



The role of information in the migration experience of young Polish women in the UK

Melanie Benson Marshall

A study submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Sheffield
Faculty of Social Sciences
Information School

July 2018

Abstract

Since the expansion of the European Union in 2004 to include Poland as a member, there has been a substantial increase in the number of migrants moving from Poland to the UK, and there are now almost one million Poles living in the UK. These migrants are generally young and highly educated, and are moving to the UK for reasons of economic improvement and self-fulfilment. Furthermore, many are women migrating independently, which is an emerging trend in migration in general.

While the information behaviour of migrants has been studied, this work has tended to focus on certain populations, such as refugees. Less research has been done to examine the information behaviour of economic migrants, particularly within an EU context, which becomes more timely with the UK's decision to leave the EU. This thesis therefore investigates the role of information in the migration experience of young Polish women in the UK.

This study takes an interpretivist, constructionist perspective, with a broadly ethnographic approach to data collection and analysis. An exploratory study was undertaken to contextualise the research and refine the methodology, involving expert interviews, pilot interviews with Polish women, and analysis of a previous study of recent Polish migration to the UK. In the main study, twenty-one participants were interviewed using a semi-structured interview technique and mental mapping. Data was analysed thematically.

The study provides insights into the information behaviour and experience of young Polish women migrating to the UK. It contextualises these findings against previous research within migration in the field of information science, and presents a conceptual model of the underlying factors shaping the relationship between migration and information behaviour. It also contributes to the use of visual methods in information behaviour research, and delivers practical recommendations for migrational individuals and those working with them.

Acknowledgements

Many thanks are due firstly to my supervisors, Andrew Cox and Briony Birdi. Thank you both for all your support, suggestions, and constructive criticism over the past few years, and thank you for constantly pushing me to think more deeply and work harder. All your help is hugely appreciated.

I owe a huge debt of gratitude to the participants in this study. Without you this study would not have happened. Thank you for taking time out of your busy lives, inviting me into your homes, telling me your stories, and putting me in touch with other interviewees. I am amazed by the diversity of your stories and everything you have done.

I especially want to thank Aga and Dale Slinger for putting me in touch with so many people and letting me come to their meetings to recruit participants. Their help was much appreciated and greatly added to the diversity of my study.

My expert interviewees provided contextual information, suggestions for the research, and contacts, for which I am very grateful. Thanks are also due to J. Eade and M. Garapich at CRONEM, University of Surrey, for allowing me to use the data from their study on Polish women's migration.

This research was largely funded by the University of Sheffield and the Information School; I greatly appreciate their financial support. I would like to thank all my friends, colleagues, and staff in the Information School for their support and assistance over the past four years, particularly Matt Jones, who has always been extremely helpful in answering my questions.

During the course of my studies I completed an internship at Migration Yorkshire in Leeds, and I would like to thank everyone there, especially Pip Tyler and Dave Brown, for making it such an interesting and useful experience.

Thank you also to my parents and family for all their support and belief in me over the years.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband Luke, for driving me around far-flung corners of South Yorkshire, for never complaining when the Sky+ box is full of programmes about immigration, for listening to me ramble and complain, and for always believing I could do it. This thesis is dedicated to you.

Contents

Abstract	3
Acknowledgements	4
List of figures	9
1. Introduction.....	10
1.1 Introduction to the research	10
1.2 Research questions, aims, and objectives	12
1.3 Structure of the thesis	13
1.4 Definitions	14
2. Literature review	16
2.1 Introduction.....	16
2.2 Migrational individuals	16
2.2.1 Definitions and trends	16
2.2.2 Transnationalism, diaspora, and imaginaries.....	19
2.2.3 The feminization of migration	20
2.2.4 Issues affecting migrational women.....	23
2.3 The Polish migratory experience in the UK	25
2.3.1 Historical context.....	25
2.3.2 Post-war migration	26
2.3.3 Post-accession migration.....	27
2.3.4 Polish women: gender and migration	31
2.4 Information behaviour and practices of migrational individuals	35
2.4.1 Stages of the migration process	35
2.4.2 Migrational individuals' information behaviour.....	36
2.4.3 Migrational individuals' use of libraries	38
2.4.3.1 Views of the library.....	39
2.4.3.2 Barriers to library use	41
2.4.4 Migrational individuals' use of digital information and technology	42
2.4.5 Information grounds.....	43
2.5 Conclusion	45
3. Methodology	46
3.1 Introduction.....	46
3.2 Theoretical and philosophical framework.....	46
3.2.1 Epistemology and ontology	46
3.2.3 Reflexivity	47

3.3 Research design	50
3.3.1 Ethnography.....	51
3.3.2 Methods.....	53
3.3.2.1 Interviews.....	53
3.3.2.2 Visual methods.....	56
3.3.2.3 Photovoice	58
3.3.2.4 Mental mapping	60
3.3.2.5 Secondary data analysis.....	62
3.3.3 Implementation: sampling and recruitment.....	63
3.4 Analysis	66
3.5 Research quality.....	68
3.6 Ethical issues	70
3.7 Conclusion.....	71
4. Exploratory study	72
4.1 Introduction	72
4.2 Pilot interviews	72
4.2.1 Information seeking and gathering.....	73
4.2.2 Information grounds	75
4.2.3 Identity.....	76
4.2.4 Gender	77
4.2.5 Methodological issues	78
4.3 Expert interviews	81
4.3.1 Population and migration	81
4.3.2 Employment.....	82
4.3.3 Gender	84
4.3.4 Social integration and social networks	85
4.3.5 Polish identity	86
4.4 Transcript analysis.....	88
4.4.1 Migration: motives and patterns	88
4.4.2 Community, identity, and gender	89
4.4.3 Employment.....	90
4.5 Conclusion.....	91
5. Findings	94
5.1 Introduction	94
Table of participants	95
5.2 Migration.....	97

5.2.1 Motivations for migration	97
5.2.1.1 Push factors from Poland	97
5.2.1.2 Money and employment.....	99
5.2.1.3 Travel and self-fulfilment	103
5.2.2 Patterns and stages	105
5.2.2.1 Transnationalism	110
5.2.3 Positive aspects of migration	112
5.2.4 Negative aspects of migration.....	114
5.2.5 Future plans.....	122
5.2.6 Conclusions – migration and information behaviour.....	125
5.3 Polish identity and community.....	126
5.3.1 Polish identity	126
5.3.2 Polish mentality	130
5.3.3 The Polish community in the UK	134
5.3.4 Older and younger generations.....	138
5.3.5 Conclusions – Polish identity and community and information behaviour	139
5.4 Everyday life	140
5.4.1 Language.....	140
5.4.2 Food.....	146
5.4.3 Church and religion	148
5.4.4 Space and place	149
5.4.5 Conclusions – everyday life and information behaviour	150
5.5 Gender – expectations, experiences and opportunities	151
5.5.1 Expectations of women	151
5.5.2 Gender roles	153
5.5.3 Employment and motherhood	157
5.5.4 Conclusions – gender and information behaviour	160
5.6 Brexit	160
5.6.1 Reactions	161
5.6.2 Plans	164
5.6.3 Conclusions – Brexit and information behaviour	167
5.7 Information.....	168
5.7.1 Information sources	168
5.7.2 Social networks and connections	170
5.7.3 Information grounds and information encountering.....	175
5.7.4 Library usage	177

5.8 Mental mapping technique: findings and methodological reflections	179
5.9 Conclusion.....	182
6. Discussion: The role of information in migration	183
6.1 Introduction	183
6.2 Pre-arrival and immediate arrival	184
6.2.1 Pre-arrival information practices – planning the move	184
6.2.2 Information practices upon immediate arrival.....	188
6.2.3 The information disjuncture	193
6.2.4 Compliance information and everyday information	194
6.3 Intermediate settling in period.....	197
6.3.1 General information practices	197
6.3.2 Ethnic communities in the new environment.....	198
6.3.3 Technological access and usage.....	201
6.3.4 Education and employment.....	203
6.3.5 Cultural factors.....	207
6.3.6 Social capital	211
6.4 Longer term settlement.....	213
6.5 Model of migrational experience: factors shaping the experience of migrant groups	217
6.6 Conclusion.....	222
7. Conclusion and further research.....	224
7.1 Introduction	224
7.2 Overview of research	224
7.2.1 Findings: answers to research questions	225
7.3 Contribution to current knowledge	229
7.3.1 Contribution to the literature	229
7.3.2 Methodological contribution	232
7.4 Scope of the research and suggestions for future research	232
7.5 Practical recommendations	235
7.6 Conclusion	237
References	238
Appendix A: Interview schedules.....	258
Exploratory study	258
Main study	262
Appendix B: Participant information sheets.....	264
Exploratory study	264
Main study	270

Appendix C: Stages of coding	273
Appendix D: Participants' maps	277

List of figures

Fig. 5.1 Participant map in linear form	180
Fig. 5.2 Participant map in spider diagram form	181

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the research

International migration is a phenomenon that shapes the modern world, and continues to increase in scale. In 2015, 244 million people, or 3.3 per cent of the world's population, were international migrants (United Nations Department of Public Information, 2016); within the UK, the number of foreign-born residents increased to over 8.7 million, more than double what it had been in 1993 (Vargas-Silva & Rienzo, 2017). Within South Yorkshire, 8% of residents were born outside the UK; within Sheffield, this number rises to 11% (Migration Yorkshire, 2017). The migration experience and process of settlement varies greatly between groups, some of which have received more attention than others both in popular media and in various fields of academic literature. Motivations for migration differ, with many individuals choosing to move internationally for economic improvement or to join family, but there is a significant population of refugees and displaced migrants throughout the world (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017a) whose experience is in many ways quite different from that of willing economic migrants. The extensive coverage of this group, particularly in recent years, has shaped perceptions of what the migration experience is, the characteristics of a migrant, and the wider issues surrounding migration. However, the refugee community is only one part of a larger migrational population.

Since the expansions of the European Union in 2004 and 2007 that brought former Eastern bloc countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania into the EU, migration into the UK by these groups has increased, with Poles comprising the largest of these populations; in 2016 it was estimated that 911,000 UK residents were born in Poland (Office for National Statistics, 2017), and the 2011 UK census showed Polish to be the second most widely spoken language in England (R. Booth, 2013). While the Polish population in the UK is long established, particularly in the wake of the Second World War, the migratory experience of the post-accession generation of Poles – those migrating after their country's accession to, or joining of, the EU in 2004 – has been quite different to that of the post-war generation (Bielewska, 2012) and provides an interesting contrast. The demographic profile of the post-accession migrants is generally young and highly educated, and they have migrated for largely economic reasons (Fihel

& Kaczmarczyk, 2009), although their migration narratives are often complex, nuanced, and multifaceted and economic improvement is often not the sole motivation (Ryan, 2015; Toruńczyk-Ruiz, 2008; White, 2010). This community of young, often highly skilled migrants from Poland to the UK has been studied in depth in fields such as sociology and geography, but in the LIS field there has been no research into the experience of this group. The information literature, while giving some attention to economic migrants, tends to foreground the experience of the refugee or displaced migrant. Against the backdrop of a worldwide refugee crisis, it is clearly important to study this group, the circumstances they face, and how their situation manifests in their information behaviour. However, much can be learned from studying other groups of migrants, such as those in this study, and from setting their experience against that of the refugee migrant.

Within the European migratory context, migrant women outnumber their male counterparts (Zlotnik, 2003). The migration of women is of particular interest for several reasons; the factors behind it are frequently complex, and migrational women may face a range of potential difficulties (R. Berger, 2004). In addition, the processes of migration and resettlement may challenge traditional norms, allowing women to renegotiate their gender roles and providing them with opportunities for empowerment and positive change (Abramovitz, 2004; Fisher, Durrance, & Bouch Hinton, 2004; Piper, 2008). Recent years have seen an increase in research on the topic of women's migration (Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan IV, & Pessar, 2006; Knorr & Meier, 2000), and this has been reflected in the coverage of Eastern European migrants since 2004. Despite being often well-educated and skilled, women in this community frequently work in low-status, low-paid positions (Coyle, 2007; Currie, 2009) and must balance this with domestic and family commitments (Ryan, Sales, Tilki, & Siara, 2009). The impact of these circumstances and conditions upon the information behaviour of this group is worthy of further study. However, as noted, little work appears to have been done to examine explicitly the information behaviour of Polish women newly arrived in the UK.

During the process of migration, migrants' knowledge bases and information behaviours often become disrupted and fragmented, and upon arrival, these must be reconstructed through re-engagement with information. Migrants must establish the characteristics of their new information landscape, and learn how to navigate it; the ease with which this is accomplished is influenced by many factors. Migrational individuals have an array of information needs at different stages of the process, ranging from practical matters such as accommodation and employment to less tangible needs such as feeling connected to their new (and old) communities, dealing with status loss, and questions of identity (Borkert, Fisher, & Yafi, 2018; Caidi, Allard, & Quirke, 2010; Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004; Pumariega, Rothe, & Pumariega, 2005; Rayes, Martin-Hammond,

Komlodi, Caidi, & Sundin, 2016). Increased migration places pressure on the migrants themselves, but also on the host country or city, making it imperative to study the needs of these individuals and how they might be better met (Rutter & Latorre, 2009; T. Wilson, 2010). Migrants may have distinct information behaviours, such as preferring interpersonal sources (Caidi & Allard, 2005; Kennan, Lloyd, Qayyum, & Thompson, 2011; Khoir, Du, & Koronios, 2015; Ryan, Sales, Tilki, & Siara, 2008) or seeking out connections based on shared ethnicity, common interests or simply feeling oneself to be in a minority (Fisher, Landry, & Naumer, 2007). These needs and behaviours have been examined intensively with reference to refugees (Lamb, 2007; Lloyd, 2014, 2016; Lloyd, Kennan, Thompson, & Qayyum, 2013; Lloyd & Wilkinson, 2016, 2017; Melnyk, 2017; Nekesa Akullo & Odong, 2017; Shankar et al., 2016) but few studies have been undertaken regarding highly skilled migrants in general, and even fewer regarding the Eastern European population in the UK.

1.2 Research questions, aims, and objectives

The overall aim of the study is to investigate the role of information in the migration experience of young Polish women in the UK. From this aim, three research questions were derived:

- What are the factors shaping migrational Polish women's information behaviour during the process of migration and settlement?
- What are the features of their experience, in terms of how they seek, find, encounter, and use information?
- How does their experience compare to other forms of migration and other migrants' information behaviour?

These questions were further broken down into the following objectives:

- To identify what is known about the information behaviour of migrants, in particular the Polish community and women, through a literature review
- To explore the context of Polish migration to the UK through a literature review and exploratory study

- To develop and evaluate an appropriate toolkit of data collection and analysis methods by conducting an exploratory study
- To recruit and interview 20-25 Polish migrational women in order to gain deeper understanding of the issues facing them and their information behaviour
- To collect data through innovative and engaging visual and participative methods in order to capture different perspectives and rich data
- To analyse the interview and visual data to better understand the role of information in the lifecourse of Polish migrational women
- To contextualise participants' experience by comparing it to that of other migrants, in order to provide an expanded conceptualisation of migration as a whole and the role of information therein
- To develop a conceptual model of the underlying factors shaping the relationship between migration and information behaviour.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The literature review that follows examines issues of migration, with emphasis on the Polish context and gender issues, as well as examining the literature around the information behaviour of migrational individuals. This is followed by an explanation of the methodology used in the study, comprising an account of the theoretical framework, methods including ethnographic techniques and visual methods, implementation, analysis, research quality, and ethical issues. The exploratory study is then presented, which comprises three parts: pilot interviews with Polish women; expert interviews; and analysis of transcripts from a previous study. The purpose and findings of this study are discussed. Following this, findings from the main study are presented, according to the main themes emerging from the analysis of the data. These findings are then discussed in depth, considering the migration experience of young Polish women and contrasting it with the example of refugees, a group which has been intensively studied in the context of their information behaviour. At the end of this chapter, in Section 6.5, an emerging conceptual model of the underlying factors shaping the relationship between migration and information behaviour is presented. The final chapter concludes the thesis by summarising the research contribution and offering practical recommendations and ideas for future study.

1.4 Definitions

This work explores several concepts that require definition in order to frame the work, in both the area of migration and the area of information. These are outlined briefly here but are discussed in more detail, where appropriate, in Section 2.2.1. These definitions have been selected as the most appropriate and relevant for the work, given the circumstances of the participants.

Definitions of migration-related terms:

Migrational individual/ migrant: these terms are used in this study to mean “any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country” (Council of Europe, 2005, cited in UNESCO, 2017). Lingel (2011) broadens the term ‘migrational individual’ to include anyone “in a process of movement, including refugees, exchange students, visitors and immigrants” (p. 2). The first definition tends to reflect better the circumstances of participants in this study, but both terms are applicable.

Economic migrant: “a person who leaves their home country to live in another country with better working or living conditions” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2017), as opposed to migrating for reasons such as persecution or family joining. Participants in this study fall into this category, while acknowledging that their motivations for migration are often more complex than solely those of economic improvement.

Refugee: “someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence” (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017b). This term reflects the circumstances of ‘refugees’ as discussed in the information literature which is examined in this work.

Definitions of information-related terms:

Information behaviour: this is an umbrella concept that “encompasses information seeking as well as the totality of other *unintentional* or *serendipitous* behaviors (such as glimpsing or encountering information), as well as purposive behaviors that do not involve seeking, such as actively *avoiding* information. The term also includes the broader context of how individuals “deal with” information in their lives, so accounts for situation, time, affect, culture, geography, and

other contextual elements in understanding people's IB" (Case & Given, 2016, p. 6). These behaviours, as exhibited and described by participants, will be investigated in this study. The contextual emphasis of this concept makes it an appropriate one for a study with a migrational context, where issues of culture and geography are to the fore.

Information practices: Case and Given (2016) state that this may be considered a synonym for information behaviour, but acknowledge the differences between the concepts and note that the two terms are difficult to define and are often used to present similar ideas. For Savolainen, "[b]ehaviour draws more strongly on the tradition of psychology (or social psychology) while the conceptualizations of practice draw more on sociology... and social philosophy" (Savolainen, Wilson, Olsson, & Cavanagh, 2009). This study subscribes more to the view of Wilson that actions, practices, and activities all fall under the umbrella of 'behaviour' (Savolainen et al., 2009); for this reason, the term 'information behaviour' is used more prevalently, although 'information practices' are referred to where appropriate.

Information literacy: this study follows the ALA's definition that information literacy is a set of abilities requiring individuals "to recognize when information is needed and have the ability to locate, evaluate, and use effectively the needed information" (American Library Association, 1989).

2. Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines and discusses the relevant literature on the subjects of migration and information behaviour. Firstly, the idea of a migrational individual is defined, along with the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora. Issues around migrational women and the Polish migratory experience in the UK are then surveyed in order to provide context for the study. The information behaviour and practices of migrational individuals are considered within the context of their information needs and their views of information resources such as the public library. The theory of information grounds is reviewed, and its strengths and limitations are addressed.

2.2 Migrational individuals

2.2.1 Definitions and trends

This study examines the information behaviour of ‘migrational individuals’; Lingel (2011) uses the term to describe “people in a process of movement, including refugees, exchange students, visitors and immigrants” (p. 2). This definition encompasses a wide range of conditions and experiences of movement and migration, including very short-term temporary movement such as tourism, and also internal migration within a country. As noted by the Migration Observatory, “there is no consensus on a single definition of a ‘migrant’” and the term differs between governments and institutions (Anderson & Blinder, 2017, p. 3), but most definitions address international migration –movement between countries – which is the focus of this study. The Council of Europe defines a migrant as “any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country” (Council of Europe, 2005, cited in UNESCO, 2017). Within this definition, some analysts have grouped migrants loosely into those migrating for work, study, asylum, or family reasons (Blinder, 2017). International migrants have been further subdivided by other analysts into categories such as temporary labour migrants; highly skilled and business migrants; irregular or

undocumented migrants; refugees; asylum seekers; forced migrants; family reunification migrants; and return migrants (Castles, 2000). It is important to note, however, that these categories are not exclusive and some overlap. These overlapping categories, and the lack of coherent and unified terminology to describe types of migrants reflects the complexity of the experience; migrants may fall into more than one category and motivations are often multifaceted.

The definition of a migrational individual can also be problematic with regard to temporal terminology: government policy tends to use the terms ‘newcomer’ or ‘recent immigrant’ without defining these labels in terms of time, whereas academic discourse often differentiates among generational groups, with those born abroad being ‘first generation’ and their children, born in the new place of settlement, as the ‘second generation’ (Caidi et al., 2010). Rumbaut (2004) also describes the ‘1.5 generation’, those who immigrated as children, while examining the differences in identity and socialization that the timing of migration has on the individual. This study engages with first generation immigrants who were born abroad and migrated to South Yorkshire within approximately the last five to ten years.

Although migration is multifaceted and there are many different kinds of experience, much coverage of migration, both in popular media, and in academic literature, including that of the LIS field, foregrounds the experience of the refugee migrant. The refugee is defined as “someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence” (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017b), a definition which is used when refugees are discussed in this study. The extensive coverage of this group shapes perceptions of what the migration experience is and the issues surrounding it, sometimes to the exclusion of other groups. It therefore provides a useful backdrop and counterpoint to the present study. There are, however, many other types of migrant, and this study focuses on the economic migrant. An economic migrant can be defined as “a person who leaves their home country to live in another country with better working or living conditions” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2017). Participants in the current study came to the UK in order to work, and this study therefore adopts this definition to describe them, while acknowledging that the complexity and nuance of participants’ experience extends beyond the economic.

In a highly mobile society, there will necessarily be a large number of migrational individuals, shifting between cities, countries and cultures with varying degrees of permanence (Joly, 2017; Kritz, 2015; Mavroudi & Nagel, 2016; Urry, 2007). The numbers of international migrants are increasing: in 2015, 244 million people, or 3.3 per cent of the world’s population,

were international migrants, compared with 175 million in 2000 and 154 million in 1990 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2013; United Nations Department of Public Information, 2016). The UN Refugee Agency estimates that there are currently 65.6 million forcibly displaced people worldwide, of which 22.5 million are classed as refugees; this is the largest number ever recorded (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017a). The UK hosts 9.4 million international migrants and just over 14% of the population in England and Wales was not born in the UK (Office for National Statistics, 2017). Within the South Yorkshire region, 8% of the population was born outside the UK. In Sheffield, the primary focus of this study, 11% of residents were born outside the UK; population growth is driven primarily by international migration. Although Sheffield comprises 11% of the population in the Yorkshire and Humber region, it receives more than 11% of new migrants (Migration Yorkshire, 2017) and the ethnic minority population has more than doubled since 2001 (Sheffield First Partnership, 2014).

After the expansion of the European Union (EU) in 2004, eight countries with low per capita incomes were brought into the EU: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. These countries are known as the A8 nations, where 'A' refers to accession, the technical name for joining the EU, and '8' to the number of countries (Dustmann, Frattini, & Halls, 2010; ILPA, 2010). A further expansion in 2007 gave membership to those known as the A2 nations, Bulgaria and Romania (Vargas-Silva, 2014). In the same way as the A8 nations, 'A' stands for accession and '2' for the number of countries involved (ILPA, 2010). Migration into the UK by members of all of these groups has subsequently increased: in the period 2004-2012, the average yearly migration of A8 nationals into the UK was 170,000, whereas in the preceding twelve year period it had remained largely flat at around 61,000 per year (Vargas-Silva, 2014). The 2011 census revealed that 1.1 million residents of the UK were born in A8 or A2 accession countries (Office for National Statistics, 2013), and in 2017 it was estimated that one million UK residents were of Polish nationality (Office for National Statistics, 2017). In the UK as a whole, since 2010, Poland has been the top nationality for migrants who have been issued documents recognising permanent residence, with 4,212 issued in 2013 (Home Office, 2014). Within Sheffield, the largest of these groups of new A2 and A8 migrants have been from Poland and Slovakia, with smaller numbers of Czech, Hungarian and Lithuanian nationals (Migration Yorkshire, 2017; New Arrivals Service, 2011). Since 2012, the greatest increases in migration in the city have come from groups from Poland, Slovakia, Spain and Hungary; in 2016 around 1650 new migrant workers from EU countries immigrated to Sheffield, mostly from Romania and Poland (Migration Yorkshire, 2017). This may be partly attributed to the lifting of restrictions on housing rights, social benefits and access to work for nationals of Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia,

Latvia and Lithuania in 2011 (Grove-White, 2011). The 2011 UK census showed Polish to be the second most widely spoken language in England (R. Booth, 2013).

2.2.2 Transnationalism, diaspora, and imaginaries

It is acknowledged (Castles, de Haas, & Miller, 2014; Harzig, 2001; Joly, 2017) that international migration is not a single, linear process simply involving a move from one country to another; it often involves multiple moves before final settlement takes place, and certainly involves the establishment of links and “social fields” across geographical, political and cultural borders. Migrants may live in or ‘belong to’ more than one country at a time, and move between the two with relative frequency. These movements and networks have been conceptualised as ‘transnationalism’ (Schiller, Basch, & Blancazanton, 1992, p. ix). The idea of transnationalism is vital as it ties together the physical country of origin and country of settlement, but also metaphorically the ‘old’ and ‘new’ worlds of the migrational individuals, acknowledging their multiple attachments and identifications. Despite the “transnational turn” (Levitt & Nyberg-Sorensen, 2004), transnationalism is not a new idea; family economies have long been constructed across geographical borders (Baldassar & Merla, 2014; Mazzucato, 2013; Sharpe, 2001). An example of this can be found in Momsen’s (1992) study of migrational women from the Caribbean, which describes how despite increased migration by women, they retained strong ties to their families and household networks. In this paradigm, migration is viewed as an extension of, rather than an exit from, the domestic unit: the household is not confined to a single space, but is defined by the networks and exchanges of support that are constructed. This model clearly reflects Massey’s (1993, 1994, 2005) claims that space is constructed through actions and networks, and demonstrates how the traditionally female space of the household is not a static, unchanging entity. In addition, it illustrates how migration and movement through space are not binary processes with one point of origin and one final destination; identities of place are fluid and porous, constructed by their links to spaces beyond them, rather than the patriarchal view of space as something that is defined by its boundaries and oppositions (Massey, 1994).

Transnationalism is “grounded in the daily lives, activities and social relationships of migrants” (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992, p. 5). Within the context of daily life, technology has facilitated the process, offering aspiration, hope, comfort and a sense of community and nationalism to displaced migrants (Alam & Imran, 2015; Appadurai, 1996; Fisher, 2018; Georgiou, 2013; Komito, 2011; Metykova, 2010; Mitra, 1997; Panagakos & Horst, 2006;

Srinivasan & Pyati, 2007; Wilding, 2006). It frees people from the restrictions of physical space and allows instant information transfer outside the confines of a physical location, and may be useful in rectifying inequalities through allowing more egalitarian access to information (Srinivasan & Pyati, 2007). It has further been noted that younger migrants in particular utilise technology, most predominantly the Internet, to aid the integration process (Khoir et al., 2015; Lloyd, 2016; Lloyd & Wilkinson, 2016, 2017; T. Wilson, 2010).

Experiences of migration and transnationalism can be thought of as being shaped by migrants' imaginaries. The term 'imaginary' is located in the sociological tradition and is described by C. Taylor (2004) as "the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations" (p.23). In the context of global migration, Appadurai (1996) describes the concept of 'imagined worlds': "the multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imagination of persons and groups spread around the globe" (p. 33). In the information field, Allard's (2015, 2016) research uses the term 'imaginary' in the sense in which Salazar (2010) defines it and links it to migration: "in the context of migration... the link with imaginaries is established through the recognition of possibilities, of alternative constructions of future lives in other places. Migration seems to be tied to particular representations of reality such that potential migrants view it as a route for success, regardless of the actual reality" (Salazar, 2010, pp. 8-9). Allard (2015, 2016) presents a five-stage process of translocal meaning making wherein the construction, fragmentation, and reconstruction of imaginaries influences migrants' information practices throughout the process of migration and settlement.

2.2.3 The feminization of migration

"Much of the current disorientation [regarding global migration patterns], as we have seen, is put down to the arrival in one form or another of the 'Other'. Yet some 'Others' of the dominant definers in First World society have always been there – women." (Massey, 1994, p. 166)

As of 2015, 48% of international migrants were women (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2016); in the UK women comprised 52% of the foreign-born population (Vargas-Silva & Rienzo, 2017). As has been noted (Donato & Gabaccia, 2015; Knorr & Meier, 2000; Sharpe, 2001), the migration of women was little discussed until the mid-1970s, and

much of the literature on migration has, whether explicitly or implicitly, tended to focus on male migrants (Zlotnik, 2003). However, in recent years there has been more interest in the gender patterns of migration, possibly due in part to the rising percentage of female migrants (Donato & Gabaccia, 2015; Donato et al., 2006; Gabaccia, 2016; Knorr & Meier, 2000), but possibly also because feminist work within academia has made it less tenable to continue assuming that the male experience is the most important (Hesse-Biber, 2012; Reinharz, 1992). It has been suggested that the issues of real interest surround not the numerical or proportional increase but the motivations for women's migration and how these have changed (Donato & Gabaccia, 2015; United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2007).

Migration is a gendered process, reflecting the different roles of men and women in society (Donato & Gabaccia, 2015; Harzig, 2001). Migration is often presented as a choice by the migrant, but reasons for migration are often quite complex, and for women, they are frequently even more so, encompassing a range of social, economic and political factors (Maldonado & Brock, 2017). Berger's (2004) book on migrant women presents the stories of eighteen such women, most of whom migrated as the result of a decision ultimately made by another: a spouse, a parent, or those in political power. However, the traditional perception that women move simply to follow a male partner or family member is too simplistic a model (Kofman, Phizacklea, Raghuram, & Sales, 2000; Rowbotham, 2001; Smith & Warner, 2015). Ryan et al. (2009) found this to be the case for the Polish women they interviewed, several of whom had taken an active role in the decision to migrate. The research literature in the area of migration has tended to reinforce accepted portrayals of male and female gender and familial roles, albeit perhaps unintentionally; from a feminist perspective, this bias is inbuilt in the way these subjects have traditionally been presented by men. One report asserts that the role of other family members, and the needs of the household, in the decision to migrate have been explicitly examined in the case of female migration, but less so in male migration. This discounts both personal agency on the part of women, and the influence of the family on the actions of men, which leads to a damaging reinforcement and idealisation of traditional family roles, obscuring the truth of the situation (United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2007). Conversely, Chamberlain's (1997) findings seem to suggest that such framing may come from the participants themselves, albeit possibly from lifelong conditioning regarding gender roles. In interviewing women and men who migrated to the UK from Barbados, she observed that women's representations of their migration were frequently grounded in the familial context, describing and evaluating the process in collective terms and noting its effects primarily in the domestic sphere. In contrast, men's

accounts foregrounded their autonomy, spontaneity, and individual actions, even if the decision to move had been made for the good of the family as a whole.

Berger (2004) notes four types of migration pattern. Families may migrate as a unit, or as an extended multigenerational unit, defined as spanning three or more generations (Flake, 2012). A third model is chain migration, where one family member (often male) migrates first for work, and gradually brings other family members. However, an increasing trend is that women do not always migrate as part of a family or marital unit; many migrate alone, to meet a demand for low-wage labour in the receiving country (Abramovitz, 2004; Donato & Gabaccia, 2015; Gabaccia, 2016; Smith & Warner, 2015; United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2007). Berger (2004) calls this 'mothers first' migration, although this term does not acknowledge that not every lone female migrant is a mother. Many participants in the current study migrated alone. While economic factors for migration have been well studied (Bartram, 2011; Glover et al., 2001; Lucas, 2008), social drivers affecting women, such as abuse, unhappy marriages, or the search for new relationship opportunities, have received less attention (Smith & Warner, 2015; United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2007). Sometimes these social factors are uncovered unintentionally; one study (Bernhard, Landolt, & Goldring, 2006) found that one in three Latin American women who migrated to Canada did so to escape domestic violence, although this had not been the focus of the research. In the Caribbean in particular, much migration has been female-initiated (Momsen, 1992; Sutton, 1992). This type of migration may disrupt gender norms as the female takes on the role of breadwinner, sending money back to her family. Families may select female members to migrate abroad, with the belief or expectation that they will be willing to endure harsher conditions and remit a higher proportion of their earnings; it has also been claimed that migrant women frequently measure their achievements primarily in terms of how well they are able to provide for their families (United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2007), which demonstrates how accepted gender norms still infiltrate the process of migration. This problematizes the idea of the woman as the chief domestic caregiver and creator or embodiment of a stable home; she is mobile and absent from the hearth, and is taking on an established male role, but is clearly still being bound by conventional gender beliefs. Traditionally, women have been associated with private, domestic, nurturing and safe spaces, embodying the idea of 'home' or 'hearth' in opposition to the more dynamic male domains of travel, discovery and movement (Massey, 1994; Weisman, 1992). Massey extends this to suggest that 'the local' becomes a female sphere of influence, while men exert control over 'the

global'. If women are "assigned the role of personifying a place which did not change" (Massey, 1994, p. 167), their migration may thereby be perceived as subversive.

2.2.4 Issues affecting migrational women

In addition to the practical hurdles of migration (Asanin & Wilson, 2008), migrants may experience mental and emotional difficulties such as a sense of loss or displacement, challenges to their identity, mental health problems, exploitation, discrimination, cultural dissonance, social barriers and financial constraints (Aziz, 2015; J. W. Berry, 1997; Crooks, Hynie, Killian, Giesbrecht, & Castleden, 2011; Maldonado & Brock, 2017; Pumariega et al., 2005; Smith & Warner, 2015; Yakushko, Backhaus, Watson, Ngaruiya, & Gonzalez, 2008; Yakushko & Chronister, 2005). To add to these potential difficulties, female migrants are subject to a further collection of issues. Their new host country may have significantly different gender norms than those they are used to, which may undermine conventional family structures and the way women are perceived and treated in society in general (Abramovitz, 2004). Women from some cultures may be expected to take on the bulk of responsibility for parenting and domestic duties, sometimes while working outside the home, and for maintaining cultural and familial continuity with the country they have left (R. Berger, 2004; Galush, 1990; Ho, 2006; Pustułka, 2012). Transnational migration in particular is a gendered phenomenon, which affects women and men "in gender specific ways"; women are expected to take on responsibility not only for domestic matters, or for their own employment, but for ensuring that these two worlds merge successfully (Salaff & Greve, 2004, p. 160). In some cases this may lead to women becoming even more entrenched in traditional gender roles: one study of Chinese women migrating to Australia found that employment levels declined due to language difficulties, discrimination and related factors, as well as the loss of women's familial and social networks, as well as of affordable domestic help, upon migration required them to take on more domestic responsibility. In addition, they often found themselves feeling isolated and forced to rely upon their husbands financially, practically and socially (Ho, 2006). Heath et al's (2015) study of young Polish migrants to the UK found that "moving to the UK had undoubtedly facilitated new freedoms and opportunities, yet these were utilised by many to bring forward, rather than delay, a sequence of broadly conventional domestic transitions" (p. 139). The greater opportunities for financial improvement and stability afforded by their move to the UK had enabled them to marry, have children, and buy property, which would have been much more difficult to achieve in Poland. In addition, they retained strong connections with family members

who had also migrated to the UK. The authors interpreted these findings to mean that participants still abided by traditional conceptualisations of family that had underpinned their previous lives in Poland.

It has been asserted that female migration is “founded upon the continued reproduction and exploitation of gender inequalities by global capitalism” (United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2007, p. 3). Most female migrants work in domestic or reproductive labour of some kind, such as childcare, care work, cleaning or cooking, although some find employment in the sex industry (Smith & Warner, 2015), all of which may result in low pay, poor conditions, and a lack of social status, as well as serving to reproduce traditional gender roles (Aziz, 2015). These effects are particularly pronounced because women who perform these jobs are often of a particular race, ethnicity, nationality or class, and gender thereby combines with other forms of oppression and discrimination to facilitate the exploitation of women migrants (Piper, 2008; United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2007). Van Eyck (2004) found that female migrant workers in the health industry were frequently subject to poorer conditions, worse benefits, less job security and lower status roles than they had been used to before migrating. The experience of newly arrived Eastern European women in the UK appears to have broadly followed these trends. Both male and female migrants from A8 and A2 countries are often well-educated or skilled, but tend to find employment in low-status, low-paid roles once in the UK (Aziz, 2015; Favell, 2008; Harris, Moran, & Bryson, 2015; Ignatowicz, 2012; Lubbers & Gijsberts, 2016; Ryan, 2015). Currie (2009) and Coyle (2007) found this to be the case for the women of the community in particular, who tend to work in caring, cleaning or other domestic positions, and observe that they may face greater difficulties than men for several reasons. As this kind of work is more likely to be recruited, monitored and remunerated on an informal basis, compared to men’s work in factories or warehouses, these women are more likely to be subject to poor conditions and unregulated pay. The fact that much of this work takes place in private households may render it less visible and therefore less subject to scrutiny and regulation. Many women have domestic and familial responsibilities on top of their paid work (Ryan et al., 2009). In addition, “entrenched views” regarding the types of jobs that are appropriate for men and women pervade the migration process (Currie, 2009, p. 117). Mulvihill, Mailloux, and Atkin (2001) discovered that women who migrated to Canada were more likely than male migrants to “experience isolation due to socio-cultural and linguistic barriers” (Crooks et al., 2011, p. 140). Migrant women have also been found to be particularly vulnerable to mental health difficulties during the process of migration and

resettlement (Fellmeth, Fazel, & Plugge, 2017; Im, Lee, & Lee, 2014; Miller et al., 2006; Yakushko & Chronister, 2005).

While the losses and difficulties faced by migrants have been well documented, less attention has been given to the positive effects that may result. Some migrants experience improvements in financial, professional, educational or social conditions, for both themselves and their children, as well as less tangible benefits such as increased self-esteem, social status and recognition, and personal autonomy (Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004; Friedman-Kasaba, 1996; Georges, 1992; Smith & Warner, 2015; United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2007). Harzig (2001) offers some opposition to the view of women migrants as exploited, presenting them as “well-informed global players... decisive agents pursuing their own agenda” (p. 25), due to the renegotiation in some cases of gender relations during the process of migration and resettlement. Cook, Dwyer, and Waite (2011) found that some of the Polish women they interviewed used the opportunity of migration to “critically review their own attitudes and beliefs” and “reconfigure aspects of their identity” (p. 73). R. Berger (2004) observed in some migrational women a sense of achievement, greater self-belief, a sense of freedom, and broadened horizons as a result of migration. It is worth noting that Berger’s subjects were “not among the most disadvantaged women immigrants” (Abramovitz, 2004, p. xii), and the positive effects of migration should still be weighed against, and examined in the context of, the traditional gender norms and inequalities that tend to accompany female migration (United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2007). Nonetheless, the positive consequences of migration should be acknowledged.

2.3 The Polish migratory experience in the UK

2.3.1 Historical context

Emigration from Poland is not a new phenomenon; it has in fact contributed much to the development of the country during the modern era (Burrell, 2009; Garapich, 2008). Towards the end of the eighteenth century, three acts of partition were conducted by the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia, and Habsburg Austria, dividing the land of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between these powers. During the nineteenth century, economic migration, particularly during the settlement of the United States, was supplemented by migration for

reasons of persecution among Polish Jews. By the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, over 3.5 million Poles had emigrated (Iglicka, 2001), and although the Polish state was re-established in 1918, economic problems ensured that emigration continued in the interbellum years. However, although much of this migration involved long-term settlement abroad, with the US again being a popular destination, there was also movement of a more short-term, cyclical or seasonal nature by Poles within European and Russian territories. By 1939, Poland had come to exhibit what Burrell (2009) calls “a multi-faceted trajectory of mobility” (p. 2) and a strong diaspora.

2.3.2 Post-war migration

During the Second World War, Poland was invaded and subsequently occupied by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. Ethnic Poles were subject to persecution and close to six million Polish citizens died under these regimes. Under *Generalplan Ost*, the Nazis planned to eliminate the Polish nation and its culture, and annex all Polish territory. Nazi policy towards the country was far harsher than in other occupied territories in Western Europe, and Poland suffered greatly from economic exploitation. Migration from Poland was therefore often forced and brutal; over 1.7 million Poles were forcibly resettled to Siberia in 1940. A Polish government-in-exile was based in London from 1940 and “substantial diasporic institutional structures” were set up in the UK to accommodate migrating Poles (Garapich, 2008, p. 126). After the war, Communist rule was established in Poland and it was unsafe for those Poles who had served in the Allied army to return due to the risk of persecution; around 150,000 Polish citizens settled in the UK, many of whom were members of the armed forces who had been demobilised to the UK and were then joined by their families (Zubrzycki, 1956). Further family joiners arrived throughout the 1960s, and more settlement occurred in the 1980s after General Jaruzelski imposed martial law in Poland; thousands of Polish Solidarity dissidents took advantage of the existing diaspora in the UK to migrate to London (Garapich, 2008).

Bielewska (2012) feels that post-war migrants from Poland to the UK have had “their identity... shaped by strong wartime nationalism” that is rooted in patriotism and religion (p. 87). She observes them to have complex and conflicting feelings towards post-war Poland: communist rule was not an imposition they were willing to accept, but after its collapse in 1989 they felt the country was now no longer recognisable to them. In addition, while they are often very settled in the UK, they may display resentment towards the UK for enabling Soviet rule in Poland and may

still feel as ‘othered’ as they did when they arrived in post-war Britain. Garapich’s (2008) perspective is that Polish national emigration ideology divides migrants broadly into political or economic migrants, with the former being seen to have higher moral status than the latter. Post-war migrants who moved or were exiled for political reasons therefore differentiate themselves from economic migrants and see themselves as faithful to Polish nationalism. As Garapich points out, once established, this self-ascription as a political migrant has the power to form an individual’s character and presentation, and “requires constant nurturing in the form of memory construction and rituals” (p. 131). This emphasis upon the political and nationalistic leads to a sense that this migrant group sees itself as different from any other, and is keen to distinguish itself from the groups of fellow Poles who migrated after 1989. Within the complex history of stories, personal trajectories and political discourse that comprise the Polish migration myth, economic migration is regarded with suspicion or disdain, expressing as it does many individual and pragmatic characteristics that depart from the romantic Polish narrative of nationalism. Post-accession migrants may be seen as ‘tainted’ by communism in contrast to the ‘pure’ nationalism of post-war migrants (Garapich, 2008).

Post-war Polish migrants were usually lacking in language skills or transferable professional skills upon their arrival in the UK, and had few personal connections. As a result, they generally possessed little economic or social capital and tended to have less choice in the matters of employment or where to settle. However, as the community has settled, this older generation increasingly chooses to live near other Poles and Polish institutions, and may seek to reproduce their Polish home in their new environment, both physically and in terms of social structures and gender roles (Bielewska, 2012), as well as in the rituals that Garapich (2008) mentions. Bielewska (2012) presents this community as living in a world of ‘closed’ spaces as defined by Tuan (1977), having moved from one clearly defined ‘home’ to another without much maintenance of networks between the two. They prefer to make use of printed media and television (including Polish television) over the internet and new media, and rely heavily upon other members of the local Polish community for information and support, as well as sharing memories (Bielewska, 2012).

