let's have only 1-2 journalists and maybe another 1-2 marketing people in the UK, but the rest will be done from Poland. I think the newspaper goal is just to catch advertisers, nothing else. I suppose they think in this way: we are already known as a brand. People know us. Let's make the business from Poland. This will not work. You can produce a newspaper in this way for a little while, but it will not lead to market success. This will not be the same quality. That is what I think about the new trend (Interview with Polish journalist).

Another strategy to survive in the changing economic climate is a reduction of publication frequency – from daily to weekly. This strategy has been implemented by 'Dziennik Polski' (Polish Daily), which in 2015 transformed into weekly newspaper – 'Tydzien Polski' (Polish Weekly). Finally, all the media try to modernise themselves, embracing new online technologies. They redesign their online websites and put more and more emphasis on their online media presence. Most of the diasporic media have marketing sections which proactively seek new business opportunities:

We are proactively looking for new advertisers. Some advertisers cooperate with us then leave and then come back again. We have a person in our team responsible for looking for new advertising accounts (An interview with Polish journalist).

Another strategy, on how to cope with the difficult market situation, is to move media production into a private home and build a voluntary journalists team, often students, who would write for the title for free to gain experience. This strategy has been adopted by 'Nowy Czas'. This model allows 'Nowy Czas' to be published but, as the interviewee working for the title admitted, it is a 'crazy

model'. Nevertheless, for the title which was almost closed because of the crisis, it is, at the moment, a survival strategy. The media editor admits:

We have learnt a lot from the crisis. Because of the crisis, we became bi-weekly, and then monthly. The newspaper is a system of linked elements. When the crisis started, our advertising team was closed. The advertisers who signed contracts with us cancelled the contracts. They could not continue their advertising campaigns in the new economic circumstances (Interview with Polish journalist H).

At the time of the interview, it was still unknown if 'Nowy Czas' (New time) has overcome its financial, organisational and management problems.

There were also attempts to merge the Polish diasporic media with titles from Poland. For example, a well known Polish title 'Przekroj' wanted to buy 'Goniec Polski' for £250,000 and to start selling the Polish title for the Polish community together with 'Goniec Polski' as an insert. Nevertheless, the owners of 'Goniec Polski' did not accept the financial offer and demanded £1,000,000 for selling the title. Consequently, the transaction could not materialise. During the interview the media producer B was convinced that this decision was the diasporic title owner's mistake. Acquisition of the diasporic title by a mainstream Polish title could create an interesting and prosperous media enterprise.

As all the interviewees media producers stressed, the diasporic media must re-thought and improve their business models. Perhaps this needs to be seen as one of the key challenges for the Polish media's future in the UK. Without sufficient profits, the media will not be able to fulfil their social functions. It is very unlikely that there will be any support for diasporic media, either from the British or Polish governments. 'Why should the British state sponsor us. We need to sustain our titles ourselves' – argued one of the interviewed journalists. According to another interviewee, such support would make journalists 'less creative and even lazy'. The statement indicates the media producers see journalistic independence and ethic of working hard as important values.

As outlined in chapter three, the diasporic media in the UK are sometimes criticised for low journalistic standards and commercialisation (Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Leonowicz-Bukala, 2014). The interviews with journalists

provided some insight into the media content and its production, which adds to this discussion. Similarly, to the mainstream media, the Polish media in the UK subscribe to news agencies to get publishable content. Most of the Polish diasporic media subscribe to PAP (Poland's biggest news agency). As a journalist working for 'Londynek.net' described, about 40 – 50 per cent of her portal's content is based on the news bought from the news agency. The rest of materials come from the journalists employed by the portal and freelancers and a network of bloggers associated with the portal. Many journalistic materials are based on information gathered through monitoring of the mainstream British media. Often, the articles are exact translations, reprints of British texts in Polish. It might be argued that by disseminating 'mainstream news', ethnic media integrate their audiences with the host society. Another important development that has been noted within the research is the exchange of journalistic materials between Polish diasporic media in the UK. For example, 'Emito.net' exchanges journalistic materials with 'Cooltura Weekly' and 'Londynek.net'. This development can be seen as a positive trend. The exchange system allows the media to get content for free. The content exchange strategy reduces the costs of news production. It also helps to create links of cooperation between the diasporic media. Such a system seems to be fruitful for all parties involved:

We also cooperate with other Polish media in the UK, for example with 'Londynek'. We have got joint marketing offers with them, and we also exchange articles. We publish their articles, and they publish our articles. We also cooperate with 'Cooltura'. We do not compete with the titles. We have different readers, and we cover different regions. Therefore, the cooperation is possible, effective and beneficial (An interview with journalist I).

As discussed, there is no formal platform of cooperation for Polish diasporic media in the UK. Nevertheless, this research suggests that informal cooperation between the media might become more organised and lead to more formal relationships and enterprises. As demonstrated, the Polish diasporic media in the UK have started cooperating between themselves by exchanging journalistic materials. One of the interviewed journalists provided an excellent example of such cooperation. Before the Scottish Referendum, on 18th September 2014, the Polish media operating in Scotland helped the diasporic media in England

write about the referendum. Such solutions might be seen as consolidation for sustainability and survival by the ethnic media.