2.3.3 Post-accession migration

Following the collapse of communism, economic transition in Poland was not easy. The country adjusted to a market economy and experienced high levels of unemployment (Drinkwater, Eade, & Garapich, 2009; Fihel & Kaczmarczyk, 2009), with approximately one million

Poles per year seeking work outside Poland (Jordan & Düvell, 2002). From the early 1990s Polish citizens were allowed to enter the UK without visas, but were limited in their access to the labour market; during that decade Poles displayed higher levels than other migrant groups of illegal employment and visa overstaying (Düvell, 2004; Jordan & Düvell, 2002). In May 2004 Poland became a full member of the EU. Many Poles, particularly the younger generation (Garapich, 2008), sought new experiences abroad, taking advantage of cheap transport across Europe and new communications technology (Heath et al., 2015). In addition to economic motivations, a common theme was that of a desire for greater independence (Toruńczyk-Ruiz, 2008; White, 2010) or “a bit of adventure” (Ryan, 2015). Fihel and Kaczmarczyk (2009) reported that 72 per cent of Polish migrants in the UK at the time of their research were aged 20 to 29, with only 16 per cent aged 35 and above. Furthermore, 50 per cent were aged 25 and under, and the UK attracted the highest number of highly educated Poles at 24 per cent, whereas by comparison only 6 per cent of Polish migrants to Germany had the same level of education. These observations, and supporting in-depth surveys, led the authors to conclude that many Poles were migrating to the UK directly after finishing university. A common discourse in the UK media following accession was that Polish migrants were taking jobs away from UK residents, and most coverage of these migrants focused on their work in low-paid industries (Gilpin, Henty, Lemos, Portes, & Bullen, 2006; Harris et al., 2015; McDowell, Batnitzky, & Dyer, 2007; Meardi, 2007). However, in many locations across the UK, Polish shops and businesses emerged to support the growing Polish population, often run by Poles themselves; this kind of entrepreneurship and job creation, along with less formal kinds of self-employment such as homemade dinner delivery or translation services, is not uncommon among post-accession Polish migrants (Aziz, 2015; Garapich, 2008; Harris et al., 2015).

In contrast to post-war migrants, post-accession Polish migrants may well not display a strong sense of patriotism, often seeking to distance themselves from other Poles and to replace such networks with links to their new society, through social relationships and lifestyle choices that reflect the globalisation of culture (Bielewska, 2012; Eade & Garapich, 2008; Garapich, 2008). They are open to, and influenced by, western and American popular culture, having grown up in a post-socialist society with no real direct experience of socialism; the UK is not as different or foreign to them as it was to post-war migrants (Bielewska, 2012). In addition, the open borders of the EU, and the corresponding right to live and work in EU countries, allow them to feel part of a larger global society; they “tend to construct migration as an action which is easy to take, does not take long consideration, long-term preparations nor involves a difficult crossing” (Galasińska & Kozłowska, 2009, p. 89). Migration is thus “a low-risk experience” and they do not require the

“safety net of ethnic solidarity”, particularly given the large numbers of Poles in the UK currently (Bielewska, 2012, p. 97). Massey’s (1993) conception of space as open and networked applies more to this generation of migrants, who are connected to both the UK and Poland by a number of links, and who may move back and forwards between countries frequently or even make daily phone calls to their family in Poland (Fihel & Grabowska-Lusinska, 2014; Ryan et al., 2009). Although they have some characteristics in common, their migration strategies and trajectories may differ significantly from one individual to the next (Burrell, 2010; Drinkwater & Garapich, 2015). For them, migration is a fluid process, motivated by their desire to improve their employability and experience life in a foreign country; there is no need to reinvent a Polish ‘home’ in the UK as the post-war generation did. They may even justify “the suspension of some social norms” while living abroad (Bielewska, 2012, p. 103). Although few longitudinal studies have yet been conducted, there is evidence to suggest that the post-accession generation may foreground their Polish heritage, or even return to Poland, once they have children and need to make decisions about their upbringing (Bielewska, 2012; Lopez Rodriguez, 2010; Lopez Rodriguez, Sales, Ryan, & D'Angelo, 2008; Ryan, 2015). Bielewska (2012) observes that many members of the post-accession generation still feel that their true ‘home’ is in Poland, a sentiment assisted by the ease of travel and readily accessible communications between the two countries; it is therefore possible that once these migrants have children their conception of ‘home’ shifts.

Rather than rely upon Polish institutions or connections in the UK, post-accession migrants use modern communications technologies to improve their English, learn about their new location, find jobs and accommodation, and to keep in touch with their connections in Poland (Bielewska, 2012; Komito, 2011; Metykova, 2010; Wilding, 2006). The increase in Polish media in the UK in the form of magazines, radio stations and internet forums has helped to forge a sense of community and identity among new migrants (Garapich, 2008). Bielewska (2012) notes the contrast between the way in which post-war migrants build community through their communication channels (for example, by writing letters and sharing reminiscences), and the tendency for post-accession migrants to instead use communications technology for personal growth and as an information tool. Interestingly, despite the strong sense of co-ethnic solidarity among the post-war generation, Bielewska observed that the two communities of Polish migrants she investigated did not tend to interact or network with each other. This may be partly due to the sense of division outlined by Garapich (2008), wherein the post-war generation differentiates their political migration from the economic migration of the post-accession generation, who are also seen as ‘tainted’ by having lived under communism in Poland. The post-accession generation

may use institutions founded and maintained by the post-war generation, but this tends to be for practical reasons and does not result in deep or lasting connections (Ryan et al., 2008).

While post-war Polish migrants appear to have formed close networks among themselves, co-ethnic relationships between post-accession Poles are more complex and fluid; the kinds of connections and networks they initiate and foster may change during the process of settlement (Bielewska, 2012; Ryan et al., 2008, 2009; White & Ryan, 2008). While some may rely upon their fellow Poles throughout their stay in the UK, even if this lasts for years, others may move away from this Polish network once they have met the most pressing needs of migration. In common with the observations of Bielewska (2012) and Eade et al (2006, cited in Aziz, 2015), that these migrants are often motivated partly by the desire for new experiences rather than simply for economic reasons, Ryan et al. (2008) give several accounts of recent Polish migrants who made active choices to move away from the Polish community in order to experience different aspects of UK culture, make new friendships and improve their language skills. Others in the study found that a higher level of cultural capital, attained through professional work and education, enabled them to connect more easily with a wider network. In these cases, social networks were shaped not through commonality of ethnicity, but through a shared profession or family situation, such as having children at the same school.

Even among those post-accession Poles who retain close contact with other Polish migrants, not only are these co-ethnic networks looser, but individuals may exhibit distrust and rivalry amongst themselves; for example, where there is competition for jobs (Düvell, 2004; Ryan et al., 2008). This may conflict with their need to rely upon fellow Poles for information and support, and can produce an interesting dynamic where those Poles in a close network with the migrant are seen as supportive and trustworthy even as the Polish migrant population in general is seen as unhelpful, untrustworthy and as competition (Ryan et al., 2008). Such social mobility as that displayed by many post-accession migrants appears to be at least partly reliant upon language skills (Ryan et al., 2008); those with a poor command of English may prefer to use locations such as Polish shops, clubs or churches to find accommodation or socialise (Bielewska, 2012). However, it has been noted that even those Poles with good language skills and a desire to make connections outside the Polish community in their host society have experienced difficulties in forming close relationships in the UK (Datta, 2009; Ryan, 2010; Ryan et al., 2008).

2.3.4 Polish women: gender and migration

The international migration of Polish women has a longer history than might be expected, dating back to the 18th and 19th centuries (Slany, 2007). Even before accession, women made up a large proportion of Polish citizens moving to the UK, often finding undocumented employment in the informal economy as domestic workers and carers (Coyle, 2007). Coyle attributes this partly to the shift from communism to capitalism: state-run industries had previously employed a large number of women whereas there were fewer opportunities for them in the new private sector, and in addition the cessation of public services such as childcare made it harder for women to work outside the home. However, there is also evidence that women in Poland have been further encouraged to migrate abroad by gender discrimination in the workplace and a new wave of social conservatism, supported by legislation, that hinders women from entering employment and promotes traditional gender structures (Aziz, 2015; International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, 2000). The established Polish nationalist view of femininity is constructed around aristocratic notions of gender relations, wherein women are “valued highly and treated in a gentlemanly fashion, but at the same time subordinated and assigned to the private, female sphere” (Aziz, 2015, p. 4). This view is combined with the construct of *Matka Polka*, or Mother Poland, presenting women as self-sacrificingly limited to the spheres of domesticity and procreation (Aziz, 2015; Ignatowicz, 2012). Moving across Europe may offer Polish women an opportunity to resist and escape such restriction in both the economic and social spheres. Interestingly, Aziz also found the *Matka Polka* figure referred to in the context of Polish women being confident, strong and outspoken, and being proactive and self-aware in their migration to the UK.

Binnie and Klesse (2013) note that “the research literature on Polish migration is largely silent on the topic of sexuality and gender” (p. 1112). The *Matka Polka* presentation of Polish womanhood is clearly a limiting one, largely focused on a heteronormative narrative of womanhood. The conservative values historically promoted by Polish government and organised religion, coupled with an upsurge in social conservatism in recent years, promotes such a narrative but produces a climate that is less than welcoming for women who may find themselves outside this traditional presentation, in which “the promotion of the common good is located within the private sphere of the nuclear family” (Gruszczyńska, 2006, p. 107). As recently as 2005, public opinion polls found that 89% of the population believed homosexuality to be an unnatural

activity (Boyes, 2006) and that 86% did not want their children to come into contact with LGBT+¹ people (Wenzel, 2005, cited in Gruszczyska, 2006). Of those Poles identifying as LGTBQ, 70% hid their sexual identity at work or in the public sphere (Raport, 2004, cited in Gruszczyska, 2006). While attitudes have changed in more recent years, and there is increased visibility and activism on the part of the LGBT+ community (Graff, 2006), this is still a slow process (O'Dwyer & Schwartz, 2010): in 2014 another poll showed that 70% of Poles believed same-sex sexual activity to be morally unacceptable (Boguszewski, 2014). Upon accession to the EU, many LGBT+ citizens of Poland moved elsewhere in Europe. While major motivations for this migration included employment opportunities and greater financial security, the attitudes of home and host countries toward sexual orientation also influenced the decision to migrate in some cases (Binnie & Klesse, 2013; Mai & King, 2009). A study by Stella, Gawlewicz, and Flynn (2016) examined migration to Scotland from Central Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union; over half of participants were originally from Poland. Many participants in this study had experienced discrimination and marginalisation in their home countries, and felt that the UK offered a more tolerant, welcoming environment in terms of both legal rights and social climate, with the opportunity to live “a more secure or better life as an LGBT person” (p. 12). It has also been argued that this movement between Poland and other EU countries has mobilised transnational activism around LGBT+ issues (Binnie, 2014; Binnie & Klesse, 2012, 2013), assisting in “the development of the LGBT movement in Poland both directly and indirectly... [and helping] to sustain and develop transnational political networks around LGBTQ politics in Poland” (Binnie, 2014, p. 253).

New developments in transnational migration are well illustrated by Polish women since accession; many provide for, and draw support from, families and children in both Poland and the UK (Bell, 2016; Ryan, 2017). They may move back and forth between Poland and the UK semi-frequently, and view this movement not as migration but as a long-distance work commute (Coyle, 2007). They “talk about ‘travels’ rather than ‘migrations’ [and] believe that they are not ‘gone’ from Poland” (Pustułka, 2012, p. 164). Pustułka observes that some of these transnational women have no desire to integrate fully in their new society, or move away permanently, but still identify strongly with a Polish national identity and the gender roles implied therein. However, Ryan (2015, 2017) observed that the projected increase in transnational and circular migration among young

¹ The LGBT+ acronym is used here to include those identifying as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and other groups such as asexual, intersex, queer, questioning. Binnie and Klesse (2013) note that such acronyms are sometimes considered problematic as they “[invite] essentialist understandings of complex and multi-layered identities and [create] an impression of collective interests and strong alliances across group boundaries where they do not necessarily exist” (p. 1121). While these issues are acknowledged, this acronym is widely used in the literature to encompass these groups and contextualise the issues they may face.

Poles was not playing out as expected, and that instead, many were extending their stay in the UK over time, without returning to Poland for more than the occasional visit, and without maintaining transnational ties.

Many Polish women have used networks of families, friends and other connections to find work upon their initial migration (Coyle, 2007; Morokvacić, 2003; Ryan et al., 2008). A common pattern of migration for Polish men is for them to find temporary work through recruitment agencies, which tends to be agricultural work in rural locations or warehouse work away from urban centres; in contrast, women tend to migrate to big cities (Sumption & Somerville, 2010). Aziz (2015) found that little research had been conducted on the employment trajectories of female Polish migrants, citing only one study, which observed differences between men and women within the context of a wider study of Polish migrants' employment. The women interviewed were more determined and able to achieve more drastic change and progression in their employment trajectories; they recognised the opportunity that migration afforded and resolved to make the best use of it. In contrast, the men in the study saw migration as an "interlude" that was not especially driven by, or associated with, their career, and had other objectives for their time abroad (Grabowska-Lusińska & Jaźwińska-Motylska, 2013, cited in Aziz, 2015). Aziz also examined the 2011 UK census and observed that Polish-born women were more likely than Polish-born men to be working in elementary employment rather than professional or managerial occupations. Aziz's definition of elementary employment originates from that used in the UK census, grouping employment roles into 'professional, managerial and technical', 'skilled/semi-skilled', and 'elementary'. Examples of such roles include farm workers, construction labourers, factory packers, catering assistants, bar staff, cleaners and retail shelf fillers (Office for National Statistics, 2009). From this she infers that Polish women find it difficult to progress in their careers while in the UK, and may not have their Polish education acknowledged. Polish-born women in the UK were more likely to be in part-time employment or looking after home and family than Polish-born men, a pattern which correlates roughly to that of the general population of the UK.

Aziz's (2015) study found several common narratives among female Polish migrants: a notable theme was that of feeling 'stuck' in a career, family situation or geographical location. In some cases, this was influenced by gender roles and expectations; for example, some women were expected to take on childcare and thereby lost the freedom to move location or give up work. Aziz felt this displayed a level of correlation with the self-sacrificing *Matka Polka* model, but also noted that activities such as entrepreneurship and trade union activism offered these women some level of agency even within their restricted lifestyles. Other women in the study had "a high

likelihood of progressing within their sector”, although this sector was likely to be a “traditional” migrant sector such as retail or hospitality (p. 12). This paradigm of progression, but only within certain boundaries, was also reflected in the fact that although these women did not have family responsibilities and thus were able to disregard gendered expectations, they were progressing within industries that were gender segmented within the UK. Similarly complex feelings were expressed by women who had found work in a different sector from that in which they had previously worked or been trained; such a move was often undertaken for personal or professional fulfilment, but was not seen as freeing or ‘a new start’; it was more usually spoken of from the perspective of starting with nothing and needing to build one’s career from scratch again. However, some women in the study reflected upon their choices to challenge expected gender roles by putting off the decision to marry and have children, finding fulfilment in work, education or entrepreneurship. The complex and varied personal trajectories perceived by Aziz’s work illustrate well the assertion by Levitt and Jaworsky (2007) that “women receive multiple, conflicting messages from the public and the private spheres of both the homeland and the receiving context, which they must somehow reconcile” (p. 138).

Pustułka (2012) investigates how such narratives are shaped by gender relations in the case of Polish mothers who migrate. She references a study in which the author examines Polish attitudes towards transnational mothering, concluding that in Poland, mothering duties are expected to be performed in the space of the home and are unable to be satisfactorily fulfilled across transnational connections (Urbańska, 2009, cited in Pustułka, 2012). Many of Pustułka’s interviewees, having experienced transnational mothering, felt similarly, questioning their decisions to migrate and leave children behind and equating physical presence with successful mothering, despite being highly conscious that their move was necessary to provide economic security for the family. A study by White (2009) found that although many Poles judged negatively those women with small children who chose to migrate without them, such feelings did not extend to lone parents, who were often seen as having no other choice. Garapich’s (2008) discussion of Polish nationalistic discourse highlights attachment to ‘motherhood’ and one’s land, somewhat equating the two: in this view “all mobility and movement is seen as pathological and against human nature – uprooting equals moral collapse” (p. 130), a sentiment which seems to have found some expression in the self-doubt of Pustułka’s participants and the criticisms of those around them. Ryan et al. (2009) also examined the migration of Polish women who were part of family units. While the experience of many was that their husbands would move first, with wives and children following later, the women in the study took an active role in the decisions to move, stay or return. Some of these women welcomed the chance to give up work and take on a more

domestic role, particularly while their children were young. However, the authors note that this was often a short-term choice, rather than an enforced return to traditional gender roles, with many planning to return to work or education later.

2.4 Information behaviour and practices of migrational individuals

The process of migration creates the need for multiple forms of information at all stages (Caidi et al., 2010; Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004; Lloyd et al., 2013); information is vital for migrational individuals in order to facilitate their inclusion in society and enable them to make informed decisions and settle successfully in their new environment (Caidi & Allard, 2005; Caidi et al., 2010). The experience of refugees is one that has been studied thoroughly in the LIS field, particularly in Australia (Hicks & Lloyd, 2016; Kennan et al., 2011; Lloyd, 2014, 2015, 2016; Lloyd et al., 2013; Lloyd, Lipu, & Kennan, 2010; Lloyd & Wilkinson, 2017). Other research into migration in information science has examined linguistic gatekeepers (Chu, 1999; Metoyer-Duran, 1993), health information (Asanin & Wilson, 2008; Sligo & Jameson, 2000), or library provision (Burke, 2008; Ganss, 1999; Gonzalez, 1999; Jones, 1999; Luévano-Molina, 2001; Su & Conaway, 1995; Tangen, 1996). Comparatively little research has been conducted into migrants' information behaviour in terms of their own needs and perspectives (Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004; Fisher, Marcoux, Miller, Sánchez, & Ramirez Cunningham, 2004).

2.4.1 Stages of the migration process

The process of migration begins at the moment of deciding, or being forced, to move. Migrants must then undertake some degree of planning; for refugees, this may be a matter of days (Stein, 1981), while other migrants may spend months or even years planning their move. At this stage, migrants typically seek and find information both from online sources and from their personal networks, but information is sometimes unreliable, scarce, or difficult to find. The lack of reliable information may contribute to migrants forming imaginaries of their new environments that are not fulfilled upon arrival, resulting in an information disjunction, knowledge gaps, and anxiety (Allard, 2015, 2016; Benson-Rea & Rawlinson, 2003; Shoham & Strauss, 2008). The journey

itself is another stage in the process, and again the length of this stage may differ substantially; refugees may spend a prolonged period of time in refugee camps before arriving at their final destination, a situation which produces a unique set of information needs and practices (Fisher, 2018; Hannides, Bailey, & Kaoukji, 2016).

Upon arrival in the new environment, one model observes three stages in the process of acclimatisation and settlement (Mwarigha, 2002). Initially, practical needs are the most pressing, such as accommodation, language learning and basic orientation. This is followed by engagement with local systems and institutions, primarily centred on finding employment but also including health and education services. The final stage involves migrational individuals aiming to become “equal participants in the country’s economic, cultural, social and political life” (Mwarigha, 2002, p. 9). These stages present a range of practical hurdles to overcome (Asanin & Wilson, 2008), but may also throw up less tangible difficulties, including questions of identity (J. W. Berry, 1997; Pumariega et al., 2005), cultural conflict (J. W. Berry, 1997), mental health problems (Crooks et al., 2011; Pumariega et al., 2005; Yakushko & Chronister, 2005), and social or economic status loss (J. W. Berry, 1997; Crooks et al., 2011; Lubbers & Gijsberts, 2016; Rayes et al., 2016; Yakushko et al., 2008). Each of these stages, and their attendant challenges, give rise to a plethora of information needs, of varying urgency and importance; two main categories, particularly in the initial stages of settlement, are those of compliance information, defined as “information related to the rules and regulations of the society in general and the community in particular”, and everyday information (Kennan et al., 2011, p. 197). It is important to take into account the background and cultural norms of different migrational groups, and how these may shape their information practices, including the role of the library (Caidi & Allard, 2005; Caidi et al., 2010). In addition, economic migration (as distinct from migration for reasons of persecution) places pressures on the host society and its services, resulting in difficulties for both migrants and hosts (Rutter & Latorre, 2009). This makes it even more imperative to research how migrants find their way, acclimatise and integrate in their new societies, and to examine both the information sources and methods they both use, and those that they are unable to access (T. Wilson, 2010).

2.4.2 Migrational individuals’ information behaviour

Migrants may have distinct learning styles and ways of interacting with knowledge (Caidi & Allard, 2005). Fisher, Marcoux, et al. (2004) found that migrants tended to seek interpersonal sources of information, particularly those who might act as gatekeepers and connect them to

other sources. These people were preferred by migrants for reasons of convenience, familiarity, ease of access, and a perception that they would understand the migrants' needs. The additional factor of language and translation may also be a reason for seeking gatekeeper individuals, particularly for migrant such as refugees who often move to a society that is culturally quite different from their own (Kennan et al., 2011; Khoir et al., 2015; Lloyd, 2016). Social factors such as intimacy and familiarity seem to be important to migrational individuals when selecting information sources or exhibiting information seeking behaviour, and smaller information grounds may be more effective (Fisher et al., 2007; Savolainen, 2009). Furthermore, shared bonds such as ethnicity, commonalities of interest or the sense of being a minority may strengthen connections and promote information sharing (Fisher et al., 2007; Rayes et al., 2016), particularly when considering the everyday nature of many migrants' information needs (Asanin & Wilson, 2008; Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004; Fisher, Marcoux, et al., 2004; Khoir et al., 2015; Mwarigha, 2002). However, drawing on Granovetter's theory of the strength of weak ties (1973), it is possible that the information shared in such homogeneous groups is less rich than that shared between more heterogeneous individuals. It is also important to remember that migrants will have differing abilities to connect with support and information sources, through differences in personality, social and cultural capital, and language skills (Ryan et al., 2008).

The varied needs of migrants often result in them making use of a range of different sources of information: for example, information about registering with health or educational services may be sought via local contacts who have both formal and informal knowledge of these services (Coleman, 1990), whether these are close friends or casual acquaintances. Furthermore, such support networks may change and adapt over time; migrants may develop contacts and networks over time that differ from those that were available to them upon immediate arrival (Morgan, 1990; Ryan et al., 2008). Emotional support for some migrants may make more use of transnational connections than local ones; Ryan et al. (2008) found that, owing to the prevalence of affordable transport and communications technology, recent Polish migrants in London maintained close links with their family and friends in Poland and primarily used these contacts for emotional support, rather than any contacts in their local vicinity. Practical support such as childcare is largely sought within the local community (Willmott, 1987), but the migrants in Ryan et al's (2008) study also made use of their transnational connections for practical support: for example, parents visiting for several months at a time to help with a newborn. Pustułka (2012) describes a similar situation where a migrational Polish mother, whose children remained in Poland, used the Internet and telephone to run the household in Poland and make it clear how she wanted her children to be raised. As migrants settle in their new environment, they may take

on additional roles within their networks of contacts, transitioning “from information users to information producers”, producing and disseminating information to both personal and professional contacts, particularly within co-ethnic networks (Rayes et al., 2016, p. 5).

2.4.3 Migrational individuals’ use of libraries

In information science, a lot of the work around migrants has been focussed on library usage and provision, and is generally from the point of view of the service providers themselves, rather than from the user perspective. An important part of how migrational individuals gain information is through public libraries. However, the ways in which they use public libraries, or the reasons why they do not use them, may be significant. Migrational individuals experience the public library from a position of otherness, whether this is due to cultural factors or simply a relative unfamiliarity with a particular space (Lloyd et al., 2013). There is evidence to suggest that these groups use the library not just as a repository of knowledge and information, but as a way to integrate themselves into, and orient themselves within, their new community, making use of multiple services and using the library as a social space (Audunson, Essmat, & Aabø, 2011; Å. Berger, 2002; Branyon, 2017). Integration and community building can be a complex process; the public library (particularly the large, flagship, central public library) remains a key institution to facilitate this process in both functional and symbolic terms (McCook, 2000; Wiegand, 2003). The public library may be a source of practical advice, but it is also a way in which migrational individuals may come to perceive more implicit information about their new community, how that community defines itself, and how it defines the migrational individual (Branyon, 2017; Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004).

Leckie and Hopkins (2002) observe the lack of traditional central meeting places in redeveloped cities and ascribe it to the shift towards a service economy. They note the irony that one of the most-used public spaces of modern times, the shopping mall, is privately owned and often has restrictions on access; moreover, its main purpose is economic consumption rather than the exchange of information. Libraries may thus represent a truly democratic, accessible, unpressured public space in where people can gather and information can flow freely; a space in which there can be increased diversity and social interaction (Greenhalgh, Worpole, & Landry, 1995; Leckie & Hopkins, 2002; Van Riel, Fowler, & Downes, 2008).

Information practices in spaces such as libraries can take many forms, as can the information itself (Bates, 2010; Fisher, Erdelez, & McKechnie, 2005; T. Wilson, 2010). In addition to straightforward provision such as books and electronic resources, individuals may seek or encounter information on the local community through such resources as leaflets, posters, and the knowledge of staff (R. S. Taylor, 1968). The library may also be a point of contact for interaction with social services and community groups; it is also used as a social space for meeting friends, making new contacts and exploring local cultural provision (Aabø, Audunson, & Varheim, 2010; Audunson et al., 2011; Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004; Shoham & Yablonka, 2008).

2.4.3.1 Views of the library

When considering use of the library by groups from different countries and cultural backgrounds, it is important to take into account the role of the library in their ‘home’ or previous environment (Caidi & Allard, 2005). When moving between countries and societies, migrational individuals may be unfamiliar with local institutions, practices or conceptions of public services, including the library (E. Berry, 2007; Caidi & Allard, 2005). Some groups may associate the library with cultural elites or former colonial powers, and there may be a perception that while libraries are under high-level government authority, change or meaningful engagement at a local level is not possible or likely (Caidi, 2004; Caidi & Allard, 2005). Caidi’s (2004) study on national information infrastructures in Central and Eastern Europe found that the legacy of communist politics had left many citizens with a distrust of centralised, national government policies and institutions. Similarly, Dali (2004) notes the lasting effects of living in a country with a state monopoly on book production and libraries, as in the former USSR: it is not always easy for citizens to shift their perception of the library from that of “a wheel in the ideological machine” (p. 342) to a place with free and egalitarian access to a wide range of information resources. Certain groups may simply view the library as a place for study rather than resource discovery or usage (Caidi & Allard, 2005). Some low-income groups do not perceive libraries as playing a role in information seeking at all (Chatman & Pendleton, 1998). There are, therefore, signs that libraries may not play an important role when looking at information behaviour from a user perspective, rather than that of the service provider. However, Listwon and Sen (2009) found that the Polish community in Sheffield had a relatively high level of library use, which makes libraries of particular interest to this study. The most popular reasons for library use among the Polish population were to use computers, borrow books, improve their English language skills, and develop their interests.

Although the Polish individuals surveyed were generally happy with the library service in Sheffield, there was little indication that the library had played a role in helping them to settle and integrate in their new community, and those interviewed felt that information on health, housing and other such matters was not the preserve of the library. The authors concluded that improvements should be made to the library's outreach and community engagement programmes, and that more work was needed to ensure greater sensitivity and awareness of the needs of newly arrived Polish individuals.

Research has been undertaken to examine the potential of library provision and services for migrational individuals, particularly immigrant communities (Burke, 2008; Public Library Quarterly, 2009), but less study has been made of the experience of the individuals themselves in this context (Caidi et al., 2010; Lingel, 2011). It is interesting to note that migrational individuals do not always rank the library highly as an information source (Chu, 1999; Metoyer-Duran, 1991). Lingel indicates that "libraries in urban areas may not be reaching a large portion of immigrants", and attributes this to a lack of deep understanding of the information practices of migrational individuals (2011, p. 13). While research has addressed some aspects of these individuals' activities, there is clearly a significant gap in the literature regarding how migrational individuals use and define the library space itself, and how this use of space further illuminates their information needs and practices. In the context of recent increased migration to the UK from A8 nations, this becomes increasingly important: as noted by Mansoor (2006), "[a] detailed investigation into the library and information needs of newly-migrating Eastern European workers would be a timely and useful study, since libraries are already experiencing vast numbers of these users, and are likely to experience increasing numbers over the next few years" (p. 61).

Fisher, Durrance, et al. (2004) observed a range of positive outcomes in migrational individuals who engaged with the public library services in Queens, New York. On a practical level, migrants gained support from, and trust in, the library and its services, as well as information literacy skills. From these "building block outcomes" (p. 760) were generated a range of personal gains, such as social involvement, enhanced self-confidence, improved skills in English language and technology, preparation for citizenship and employment, and a sense that their old and new cultural landscapes were being bridged. Some migrants reported feeling a greater sense of community and that the library served as a link between diverse ethnic groups. The authors found that the library and its services, such as English language classes, functioned as an information ground; migrants had gathered for the primary purpose of learning English or other skills, but experienced multiple forms of information sharing that produced benefits beyond their initial intentions.

Some migrational individuals have found value in the library's status as an open, public, yet non-commercial space; they appreciate being free to come and go (Å. Berger, 2002) and it has been posited that for some groups, the library is the closest institution to the 'tea house' of their native culture (Å. Berger, 2002; Danish National Library Authority, Danish Ministry of the Interior, Aarhus Public Libraries, & State and University Library in Denmark, 2001). There is evidence to suggest that Muslim women and girls, in particular, may find the library valuable as a meeting place that is socially sanctioned by their male family members and society elders (Audunson et al., 2011; Å. Berger, 2002). Women in these groups may also be restricted in their choice of literature (Jönsson-Lanevska, 2005). If we subscribe to Appleby's (2010) view that the gendering of particular spaces restricts women's mobility, it is possible that the library can function as a space in which women can have relative freedom and control over their movement. In particular, the large central public libraries found in cities can perform this role, reflecting the way in which the city as a whole may allow women to subvert traditional roles and expectations through their command and use of space (Chamberlain, 1997; Rendell, 2000; E. Wilson, 1992).

2.4.3.2 Barriers to library use

Caidi et al. (2010) identify several barriers to information practices by migrational individuals, both structural and social. On a basic level, these individuals may lack, or be reluctant to use, language skills to seek the information they need. Institutional barriers relating to immigration status may prevent some from accessing resources or services, and for illegal or undocumented migrants this is particularly significant. However, a widespread challenge for migrational individuals is learning how the new country or region's governmental and social systems work; they may lack awareness of what information resources and services are available, and may experience difficulty finding and exploring these new information resources (Caidi & Allard, 2005; Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004; Shoham & Strauss, 2008). Social isolation, communication problems, and differences in cultural values or understandings may all contribute further to a reluctance to use public libraries on the part of migrational individuals (Caidi et al., 2010).

2.4.4 Migrational individuals' use of digital information and technology

In addition to more traditional sources of information, migrational individuals have made increasing use of technology and digital forms of information throughout their migration experiences; technology touches and influences all stages of the process (Diminescu & Loveluck, 2014; Thulin & Vilhelmsen, 2014). In the stage of planning or pre-migration, the Internet is often used to gather information about the migration process and the new place of settlement, including opportunities for employment, immigration legalities, searches for accommodation and other needs. In addition to finding such information from formal digital sources such as government websites, it is often sought or encountered via online diasporic communities or connections (Allard, 2015, 2016; Dekker & Engbersen, 2014; Komito & Bates, 2009; Srinivasan & Pyati, 2007; Thulin & Vilhelmsen, 2014).

While forced migrants such as refugees generally have little time to plan their migration, they often make use of digital information in the context of their journey to their new environment; Dekker, Engbersen, Klaver, and Vonk (2018) found that the majority of Syrian asylum migrants in their study had access to social media information before and during migration, most often through smartphones. The refugee's journey may be long, involving several phases before final settlement, and may also be hazardous and difficult. In such circumstances, mobile technology in particular may be heavily used in order to stay informed and make decisions regarding route and destination; such technology is relatively cheap, portable and accessible for this population (Borkert et al., 2018; Dekker et al., 2018; Fisher, 2018; Gillespie et al., 2016; Leung, 2007, 2010). It is used for "planning departures, managing flight, coordinating with others, and finding way to new locations" (Borkert et al., 2018, p. 2), and empowers refugees and asylum seekers by giving them a wider variety of information channels, greater freedom of access to information, and ways to validate that information, potentially making their journeys safer, easier, and cheaper (Dekker et al., 2018).

Upon arrival and during settlement, mobile technology and digital forms of information are used by many migrational individuals for a range of purposes; for example, language learning, seeking employment, finding information on education and health, creation and maintenance of local and international friendship networks, and entertainment (Witteborn, 2011, 2012, 2015). As well as being used to seek and find information on practical matters, technology is used to facilitate transnational and diasporic existence (Komito, 2011; Panagakos & Horst, 2006; Parham, 2004; Srinivasan & Pyati, 2007; Wilding, 2006); what Vertovec (2004, p. 220) calls "social glue"

holding transnational contacts and networks together. Digital sources and networks are useful for migrants to stay in touch with family, friends, and the community they left behind, and to feel part of an ethnic or national community even while they might not be living in an area associated with that group (Komito, 2011). Younger migrants in particular often display high levels of digital literacy and are often required to support older family members in this regard, by seeking information, using e-participation services, and maintaining and mediating social and familial connections elsewhere (Fisher, Yefimova, & Bishop, 2016; Lloyd, 2016; Lloyd & Wilkinson, 2016, 2017). For those whose political or legal status is problematic, technology can afford opportunities for protest, engagement, and action, and has also been found to be important in construction of identity and presentation of self; for example, through social media (Diminescu & Loveluck, 2014; Georgiou, 2013; Witteborn, 2015).

While many migrants make use of technology and digital information, others may lack access to, or ability with, these sources. There is sometimes a level of distrust regarding Internet sources, and some migrants may lack familiarity with, or awareness of, technological forms of information (Lloyd, 2016). Information originating from existing social ties, or that is based on personal experience, may be preferred (Dekker et al., 2018). Many factors influence the use of digital information and technology among migrant groups; for example age, culture, language and education, socio-economic conditions, familiarity with technology in general, and communication preferences (Helsper, 2008; O'Mara, Babacan, & Borland, 2010). Several studies have found evidence of a digital divide among refugee migrant groups, with some members of this community unable to physically access technology, lacking the skills to use it effectively, or financially unable to pay for services. This divide can lead to social exclusion, marginalisation, and alienation among these groups, often resulting in a failure to integrate, participate, and settle successfully in their new environment (Alam & Imran, 2015; Caidi & Allard, 2005; Caidi et al., 2010; Lloyd et al., 2013; Lloyd et al., 2010). In their study of Polish migrants to Ireland, Komito and Bates (2009) felt that this population's use of digital information, in particular social networks, hindered their integration into Irish society and promoted the creation of 'virtual ghettos'.

2.4.5 Information grounds

When examining the information behaviour of migrational women, the theory of information grounds presents itself as an obvious choice for further examination, as such spaces are often used by migrants as sources of information and social connections and the theory has

appeared frequently in the information literature (Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004; Fisher, Marcoux, et al., 2004; Lloyd, 2016). Pettigrew (1999) defines an information ground as “an environment temporarily created by the behaviour of people who have come together to perform a given task, but from which emerges a social atmosphere that fosters the spontaneous and serendipitous sharing of information” (p. 811). Examples could include places of worship, clinics, hair salons, coffee shops, playgroups and places associated with hobbies or leisure pursuits (Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004; Fisher et al., 2007; Fisher, Naumer, Durrance, Stromski, & Christiansen, 2005); the types of accessible, freely chosen spaces that Oldenburg (1999) defines as third places. Students’ information grounds may include common areas on campus, restaurants, bars, friends’ houses, dormitories and libraries (Fisher et al., 2007). Participants may be quite open about their information needs, or they may only transpire as a result of informal social interaction (Pettigrew, 1999).

Fisher et al. (2007) state that information grounds are a social construct, formed by an individual’s perceptions of people, place and information. Context is key to the extent and effectiveness of the information sharing, and includes both spatial and social factors, which may be closely interlinked (Savolainen, 2009). Social factors may include the attitudes of the participants and the activities performed at the information ground; participants in Fisher et al.’s (2007) study cited diversity, trustworthiness, companionship and similarity of experience or values as social factors creating an effective or preferred information ground. Complementary to these are spatial factors highlighting the importance of the physical environment and atmosphere within the information ground (Fisher, Marcoux, et al., 2004; Pettigrew, 1999). With this in mind, the environment, design and facilities of such spaces may have significant impact upon enabling and constraining information behaviour. In addition, information grounds are “a realm of freedom” (Savolainen, 2009, p. 44) rather than one of enforced behaviour, which also seems to fit with patterns of library usage among migrational individuals (Audunson et al., 2011; Å. Berger, 2002). In her study of refugee youth in Australia, Lloyd (2016) found that these migrants made extensive use of everyday spaces for information, support, and personal networking.

However, the theory of information grounds has some limitations. It may privilege some types of space over others, and it has not extensively examined the different qualities that different environments exhibit in their role as information grounds. Given what has already been established about the difficulties and marginalisation faced by female migrants, issues of power would seem to be of importance. Yet the theory of information grounds does not explicitly address issues of power. It seems clear that some actors within the space are inherently more or less powerful than others due either to their position or to the knowledge they have or lack, which

impacts upon information sharing. This issue of power may, in some cases, be related to gender: traditionally, there has been a division of gender between public and private spaces to varying degrees, whether actual or symbolic. Women have been associated with the private, domestic sphere, and the public realm has been the domain of men, and thereby problematic for women (Weisman, 1992; E. Wilson, 1992). Migrational women are often disadvantaged on two counts: by their gender, and by their restricted mobility compared to men (Massey, 1994). It is probable, therefore, that within information sharing contexts such as information grounds, issues of power are at play, but have not yet been examined. Given that this research focuses on a population who may lack power at certain points of their experience, it is important to acknowledge and explore these. The limitations outlined here may also indicate that the theory of information grounds, while often applied to studies of migrants, may not apply to all groups; it may be more applicable to those groups who rely upon social contacts and networks, or who lack access to more formal sources and ways of finding information.

2.5 Conclusion

The increased migration of Polish women to the UK in the years since EU expansion has made it imperative to study their information behaviour, particularly within the context of gender and the increase in lone young female migrants. However, this emerging type of migration has not been studied in depth, particularly in the information context. The migratory experience of the post-war generation of Poles provides another interesting contrast to the experience of post-accession migrants, as there would seem to be significant differences in motivation for migration, feelings towards national identity and community, social networks, and preferred information sources; there is scope to explore this further and this study aims to provide a fuller reading of the post-accession generation's attitudes and experience. It aims to discover the factors shaping the experience and information behaviour of young Polish women during the process of migration and settlement, and to set it in the wider context of migration as a whole. The theory of information grounds may be useful to examine these issues, but it has limitations, most importantly that it does not fully explore issues of power. It is now appropriate to consider the methodology and design of the research that will help to elucidate these issues.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and justifies the methodology chosen for the work. The first section discusses the theoretical framework underlying the research, including the epistemological and ontological positions of the researcher and the need for reflexivity. The section on research design discusses the approach taken to data collection and analysis, which may be broadly described as ethnographic in nature, and comprises full description of the methods used for data collection, including consideration of how these methods relate to the aims of the study. This is followed by a section addressing analysis techniques and an examination of the ways in which research quality has been achieved, including the notion of crystallization. Finally, ethical issues are discussed, and the methodology is reflected upon.

3.2 Theoretical and philosophical framework

3.2.1 Epistemology and ontology

When deciding on an epistemological stance, it is necessary to examine the two opposing doctrines of positivism and interpretivism. Positivism aims to apply research methods from the natural sciences to social phenomena. It requires an objective approach, modelled on the notion of the experiment, where the researcher is detached from the object of study and can control variables (Bryman, 2012). As such, positivism is the idea that only that which can be confirmed by observation constitutes true knowledge; the role of such research is “to test theories and to provide material for the development of laws” (Bryman, 2012, p. 27). In contrast, interpretivism believes that the subjects of social sciences are fundamentally different from those studied by the natural sciences, and therefore require a different set of approaches, which focus on the more subjective nature of human experience. While positivism seeks to explain human behaviour, interpretivism seeks to understand it (Bryman, 2012), and allows for many different realities,

rather than aiming to find one single truth (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The nature of this study is such that it produces many different accounts and give voice to many different perspectives; there is a concern to make space for less heard, marginalised voices. The aim is to interpret these narratives to reach a better understanding of the participants and their realities, allowing for multivocality and always acknowledging that the researcher is presenting their own interpretation of their subjects' understandings. With these considerations in mind, an interpretivist approach is most relevant for this work.

The ontological position of the work must also be outlined. Again, there are two broadly contrasting positions that might be adopted. Objectivism contends that social phenomena exist independently, beyond human influence. Conversely, constructionism asserts that reality is constantly being constructed by social actors and their actions (Bryman, 2012). There is a belief in multiple, constructed realities; social context creates these realities, and they likewise cannot exist without these aforementioned contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Realities are time and context bound; they are also individual and embedded, not universal (Flick, 2002). From this perspective, the data in a research project is constructed jointly by the researcher and the participants; each interview presents one participant's perception of reality, which is then interpreted by the researcher. Further to this, a constructionist standpoint supports the use of multiple methods of data collection, and justifies taking crystallization (Ellingson, 2009; Richardson, 2000), which will be discussed in Section 3.5, as a criteria for the evaluation of the quality of the research and its findings; these approaches assist in accessing multiple realities from different perspectives.

3.2.3 Reflexivity

There has been a 'reflexive turn' in the social sciences in particular within the past thirty years (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). This concept may be best defined as "a heightened awareness of the self, acting in the social world" (J. Elliott, 2005, p. 153), including consciousness of the researcher's own values, biases, interests, preconceptions, experiences, and training, and how these influence what is seen and interpreted, rather than attempting to claim objective observations. This means that the researcher needs to be aware of these issues and either acknowledge or mitigate them as far as possible (Pickard, 2007). In the context of this research, and its relativist stance, the realities that are constructed are created partly by the information given by the participants, and partly by the interpretation and expression of the researcher. The researcher must therefore acknowledge that they are actively constructing the findings, and must

be aware and transparent regarding how who they are will influence this process. The researcher's presence and role in the co-construction of knowledge should be acknowledged in the research; this is inherent when the researcher is located within the context of data collection and analysis, as in the present study. It could be argued that methods such as visual methods, which are discussed in Section 3.3.2.2, have the potential to obscure somewhat the identity of the researcher, foregrounding as they do the voices of the participants.

As noted by Mauthner and Doucet (2003), while the importance of reflexivity in qualitative research has been stated often, the implementation of it has been less explicitly described. Human researchers will naturally differ in their points of view. It is therefore necessary to make explicit what the researcher's particular view might be, and try to hold it in check. Mellon (1990) describes this as 'objective subjectivity', where the researcher acknowledges that true objectivity is impossible, and attempts to be aware of this and moderate it where possible. Several practical steps must be taken to accomplish this. The researcher must practise disciplines in their research method that maintain open-mindedness, aiming to enter into the field without preconceptions or hypotheses as far as possible, and constantly questioning whether what is being observed is being seen objectively, or whether the researcher's own "assumptions, experience, and immersion in the literature" are influencing the analysis unduly, a problem noted by Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 75). One option is to include footnotes, endnotes, or an appendix in which the researcher's position is made explicit, which is included here; the researcher's presence and relationships with participants may also be made more apparent through the inclusion of sections of interview dialogue (Ellingson, 2009), which are included in the Findings chapter. Sometimes, the researcher's biases and expectations may only become apparent once interviews are transcribed and analysed (Roulston, deMarrais, & Lewis, 2003). Mauthner and Doucet (2003) describe the voice-centred relational method of data analysis, as pioneered by Brown and Gilligan (1992), as a useful way to introduce reflexivity in a practical manner. It involves the researcher "*reading for herself*" (p. 419) in the text of an interview transcript: reading not to draw conclusions about the data, but to observe and become aware of her own bias, views and experiences, including any emotional or intellectual response. By explicitly acknowledging these reactions and how they may impact upon perception and analysis, it is hoped that the researcher can regain some control, or at least awareness, of the way in which they are interpreting the data and can try to minimise the impact of their own influence.

The ontological and epistemological assumptions that underpin the chosen method of analysis should also be examined with an eye on reflexivity. The voice-centred method used by Mauthner and Doucet (2003), for example, positions the research within a relational ontology,

where the self is seen as “interdependent rather than independent” (p. 422), and it is necessary to examine the self in relation to other selves, rather than as a self-sufficient individual. The current study, which draws on the interpretivist idea of multiple realities, relationships and interpretations, takes a similar position and uses the voice-centred method to contribute to reflexivity. Furthermore, it attempts to acknowledge and mitigate the limitations of its ontological and epistemological stances through engagement with the relevant literature and ongoing monitoring of the researcher’s position.

The study also adopts a female-centred perspective; while not taking a feminist approach, it is informed by certain aspects of feminist research. Feminist research aims to eschew “the dualisms, abstractions, and detachment of positivism” (Stacey, 1988, p. 21), emphasising instead context, interdisciplinarity and the actual lived experience of women (Reinharz, 1992; Stacey, 1988). Key tenets of feminist research include recognising the importance of women’s lived experience and viewpoints; allowing women’s voices to be heard, if not privileging them; reducing the potential for exploitation of women by co-constructing knowledge and aiming to give something back to participants; and aiming to realise the emancipatory goals of feminism (Bryman, 2012; Hesse-Biber, 2012). Feminism emphasises how social reality is situated and embedded within individuals’ various identities, including class, ethnicity, and gender (Miner-Rubino, Jayaratne, & Konik, 2007). It aims to uncover that which is subjugated and challenge the state of affairs in which knowledge is controlled by those in positions of privilege (Hesse-Biber, 2012). While not claiming to take a feminist approach, the study is informed by these characteristics of feminist research.

It is important that the researcher acknowledges their own social position in comparison to the research participants, as this may constitute part of what shapes their views and thoughts. As the researcher in this project, I shared some characteristics with the respondents: I am a young woman myself, with an educational and employment background similar to that of some of the participants. I have studied and worked in academia, in common with some participants, and have also worked outside academia in professional positions, in common with others. I have also lived abroad, and so have first-hand experience of the migration process and some of the issues surrounding it; for example, emotional responses such as excitement and anxiety. These characteristics and experiences all allowed me to empathise and build a rapport with participants. However, other aspects of myself as a person and researcher differ from participants. I am not Polish, and cannot draw on this as a resource, although I have visited Poland and have a strong interest in Polish history and culture. My experience of migration was to the USA, so I did not have to contend with a language barrier. As a study abroad program, the experience was largely

arranged and managed for me in many ways. It was also set out from the beginning that it would be temporary, for a period of one year, and I always knew I would need to return to the UK and not settle in the USA. The migration experiences of the Polish women in this study were more open-ended; while many intended to return to Poland after a year, they were able to be flexible about their movement, and could remain in the UK if they wanted. Therefore, while I have experience of migration, and can empathise to some degree, many elements of the experience are different. At the time of conducting the research, I was living in my home country, whereas participants, of course, were not. This could have had the potential to introduce a power differential. It is therefore necessary to consider how these similarities and differences may influence both the relationship between researcher and participant when collecting the data, and the interpretation of the data by the researcher. Some recent thinking has posited that the researcher should not attempt to equalise somehow any power differentials that may exist between the researcher and the participant; this is not only undesirable but also unfeasible, and the aim should be instead to acknowledge the inevitability of these differentials (Wolf, 1996).

It is worth noting, in addition, that the researcher's own experiences and beliefs can be useful, for example, in building rapport and trust through empathy and sharing personal experiences (Denzin, 2001), although this should not be overdone (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015). The tool used for research should be at least as complex as the phenomena it is investigating (Tracy, 2010; Weick, 2007); it follows that a human instrument is necessary to explore the richness and complexity of human experience (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). The use of the researcher as primary instrument in ethnographic studies also enables "empathy, connection and concern" to come to the fore (Stacey, 1988, p. 22).

3.3 Research design

"One becomes quickly aware that a quantitative approach is not sufficient to obtain a full picture of contemporary Polish mobility (Garapich 2011), as numerous and highly varied personal trajectories depend vastly on gender relations within the familial contexts of individuals" (Pustułka, 2012, p. 162)

This section examines the methods of data collection and analysis, including recruitment and sampling. A qualitative approach is the natural methodology for this study, offering as it does "the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world

by its participants” (Bryman, 2012, p. 380). An exploratory study was conducted, involving pilot interviews with Polish women that used the photovoice technique, expert interviews, and analysis of data transcripts from a previous study. Following this, the methodology was refined, and in the main study, semi-structured interviews were used in conjunction with the mental mapping technique. These methods are discussed below.

The research began in October 2013, with initial theorisation of the project; a literature review was conducted in order to explore topics around the context of Polish migration information behaviour and identify the current salient issues and gaps in the literature. The methodology was then developed, and the exploratory study data collection and analysis was undertaken from December 2014 to May 2016 (the researcher took two leaves of absence during this time). Following refinement of the methodology, the main study interview process ran from August 2016 to February 2017. The data was then analysed and the findings and discussion were written up; the thesis was submitted in January 2018.

3.3.1 Ethnography

While not a true ethnography, a broadly ethnographic approach towards data collection and analysis has been taken in this study. The methods and techniques associated with ethnographic studies are particularly appropriate to adopt when aiming to understand the experience of individuals in context and in rich detail. It is useful to examine the experiences of marginalised groups whose voices are not often heard. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) list several features of ethnography that are relevant to this work. Firstly, it involves the in-depth study of participants’ lives in everyday, naturalistic contexts, which features in this study. While deep immersion in the context was not part of this work, a naturalistic emphasis was important, to ensure that the data gathered was as authentic as possible. In addition, data was gathered from a range of sources, including semi-structured interviews with both experts and participants, analysis of transcripts from previous work, and visual methods; this contributes to the quality and credibility of the research in the form of crystallization (Ellingson, 2009; Richardson, 2000), discussed in Section 3.5. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) also feel that ethnographic data collection is ‘unstructured’ and may not follow a strictly planned research design; the work is exploratory in nature and will tend to change and evolve as the field work progresses. Research questions may alter depending on data from the field, which may then itself refine the methods used in an iterative process. Issues of recruitment, sampling and participation are subject to

change as the study progresses, an approach which is especially relevant to this work as access to the field was sometimes difficult and involved a variety of routes. Similarly, in ethnographic study, the categories for analysis are generated through the process of data analysis itself, rather than being predetermined. This will be discussed in Section 3.4.

Ethnographic methods are well suited for a study that is female-centred. Reinhartz (1992) outlines several reasons for this. Firstly, ethnography documents the lives and activities of participants; in the case of women, these have historically been marginalised, so ethnographic methods provide an opportunity for them to be heard and for women's voices to be amplified. As noted by Stacey (1988), ethnography's focus on lived experience and rich context also enables this. Reinhartz (1992) also claims that ethnography helps to counteract the tendency to trivialise women's accounts, or to interpret them from the point of view of men in their society, by endeavouring to understand female participants from their own perspective and in context. However, it is important not to present an idealistic picture of the nature of such research. As Stacey (1988) points out, it is still ultimately the researcher's own interpretation that is chosen, structured and presented as authoritative; moreover, "fieldwork represents an intrusion and intervention into a system of relationships" (p. 23). She argues that true equality is impossible to achieve and that some level of exploitation is inescapable in a research relationship, even between those who have some commonality. Skeggs (1994) refutes this presentation of female participants as exploited victims, pointing to the ability of the research process to empower respondents, develop their self-worth and enable their voices to be heard. It also provides them with greater knowledge about the context of their own lives; in Skeggs' work, this was valuable in empowering young women to understand and explain how their individual problems might not be their personal fault, but might form "part of a wider structure" (p. 88). Furthermore, she argues, the voluntary nature of participation mitigates exploitation to some degree. The present study aims to provide participants with the opportunity to consider their place in society as migrational women, to have their voices heard, and to have their way of seeing made more visible. Transparency of method, and transparency in dealings with research participants, were vital to ensure ethical conduct and adherence to the principles of feminist research that informed the study.

3.3.2 Methods

3.3.2.1 Interviews

The semi-structured interview is the primary method of data collection in this study and is prominent in ethnographic methodology. This technique has been used in interpretivist, constructionist, and feminist research, reflecting “an ontological position that is concerned with people's knowledge, understandings, interpretations, experiences, and interactions” (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Liao, 2004, p. 1021), all of which this research aims to discover. It is also associated with the oral or life history traditions, which makes it a suitable choice for a work that explores the life stories of participants. J. Mason (2002) suggests that semi-structured interviewing practice is broadly characterized by “the interactional exchange of dialogue; a relatively informal style; a thematic, topic-centered, biographical, or narrative approach; and the belief that knowledge is situated and contextual, and that therefore the role of the interview is to ensure that relevant contexts are brought into focus so that situated knowledge can be produced” (cited in Lewis-Beck et al., 2004, p. 1021). These characteristics represent the type of semi-structured interview that is used in this study.

Whereas a structured interview comprises a set sequence of questions that are asked in the same way to all interviewees, the semi-structured interview is more fluid and flexible, involving a set of areas to be covered in a more open-ended way (Lewis-Beck et al., 2004). A first-person account from a participant offers information about the subject and their lived experience, and also allows the interviewer to analyse the social context surrounding the participant: “the perspectives they imply, the discursive strategies they employ, and even the psychosocial dynamics they suggest” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 97). Semi-structured interviews enable a researcher to gain information that may not be available any other way; in particular, the feelings, viewpoints, and reactions of the interviewee. Such engagement can produce “full and rich accounts of how people see the world, what sense they make of it, and what concerns they bring to their lives” (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015, pp. 6-7). This technique is therefore highly appropriate for a study such as this one, which seeks to explore the often complex and nuanced experiences of the study population. The flexible, iterative nature of the semi-structured interview allows for refinement and generation of both theory and method as the interviewing process progresses. Within the interview itself, the semi-structured technique allows the interviewer to

be flexible in the order and wording of questions asked, and to follow up on particular points in as much depth as they feel is required (Lewis-Beck et al., 2004; Magnusson & Marecek, 2015).

Although the aim of this study is to find out about the information behaviour of the participants, framing the briefing with jargon or terms specific to the field was likely to be unhelpful. As Magnusson and Marecek (2015) note, when presented with terms that are either too abstract, or highly specific to a particular field, “participants are likely to flounder around, searching in vain for a hook on which to hang an answer. If they are able to respond at all, they may answer in terms that are so abstract and general that what they say is uninformative” (p. 50). Instead, participants were asked questions that covered a range of topics: their move to the UK, including their experience of arriving in, and getting to know, the area; their daily lives, including employment and family; places or sources where they visited regularly or saw as particularly helpful in finding or using information; their Polish identity and the local Polish community; their experience of being a woman in the UK and Poland; and their plans for the future, particularly in the context of the UK leaving the EU. Within these questions, follow-up questions were asked to draw out more about participants’ information behaviour. For example, when participants narrated their employment history, they were asked what sources they had used or encountered to find particular jobs, and whether the sources they had used were useful and reliable.

The process of constructing the interview schedule followed that suggested by Magnusson and Marecek (2015). The first step was to return to the research questions and become re-acquainted with the overall aims and objectives of the project. These themes were then unpacked into specific topics, such as gender or Polish identity. Questions were then composed around these topics, ensuring that they were phrased in such a way as to “elicit full, rich, and personalized stories from participants” (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015, p. 52) but also to retain focus on the topics at hand. Follow-up questions of a general nature were added, although space was also left for the interviewer to ask more specific follow-up questions according to each interviewee’s responses. Finally, the questions under each topic heading were put into sequence.

The schedule for the pilot interviews in the exploratory study was constructed around the main themes that had been identified from the literature review, including the participant’s story, their Polish identity, gender, and finding out information. A briefing was also included regarding the photovoice element of the research. Once these initial pilot interviews had been conducted, the interview schedule was modified both in terms of structure and wording, a process which is described in more detail in Section 4.2.5. The main study’s interview schedule was structured slightly differently, following the guidelines set out by Magnusson and Marecek (2015) and incorporating the mapping technique. After collecting demographic information, participants

were asked to draw a map of their migration experience, a technique which is described and discussed in Section 3.3.2.4 and further in Section 5.8. The first substantial question of the interview is what Magnusson and Marecek (2015) call an “easy-to-answer question” (p. 56), regarding the participant’s early life in Poland. “Easy-to-answer questions” should not be cognitively demanding for the participant, and should also not address potentially sensitive topics. Such questions are a way to establish the general orientation and tone of the interview, and in this case, in conjunction with the participant map, to confirm basic features of the participant’s narrative. Following the initial map-drawing exercise, questions were grouped thematically: broadly, these themes were ‘yourself’ (basic information about the participant, including a brief history of their life in Poland); the move to Sheffield, accommodation and employment; Polish identity and contacts; how participants found information; being a woman in Poland and the UK; and concluding questions, which included asking about plans for the future and advice for other Polish women wishing to migrate to the UK. Within these themes, each area was broken down into more specific questions. Magnusson and Marecek (2015) also note that sensitive topics should come towards the end of the interview, once the interviewee has had a chance to become comfortable with the interview situation and the interviewer themselves. Topics in this study were not likely to be overtly distressing to participants, with the possible exception of the question of the Brexit referendum. This question was placed near the end, but was not the final question, to avoid “the risk that the difficult discussion will be the participant’s most salient memory of the interview” (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015, p. 57). The final question, regarding what advice participants would give to other Polish women considering a move to the UK, was intended to be another “easy-to-answer question”, providing an opportunity for participants to reflect on their experiences as a whole. Full interview schedules for the exploratory study and the main study can be found in Appendix A.

Establishing rapport with participants was important in this research. Commonalities between the interviewer and participant may aid rapport, but not always; in some cases difference can be productive (Edwards, 1990; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). It has been questioned whether the standard survey interview is compatible with a feminist or female-centred methodology, due to its inherent power imbalance and the sense that female interviewers are thereby exploiting other women (Oakley, 1985). The female-centred researcher conducting an interview should therefore aim to establish rapport, reciprocity, and a non-hierarchical relationship with the participant. Riessman (1987) found that a shared gender is not always enough to create the understanding and fruitful relationship that is necessary for a productive interview process. In this article, Riessman explains how the disparity in culture, ethnicity and

background between interviewer and subject rendered an interview less than successful; it is therefore important not to impose ideas of how a narrative should be structured or what content is relevant upon participants who may have different ways of expressing themselves. When interviewing the Polish women involved in this study, it was important to be aware of potential areas of difference. Letting the interviewee express themselves with minimal interruptions and impositions is vital to receiving as true a representation of their reality as possible (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015; Riessman, 1987). The interviewer should also give non-verbal indications that they are listening and accepting the words of the informant, especially at the beginning of an interview when participants may be uncertain or hesitant (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

3.3.2.2 Visual methods

Because this study involves exploring the emic perspectives of migrational individuals, there is a need for research methods suitable for capturing elusive, hard to express aspects of experience. Visual methods have become increasingly popular in recent years in the social sciences (Pauwels, 2011; Pink, 2007), due to their engaging and accessible nature. These methods are also attractive because they have the potential to provide a higher level of involvement with the research population; photovoice methods, for example, involve a sustained engagement between the researcher and a group of community members to explore a topic in rich detail. In addition, visual methods allow for easier and more interesting ways to present and explain the results of the research to the public and those outside the immediate field. They have found some application in information science (Brennan & Kwiatkowski, 2003; Briden, 2007; Gabridge, Gaskell, & Stout, 2008; Hartel, 2006, 2010, 2014; Hartel & Thomson, 2011; Lundh & Alexandersson, 2012; Malone, 1983; Sonnenwald, 1999, 2005) but have not been used extensively in the field; what is seen as ‘information’ in the discipline is often seen as predominantly textual. Therefore, there is scope to develop the implementation of visual methods.

Visual methods have been advocated as a potentially valuable way to explore information behaviour. Julien, Given, and Opryshko (2013) praise the rich detail they offer and the possibility of more authentic participant expression. Briden (2007) found the photovoice method a useful way to “discover the unexpected” and provoke further discussion beyond what a photograph might seem to portray (p.41). Furthermore, visual methods are often valued for the generation of rich, complex data (Catalani & Minkler, 2010); they may include extensive time in the field and the generation of very rich complex data, which is sometimes easier to capture in an image than in

words (Hartel & Thomson, 2011). They may offer access to subjects and participant views that are not usually visible: Foster and Gibbons' photovoice work on the information practices of university students "captured a varied texture of details" (Briden, 2007, p. 40) and enabled the researchers to access "those parts of their lives that are usually inaccessible to us" when dealing with subjects they did not know well (p. vii). A Danish project on the hybrid library chose to use photovoice as part of a wider cultural probe methodology "to see beneath the surface and get a glimpse of the users' behaviour, which otherwise would not be visible" (Akselbo et al., 2006, p. 53). A current area of interest for information behaviour research is the importance of context (Burnett & Erdelez, 2010); visual methods can be beneficial in this area by offering greater concrete detail (Hartel & Thomson, 2011) and tacit knowledge (Akselbo et al., 2006; Bagnoli, 2009; Croghan, Griffin, Hunter, & Phoenix, 2008).

In terms of interaction with participants, visual methods may increase rapport, and may make a sensitive topic easier to introduce or talk about through the use of visual props (Briden, 2007; Hodgetts, Radley, Chamberlain, & Hodgetts, 2007; Stanczak, 2007). D. Schwartz (1989) felt that the familiarity of talking through photographs, as with a family photo album, helped to ease some of the potential awkwardness and formality of an interview situation. For participants from marginalised groups, such as those in this study, the circumstances of their lives may not be easy to talk about, and an engaging, thoughtful, yet accessible method such as drawing or photovoice may help (McIntyre, 2003; Strack, Magill, & McDonagh, 2004). Beebejaun, Durose, Rees, Richardson, and Richardson (2013) note the potential of 'beyond-text' methods such as photography and storytelling to contribute to empower participants and encourage greater reflection on their lived experience, in the context of co-production. Visual methods have a high capacity to present phenomena in a novel and resonant way; images can be aesthetically pleasing, troubling, or may be evocative in ways that text is not (Cox & Benson, 2017). Some argue that these methods are thereby a useful way to challenge assumptions held by organisations and institutions (Gabridge et al., 2008) as well as by the general public. Text may be presented alongside images, whether written by the participant or the researcher, and this has the potential to heighten the evocative nature of the work by illuminating the circumstances in which the image was created: articles by Strack et al. (2004) and McIntyre (2003) contain photos of poor social conditions that are accompanied by commentary on how these conditions affect the participants' lives, intensifying their resonance.

3.3.2.3 Photovoice

One method initially considered, and piloted, for eliciting data in this study was the photovoice method. There is some debate about the terminology used for various photographic research methods, but in this work, the term ‘photovoice’ is used to describe a process whereby participants are asked to take photographs that represent something about their community, daily life, or point of view. Photos are then selected for discussion, by interviewer or participant, and the participants then contextualise them by telling stories about what the photos mean, or what emotions or memories they evoke; a process usually referred to as photo-elicitation. This is often in a group setting, but sometimes individually with a researcher. From this, the researcher can codify the issues and themes that emerge (Wang & Burris, 1997). In some cases, the work of participants is displayed at the end of the project in a public setting; this is intended to widen public awareness of the findings of the research and perhaps impact upon policy (Green & Kloos, 2009; L. R. Schwartz, Sable, Dannerbeck, & Campbell, 2007; Wang & Burris, 1997). Whether the work results in improved conditions for participants or not, it may enable them to feel empowered and listened to within their local community, echoing ideas of co-production and transformative research (Robinson & Tansey, 2006).

Early pioneers of the method, Wang and Burris, worked mainly in the areas of public health and policy (Wang, 1999; Wang & Burris, 1994; Wang, Yi, Tao, & Carovano, 1998). The method has been used in the fields of community development, education and public health in particular (Hergenrather, Rhodes, Cowan, Bardhoshi, & Pula, 2009), and is often used with communities who are marginalised or disadvantaged for some reason: for example, ethnic minorities (L. R. Schwartz et al., 2007), migrants (Rhodes & Hergenrather, 2007; Streng et al., 2004), the homeless (Packard, 2008; Radley, Hodgetts, & Cullen, 2005; Wang, Cash, & Powers, 2000), the elderly (Baker & Wang, 2006), sufferers of illness (Jurkowski & Paul-Ward, 2007; Levin et al., 2007), adolescents (Stevens, 2006; Strack et al., 2004), or vulnerable women (T. Booth & Booth, 2003; Side, 2005). In this way it is a useful tool for studies using ethnographic methods. Photovoice aims to “make the familiar strange” (Mannay, 2010, p. 95), by taking circumstances and situations that are perceived as ‘everyday’ and using them to demonstrate the issues and concerns of people whose voices are usually not privileged (D. Schwartz, 1989). As photovoice has been shown to be useful in eliciting data from hard-to-reach groups, such as migrants, it would seem to be an appropriate choice to examine the lived experience of migrational individuals, where it has only been used in a few studies (Green & Kloos, 2009; Rhodes & Hergenrather, 2007; L. R. Schwartz et al., 2007; Streng et al., 2004). It is a particularly relevant methodology for this

study, which examines the theory of information grounds: by requesting participants to “produce images that are meaningful for them we can gain insights into... what is important for them as individuals living in particular localities” (Pink, 2004, p. 399).

Photovoice studies have the potential to make a practical contribution to society (Strack et al., 2004; N. Wilson et al., 2007). However, Catalani and Minkler (2010) found little discussion on the impact of photovoice projects at policy level, despite claims from some authors that this could be a prominent outcome; Julien et al. (2013) also note that many studies fail to measure community changes in the long term once a project has ended. There is some evidence to suggest that photovoice projects can have lasting effects: a study in Hong Kong that used photovoice, among other methods, led to women forming formal and informal support networks (Kwok & Ku, 2008), and in another study many of the women who had participated continued to practice photography and put on exhibitions after the study (Lykes, Blanche, & Hamber, 2003). Nonetheless, it should be noted that outcomes like these generally only result from projects where the participants have been strongly engaged and included throughout the research, including the documentation and discussion processes (Catalani & Minkler, 2010).

The level of photographic training offered to participants in photovoice projects varies (Catalani & Minkler, 2010). Issues of safety and ethics are vital to ensuring participant welfare and ethical behaviour, so participants in the pilot study were briefed in this area beforehand, as well as ensuring that they were comfortable using a camera in basic fashion. However, no training on photographic technique was given, to try and ensure minimal interference with the participants’ voices. It is important that participants do not feel constrained by conventions around photography or notions of ‘art’ (Bourdieu, 1990; Packard, 2008). As noted by Catalani and Minkler (2010), “the way in which untrained photographers take pictures... is itself a rich source of data on cultural and social constructions” (p. 144); in his work with the homeless, Packard (2008) felt that the extent to which participants engaged (or failed to engage) with the method was inherently revealing with regard to their detachment from cultural norms.

The initial conception of the research intended to use the photovoice technique to obtain visual data from participants. However, when this was attempted during the pilot study, it was unsuccessful as participants failed to engage with it despite repeated prompting. Photovoice is often used with groups who are seen as disadvantaged or marginalised in some way, or are difficult to reach (Green & Kloos, 2009; McIntyre, 2003; Strack et al., 2004). Migrants often fall into this category, and hence photovoice was seen as an appropriate method with which to engage with the Polish population in the UK. However, as the study has shown, participants in this

study were not disadvantaged or marginalised to a great degree, and perhaps this explains the lack of effectiveness in attempting to use this technique. A key advantage of photovoice is its purported ability to enable deeper communication with those for whom the language of the researcher is not their native language, or who experience difficulty in expressing complex ideas purely with words (Lingel, 2013; Streng et al., 2004; Wang & Burris, 1997). When communicating with participants in this study, there was not a significant language barrier. Photovoice also makes more demands of the participant than a standard interview technique, requiring effort and engagement over time (Bolton, Pole, & Mizen, 2001; Clark-Ibanez, 2007). Participants in this study were busy people with many demands on their time, so again photovoice may not be the most appropriate technique to use with this kind of group. The study therefore contributes to the discussion around the use of visual methods and the importance of choosing an appropriate method for the study population.

3.3.2.4 Mental mapping

Alternative visual methods were then considered for data collection in the main study, with a desire to retain the benefits of using such methods, but in a way that was more straightforward to implement and more accessible to participants. A range of drawing and mapping techniques have been used in social science research, including maps drawn by participants of geographical space, relational maps, conceptualizations of a topic, and timelines. Geographical mapping has been used extensively since the 1960s by geographers (Gieseking, 2013; Kitchin, 1994; Lynch, 1960), depicting a physical representation of a landscape and its features, but also sometimes feelings associated with that landscape. Participative mapping has also been used with communities and local groups (Chambers, 2006; Perkins, 2007), or with children and young people (Clark, 2010; McGregor, 2004). In the LIS field, it has been used to explore participants' experiences of library space (May, 2011). The information behaviour of migrants has also previously been examined using this method; Lingel (2011, 2013, 2015) asked recent migrants to New York City to map their local neighbourhood, illustrating how they navigated and oriented themselves within their new environment, and revealing the importance of wandering and encountering in this process.

Mental mapping has also been used to illustrate models of concepts or elements; for example, participants' perceptions of their identity, relationships, or social networks (Bagnoli, 2009; Greyson, 2013). Sonnenwald and Wildemuth (1999, 2005) used this technique in the

development of the concept of information horizons, asking participants to produce a map of information sources that they used. Another use of mental mapping is in the form of timelines, recording a temporal representation of a participant's life and the major events or transitions therein (Bagnoli, 2009; Worth, 2011). In the field of information science, Scull, Milewski, and Millen (1999) used both of these techniques in their exploration of how users envisioned the Internet; participants were asked to "create a historical time line that spanned from their first time on the Internet to the present... [and] to sketch an early and a recent 'map' of the Internet as they understood it" (p. 2). These visual representations were used in conjunction with an interview, and as 'props' for participants to assist in explaining their answers.

After evaluating the various mental mapping techniques available for the main study, it was decided that a similar approach to that of Scull et al. (1999) would be a useful way to produce rich data around participants' migratory experiences. Participants were asked to produce a map or a timeline representing their migration process, starting in Poland. Guidelines were left deliberately brief in order that participants did not feel constrained by particular styles of visual representation, and they were allowed to represent their experience in any way they chose. This task was the first part of the interview process, and participants were told that they could either narrate the drawing process as it was taking place, or they could describe their map or timeline afterwards. Once the map was drawn, participants were asked to explain it, if they had not already, and were then encouraged to add to it as the interview progressed, noting aspects of their information behaviour such as sources or connections that they accessed at various stages. At the point of analysis, each participant's map was considered in conjunction with their interview transcript. Maps were analysed for both their content and structure. In terms of content, aspects of information behaviour and information sources noted by participants were included in coding, and the use of the mapping technique allowed for consolidation and clarification of the participant's narrative and the information behaviours surrounding it. The maps were also analysed in terms of their structure; for example, some were drawn in the style of a linear timeline, whereas others took the form of a spider diagram, and it was considered that the structure and style of each map might represent different types of narrative. Section 5.8 further describes both the content-related and the methodological findings around this technique.

3.3.2.5 Secondary data analysis

Secondary data analysis is an area of growing interest (D. C. Elliott, 2015; Heaton, 2008; Szabo & Strang, 1997), often for reasons of cost and practicality. However, the approach can also be used “to generate new knowledge, new hypotheses, or support for existing theories” (Heaton, 1998), or as in this study, to provide context and refine the methodology for the primary data collection and analysis. Secondary data in this work took the form of twenty interview transcripts from a previous study on Polish migrants to the UK, which contributed to the exploratory study. Section 4.4 describes in more detail the secondary data that was analysed, and the findings from it.

The decision was taken to include secondary data in the exploratory study in order to provide a broader perspective on the issues surrounding Polish migration than could be afforded by the pilot participant interviews and expert interviews alone. The analysis of twenty in-depth interviews provided much rich data and helped to confirm the relevance of themes and topics that had arisen from engagement with the literature, as well as suggesting potential new areas for study. The study chosen was found via a search for studies on Polish migration on the United Kingdom Data Archive’s (UKDA) online data repository. From the initial search results, the study was selected as being most relevant to the proposed work both in terms of themes and study population. The interview transcripts were downloaded, printed, and analysed in hard copy. Data was analysed thematically, a process which is described in more detail in Section 3.4, but will be briefly described here.

First, the researcher read through the transcripts completely in order to become familiar with the data, not only in terms of the content, but regarding how the data was collected and the structure of the interview. As the data was not collected by the researcher, this step was seen as particularly important; the process of data collection allows the researcher an extra level of familiarity with the data, which is naturally omitted here. Following this initial reading, the researcher noted some broad themes which recurred in the data and were also relevant to the proposed study. The study’s principal concern was that of social class and how it related to ethnicity and nationality; this theme had not been identified as particularly relevant to the proposed work, so was not noted as a major theme. However, the discussion around class and ethnicity in these interviews touched upon several other themes that were considered to be relevant. These primary themes were migration; Polish identity and community; employment; gender; and information and [social] connections.

The next step was to re-read the transcripts with these themes in mind. The printed transcripts were physically marked up with a highlighter colour to code each theme. As this analysis was part of an exploratory study to confirm primary themes and provide context around these, it was not felt that there was a need to break down codes further. Once transcripts had been read through once and initial coding applied, data for each theme was pulled out and the findings were presented.

3.3.3 Implementation: sampling and recruitment

Purposive sampling was used in this study; it is a natural choice for qualitative research, particularly that which takes a broadly ethnographic approach (Bryman, 2012) and those studies involving “information-rich cases” (Patton, 2002, p. 169). While it does involve some degree of focused choice regarding, for example, a particular group or local area, it also aims to achieve a certain level of variety within that group (Bryman, 2012). In this research, the Polish community was chosen as the study population, and in particular the women of this group. However, within the sample, participants differed in their age, educational background, social class, time in the UK, and various other factors. Participants were recruited initially through a number of routes. For the pilot study, a contact of the researcher was able to suggest a potential participant, and this participant then suggested another contact. For the main study, The University of Sheffield’s email broadcasting system was used to recruit staff and students at the university as an accessible starting point. This resulted in an initial response from nine participants. However, after this first wave of recruitment, it was felt that the sample so far was relatively homogenous, being comprised mostly of those studying or working in academia, although for the most part interviewees had more complex narratives than simply following a linear academic trajectory. Nonetheless, in order to diversify the study population, the decision was taken to extend the boundaries of the study to two nearby towns in South Yorkshire, Doncaster and Rotherham. Based on anecdotal evidence from earlier participants, these two towns were selected as they had significant Polish populations and it was felt that by extending the study to towns without universities, it would be easier to recruit participants from more diverse educational and occupational backgrounds. Access to the Polish population in these towns was gained by a number of routes; some participants were personally known to contacts of the researcher. Others were recruited via a contact given by one of the expert interviewees, who was connected with a Polish business bureau and was able to suggest some contacts in the South Yorkshire area. One of these

contacts ran a training centre that also offered language teaching and citizenship preparation, with a high uptake by young Polish women. The researcher attended sessions held by this centre and was successful in recruiting several participants directly, and more via snowball sampling. Participants were thus recruited from Doncaster and Rotherham, but this second wave of recruitment also included several more from Sheffield who were not connected with the universities and thereby contributed to a more diverse sample than had initially been recruited, with a broader range of educational backgrounds and occupations that better reflected the diversity of the Polish population in the UK.

Owing to the potential difficulty of recruiting participants for this study, snowball sampling was useful throughout to identify other participants within certain communities or with similar information needs to the original informants. It has been used successfully in ethnographic studies, to identify a small group of initial participants, and thereby secure details of other likely participants (Bryman, 2012). As noted by Aziz, “the method also enables contact with people who might not be organised within other categories, such as online or community groups” (2015, p. 10). It is particularly suitable for inductive research, enabling the researcher to grow the sample as research progresses, to identify emerging themes (Erlandson, 1993), and allowing for “on-going joint collection and analysis of data associated with the generation of theory” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 48). This iterative process matched the research design of the current study and allowed for construction of knowledge as the work progresses. Key informants emerged, who were information-rich cases in themselves, but also then pointed to further useful contacts or issues for study.

The gatekeeper strategy produced mixed results in attempting to access participants. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) define gatekeepers as “actors with control over key sources and avenues of opportunity” (p. 27). Such actors may provide a valuable route into the migrational community. However, gatekeeper bias should be borne in mind. Groger, Mayberry, and Straker (1999) conducted research in nursing homes, where administrative staff had total control over their access to participants. In libraries and other everyday settings, this is less of a problem, but when asking gatekeepers to suggest participants, there is still the potential for bias in selection. Gatekeepers will naturally be concerned with the image of their organisation or community, and may therefore endeavour to influence or control the researcher’s admission to the setting, by blocking access in some areas or guiding them in a particular direction. They may also make assumptions about the researcher’s intentions and desires if these are not made clear early on; for example, they may assume that the researcher is only interested in observing unusual or noteworthy happenings, while the researcher may in fact be equally concerned with seemingly

mundane, everyday activities. Even when gatekeepers are as cooperative and helpful as possible, using them to access the field will still influence the development of the research; they may choose to guide the researcher in directions that are most convenient to them, and the researcher may find themselves limited and bound by the gatekeeper's sphere of influence and interest (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

In the present study, recruitment was attempted through various community groups and organisations, such as the Polish Catholic Centre; the White Eagle Association, which represents the Polish community and promotes Anglo-Polish relations in South Yorkshire; Sheffield Association for the Voluntary Teaching of English; the Polish [Saturday] School in Sheffield, and the Polish Society at The University of Sheffield. At all these institutions, the researcher attempted to make contact with a potential gatekeeper, and in most instances, was successful. Posters and flyers were also displayed in libraries in Sheffield, with the co-operation of the library service. Staff were encouraged to mention the research to library users and ask whether they would be interested in participating. However, reaching participants through these organisations was difficult and none were recruited in this way. This may reflect a low level of usage of such institutions by young Poles in South Yorkshire, which is in itself interesting as a reflection of their lack of need to engage with such groups or institutions. Some of these organisations did not appear to be very active. In the case of the Polish School, it was suggested by a contact there that potential participants were wary of engaging with official institutions in the context of the Brexit referendum, which had recently occurred at the time of attempting to recruit. However, one organisation did prove particularly useful; a training centre that also offered language teaching and citizenship preparation. The researcher attended sessions held by this centre and was successful in recruiting several participants directly, and more via snowball sampling. One participant was recruited via an internet message board for Poles in the UK.

Planning an exit strategy in such work is not always straightforward (Bryman, 2012). Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that when redundancy occurs, termination should occur. Redundancy, or theoretical saturation (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), may be achieved when no new information is being uncovered that might suggest new insights or themes. Constant comparison of data is required for the researcher to be confident that this point has truly been reached (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). It is therefore difficult to predetermine the size of a sample; a dozen participants could provide enough data to reach saturation, and twenty might cause the work to reach redundancy (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). However, a minimum sample size of twenty was sought, and the final participant count was twenty-one, plus two pilot interviewees. This adheres to

observations by Luborsky and Rubinstein (1995) that “from 12 to 26 people... seems just about right to most authors” (p. 105). In practice, it produced a great deal of rich and wide-ranging data.

Another challenge in recruiting participants was that of incentives; it was not possible (or perhaps ethical) to offer money or other remuneration, so the benefits to participants were necessarily less tangible. The engaging nature of the project, particularly in the context of heightened interest around migrants in the UK, may be rewarding for those taking part, but the less perceptible benefits were also emphasised. These included a deeper awareness of participants’ own information behaviour and the resources available to them; the chance to have their voices heard, and a sense of empowerment (Carlson, Engebretson, & Chamberlain, 2006; Foster-Fishman, Nowell, Deacon, Nievar, & McCann, 2005; Wang & Burris, 1997). There may also be the potential for improvement in their local environment and community (Green & Kloos, 2009; Strack et al., 2004; N. Wilson et al., 2007); for example, it is hoped that this study can offer some recommendations to local organisations based on the information behaviour and experience of the participants (Section 7.5).

3.4 Analysis

Following data collection, information gathered from the interviews and maps was transcribed, coded and analysed. The NVivo software package was used for coding and analysis. Thematic analysis, as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006), was used as a way of identifying prominent issues within the data collected. These authors describe a six-phase process of analysis, which was followed in order to identify, analyse, and ultimately report on the data collected. The first stage involves familiarising oneself with the data. This entailed transcribing interviews and re-reading interviews individually once each was transcribed, which produced increased knowledge of the data and awareness of some potential themes. The second phase of the process was to generate initial codes. Saldaña (2009) defines a code as “a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data” (p. 3). Braun and Clarke state that codes “identify a feature of the data (semantic content or latent) that appears interesting to the analyst” (2006, p. 88). With these definitions in mind, the data from both interview transcripts and participant-drawn maps was examined in detail and codes were applied systematically. The approach taken was that of descriptive coding (Wolcott, 1994), summarising the topic of a passage of data in a word or short

phrase. The first pass through the data produced 95 codes. The next step was to collate these codes into potential themes, considering “how different codes may combine to form an overarching theme” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 89). To facilitate this process, each code was written on a piece of paper and moved around into potential theme areas. The fourth phase of the process involves reviewing and refining these themes; the data was re-read and re-evaluated with the initial lists of themes and codes in mind. Some codes were broken down further and others were consolidated, and some data was re-coded or assigned additional codes, resulting in a list of 104 codes. For example, the codes of ‘feminism’, ‘Polish men’, ‘women – expectations’, ‘women – experiences’ and ‘women – opportunities’ were collected under the category of ‘gender’. The category ‘work’ was created to include ‘career progression’, ‘self-employment’, and ‘work via friends’. Lists of codes generated at each stage are presented in Appendix C. Once re-reviewed, these larger themes and sub-themes were then arranged into a larger thematic map according to the relationships between them. Following this stage, themes were further refined and re-defined, and in the final stage of the process, were organised in a logical order for presentation of the findings.

While thematic analysis comprised the main technique for analysing the data, elements of narrative analysis were also employed. While the definition of narrative analysis is also subject to dispute and not easy to clarify (Riessmann, 1993), it involves awareness of the stories that participants are telling and the accounts that they are providing. Narrative analysis has features in common with thematic analysis, but the emphasis is on preserving the individual story as a whole, rather than simply extracting themes from a range of stories. In this way, it maintains the integrity of each participant’s account, which is appealing when adopting a participant-centred approach as it preserves a human dimension and sense of individuality, allowing voices to be heard in context rather than in disconnected fragments. It is also therefore appropriate for studies taking a broadly ethnographic approach, as it maintains the everyday, lived aspect of each account. While thematic analysis of respondents’ reports may reveal a common pattern, it can lose the sense of the person involved and what the events or feelings being reported meant to them in context. In narrative analysis, individual stories are kept whole, and issues discussed are evaluated in the setting of their life story; it goes some way to ensuring that the individual’s account of themselves is respected. In addition, it may be that the foregrounding of individual narratives is a way to resist traditional, patriarchal power relations that are imposed from the top down (Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2008), which is desirable for a work that examines populations who might lack power. Narrative research has been used to gather “extensive life histories in order to understand how personal lives traverse social change” (Andrews et al., 2008,

p. 4). In the context of this study, collecting life histories, or acknowledging the whole story of a migrational individual, enables the researcher to weave issues around information behaviour into a wider setting. In this study, the narrative approach was implemented in the interview itself, as participants were asked and encouraged to tell the story represented by their drawn maps. When conducting analysis, the researcher ensured that the larger context of participants' words was preserved and represented.

3.5 Research quality

Credibility is important to research of all kinds. When conducting quantitative research, achieving credibility is relatively straightforward: the work undertaken must be reliable, replicable, consistent, and accurate (Golafshani, 2003). However, when working within a qualitative paradigm, these criteria become less appropriate and other methods must be considered (Tracy, 2010). Triangulation is a common method to establish credibility in research, particularly within a quantitative model, by testing whether several theories, techniques and sources converge on the same conclusion (Denzin, 1970); multiple methods of data collection may ensure stronger validity and compensate for the limitations of individual techniques. In this study, the use of the mental mapping technique alongside the semi-structured interview enabled the researcher to confirm and validate the data. However, using triangulation becomes problematic for qualitative research when one assumes that there is a single reality that can be found; interpretive paradigms such as those in this work view reality as multiple, contested, and constructed by social actors (Tracy, 2010). Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge and interrelate these multiple realities; an alternative method of doing so is through crystallization (Ellingson, 2009; Richardson, 2000). Richardson (2000) proposes a move away from the "rigid, fixed, two-dimensional" nature of triangulation (p. 934), in favour of the image of the crystal, which allows for a multifaceted shape that appears differently from different angles and is subject to growth and alteration. Such a view provides "a rich and openly partial" account of the phenomenon under examination, rather than aiming to find and validate one single truth (Ellingson, 2009, p. 4). As such, it disrupts conventional and positivist methodological norms. It also allows for greater reflexivity as it highlights the position of the researcher and their interpretations (Ellingson, 2009); Clifford (1986) believes ethnography to be an inherently partial – "committed and incomplete" – methodology, and encourages acknowledgement of this (p. 7).

Richardson (2000) theorises crystallization, but does not describe in detail how it might be implemented as a process or framework. A practical examination is provided by Ellingson (2009), who explores several characteristics of projects that exhibit crystallization. Firstly, she states that crystallization involves deep, complex representation of the issues at hand and the participants involved, with the focus always on interpretation. Credibility may be shown by deep engagement with research participants (Pickard, 2007), which is a potential strength of visual methods (Bolton et al., 2001; Clark-Ibanez, 2007); the use of map drawing in this study was useful to establish rapport and produce richer data than could be gleaned from an interview alone. Visual methods are also useful here because they can give immediate concrete detail (Hartel & Thomson, 2011), or illustration of a point through visual means, followed with more depth through descriptions from participants (Briden, 2007). Participants' maps were useful in this context, to clarify and elaborate upon points discussed in the interview. Visual methods are also one way to capture tacit knowledge: the hidden assumptions and meanings that are vital to truly understanding a context. Tacit knowledge is often difficult to uncover and articulate, and may require a long time spent in the field, getting 'under the skin' of a community, situation or context. Akselbo et al. (2006) felt that visual methods, coupled with observation, could provide insight into tacit knowledge in information behaviour. The use of images and maps, whether photographed or drawn, may be helpful to externalise knowledge that is beneath the surface of what is usually made explicit (Bagnoli, 2009; Croghan et al., 2008).

Ellingson (2009) also states that crystallization manifests itself in research that uses multiple methods, genres and media, as well as representing and reflecting contrasting epistemologies. Furthermore, such research acknowledges and embraces the multi-faceted construction of knowledge, rejecting positivist notions of objectivity. When the researcher views an issue from different angles, they will observe different outcomes, much in the way that a crystal reflects and refracts light. Similarly, using multiple methods allows the researcher to uncover subtleties that may remain hidden when only one technique is used. The use of the mental mapping method is a good example of this in itself (Bagnoli, 2009). Finally, reflexivity is key to crystallization for Ellingson; this has been addressed at length in Section 3.2.3.