Nevertheless, the Polish diasporic media cooperation has not been institutionalised as yet. There is not a formal organisation or platform for such cooperation between the media. There is not an association of Polish journalists working in the UK either. As one interviewee noted, the Polish ethnic media world is too small to develop more formal cooperation methods. The media compete for the same audiences and the same advertisers, so naturally, they avoid exchanging too much information between themselves.

Most of the interviewed journalists believed that cooperation between Polish diasporic media and British media is very sporadic and unsatisfactory. Such cooperation usually occurs when British media need a commentary about the migrant community or find a participant to take part in the panel or media production. British media ask the Polish media to promote TV production about Poland. The research highlighted, that the relationships, although very un-regular, have two-way character. For example, the Polish media sometimes ask British media producers, particularly those who have Polish roots, to participate in various initiatives or campaigns. Here are several statements describing the cooperation:

The British media contact us when they need information from us, for example, when they need commentary. The cooperation is somewhat sporadic. I would not call it even cooperation. We sometimes ask people from British media, who have Polish roots, to engage in our initiatives (An interview journalist G).

The cooperation has got one-way character. We often need and use commentaries of the British media like 'Guardian'. For example, it can be noticed within our A-level campaign. Maybe there are incidental occasions. However, I have never experienced the British media asking me for a commentary (An interview with journalist A).

The British media usually contact us when they need a commentary. When there is a hot issue, topic related to the Polish community in the UK or Poland, then the British media, or wider, British institutions, contact us and ask for such cooperation or help. In the past, we were approached by BBC, The Scotsman or the Herald. Recently my colleague and I took part in the discussion about migration. We were members of the panel (An interview with journalist E).

The cooperation had only an incidental character. It was only when the British media needed some comments from us or need research support from us. But

this did not happen very often. It was very sporadic. For example, when Polish women gave birth in the London tube, the British media asked us to gather information (An interview with Polish journalist F).

Today British journalists are not interested in Polish topics unless something significant happens (An interview with journalist C).

I had experienced such cooperation when I was working in 'Goniec Polski'. I was closely cooperating with Helen Pidd from The Guardian. She was very interested in Poland and the Polish community in the UK. She was writing many articles about the topics. She travelled in Eastern Europe and was a correspondent from there (An interview with Polish journalist A).

It seems that the British mainstream media could cooperate with the diasporic media more regularly. The cooperation has also one-way character. The ethnic media constitute a rich, diverse source of free information on the diasporic communities living in the UK and could increase the quality of media texts on the diasporic topics. As discussed in chapter three, one of the reasons for the rare cooperation between mainstream and ethnic media could be an assumption among mainstream media producers, that diasporic media are not professional enough to cooperate.

As demonstrated, diasporic media might be used as effective marketing communication channels by social, cultural, political and economic organisations, who want to reach migrant and ethnic communities. The channels are often seen as important as they may help the organisations to reach ethnic communities, which are often classified as 'hard to reach audiences' (Guilhemere Santon, 2005; Tench Yeomans 2006:589; Fleras, 2009). Therefore, it might be argued that ethnic media can be seen as a link between the host country's political and economic system and diasporas. In the context of this research, it was important to establish to what extent, according to journalists, various organisations in the UK use ethnic media to reach the Polish migrant community.

According to the Polish journalists, these are the British business organisations, who cooperate with the diasporic media. Their cooperation with the Polish media became important since May 2004, when hundreds of thousands of Poles arrived in the UK. After this date, many British companies wanted to reach the new, promising market and reach the emerging community with their products and services. This translated into substantial profits for the diasporic media, coming



from advertising. Although the 2008 credit crunch lowered the media incomes from British advertisers, all the media producers agreed that awareness about the ethnic marketing role of the Polish media among British business remains strong:

In 2008 we were affected by the financial crisis. All the big corporations, banks, like, for example, O2 or Lloyds TBS, reduced their spending for advertising. When a crisis comes, such organisations step back from small markets. One of them includes the ethnic market and ethnic media. Because of the mentioned credit crunch, we lost about 40 per cent of our incomes – six big advertisers decided to leave us. Now, together with the economic recovery, the businesses are returning to us. Also, there have been many articles on migrants in the UK in the mainstream media, facilitating and increasing interest about diasporic markets among UK businesses (Interview with journalist E).

I would say that the awareness among the ethnic media and their role in society is rising among public bodies, organisations and businesses in the UK. Big business organisations like TESCO and ASDA regularly advertise in our paper. They advertise through media houses. The media houses research ethnic media market for such organisations (Interview with journalist E).