Member checks are important when considering credibility: they help to ensure that the researcher's initial understandings are a true representation of the participants' contributions, but they also allow elaboration upon it, possibly providing new insight and flagging up problems (Pickard, 2007). When using visual methods, a form of member verification is usually built into the process, as participants are asked to speak about their images, either individually with the researcher or in a larger group setting. In this study, participants were asked to narrate and

describe their drawn map, either as they were drawing it or afterwards. This helped to ensure that the story presented was correct and that any uncertain details were clarified. For example, participants were sometimes unclear on dates; the act of writing them down, with prompting from the researcher, ensured that they were mentally re-checked and either confirmed or changed if necessary. In cases where participants had had several different jobs or lived in several different places, the process of writing them down ensured that all stages of the narrative were included in the correct order.

3.6 Ethical issues

The University of Sheffield's ethical research policy was followed throughout the research, complying with guidelines for confidentiality and safety for both participants and researcher. Ethical approval for the study was given in November 2014, with a minor change approved in December 2014. Following the exploratory study, the change from photovoice to mental mapping techniques necessitated another minor change, which was approved in July 2016. Participation in the project was voluntary, and participants were asked to read an information sheet and sign a consent form (Appendix B), confirming that they understood the purpose and conditions of the research. Interviewees were also informed that they could withdraw their participation and associated data from the research at any time. Data was anonymised and kept securely on a password-protected computer.

The project raised some ethical challenges in terms of gaining fully informed consent from potentially vulnerable social groups; migrational individuals are sometimes seen as marginalised (Lloyd et al., 2013; Massey, 1993) and may experience a wide range of problems (Pumariega et al., 2005; Yakushko & Chronister, 2005). The tension between conducting the research and feeling a moral obligation to engage directly with individuals participating outside the confines of the study raised ethical dilemmas. However, there was no potential for physical harm, and little potential for psychological harm or distress to participants. Participants did discuss sensitive issues, particularly in the context of narrative interviewing that aimed to examine their life stories, but these were not the focus of the research. It was made clear to participants that they were under no obligation to discuss anything that may have caused distress, and that they were free to withdraw from the research at any time.

Interviews were mostly conducted in public settings, but for some participants it was necessary to use potentially non-secure locations, such as their own homes. A procedure was established for ensuring researcher safety, involving telephone calls to a trusted contact before and after the meeting.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the methodology of the work, beginning with the theoretical and philosophical frameworks that underpin it. Reflexivity is an important concept that influences the research design and implementation of the study. While the research is not a true ethnography, it uses elements of ethnographic methods, in conjunction with the visual methods of mental mapping and photovoice, to produce a rich and multifaceted presentation of the migration experience of participants. Thematic analysis will complement this approach. Research quality and ethical issues have also been addressed.

4. Exploratory study

4.1 Introduction

In order to provide additional context to the main study, and to trial and validate the methodology before data gathering took place, two expert interviews and two initial pilot interviews with young Polish women were conducted, and interview data from another study was examined. This exploratory study was carried out to obtain further understanding of the context around Polish migration to the UK, with particular focus on women, as well as to evaluate what issues might be of particular interest or importance in the main study (for example, employment or education). It aimed to address certain aspects of the research questions. For example, learning more about the context of Polish women's migration at all stages of the process would help to uncover what information needs they might have, as well as the extent to which they live transnational lives between the UK and Poland. Initial interviews with Polish women were planned to discover some of the information sources and spaces they typically used, and those who had worked with or were knowledgeable about the Polish population in the UK were considered to be well placed to provide insight into this topic. Additional contextual knowledge gained from this would contribute to answering the question of the successful strategies that migrational Polish women employ and the difficulties that they face. Finally, this study was also intended to inform the main study's participant interviews from a methodological standpoint. The contextual information gained helped to shape and refine the content of the interview questions, by foreshadowing likely areas of interest. In addition, conducting pilot interviews with Polish women assisted in evaluating the effectiveness of both the questions and the photovoice technique in eliciting useful information.

4.2 Pilot interviews

Two pilot interviews were conducted, with the aims of gaining contextual understanding around the post-accession migration of Polish women to the UK, and of testing interview questions and methodology. Pseudonyms have been used for all participants throughout the work to preserve anonymity.

The first interviewee, Alicja, was a 30-year-old woman who grew up in Poland until the age of 17. She initially came to the UK to begin an undergraduate degree in London, after which she took a job at a financial headhunting company. She then successfully applied for a PhD in Sheffield and moved to the city in 2007. This migration was a mix of ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors: she was unhappy in her job in London, and her partner was already living in Sheffield. The second interviewee, Karolina, was 28 years old and had moved to Sheffield from Poland at the age of 23 to pursue a PhD with a particular supervisor. Alicja was introduced to the researcher through personal contacts, and she then suggested Karolina as a second interviewee. Inevitably, these two participants do not represent a wide range of migratory narratives, and they did share some characteristics, such as both having moved to the UK for education-related reasons, and continuing to work in academia. Furthermore, both interviewees had moved to the UK several years before the interviews were conducted. This may well have influenced both the kinds of experiences that they were likely or able to recall, and the perspective and lens through which they viewed events.

4.2.1 Information seeking and gathering

In terms of information gathering, Alicja did not appear to seek information actively before or during her migration, but had learned about the city primarily from her partner. She also relied upon him to organise accommodation and other practical matters when she moved here. Although she used the public library a lot in Poland growing up, she did not use public library facilities in Sheffield, visiting only twice since arriving to use a computer and to go to an exhibition. She used the university library for her work, but not for anything further (which may be expected of academic libraries, as opposed to the wider perceived functions of public libraries). When confronted with a tangible information need, such as finding bus timetables or seeking a local choir to join, she tended to use online resources such as Google and local online forums. This preference for online sources was also evident when discussing planning holidays or a potential future move abroad: rather than use guidebooks, the interviewee preferred to use Google Earth and Street View, which allowed autonomous searching and discovery, and “give you such a feel for what it’s going to be like”.

Karolina relied upon social networks for much of her information seeking and gathering; for example, she became aware of her supervisor’s work through friends who were doing research in the field. This resulted in her sending a speculative application directly to him and being taken

on as a PhD student. In common with Alicja, Karolina did not actively conduct a great deal of research into Sheffield before moving, checking only basic transportation needs such as airline connections and transport to her new accommodation. She searched a house-sharing website to find an initial place to stay, but once in Sheffield she once again used social connections to find more affordable permanent accommodation. Interestingly, this network included both Polish and UK-based connections: a colleague from Poland had given Karolina the email address of a Polish friend of his in Sheffield, who she emailed to enquire about accommodation and who then offered Karolina a room in her house. She had lived there, with other Poles, for around four years at the time of the interview. She used the university library for work, although she generally accessed resources online and through the StarPlus catalogue, only visiting to collect books and spending no time browsing shelves. Although she had used the public library in Poland, she had not visited the public library at all during her time in Sheffield. For leisure reading, she preferred to borrow books from friends: “I find it more interesting, because by the same token I can learn what they’re interested in, so get to know someone as well.” This again hints at the use of social networks for information gathering and encountering. One such loan from a friend, a book called *Watching the English*, had resulted in her gaining more understanding of English society and culture, which she valued and found useful as someone from a different cultural background.

A key comment from Karolina addressed what she felt the process of moving abroad had itself taught her:

“I’ve definitely learnt a lot. It takes a lot more to be in a different environment. I mean, I could keep learning in Silesia, but I wouldn’t have such broad horizons, I wouldn’t know the other ways of doing things. And part of the, processing information, is unlearning things as well, so trying to overwrite, erase what’s been imprinted and what you take for granted or what you take for certain, but it isn’t certain somewhere else, and I think that’s the best gain of the experience... I think just moving elsewhere, in itself, brings a lot more learning.”

This comment alludes to the different kinds of knowledge that migrants might gain from their migration: practical knowledge about other ways of ‘doing things’ and life in other countries and cultures, but also less tangible learning about their own views and preconceptions; a broadening of mental and cultural horizons (Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004; Friedman-Kasaba, 1996).

4.2.2 Information grounds

Karolina's main information ground was the academic department where she worked, including conversations with other students over lunch where she gained information about leisure pursuits and places to go in Sheffield, as well as about political and environmental news. She also spoke about sharing information and skills as a result of shared academic interests; for example, offering her knowledge of English language writing skills and in return receiving information about how to use particular equipment. Outside her workplace, she appeared to make use of information grounds "here and there", giving examples of cafes, queues in shops, bus stops and leisure facilities such as skating rinks or dance classes. In these situations, conversations were generally prompted by observations about things, events or people in the vicinity. She valued the information shared here for its personal nature: "other people are a really good source of information for where else you can go for different dancing, and where is good, where isn't, the kind of things you can't really find online easily." Often, however, conversation was superficial and did not involve a great deal of information sharing; the exception was when she used such experiences to get to know new people and make friends. This was a relatively new development for her, as previously she had made friends only through existing social connections, which she attributed to shyness and language difficulties. Initially these friends tended to be Polish in origin, but her circle had since widened to include a variety of nationalities.

Some use of information grounds was evident in Alicja's experience, with the main one appearing to be the communal spaces in her academic department, such as the kitchen and eating area. There was a sense that conversations and information exchange only started here because of proximity to other people and the feeling that it would be awkward not to speak; however, Alicja felt that she had learned a lot about the city from these conversations as they often addressed weekend plans and, from there, recommendations for places to visit. The diverse nature of the people in this information ground were also a factor: she also noted that most information that was new to her tended to come from people who were not originally from Sheffield, and felt that these people were likely to be more proactive in exploring the city and sharing information about it. Apart from this space, however, this interviewee did not make extensive use of information grounds; while she conducted occasional conversations with shop employees or fellow park runners, these conversations rarely moved beyond the immediate context and she did not appear to value highly the information exchanged, although it is possible that the information might be more valuable than she considered it to be.

The discussion of information grounds in Alicja's interview raised the possibility that the effectiveness of information grounds may be dependent on geographical location and the culture associated with that place. Fisher developed the theory in North America, where (anecdotally) people may behave in a more open fashion, and be more likely to speak to strangers. In the UK people may act in a more reserved manner, and may actively avoid conversation and information sharing in communal public settings such as those mentioned in the theory of information grounds. Furthermore, within the UK, this participant observed that the North seemed 'friendlier' in such a way and that the South, and London in particular, did not. She commented that nobody would speak to or acknowledge a stranger in London, but in Sheffield they would be more likely to, and she felt more comfortable doing so herself. Karolina also noted that people in Sheffield were kind and friendly, and had made her feel welcome from her arrival onwards. It is worth considering whether the effectiveness of information grounds is affected by their geographical location and associated factors.

4.2.3 Identity

Alicja had few friends and family still in Poland and therefore did not stay in touch with her home country, literally or metaphorically. She also had little contact with the wider Polish community in Sheffield, as she did not perceive shared nationality as a basis for friendship; throughout the interview she emphasised her view of people as individuals over an image of them as simply nationals of a certain country. Moreover, she expressed feeling little in common with them and felt that the places they would congregate, such as the church or Polish club, were not relevant to her. She believed these places to be used more by those who feel a longing for a national identity, citing in particular the post-war and post-Communist generations of Polish migrants. Such views support the findings of Bielewska (2012) that post-accession Poles have a less strong sense of co-ethnicity than the post-war generation, and may actively reject such identification: "[t]hey perceive themselves foremost as individuals who should be judged and evaluated on their individual qualities rather than as members of a group" (p. 103). Bielewska reflects upon whether this may be a way of avoiding taking on 'minority' status and positioning themselves closer to the mainstream 'power group'. It is also possible that negative press about migrants places them in the position of 'other' and that some migrants, consciously or unconsciously, may subsume some aspects of their ethnic identity in order to avoid being marginalised.

Karolina kept in closer touch with connections in Poland, as her parents and grandmother were still there. She spoke with them on the telephone or via Skype around once a week, and visited three times a year, usually for holidays such as Christmas or Easter, and during the summer vacation period. Having lived with other Poles for four years, and having other Polish friends, she still used her Polish language skills very frequently, and mentioned the common language as a reason for choosing her shared accommodation initially. Like Alicja, she did not perceive shared nationality as a basis for automatic friendship, but she did actively seek out other Poles during her first few years in Sheffield. For her, being able to speak Polish in everyday life was easier and made her feel more comfortable, and although she said she did not feel a need to keep speaking Polish “in the idealistic kind of way” or as part of a cultural identity, she did express a wish to continue speaking Polish in the future and for any future children she might have to learn the language as well. She cited her family’s lack of religion as a factor in her feeling different from most Poles from a young age, as “ninety something percent” of her peers came from religious Catholic families. While the role of religion in migration has not received as much attention as other economic and social factors, it often plays an important part, particularly in transnational migration, where religious beliefs and practices are diffused between countries and communities, and where engagement with religious institutions often “attest(s) to [migrants’] continued membership in the broader sending nation” (Levitt, 2003, p. 851). For communities with a strong tradition of religious participation, religious institutions have long assisted in settlement, offering fellowship, tradition, comfort, and practical assistance (Hirschman, 2004). However, Hagan and Ebaugh (2003) found that religion also influenced earlier stages of the migration process, starting with the decision to migrate, and continuing through preparation, the journey, arrival and settlement, as well as being significant in the development of transnational communities. While religion did not play a part in Karolina’s migration process, it is possible, given the strong role of the Catholic Church in Polish society (Porter, 2001), that other Polish migrants may make use of religious institutions or connections during their migration or transnational existence.

4.2.4 Gender

Alicja felt that her parents were “progressive... but not liberal” and as a result she did not feel constrained by gender roles or traditional constructions of femininity. At the age of 13, her mother became ill, meaning she felt that she lacked a female role model in her life from then on. Karolina mentioned her interest in science at school as being unusual for a girl, but felt that her

parents were supportive of her ambitions, which she attributed to both parents working and being educated (her father to PhD level). She described the relationship between her parents as “a partnering one” in terms of division of domestic labour, which she believed to be “not very usual for a Polish family; there’s quite a few still with traditional ideas”.

4.2.5 Methodological issues

As the principal component of data gathering in the main study, it is appropriate to consider the strengths and limitations of the interview technique as it was used in this exploratory study. In general, the semi-structured interview technique worked well, offering the opportunity to ask follow-up questions where necessary so the interviewee could expand on points of interest. The first interview highlighted some issues with the order of questions; for example, one slightly difficult point was the second question, which asked what it was like being a woman in Poland. The interviewee seemed taken aback by the question and it perhaps jarred with the previous question, which asked about where she grew up and what it was like. The first question was answered with a fairly broad and descriptive biographical narrative so moving straight onto issues of gender seemed quite a big shift. For the second interview, this question was moved further down the list, when more rapport had been established and more issues had been discussed. It was also asked in conjunction with the question about what it was like to be a woman in Sheffield and how it compared, offering more of a focus to the issue of gender.

For the main study, these questions about gender were altered further; they were moved to later on in the interview, once the narrative of the interviewee’s experience had been established. They were also broken down and made more specific; the question “What is your experience of being a woman in Poland?” was split into three questions, which were less broad and asked about specific aspects of women’s experiences:

Q17. Do you think there is a difference in the opportunities available to women in Poland/ the UK? If so, why?

Q18. Are expectations of women different in the UK compared to Poland? Have you noticed any examples?

Q19. Do you think Polish men who move to the UK have a different experience to Polish women?

As already noted, these two interviewees had similar narratives in some respects. They were both also interviewed several years after moving to the UK, which likely affected their recollections of, and feelings towards, events. This study discusses elsewhere the increase in circular and transnational migration, and the likelihood of a non-linear migration story (Coyle, 2007; Levitt & Nyberg-Sorensen, 2004; Ryan et al., 2009; Schiller et al., 1992). It may be that participants in the main study have experienced a simple, one-off migration from Poland to the UK, but it is equally, if not more, likely that their narrative is more complex. Therefore, this work indicates that it is important to ensure that the whole migration story is included in the interview. The initial participant interviews perhaps gave disproportionate emphasis to the process of settling in Sheffield, when in reality this may only be a small part of the narrative. As a result, the interview schedule for the main study was altered to address the migration story in a more comprehensive manner, and to draw out information behaviour with follow-up questions.

The two initial interviews also highlighted the issue of creating a rapport with the interviewee. While it is helpful, particularly in the contexts of female-centred research and the narrative approach, to strike a good rapport with the interviewee, it was also important that the interview did not take on the characteristics of a chat between friends. Although I, as the interviewer, had certain things in common with the interviewees and agreed with much of what they said, I tried hard to ensure that I did not offer my own opinions, at the risk of leading the interviewee in a particular direction or making her feel that she could not express a contradictory view. In order to increase reflexivity in the main study, I attempted to observe and become aware of my own bias, views and experiences and how they may have impacted upon my perceptions and analysis of the data.

The first interviewee was perhaps slightly problematic in terms of examining her information behaviour and use of information grounds, as by her own admission she did not go out much and did not tend to talk to people. She was quite settled in Sheffield with a constant routine so had no real need or desire to ‘find things out’. However, this in itself was of interest, and although her answers were not in line with expectations, they did reveal some use of information grounds and other evidence about her information behaviour. She appeared to equate ‘finding out about things’ with ‘looking things up on Google’ and needed further explanation about information encountering, interpersonal sources, and other ways of using information. In the second interview, I ensured I explained more about the different facets of information behaviour when introducing questions, which did elicit more useful information. However, it also pointed to a need to perhaps ask questions in a different way, more suitable for

those with no background in information studies. This then requires the interviewer to be more skilled in extracting information from the interviewee's answers.

Another key aim of the pilot interviews was to trial the use of the photovoice technique with interviewees. Following the semi-structured portion of the interview, the participants were briefed on the technique and instructed on what to do next. They were asked to take 20 photos that told the story of living in Sheffield and showed how they kept informed, and helped others to stay informed, while living in the city. They were also given ethical guidelines about the photography process. While both interviewees accepted the assignment and agreed to be contacted after one week to discuss their photos, neither was able to produce any images despite being asked and reminded several times. Their reasons for not engaging with the technique included being busy and lacking the time, forgetting to take cameras out with them, and not owning a mobile phone with a camera. Upon speaking to other researchers who have used photovoice, on an anecdotal level, it became apparent that such difficulties were far from uncommon. However, the literature on the technique rarely addresses this, which is interesting given that there is evidence to suggest that it can be a challenging technique for researchers to use. It would be worth examining further the difficulties involved in using photovoice, with feedback from participants, in order to provide some insight into this. Nonetheless, the implication for this study was that photovoice was not likely to be a viable method. The advantages of visual and participatory methods have been outlined elsewhere in this work, and such methods remain a useful way to offer rich detail, make different modes of expression available to participants, and facilitate discussion. With this in mind, it seemed appropriate to continue to use a visual or participatory method, but to consider the use of a technique that might be less demanding for participants, and that could be implemented immediately within the interview situation. The method of mental mapping better fit these criteria; this is discussed in detail in Chapter 3 (Methodology). This technique has been used in the field of information research around migration (Lingel, 2011, 2013) but in this instance, rather than presenting a geographical depiction, participants' maps would illustrate the narrative of their migration. This technique allows interviewees to render their story in the form of their choice, whether that be in the form of a linear timeline (Bagnoli, 2009; Worth, 2011) or something more complex that reflects circular migration or transnational existence.

4.3 Expert interviews

Two interviews were conducted with experts in the field: one was an academic at the University of Sheffield who had previously conducted research on Polish migrant entrepreneurs in the West Midlands region of the UK. Desk research was conducted to find academics who had conducted research on Polish migration to the UK; it was considered that this interviewee would be able to provide information particularly on the post-accession wave of Polish migrants to the UK, which is the focus of the present study. The interview was conducted in person. The other expert interviewee was the Chairman of the Federation of Poles in Great Britain, an organisation set up in 1946 to maintain representation for the Polish community in the UK, encompassing both governmental and non-governmental institutions, on a national and local scale. This interviewee was found via a search of Polish institutions in the UK and it was considered that they would have a good overview of Polish migration and settlement in the UK, including historical context and trends over time. The interview was conducted over the telephone. A discussion of the findings from these interviews follows; views, opinions, and information such as statistics are those given by the interviewees.

4.3.1 Population and migration

Owing to an increase in transnational living and circular migration, the current Polish population in the UK is difficult to measure, and estimates vary; one interviewee suggested that at any time there were likely to be around one million Polish-born citizens living in the UK. There is currently a high birth rate of children to Polish mothers, suggested to be around 20,000 per year, but again, quantifying this population is problematic as these children are eligible to be registered either as Polish or UK citizens. Interestingly, the community is more widely spread than other migrant populations in the UK, possibly as a result of being relatively long-established, but also because of the nature of work that many Polish nationals undertake. Outside of London, the largest Polish population is found in rural East Anglia, and areas such as the East Midlands, West Midlands, and North East also have sizeable Polish communities outside of their major cities. There are also around seven to eight thousand Polish-born students in further education in the UK, supported by the Congress of Polish Student Societies.

The first step taken by many Polish migrants is to find accommodation. Many choose to come to the UK because they know somebody who is here already, so often stay with them on a short-term basis while seeking their own accommodation. Personal connections seemed to be important when choosing an area of the UK to move to, whether this was through an individual or through knowledge of where existing Polish communities were located (including long-established post-war communities). The next step is usually to find a job, if one has not been secured prior to leaving Poland; migrants have often already done some research on the internet or through talking to friends about what is involved, which enables them to register quickly with employment agencies and deal with the relevant paperwork. In addition to these practical concerns, migrants must acclimatise to their new surroundings and deal with the mental and emotional issues that may accompany the move, which can sometimes prove difficult.

4.3.2 Employment

Prior to EU enlargement in 2004, Polish nationals were permitted to enter the UK on a business visa. The numbers of Poles taking this opportunity increased during the run-up to Polish accession, as many felt that Polish businesses would be needed to meet the predicted growth of Polish communities in the UK once free movement between the countries was established. These businesses initially focused on Polish-specific needs, such as shops and restaurants selling Polish products, or labour such as construction or plumbing. After 2004, it became easier for Polish citizens to move to the UK and set up businesses; by this point, many were already established and Poles considering a move to the UK could see the likelihood of success from those who had gone before. In addition to the businesses catering to Polish needs, there was an increase in businesses that happened to be Polish-run in other fields, such as recruitment agencies, marketing firms, and graphic design companies. While some of these businesses started out with a concentration on the Polish community, many then broadened their remit to include all kinds of clients.

Despite the UK having a long-established Polish population, there was little real Polish business infrastructure in place in the UK before the accession of Poland to the EU. The British Polish Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1989 and supported trade and investment activities between the two countries, but 2004 marked an increase in its activities, with regular events organised in both the UK and Poland. Initially, the BPCC worked with recruitment fairs and employment agencies to assist new migrants in finding work, and since 2007 has broadened the

reach of these events to include Polish entrepreneurs around the UK. There is now more of a network of Polish business organisations in the UK, offering support and advice to those looking for work: for example, in Birmingham, the Midlands Polish Business Club helps entrepreneurs with challenges such as completing paperwork and dealing with legal issues in a second language. Similar institutions exist elsewhere around the country, such as Signpost to Polish Success in Nottingham, which offers a self-help unit for training, job preparation, form filling, and other tasks. It is supported by the City Council and grants from the Lottery fund.

Although many post-accession Poles migrated to the UK in the hope of establishing new businesses and creating a better life for themselves, it is also worth noting that such activity took place against a background of economic depression in Poland. Many young people struggled to find employment (one figure quoted was that 75-80% of post-accession migrants to the UK had failed to find a job in Poland), or were compelled to work in roles that did not reflect their training, education or career goals. This status loss is a common phenomenon in migrants (Rayes et al., 2016; Yakushko et al., 2008), including Polish migrants (Coyle, 2007; Currie, 2007, 2009; Favell, 2008; Heath et al., 2015; Ryan, 2015; Trevena, 2011), and was also mentioned in reference to the post-war generation. An example was given of a Polish judge who was obliged to work as a labourer upon arrival as his qualifications and experience were not useful or relevant in the UK. For many post-accession migrants, even if employment was available in Poland, the low level of wages meant that they were unable to move out of the parental home. For those with ambition and aspiration to work in professional fields, the UK presented more opportunity than Poland, and higher wages afforded a better quality of life with more disposable income.

In common with the patterns of migration in general between Poland and the UK, the flow of money and ideas related to business and employment took on a more circular, transnational nature once movement became easier. In some instances, parents had suggested the idea of starting a UK-based business to their children, and/ or had donated money to help with this. Once the business became profitable, profits and remittances would be sent back to Poland. Interestingly, it seemed more common for women migrants to be put in this situation, which may support the findings of a United Nations study that female migrants are sometimes chosen to move abroad, in the belief or expectation that they will be more willing than their male counterparts to send remittances back to their country of origin (United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2007).

4.3.3 Gender

Both expert interviewees indicated that the initial post-accession population who migrated to the UK was primarily male. Many were young and single, but others left their families behind in Poland. Once they had acted as pathfinders, both in terms of practical issues such as employment and accommodation, and in acclimatising to the new society in less tangible ways, other members of their families would join them. This male-first migration was seen as the safest strategy for these initial migrants, as they were moving into the unknown and did not want to uproot their whole family at one time with no guarantee of success. As the Polish population of the UK increased, and community institutions such as Polish schools and churches became better established, the idea of moving as a family began to appear less risky. Such patterns are commonly seen in migrant populations throughout the world (R. Berger, 2004), but have also been specifically observed in post-accession Polish migrants to the UK (Ryan et al., 2009). Many women, therefore, arrived as family joiners. However, after the initial cohort of independent male migrants had arrived, numbers of independent female migrants grew; it would be interesting to explore why this occurred, as neither expert interviewee was able to offer an opinion. It was suggested by one interviewee that Polish men had a tendency to be somewhat old-fashioned in their views, seeing themselves as the head of the household and placing women in a subordinate role. Yet many young Polish women, particularly those with the drive and courage to migrate abroad, exhibited a great degree of independence and a desire for equality and self-sufficiency. There was also a suggestion that women felt it was more important to work in the roles for which they had trained, whereas men were more willing to accept any work, no matter how low the level. Again, it would be interesting to explore this idea further.

For those entrepreneurs wishing to set up businesses, the gender distinction was less marked and numbers were roughly evenly split. There were several instances of female-led professional businesses exhibiting a strong drive and desire to grow: one such example was that of a Polish bakery which started as a shop, expanded to a factory, and grew to such a degree that they became a supplier to a major UK supermarket, providing over 250,000 loaves of bread during the run-up to Christmas one year. While this is likely indicative of increased demand for Polish products, it also demonstrates the ambition and judgement of the business owners. It would be worth examining whether such opportunities would have been possible in Poland at the same time; given the poor economic climate, one would assume it was less likely, and additionally, these business owners were clearly also meeting a need (i.e. for authentic Polish products) that was probably not present in Poland. The angle of gender was not studied extensively in this expert

interviewee's research, but it would be worth questioning whether female entrepreneurs wishing to set up a business in the UK felt it would be easier than doing so in Poland.

4.3.4 Social integration and social networks

In general, it was felt that Polish migrants had integrated well socially. This was partly attributed to the fact that they tended to find accommodation in areas that were already multicultural, and so were able to observe how migrants from other communities acclimatised and conducted themselves. In common with many migrant groups, Polish migrants were not initially welcomed to a great degree. It may be unsurprising that an influx of migrants at a time of recession, such as the UK experienced in the late 2000s, could heighten negative feelings, and the perception that migrants were taking jobs from UK citizens was amplified by media narratives. Those who came as entrepreneurs were careful to stress that they were contributing to the economy, and it was important to them that they were not seen to be 'stealing' jobs from UK nationals. However, now that the latest wave of Polish migrants has become established in the UK and the existing population has had more opportunity to encounter and interact with Poles in the workplace and in social situations, there is a sense that Polish migrants have "proved themselves". The focus of anti-migrant feeling has instead shifted towards the Bulgarian and Romanian populations who have enjoyed free movement to the UK since 2012.

In cases where male partners worked and women did not, it was observed that male migrants were more easily able to integrate socially, as their employment afforded them more opportunity to socialise outside the home. The school gate was mentioned as one of the few locations where domestically-engaged Polish women might make social connections, but it was implied that these would likely only be superficial.

Recent Polish migrants in the UK used a variety of support networks for both employment and social purposes. Before their move, they made use of existing contacts in the UK, such as family members or friends who had moved already, as well as looking up information on the internet. Use of the internet differed with their intentions and aspirations regarding employment and education; for example, those seeking work in professional fields, or aiming to set up businesses, found it important to establish an online presence (through creating their own websites or through using social media) in addition to using the internet for information seeking. After arriving in the UK, Polish professionals made use of business organisations and

entrepreneurial networks, although these were not necessarily aimed at the Polish community. Once the first Polish businesses had become established, Polish business clubs and networks naturally followed. While many young Polish migrants made little use of Polish institutions such as social clubs or churches (Bielewska, 2012), those who needed to make connections relating to business or employment found such locations useful to network, get advice or drum up business, particularly if their business was strongly Polish-focused.

For information regarding life in the UK in general, Polish forums were, and continue to be, a popular method of gaining information. Use of social media has also increased for this purpose, with many local Polish Facebook groups, and advertisements on noticeboards in Polish shops are still a common method to make connections regarding accommodation and casual labour. Digital communication has not taken the place of face to face contact, as some migrants find it reassuring to have in-person contact with other Poles. The Federation of Poles in Great Britain offers a great deal of information on living and working in the UK, on subjects such as accommodation, healthcare, tax, education, transport, and employment rights. This information is accessed from their website.

4.3.5 Polish identity

The post-war and post-accession generations of migrants generally seem to display different mindsets and attitudes towards life in the UK, as observed in several studies (Bielewska, 2012; Garapich, 2008; Ryan et al., 2008). This may be attributed partly to the motivations for their migration. Many post-war migrants had been displaced from Poland and surrounding regions, and did not particularly desire to be in the UK. Parts of Poland had been annexed by the Soviet Union, and the new Communist government in Poland was hostile to Poles who had fought with Allied forces; many of those who had returned had been persecuted. By contrast, the generation of Poles who migrated after EU expansion had largely chosen to leave their home country for the UK, owing primarily to the economic push and pull factors mentioned previously.

In terms of Polish identification and identity, the two generations also exhibited differing behaviour. The post-war generation were inclined to identify openly as Polish and engage readily with Polish institutions in the UK. However, those who could be described as the “1.5 generation” (Rumbaut, 2004), i.e. those born in the UK soon after their parents’ migration, or those who moved while still young children, often opted out of maintaining strong links with the Polish

community, although without disavowing their Polish identity. This generation tended to display a more open and welcoming attitude towards newer Polish migrants, whereas their parents sometimes took a more guarded approach.

It was suggested that the disenchantment felt by many post-accession migrants regarding their lives and the broader economic situation in Poland may be a contributing factor in the reluctance of some to identify strongly as Polish. This younger generation did not seem to feel the need to engage with others in the Polish community, either from the older generation or their own. Unlike many of the post-war generation, they did not feel a necessity to recreate aspects of Polish life or surround themselves with other Poles. Such behaviour was attributed largely to the modern landscape of communications and travel; support is more readily available to young migrants, from their home country or elsewhere in the world, on account of email, video chat, cheap telephone calls, and internet forums. In addition, they have ready access to Polish television, news sources and websites, which enables them to keep in touch with events in Poland, and with the Polish side of their identity, without letting it dominate their lives. The growth of the flight network between the UK and Poland has also enabled the post-accession generation to return to Poland frequently, and to engage in circular migration or a transnational existence; it is common for them to return for several months at a time for family or business reasons, and some maintain businesses in both countries. As noted previously, this phenomenon was better covered by revised interview questions for the main study, and use of the mapping technique to reflect such movement. A common narrative was that of the migrant who intended to stay in the UK only for a short time, but whose stay became longer or even permanent due to economic reasons such as better career progression or enjoying a higher quality of life, or due to personal reasons such as meeting a partner or having children who became settled in the UK. The post-war generation were often unable to return to Poland at all, and even throughout the 1990s and 2000s such a journey would have been long, expensive and arduous (often undertaken by coach and lasting several days) compared to the relative ease of travel between the two countries today.

Despite the differences in attitude, the two generations do interact to a degree. It is possible that this varies according to location; for example, in larger cities where Polish institutions were more likely to be established, there was more interaction and engagement. It was estimated that approximately 15-20% of post-accession migrants have become actively involved with existing Polish institutions in the UK, such as the Polish Catholic Mission, Polish schools, churches, and social clubs. Church in particular was noted as a place where different generations interacted, and as a place to meet and network with other Poles for business or social reasons.

4.4 Transcript analysis

As the final part of this exploratory work, data from a previous study, entitled *Class and Ethnicity: Polish Migrant Workers in London, 1996-2006* was examined, in order to give greater context to the current study. It was also used to ascertain which topics would be useful when collecting data and interviewing participants, and to refine interview questions. The study examined “recent Polish migrations to London and the socio-cultural consequences for Poland and the UK as well as individual narratives about ethnicity, class, migration and multicultural Britain” (Eade & Garapich, 2008). The dataset comprised 57 qualitative, semi-structured face-to-face interviews with Polish nationals living in London and their friends and family in four locations in Poland, as well as one set of fieldwork notes conducted in Poland. For the purposes of this study, only the twenty interviews conducted with women were analysed. Most interviewees had been in London for two years or less. Data was drawn from the UK Data Archive.²

4.4.1 Migration: motives and patterns

Economic motivations were important in participants’ decision to move (see Section 4.4.3 for discussion of employment), but language learning was also a common motive for moving. For some interviewees this was their sole motivation, and many intended to migrate for a short period, learn English and return, as their desired jobs and careers in Poland increasingly required a good level of English language skill. However, without intending to, they had stayed in the UK for longer than their initial plan, a finding reinforced by Ryan (2015). This reinforces the sense that migration is a complex ongoing process, and not always the linear process that is presented in models such as that by Mwarigha (2002). The desire to broaden one’s horizons and experience new things was also important for participants, not only as a motive for migration but also for remaining in the UK, if this had not been the initial plan.

Many said they had few friends in their home environment in Poland as these friends had also moved abroad or to other areas of Poland, particularly Warsaw. White’s examination of family migration from small-town Poland observes the “tradition of migration to ‘be with people

² Original data from UK Data Archive study number 6056, sponsored by the Economic and Social Research Council. The original data creators, depositors or copyright holders, the funders of the Data Collections, and the UK Data Archive bear no responsibility for the further analysis or interpretation of these materials by the author of this thesis.

you know”, even if that means travelling further afield than anticipated. One migrant in this study said they “wouldn’t send anyone from my family into the unknown... If you go abroad, you must go to someone you know” (White, 2009, p. 70). However, most said they had not helped other Poles to come to the UK; they would offer advice, and present both positive and negative sides of their experience, but would not take extra practical steps, for example, finding work for new migrants. to find a job, etc. It was generally advised that people should only come to the UK if they knew at least some English language and were self-sufficient. While social networks were clearly important to all migrants in the study, there seemed to be limited inclination to help others and sometimes a mistrust of other migrants, both Polish and not.

Attitudes towards migration were sometimes complex and contradictory; one participant stated, “I did not *leave* Poland! I do not have that attitude that I went abroad, left, went away, migrated” (6056int02), but they had no plans to return. To this participant, migration was seen as an aspirational, dynamic move, and she looked down somewhat on those who chose to remain:

“I have an impression that there is this passive [Polish] society, I would call it rural society and I would separate it from this society that is mobile, active that migrates... these people that made a move from that small village and started a life elsewhere have acted, did something, and not stayed at the spot and inherited a wooden hut from their parents... I am going different way, they are a bit grounded by some routine, schematic life” (6056int02)

4.4.2 Community, identity, and gender

Attitudes towards the Polish community varied, with several interviewees expressing distrust of, or distaste for, other Poles in the UK. They spoke of competition, resentment, and suspicion between fellow Poles. There seemed to be little contact between the post-war and post-accession generations, which appeared to be partly due to Poland’s recent history; the many upheavals and shifts in people’s way of life over the twentieth and twenty-first centuries seemed to have created differences of attitudes and greater demarcation between the generations. One participant asserted that the post-war generation had “created that hierarchy of theirs, that compensates what they could not achieve or get from British society” (6056int02).

Some interviewees felt strongly Polish, and wanted to maintain this identity and pass it on to their children; for example, ensuring their children learned Polish. Most had a mix of Polish and non-Polish friends. Nearly all mentioned feeling ashamed at bad behaviour by some Poles in the UK. According to one participant, “here when you travel by bus and you see... a girl, really

good-looking, pretty young girl who sits at the back and sips beer from a can. It irritates me. Would she do that in Poland? No because she would be lynched" (6056int14). This supports Bielewska's claim that short term migration from Poland to the UK "justifies the suspension of some social norms" for some (2012, p. 103).

There was some evidence of traditional family structures in participants' histories. The mother of the family sometimes stayed at home, but often worked in addition to their domestic responsibilities, which was possible due to state-run childcare and employment policies under Communism. One father was "very much subdued by his wife, and resigned from Politechnic [*technical university*] since my mum did not want him to have higher education than her" (6056int02).

4.4.3 Employment

Economic factors were key in many participants' decision to migrate to the UK; they were aware that jobs in London paid more, so they could afford a better lifestyle and were able to save for the future. The Polish labour market was seen as smaller, with fewer opportunities: "it is all very small... we boil in our own sauce" (6056int02). Job satisfaction was an issue of great importance, mentioned by nearly all interviewees. While earning a good salary was important, other factors were often seen as more important: enjoyment of the role, finding a career that is right for the individual, gaining new experiences, and developing professionally. Some participants looked down upon others for prioritising economic aspects or taking jobs that were seen as having no other positive attributes. Job security was also important; the collapse of Communism in Poland demonstrated that even jobs that were considered fixed and secure were not ultimately safe. Interviewees felt that there was much more opportunity to develop and progress one's career in the UK; one declared that "everything here is very dynamic, you can change everything in a matter of short time, within weeks you can change your life totally" (6056int02). Some felt more appreciated in the UK and that their efforts were better rewarded, which they felt was not the case in Poland. Pressure or encouragement from parents to study and work hard was common; it was sometimes explicitly stated by participants that their parents wanted their children to have better opportunities than they had had.

4.5 Conclusion

This exploratory study fulfilled several objectives to further the study as a whole. Firstly, it augmented the literature review by providing more detailed and current information about recent developments and trends in Polish migration to the UK, as well as a deeper understanding of the context surrounding the Polish community in the UK. One significant point is the increase in transnational living and circular migration. While the two pilot interviews did not cover this topic in any depth, it was possible that it may still be relevant to participants in the main study, so an enhanced understanding of the phenomenon is valuable. The expert interviews also indicated that employment was an important factor in migration between Poland and the UK, and that both push and pull factors were influential, with the UK representing more opportunity and financial freedom against a background of economic depression in Poland. Interview questions in the main study were altered to reflect this, with greater emphasis upon information behaviour around employment.

The expert interviews also provided further insight into issues of gender in the migration of the Polish population, with men and women often behaving differently. While initial post-accession migrants tended to be male, many women have since arrived not just as family joiners, but as independent migrants; the expert interviews did not provide any indication of why this was, and it therefore presented itself as an important subject to explore in the main study's participant interviews. The interview schedule was changed to reflect this, with increased focus on the migrant's motivation for moving to the UK, and more specific questions about the role and experience of women in Poland compared to the UK.

A theme that emerged as needing further investigation was the topic of Polish identity, particularly how this has developed over the course of several generations and against a constantly changing political backdrop. The expert interviews provided greater understanding of how historical context has influenced Polish identity and integration in the UK, and the pilot interviews hinted at the development of a more global, transnational identity among more recent migrants, a phenomenon that was identified in the literature review. This was therefore explored in more depth in the main interviews, as it potentially represents an interesting shift in perceptions and could influence information behaviour, particularly in terms of keeping in touch with the sending country and engagement with Polish institutions and communities in the receiving country. Participants in the main study were asked about their information behaviours in terms of keeping in touch with Poland; both literally, in the form of communication, and more

figuratively, regarding keeping up their Polish identity, culture, and traditions. Additionally, the topic of social networks emerged as a significant one; while it has been well documented that migrants rely on personal contacts for information, the pilot and expert interviews alluded to the need to investigate this further. Participant interviews in the main study addressed questions such as what these social networks look like, what kinds of networks are used for different information, what differences exist between participants' networks, and exactly why these networks are a preferred form of information behaviour in the context of migration.

Throughout the pilot interviews, it became apparent that the information grounds theory might not be as relevant as had previously been anticipated, but through asking questions about participants' use of information grounds, more knowledge was gathered regarding their general information behaviour, which again informed the interview questions for the main study. The interview schedule was therefore changed to reflect this. The pilot interviews utilised questions proposed by Fisher, Naumer, et al. (2005) to ask about information grounds, but these proved awkward and participants struggled to give suggestions. The concept of information grounds appeared difficult for participants to grasp as it was explained; for the main study, the interview schedule was changed so that participants were asked one question about information grounds specifically, but information about whether they used them and how was drawn out of other questions. For example, when asking about children, participants were asked whether they spoke to other parents at the school gate or school events, or at the library, doctor's surgery or other potential information grounds. Questions asking whether there were spaces where participants felt particularly welcome or uncomfortable were removed, as these also seemed too broad for participants to answer successfully. The focus was moved more towards the narrative of the interviewee's experience, and follow-up questions sought to draw out more about information behaviour. Other questions were changed; for example, the question "Do you feel that your move has been a positive step?" could be seen as leading and is a closed question. Instead, the final question was changed to ask what advice participants would give to other Polish women who wanted to migrate. This was felt to offer a more open platform for participants to reflect on their experience and to express their views, both positive and negative.

The exploratory work also helped to refine the methodology of the study. The contextual information and content gained through the participant and expert interviews shaped the interview schedule for the main participant interviews. The increase in transnational migration among the Polish community makes it possible that participants' narratives of migration will not be linear or simple, so the interview questions were changed to reflect this fact and focussed on the entirety of the migration story, not just the single move to Sheffield. The use of mental

mapping also contributed to the exploration and representation of this kind of narrative. The discussion of information behaviour around migration was woven through the main study's interview schedule as a whole, using topics such as employment, Polish identity and gender as prompts to address participants' information behaviour around these areas in the context of the migration process. Increased awareness of these themes helped to create better follow-up questions in interviews. The initial participant interviews also demonstrated some of the difficulties of using the photovoice technique and prompted a reconsideration of which visual or participatory method to use; the mental mapping technique offers similar advantages to that of photovoice, but mitigates some of the challenges around ensuring interviewees' full participation.

The exploratory study provided context around Polish migration to the UK, in particular the areas of employment, motivation for migration, Polish identity and community, and social networks and connections. These themes had previously been identified, through the literature review, as potentially important. The findings from this exploratory study reinforced this and offered starting points for examining the data more deeply. It also helped to refine the methodology, in particular the choice of visual method and the interview questions. Having examined these issues, the main study was undertaken, the findings of which are discussed in the following chapter.

5. Findings

5.1 Introduction

Following the exploratory study, the methodology was refined, as outlined in the preceding chapter. Participants were recruited and interviewed, data was transcribed, and thematic analysis was performed. The main themes identified were migration; Polish identity and community; everyday life; gender; Brexit; and information. The methodology was also considered again after the interview process was complete. Findings from the main study's interviews are presented here, according to these themes, and after each main theme is discussed there is a concluding paragraph that draws out the relevant aspects of participants' information behaviour related to that theme, in order to begin to offer an interpretation that will then be further examined in the discussion chapter. A table of participants' demographic information follows.

Table of participants

#	Name*	Age	Location	Year of migration to UK	Education/ Occupation	Relationship status/ children
Pilot1	Alicja	30	Sheffield	2001	Post-doctoral researcher, geography	Living with partner, no children
Pilot2	Karolina	28	Sheffield	2010	PhD student, geography	Single, no children
P001	Anastazja	34	Sheffield	2003	MA student, translation/ translator	Separated, two children
P002	Julia	25	Sheffield	2010	MA student, architecture/ architect	Living with partner, no children
P003	Oliwia	28	Sheffield	2016	PhD student, oncology	Single, no children
P004	Izabela	34	Sheffield	2010	Engineer with PhD	Married, expecting first child
P005	Barbara	27	Sheffield	2009	PhD student, engineering	Single, no children
P006	Natalia	31	Sheffield	2004	Lecturer, languages, with PhD	Married, no children
P007	Kornelia	37	Sheffield	2004	Research technician, engineering, with 2x MSc	Married, no children
P008	Klara	31	Sheffield	2011	PhD student, health research	Married, two children
P009	Adelajda	40	Sheffield	2005	MA student, translation/ translator	Married, one child
P010	Sonia	34	Doncaster	2005	Librarian/ stay at home mother with 2x MA	Married, two children
P011	Renata	30	Sheffield	2004	Teaching assistant; high school level education	Married, two children
P012	Ana	40	Rotherham	2006	Small business/ teaching with BA	Married, two children
P013	Janina	35	Sheffield	2014	Lecturer, languages, with PhD	Married, two children
P014	Penelopa	26	Rotherham	2011	Warehouse worker; high school level education	Engaged, no children
P015	Jolanta	30	Sheffield	2006	Warehouse worker/ self-employed; high school level education	Married, two children
P016	Nikola	37	Sheffield	2005	Support worker with 2x MA	Living with partner, one child

P017	Gabriela	27	Sheffield	2010	Financial controller with BA	Living with partner, no children
P018	Kamila	29	Doncaster	2015	Stay at home mother; high school level education	Married, two children
P019	Marianna	43	Rotherham	2008	Cleaner; high school level education	Divorced, two children
P020	Apolonia	27	Sheffield	2009	Retail worker; high school level education	Married, one child and expecting one
P021	Monika	30	Sheffield	2014	Factory worker; high school level education	Single, no children

*Names used are pseudonyms

5.2 Migration

5.2.1 Motivations for migration

5.2.1.1 Push factors from Poland

Push factors from Poland were mostly economic in nature, reflecting the poor economic situation in Poland and high levels of unemployment or underemployment (Drinkwater et al., 2009; Fihel & Kaczmarczyk, 2009); although participants generally had a good level of education, they had often struggled to find work:

“in Poland job prospects weren’t that good. People were unemployed, no benefits... in Poland you have a lot of people that are educated but still they don’t have jobs because there aren’t any jobs” (Ana)

“I finished school and I didn’t find a good job so after one year... we came to England... I can’t complain [about] my country but this is tough situation for young people who just finish school... I had maybe three jobs but only for a month or two months, something like that and that’s it, that’s not good situation” (Penelopa)

“after studying until 25, I couldn’t find any work, any job, anything... my brother and sister also finished school, they couldn’t find a job... They obviously came [to the UK] because they just realised there was no future” (Nikola)

“I was fed up with my job in Poland at that time... I was working as a teacher... [but] I couldn’t actually get a lot of work, I only had a few hours, I couldn’t get like full time work. So I didn’t earn a lot of money and I was fed up with it” (Adelajda)

For some interviewees, moving to the UK was the only way they could make enough money to afford university:

“my dad was a bus driver [and] my mum worked in a factory. I have four siblings so it was always a bit rough... we definitely struggled financially... my older siblings managed to get to the university but my parents kind of got into debt, and I knew I was not able to go to

university straight away... I came from underprivileged background but this is why I'm here. If I didn't have this situation I would have stayed." (Barbara)

"I'm from actually quite a poor family... my mum just told me when I was about 17 years old that she won't be able to provide for both of us like for another few years when I'll be going to university. So that was moment when I decided I can't really afford university in Poland and a flat for myself" (Apolonia)

For those who did find work in Poland, conditions were still difficult; even if they were able to make enough money to survive, job insecurity and low levels of pay meant that goals such as buying property or having children were impossible for them, and they had very little disposable income:

"honestly in Poland is not good situation; if you have a work, you don't have enough money for life, you know what I mean, it's not easy... at this moment I can't see any future for children" (Marianna)

"I don't want to think about that I can't manage all month without money or something like that, because in my country you have a job and [the next] day you don't have it. So you can't go to the doctor because you [are] not allowed for that if you don't have like proper contract. And you can't do anything, so it's like you almost don't exist, you know. And even some institutes like job centres in my country, they can help you but the problem is they're not checking the companies who they sign contracts with. So after for example one month or something, you can lose the job like that. It's not very comfortable if you plan, if you're trying to plan your life. If you want to, for example, I don't know, buy a house or rent car" (Monika)

"the salary comparing to spendings and there is not benefit system there, you need to work to provide otherwise you can't afford car or life is expensive in there" (Renata)

Nikola took a very negative view of the economic situation in Poland. She felt that conditions for many Poles, particularly in rural areas or small towns, were almost impossible, and that even hard work would not necessarily result in survival:

"not everyone but half population really, they just hoping really, hoping... we have rich people and very poor. The middle class that disappeared like in Russia, start really disappearing... they try to open a little business, they try do this, they try do that, and it's just heart-breaking, how hard it is. How many hours... [my friend has] her own business. She's working, still

working 18 hours a day, 18 hours, she just like sleep four, five, three hours, sometimes, to keep her business together” (Nikola)

To illustrate the very real pressures of poverty for many Poles, Nikola also told a story of a woman her father had met while mushroom picking in the woods:

“she’s like, ‘I’m trying to find some mushrooms, I cannot find it, I’m 90 years old, I’ve been working, I’ve been in the war, I’ve got my grandkids and I’ve been working all life’, and what she find in the forest, that’s what she can eat. Got month allowance... from government was 300 złoty, what is £70, monthly, paying whole bills and everything. And obviously she couldn’t survive, and my dad was like, I don’t want to end up like this, [and I also] don’t want to end up like that.” (Nikola)

5.2.1.2 Money and employment

Participants in this study are classed as economic migrants, as distinct from those moving for reasons of persecution or family joining. Given the difficult economic conditions in Poland described by many participants, it is unsurprising that for a large number, money was a key motivating factor in their migration:

“my decision of going abroad was... stay for a year, learn some language, earn money and come back” (Barbara)

“I’ll go for a year, save some money, so that my mum doesn’t have to you know get a loan or whatever, for me to go to uni... then the stories were like, you can earn so much money in the UK and it’s so good and everything” (Natalia)

“jobs in factories and warehouses are much better here, so [a] physical job is much more paid here than in Poland... obviously for me as well, like I said, the library jobs are underpaid as well in Poland... that’s probably the main reason we will come here, because the jobs are better paid. Then if you compare with lifestyles it’s better paid” (Sonia)

“the beginning I was thinking, OK, I just come to England, and just I don’t know, take some money for university or our wedding” (Penelopa)

However, although participants often found it easier to find work in the UK than in Poland, and the rate of pay was generally higher, some still found that it was not as easy as they had perhaps anticipated:

"[after] a year we were like oh, we didn't manage to save anything, we didn't get paid very well, we want to go on holidays" (Kornelia)

"because I didn't manage to save as much money, I decided to stay for another year and then after the second year I did have some money saved up and it would have been enough" (Natalia)

"when I start to do it after one month I realised just all the money is gone, because that's how much is [language] school" (Nikola)

"some people have part time jobs [while studying] because as you can imagine, going from Poland is more expensive country, your parents cannot give you like pocket money, because there is the złoty which is much lower. So I was doing a lot of part time jobs" (Izabela)

"I didn't also have a lot of savings with me and one of the things about coming abroad, which nobody tells you before you come... you kind of need a little bit of savings put away because like by the time you come abroad, you find a job, you know you need to like, find a flat somewhere, need to pay the deposit, and all these kind of [things], so you really need a bit of money for the start... advice number one: bring a lot of savings with you!" (Barbara)

These stories are typical of a common narrative among young Polish migrants, many of whom decide to come to the UK for a short period of time, but end up prolonging their stay (Ryan, 2015, 2017). Economic reasons, such as not saving as much money as they had hoped, or realising that they were financially better off in the UK, were key in the decision to stay for many participants in this study. For these interviewees, the financial advantages of living and working in the UK were sufficient for them to afford a higher standard of living than in Poland, with more disposable income and the ability to travel or save for the future:

"a big surprise for me was like, wow, the salary. My one week was become four months in Poland" (Nikola)

"it's easy to save money, so if you're working and you're working full time you have enough to pay your rent, food and then have enough money at the end of the year to go on holiday

or things like that... if you're working in Poland full time sometimes probably you just have enough to pay off the rent and bills, not much left for holidays and things" (Klara)

"when you have a job and have, I don't know, just normal pension, you can go to good holiday or a few times to Poland a year, or I don't know, renting flat or house, buying some stuff or [buy] a present, just normal things... when we are living in Poland it's never enough money to go abroad. We just get that opportunity when we came to England and just you know, better money. After that we visit few countries, but in Poland it's no chance... in Poland probably we have to count into enough money for that, do we have any for this situation? Here it's not important you know, you always can take finance" (Penelopa)

Money was mentioned by several participants as an information need during the initial pre-arrival period of planning and researching their migration; although they were aware that the UK would likely offer them a better financial situation in the long term, they were cautious in the short term and some spent considerable time and effort researching the financial implications of their move:

"for planning to move, I needed to be focused on money. Not only for moving but also to live here... money was the issue, so everything is quite more expensive and I was not working so I needed to keep it in mind... I didn't know which apartment I should have that I can afford, because I didn't know how much I would earn... I know a lot of websites that I can use to help me arrange everything, like costs of living, to know how much I need to pay per month for my bills" (Oliwia)

"I was looking for prices as well, I wanted to know how much things cost in England, whether, you know, finding proper accommodation is cheap or not and... how much of my earnings it would take, you know, how much money I could save" (Adelajda)

Economic factors were not simply about money, however. Participants were generally well-educated and some were highly skilled and strongly focused on their careers. In addition to higher salary and the associated better standard of living, participants often commented on how they had progressed in their careers or changed jobs since moving to the UK:

"when you're working somewhere for a long time, for example I get opportunity to get development and progress" (Penelopa)

"I start working, I start to do Level 2, Level 3 diploma, health and safety... and then I start working as a support worker. And now I'm continuing, I'm senior and supervisor... [I was] just part timer and now I apply for job, I get good job as a supervisor, and full time" (Nikola)

"I'm doing a lot of courses right now, bit crazy. So administration, payroll course, accountant course... you can improve yourself. In your eyes and in their eyes. In my country it's very stupid, just different way" (Monika)

Some compared the working climate in the UK with that in Poland and commented on how they had been able to take up opportunities and develop their careers in ways that they felt would not have been possible in Poland:

"maybe here in terms of finding a new job it's not as limited because you can actually apply to some jobs, you can find jobs, it's not only through who you know or et cetera, in Poland it's who you know, you get the job. If you don't know anybody, forget about it." (Kornelia)

"When I actually was working at libraries and I was promoted and I got to higher and higher position, my dad said something like that, that made me think, oh, that wouldn't be probably possible in Poland in that quick time. And especially if you weren't Polish but from somewhere else. So that's the big difference. Now it might be changing, hope not, but England was very open for me and majority of people were nice... letting me do my career, knowing that I'm not English... I was able to do quite a lot of very good things here and that's why I'm quite thankful and grateful for this country." (Sonia)

"in Poland... there are other politics that are in place at work. But here often when you are a good worker, hard worker, and you work and you find your place at work, you can actually be promoted and you can be happy at work, sometimes supervising a group of people, or a lot of our learners progress and they became QA [Quality Assurance] and a lot of the girls for example that come to us, Polish girls, they want to progress from factory floor to some office job. Even though sometimes they will tell you that they can earn more on the factory floor but it's different in the office." (Ana)

These stories support the findings of other studies (Aziz, 2015; Ryan, 2015), and the expert interviews in this study, regarding the greater possibilities for career progression, re-training and movement in the UK. These opportunities were seen by some as characteristic of a less rigid attitude towards work and career progression compared to that commonly found in Poland, which is examined again in Section 5.3.2 in the broader context of differing mentalities between the two countries.

Several participants were self-employed or worked on a freelance basis, usually in translation or interpreting work, but also in cleaning work, nutritional consulting, administration for a family member's business, running a company offering training in a variety of areas, and previously, owning and running a local independent supermarket. The entrepreneurial activities and tendencies of post-accession Poles in the UK have been noted from the expert interviews, and have previously been discussed in work by Harris et al. (2015); participants in the current study certainly fit into this picture.

Education was not a major factor in most participants' decision to move to the UK, although many took up educational opportunities while living there. Only one participant moved to the UK for the specific purpose of undertaking an undergraduate degree at a UK university, and three moved in order to take up PhD positions. However, opportunities to learn the English language, whether formally or informally, were often mentioned as a reason for moving to the UK; this is explored further in Section 5.4.1.

Only two participants explicitly cited the EU expansion of 2004 as a factor in their decision to move, although it can be assumed that it influenced most of the participants, even if indirectly:

"that was also the time when Poland was just about to join the EU, I finished school the same year that we joined the EU, so it was the perfect time really... I got my A-Levels in June, I think and Poland joined the EU in May so it was just the perfect time" (Natalia)

"the fact that you know in 2004 Poland had joined the European Union and the labour market in England or in Great Britain suddenly became open for new migrants from Eastern Europe and Central Europe. Well I decided to use this as an opportunity" (Adelajda)

5.2.1.3 Travel and self-fulfilment

While economic factors were important in many participants' decision to migrate, for many there was also another layer: the desire to see the world or try something new. Ryan (2015), who observed similar themes in the young Poles she studied, labels this motivation "a bit of adventure" (p. 5):

"I said I would give it a year break and it would be fabulous to go to another country, see what they do, how they live... I always like trying something new" (Renata)

"[I] always liked travelling, and I wanted to travel as much as I can, but Poland is not necessarily the best place to travel from because there still aren't many flights and they're quite expensive as well, so it's not the easiest place. Well from England you've got easy access everywhere... I just thought I would just go and see how England looks like, because I've never been in England before. I think what attracted us most in England is how easy it is to travel abroad from here. It's unbelievable, I mean you've got so many airports everywhere, and the flights are so cheap." (Kornelia)

"it's just really [to] get out from the place where I was... I want to go somewhere, do something, and that was an opportunity really to go do [it] for free, and then check how it is"
(Nikola)

"I always wanted to live abroad. And I never had the chance to do it and now I do, and I can't regret any of the decisions I've made from 2010 til now... I think it's a great experience and it's something that I wanted to do and I was always scared of making like, you know, massive decisions. And it turned out well." (Gabriela)

"[my professor] told me that it's the type of work which will be best for me, because I wanted to travel a lot and she told me, oh, I've got something for you, to teach Polish as a foreign language" (Janina)

For some, this desire for adventure was prompted by a realisation that they were unsatisfied with life in Poland and wanted to make a change, which could be better accomplished abroad:

"I wanted something else, I wanted to enjoy my, what I was doing... I had a nice career in front of me, ahead of me, but I always wanted to be a teacher, I just knew that I didn't enjoy what I was doing for my own satisfaction" (Ana)

"I was at university part time and I was working in the same field, I did economy, finance, accounting, you know, all this stuff, worked as an accountant as well, and I was 19 and I thought, that's how my life's going to look like with these papers and computers, and yeah, I definitely don't want to do that yet. And I just started looking where I could go and explore

the world... just to see the world, to see something different, just to see, you know, how the life looks like somewhere else" (Anastazja)

For others, there was a more philosophical dimension; they wanted to use the migration experience as a path to self-fulfilment and greater self-knowledge:

"[I decided], I'm just going to go somewhere else and try to find my place in world." (Apolonia)

"[I came for a] better perspective for life... I want to try something new, new life for myself, I want to change something. I want to try something new in different place... I was curious if I can manage that... I need to try everything in my life so I would prefer to do it than not do anything and just thinking about it... so that's why I'm just thinking to change something and think abroad... I just want to find myself here, if there is any chance for that" (Monika)

5.2.2 Patterns and stages

Levels of planning varied widely between participants. Some were aware of their upcoming move months in advance and were able to take steps to research their new environment and plan most aspects of the experience:

"before I was looking for info about Sheffield, for myself, what to expect... It was quite a long process because mostly you're looking for a job in advance, like a year or six months before... I choose to come in June, because I need some more time to plan my movement, to actually move" (Oliwia)

"I actually started preparing myself for it, for studying architecture, so I was going drawing classes in Warsaw, and when I came to the final exams, I was always conscious that OK, I will be applying in Poland and in UK, so I need to take this into account." (Julia)

These participants were both in academia and taking up an academic position in the UK was their primary motivation for moving; it was therefore imperative to them that they planned well in advance and gave themselves the best chance to make a success of their move. This was helped by having access to resources and contacts that could help them to plan, such as family members or employers. A frequent piece of advice offered by participants was about the importance of planning and research before a move:

"when you go to the country you need to understand if you would like to live in this country, so from the environment, the weather, to the opportunities, to which type of job you are going to do, and how you will feel there... doing a lot of research is really important and talking to other people." (Izabela)

"do your research! Get some contacts, get your work sorted if you can, over the internet. Cos just coming here and leaving the train or plane and just full of bags and stuff and nowhere to go, that's definitely not a way to do it." (Anastazja)

"have a relatively set up plan what you want to do, cos like if you have some kind of aim usually you're actually going to achieve it." (Barbara)

While some participants, mainly those in academia, were able to plan their move well in advance, for many others the move to South Yorkshire happened quickly and did not afford them much time to plan or organise:

"one day I was calling [a contact] and he said yeah, I've got a job for you and your fiancé. So we just quit our jobs... it was a week, we just packed our luggage, like only 32 kg, so we came with some clothes and two plates, two forks" (Penelopa)

"we have friend here... one day they just called and told us, oh maybe you want to come to England? We have flat for you, we have a job for you, so my husband said yeah of course! And he has only two weeks to close everything in Poland. They booked flight from Poland to England, so we have only two weeks. It was a very busy two weeks!" (Kamila)

"I was offered my PhD very late... came for interview August 2013 which was very late, and I started in October so I had very little time to find accommodation" (Barbara)

"it was in August when I got a place in Manchester, so it was really quick, I moved like in one week. I mean, it was like, I decided, right, I'm going." (Julia)

"when I came back to Italy a few days after, my ex-supervisor called me and he told me, we would be more than happy if you would come to Sheffield. And I was like, OK, I'm coming! But later I was like, [gasps] I didn't even think about this!" (Izabela)

While some participants had planned their move in detail, others admitted to doing very little research or planning before arrival:

"like you Google things now, it wasn't like that back then, so... it didn't occur to me to kind of research so much about it" (Natalia)

"before we came I just Googled something about Rotherham, I was calling to [my friend in the UK]... to ask what weather is it" (Penelopa)

This lack of planning was partly due to the spontaneous nature of their move, but as Natalia stated, some had migrated at a time when resources such as those found online were not as widely used as they are today. Participants who had migrated earlier had less access to online sources of compliance information and everyday information, but also to informal sources such as forums and social networking sites, and hence to the diaspora of Polish migrants around the world. Imaginaries such as those discussed by Appadurai (1996) did not seem to feature for these participants. Several participants made a point of stating that South Yorkshire, or even the UK, had not been their first choice when making the decision to migrate abroad:

"I didn't want to come here in the first place!... [it was] not my goal to go to an island... [Sheffield] was actually the last [choice]... [I wanted] somewhere where it's gonna be good weather. That's why Sheffield wasn't on my list at the beginning!" (Oliwia)

"it is 2010 when I am coming to Sheffield, but it's not because of Sheffield, it's just because of the project" (Izabela)

"I ended up in Llandudno, I'd never heard of it before but because they found a family for me to go there, that's why I ended up there" (Natalia)

"they offered me Sheffield but it was like 50/50 so I said I agree, I don't care" (Janina)

"England wasn't my first choice... [I was thinking about] Norway or Sweden, but at the time when I wanted to go, cos we were not in the European Union then, so I needed to have a visa, so the easiest way was just to be an au pair for a year somewhere, but at the time frame when I wanted to go the agencies couldn't find somewhere, a family for me, in Norway or Sweden, so they said you can have a family in England tomorrow, I said OK, I'll do that" (Anastazja)

As noted already, a pattern that arose frequently was that of planning to spend only a short period in the UK, using this time to earn money and improve language skills, and then return to Poland:

"my decision of going abroad was, I think [like] for most people, stay for a year, learn some language, earn money and come back, but coming back hasn't happened yet." (Barbara)

"I just thought I'll go to the UK for one year, work there as an au pair, save some money, come back and go to university... I thought I will do that, I'll go for a year, save some money, so that

my mum doesn't have to, you know, get a loan or whatever, for me to go to uni and then I will come back because then the stories were like, you can earn so much money in the UK and it's so good and everything so I just thought, I'll do that... then after the second year I did have some money saved up and it would have been enough but I loved it so much there... and I was kind of dreading going back to Poland" (Natalia)

"we were planning to stay for a year, it extended to eleven years... we wanted to just come to England, improve our English and then just see what options are, whether we want to stay, whether we want to go back..., you always leave this door open, and you think yeah, I'll go back to Poland one day" (Kornelia)

"I said I would give it a year break... and yeah, I've just stayed... [my friend] went back after a year because we decided just to stay here a few months, a year perhaps, and go back to university there, and yeah, I stayed" (Renata)

"[I thought] I would just improve my English and go back to Poland" (Ana)

"when I came here I thought, I'm going to stay just for one year to save some money and go back to Poland. But I'm still here!" (Jolanta)

"I never planned to stay, absolutely never. My idea was to go holiday, maybe earn some money a bit, bring it home, because I want to save" (Nikola)

"I said like I'm just going to work for a year and then I'm going to do Master's, and then I'm going to come back, and my parents were like, alright! But then I just never did" (Gabriela)

Participants were evenly split between those who had moved directly to South Yorkshire (n=11) and those who had lived elsewhere in the UK first (n=10). Moves within the UK were generally for the purpose of undertaking a particular job or university program in the South Yorkshire region, but in one case a participant had moved with her husband who had been transferred to the area, and two had chosen to move to Sheffield because the cost of living was cheaper than that in London.

Seven participants – six of whom were working in academia – had lived in other countries than Poland or the UK. These previous migrations had generally been academic jobs or study abroad programs in Europe; countries included Germany, the Netherlands, France, Italy, Ireland, Moldova, Slovakia, Russia and Romania. Participants tended to frame these previous experiences of living abroad in a positive fashion, expressing that they had enjoyed travel and life in a different country and that these experiences had contributed to their decision to move to the UK. Several

stated that these previous migrations had made the move itself easier because they had already undergone the migration experience and knew what to expect or how to address certain issues:

"I lived in Germany in the past for like few months as a student, it was like a student placement, and I worked there, I really liked it, enjoyed the new experience" (Kornelia)

"I loved Galway and it was amazing to stay in Ireland... [when moving later] I decided for like Scandinavia, Italy, and Ireland because I knew it already." (Izabela)

"coming to London, coming to UK, was easier for me because [I] originally lived in Dublin, and certain points, parts of the system, how to find a job and so on, was very similar and by this point already my English was fluent." (Barbara)

"because it was not the first time I was moving, I know a lot of websites that I can use to help me arrange everything... at the beginning quite difficult for me was to plan my shopping because I didn't recognise the brands. They are quite different than rest of Europe. But fortunately for me I know some of them because I was in US and they are similar to US. So at least this I could use my experience of going somewhere else" (Oliwia)

Upon arrival, several participants found aspects of the UK surprising; some were positive, some less so, and others simply noted the difference in a relatively neutral way:

"it's a completely different story when you come here, even with this information, the reality seems to look completely different" (Ana)

"the thing that surprised me the most was just like it was completely different culture to what I was expecting, like to what I knew from back in Poland, at Polish university" (Gabriela)

"I think the people was the biggest surprise. In Poland people are kind of very depressed... I really find lots of friendly people. There was really lots of friendly people here which really helped me" (Nikola)

"when I came to the UK... basically I was really missing Warsaw. I felt a bit disappointed, if that makes sense? Because cities in the UK are a bit different... the culture came actually, I experienced it once I was here, because I think in books they represent it a bit differently, actually when you come here it's a bit different!" (Julia)

The cultural mix of the UK was another factor that was surprising or novel for some participants, and again this was perceived with varying levels of positivity:

"in Poland you don't have so many people from different countries and different cultures... I didn't experience it in Poland because we don't have people from different countries coming. I knew it exists but it was not in my daily life... [here] I am able to meet a lot of great people from all over the world." (Oliwia)

"when I came here, I was thinking it was exotic, I know England now doesn't seem exotic at all but it was all those nationalities, you know, different multicultural country, I was like wow! I came here in December, I remember... and all these people in like, Somali women, they had flip flops on, I was like wow! But then the other side of the street, Chinese girls they were going out, disco, or English girls, and they had like nice dresses and it was, yeah, I was very excited" (Renata)

"One thing is what male and female experience here is different cultures and different nationality, lots of different coloured skin. We don't have that in Poland. It's more like... cultural shock I think. We learn everything and the thing what I saw was like oh my god, you know, it's not that we are racist, we just never seen that before." (Nikola)

"I noticed here when I came to the UK there were lots of immigrants, and lots of ladies were wearing veils. And that [brings] me down a bit when I'm here because... it feels a bit weird and sad... in Poland there's nothing like this, so we can see everybody's faces, so I feel better I think there." (Julia)

5.2.2.1 Transnationalism

The concept of transnationalism did not come up often in interviews; for the most part, participants seemed settled in the UK and visited Poland infrequently, usually to see family. This supports Ryan's (2015) observations that rather than living transnational lives, many young Poles were choosing instead to extend their stay and put down roots in the UK. However, some retained stronger ties to Poland, like Sonia, who was thinking seriously about moving back:

"I was quite lucky to inherit a house from my grandparents, and we've been already doing quite a lot of jobs to refurbish it and decorate and everything, it's our piece of land as well"
(Sonia)

Despite being settled in the UK, Jolanta visited Poland frequently to take advantage of cheaper healthcare:

"now I am in Poland very often because I did my braces [teeth] in Poland, so every two months I have to go back to Poland to change braces!... because it's cheaper... some things in Poland is cheaper, but some things in England is cheaper. So you have to check prices and everything to be sure" (Jolanta)

Some participants had followed the pattern of working for a few months in the UK, while maintaining a life in Poland, then returning to Poland before making a more permanent move; this could be seen as a period of transnationalism in their lives:

"I first come to England and I was working for a few months and come back to Poland and, the next year, because I was pregnant, next year my husband go to England and we say now we have to go to England because in England is better" (Marianna)

"one of my friends invite me to England. Just for holiday, more like just two months. She offer me job in [a factory], and I was think it's going to be so funny to work with her in [the factory] on my holidays!... I back to Poland for month... I don't want to live there any more" (Nikola)

"[my husband] decided to go in January 2005. When he went there he phoned, you know obviously we were missing each other. And he asked if I wanted to try... I was still in the process of studying... I asked my tutors, my lecturers there [and] they let me do it... And then I came back [to Poland] in September to continue. But there was only one year left and so my husband stayed – he wasn't my husband then – anyway, he's actually stayed there so I just joined him again in 2006" (Sonia)

Janina had experienced periods of transnationalism during previous migrations between other European countries:

"we still was living like one leg in London and one in Slovakia... [my husband was] regularly going to London because... it was very easy to go just for one month or two months to get some money and go back and live for five or six months without a job, so he's all the time, we are all the time together but he's just moving, moving, moving. When we are living in Slovakia he was babysitting the older one for a while and then I got the break at the university so I was babysitting the older one and this time he was going to London to earn some money. So we are constantly like, in the relation with UK" (Janina)

However, these participants were in a minority, and their periods of transnationalism were mostly in the past. Most participants had strong ties to the UK and aimed to remain; the issues of Polish identity and future plans are discussed in Sections 5.3.1 and 5.2.5 respectively.

5.2.3 Positive aspects of migration

While much literature on migration addresses the difficulties of the situation for those involved, it is also important to note that migration can bring about many positive changes in migrants' lives. These may be financial, professional, educational or social, and participants in this study had all experienced an improved quality of life in at least one of these areas since moving to the UK. However, attention should also be paid to the positive character traits that may be developed during the process of migration. Taking the decision to migrate already implies a certain level of ambition, courage, and resourcefulness, and participants frequently demonstrated these traits through their actions in their narratives, even if they did not state this explicitly.

Traits that participants mentioned as important to overcome any difficulties of migration included being adaptable and developing their independence:

"I was kind of growing up being prepared for... being very independent, being very [self-] sufficient. And I'm independent, I think that was something, when I was growing up, in terms of the skills I got, I was prepared for here, to do... I think Polish women are much more adaptable. Maybe because since we were little there is so much expected from us already that, when we actually end up being abroad, we kind of feel like, wow I actually have all these skills, I finally appreciate it" (Barbara)

"if I didn't know something of course [my brother] just told me whatever he knew. But the sense of the story was like, 'I can tell you something, but you have to do it, deal with this on your own.' So for me it was fine, because thanks to that I was be able to... manage that, just deal with what happens. It was better for me than if someone were just go with me and helps me, take my hand and just show me... I think it's better if you do it, everything on your own" (Monika)

"I would say start learning English, learn English. Because it's not only about communicating, it's about independence, it's about dealing with matters yourself" (Ana)

Several participants spoke of an initial need to adapt quickly to their new situation, and described their coping strategies:

"when you come from different country where it's completely different and then you come to a country where things, you know, are set up in different way, it's a big transition, it's very very hard, and a lot of people I think don't realise that they have it for granted. Especially if you've never lived abroad, and you've never moved abroad, you actually don't realise how huge are differences between countries. So for me it was a bit of a shock." (Kornelia)

"You have to learn so quickly, so like, thrown into the deep water, but I was not alone because I had housemates from France and Italy and we were learning together, so being more or less on the same level." (Izabela)

"the first three months were really nice because I was away from home and it was interesting to see how I coped by myself in this big world. But then I started missing family and I started actually appreciating Poland a lot more than I used to... I needed to adapt basically, to the situation... my mum talked to me a lot, because I didn't really have here anybody... I needed to adjust to all these little things." (Julia)

Interviewees also referenced a need to be proactive and determined during the migration and settlement process:

"whatever you want to do, you can do it, because the first step to actually opening your mind is to move out from your home, from the country you know, to a different place... Just don't agree to something which is not good for you, just try to push harder, be stubborn if you need, but this is the advice you would say, don't agree to something which is not making you happy" (Oliwia)

"when you have some opportunities here, friends of some friends, et cetera, you just have to grab it otherwise it will disappear...what's important is that you know how to sell yourself and your self-confidence" (Ana)

For some, this was particularly evident in their ways of finding work and accommodation, which were self-driven:

"I just wrote to someone from the Institute, like oh please, are you happy to host me for one night, because I need to find accommodation... I am the person who always asks also, I was always asking for advices, my colleagues, my professors... [when looking for work] often it

happened like... we are asking people who are, what is going on and calling them and telling that you are interested" (Izabela)

"the jobs in Halifax... the way I found them is... I just went to places and asked... I think we just, because there are so many factories in Halifax it's just walk from one place to another... speaking to people." (Kornelia)

"I would send a lot of emails all over the place with introducing myself, who I was, what I wanted to do" (Ana)

"I came here with my sister and my friend, so we three being together and we together looking for the job, so we just walk through the city centre from pub to restaurant and hotels everywhere and we just ask for a job." (Jolanta)

Some interviewees reflected on their actions and state of mind when making their initial migrations, noting that perhaps they had been naïve in some expectations. However, rather than express regret, there was a sense of accomplishment and a recognition that they had been resourceful and determined:

"I went there without anything, like, without even having an accommodation. I did the same with Ireland. I think I could not do it now when I'm older!" (Izabela)

"I see now I was so young, just moved to the completely different country without language and all, nothing, absolutely nothing" (Janina)

"when I came to this country I was like, I was very very excited, and because I was young I didn't really, I didn't care that much about other people. I didn't even think about what English people could be thinking of me because I'm a foreigner coming to this country."
(Renata)

5.2.4 Negative aspects of migration

The process of migration is a momentous step in the migrant's life, and although for participants in this study it was generally a positive one, it is important to examine the negative aspects that resulted. For some, the journey itself was a source of anxiety:

"I went on my own and it was very scary, I was 18 you know" (Natalia)

"there are some issues in Europe now, which are not safe to travel by car and especially from Calais to England. And I wanted to skip it. I really considered going by plane only because it was terrifying at the moment when I was moving, when I was planning to move it was [a] dangerous situation there at this point... it was better to go on the ferry overnight and not to go to any hotel, because then you need to put your car in the parking space, which is full of stuff, and someone sees a car with different plates and you think OK, maybe there's something interesting... I was feeling more safe and secure being on the ferry with my car all night" (Oliwia)

For others, the immediate period of arrival in the UK caused them distress:

"First few days I stayed in my room, I was crying and I was scared to go out. Because I was not speaking English at all, so I just was really scared that when I go out I'm gonna be lost and I won't find my way back home... I was scared to call my mum because I was scared she'd be hearing that I'm crying and that I, that something [was] wrong, I [didn't] want to worry her." (Apolonia)

"I was very afraid about my English... I was afraid lots and the first month I couldn't speak with anyone." (Monika)

Both of these participants cited language as a major factor in their initial discomfort and difficulty; they both found help from other Poles important in this initial period while their language skills were still at a low level. Some participants experienced difficulties in other areas:

"it was quite tough at first... in London it's not possible [to walk between places], I was absolutely overwhelmed by the size of it, by cost of life... I was getting paid minimum wage. And I found that after paying my bills and everything I didn't really have that much left. So it was really hitting quite hard" (Barbara)

"that guy from agency didn't have a job actually straight away so we was waiting three weeks. It was quite difficult because we [brought] some money but Polish złoty is very low... you're starting your life up from the beginning... it was tough" (Penelopa)

"I wasn't prepared for that, difficulties at work I had with understanding other people, with some cultural problems or experience... obviously other consequences of migration, like feeling lonely, you know, missing my country, missing my language. Those things were quite difficult for me. They still are to some extent." (Adelajda)

"I was very depressed and was about to go back Poland in that time actually because I couldn't find a job for such a long time, and all my savings gone. I start having debts, I was not able to pay my rent any more, and I decide probably I'm gonna go back." (Apolonia)

Several participants had worked physically demanding jobs, particularly early on in their time in the UK, and found that this had impacted upon their physical and mental wellbeing:

"in Halifax it is quite hideous, because considering my educational background... I was working in a factory, right? It wasn't anything brain stimulating... Physically exhausting but mentally nothing really exhausting, nothing challenging... I wanted to learn English more [but] it was hard to kind of progress because I was working eleven hours, six days a week, so I was exhausted...I couldn't get on with the course because I was really really tired, I was coming back late and I was really tired." (Kornelia)

"First thing [was a] factory job, which was very hard because it was from like 6am to 7pm, quite horrible job, all day on legs and it was a meat factory so nothing. But it was quite a good lesson for me as well" (Sonia)

"my back suffered incredibly because of the type of work, job that I was doing, like lifting people and moving them around sometimes. It was just exhausting for me so I had to give up my job" (Ana – while working as a care worker)

"the work was unbelievable, unbelievable hard. I ended up in hospital after one job" (Nikola – while working in a warehouse)

"I stopped doing [my job in a special needs school] because er it was quite hard and... I had one very serious accident at work when I was attacked by one student with some emotional problems" (Adelajda)

Others had had unpleasant experiences at work, or knew other migrants who had:

"I left because owner of the car wash tried to have a different sort of relationship with me... he had a wife [and children], but I don't know, he tried to have sort of relationship with me, I just knew this is my end in this job." (Apolonia)

"some things happening in that [factory] environment that I never experienced but they did, and weren't very pleasant for them as women, things that wouldn't happen to men like you know, comments of sexual nature, expectations of sexual nature and that sort of thing. I've

heard all these stories about, you know, women advancing in terms of work or whatever by sexual means" (Natalia)

"I think that my boss wanted me to stay at work, so he wasn't very keen on me leaving the job... I needed somebody to give me references, so my obvious choice for giving a reference was my boss. And I had a bit of a problem with my boss because he really didn't want to give me those references. So actually I phoned my old boss back in Dublin and he provided me the references." (Barbara)

Hard work was a common theme in interviewees' narratives, whether explicitly stated or alluded to in their accounts of life in the UK:

"I basically did a full-time course, a full-time Master's degree, for a year and then at the same time I did work full time, it was a killer. But I did it" (Kornelia)

"I was very busy, because I started, I used to clean a pub... So I was a cleaning assistant. It was two hours in the morning, then straight after I went to college, learn ESOL, English for Speakers of Other Languages, so two hours English and then my father, he found me a job in supermarket... And then I worked there eight hours, so I had like six hours sleep, I was very very busy" (Renata)

"when we've got heavy workload, sometimes we have to organise somebody for our kids, like for example when we had a lot of assignments to check and whatever, and I was pregnant with my second son, the only time that I could check would be at night, so I would sit til five o'clock in the morning checking stuff" (Ana)

Status loss was another commonly experienced difficulty for participants seeking work, in common with many other Polish migrants (Coyle, 2007; Currie, 2007, 2009; Favell, 2008; Heath et al., 2015; Lubbers & Gijsberts, 2016; Ryan, 2015; Trevena, 2011). Many had an undergraduate or postgraduate degree, but worked, at least initially, in jobs where this was not a requirement or even an advantage:

"I was working in London as a bicycle courier for one year... it was completely different, no reading, nothing, it was just a pure physical job but it was good experience... I couldn't stand this physical job, it was nice but anyway if you are a PhD you want to do something more complicated (Janina)

"I've got second Master's degree... I did this kind of warehouse work. And then I went to nursing home" (Nikola)

"considering my educational background... I was working in a factory, right? It wasn't anything brain stimulating... despite the fact that I had a really good CV and my English was better than some English people, I was getting the phone calls from agency work, for example, they were offering me cleaning job rather than just some office job or some better jobs... I would even do, I don't know, even like supermarket job if I have to, I will do it. But it's sad because I think it's a waste of talent. It's a waste of my education which I've put a lot of money into, and waste of years of experience." (Kornelia)

Some of these participants, such as Kornelia, expressed disappointment that they were not able to secure the work that they felt their qualifications deserved. However, many were willing to take lower-level jobs and, although they often commented on difficult conditions, rarely conveyed that they thought certain jobs were beneath them, and appeared to accept this as a necessary step in the migration and settlement process:

"be ready, if you've been director or somebody who actually was important in Poland at work, and here, at the beginning will be only warehouse. So just be ready that some people will be, you know, over you" (Penelopa)

Several of the participants commented on their perceptions of this status loss in terms of employment, and the reasons behind it:

"a lot of our learners, people that come here with beautiful qualifications but sometimes they would be stuck somewhere in a factory because there is always, oh my English is not good enough or I want to be able to do this or I want to be able to do that, and they seem to be, not reluctant, but sometimes scared of taking a, sometimes not even believing that there are any opportunities waiting for them or they would be any good" (Ana)

"Polish people are overeducated, overqualified to be honest with you, because even a cleaner nowadays got a degree. So to me there is something wrong with the economy and the system." (Renata)

"the only couple of people that I've met, they mostly like work in factories, they do like low skilled jobs, which is a bit weird... I spoke to a guy who was actually an accountant in Poland and now he just works in a factory... I think England with Polish people is mostly people who come here and because they don't have the opportunity to get a good job or actually earn good money and be able to live... they kind of work below their skills because their language is not as good... I started with university as well, so I wouldn't want to then kind of

downgrade... just because I've got the degree from university so I didn't want to start working like in a warehouse" (Gabriela)

"don't think that factories are your only options... a lot of Polish people are very well educated and it annoys me and it's upsetting that people think that they can only work in kitchens or factories, that they can't really do well for themselves, just because they're from a different country, you know, there are all sorts of opportunities and only if they try a little, then you know, then there are other options for them" (Natalia)

Some participants experienced difficulty when converting or working with their Polish qualifications in the UK:

"there is a kind of a problem with translating our education system into what is in England... people thought that I just did my GCSEs and I simply didn't have [anything higher]... so it was a lack of communication." (Barbara)

"I graduated in 2004 so all degrees which are completed by 2004, that was the year when we joined European Union, so all of them are not totally recognised as Master's... However, the same degree after 2005 is recognised as Master's... in England they like complicating stuff. So, I had to basically register with NARIC and get my documents translated, and then that's what they told me" (Kornelia)

"I applied for different jobs here, but I wasn't successful at that point. That might be because my qualifications are quite specific, because I've got Polish language and history" (Sonia)

In other cases, administrative barriers had hampered efforts to apply for jobs or university courses:

"to some universities I was not able to apply simply because my IELTS had expired. Cos IELTS is only valid for two years, and apparently in the opinion of some universities, if I did a first-class degree at King's College London, my English is not good enough, right?! So for some universities I didn't manage to get through the online application because of that" (Barbara)

"to find a better job is not actually that simple, because people were asking me to provide English references. And if you give a reference from a factory I'm sorry but you won't get a very good job. So it was a bit difficult at the very beginning." (Kornelia)

"I managed to organise a CRB check from Poland but they wouldn't accept it... without National Insurance number and without a bank account, somewhere to stay, it's so difficult to find a job, it's almost impossible to find a job" (Ana)

Moving away from the realm of employment and into everyday information needs, public transport was also mentioned by two participants as a barrier or difficulty while in the UK:

"I found the very hard thing, OK, and I really couldn't get through it at first, was... in London there is this website called Transport for London, which is amazing... you type where you want to go and you can find out bus connection, train connection, like, how long it's going to take you. [In Sheffield] I really struggled with finding information about buses. You know like how to get from this, from place A to B, which bus to use, I found it very very difficult. And I tried searching online and it was not very successful so I've ended up asking people, but I still don't know, in most cases I need to ask people which bus to take to get to a certain place." (Barbara)

"public transport! It was so crap, I'm sorry, but in Manchester, all the buses and I was missing my trams from Warsaw, because I travelled by tram and tube... it was really limiting me in terms of how quick I was to sort things out, I was actually walking everywhere in Manchester mostly. I couldn't like, even for the buses, the bus network is horrible, I couldn't really find information on the actual route and in the bus they don't really have full description of which stop they stop at. I remember even, it was weird to press the button that I need to stop; in Warsaw for example, it stops every stop" (Julia)

Accommodation for some participants had been overcrowded or of a low standard, and for some their status as new migrants placed them in difficult or vulnerable positions when trying to find or keep accommodation:

"the house we lived in, there were eight Polish people living in there. It was four bedrooms, that's fine, two in each bedroom, but it was overcrowded so we had one bathroom to share between eight people" (Renata)

"we was in the one room... four person, and one dog, and believe me that was so, so strange and stress" (Marianna)

"the house was unbelievably bad, like awful" (Nikola)

"It was a nightmare at the beginning because I came here and first ten, I think, places I saw, it was a complete disaster, I was really shocked how someone can live in such a place... we don't have mould, so, in Poland!... I noticed that the agencies are lying to you... I was aware of people who are trying to take your money, while you're trying to rent a house" (Oliwia)

"[the landlord] brought some people, when we weren't in the house, and because the house was in not a very good state we cleaned it and you know, made it really nice and tidy, and he came to collect rent after one month, he saw that the house looks [better], we fixed quite a lot of stuff in the house. And when we were at work he brought some new people and offered them higher rent and showed the house when we didn't know about it and then he kicked us out." (Kornelia)

Most participants did not mention experiencing outright discrimination, but a few had, or knew of other Poles who had:

"I never felt discriminated against in terms of my nationality or anything but [my husband] was" (Natalia)