In terms of cooperation between British political organisations and diasporic media, the cooperation is cyclical but significant. All the interviewed journalist noticed an increased interest with the media from all mainstream British political parties, particularly before parliamentary and local elections. For instance, in 2007, during the local election campaign in London, Ken Livingstone, Labour Party's candidate for the post of Mayor of London, invited all Polish diasporic media representatives for a so-called 'Polish dinner'. This move needs to be seen as a political marketing exercise to win the Polish community's support in the local election race. In recent years all the most significant British political parties published paid advertisements before parliamentary and local elections in the diasporic media. All the interviewees seemed to agree that the political parties are aware of the role of the ethnic media in the political marketing process and use these media effectively:

The UK's public bodies tend to increase their interest in diasporic media before political elections, both to parliament and to local councils. For instance, in 2007, before elections, London Mayor Ken Livingstone invited all the Polish diasporic media representatives for so-called 'Polish dinner'. In the past, we had propositions to conduct interviews with candidates and we organised the interviews. I suppose the Polish ethnic media will be targeted before coming elections (2015) by political parties and individual candidates to win the Polish votes. Of course, if any party wants to publish a paid advert on our website, we are always open as a business organisation (An interview with journalist A).

Nevertheless, contrary to business and political organisations, the relationship between governmental organisations, both central and local, and diasporic media, seems to be very sporadic and weak. According to the informants, governmental organisations in the UK contact these media rarely. As a journalist from 'Square.pl' noted, councils often want to inform the migrant community about something important. Another interviewee stressed that councils or social organisations often expect the media to publish the information for free in such cases. Such a relationship – she argued – might be seen as an instrumental treatment of diasporic media. She observed such relationship when cooperating with the British Police:

Police use ethnic media to conduct social campaigns to increase awareness about security and terrorism (An interview with journalist B).

Next week we are meeting with the Metropolitan Police. We are receiving information from them, and then we inform Poles who read our newspaper. In the case of Police, their information often refers to the Polish community. We also cooperate with various social organisations (An interview with journalist F).

The cooperation between the media and local councils – from the perspective of interviewees - is not satisfactory. There is a relatively low awareness about the role of the media within local authorities. The informant from 'Tydzien Polski' (Polish Weekly) explained that such a situation needs to be attributed to the fact that political participation and engagement among Poles in the UK are relatively low. If the migrant community's political engagement was stronger, the councils might pay more attention to the Polish people and their ethnic media. 'This cooperation could be much more dynamic', argued one of the interviewees.

Some interviewees noted that there has been considerable interest in the Polish community among the British trade unions. They have been promoting their activities through diasporic media in order to recruit new members. The diasporic media are also targeted by NGO's such as Oxfam or Red Cross or public bodies such as NHS.

Some institutions seem to be entirely closed for cooperation with diasporic media, however. For example, there is an increasing number of Polish prisoners in the UK who subscribe to diasporic media. Therefore, the editorial team of

'Goniec Polski' decided to enter one of UK prisons and conduct interviews with the prisoners. The Polish journalists were refused entry and conduct such interviews.

To conclude the section on cooperation between the Polish ethnic media and British organisations, it seems that there is satisfactory cooperation between the media and business and political organisations, nevertheless, but that cooperation with governmental institutions is rare and weak. It may be argued that the poor cooperation between governmental organisations and ethnic media might slow down the process of social integration and can be seen as a missed opportunity. This observation seems to be important in the context of recent public policy initiatives in the area of social integration. As discussed, the recent 'Green Paper of Social integration' by Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government notes suggest a need for 'target local communications' to reach ethnic minorities (MHCLG, 2018, AAPG, 2018). This research shows that the diasporic media would be ideal for such 'target local communications'. Nevertheless, it seems that, at the moment, the opportunity is being missed by the majority of British governmental institutions, both central and local. It is also worth noting that ethnic media does not exist in public policy documents on social integration as potential partners for public institutions responsible for social integration – a form of cooperation that arguably would be beneficial for society, particularly in terms of social integration (MHCLG, 2018; AAPG, 2018).

## **6.7 The future of the Polish ethnic media in the UK**

One of the aims of this research project has been to consider journalists' perspectives on the future for the Polish ethnic media in the UK. Do the diasporic media have a promising future, or it is already the end of the 'golden era' for them? During the research interviews, the Polish journalists were asked about their assessment of the diasporic media market's current situation, what could be improved in these media's functioning, and if they see any potential new

opportunities. The journalists provided valuable and critical insights on how they see this segment of the media market.

According to an informant from 'Emito.net', the Polish diasporic media have stabilised. Several key media players are operating on the market, and it is rather unlikely that their positions will be challenged in the coming future. As he noted:

I do not foresee any radical changes within the Polish ethnic media market in the UK. The dust has settled and, I think, the market is stable. I think the key players will stay in the market. If there is any new initiative, it will come from an unknown direction (Interview with journalist I).

Most of the interviewed journalists agreed that, as long as there is a Polish diaspora in the UK, there will be a need for Polish media. As long as Poles migrate to the UK, there is some future for the media. Nevertheless, they also agreed that the 'golden era' for the media has gone by. As one of the interviewees noted:

British businesses are not so interested in Polish people as they used to be. Polish people are already among their customers. Now it is just survival for the media. I am surprised that there are still so many Polish ethnic media in London (Interview with journalist B).

Considering all the technological changes, I think there will not be a boom of paper ethnic media in London again. From my perspective, the media are fighting to survive. Some fewer advertisers want to use Polish ethnic media. I know from my friends who still work for the media that advertising costs in the media generally dropped down (Interview with journalist C).

The media seem to be fighting to survive financially. They try to function, despite the shrinking market and decreasing profits. There was a great need for the Polish ethnic media at the beginning of the Polish migrations (2004 – 2008). Today, the need seems to be relatively smaller. Similar observations have been made by Leonowicz-Bukala (2015).

Three interviewees provided a sober assessment of the future of the Polish ethnic media in the UK:

My future vision of the Polish ethnic media in the UK is not rosy. I think that the media will continue to exist. There will always be a need to read about gossips etc. But I do not foresee a dynamic development of the media. I think there will be stagnation, degradation of the market. The media will remain rather

unambitious, low culture, easy to read. I do not think the media will ever have the ambition to shape modern people. There are less and less adverts from British companies, and the adverts which you can find in the media are from Polish businesses or individuals living in the UK. I am not predicting media boom we can remember from the period 2004 – 2008. The market is saturated. I am not as linked to the Polish journalistic community in London as I used to be, so I do not have full knowledge. But from time to time, some of my friends from other media do confirm my assumptions. They often say about cuts, reductions etc. All the Polish media in the UK reduce costs, wherever possible. The media people earn less and less money. The offices are being moved to less glamorous locations and buildings. Some of the titles do not have offices at all; the journalists just work from home (An interview with journalist C).

Nowadays, the Poles are so familiar with British reality. They do not need so much help when looking for such information. Poles do not need 'Cooltura' so much nowadays to find a place to live etc. They will find accommodation to rent on 'Gumtree' (An interview with journalist E).

Polish people are already well informed about the British system, so they do not need the media as much as they used to do (An interview with journalist B).

The golden era has gone by, and I think that it will not come back. British businesses are not so interested by Polish people as they used to be. Polish people are already among their customers. Now it is just survival for the media. I am surprised that there are still so many Polish ethnic media in London (An interview with journalist E).

Based on the above findings, it might be argued that the social integration role of the Polish ethnic media in the UK is seen as less important by its journalists, as the Polish migrants have now adapted to the host society and are 'familiar with British reality', its culture, politics and economy. The diasporic media need to take this fact into account when redefining their editorial strategies.

To sum up, this research has identified three issues pertaining to the Polish diasporic media's future in the UK. Firstly, the diasporic media are being affected by the same pressures as mainstream media (e.g. changing consumer behaviour or decreasing profits from advertising) as well as more specific pressures (e.g. changing characteristics of the Polish diaspora in the UK or economy of scale), specific to the ethnic media markets. Secondly, the media need to be ready for constant change and innovations as the incomes from advertising decrease, and the Polish diasporic market seems to be shrinking. Finally, diasporic media producers need to seek new business opportunities continually.

What could be improved in the Polish diasporic media in the UK? The journalists provided several insightful suggestions here. Almost all journalists stressed that

to improve the media, there is a need for constant adaptation to the Polish diaspora's changing needs and the socio-economic context. The media need to conduct research and monitor the market to predict the changing needs of their audiences. Some of the media already do this. As an interviewee from 'Londynek.net' said:

From time to time we ask our audience in the form of surveys about their opinions on how to improve our portal, how it could be changed? From such surveys we know, that Poles in the UK need very practical information and facts, not politics. We try to meet the expectations and implement their suggestions in our everyday media work (Interview with journalist I).

An informant from 'Square.pl' emphasised that such research is key. Without media research, ethnic media might make unnecessary mistakes. An illustrative example of such mistakes was provided by one of the interviewees:

Basing on the successes of the paper media, they wanted to invest in TV and radio. The experiments were costly. Thousands of pounds were wasted every week. These were costly projects. The money that was invested has never paid back. The only radio that survived was Radio PRL. This is a very interesting topic to talk about. Generally, there were mistakes that cost the Polish media in the UK a lot of money – money that has never paid back (Interview with journalist K).

There must be a constant interaction between the media and the community they serve. The media must be able to notice and interpret the signs of times. The media should not forget that they have an important mission to fulfil apart from the economic goals. Therefore, the media strategies need to be continuously defined and redefined according to the changing needs of the host country's diasporic community and socio-political context. As one of the research participants concluded: 'the media must rethink and improve their business models'.

Most of the journalists agreed that very soon the hard copy media will become a passé. In the most optimistic scenario, paper media will become an exclusive addition to online media. The journalist interviewees from 'Polish Review' and from 'Nowy Czas' expressed different opinions about the paper media's future. According to them, there could yet be a new era for paper media to emerge. As one of them argued:

But there might be a renaissance of paper media. Look, for example, at the booming market of vinyl recordings. Who would have predicted it a few years ago? (Interview with journalist H).