"in one of the agencies they asked me to pass a test. I remember it was a very, very difficult test, because even English people who were passing, they actually scored worse than me, but they got a job and I didn't. So it was a bit of a discrimination I would say" (Kornelia)

"I got a lot of verbal abuse, like when I asked about job, they said 'go back where you're from' and stuff like that... I got some comments as well, like one person said... 'we should really kick out all these foreigners.' I actually heard it, I was like next door, so he knew that I heard it, he said, 'because they are different, like Polish people are different than us', I thought, in what way?... He said, 'but you probably don't have as good living conditions as we have here, you don't have homes, proper homes, and cars'... some people here think that we don't have TVs... that we have polar bears walking in our garden. Never seen a polar bear in my garden" (Kornelia)

Some participants stressed the importance of safety and using known or reputable contacts to secure work or accommodation, particularly in the early period of settlement:

"I was scared of all these agencies that were around because you would hear different stories about how girls were abused and exploited, so I wanted to come to England but I wanted this journey and my experience to be as safe as possible... I knew that I was safer

looking for this job here in England than from Poland... [when I came and worked for an agency] it was really just like they said... I felt safe as well" (Ana)

"You never know what's happened so we want to be safe... be strong, be careful, not trusting everybody, just find a few friends who actually are reliable and you can trust them" (Penelopa)

5.2.5 Future plans

On the whole, interviewees were happy to stay in the UK for the foreseeable future. For most, this was because they were reasonably settled and content with their work and family situations, and were aware that moving back to Poland would be an upheaval and that they would likely not have the same standard of living:

"because of how good my overall experience was in the UK I always hoped that this would be my home forever and I would stay here... we don't plan to go back to Poland and we would like to stay in the UK if it's possible for us" (Natalia)

"I want to stay because we are here for five years; that will be quite difficult to change everything one more time" (Penelopa)

"We start our life here and you know, we bought a house, take mortgage, loans, and have children here so it's difficult to go back to Poland. Because all our life is here so I don't think we're going to go back" (Jolanta)

"Nobody go back, planning go back to Poland, everyone staying... We just sold the house out there... I've got kind of roots already here in England" (Nikola)

"I am not planning to going back Poland. Like for sure. If your government don't decide to kick me out here, then I'll be very very happy to stay here. I'll be very happy if my children gonna go to English schools and I'll be very happy if one day they gonna go to university and like have some sort of degree and have much better job and life than I have." (Apolonia)

Some expressed negative views of the prospect of return and of Poland in general:

"I've never had really an incentive to go back... we don't want to go back to Poland because of various things. Poland's political culture, we just don't feel at home there, we don't feel

that this is the country for us... we want to make sure that even if we decide to go try a different country for a bit, that if we want to come back to Europe then we can come back here [to the UK] because we don't want to go back to Poland" (Natalia)

"[return] to Poland, that's ridiculous, never! I pick Spain, Greece, everything but not Poland again, no, no" (Penelopa)

For some participants, as in Natalia's quote above, social and political factors were a factor in deciding to stay in the UK. Ana and her husband had considered moving to Poland, but felt that the administrative and bureaucratic landscape would pose difficulties:

"You have to go to this organisation, institution, whatever you want to do. Sometimes you will travel for like one, two hours one way. But there isn't anything like, this matter you can deal with on the phone... sometimes in Poland you will deal with situations, it can't be done and it won't be done... it looks so nice and wonderful when you go on holiday and you enjoy all these experiences like with your family, visiting places. But when you actually go and live there life is difficult... [my husband] couldn't for example open a bank account in Poland, it wasn't as easy as it is in England, he couldn't do this, do that, it was like an eye-opener for him I think... [I said to him] 'I don't think that you will be able to exchange these cheques and whatever.' And he said, 'don't be silly, even in Africa, in a corner shop you can do it, how come not in Poland?' No it's not possible, we come to Poland. You can go to Frankfurt, Oder, which is in Germany to do it, OK, or somewhere else!... finally he said, 'no, I wouldn't be able to live there because I can't deal with matters, I can't control what I want to control" (Ana)

Only one participant conveyed a strong desire to move back to Poland:

"[my boyfriend] made me stay, I think... but the other thing is, I'm studying architecture, which is really long [and] you are required actually to stay in the UK to do part one, part two, and part three as well if you want to be an architect, so that also was fairly limiting in terms of my need to stay here. So there are personal reasons and also work reasons, I'd say... [but] if I would have a chance to move back I would definitely take it." (Julia)

For several participants, the situation was not so clear. Some expressed a desire to stay while still remaining open to the possibility of moving back, and others felt that they would like to return, but not in the near future:

"ideally I would like to stay in UK... because I think here I would have the best opportunity to get experience [and] see how it goes and then decide if I want to definitely stay or try

something else, or go back to Poland. Because in Poland I also have opportunities now because lots of things changed in my country since I left and I'll be able to get a job now with my degree. And a good one." (Barbara)

"Honestly, we would like to come back to Poland at some point, but sometimes you really want something, but in the end you do something else. I would not mind to move for a while to different continent, learn new culture, language and get new experience. We are really open for new opportunities. I like the idea of the world without borders and people moving around. However, at the end of my trip I wish to come back home. Still 'my home' in my heart is Poland, but maybe in few years' time it will be UK." (Izabela)

"we probably want to move. I don't know where but I'm not sure if I want to stay here forever... I would like to [return], but on the other hand, in Poland the political situation is not good as well. So it's difficult to find a place now. But I would like to go back, because of the family" (Janina)

Family, as mentioned by Janina, was one reason to return to Poland, even if other conditions were not as good as they might be in the UK. One interviewee had started making plans to return, although she was aware of the potential difficulties this could create:

"we are considering about moving our lives back to Poland. Because I was quite lucky to inherit a house from my grandparents, and we've been already doing quite a lot of jobs to refurbish it and decorate and everything, it's our piece of land as well. It's quite an opportunity. And I always wanted to be near my family, because I don't have anybody from my family here... it would be quite a big change for us because we both got used to lifestyle here as well... my husband is applying to become self-employed, to do something for himself finally... I'm researching for some jobs in Poland already... one side of me is hopeful but the other is a bit scared because all my career actually was here in England... But we started thinking about that because we think if we leave it too late our daughters might not want to join us, because they might want to stay here." (Sonia)

Several interviewees stated that they were considering moving elsewhere; a few mentioned the possibility of moving again within the UK:

"I'm not quite sure if I want to stay in Sheffield, because I don't know if Sheffield be able to offer me the job that I would like to do... we're thinking probably moving to Manchester, London, but London I think it would be quite a big step really so yeah, I don't know" (Gabriela)

"Maybe we move to some other place somewhere, but some small city. No London or Manchester. But we like Yorkshire, it's nice" (Kamila)

"Maybe not [stay] in Rotherham. My dream is [a] home in a village and horses!" (Marianna)

Some considered the possibility of moving abroad again; for Natalia, the result of the Brexit referendum had given her cause to think about taking up this option:

"we have started considering other places now. Which we hadn't before. So for example we started looking into Canada, maybe, because it's an English-speaking country, so we wouldn't have the language barrier there. And they seem to be quite open to immigration so that's what we started considering." (Natalia)

"I don't know where life will take me after ten years. Maybe I would love to move to Turkey to see... I'm not saying no in the future like you know, we don't know what's going to happen after ten, twenty years" (Renata)

5.2.6 Conclusions – migration and information behaviour

Participants' information behaviour around their migration was varied at all stages of the process, from planning and researching the move through to considering longer term plans. This variety reflected the range of different circumstances and narratives experienced. Some participants planned their move months or even years in advance and made heavy use of a wide range of sources, including formal sources such as government websites or employment agencies as well as less formal sources such as personal contacts or social networking sites. Those who had migrated previously often made use of sources they had used before, such as particular websites to find jobs or evaluate the cost of living, as well as drawing more generally on their experience of migration and the awareness it afforded them of potential issues that might arise. Others made their move on much less notice, sometimes only days or weeks, and had comparatively little time to plan, instead exhibiting flexibility and a willingness to approach the experience on an almost 'ad hoc' basis, with little long term planning and a more spontaneous approach to finding information only as and when it was required. Most participants displayed confidence in their ability to find and use relevant information, as well as familiarity with available sources and routes to information. Their information behaviour was proactive and they were inclined to seek out information rather than having it pushed to them. Key information needs at the planning and

immediate arrival stages for all participants included finding accommodation, employment or study, and financial issues such as the cost of living. However, regardless of the level of planning and research before their move, most participants did not have long term plans in mind when they moved to the UK, and even at the time of interview many were uncertain about what the future held.

Imaginaries played an important role in most participants' experience; most spoke about their pre-arrival notions of life in the UK and how the reality differed. These imaginaries were often acquired from conversations with friends or contacts who had lived in the UK, forums or social networking sites, or even from books, film, or television. Often, the imaginaries that participants had constructed became fragmented upon arrival due to an information disjuncture between expectations and reality, whether positive or negative, and then needed to be reconstructed over time. However, this disjuncture did not seem to pose lasting problems for participants and was generally relatively easily overcome.

5.3 Polish identity and community

5.3.1 Polish identity

The strength of personal feeling towards one's Polish identity varied among participants. Some appeared to feel little allegiance towards, or even interest in, Poland:

"I don't feel that. Maybe because I left so early, and I never felt particularly good in Poland... I don't have that need really... Poland's political culture, we just don't feel at home there, we don't feel that this is the country for us" (Natalia)

"we stay here, we don't want to go back to Poland so I mostly interested what happens here" (Kamila)

Kamila was unusual among participants in that she professed to pay no attention to events in Poland, did not access Polish media at all, did not attend Polish church or social events, and did not observe Polish traditions, preferring to celebrate Christmas the English way; her sole concession was a monthly trip to a Polish shop. She stated that her Polish identity was not important to her and that as she and her family wanted to remain in the UK, life in the UK was her

main focus. This attitude was particularly interesting as she had children; for several other participants with children, although they did not express a strongly held Polish identity, they felt it was important that their children should be aware of their Polish heritage. Bielewska (2012) found that many post-accession migrants still felt that their true home was in Poland, but for participants in this study this was a more complex and nuanced issue, with many stating that the UK was now their home and hardly any participants expressing a desire to return. It has been suggested that the moment of having children of one's own is a key point in determining Polish, or other, identity (Bielewska, 2012; Lopez Rodriguez, 2010; Lopez Rodriguez et al., 2008; Ryan, 2015). In these studies, the authors observe that while young Polish migrants to the UK had previously expressed no strong sense of Polish identity, upon having children this identity returned to the foreground for them, a pattern that was followed by several participants in this study:

"I wasn't very feeling Polish [but] realising that I do have children and the children do need to have contact with Poland, and Polish language and Polish culture, you know, this is part of them as well, so that's one thing that I do want to keep in touch and maybe send them to Polish school" (Anastazja)

"it's important for me definitely [that] my daughter know where she is from" (Nikola)

"in Polish school they've got all these proper things which I used to do when I was child so I want to show to [my daughter] but I know it's completely different situation... because for her the English school is the first thing and all the things that I want to show her at the Polish one's just additional" (Janina)

"we pass on our tradition to our kids as well... and we explain why which in Poland is done that way, not like here... I want them to be aware of [Polish traditions]; there's quite a lot of different things they miss out because of living here anyway. So I always talk to them about that and when we go to Poland, if something is happening we always go there. And here there is something organised by for example Polish, the community at church or somewhere, we would go as well. My daughter when she goes to school she doesn't see any Polish kids because in her class there's nobody, so she couldn't speak to Polish friends like somewhere else." (Sonia)

"I'm less worried about them not knowing history or doing traditional things, although that comes to mind, where we are visiting family then they can be shown, oh they didn't do this or that, [and] they should be. So I think probably as they grow I will probably put more effort to teach them about these things." (Klara)

"I will always try to introduce [my son] to Polish culture. If we could never, for example, go back, or go to live in community or a country but not Poland, I want always that he would feel that he's, his roots are Polish... I would like to, that baby knows the Polish history, and knows what is a Polish type of food and we will probably do it together, and also like what is happening in the country... he will learn everything about UK because he will be born here, but Poland somehow will be always at the first place I think" (Izabela)

Several of these participants acknowledged in their remarks that while it was important to make their children aware of their Polish heritage, they were also conscious that life in the UK had an impact upon their children's lives and identities. Marianna stated that her daughter was "born here and she's English. She's English!" Kamila's daughter "told everyone that... she's not a Polish girl now, only English." Janina summed up her daughter's (aged four) dilemma in these terms of split loyalties: "she likes to speak Polish, she prefers to speak Polish than English, but on the other hand she's got the English friends, she wants to be part of the English society as well." The link between language and identity will be examined elsewhere in this chapter and in the Discussion chapter.

Nearly all participants mentioned accessing Polish media of some kind, most often websites, and some stated that they felt this was an important way not only to follow events in Poland, but to keep in touch with their own sense of heritage and identity:

"this is quite important for me, that I'm reading in Polish" (Oliwia)

"I read Polish news, because I want to know what is happening in my country, because of course this is always the country which is at the first place for me" (Izabela)

"Polish news, I'm watching every single day because it's my country so I want to know what's going on" (Penelopa)

Some participants mentioned using websites or Facebook pages as a way to maintain their Polish identity and express pride:

"generally now I feel more proud... there is one post that I'm subscribed on Facebook, I think it's called like Love Poland or something like this, which is quite nice because it's in English and it's [about] different events, cultural events or some kind of anniversaries about Poland, history, culture... most people just have no idea that we have places like this" (Barbara)

"all these pages I liked on Facebook, of my home town, what actually is happening there. Polish history for example, if it is a date like 11 November when Poland became independent

again, so Independence Day is quite a big thing for Poland so I always have like Polish flag then on my Facebook, and I mention that. I quite like history as well so I remember about all these days.” (Sonia)

Klara stated that she read Polish news to keep up with events in Poland, but that this was problematic for her:

“I like to know what’s happening so I’m not left behind but at the same time I don’t have influence on the things any more so like, there was election two or three years ago and I wondered whether to go to Manchester embassy to have registered again to vote from here, but then I thought, it’s just all that hassle and my vote probably won’t matter so what’s the point? And I do get quite emotional about some political debates, things happening” (Klara)

Other participants also chose not to engage with Polish media or news sources for various reasons:

“for some time we had a Polish TV, but we decided to not pay for it any more. We preferred to have English TV because it helped us with our English and then it helped us keep in touch with things going on around us rather than in this country that we didn’t live in” (Natalia)

“I used to have a Polish TV for a few years, but not anymore because it was such a bad time thief. And I couldn’t do anything; I was actually addicted to it because I wanted to know what was happening in my country so I was actually watching it from the morning til I went to bed. So I thought it was not acceptable so I actually cancelled that subscription I had.” (Adelajda)

“always when you watch the Polish websites... they are showing just one way, like just one side of something. So I try to be objective, but it’s very difficult because I know that always when you are reading something in Polish it’s left hand or right hand view, it’s very difficult to find information which is 100% sure and the pure facts” (Janina)

While some participants seemed relatively ambivalent regarding their Polish identity, others stated that they were openly proud to be Polish. This pride manifested itself in various ways; for some, it was important to maintain Polish traditions:

“I like the culture but I also like to keep in touch with where I’m from... I don’t want to like lose contact with my culture cos I live in this country... I want to respect like how, like how things have been done in England, but I do want to keep in touch” (Gabriela)

"we keep er Christmas tradition... Easter tradition, yeah, lots of tradition" (Marianna)

"for me it's quite important to like celebrate Christmas Polish way... You should keep your identity and er you should keep your er you know, your history and like your, your culture and stuff like that. You should be proud of that" (Apolonia)

Many participants used Polish shops at least occasionally, but for Oliwia, buying Polish products was another way to show pride in her identity and support her country:

"I'm staying in touch with Polish culture by Polish shop. So I'm doing quite a lot of shopping in Polish shops. I found them here and I'm pretty happy about that... I really like there are Polish shops and I prefer to buy something in a Polish shop and know what it is... I'm more far away from home right now than I was when I was in Netherlands or in Germany. And I feel more [need] to pay attention to Polish aspects, and I can do that in UK, this is really great. I really feel happy about it, that I can do that, it's not a shame that I'm going to Polish shop. I feel proud of myself that I managed to perhaps find some articles, or to pay attention to Polish aspects... If I found something to eat and you can find where it was produced that's in Poland, I feel better about it and I think yeah, I will take this product... there was a chopping board, and I found one produced in Poland and I took it even though it was like, quite more expensive... I thought, why not, it was made in Poland so I was really proud"
(Oliwia)

Oliwia commented several times in her interview that she felt further away from home in the UK than she had done while living in mainland Europe; for her, this made it more important to maintain her Polish identity. Julia expressed a similar sentiment:

"since I came to England I feel even more Polish than I used to. But I'm really proud that I'm Polish... I feel Polish, definitely, and I would never change!" (Julia)

5.3.2 Polish mentality

Although participants were not asked specifically about a 'Polish mentality' or traits that they considered to be typically Polish, several spoke about it in the context of other issues. Nikola felt that hard work was something that defined Poles, but she did not view this particularly

positively and presented a rather negative view of the Polish mentality, a view which was echoed by Oliwia:

"[am I] proud to be Polish? Not really because you know, just hard work to survive, nothing else, no, no... I think that is in our blood just to work and do something... In Poland people are kind of very depressed, very, never look straight, always doing one thing, very busy. Even stupid things like they wearing black coat, they weren't wearing bright clothes. But no blame them, they have nothing to be happy about. They working non-stop full time." (Nikola)

"I think this is a big problem with the Polish people, that we are strong and we can handle a lot, that we are thinking in a way, what doesn't kill you makes you stronger. But you cannot live like that for the rest of your life" (Oliwia)

Other participants stated that they saw a negative or intolerant attitude in other Poles:

"I didn't want to live in Poland cos I didn't want to be surrounded by Polish people! That's horrible to say but that's true! I just could not deal with the mentality any more as it was in Poland." (Anastazja)

"always I think in Poland we are saying oh how we are shit, and how the Western world is amazing and how we need to keep up, and transform everything so it's like Western world. But actually when I came here... we are really keeping up with it" (Julia)

"in Poland we don't like people from other countries. And we are racist. And actually not me, but yeah, most of the people. So when I came here and lot of people wanted to help me, it was very very nice... everybody very sociable, like when you see, I don't know, a couple of lesbians or someone like that, in Poland everybody look at it very weird. But here this is normal" (Penelopa)

Penelopa's comment alludes to a greater sense of tolerance in the UK compared to Poland for those identifying as LGBT+; this was the only mention of this topic in interviews. While the study did not probe this topic directly, participants were given opportunity to discuss questions of gender and womanhood, as well as differences in attitude between the UK and Poland, and it is interesting to note that this was the only mention, given the issues discussed in Section 2.3.4 around the conservative attitude toward LGBT+ rights in Poland. Some participants felt that women had more freedom, in a general sense, in the UK, and that expectations of women were different or more relaxed, but did not mention specifically attitudes towards sexuality or sexual identity; these topics are further discussed in Section 5.5.

Some participants mentioned, or alluded to, a sense of intensity about life in Poland:

"in Poland people seem to be more intense about life" (Ana)

"in my country people are like different... different culture, and different like when you speak someone and everything is different... it was very hard because in my country everything is going very fast. And we talk a lot, you know, a lot, fast, and just quick answers and everything" (Monika)

This was contrasted with what was seen as a more relaxed attitude towards life in the UK:

"when I moved to England I felt really good about the fact that I'm not the only one who is not religious! Who doesn't care. People are very relaxed about it here, and I like it... it's nice that it's so chilled out. Nobody cares, nobody cares, you know, how you get dressed. Like in Poland everybody pays attention, you know like how you look and stuff like that. And here nobody cares. So it's a very kind of laid back lifestyle." (Kornelia)

"I noticed quite quickly that life here is more, just more relaxed. And I wouldn't say people are nicer but you don't come across these barriers, whatever you want to do, that you can't get through... in England people are more relaxed" (Ana)

"in general when people are moving they are more open minded. And I think I'm lucky to meet only those people who are open minded" (Oliwia)

Oliwia's comment should be viewed against the background of her environment in the UK; as a result of working in a university she had encountered many people who had also moved to the UK from elsewhere, so this is perhaps less a comment on the attitudes of British people, and more on the multicultural nature of the community around her. The friendliness or openness of people in the UK was mentioned by several participants as being unexpected, and different to the attitude of people in Poland:

"English people are nice. Mostly are nice and when I go somewhere, for example, council or post office, and I don't know something, I don't know some words or I don't know something, they just talk me every time I don't understand something... English people, when I smile at someone, everywhere, they smiling and just be happy" (Kamila)

"One of the differences between Polish and British people in terms of approach to that, here like yeah, you go on the street and you start talking to a stranger... in Poland that's completely something that we will never do, cos we're very polite, you know, like, Miss, Mr,

and we don't really start random conversations with people usually ... especially, if you go to a shop, here it happens a lot that when I was a pharmacy assistant that the number of people that would come and start conversation about such random things, or even ask me for, how to get the free pass on the bus, I didn't know!... in London it's different, was bit different, but yeah in Sheffield people tend to be really, you know, chatty." (Barbara)

This openness of attitude extended to work and career progression for some participants, who felt that the working culture and climate were different, with less of a strict hierarchy and more opportunities:

"research in UK is really interesting because I'm collaborating and working with all the doctors and professors. I really like this, that all of us are at the same level. I never felt like someone is feeling that it's a bit on top of me or on the bottom of me or something, I really like that. And in Italy and Poland sometimes you can feel that." (Izabela)

"When I was working at libraries and I was promoted and I got to higher and higher position, my dad said something like that, that made me think, oh, that wouldn't be probably possible in Poland in that quick time. And especially if you weren't Polish but from somewhere else... letting me do my career, knowing that I'm not English, that I would never probably speak like English, I would always have my accent, I would always pronounce things wrong. I was able to do quite a lot of very good things here and that's why I'm quite thankful and grateful for this country... find your route and then you know I think this culture will be supportive." (Sonia)

Sonia's comment alludes to an openness to migration in the UK; she felt that even as a migrant, she had the same opportunities as UK citizens, and that this would not be the case for migrants coming to Poland. Oliwia made a similar comment:

"[in the UK] you can do so much... it's so easy and it's prepared for people who are coming from abroad. And you have open minded people and people who can help you." (Oliwia)

However, some participants perceived people in the UK as more reserved than other nationalities, and one in particular felt that they were less willing to integrate and interact with people from other countries and cultures:

"I think with British women... the majority they find it difficult to accept women from different backgrounds. Because you very rarely actually see British women having best friends from different countries... when it comes to integration I think it's not Polish people

“who are the problem!... I know some mixed [nationality] couples where people moved to Poland, they were welcome. And they made friends within seconds; it wasn’t an issue really, in Poland” (Kornelia)

“English people just look on us in different ways. Because they think we are worse than them, just because the nationality and the language. Because we can’t speak as good as the English people so even if I learn English for a few years, it’s not as good as your, or other people” (Jolanta)

“as soon as I introduce myself and I say I’m from Poland and I get a look or, people not sure what to say, and I just feel like, should I be actually ashamed of it?” (Barbara)

“Whenever I go to Poland I always am in love with how people are just really honest and people are just very open... in England what bothered me – now I accept it – is this sometimes fake politeness... diplomacy, you need to be quite polite, always very nice, and in Poland it’s like, if you feel like not very nice, you can just say it, you can be quite open about it... that’s quite nice cos I feel myself in Poland, a lot more I think.” (Julia)

Barbara had experienced negative attitudes towards herself as a Pole elsewhere in the UK and Ireland, but felt that the smaller Polish community in Sheffield worked in her favour in terms of integration:

“[in Sheffield] people don’t really have strong Polish community, so I found lots of people here they don’t really get much contact with Polish people. So really they don’t have prejudices, so I found that, OK, now if I say I’m from Poland, OK, maybe people have nothing to say but at least they don’t make fun face, or you know, they’re not rude” (Barbara)

5.3.3 The Polish community in the UK

Opinions varied regarding the size and strength of the Polish community in the towns and cities studied in South Yorkshire:

“in UK you have a lot of Polish people and there are some big industry for Polish people... I knew that there are a lot of Polish people here” (Oliwia)

“I don’t think we have a big Polish community here in Sheffield... people don’t really have strong Polish community” (Barbara)

"I wouldn't say that Polish community in Rotherham is big but there are a lot of Polish people around. We have a lot of Polish people here around as well doing different courses. And also at school I meet a lot of Polish parents. Yeah so quite a few people from Poland... I don't know if this Polish community is very, very strong... a lot of them are integrated and integrating into this society; that, I think, is good... people are just in their small groups... that's it, they seem to celebrate, go out and enjoy their time in these small groups like friends and family mainly." (Ana)

Barbara had previously lived in Dublin and London, so it is possible that her perception of the Polish community in Sheffield was in comparison to these larger cities. Ana's comment seems to imply that although the Polish community in Rotherham was high in number, it was not particularly close-knit or strong in terms of connections or a sense of community. Janina noted a difference in the size of the Polish community in her suburb of Sheffield, compared to Sheffield as a whole:

"this area, which is also completely different than London... I think it's a very specific part of Sheffield because there is no Polish people here at all. In school, my daughter she's the only one. I find out there is the second Polish woman, I met her, the mum, so there is two girls in school so I think it's unusual in UK... I met the director of the Polish Saturday School... and then I started to meet the people from the Polish school... it's a huge Polish community [in Sheffield] so it's a lot of people" (Janina)

Personal engagement with the wider Polish community in South Yorkshire varied between participants. Some had many Polish friends and valued these relationships and networks highly, not only for socialising and friendship but for more practical requirements such as finding work or accommodation. In some cases these connections were also valued as a link to Poland and an outlet to discuss Polish topics or simply to speak in Polish.

"I do have Polish neighbours, which is actually really cool... At the stage of planning to move I actually check, is there any society for Polish people?... At the beginning it helped to feel like I am not such a big enemy in a place because I do have some [community]" (Oliwia)

"I'm really happy we are from the same culture and can always discuss things which are related to our country. We have like a little group of Polish friends and sometimes we do like this catch-up and like some Polish cuisine, cooking... I think now that I know them and I have them here it's very important for me, and probably if I would not know anyone Polish for a year or two in Sheffield, at some point I would miss the Polish community, Polish people, so

probably somehow I would search for them... I'm happy to have them here of course, you always miss your country because they have like the same culture, so you can always laugh at the same jokes or criticise the same politics!" (Izabela)

"I can talk to my Polish friends about things [related to Polish events and politics]" (Klara)

"[it's] good to speak with someone who's not my partner in the same language. In our house we both speaking in Polish but... you cannot really talk about everything with your partner, not about shoes and handbags!" (Apolonia)

Some participants seemed keen to present themselves as well integrated in UK society, stressing that they had what they referred to as a more ‘international’ group of friends; one participant made a point to mention that although she had Polish friends, they were “well integrated in English society” (Adelajda). Such participants were often studying or working in academia and were perhaps therefore more likely to encounter people of different nationalities. These participants generally stated that they simply felt no need to seek out other Poles. Anastazja spoke of the “annoying assumption” that she would have things in common with other Poles solely because of their shared nationality. Julia also stated that she preferred to choose her friends based on shared experience rather than nationality. Of those with few Polish contacts, some had merely not met many Poles; for Natalia, who had studied and then worked in academia, this was down to her area of employment, which she contrasted with contacts who worked in more ‘typical’ migrant jobs:

"my husband and my group of friends, they had a lot more Polish friends because they worked in places that are typically... occupied by immigrants, like factories and places like that. I never did that sort of work because I came for the degree and then I worked at Primark, where there were a couple of Polish people but not as many. So, they knew a lot more Polish people than I did" (Natalia)

While some participants simply lacked opportunity or desire to contact other Poles, others actively avoided too much engagement with the Polish community, to varying degrees but for similar reasons:

"Polish community is not that cool together, I try to avoid them, don't be friends. It's one of the country community where they not stick together, they more jealous than friendly, they kind of use you and leave you... You've got plumber Polish, you've got electrician, it's just, it's better to not. It's better don't. Always some problem, troubles." (Nikola)

"Polish people, especial when these are in different country, are so, so strange and dangerous, believe me, dangerous. Sometimes you can have lots of problem and you have to be careful to find the friends between Polish people. That's why I like English, not Polish, not too much." (Marianna)

"I know that Polish people are changed abroad. I think it's about some kind of stupid jealous or something... I'm trying to avoid them right now... people from our country are different, so sometimes we don't want to deal with them. To be honest with you I prefer to talk and speak with English people or from other countries, not mine" (Monika)

"there was a time that me being 19 years old I was the only one with a job. Because some people were kind of self-employed, you know like doing the leaflets, or working building site, or like a cleaning jobs, and I actually settled in a pharmacy, so they were a little bit jealous there of me" (Barbara)

Three of these participants mentioned jealousy and competition, particularly for work, as a reason for avoiding the Polish community in the UK, which was an issue that also arose in the UKDA transcripts examined earlier in this study. Two participants explicitly stated a negative view of a particular kind of Polish migrant:

"before we joined the European Union I was here for nearly a year, and when you heard Polish language on the street you're sort of like, oh wow! You know, let's go for a drink! You're from Poland! And then first of May 2004 came, and when you heard the Polish language you pretended you didn't understand. Because the crowd coming in, it was shocking, the majority of people that came I just didn't want to associate with at all. I was already in Birmingham at that time and I've already only worked with two or three other Polish people and we just said, we'll keep ourselves to ourselves, we are the old crew and these are the new crew!" (Anastazja)

"I heard quite bad stories about people emigrating here just for money, just for work, so I prefer not to get in touch with any of these kind of people. I bet they're doing a great job, they are happy here, but all that I heard I think kind of made an impact on me and I felt like, I don't want to. I think I prefer to stick with English people, and just international crowd."
(Julia)

However, despite participants expressing mistrust of the wider Polish community in their areas, they had often used and benefited from it to find work, accommodation, and make social connections.

"some of them are acquaintances, some of them became like family to be honest, some of them are friends" (Anastazja)

"it's very useful for both sides to know someone from your country as well, so you can help each other, anyone need any help. Or just even if anyone needs someone, something... if there is a problem with your home or, I don't know, new job, so it's like, it's the best way to communicate" (Monika)

There was, in general, a very low level of engagement with formal Polish institutions in the UK. One participant had used the White Eagle Association for English lessons, and another had attended a community meeting at her local library, but most had had no contact with such organisations. Informal Polish institutions, such as Polish clubs, were also not popular; no participants had attended these. The exception was online groups; several participants used Facebook to connect with other Poles in their local area, either for social meetings or for more practical needs:

"if somebody going to Poland by car and have two spare places in it... or somebody coming from Poland and got loads of vegetables or something like that, or Polish food" (Penelopa).

5.3.4 Older and younger generations

In general, participants seemed to have little contact with the older generations of Poles living in the UK. This agrees with Bielewska's observation that, for young Poles living in Manchester, "the post-war migrants are usually not part of their mental map" (2012, p. 102). In terms of the mental maps drawn by participants, this was certainly true. The Polish community was referenced by some, either as a group or as individuals, but none referenced the post-war generation. The exception to this lack of cross-generational engagement was Anastazja, who was the only participant who had arrived in the UK before the EU expansion of May 2004. At that point, there had been far fewer young Poles living in the UK, and the existing Polish community had been helpful for Anastazja in finding work and making social connections:

"there was not that many Polish people in there, I was the first Polish person in Rugby since after the Second World War, because when the Second World War finished there was a lot of Polish people coming to England, or staying after the war. And ever since, there was no newcomers, like, Polish newcomers to the town, so I was the first one and they were just

like, wow, a Polish girl, come and be our niece, whatever, just join the family! So they just looked after me really.” (Anastazja)

One participant, Nikola, had moved to the UK and her immediate family (parents and siblings) had then moved to follow her. She felt that migration to the UK among the younger generation was slowing down, but that older Poles were continuing to arrive. She attributed this to greater opportunities and a better quality of life in the UK, and spoke in negative terms about the struggles of life for older people in Poland. For Nikola’s family, life in the UK afforded financial security, better healthcare for her ageing parents, and the opportunity for leisure time and disposable income, which she did not feel was possible in Poland:

“I can see the difference with older women, they age 40, 50, 60. In my country they’re sitting at home, they’re doing nothing, just working, cooking and making sure their grandkids are fine, ironing and all. Here you can see them out, I think it’s lovely when I see old grannies, 60, 70, going bingo and stuff.” (Nikola)

Gabriela, in comparison, felt that her parents had a better life in Poland and that life would be more difficult for them in the UK, but this was based on career factors and alluded to the issues of language skills and status loss:

“I wouldn’t advise [my mum] to come because her English is not as good, and she’s got a really good job in Poland, and I wouldn’t want her to lose everything that she’s got there... she lives with my dad and they’ve got a house and... they’ve got good jobs, and if they come here they’ll probably live in a rented flat and work in the factory because they wouldn’t be able to get the jobs that they got there. My mum is an accountant and my dad is a teacher. And they wouldn’t be able to transfer the skills here.” (Gabriela)

5.3.5 Conclusions – Polish identity and community and information behaviour

Participants differed in the degrees to which they identified with, and engaged with, the Polish community in the UK. Some were demonstrably proud of their nationality and made strong efforts to maintain aspects of their lives that they felt were important to their Polish identity, such as observing Polish holidays and traditions, eating Polish food regularly, or buying Polish-made products. Those with children often felt that keeping up their Polish identity and passing their Polish heritage onto their children was important. These behaviours were greatly facilitated by

the use of digital information; participants used social networking sites and communications technologies to maintain contact with family, friends, and the wider Polish diaspora. Keeping up with current events in Poland was important to many participants, and again this was largely done via the internet. However, there was some evidence of information avoidance and information overload around these topics; for example, wanting to avoid potentially upsetting political news from Poland or feeling that they spent too much time reading about Polish events.

An interesting paradox arose in examining participants' engagement with their local co-ethnic community. Nearly all had Polish friends or contacts in the UK, and for some these were very important in terms of socialising and information exchange. Many made heavy use of the local Polish community particularly in the early stages of migration and settlement, often for practical needs such as accommodation and employment, but also for social contact and help adjusting to their new environment. Participants were aware that there was a sizeable Polish population in the UK, with accompanying infrastructure and support network that was available for their information needs if required. However, a surprising number of participants expressed a desire to avoid fellow Poles, either through mistrust, a sense of competition, a negative view of the Polish mindset and behaviour, or simply wanting to cultivate a more diverse social and professional network.

5.4 Everyday life

5.4.1 Language

Despite the interview not asking about language specifically, it was mentioned by all participants. A key motivation for migrating to, or remaining in, the UK was to improve one's English language skills. Two participants summarised the importance of learning English, as presented in Poland in the 1990s:

"I've always learned the English language from like years, since I was like seven years old, my parents were just obsessed with us knowing the English language, so since seven years old we always had to go for English lessons" (Anastazja)

"English was considered as this language of communication, ultimate communication, wherever you would go it would be only communication in English so people wanted to learn English and at schools at that point you had only English." (Ana)

Learning English was not the sole motivation for any of the participants; it was often mentioned in conjunction with earning money or the desire to travel. However, it was perceived that learning English would be an advantage and would potentially give participants an extra skill and an edge over their peers in a competitive employment market:

"a few months into living abroad I just kind of realised that oh, you actually want to go to university, and probably I'll still have to take a student loan and everything, I can as well do it in English and it might give me some advantage, so that decision kind of influenced everything that I did afterwards." (Barbara)

"I was really lucky because the interview was in English, which was Korean people, and I already knew English! Thanks to Ireland, so I was like wow, OK, it's good I went there because now I can apply for this job." (Izabela)

"I was kind of dreading going back to Poland, [and my friends] were like, 'well we have universities here, why don't you go to university here?', and I was like, 'actually yes, why not, you know I speak English and everything so why wouldn't I?'" (Natalia)

"my advantage is I know two languages very well... so because of that I have English speaking clients and I've got Polish speaking clients, and when I advertise... it obviously attracts Polish people who maybe don't... speak English very well? And they would rather come to me because it's easier to communicate, they don't need an interpreter" (Kornelia)

Immersion in the English language was mentioned as an effective way to improve language skills quickly, particularly in a work environment:

"I was doing a lot of part time jobs in er, restaurants, in McDonald's, so that's where you learn the most because you always talk to the customers and they liked it" (Izabela)

"when I worked in a factory, there weren't actually many English people there. And the people who were there, they actually didn't speak English very well... I found it difficult to progress, because when I came to England obviously I wanted to learn English, like more, you know, wanted to speak even better... the biggest part of learning another language is by talking to people and listening you know, and this is something I missed at work" (Kornelia)

"men usually spoke better English because they were going out, they were getting money, so they had to go out and socialise and learn language so they, their acquisition, language acquisition was much better" (Adelajda – when working as an interpreter for recently arrived Poles)

"we preferred to have English TV because it helped us with our English" (Natalia)

Several of the participants had English partners, and one cited the language barrier specifically as a reason for remaining in the UK rather than moving to Poland together:

"we were thinking, should I move over here or should he move back with me to Poland? He doesn't speak any language so we thought it would be easy for me to come over here" (Klara)

Several participants commented upon the language barrier between Poland and the UK and the resulting difficulties in understanding and making oneself understood. Even those who spoke English to a good standard sometimes found that the reality of language in the UK posed problems as it did not match the "proper, nice, book kind of English" (Gabriela) that had been taught in school. Regional accents also inhibited understanding for some participants. Those who had worked in jobs with many other non-English speakers expressed frustration that they were unable to progress their English language learning as much as they would have liked in these environments; they noted that when they moved to jobs with more English-speaking staff, or where English was compulsory, their language skills improved. Generally, difficulties with language were spoken of as an initial barrier to overcome upon arrival and settlement, rather than something participants still struggled with, but it is reasonable to assume that those who consented to be interviewed for this study had a certain level of confidence in their language skills; migrants with low levels of English language skills are probably less likely to volunteer to participate in an extended interview.

Keeping in touch with the Polish language was seen as desirable, whether for employment reasons where participants worked in language related fields such as translation, or simply to feel a sense of connection with Polish roots. Some participants, particularly those who had lived in the UK for a number of years, felt that their Polish language skills had deteriorated as a result of not speaking the language frequently any more:

"when I went to Poland... I wanted to ask for [something] and I forgot how. It was a bit scary... I'm not as good as I used to be, my Polish was very good... I think it was a year or two

years ago, I wanted to write a letter, formal letter in Polish, and I really struggled. Which normally would never happen, ten years ago.” (Kornelia)

“my Polish, as I found out now doing the interpreting, the translation studies, is quite rusty, it’s got quite rusty. Obviously I can use it and I still use it very well, I still use it as my first language... but in terms of, like, writing I think I’ve lost quite a lot competency I have, used to have, writing in Polish. I was a very good Polish writer and now I find it difficult to write, form, er, sentences in my thoughts in Polish because... I don’t do it on a daily basis so I lose that skill, and that’s what I am a bit sad about, to be honest.” (Adelajda)

“I noticed whenever I go back to Poland there are these three or four days when I feel really awkward speaking Polish and you’re communicating, it’s like I’m inventing these new words which are between English and, it’s just really strange.” (Julia)

Participants who had children (n=12, with one more expecting a child at the time of the interview) were asked what languages their children spoke, and whether it was important to them that their children learned or knew Polish. Only one participant stated that it was not important. Several mentioned that while they spoke Polish at home, it was more important that their children should learn English. Languages spoken at home were mixed, with some speaking only Polish and others speaking a mix of Polish and English. This depended largely on whether the interviewee’s partner was English or Polish. Those who spoke only Polish at home generally felt that their children were competent in both languages, or even bilingual, due to them learning English at school and Polish at home.

In general, it seemed important to participants that their children spoke and understood Polish. In some instances this was to facilitate communication with family members back in Poland, or the participants themselves, where their English was still at a relatively low level. In other cases, participants wanted their children to learn Polish as a way of keeping in touch with their Polish roots or simply to have the advantage of knowing another language. Several participants undertook active teaching of the Polish language:

“he’s learning Polish at home with me, I’m trying to teach him writing, and reading in Polish.” (Adelajda)

“we do things together, we read books in Polish and when she writes I teach her to write in Polish as well, the same as they teach her in English at school.” (Sonia)

“she’s... taking some Polish lessons as well, Polish language because her English is much

better than Polish.” (Renata)

In some cases, however, there appeared to be some resistance on the part of the children:

“there is many Polish children really who don’t wanna speak Polish anymore because they going to school in here, they having English friends and they just don’t need Polish anymore.” (Apolonia)

“she’s speaking more English than Polish. I don’t know, she just likes more English language... [she] told everyone that... she’s not a Polish girl now, only English. She don’t like Polish language.” (Kamila)

“she asked me, ‘oh Mummy, maybe we will start to speak English at home?’ And I said, ‘why, if I’m Polish, your father is Polish, but you want us to speak English?’ I don’t know. I said, ‘no, I’m really sorry, you can speak it sometimes but basically we are speaking Polish’ and we are both of us, like my husband and I, we are very, very careful about the languages because it’s very easy for child to forget their Polish.” (Janina)

This raises some interesting questions about identity and a sense of belonging for children growing up in the UK with Polish parents; Kamila’s daughter, aged six, identified more strongly with an English identity, despite having two Polish parents and speaking almost exclusively Polish at home. However, other participants’ children took pride in their Polish heritage, such as Adelajda’s son, aged ten:

A: My son actually has got that bit of Polish identity in him as well, because he can speak Polish. And he, I remember that in school once they had a Polish teacher who organised special, like you know, class for them, just to talk about Poland, and tell just a little bit you know, after school club, and my son volunteered for it, he really wanted to take part.

M: So it sounds like he’s quite proud of being part Polish?

A: I think he is, yeah. He is, he speaks Polish to me when we are at home.

Janina’s daughter’s use of language exemplified the issue of this conflict:

“she likes to speak Polish, she prefers to speak Polish than English, but on the other hand she’s got the English friends, she wants to be part of the English society as well.” (Janina)

The final question of the interview was “what advice would you give to other Polish women who wanted to come to the UK?” The advice to learn the English language was a popular

answer to this question, with 12 of 21 participants commenting that they would advise learning some English before migrating or upon arrival:

"Learn the language!... I think it's important, that, because I do come across people who just live in this fantasy world where it's enough to book your flight and come over. If you don't speak language it's just going to be impossible, like I do see those who come over and don't speak any language whatsoever... I just think no, who told you all this?" (Klara)

"My advice is to learn English before you came here. To have... that good English to... speak [to] somebody to find a job or to rent a house, or to call... [Inland] Revenue or something like that. To sort some things. Language is very important." (Jolanta)

"I think if you don't know English simple, only Polish, you're losing a couple good years"
(Nikola)

"I would say start learning English, learn English. Because it's not only about communicating, it's about independence, it's about dealing with matters yourself, you see like sometimes we hear these complaints, that people are hard workers and whatever but at work unfortunately they can't communicate and it's different to ask somebody, can you translate for me? Because I want to say something or I want to ask. Some people are comfortable with this and they don't want to learn English but whoever wants to come to England I would say learn the language of this country. Because if you want to integrate you have to be able to communicate with wherever you go, especially when you have kids and I can see how people struggle with kids, women especially women, and they can't communicate in English because anything, the doctor, and with kids the possibility that you have to take your child to the doctor sometimes are quite high especially in winter. Think, everyday things you have to have someone else that will come with you. And unfortunately people haven't got time. And so I would say learn English and it will be certainly a huge help." (Ana)

It would appear that language is important in all stages of the model described by Mwarigha (2002). The first stage involves practical needs such as finding employment or accommodation, as mentioned by Jolanta. There also seemed to be a temporal element to this, with two interviewees stating that previously, language skills had not been important in finding work, but that this was no longer the case:

"you need to have some sort of knowledge of language. Before it was different, you don't have to speak, you didn't have to speak English, like to find a job." (Apolonia)

"learn English, because at the moment if you start from nothing it will [be] more difficult than five years ago" (Penelopa)

The second stage includes engagement with systems and institutions such as healthcare or finance, as described by Ana and Jolanta. The final stage involves the less tangible outcome of migrants becoming "equal participants in the country's economic, cultural, social and political life" (Mwarigha, 2002, p. 9). This is perhaps more difficult to measure, but was alluded to in comments about integration from Ana and other participants. Status loss was also mentioned:

"I think England with Polish people is mostly people who... come here and because they don't have the opportunity to... get, you know, a good job or... actually earn good money and be able to live. So but then they... work below their skills because their language is not as good"
(Gabriela)

It could be argued that migrants who are compelled to work below their skill level because of a lack of linguistic ability are not "equal participants" in society. Another way to measure this could be to examine social networks and social capital; broadly speaking, participants with lower levels of English language skills tended to have more Polish friends, whereas those who were more fluent in English had more friends from the UK and other countries (using English as a common language). While other factors also influence migrants' levels of participation in society, language would certainly seem to be a factor in the extent to which interviewees appeared to be integrated in the social and cultural life of the UK.

5.4.2 Food

Food was a topic that emerged in discussion, often in the context of social gatherings, and was frequently linked to identity. Many interviewees, even those who professed no strong attachment to their Polish roots, made use of local Polish shops at least occasionally to buy food products. This was often linked to a desire to have familiar or favourite products in an environment where much was unfamiliar.

"food is like one thing what can... keep you bring here, bring more home" (Monika)

"whenever food market is in Sheffield there is like a small place with Polish beer and Polish food, so we, that's a moment when I'm going there specially" (Apolonia)

Cooking Polish food was a way for some participants to keep in touch with Polish heritage and pass it on to their children:

"we have, like, a little group of Polish friends and sometimes we do, like, this catch-up and... some Polish cuisine, cooking... I would like to, that baby knows the Polish history, and... knows what is a Polish type of food and we will probably do it together." (Izabela)

Participants who had partners from the UK or places other than Poland mentioned cooking Polish food for them, which sometimes seemed to be a way of integrating various traditions and identities:

"I like Polish food, Polish traditions, but I also like English ways of doing things and sometimes I like mixing them. But my husband, for example, he's a better cook than me so even though he's English, in fact he's South African, but came to England twenty years ago as well. So it would be mainly him cooking and it would be my mum telling me in detail the recipe... It's how we mix these Polish, English, South African traditions and so on. But it's wonderful." (Ana)

One participant, who had been in the UK for only three months, was unhappy with the food in the UK:

"I'm unhappy with the cuisine here in general. I don't want to complain but in general it's different. It tastes different and the whole concept of eating here is different that I'm used to... now I do have health problems here and they are connected to the diet." (Oliwia)

Others, who had been in the UK longer, seemed to have adapted to include UK food while still retaining their taste for Polish food:

"of course the English culture is different than ours so the taste is different, and even vegetables or other things different in taste... we of course eating like everything, well maybe not everything because we are vegetarian! But a lot of things and we are trying a lot of things, so I still enjoy it but sometimes I like to do some Polish food as well." (Monika)

"in my home... I'm actually cooking more Polish food. But not only, because I like to cook something more and more English from time to time as well. So I think for a first few years I was missing Poland a lot. But after that you just getting used to living here and like you getting used to eat different things and drink tea with milk instead of lemon." (Apolonia)

These comments perhaps reflect greater integration in everyday life in the UK for those who had been here longer.

5.4.3 Church and religion

Religion was discussed by many of the participants, but attitudes towards it were mixed. One expressed negative feelings towards religion in general and stated that she preferred the less religious society of the UK, and another described being bullied at school for being Protestant in a country that is overwhelmingly Catholic, with 87.5% of Poles identifying as Roman Catholic in 2011 (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2013). Several interviewees identified as Catholic but only attended church a few times a year, mostly at Christmas and Easter. Of those who visited more regularly, some attended Polish services and others (mostly those with children) English services. One participant specifically mentioned bringing up her children within two faiths:

"my partner's Muslim, I'm Catholic, and we decided to bring our children up in both religions, like we believe there is only one God. It's cultures and people, you know, believing in different rules and like, you know, dividing religions... so she's attending her first communion preparation classes at the moment, first holy communion" (Renata)

Church and religion were a way for some participants to make friends and other connections, and were sometimes linked to schooling for their children:

"my mum work community for people, Polish community who was here first in Sheffield in 1950, just after second war, and in Ecclesfield Rd [Ecclesall Rd], and my mum started going to church with them, that's how she make her friends" (Nikola)

"I wanted to send him to a Catholic school, because I am Catholic and I wanted him to... go through that pathway as well... So we baptised him then we went, first communion and we thought, you know, it would be easier if he goes to a Catholic school because they arrange everything for him there." (Adelajda)

"because we are both Catholic, being Catholics, me and my husband, there is a church, Catholic church in our area where we got married, where we had our children baptised as well. And this school, this school is... affiliated with this church, it's where we found out about the school. Plus... there are a lot of Polish people around, and a lot of them send their

children to [this school], just because a lot of Polish people are Catholics... they just look for schools, like Catholic schools, so it's how we found out about, about this school." (Ana)

For one participant, Oliwia, religion was important enough that she researched it before coming to the UK; for her, it was a comfort in an unfamiliar place and a way of keeping in touch with Polish culture. She also used social media to stay connected with the church:

"as the faith is important for me I am also using YouTube... there is a YouTuber, it's a priest who is... talking via YouTube, he's using this medium to [be] heard, and he is really interesting for me because he is... the way he's talking to you is something that I need, to be staying in faith and to be in contact with church in the Polish culture."

5.4.4 Space and place

Several participants, without being prompted, expressed positive feelings towards Sheffield and Yorkshire as places, citing closeness to nature, the friendliness of people, "the culture, the little pubs, all the small community" (Nikola). Others experienced certain aspects unfavourably when compared to Poland:

"later on it turned out it actually wasn't a very nice area. But I didn't realise at the time because I didn't know that there are bad areas, I mean, in Poland we don't have bad areas... basically when you come to England you just don't realise that there is something like a bad area, where you don't go" (Kornelia)

"when I came to the UK... I felt a bit different, a bit like, basically I was really missing Warsaw. I felt a bit disappointed, if that makes sense? Because cities in the UK are a bit different... So the city was a key thing, it was so different and I felt really uncomfortable, I remember, like cycling for me is a big thing, in Warsaw I could cycle and it was really cool, while in Manchester it was not possible, because... I mean I did cycle, but when I look back it's quite shocking that actually I cycled, because the roads were so full of buses and it was so dangerous... there are not many public spaces, public places, and green spaces as well, I was missing really that, cos in Warsaw or any other city in Poland we do have like loads of trees and the street is green, honestly!" (Julia)

5.4.5 Conclusions – everyday life and information behaviour

Discussing participants' everyday lives provided insight into aspects of their information behaviour. Proficiency in the English language was seen as vital at all stages of the migration process; it was important for participants that they were able to communicate in the short term, but it was also seen as advantageous in the long term to have a good command of English no matter where they chose to settle. Participants expressed the need for strong English language skills for accessing and understanding both everyday and compliance information, and it was a priority information need either before migrating or upon arrival in the UK. Language skills and usage permeated every aspect of participants' everyday lives and affected their ability to find appropriate employment, make friends, engage with formal institutions such as schools and healthcare, and interact with people in their new environment. A good level of English was also important to facilitate independent information behaviour; those who spoke little English initially were compelled to rely upon others to translate or interact on their behalf. Several participants made conscious efforts to interact with native English speakers or sought out English information sources or media in order to improve their language skills. English language classes were also a way for participants to gain everyday information about life in the UK.

Food was important for many participants and was often discussed in terms of maintaining Polish identity and tradition, as well as facilitating social contact with people of other nationalities. Participants were able to navigate food shopping and preparation with relative ease in terms of available information, particularly those who had previously travelled elsewhere in Europe. This illustrates a certain similarity of information landscape between the UK and Poland. Religion was not seen as a major information need by most participants, but attending church was seen as a useful way to make contacts, particularly with other Poles, and to gain information about, for example, schools for children.

5.5 Gender – expectations, experiences and opportunities

5.5.1 Expectations of women

Discussion of expectations of women in Poland and the UK varied quite widely, with participants often expressing contrasting views. Some felt that, particularly with a broader global context in mind, attitudes were generally similar in Poland and the UK:

"we're very similar, women take the same way" (Nikola)

"here in the UK I don't feel that... I am treated differently or there's different expectations of me, just because I'm a woman, but maybe because I just never experienced it, and it may be the case that there are, I don't know" (Natalia)

Several alluded to a greater sense of equality for women in general in the UK, or a more relaxed attitude towards women's roles:

"I think in England girls are more free to do whatever they wanted" (Julia)

"I think that here it's easier, everything it's easier for a woman." (Monika)

"I found a lot of girls in UK, like in comparison, really they don't have this kind of pressure to be perfect cooks, you know, perfect bakers, you know, er, perfect looks also... girls are more easy going when it comes to that... I kind of find women here are more easy going and there is less expectation from them." (Barbara)

"I think that women are respected in this country. I think it's good to be a woman here. And it's much easier than in East Europe for sure" (Janina)

"women are not expected to do that much like in Poland. In Poland women are expecting to earn some money, clean the house, cook a meal, and for men it's mostly like they finishing working, they're just coming back home, switch on TV, like putting legs on the table and like relaxing, and for women there is never time for relax. In here is little bit different... more like helping each other. And is not any more like women is the one who's cleaning and like doing everything, it's most like little bit women, little bit men, more like teamwork, helping each other. So that's what I like." (Apolonia)

Janina felt that the question of gender itself was much less of an issue in the UK:

"there is no difference between men and women in England... when I'm asking my students about, for example, do you think that the girls are smarter than boys or do you think that the boys are smarter than girls? Students usually look at me and they're just thinking, what she's asking about? Is she stupid or what? But if you ask the same question in Poland... the men will tell you, oh, obviously we are smarter than women. And women probably will say, oh, men are smart, women are smarter. But basically this type of question in UK not exist anymore. Because the answer is obvious. In Poland it's not." (Janina)

However, Kornelia felt that gender permeated many aspects of life in the UK, especially in social situations:

"[In Poland] when you are in school, or in university, it's normal that you go out to pub or you have male friends, female friends. I would talk to a man about any subjects, you know? Female subjects, whatever. Relationships, anything. It's fun because you can see things from different perspectives... British men, the way they think, majority of them, they always go out... only boys, or only girls, which is always this separation, boys only, girls only. Boys talk about sport, women talk about makeup, clothes, whatever." (Kornelia)

Some participants situated their view of attitudes towards women in a more global context, pointing out that although there may be some differences between Poland and the UK, these were relatively minor compared with attitudes to women in non-Western cultures:

"I think that things is same here and in Poland, because it's similar culture so it's not like Muslims or you know, that culture is much different from ours, so I think women in Poland are treated the same way as here. For example, if men open door they are taking woman first or you know, or things, or carrying heavy bags for woman yeah, all that things are same" (Jolanta)

"in this country I've got many friends, Polish friends or Turkish friends. English, half of them. They're housewives as well... when it comes to Muslim community... I'm not sure they're that equal. But when it comes to like European cultures that's yeah, they're equal" (Renata)

"for the first time I've met people here... who has different points of view for what women should do... I didn't experience it in Poland because we don't have people from different countries coming. I knew it exists but it was not in my daily life... Here, I am able to meet a lot of great people from all over the world. And then I could talk to a woman who was raised in a different culture. So it's not something that it exists in UK, but that I was able to observe during my stay" (Oliwia)

Oliwia's comment alludes to the heterogeneous nature of Polish society, compared to the more multicultural mix of the UK. For her, and Renata, moving to the UK had allowed them to observe different cultures, and the attitudes of these cultures towards women, so they felt that differences between the UK and Poland in this regard were perhaps not that significant when placed in a global cultural context.

Nikola, whose mother had also moved to Sheffield around the same time as she had, noted a particular difference in opportunities for the older generation of Polish women:

"I can see the difference with older women, they age 40, 50, 60. In my country they're sitting at home, they're doing nothing, just working, cooking and making sure their grandkids are fine, ironing and all. Here you can see them out, I think it's lovely when I see old grannies, 60, 70, going bingo and stuff... my mum, she's now 60, 55, she went first time in her life for cup of tea to Starbucks with a friend. First time!" (Nikola)

5.5.2 Gender roles

Some participants felt that women in Poland were brought up to be more equal with men in terms of careers chosen or tasks performed. Two participants, who worked in scientific academic jobs, spoke at length about the perceptions of women in STEM subjects in the UK and Poland:

"I notice that in Poland there are 33% women professional in engineering and in UK just 9%. And you are in last place... With women at the university [in Poland], it's like fifty-fifty... they like doing a lot of things in mixed groups and so I never felt like oh, women in engineering or men in engineering, it never even came to my head before starting here. Because also in Hallamshire Hospital, at the beginning when I started my PhD there were mostly men, but later a lot of women from abroad came to do PhD. I didn't even realise that there are actually no British women, but British men and girls from abroad, doing the research." (Izabela)

"what I've found a bit surprising here, and in Poland it's not an issue, for example when you are at the university in Poland or when you are, for example, in high school, it's kind of normal that girls are good at maths and physics, they are as good as guys. Maybe more guys are interested in these subjects that they study, physics, maths, but it does happen, it's kind of accepted that women can be good at it as well. While in here, I find that people are

surprised if a girl is good at maths and physics, and I just don't understand... I find that there is a bit inequality, like some men are a bit chauvinistic about it... I actually met quite a lot of people, maybe older generation as well, who actually think that young women are not supposed to be good at maths... what I've found here in this department is that at work, it's, "oh yeah, because women are not good at physics and chemistry and maths" and it's a bit generalistic, because I actually know a lot of women who are fantastic at maths and physics"
(Kornelia)

Izabela, who worked with children in schools as part of her job, ascribed this in part to attitudes perpetuated throughout schooling in the UK, as well as a tendency to specialise too early in the education system:

"when you are at your age of 13 or 16 you can choose if you are doing more STEM topics or not, and in Poland... we just do it... teachers [in the UK] see the girls as someone who is going to study some more humanistic topics and boys as someone who is going to study... some more engineering topics... some other girl friends from the class... they don't want to talk to them if they choose to do engineering, they are telling, oh, you're like a boy, why you want to do engineering?... when I ask them if they want to do engineering they didn't want to do it, they said no, it may be a bit too boring." (Izabela)

She felt there was a contrast with attitudes in Polish education:

"at school... we had technical class... the guys, they had to know how to knit and bake a cake and make like a sauce or something, and the girls they had to also know of course how to do it. And later boys and girls they had to also know how to drill, how to use the hammer... even if sometimes we aren't happy that we have to do the boy task and the boy had to do the girl task, the teachers say, oh I don't care, you need to do it because otherwise you will get bad grades. So we had to learn it. So I think it was really good, maybe at this point we were seeing it like oh, it's boring, why we have to do this, but now actually I appreciate."
(Izabela)

Other participants also alluded to work tasks and roles being less gendered in Poland; Barbara described her upbringing where she was encouraged to learn how to cook and run a household, but was also expected to join in physical work in her rural community such as picking fruit and vegetables. She felt that this had influenced her attitude towards work and made her more independent and self-sufficient, including in the context of her migration:

"sometimes I had to carry really heavy things so I'm not scared of doing things that normally the men would do, so I was kind of growing up being prepared for both things, you know, kind of being very independent, being very sufficient. And I'm independent, I think that was kind of something, when I was growing up, in terms of the skills I got, I was prepared for here... since we were little there is so much expected from us already that, when we actually end up being abroad, we kind of feel like, wow I actually have all these skills, I finally appreciate it" (Barbara)

Barbara's comments here reflected her view of Polish migrant women as generally being well-equipped for life in the UK; she stated that "I think Polish women definitely more adaptable and I think they're more successful, and from Polish women I met so far, all of them pretty much are doing pretty well, you know." She contrasted this to male Polish migrants, who she felt had a more traditional outlook and expectations of women:

"Polish women are more likely to date a person from another country. While Polish men... like to date Polish women, you know?... in upbringing, for Polish women it is expected so much, and from Polish men it's not... I guess the reason why they want to stick with Polish women, because most Polish women they can put up with the guy putting such high expectations on them. But Polish women, what they find dating men from other cultures, is they're just so happy for everything that she is!" (Barbara)

This sense of discrimination by Polish men was also mentioned by Janina, who echoed Barbara's view that the UK afforded more opportunities for Polish women to gain equality and change their way of thinking:

"it's different for Polish women because when they are moving to UK I think that some of them, just opening their eyes, that they were for many years discriminated because of the men, and they are opening their eyes here." (Janina)

Monika felt that traditional gender roles were more prevalent in Poland, but that the UK afforded an opportunity to break away from these and prove herself in the masculine environment in which she worked:

"[In the UK] even if you're a woman and someone is telling you well maybe you shouldn't do something because, I don't know, it's heavy or something, or maybe it's not the job for you because it's soldering or something, eventually if they see you can do it, they look at you in different ways. So it's like you can improve yourself. In your eyes and in their eyes. In my

country it's very stupid" (Monika)

Natalia, however, felt that male-dominated environments were not always accommodating to women:

"some of my female friends worked at factories and they had totally different experiences from me [that] weren't very pleasant for them as women... comments of sexual nature, expectations of sexual nature and that sort of thing... that sort of thing that would never happen to men"

Izabela believed that the influence of Communism had affected gender roles in Poland:

"during the Communism, it was the idea that the women and men are equal and they need to do the same type of work, even if it is heavy work the woman is to also do this heavy work, so there is not like oh, women are just for cooking and that where men are for like you know, supplying the money to the house." (Izabela)

This hypothesis is interesting, because the Communist period in Poland has been seen as socially conservative, with the *Matka Polka* image coming to the fore. However, Izabela felt that in practice, the requirement for women to undertake all kinds of work had contributed to a breaking down of traditional gender roles.

Another aspect in which participants felt expectations differed between countries was that of women's looks:

"I think in terms of expectations... [in Poland] women need always to look good. It's always that kind of perception of always they should be quite slim... I think everywhere it is like that, the media are critical and people are quite critical how women look. Here I think it's more in terms of like, girls, they wear short skirts and that's OK. But in Poland it's a bit different."
(Julia)

"perfect looks also, another thing about Polish women, we're really obsessed with looks and with weight... [in the UK] girls are more easy going when it comes to that. It's not like a shame just to go out on the street wearing a pyjama from Primark with no makeup and rustled hair. Like in Poland it would never happen, like, dress up just to go to corner shop!"
(Barbara)

5.5.3 Employment and motherhood

For some participants, expectations were that they would receive an education (including university) and also get married and have children:

"in my life, in my family, where people were quite well educated... what would you expect is that woman... gets married, has children, but also gets education, gets a degree and gets a good job." (Adelajda)

"what is expected for me, kind of a mixture of both, so just to go to university, get education, get a good job, get married, have children, and at the moment I look at my life, not sure if I'm going to get married, have children, so I feel like, yeah, my mum and my grandma a bit disappointed on this one but hey." (Barbara)

Only one participant felt that expectations for women revolved primarily around marriage and motherhood:

"Especially when you are from small village. Everybody expecting from you wedding after, I don't know, two or three years, when you are in relationship, and after that people start asking about kids... if I'm going to Poland for a visit to my auntie or nanna or something like that, everybody asking... [if I still lived in Poland] probably I would be already married and have kids" (Penelopa)

While this attitude might not be particular to Poland, Penelopa went on to state that in the UK, "nobody bothered what's going on in your house, what you're doing... wedding's not important, kids can wait and first you have to enjoy yourself." In her comments she alluded to something that was also mentioned by Adelajda: that expectations of women might vary according to the locale in which they were brought up, and that in rural communities expectations of women were often more traditional. However, this was not always the case; Barbara had grown up in a rural area but was still expected to attend university and had made her education and career a priority over marriage and motherhood.

The traditional *Matka Polka* image was referenced by some participants:

"women in Poland are I think maybe valued a bit more... I think it's because of the culture, because of the religion as well... I think in Poland there's this, all this thing about mother, the mother is key, to raise child and all that, so there's respect, big respect." (Julia)

"generally in Poland it's expected of women to... first and mainly be a mother... it just feels like that's how women are seen in Poland, as mothers and then you think of yourself, but... we have this kind of Polish mother stereotype where... you just give everything... first of all you think of your children, and you give up everything and if you dare not to I feel you would be... called names and things like that. Which I don't feel is the case here. I've never met with anything like that... I feel there are different expectations towards women in Poland and here." (Natalia)

Interestingly, neither of these two participants, who examined the question quite philosophically, had children. Interviewees who had children focused more on practical issues of finance, work/ life balance and expectations around work and motherhood:

"here if you have children under three it's kind of okay you stay at home, whereas in Poland lots of people expect you to go back to work if you are working, and you stay at home it's kind of, oh you're losing all the career opportunities and will never go back, and my mum keeps on calling me asking when I'm going to start working!... [in Poland] if you stay at home... you obviously will have less income and it will be less for the children." (Klara)

"my mum had to work as well in Poland. You see both parents need to work to provide... in Poland men and women they are equal, they both work and provide... when I came to this country I realised that many women they sit at home, they don't work, so like husband works and women they like housewives. In Poland we do not even use this word, housewife." (Renata)

"in middle class families I observed, you know within my friends, that women actually don't work, they usually look after their house and their children. If they work they only do like part time work, very light work, that does not really require a lot of dedication or... doesn't interfere with their family life. In Poland you can't do that because... you can't afford to live on one salary in Poland, even if you are, let's say, middle class person... I think in Poland people, women are more driven to get a job, to be independent, even if they are married, because they like to have their own money, they like to know that they contribute to the family life as well financially, and... they like to go out you know, and just meet people and whatnot, so... I don't think there is a tendency to stay at home and look after family if your husband works and earns good money, I think it's more like an English thing." (Adelajda)

"women definitely are at a different stage [in Poland today], from when I remember when I was a child, and most of the mums were stay at home mums, and the fathers worked... and

now there is no such thing any more as a stay at home mum, everybody works, regardless of your gender, so definitely that has moved forward, for sure." (Anastazja)

"there was also some people [in Poland] where women are more focused on the house, and on like managing kids and these things because men was always for example abroad and it was not out of choice because there was maybe some difficult situation when you had to earn a bit more money abroad, and you bring it home." (Izabela)

As shown in the comments above, the balance between career and motherhood was not always presented as a choice of ideology, but as a practical issue of income and childcare. There was a sense that in Poland, both parents 'needed' to work, and that there was perhaps less choice for women, with societal as well as financial pressures on them to work. Life for women in the UK was seen as more relaxed, with less pressure to work if they did not want to and more flexibility around raising children:

"if you look at the workplace, I think here, I'm amazed how everything works towards making life easier for mothers... being a working mum, I think it's also an amazing system that you can ask to be part time or work longer hours to be able to do the nursery runs and things like that" (Klara)

"in this country you've got, as a woman, a chance to decide for yourself, yes I want to stay at home with the children, for like at least three, five years. And then you know, go to school, find job or something... in this country I can allow myself to study, to have family at the same time." (Renata)

However, one participant did feel that having young children at all would constrain her career choices and working life, even in the relatively flexible environment of the UK.

Marianna, a single mother, also described a difference in attitudes between the UK and Poland:

"when you are single mum in Poland you've got lots of problem and [nobody] respect you, but in England it's normal. Lots of women has children and are alone, but in Poland it's difficult" (Marianna)

Marianna's comments fit into the general feeling from several participants that women in the UK have fewer societal pressures and are freer to make their own choices without feeling judged.

5.5.4 Conclusions – gender and information behaviour

Some participants felt that expectations of women were generally more relaxed in the UK; they felt that a wider range of options in terms of life choices and balance were available to women and that there was less pressure on them to fulfil traditional gender roles. They often exhibited an independent, self-sufficient attitude that enabled them to pursue these options and expressed that they felt less constrained by expectations of the *Matka Polka* role that might have been placed on them in Poland. The issue of gender did not seem to influence greatly their information behaviour in terms of migration, however. As will be further discussed in Section 6.3.4, education can be a gendered issue for migrants. In some cultures women are not routinely educated to the same level as men, which influences their information behaviour; it can mean that they are forced to rely upon male family members to navigate the information landscape of their new environment. Women in Poland, though, are entitled to the same educational opportunities as men, and participants in the present study were well educated; all had attended school to the age of 18, many had completed an undergraduate degree, and several had completed postgraduate degrees. This endowed them with the abilities to seek, locate, evaluate, and use information with relatively little difficulty, and enabled them to exhibit independent information behaviour, with no need to rely on male family members. The information landscape of the UK also supported these behaviours for them, as participants generally felt that barriers based on gender were fewer than in Poland.

5.6 Brexit

Interviews were conducted between 15 August 2016 and 22 February 2017. On 23 June 2016 the UK populace voted in a referendum on membership of the European Union (EU), resulting in 51.9% of voters voting to leave the EU, a decision that has become popularly known as ‘Brexit’. Key elements of this decision involved a lessening of central EU power and stronger powers of veto by national parliaments, new free-trade agreements and decreased bureaucracy for businesses, and reduced influence of the European Court of Human Rights. However, perhaps most pertinently for this study, the conditions of leaving also included stricter control on immigration to the UK by citizens of current EU member states (Cameron, 2014). From the time of declaring the referendum until the vote itself, the terms of leaving were subject to frequent

negotiation, with debate over the residency status of current EU migrants living in the UK, their eligibility for employment, benefits, and services such as healthcare, the status of any family members and dependents, and future migration from EU member states. Campaigners who favoured leaving the EU and thus imposing stricter controls on immigration cited increased pressure on public services by the migrant population, and claimed that controls would enable more jobs, and higher wages, to be given to British workers. Those in favour of remaining in the EU and maintaining the principle of free movement pointed to the positive effects of migration on the UK's economy, including future growth forecasts, as well as the financial and cultural contributions of migrants to the UK (BBC News, 2016b). In the months leading up to the referendum, against the context of a growing 'migrant crisis' in Europe, the often emotive issue of migration came increasingly to the fore in the Brexit debate, with one writer positing that "discontent with the scale of migration to the UK has been the biggest factor pushing Britons to vote out" (R. Mason, 2016) and another claiming that the vote was "a referendum about immigration disguised as a referendum about the European Union" (Collins, 2016, cited in Ward, 2016).

In the region of Yorkshire and the Humber, the vote to leave was higher than the national average, with 57.71% of voters voting to leave the EU. Participants in this study were resident in three districts, all of which also returned a majority vote to leave: Sheffield (51% voted to leave); Doncaster (69%) and Rotherham (67.9%).

5.6.1 Reactions

Many participants expressed feelings of disappointment, unhappiness and shock at the result of the referendum. The sense of no longer feeling welcome in the UK was common:

"initially it really did make me feel like, you know, I have done nothing wrong and yet I'm being made to feel... that I'm kind of a parasite." (Natalia)

"I thought that the majority of people are fine with Polish people being here, but after Brexit it made me realise that actually 50% is not fine with it." (Kornelia)

"I was very disappointed when I found out and actually I was in tears and it still brings tears to my eyes when I think about it." (Adelajda)

"on the beginning it was like... everyone around were very stressed and some of my friends they went back to Poland straight away." (Monika)

Kornelia had also implemented a certain level of information avoidance as a coping strategy:

"I felt very depressed after Brexit and even now I'm trying to not read the news, basically, I just stopped reading news. Because it just, it's just so sad" (Kornelia)

Accompanying these initial emotional responses was often a great deal of uncertainty and insecurity about what the decision would mean to participants, their families and future plans. Employment status was a major concern, with participants in all areas of work expressing doubt regarding whether they would be able to continue in employment in the UK, and legal implications concerning visas. There were indications that some employers were already hesitant to employ Polish workers, and that other employers or projects who relied upon funding from the EU were insecure in their status and unwilling to commit to future plans. In one case, a job offer that had been made before the referendum was withdrawn in the days following it.

Many participants had not experienced negative attitudes from UK residents either before or after the referendum campaign, and many mentioned, without prompting, the friendly and positive experiences they had had with British people while living in the UK. However, some felt that the Brexit decision and surrounding campaigns had encouraged and even legitimised negative attitudes towards migrants. One claimed that "the image of Polish people was completely trashed in the media" (Barbara) and others mentioned that media coverage of attacks on Poles (BBC News, 2016a; Dodd, 2016; Micklethwaite, 2016) had led relatives abroad to be concerned for their welfare as Poles in the UK. Some participants said they no longer felt comfortable speaking Polish in public or avoided certain places for fear of abuse or violence, and several expressed fear or doubt about the safety of remaining in the UK after the Brexit vote:

"Strange time, to know where you'll be safe and where will be best for you." (Sonia)

"I don't know if it's a good moment to move to UK now. Because it's very very very dangerous situation" (Janina)

"when I heard about this violence, you know, the guy who got killed et cetera, so I'm very careful and I try to avoid going to some places where I might think that something like that might happen" (Kornelia)

"people start panicking, and I think reading about Russia, or people attacking other people, or even verbal abuse, I'm starting to be worried" (Klara)

Even in environments that had felt relatively safe, participants reported feeling uncomfortable with the attitudes of UK residents:

"After Brexit I just couldn't believe, I mean, academia you'd think people would be more educated but I got some comments as well" (Kornelia)

"some people at my work they were supporting Brexit as well... saying like oh you know, we want to get rid of the immigrants, but like not you, because you are alright... they're like no, you're different, like, but I'm not really am I?" (Gabriela)

Some participants expressed a level of understanding regarding the referendum decision. At one end of the scale this manifested as a grudging acceptance or attempt to rationalise the decision:

"I have made my peace with Brexit now" (Natalia)

"I'm trying to think that maybe it's not Brexit, maybe it's just you know, the way it is, it's just hard for everybody" (Kornelia)

Others, while not agreeing with the decision, recognised and understood something of the factors behind it:

"I totally, totally can understand why it happened, and why people decide like that, because of there is many reasons, but all of them together seems to be reasonable" (Janina)

"I understand English people then this, they start losing the control of what's going on. I know English people don't want to do some kind of jobs like you know, working in chocolate factory or bakery for twelve hours" (Penelopa)

At the other end of the scale, some participants voiced agreement with the decision, even while acknowledging the difficulties it might pose for them personally:

"I would vote to leave also. Then I would vote to leave EU... I can see what this country, how this country changed from ten years ago. I think it's just ridiculous... I used to live place where now there's a whole gypsy community... it's just damage, proper damage the houses, and I knew the neighbourhood so well. There's nobody left, nobody left. Any English owning houses, everyone's just gone." (Nikola)

"I don't like the way European Union work... all countries, you know, they are independent, they should make their own decision, isn't it?... You should keep your identity and you should keep your, you know, your history and like your, your culture and stuff like that... so I completely [understand] why you made this decision... it's your choice, you're allowed to like start making decisions about your, your borders and stuff like that. You might be right that it's quite actually many immigrants in here, especially in London you cannot really see much English anymore." (Apolonia)

Upon further questioning, participants who expressed such views as these did recognise the implications of the Brexit decision for migrants, but seemed to feel that it was unlikely to have a great impact upon them as they were already settled in the UK. Ironically, these participants cited immigration as an issue on which they agreed with the decision. Other participants, while not expressing anti-migrant views themselves, noted that the Polish community was less accepting of migrants than the multi-cultural UK: "in Poland we don't like, er, people from other countries. And we are racist. And actually not me, but yeah, most of the people" (Penelopa).

5.6.2 Plans

Despite high levels of uncertainty and unhappiness surrounding the Brexit decision, only one participant expressed a desire or intent to return to Poland. However, the motivation to return was less about Brexit; the participant had inherited a house and land and wanted to be closer to family in Poland, and the decision was by no means certain. Some participants stated that the referendum had made them feel unwelcome and unsure of the future, and had triggered them to start thinking about moving elsewhere. Canada was a popular choice, due to it being English speaking, being relatively open to immigration, and having immigration requirements that were seen as achievable, particularly for educated and skilled workers. Other destinations mentioned were Spain, Greece, Turkey, and Ireland, although many did not have a specific destination in mind.

Even though some participants discussed leaving the UK, most exhibited a strong desire to remain in the UK, for a variety of reasons. Year of arrival in the UK ranged from 2003 to 2016, but the distribution was skewed towards the earlier part of this period; 17 of the 21 interviewees moved to the UK between 2003 and 2011, with a reasonably even distribution through these years. Many had spent most of their adult life in the UK and felt settled here:

"when I finished my degree, I had been in England so long that I couldn't imagine going back to Poland, because... I started my adult life here in the UK, I never had to do anything like taxes or anything like that in Poland... I more feel like I belonged here more than I ever did in Poland" (Natalia, 31)

"I treat England as my country. I don't feel like a Pole any more, of course I am, but I love England, it's been ten years... my whole adulthood happened here" (Renata)

"We start our life here and you know, we bought a house, take mortgage, loans, and have children here so it's difficult to go back to Poland. Because all our life is here so I don't think we're going to go back" (Jolanta)

Employment and money were major factors for some, who pointed to the higher wages, lower unemployment and more favourable work climate in the UK compared to Poland. Those who were self-employed had built up businesses and networks in the UK that would need to be restarted from scratch in Poland. Several participants had British partners or children who were born or largely brought up in the UK, and there was a recognition that moving these family members to Poland would be difficult, a finding backed up by work by Ryan (2015), as well as a feeling that the UK offered more opportunities for children in the future:

"obviously moving for him to Poland is out of the question, he's not going to move as well. I asked him whether he would but he can't because he built his business here and this, as hard as it is to find a job and do something else, it's not easy to move your home and the whole of your life" (Kornelia)

"I'll be very happy if my children gonna go to English schools and I'll be very happy if one day they gonna go to university and like have some sort of degree and have much better job and life than I have" (Apolonia)

"at this moment I can't see any future for children [in Poland]. In England it's better, they both know English and Polish and I think better for English. I know it's a good start for children" (Marianna)

A recurring theme among those who were committed to remaining in the UK was that of applying for legal residency, a finding in common with that of Ryan (2015). Eight participants were in the process of, or about to start, applying for permanent residency or citizenship. Several of these had been planning to apply 'one day' but stated that the referendum and associated uncertainty had triggered or sped up the process.

"my husband and I, we always expected to apply for citizenship... we knew we would do it at some point, but this Brexit has made us think about it... we always put it off because... our status was clear, we were able to be here legally... now that there's a threat that we may not be able to continue living here legally then we wanted to make sure that we can, so we've applied for permanent residence first and... once we get the permanent residence we will apply for citizenships. Yeah, we want that because we want to make sure that even if we decide to go try a different country for a bit, that if we want to come back to Europe then we can come back here because we don't want to go back to Poland." (Natalia)

Several participants noted the difficulties of applying for residency and passports, in terms of time taken, cost, eligibility, and uncertainty:

"I cannot apply for passport, I have to apply first for like a permanent residency card. And then I have to wait a year, whatever, and apply for passport. So even if it will happen it might happen in a year, or maybe a year and a half because it takes about six months to get permanent residency card. And a permanent residency card doesn't guarantee that I can stay here anyway because if they come out from European Union god knows what they're gonna decide." (Kornelia)

"I've applied for mine and my daughter's, because my boy has got British passport, but my daughter has got Polish passport because you need to be in this country, if you're from European Union country like Poland, you need to be in this country for five years... resident card is £65 but passport is thousand pounds, about. Because it's like eight hundred something, eight hundred I think sixty, and then there is this life in the UK test, and there are those additional fees. In total about a thousand. So not everyone can afford like this thousand. And come on, we have families so it's not only one person per household" (Renata)

"I passed my er Life in the UK test, and then after that I found out that I needed a different, one additional test, like language test, and because you see the requirements, they've been changing all the time" (Ana)

For most participants, the process of gaining residency or citizenship was spoken of in pragmatic terms, as a necessary undertaking to continue on their desired path in life. However, some participants viewed the process as positive and almost empowering:

"I was planning to get the citizenship before... I probably will, just because... I think that my future will be here, not back in Poland, so I would like to stay now, make decisions and be a part of the country" (Gabriela)

"it gives you this sense of respect as well... at the moment it's becoming like more serious and it's our time now to decide who we want to be" (Renata)

Both of these participants also alluded to another benefit of obtaining residency or citizenship: a sense of belonging and contributing to their adopted country. Renata had previously stated that she no longer felt Polish and treated England as 'her country'; she was the only participant to state this explicitly, although others alluded to feeling 'more English than Polish' or no longer feeling that they belonged in Poland. However, she also felt a need to ensure that her children were aware of their Polish roots, learning the Polish language and attending Polish church services; this tension between identities is perhaps reflected in her statement about deciding "who we want to be". Gabriela seemed to treat the question of citizenship in more practical terms, and although she spoke of wanting to contribute to the country and respect the culture, maintaining her Polish identity was important to her:

"I like the culture [of the UK] but I also like to keep in touch with where I'm from... I don't want to, like, lose contact with my culture cos I live in this country... I want to respect like how, like how things have been done in England, but I do want to keep in touch [with a Polish identity]"

5.6.3 Conclusions – Brexit and information behaviour

The result of the Brexit referendum provoked a range of responses in participants, most of them negative. The overriding feelings were of unhappiness and insecurity. Many spoke of uncertainty regarding the legalities of the situation, primarily their rights to residency and employment in the UK. They found reliable information on this difficult to access, partly because the situation was constantly in flux, and the media coverage of negative attitudes towards migrants had a heavy influence on their mindset and that of their relatives who did not live in the UK. Some had researched the possibility of moving elsewhere, focusing on compliance information such as residency requirements and employment opportunities, but also considering issues such as language, again underlining the importance of language proficiency in facilitating more independent information behaviour. Despite feeling unwelcome, many participants wanted

to remain in the UK as they felt settled and conditions were still generally more favourable than elsewhere. For some, the referendum was a catalyst to applying for residency and eventually citizenship; the fact that they felt capable of negotiating the complexities of the legal system demonstrates again their confidence in their own abilities and relative comfort with the information landscape of the UK.

5.7 Information

5.7.1 Information sources

Unsurprisingly, the internet was a major source of information of all kinds for most participants. It was mentioned by many as a means of finding employment, either through general websites such as that of the Jobcentre, agency websites, or specialised sites such as those for scientific work or academic positions. Websites were also a major means of finding accommodation for many. Some participants mentioned using websites to find out about childcare options in their area as well as for information on local schools. Those who attended university in the UK mentioned using university websites or sources for information:

"all the information from the university website and there are a few things, PowerPoint presentation [on] how to handle being in Sheffield which is really useful" (Oliwia)

"I think the rest was quite straightforward because Sheffield is giving you a lot of information, leaflets, where to find what. And you can always contact someone...from other university service, it's quite well organised here." (Izabela)

Oliwia, who had moved within Europe twice previously, had found resources online to assist with practical matters:

"because it was not the first time I was moving, I know a lot of websites that I can use to help me arrange everything, like, costs of living, to know how much I need to pay per month for my bills, estimated of course but it's here, so internet is great for that."