In this context, it is worth noting that a few years ago, ethnic media scholars were optimistic about paper media's future. For example, Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach argued that new technologies would be incorporated in people's communication ecologies, rather than changing them (Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach 2011). It seems that the nearest future will show if the internet will completely dominate diasporic media production and consumption. The results of this research indicate that the shift toward online media is inevitable. This trend will force the media producers to adapt more intensively, than it is doing now, to available online technologies. The interviewees elaborated on this:

The paper media will become a passé very soon. Electronic media will dominate the world of media. So, 'Dziennik Polski' will become electronic in the future and target a different audience. If the paper newspaper survives in the future, it will be, perhaps, an exclusive addition to the electronic version. People still want to have a newspaper, a book, something exclusive. So, a newspaper may still survive, but as an addition, an exclusive product (Interview Polish journalist G).

I think the Polish ethnic media will operate in the UK, however mainly online. In terms of future for 'Dziennik Polski, I think it will also go online and have exclusive paper publications from time to time (Interview with journalist A).

I think the trend will be that the media will be mainly online. There will be less paper, more internet (Interview with journalist E).

Ethnic media are ruled by the same economic principles as mainstream media. The media go online. The media depart to online world. There is less emphasis on traditional, paper media (Interview with journalist I).

This might be a complicated process for the diasporic media, as it will require new investments. Previous research on the subject shows that diasporic media are often slower in adapting to technology changes than mainstream media. This is often associated with costs, lack of new media literacy and fear of change (Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach 2011).

Considering the future of the Polish ethnic media in the UK and the future of such media in a multicultural society, the question of potential market niches have arisen. It seems that one of the potential niches is the lack of diasporic hyper-local media in London - media which would cover, for example, 2-3 boroughs. As

demonstrated, some scholars researching ethnic media argue, that diasporic hyper-local media can significantly contribute to building a sense of belonging among migrants, by psychologically and socially rooting them down into the host, local communities, for example, London boroughs (Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach 2011). Many Polish local diasporic media are operating in the UK; however, most such media operate outside London, often in provincial localities (British towns or even villages), wherever Polish migrants live. Nevertheless, such local diasporic media or hyper-local Polish ethnic media – apart from a few Facebook community pages - have not developed in London. Why there are no Polish hyper-local media in London? One journalist from 'Cooltura Weekly' noted that such media would not survive financially.

As far as I remember, we had such an experiment. 'Dziennik Polski' opened its local version in Ealing. It was a very local paper in Polish and English. But the newspaper was not successful. The sale was very low. It was subsequently closed (Interview with journalist E).

There would not be enough businesses in their localities to sustain the media through advertising. Also, to hope that migrants will pay for such media is somewhat unrealistic. Such media could be developed, but they would have to be run by volunteers, as one informant termed it – 'civil society leaders'. Another journalist argued that local councils could be interested in cooperating with such media, especially in the interests of social integration.

The interviewed journalists suggested a few other possible diasporic media developments in the coming future. They pointed at Internet TV as one of the potential areas. They emphasised the relatively low costs of such initiative. Such TV could also be a space for citizen journalism. According to the research participants, there are many creative Polish people in the UK who produce amateur films.

Nevertheless, it might be too early for it – both journalists stressed. The market must mature a little bit more. Another potential niche could be a professional online portal with Internet TV and a quality paper, or online media targeted for educated and professional migrants.



To sum up, although some media producers argued that, at the moment, there is not much market space for new Polish diasporic media initiatives in the UK, this research clearly shows that there are opportunities that could be further explored. Polish diasporic media in English, Internet TV or online quality papers for professionals – all the business ideas seem to be potential niches in the market that journalists saw as potential future innovations and developments.

## Chapter 7

### Key research findings and conclusions

This research has focused upon the process of social integration of the Polish community in the UK, critically exploring if, and to what extent, Polish diasporic media help Polish migrants to integrate socially, culturally politically and economically within the British society after May 2004, when the mass Polish migration into the UK started. The public policy context for the research is important: a time when consecutive British governments have advocated a retreat from 'multiculturalism' and a renewed public policy of 'social integration'. The research findings reveal how Polish ethnic media producers in the UK understand the processes and what their experiences and predictions are. This chapter summarizes and evaluates these key research findings and conclusions.

First, in terms of multiculturalism as social diversity in the UK, most of the Polish journalists who took part in this research, observed some negative trends and tensions within the host society linked to the mass economic migration after May 2004. These included, for example, hate crimes, anti-immigrant rhetoric in politics and unwelcoming attitudes from the host society towards the arriving migrants. According to the informants, these are real challenges to British multiculturalism and more broadly to social integration. Nevertheless, the interviewees also admitted that, in their own experiences, they did not notice alarming situations. The research participants stressed that if there are xenophobic, racist or discriminatory behaviours within the receiving society, they are expressed by relatively small groups, and that such attitudes often intensify before elections or in the times of economic crisis. The interviewed journalists seemed to be convinced that Poles are generally treated well by the host society. What is more, Polish migrants are often seen as ideal migrants, perhaps because of their work ethic and the fact that Britain and Poland have similar cultures in some respects. To sum up, the interviewees have noticed some real challenges to British multiculturalism understood as social diversity, although the majority of them did

not recognize a multicultural 'crisis' as it has been labelled in mainstream media and political discourse.

In terms of public policy, it might be argued that Polish media producers noticed the public policy shift from 'multiculturalism' to 'social integration'. They admitted that the public policy of multiculturalism might not be possible now, and that an alternative is needed. It seems that, according to informants, a new policy approach could help to accommodate social diversity in a better way. It is worth noting that most of the research participants shared their views on social diversity as a social fact and their opinions about multiculturalism as public policy initiatives were limited. As demonstrated in chapter six, they emphasized, however, the importance of greater cooperation between public institutions and diasporic media (media and community public policy), the importance of core British values (cultural public policy) and multicultural education in schools (education public policy).

Second, this research demonstrates that media producers believe that Poles, who came to the UK after May 2004, integrated structurally with the host society. According to the research participants, despite the existing social tensions and public policy shifts, the Polish economic migrants integrated occupationally, educationally and economically with the receiving society. However, media producers seem to think that the migrants have not developed 'identification integration' as yet (Bosswick, Heckmanna, 2006), and their political participation remains very low. As discussed in chapter six, ethnic media could do more in terms of supporting greater identification integration, for example by explaining their audiences that it is possible to be British and Polish or by promoting core British values within the Polish diaspora. The discussions in chapter two and six identified the potential reasons of why Poles have not developed identification integration. In the view of some journalists Poles are often too comfortable and prefer to stay within their ethnic community. As one of the interviewees summed it up: 'we are scared to get out of the ethnic bubble'. One of the reasons for this might be that Poles understand Polishness as a 'fixed' and 'stable' identity. Poles often tend to see themselves as second-category Europeans, who come from the part of Europe, which is described as worse and less affluent than Western

Europe. When will the Polish migrants develop 'identification integration'? According to the research participants, the process requires time, and, as journalist I stressed, the Maslow Pyramid Theory can be a point of reference here. When the migrants fulfil their basic existential needs, they might be more interested in embracing the host society's citizenship values and develop mixed identities. This observation also applies to the low political participation. The findings overlap with the previous research outcomes as discussed in chapter (Lodzinski, 2014). To sum up, from the ethnic media perspective, the Polish migrant community may need more assistance to integrate with the host society in identification integration and political participation.

Third, the Polish journalists' dominating response is that the media they produce fulfilled an effective social integration role especially when the Polish mass economic migration into the UK started in May 2004. As discussed in chapter six, these media played a particularly vital role in the initial stage of the migratory journey. For many migrants, the media were like a 'Bible', helping them adapt to the host country, culture, politics, and economy. For example, the media contributed to the settlement process by instructing the migrants about social reality, their new surroundings and the British way of life. By doing this, they allowed the migrants to settle down, adapt and coexist with the host society. Consequently, the media fulfilled their 'orientation function' (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach, 2011). Nevertheless, some of the informants admitted that ethnic media did not support their audiences sufficiently to integrate with the host society. It seemed to them that some of these media have been enhancing 'media segregation model' or – in other words – support parallel lives (Geibler, Weber-Menges, 2009), for example, by focusing predominantly on the country of origin or the Polish diaspora's internal affairs. Therefore, it might be argued that the Polish diasporic media need to work more towards 'intercultural media integration model' (Geibler, Weber-Menges, 2009). As discussed in chapter three, in the intercultural media integration model, the ethnic media content has an 'integrative nature', often focusing and informing on homeland and the accommodating country equally (Geibler, Weber-Menges, 2009). This research suggests that the relatively smooth integration of Polish migrants, who came to

the UK after 2004, was possible also because of the support from the ethnic media.

Fourth, most Polish media producers who took part in this research defined social integration as a one-way process. As demonstrated, such an understanding of social integration does not sufficiently recognise the diversity of cultural and social patterns in a multicultural society and might be seen as a form of assimilation (Castles et al. 2003:112). As discussed in chapter four, most academic agree that the process needs to involve both migrant communities and host society (Castles Miller, 2009; Geibler Pottker, 2009). It seems that the research participants would benefit from professional training on the role of diasporic media in a multicultural society such as Britain. As revealed by this research, most Polish media producers are very professional and have media background. However, perhaps because they gained their media experiences in mono-cultural society, specialist training about relationships between migrant life, social integration and multicultural society could be useful.

Fifth, this research suggests journalists recognize that diasporic media will have to do more to embrace digital media technologies (Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach, 2011). Some of them already do it very effectively and successfully. This is linked to the dynamic shift to the internet. The paper media become less and less popular among audiences, across generational lines. The ultimate shift towards diasporic online platforms will reduce costs of production. As demonstrated earlier, the online increases media visibility, availability and, potentially, attracts more advertising. The interactive nature of online technologies is already allowing audiences to participate in media production. Two to three years ago, the opinions about the online future among Polish journalists in the UK were divided (Leonowicz-Bukala, 2015). Other media scholars were not sure how the situation would develop (cannibalisation or substitution dilemma) (McQuail, 2010; Matsaganis Katz and Ball Rokeach, 2011). In the view of the research participants, embracing new media technologies within the diasporic media market needs to be seen as an opportunity. As demonstrated, the Polish media in the UK have already strong presence online, but more need to be done in this area. As journalists G noted, paper media will

remain with us in the future but rather as an exclusive product. To sum up, the research shows that journalists believe that the future of the diasporic media, both the small and big, lays predominantly in the online world.

Sixth, in terms of media operations, it might be argued, that there is strong cooperation between the diasporic media, and British business and political organisations, for example with large British corporations like Barclays, Tesco or British Airways or political parties and trade unions. Nevertheless, cooperation with the UK governmental institutions is still very sporadic. This observation seems to be important in the context of recent public policy initiatives in the area of social integration by the British government. The recent 'Green Paper of Social integration' by Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government notes a need for 'targeted local communications' to reach ethnic minorities (MHCLG, 2018, AAPG, 2018). This research argues that the diasporic media would be ideal for such 'target local communications'. Nevertheless, as some journalists mentioned in the interviews, such 'target local communication' should be paid otherwise there would be a risk of instrumental treatment or compromising ethnic media independence. It seems that, at the moment, the opportunity is being missed by the majority of British governmental institutions, both central and local. It is also worth noting that ethnic media does not exist in public policy documents on social integration as potential partners for public institutions responsible for social integration (MHCLG, 2018; AAPG, 2018). This research postulates that such cooperation could be beneficial for society. To sum up, there is satisfactory cooperation between the media, business and political organisations, although, the relationships with governmental organisations, both central and local, could be more effective for promoting social integration.

Seventh, in terms of the diasporic media's future in the UK, the market seems to have stabilised, and, in the view of journalists, there is not much space for new Polish ethnic media initiatives in the UK. Several key media's players dominate the market. As long as there is Polish community in the UK, there will be a need for the migrant media. As demonstrated in chapter six, the research has identified two potential diasporic market niches – Internet TV and a very professional online portal for educated and professional migrants.

To conclude, this research suggests, in the context of a retreat from multiculturalism in the UK, there is scope for Polish ethnic media to reconsider their social integration function. It seems that the Polish media could follow more of an 'intercultural media integration model' (Geibler, Weber-Menges, 2009) as their current understanding of social integration is too narrow. This research also reveals that Polish diasporic media helped Polish migrants to integrate with the British multicultural society. This was particularly visible and important at the beginning of the migratory journey. Without these media, the new life in Britain for the Polish economic migrants would be more challenging.

Arguably, Polish ethnic media will be decreasingly important in this process, as the Polish migrants are increasingly integrated with the host society. However, as highlighted in chapter six, it seems that these media could still help the Polish economic migrants to develop 'identification integration'. As discussed earlier, people might inhabit their identities but, particularly as migrants, they continuously negotiate their identities. Their identities are 'coming and becoming rather than being' (Georgiou, 2006:119). The media could help Polish migrants forge and negotiate 'bicultural identities' (Matsaganis, Katz, Ball-Rokeach, 2011:18). The media could keep eradicating prejudice, discrimination and hate speech, which, as this research reveals, are still present within the Polish community in the UK. The media could also assist the migrant community to increase their political participation.

Also, the Polish diasporic media are facing difficult times in the UK. It seems that the media will keep functioning and serving the community in the years to come, however, the market might be increasingly demanding. Therefore, the media need to continually adapt to the host country's socio-political context and the changing needs of the diasporic community and search for new market niches. Finally, it is also vital that the British public institutions, both central and local, (re)discover diasporic media as partners in achieving social goals, including social integration. This research argues that a lack of such cooperation needs to be seen as a missed opportunity.

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## **Appendix 1:**

### **Consent form**

#### ABOUT THE RESEARCH

The present document is intended to invite participants to take part in the MPhil research project titled: Ethnic Media in the Age of Migration. The Role of the Polish Ethnic Media in the Process of Social Integration of Poles in the United Kingdom after May 2004 – Media Producers' Perspective

The study is designed and conducted by MPhil student Michal Tuchowski at the School of Journalism, Media and Culture, Cardiff University. The research is supervised by Dr Kerry Moore and Professor Richard Sambrook. The main aim of the research is to explore the role of Polish ethnic media in the United Kingdom in the process of integration of the Polish diaspora with British society after May 2004, when Poland joined the European Union. More specifically, it is focused on their role in the processes of social, cultural, political and economic integration of Polish migrants.

#### CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I am aware of the fact that the interview will be recorded to facilitate the transcription of data by the researcher.

#### Voluntary participation

I am aware that participation in the research is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without the need to give reasons. As a participant, I have the opportunity to ask questions at any time and discuss any clarifications or questions with the interviewer about the nature of the questions.

Anonymous data I understand that the information I provided to the researcher may be shared with the supervisory team. Extracts from the interview may be quoted in the final draft of the thesis and may be used in subsequent publications. The information I provide will be treated anonymously and the data corresponding to my identity will be made anonymous in the final draft of the thesis or subsequent publications.

### Confidentiality

I understand that the information I provide is treated confidentially, so that only the researcher Michal Tuchowski and research supervisor Dr Kerry Moore can trace the information to my identity. The information and the data will be safely stored for up to five years. I am aware that I can have access to information at any time. I also have the option to request that the information and data provided by me can be deleted/destroyed before the five years prior request, in accordance with the Data Protection Act (UK).

I, \_\_\_\_\_ (NAME) give my consent to participate as interviewee in the study conducted by Michal Tuchowski for the School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies, Cardiff University.

Signature (Researcher):

Signature (Research participant): \_\_\_\_\_

Date:

For further information, do not hesitate to get in touch:

TuchowskiM@cardiff.ac.uk

## Appendix 2:

### Biograms of the research participants

**Ms Katarzyna Kopacz**, studied Polish philology in Poland and journalism at Bribek University in London. Between 2004 and 2011 she worked as a journalist in 'Gazeta Wyborcza' in Poland and as an editor-in-chief of 'Polish Express' and 'Goniec' in London. Since 2010 she has worked for Eriksson in London.

**Mr Janusz Mlynarski**, graduated from Lublin University where he studied history, specialising in Polish-Ukrainian relationships. He worked in 'Gazeta Wyborcza' (1991-2000). In 1994 he was awarded a stipend in the 'Guardian' by East Europe Department of UK Foreign Office. From 2007 to 2010 he worked as journalist for 'Polish Express' and 'Polish Observer'. He then established 'The Polish Review' where he works at the moment as editor-in-chief.

**Ms Anna Skorkiewicz-Bator**, studied law. She worked in 'Radio Eska', 'Radio Plus', and 'RMF FM' in Poland. In the UK she works as editor-in-chief of Square.pl – Polish monthly in Scotland.

**Mr Kordian Klaczynski**, studied philosophy at Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (1993-1998). In the years 1993-1998 he worked for 'Dziennik Wschodni' in Lublin. From 2004 to 2017 he worked as editor-in-chief for 'Cooltura', Polish Weekly Magazine in Londyn. From 2017 to 2019 he worked for 'Brexit Standard', Monthly Magazine. He also works as London correspondent 'TokFM Radio', 'TVN24', 'Tygodnika Zamojski' in Poland.

**Ms Magdalena Grzymkowska**, studied journalism at Warsaw University. From 2008 to 2009 she worked for 'TVN24' as documentalist and analyst. From 2010 to 2013 she worked for 'Wirtualna Polska' as a content manager. From 2013 to 2015 she was employed as journalist and graphic designer in 'Dziennik Polski' in London. From 2015 she works as editor in 'Tydzien Polski'. She regularly writes for Newsweek and Forebs Woman as British correspondent.



**Ms Anna Chodakowska**, she worked as a journalist for 'Gazeta Kolobrzaska', local television 'Kolobrzeg' and as a local correspondent for 'Polish Radio Szczecin' and 'Nowy Kurier Szczecinski' and 'TVN' in Poland. In the UK she worked for 'Cooltura' as editor-in-chief. Since 2011 she has worked as editor-in-chief for Londynek – the biggest online news portal in the UK.

**Ms Elzbieta Sobolewska**, she graduated (2002) from Wroclaw University where she studied journalism. She then worked for HBO TV and in local council in the EU information center in Wroclaw. In the UK she worked as journalist for 'Nowy Czas' (2006-2008) and then as Deputy Editor of 'Dziennik Polski' and 'Tydzien Polski' (2009-2015). She also worked as freelancer for 'Cooltura', 'Goniec Polski' and as investigative journalist for 'BBC Newsnight' (2009). From 2019 she works as British correspondent for Vatican Radio.

**Mr Karol Chojonwski**, he studied IT at Edinburgh College he the created Edinburgh.net and nextly Emito.net – the biggest online media in the UK.

**Mr Grzegorz Malkiewicz**, studied philosophy at Jagiellonian University and also completed PhD in Philosophy at Oxford University. Member of 'Student Solidarity Committee' – academic anti-Communist opposition. He worked for the underground journal 'Signal'. Because of the communist repressions he had to move abroad. He worked for Free Europe Radio Station. He then worked as a journalist and editor-in-chief for 'Dziennik Polski' in London. In 2006 he established 'Nowy Czas' and works as an editor-in-chief of the title.