She also used YouTube to find out about the specifics of life in the UK and the journey itself, which provided her not only with practical knowledge but with psychological reassurance:

"I thought OK, I will take my car but there is the differences on the road, so I needed to actually check tutorials on YouTube how to drive a car here. There are things that people are putting on YouTube that you don't, you're not aware of... it was really interesting and really calming me down because it was a lot of movies, how someone is going on a ferry by car... what do you need to do when you get out from the ferry and you need to travel different side of the road? Because you don't think about it at the beginning, and then when you think about it, if you don't know, it's kind of, maybe not stressful, but you want to know, so it's really helpful to actually find something on YouTube where someone is telling you 'it's not so bad, it's just natural, just different'." (Oliwia)

Only one participant explicitly mentioned using the internet to find out about Sheffield as a location, as a separate topic from practical matters:

"I didn't know so much Sheffield, so before coming here I was reading a bit about the city, how it is, and how it's built and how, like what is the culture, what is the history. It's nice to know these things so yeah, Google is fantastic." (Izabela)

Other online sources of information included Facebook groups, which participants used to keep up with events in Poland (see Section 5.3.1), or for other interests:

"when [my son] was born I was introduced to Facebook groups for mums and that was brilliant, because I didn't know such places existed, which lists all the things happening in the city. And then I started going to all the mums' groups and toddler groups, play dates and god knows what else... [you can get] advice not only about what's happening and where to buy resources, also what was happening or what to do if a child is ill or things like that, so that's very informative. And through that network you build other networks of friends and we, like, tend to usually see the same people everywhere so yeah, kind of become friends... I've become more 'online active' as well, so I [thought] about Facebook groups before but I never needed information, so now I know if I need something there's Facebook, toddler groups, what's happening, other mother friends." (Klara)

"All I need is usually on Facebook, all gossips and stuff like that so yeah, but also, this is the most important, Polish news and like a designer... but this is like a hobby." (Penelopa)

Some participants had used newspapers, particularly for job advertisements or accommodation. One mentioned buying magazines as an accessible way to learn English. Another had bought a book on life in the UK and felt that this had been useful in describing practical matters and the reality of moving from the UK to Poland:

"the best way to learn about this reality is from somebody that will tell you [what you need to do] ... I had this book, the book was brilliant. Because later on I was going through the book and I thought, yes exactly! That's what it's like. And it was written by a girl, I think Polish girl, that went through these hoops as well, from Polish reality to English reality. And the book was supposed to help you with dealing, coping with these everyday matters." (Ana)

Participants were asked how they stayed in touch with family and friends in Poland. The most common methods of contact were Facebook (n=15), Skype (n=13), and WhatsApp (n=5), with email (n=3) being less popular. Regular visits to Poland were undertaken by almost all participants, with most visiting twice per year. However, not all were happy with the cost of flights and some simply preferred to take holidays elsewhere:

"there's a lot of planes every day from different parts of UK to different parts of, in Poland. But still it's not quite cheap, I would say. I hate flying there... cheap flights should be cheap but they are not cheap in general." (Oliwia)

"air fares are so expensive during school holidays that we just can't afford to go to Poland... more often" (Ana)

"it's so expensive going to Poland now. We prefer to go to Spain and then we end up like two or three times a year in Spain, not in Poland!" (Nikola)

"I go twice a year, and er, because sometimes when we go somewhere we want to see other countries, so we want to like go and see Macedonia or like I don't know, like come back to Spain, or visit friends in Italy" (Izabela)

5.7.2 Social networks and connections

Friends were a common source of information on employment opportunities and schools for children, as well as emotional support; several participants had made the journey to the UK with a friend, or had come to a friend who was already living in the UK. In Kamila's case, friends organised almost everything about her family's move from Poland:

"we have friends here. They come here one year before us, and one day they just called and told us, oh maybe you want to come to England? We have a flat for you, we have a job for

you, so my husband said yeah of course! And he has only two weeks to close everything in Poland. They booked flight from Poland to England" (Kamila)

In research by Heath et al. (2015) into young Polish migrants to the UK, a third of participants had either migrated to the UK with other family members, followed family members over, or 'brought over' other family members once they themselves had moved, in what has been defined as 'chain migration' (R. Berger, 2004). In the current study, participants roughly followed this pattern: almost half (n=10) had family members in the UK; some had been living in the UK at the time of the participant's move, and others had moved afterwards:

"my older brother lived there and he pretty much offered me that... it was easier for me just to have somebody to support me... you really need a bit of money for the start, which I didn't have so for me it was just easier to stay with my brother... my older sister also lives in UK, she's five years older than me and her situation and her journey so much different from mine" (Barbara)

"my mum still lives [in the UK], because she moved here after I did... just to work, better opportunities, better pay... she just didn't have the best experiences in Poland, it wasn't easy for her as a single parent [and] also she just wanted to try something new" (Natalia)

"I was just curious because my father used to work abroad, he used to travel. He lived in Austria, and then he came to England, he came here, to many different cities in England, for a few years... he used to say it's multicultural and it's a nice place, nice language. Yeah that's why, if [he] would say, you know, something bad I wouldn't come" (Renata)

"My mum, dad, brother, sister, two brothers... they all came, they all started sorting their own life... my mum and dad is just next door... we are very close families in Poland and they just couldn't live like without us" (Nikola)

"it's just simple because my brother is living here like ten years... he gave me a room, so I shared with my nephew... my mum came here as well, so after my dad passed away, she decide to stay here because she don't have anyone in Poland really now. Because I'm here, my brother is here and my sister is in Norway, so close family is abroad... I wouldn't mind if I would be alone, I wouldn't mind probably to share... house or flat with someone, but if I can stay with someone, with family, of course it's better. So it was like, part of home" (Monika)

For some participants, their employer or supervisor had provided useful information or practical help:

"my supervisor, she has a best friend who is Polish as well; she moved here to UK fifteen or eighteen years ago. So she's also quite experienced living in the UK... [she became my] supervisor of how to live in UK. And it was nice that she was proposed to me by my supervisor, so my supervisor thought about this, that I'm new, in new place, and maybe I should have someone to talk to in Polish" (Oliwia)

"my professors were lovely actually, I notice that older generation wants to help you all the time, and my professor... he offered me bicycles, he asked me like, are you cycling? And I said yeah, I'm trying to buy bicycles. And he said, don't buy them, my kids left me, I will give you two bicycles, he gave me tent" (Izabela)

"their receptionist I think was Polish as well and she would deal with all sorts of things, and because they had to phone my employer in Poland about some references, et cetera, so she would do it no problem and she would gather all this information. So this helped me a lot that everything was organised" (Ana)

Some had found work through sources in Poland; often this was through agencies who then arranged accommodation, transport and paperwork. Two participants who came to the UK to study had attended presentations or open days in Poland that were organised by UK institutions. For others, less formal weak ties were important in providing information and organising practical matters, although this did not always end well:

"it was mainly through my friends, they just organised somewhere to stay, somewhere to live. It wasn't even my friends, they were friends of my friends and then their relations" (Ana)

"the guy who helped me to find the job... he basically, we arranged it, we arranged accommodation, like he, his friend and me, although I didn't know them very well so I was risking a lot as it turned out later on a bit. They weren't very nice people." (Kornelia)

"[my mum] met one guy who offered by himself, he gonna help me at the beginning in London. So I came into London and he was about to help me out but after find a room for me he disappeared so I had to take care of myself!" (Apolonia)

These weak ties were useful to several participants in finding accommodation and learning about their new environment:

"one of the people, one of the builders, helped me move here, he gave me a lift, to help me

with all the things so I didn't have to take a train, and he kind of told me a lot, and he told me about West Street and about Ecclesall Road, that these are the main student areas, so I knew where to go to look for places to live" (Natalia)

"I first came across Sheffield when I was studying for my Master's, and my then-supervisor told me of another academic he knew from Sheffield who was looking for somebody to do some placement... this supervisor of mine had a student who was older than me who happened to be PhD student at the time here, so I contacted this guy and he told me what are the best places to enquire about the accommodation" (Klara)

"the way how you can find something was usually, oh I know some friends who... somebody who just working and know his friend's got something to rent... we managed to find something that somebody knew somebody else, so it's really like just running around" (Nikola)

For others, weak ties were useful in finding employment:

"one of the friends had a sister at that time living in Sheffield, and she was doing some interpreting work, and because she was going away, she was kind of said, oh, I will need to be replaced, and kind of because I was the only one in the group that spoke good English they kind of suggested that I do it" (Natalia)

"[my friend's] friend just opened a shop very close from place where I was living... So she just invite us like, kind of meet us together, and I just start working there the next day... when I was working in this Polish shop [a] few guys was visiting me from time to time, I think they liked me or something like that, and I start going out like friends, with like two of them, and then one of them helped me find a job at the car wash." (Apolonia)

"[there were] many places where employers was asking, do you have any friends who would like to work here? Because they were so happy of Polish hard-working people that they was not putting ad in internet any more, they was just asking they workers, like do you have any friends who'd work here? And then it was like yeah, my friend can come in two weeks"
(Apolonia)

Many of these weak ties were part of the existing Polish community in the UK, and finding information from other Poles was a common theme among interviewees:

"I do have Polish neighbours, which is actually really cool... it was in the beginning very helpful. I could ask them a lot of questions like where to go and buy this, how to handle this situation... they have a lot of experience and knowledge, it was easy for me" (Oliwia)

"I had a friend in Poland and she was always thinking about emigrating to the UK. And we met one day, just having coffee in that town, in the town where I was born, and she told me about a recruitment agency that actually organised jobs and... found people jobs in, in the UK. And it was a very good and very reputable agency, and I trusted her, I knew that she would not recommend, you know, a bad agency, especially as she was actually applying for the jobs in that agency as well" (Adelajda)

"[I found out about schools] through my friends. Yeah because my Polish friends they have children and they were older than mine, than [daughter]. So they used to tell me what to do, where to go, how to apply" (Renata)

"there was a Polish girl on my course... so we're helping each other a bit... I got information from her... she was in high school in Poland and then she moved to the UK, just like for her boarding school. And so she was a bit of a help and explaining new stuff." (Julia)

Adelajda's comment alludes to one possible reason for using other Poles as sources of information: that of trust. However, as discussed in Section 5.3.3, this was not the case for several participants, who spoke of their mistrust of other Poles, even while making use of the community for information and practical help. Some participants had helped others to make the move to the UK, providing practical support or information, albeit with mixed results:

"afterwards when someone was coming from abroad to Sheffield I was always like, do you want to know something because I didn't have it from someone who was here, so I was always like, when the Italian girl was coming I was like, oh if you have any questions please call me, the best is to search for houses in this area, so I was trying to be very helpful because I would be really really happy if someone would help me like this before that." (Izabela)

"my mum's friend's daughter wanted to come here and work. And I says, ok, you can try, but I'm not gonna tell you that's what you're going to have, I'm not going to promise anything. You can try, you can live, and she lived with me six months, and I said you don't have to pay me or nothing, just stay, find some work, try, try, go to college, go to this, go to that. She did, she's working now, she stayed" (Nikola)

"I talked with my friend, and I told her that it's a good idea because [here] life is easier because, like I say, everyone is kind, everyone can help you and children are [at a] good school." (Kamila)

"in the beginning I didn't really want to help her because I didn't know her that well [so] it's difficult to help someone if you cannot really trust them, like hundred percent... her and her partner came to England. [My husband] found him a job and then I helped her to find her job. And in the end they didn't really appreciate it. So we decide, you know, we need to end the relationship with them." (Apolonia)

5.7.3 Information grounds and information encountering

In general, participants did not seem to make much use of information grounds, with a few exceptions. Several mentioned parent and child groups as places where they would make connections and pick up information:

"mother toddler groups, especially you always talk about your children and what's happening and what you've been doing and what you're going through." (Klara)

"we usually have you know like coffee, chat, about anything really, depends. It really depends on how much you know the other mother, you know the other person you're speaking to" (Renata)

"mainly through children so yeah, either at baby groups, or kids have met in the park and started talking and we've realised we are Polish, so we started talking to each other, or in Polish church, places like that... There was a Polish baby group, and I did go once, and I really didn't like it so I did not go back... I'm obviously in touch with the other Polish mums... School for definite. School, and baby groups. GPs as well... so you go with your child, always on Wednesdays, to weigh them and measure them when they're tiny babies, and you just end up talking to others [about] babies! That's it! Anything that's got to do with a baby. School probably, that's the main one." (Anastazja)

In some cases, information grounds such as shops and pubs had led to participants learning important information that had helped them find accommodation or learn about a new place:

"the pub was also a place where a lot of local people and regular customers would come and at the B&B there were also some builders staying, that are originally from Sheffield, and they also would come to the pub so I would see them both at the B&B and at the pub, so we kind of made friends and... when they found out that I applied to Sheffield they told me all about it" (Natalia)

"I think we met somebody at the shop... they were Polish actually, so we started talking to them, and they said oh, maybe we know somebody, maybe my landlord has got another, you know, so it was basically that, just coincidence." (Kornelia)

Barbara felt there was a geographic aspect to information grounds, with such situations being more likely to arise in Sheffield than in London:

"London is kind of a strange place to live because it's such a mixture of cultures and some people are not very open... here you go on the street and you start talking to a stranger... especially if you go to a shop, here it happens a lot. When I was a pharmacy assistant the number of people that would come and start conversation about such random things, or even ask me how to get the free pass on the bus, I didn't know!... in London it's different, was a bit different, but in Sheffield people tend to be really, you know, chatty." (Barbara)

However, she felt that even in London, the social climate was different to that in Poland, and that people were more likely to converse with strangers and exchange information in an information grounds setting. This is examined further in Section 5.3.2.

Some participants had experienced information encountering in physical spaces or as a result of simply walking around in their new environment. For several, this had proved an effective strategy to find work, particularly during their initial weeks in the UK:

"one day we was walking on Oxford Street in London and I've seen an ad on the window that they're looking for people to work. So I just went inside, I left my CV, I had very short interview, like five minutes' interview with the owner. And then she told me to come to work next day." (Apolonia)

"I registered with some agencies. I found them through, well just walking on the street basically... I just went to places and asked... there are so many factories in Halifax it's just walk from one place to another." (Kornelia)

"I came here with my sister and my friend so... we together looking for the job, so we just walk through the city centre from pub to restaurant and hotels everywhere and we just ask for a job. We find some agencies in town so we registered there" (Jolanta)

For others, this strategy had helped in other areas, such as finding accommodation, education, or simply becoming familiar with a new city:

"I found a B&B in Sheffield, in which I stayed for a week, and in that time I looked, I went, like literally physically went, around Ecclesall Road and kind of just looked for different notices... there were like notice boards everywhere and there were some adverts on those so that's how I found my first accommodation" (Natalia)

"I went [to the university], into their reception, and I just picked up some leaflets, so this is kind of my first point of information, like I see how to apply, you know, what are the requirements" (Barbara)

"I knew that very close is a school, primary school, so I just walk there and ask when I need to send, I don't know, some papers or when I have to apply for a place for him" (Jolanta)

"we were travelling around really Sheffield, every weekend we're trying to explore something new, to actually understand what's where" (Julia)

5.7.4 Library usage

All participants were asked whether they used the library in Poland and in the UK; nearly all had made use of the library facilities in one or both countries at some point. Those who had attended university, or were currently working in academia, unsurprisingly made regular use of the university libraries. In terms of public libraries, the three main uses were borrowing books, both in English and Polish; using the internet; and attending children's groups or finding out about children's activities.

"I used it a lot, especially my first six months in London. I ended up in accommodation that didn't have internet connection, so I used to go to the library a few times a week and I found it really really good, cos like you had internet connection, you could rent some DVDs, CDs, obviously that was seven years ago so now everything is on the internet, and I used to borrow some books as well, so yeah, I used to use it a lot... at the point when I was filling my

application for the university, or looking for a new flat, I had to do it in the library, because I didn't have internet at home. So I always had to go to work, come back, go to library, look up information." (Barbara)

"I use the library very often... first used it for the internet, to talk through Skype or messenger... finding information about the activities that were around, I think I found the college through the library as well... events, theatre showings, kids' clubs, all sorts... the library is a big thing in my English life!" (Anastazja)

Anastazja felt that libraries in the UK offered more than those in Poland, in terms of providing a greater range of information and performing more of a community function:

"I found it has a completely different function than the library in Poland. Libraries in Poland, you would just have, like, reading books and stuff, and this library in England is like a real resource for information, all sorts of information. You know, local activities, interest groups, reading groups, all sorts... I know there's lots in the library I can find out. Even now when I did a business course sort of thing in school... that was also coming from the library, and they sort of give you quite a lot of training and things like that. Quite a big thing. Obviously everything is online as well, so I didn't really need to go in, but it's good, I like it." (Anastazja)

Julia, who studied architecture, had strong feelings about the Central Library in Sheffield in terms of space:

"it's too far [and] I don't like the building... it feels quite old and grubby... I'd rather have a library that I can just pop in, a community library, that would be quite nice to have access to, but it's just not really on my way. I think I would use it if it would be a bit like the Manchester one... the Manchester one is amazing. I could really focus there, I remember I was sometimes just popping into Manchester just to go to the library there, with my laptop, cos I could focus in there and it really helped me... it's just clean [and] nice, you feel actually worth, like worth something... there's a nice café, nice food, there's also, you're surrounded by cultures and there are these interactive things so you can actually learn, archives. So there's this public space in there [or] you can go upstairs where there is a quiet area. I only use the ground floor, cos there's also this lower floor [with] computers and also books; you can just take it from a shelf and just read. But I think the most important for me [is] the seats, and the sofas, the types of sofas, because I really like cosy stuff where actually I can a bit isolate myself." (Julia)

For Natalia, information she encountered in the library was critical in shaping her journey from elsewhere in the UK to Sheffield:

“the library had some prospectuses, and that’s where I kind of found Sheffield and some other universities... Sheffield was one of those that the library had a prospectus for and that’s how I found out about Sheffield University” (Natalia)

5.8 Mental mapping technique: findings and methodological reflections

This section discusses the use of the mental mapping technique; it reflects on both the content produced by participants and the implementation and effectiveness of the method itself. The mental mapping technique worked well to draw out information from participants. The initial request to narrate the migration story was an accessible way for participants to reflect on the main events and basic features of their experience, and for the researcher to gain an overview of the participant’s story and note potential issues for follow-up questions and further discussion. It ensured that the whole story was captured, enabled clarification of details such as dates and places, and provided a prompt to refer back to throughout the interview. In addition, it was a good ice-breaking activity and helped to build rapport between participant and researcher. Some participants were hesitant at first, so gentle prompting was provided in the form of questions such as “and then what happened?” or “and after that...?”. With all kinds of participatory methods, participants may be unwilling or unable to produce the results expected or hoped for by the researcher, and in the use of diagrammatic or drawing methods this may manifest itself in discomfort or resistance (Bagnoli, 2009; Giesecking, 2013; Kitchin & Freundschuh, 2000; Umoquit, Tso, Burchett, & Dobrow, 2011). While almost all participants were able to produce some form of map, some were cautious or uncertain of their abilities or how to approach the task, with such doubts as “I’m not good with drawing”, “I am bad at writing so if there’s a mistake...”, “I don’t know the spelling”, “It’s not very complicated”, “I don’t know what you want me to write”. One preferred to make a numbered list rather than draw a map “because I’m not good with drawing”.

The information sources represented on participants’ maps largely corresponded to those discussed in Section 5.7.1 above. Interpersonal sources such as friends, family and colleagues appeared frequently, as did weaker ties such as acquaintances from university, people they had

met through work, and encounters in local Polish shops. Online sources such as websites for employment and accommodation, or social media websites and apps, were also extremely common. Everyday spaces such as church, the library, English language classes, and schools also featured; some also noted the information they had gathered from physically walking around their new environment.

The maps themselves, in addition to providing concrete data regarding participants' stories, provided potential insight into how participants viewed the events and stages in their lives. Maps were largely divisible into two categories: those presented as a linear timeline, and those that took the form of a spider diagram. Examples of these forms are shown in Figures 5.1 and 5.2 respectively. The form of the map often reflected the nature of the participant's journey. Those who chose to draw a linear timeline tended to be those who had made several moves before arriving in South Yorkshire; this was perhaps the easiest way for them to present a complex narrative with many stages, and implied that more migrational stages might follow in a similar fashion. One participant added a final arrow with "next?" written by it to show that she was considering the next stage in her journey, but was uncertain about what this might entail in the context of Brexit. Interestingly, those participants whose migration narrative had taken them back to Poland in between moves elsewhere did not choose to draw an arrow back to Poland to illustrate this, but instead added another 'Poland' box and continued the diagram in linear fashion. This perhaps suggests that it was easier for them to represent their story in terms of temporal events rather than a more spatial visualisation.

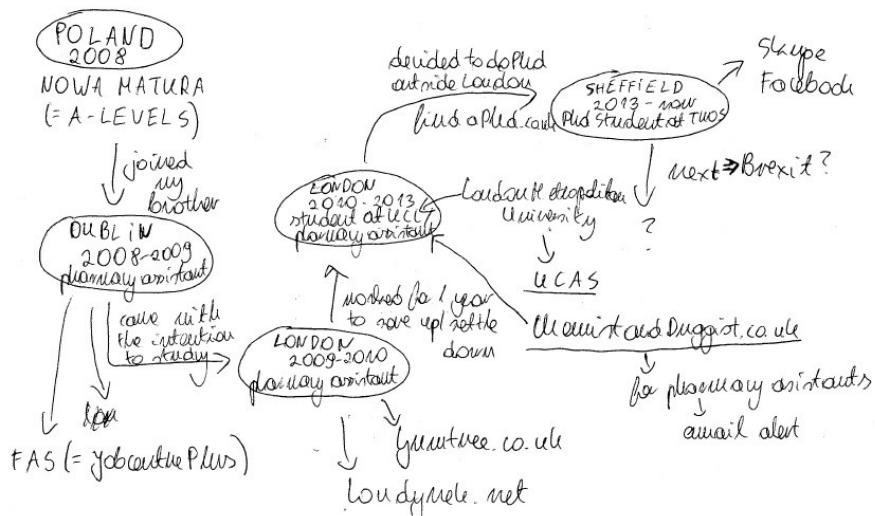


Fig. 5.1 Participant map in linear form

The second broad category of maps, the spider diagram, tended to be employed by those participants who had not had a complex migration trajectory, but who had made one single move from Poland to the UK. These participants placed their new city at the centre of the map and drew around it, with lines radiating out to represent aspects of their lives such as jobs, education, relationships, or family. When analysing drawn maps, what is placed at the centre and what is placed at the edges can be telling (Gieseking, 2013; Saarinen, 1974). Such a construction could be seen to illustrate this group of participants being more settled in their new environment, placing it at the centre, with the main elements of their migration story not being new places or movements but new life events or undertakings.

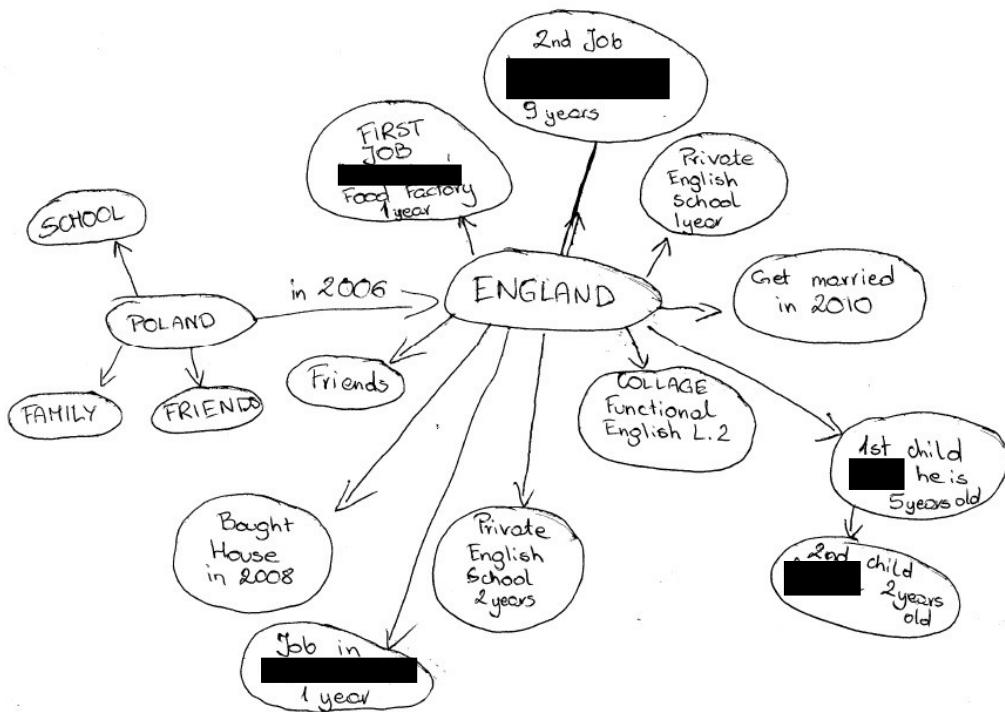


Fig. 5.2 Participant map in spider diagram form

Dotted lines were used instinctively by some participants to suggest weak ties between places. One participant drew a dotted line from Sheffield back to Poland to illustrate that she still found information there; in this case, in the form of attending a conference and making work-related contacts. Another participant used a dotted line to convey a period of commuting between two UK cities. For some interviewees, a box containing 'Poland' was very much marginal to the map as a whole, perhaps reflecting its lack of importance in their lives at the moment of the

interview. One participant went further and separated ‘Poland’ from the main body of the map with a solid line. Overall few connections back to Poland were drawn on participants’ maps, which again seemed to be illustrative of their lack of strong connections to their home country. All maps produced by participants are included in Appendix D.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the main findings from the main participant interviews. Motivations for migration were primarily economic, but were often more complex and involved desires for language learning, travel, and self-fulfilment. Previous migratory experience, and levels of planning, varied between participants. There was little evidence of transnationalism and many participants expressed the desire to stay in the UK. However, the Brexit decision appeared to have unsettled several participants, provoking strong emotional responses, and had made them question whether staying in the UK would be the right choice. For some, though, it was acting as a catalyst to strengthen their desire to remain and to accelerate their applications for UK citizenship. Feelings regarding the Polish community, and participants’ own Polish identity, were complex and sometimes conflicting. Although they were generally reluctant to engage too much with other Poles, there was evidence that new migrants did make significant use of the Polish community as a support network, especially in the early days of settlement. Language was a key factor in participants’ ability to migrate successfully; those with some skill in the English language had something of a head start over others. The issue of gender was an area where expectations and experiences were felt to be different between Poland and the UK, with the UK exhibiting a more relaxed attitude and greater flexibility according to several participants. In terms of information behaviour, participants demonstrated extensive use of online sources and social media, both for finding information and for maintaining social connections. Interpersonal contacts were a key source of information and support, including weak ties. In contrast to other studies examined in the literature, information grounds and everyday spaces were not as significant as might have been expected, and the library also did not emerge as a key space for information seeking, encountering, and sharing. The maps produced by participants reflected some aspects of the findings from the accompanying interviews, but also added depth and richness to them. The findings outlined here will be discussed in depth in the following chapter.

6. Discussion: The role of information in migration

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to theorise the migration experience of the female Polish migrants in this study, as set out in the findings chapter, and in particular the role of information in this experience. This experience will be set in the context of previous literature on the role of information in the migrant experience, including that of refugees and other economic migrants. The example of refugees is one that has been examined intensively in the LIS literature and provides a contrast to participants in the current study, but participants' experience will also be set against that of other economic migrants in order to develop an emerging conceptual model of the underlying factors shaping the relationship between migration and information behaviour, which encompasses and illustrates the variety of migrational experience beyond that which is commonly presented. In doing this the study hopes to achieve a fuller theorisation or interpretation of the migrant experience.

The chapter is structured according to the chronological stages of migration: from the pre-arrival stage, through immediate arrival and the initial settlement period, and finally longer-term settlement (Mwarigha, 2002). This structure reflects the different types of migration experience, but it should also be noted that the temporal aspect is not always easily defined. Movement through the stages is not always linear and migrants' information needs and behaviours reflect this fluidity; for example, finding employment may be considered a pressing need upon immediate arrival, but career progression or change may also be an aim for longer term settlement (Caidi et al., 2010). While literature across the social sciences on the experiences of refugees and economic migrants is extensive and covers a wide range of different contexts, within the LIS field research has centred mostly on migration to Australia and Canada, so many examples in this chapter discuss these contexts.

6.2 Pre-arrival and immediate arrival

6.2.1 Pre-arrival information practices – planning the move

A key factor in defining the migration experience is the migrant's motivation for moving and their level of autonomy in the matter. Regarding participants in this study, all made the decision to move voluntarily; none were displaced or forcibly removed from their country of origin (see Section 5.2.1). Most were completely independent in their decision; others made the decision with a partner but it was stressed that the decision was a joint one, and there were no real cases of family migration, defined as "anyone coming to the UK for the stated purpose of joining or accompanying a family member" (Blinder, 2017). However, it should be noted that while the term 'autonomous' is used to distinguish migrants such as those in this study from forced or displaced migrants such as refugees, it could be argued that their autonomy is only relative; their agency is still constrained to a degree by conditions and social structures. Push factors from Poland, largely economic (Drinkwater et al., 2009; Fihel & Kaczmarczyk, 2009), were a strong factor in the decision to migrate for many, and it is likely that without these factors, many participants may well have preferred to remain in Poland. A major factor for most was economic improvement; finding employment in Poland was difficult, even though education levels and ambitions among participants were high, and quality of life was sometimes unsatisfactory even for those with jobs. For these migrants, the UK offered more employment opportunities, with better pay and a climate where they were able to progress and develop their careers. In addition, the opportunity to learn or improve one's English language skills was a driver in choosing the UK over other European countries. Many also referred to a desire to travel or to try something new. While participants in this study are classed as economic migrants, economic reasons do not define their entire motivation, nor do they alone establish the reason for choosing the UK over other European countries. However, in choosing to migrate from Poland to the UK, participants exhibited a relatively strong degree of autonomy in both the decision to move and the choice of destination, backed up by varying levels of planning.

Some planned their move and researched their new environment in depth, which was particularly the case for those who had prior experience of migration to other countries. For others the process of moving happened quickly and pre-arrival research was limited. In some cases, this was because immediate needs such as accommodation and employment were already arranged by friends in the UK, but in other cases participants simply did not appear to see the

need to undertake a great deal of research. This could be attributed to the fact that many did not intend to stay in the UK long term and perhaps did not feel that it was worth researching potential longer-term information needs in depth. Some participants tended to seek information about life in the UK only when they needed it, rather than research in advance. This indicates a certain level of confidence in one's ability to find and use relevant information, as well as perhaps a level of familiarity with the types of sources available and possible ways of finding information. This variation in levels of planning was also observed by Shoham and Strauss (2008) in their study of migrants from North America to Israel. Some undertook a great deal of planning as soon as they had made the decision to move, and even started gathering information before this decision; others did far less research and only started their main information gathering activities once they were in their new environment, usually through personal contacts.

A barrier experienced by Shoham and Strauss' participants that was hardly mentioned by the Polish economic migrants in this study when discussing their planning was that of language. In moving from North America to Israel, the migrants that Shoham and Strauss interviewed felt keenly the language barrier, finding that resources in English were outdated, vague, or unhelpful, or that some information was not available in English at all. Participants in the current study did not mention this as a major difficulty at the stage of planning their migration. There could be several reasons for this. These well-educated Polish migrants often spoke English to a good level, certainly well enough to navigate an online landscape of material written in English. Those who had a less strong command of English were able to access material in Polish; owing to increased migration from Poland to the UK, such material is relatively easy to find. Many of these migrants had Polish contacts who they could approach for information or translation. Additionally, it is reasonable to assume that in the ten years since Shoham and Strauss published their study, the online information landscape has become more comprehensive and such information is more readily accessible in a wider range of languages.

In order to understand the experience of the population of Polish migrant women to the UK more clearly it is useful to compare it to typical expectations about migration. Increasingly in public discourse, in migration research, and in LIS research in particular, migration is seen through the lens of the refugee experience. However, the very specific character of the experiences of those studied here emerges when we set their experience against the notion of the refugee. Unlike the young women in this study who were relatively autonomous in their migration, and who chose to migrate largely for economic reasons, a refugee is by definition "someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017b). The experience, and resulting information behaviour, of

refugees is therefore naturally quite different from that of Polish economic migrants to the UK. By examining how these experiences diverge from, and are similar to, each other, this discussion contributes to the broader conceptualisation of the complexity and nuance of the migration experience.

Much of the literature on the information practices of refugees does not address in detail the pre-arrival stage. By definition, it is challenging to conduct research with refugees prior to their move and in the moment of flight: conditions are difficult, but the transition from settled citizen to refugee is not one which can always be foreseen. Fisher (2018) notes several methodological barriers to conducting research on refugees' information needs, including difficulties of access for reasons of mobility, culture, language, and refugees' status as a protected population in the eyes of university ethics boards. Such issues could partly explain the lack of research in this area. However, assuming access can be gained to this population, it would not be as difficult to address the pre-arrival stage retrospectively when interviewing participants; those in the current study were asked about their journey from the moment of deciding to move, including their information needs, information seeking practices, networks of contacts, and expectations before arrival. This gap means that is difficult to evaluate effectively what pre-arrival needs and expectations refugee migrants might have had, and through what information behaviours these were formed. In terms of information practices, the set of circumstances leading to the refugee's migration leaves them with limited capability to plan and research their migration; the move itself may happen quickly and with little warning, and their priority is physical safety. As Stein (1981) notes, "refugees leave their homeland on a moment's notice. They have not planned or prepared for their journey; they are not looking at their future; they are simply trying to get out of harm's way" (p. 322). With limited opportunities to discover sources of information or build networks for themselves before moving, it is reasonable to suggest that they are expected to rely largely on help and information from official sources which is given to them (Kennan et al., 2011; Lloyd et al., 2013; Melnyk, 2017). This information is pushed to them, rather than needing to be sought out, and in times of crisis it may simply be easiest to use what is provided rather than seeking out other sources. It may be seen as reliable and trustworthy because of the formal, official nature of the source. Refugees, in the moment of flight, have little opportunity to consider what information they may need during the migration process, and how and where they might find and access this information; institutional and formal sources may therefore be seen as helpful.

Despite a seeming lack of research into refugees' pre-arrival information practices, there is some indication that these practices are not always strongly guided by formal sources, even in

cases where organisations and institutions are at the forefront of the migration process. Refugees may experience difficulty in trusting official sources (Francis & Yan, 2016; Hynes, 2009). When investigating the role of information in the settlement of refugee students in Canada, Shankar et al. (2016) found that their participant “was not equipped with accessible information” about their new university, city, and academic policies before arrival (p. 4). It is not clear whether information was not forthcoming, or whether that information was not “accessible” to the participant in the sense of being presented in a manner that met their needs; the pre-migration stage of this participant’s journey was addressed only very briefly in the paper. It is also worth noting that this study was a pilot and only engaged one participant, so generalisations cannot be made. However, in the absence of information from formal sources, the participant had sought information from friends who were already studying in Canada, a practice which is reflected elsewhere in the literature as common among migrants, but potentially problematic as it can lead to migrants forming unrealistic imaginaries of what life in their new host country will be like (Allard, 2015, 2016; Appadurai, 1996). Participants in Allard’s (2015, 2016) research were economic migrants, and so before migrating might be expected to have planned, researched, and constructed imaginaries of their move and new environment more fully than displaced refugees, making use of informal sources such as diasporic connections and drawing on shared imaginaries of migration among their communities. The Polish economic migrants in this study had done some, but not a great deal of planning. They had not constructed extensive or specific imaginaries before moving but they did have some expectations of what life in the UK would be like, which were formed from a range of sources, including stories from contacts who had moved to the UK, online research into the UK’s history and culture, and learning about the UK in school. It is not clear to what extent refugees in, for example, the studies of Lloyd and others (Hicks & Lloyd, 2016; Kennan et al., 2011; Lloyd, 2016; Lloyd et al., 2010) were able to access diasporic connections to research their new environment before arrival. However, it seems reasonable to assume that they had less access to such sources than many economic migrants.

The journey between countries is not covered in depth in much migration literature, particularly in the LIS field. The young women in this study described it only briefly, if at all, and as with many other aspects of the process, it posed few serious difficulties, even if it was long or uncomfortable. The journey was completed in one stage, and physical safety and survival were not uppermost in the minds of these migrants, many of whom were used to travelling. Information surrounding travel was easily accessible and in some cases the journey was arranged for them. For many refugees, however, the journey itself may be lengthy and arduous, and the period before arrival in their new environment may involve a stay in a refugee camp. Literature on refugee

camps focuses largely on physical conditions, but one study acknowledges that those in camps “require information to make decisions about their next steps, to remain safe and meet their minimum survival needs” (Hannides et al., 2016, p. 1). However, the authors note that access to this information is often limited and the information itself may not be reliable or consistent. Key information needs fall into the categories of compliance information or everyday information, the former including matters of refugees’ status and rights, and the latter encompassing issues such as safety and healthcare. In Hannides et al’s study, official humanitarian sources, upon whom refugees were expected to rely, were frequently either not informed or were restricted in the information they were able to provide, and consequently this lack of confidence in formal sources resulted in a greater reliance on informal sources, even if these sources were themselves unreliable or dangerous, such as people traffickers. Translation services were insufficient to meet demand and were sometimes seen as untrustworthy or of poor quality. There are indications that access to technology is an important factor in fulfilling information needs in refugee camps and throughout the process of refugee flight (Fisher, 2018; Leung, 2010), and Hannides et al. (2016) cited communication with family and other refugees as a key element in refugee resilience. Those who were less connected and lacked a strong network of interpersonal connections were forced to depend more on unreliable sources and presumably were more susceptible to untrustworthy information and physical endangerment. These issues simply did not arise for the Polish migrants in the current study.

6.2.2 Information practices upon immediate arrival

The moment of arrival in a new host environment exposes migrants to a great deal of new information and compels them to engage in a new set of information behaviours; this likely applies to any experience of migration. A significant part of this can be information being pushed to migrants by formal organisations such as national and local government institutions, community groups, or charities. However, for the Polish women in this study this was not the case. Their information landscape was not heavily shaped by formal organisations, although they did still make use of information from agencies or other official institutions, such as universities, and in some cases relied on these organisations to make practical arrangements on their behalf. However, they seemed less passive in this process, drawing upon a wider range of sources and appearing more able to evaluate these sources for trustworthiness and usefulness. By contrast, refugees arriving in Australia enter initially through the Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (HSS),

which provides support for the first six months of their arrival and settlement. This service assesses needs and delivers services such as arrival reception and assistance, accommodation, and trauma counselling services, as well as performing administrative duties. Upon arrival in Australia, refugees are allocated case workers, with whom they are in constant contact. Their information landscape is therefore “highly specialised, formed through a complex array of organisational services which frame the legislative and humanitarian requirements for settlement” (Kennan et al., 2011, p. 196).

A key influencing factor is the nature of the new environment itself. Owing to the relatively high level of autonomy they experienced in their move as economic migrants, participants in the current study were mostly able to choose not only the country to which they migrated, but the location within the UK to which they moved. However, levels of restriction still applied when finding a place to settle. Those who had initially used an employment agency were the least involved in their choice of destination, generally going wherever the agency chose to send them. Those who had friends in the UK chose to come to the areas where their friends lived, particularly if their friends were able to arrange work for them. This behaviour displays a greater level of choice but is still restrictive, at least in the beginning; the prior decisions and actions of these friends and contacts were what ultimately influenced the location to which participants moved. Several participants mentioned that the UK would not have been their first choice, but employment opportunities had led them to migrate there nonetheless. None expressed a strong preference for moving to the South Yorkshire region in particular; most had arrived there via a combination of factors including employment, education, family members or friends. However, despite participants’ route to the region not being totally within their control, they all had some level of autonomy in it and could have chosen not to move at any time. They were also relatively able to choose the kind of area to which they moved, and all participants lived in urban or suburban settings, with access to a wide range of local services and employment. Particularly upon arrival, access to such amenities is necessary for migrants in order to fulfil their practical requirements and information needs. The ability to choose to live in an urban or suburban area is beneficial for migrants’ information practices: they are able to access physically a broad range of employment and educational opportunities, official institutions such as council services, healthcare, public transport, libraries, shops, and other services, all of which can be valuable sources of both compliance and everyday information. In a populated area, they are also able to make a greater number of social and practical contacts and networks, and establish information relationships with these contacts. There is likely to be an established Polish community, which can aid the information practices of settlement, especially in the early period; participants in the study

often made use of local Polish connections for both compliance and everyday information. It is worth noting here that significant Polish populations are also present in more rural areas of the UK, often based around agricultural employment (Bauere, Densham, Millar, & Salt, 2007; Commission for Rural Communities, 2007), and that in 2007 Polish residents were registered for National Insurance in every local authority in Britain (Rabindrakumar, 2008). The physical presence of institutions and people greatly increases the chances of information encountering.

By contrast, refugees, in addition to having less, if any, input in their choice of settlement country, often have little say in the choice of locale within that country. In Australia, recent government policy has encouraged the rural and regional resettlement of refugees (Settlement Council of Australia, 2016; Withers & Powall, 2003), which presents challenges for these migrants in terms of their information practices. They have less physical access to the range of services, amenities and employment opportunities than those in urban or suburban areas (McDonald-Wilmsen, Gifford, Webster, Wiseman, & Casey, 2009), and therefore less access to the information provided at these sites. They are less likely to encounter information, and in sparsely populated areas, there are far fewer opportunities to make useful contacts. Such problems are exacerbated by the ethnically and culturally homogeneous nature of many rural locations, which may host established communities that are not used to receiving newcomers. Services and organisations in the area may not be used to dealing with settlers from different cultures, or may simply lack resources and funding to address the additional issues that arise when dealing with refugee migrants (Broadbent, Cacciattolo, & Carpenter, 2007; Major, Wilkinson, & Langat, 2013; McDonald-Wilmsen et al., 2009). Refugee settlers may well be placed in an area where there are few, if any, others of their own ethnic, cultural, or linguistic group (Kennan et al., 2011). This may not be known until arrival, producing disappointment and an ‘information disjuncture’; interviewees in Kennan et al.’s (2011) study had assumed they would be placed in Sydney, where there are migrant communities from all over the world (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014). Particularly in the early period of settlement, many migrants (both economic and displaced) rely upon other members of their national community for practical and information needs (Caidi et al., 2010; Kennan et al., 2011); when this support network is removed, they may initially struggle to find and use the information they need to settle effectively in their new environment. Kennan et al. (2011) describe how refugees “hope to get work with people who speak the same language and can interpret for them as they learn the information landscape, but this opportunity is not available to them in the regions” (p. 201). In addition to these social factors, refugees in rural locations may suffer from poor access to technology; connectivity may be an issue for home and mobile technologies, and access to resources such as libraries and internet cafés may be more

difficult than in more populated areas (Lloyd et al., 2010). This can lead to isolation from both the increasing amount of information that is located online, and the social connections, both locally and globally, that can be fostered through online communication. Participants in the present study had frequent access to technology, whether through their own devices or through public institutions or employers, and were thus able to gain access to a wider range of information and maintain their social connections more easily.

The Polish economic migrants in this study were generally confident in their ability to navigate information; they were not overwhelmed by information at any point and did not avoid information. This was not always the case for the refugees studied in the LIS literature. Upon arrival in their new host country, refugees are primarily receivers of information (Kennan et al., 2011) and, as with all migrants, are constantly encountering new information through both formal and informal sources (Allard, 2015, 2016; Rayes et al., 2016). This can result in information overload or saturation; the new environment is perceived as complex, even “too much” (Lloyd et al., 2013, p. 130), with many new things to learn and the immediate need to develop new information practices that will enable them to navigate and operate effectively within their new information landscapes (Hancock, 2009; Kennan et al., 2011). However, although a great deal of information is delivered to, and encountered by, these migrants, Hancock (2009) found that much of it had been forgotten after six months. Lloyd’s (2014) study of the health information practices of newly arrived refugees found that these settlers felt they lacked time to understand and process information, and this affected their ability to comply with it. In addition, it has been observed that the pressures and anxiety associated with information overload can result in information avoidance, which then causes uncertainty and further problems such as failure to comply (Brashers, Goldsmith, & Hsieh, 2002; Johnson & Case, 2013). For participants in the current study, the potential for information overload upon arrival was diminished, partly because the information landscape was largely similar to that with which they were familiar from Poland, in terms of sources, systems, and practices, but also because information was not pushed to them in the way that refugees often experience; they were not identified by official institutions as in need of help in the same way. Refugees in Kennan et al.’s (2011) study were given large amounts of information from formal sources in addition to the new information that they themselves encountered daily simply by living in their new environment. The Polish migrants, while also constantly encountering new information, were able to take greater control of their information acquisition and information seeking behaviours, without the added surplus from official sources. Without a case worker to chart and navigate their new information landscape on their behalf, the onus was on them to map it out for themselves and, relatively speaking, at their own pace.

A key factor in participants' initial information practices was the fact that many had undertaken previous migration before moving to South Yorkshire; one-third of participants had formerly lived in a country other than Poland or the UK. These participants had therefore had previous experience of navigating an unfamiliar information landscape. They were aware of difficulties they had experienced in the past and tried to mitigate these; for example, they were prepared for potential information barriers and the language barrier, and had ensured that their English language skills were at what they considered an acceptable level before migrating. They knew what sources were likely to be useful, and in some cases, used the same or very similar sources, such as websites or forums that gave information on life in the UK. For some, systems in the UK were similar to those they had encountered upon previous migration; for example, one participant, who had previously lived in Ireland, knew about the Jobcentre and was experienced and confident in accessing and using this source to find employment. For others, there were differences between the UK and the rest of Europe, often in the realm of everyday information, such as awareness of food brands. However, participants who had previous experience of migration were conscious that there were likely to be differences between their home and host countries, and had some awareness of what these differences might entail, which contributed to their ability to overcome any difficulties that arose. It is also worth noting that of the seven participants who had prior experience of living abroad, six worked in academia and had likely developed strong information literacy skills during the course of their careers, which potentially better equipped them to deal with prospective differences and barriers in the information landscape of the migration process.

In the literature on refugees' information practices, it is generally not mentioned whether participants have migrated previously, so it is difficult to evaluate how such actions, or lack of them, may have contributed to their information practices. It is possible that they have moved to the intermediary area of a refugee camp, or have moved to other places before making the move to their final country of settlement. Presumably, if they have undertaken previous moves, they have experience of navigating unfamiliar environments and information landscapes, but with varying degrees of involvement from official sources. However, as discussed above, it can also be supposed that their time in refugee camps, if applicable, presents a unique and intense experience, with an accompanying distinct information environment.

6.2.3 The information disjunction

Information received at the stage of initial arrival demonstrates what is not known by the migrant, or what has been imagined differently before arrival. Allard's examination of economic migrants from the Philippines to Canada (2015, 2016) proposes a five-stage process of translocal meaning making practices, the second stage of which posits that migrants experience an immediate and strong "information disjunction" (2016, p. 3) between their pre-migration expectations and the reality of their new environment. Again, although Allard's work examines the information practices of economic migrants, the same findings are likely to be applicable to refugees, and perhaps even to a greater extent, if we assume that the refugees in cited studies had less opportunity to research, and thereby create informed expectations of, their new host countries. However, as noted, the pre-arrival component of this reality gap is given little attention in the literature. The Internet has been observed to be a key source of information, but usage and perceived usefulness of formal and informal sources differs (Allard, 2015, 2016; Benson-Rea & Rawlinson, 2003; Khoir et al., 2015; Rayes et al., 2016; Shoham & Strauss, 2008). Benson-Rea and Rawlinson (2003), researching highly skilled migrants to New Zealand, found that these migrants had insufficient access to accurate information before arrival. Formal sources of information were generally trusted, but the information itself was "scant" and with "little visibility in target sending-countries" (p. 59), and these migrants did not consider it sufficient to enable them to make informed and effective decisions regarding their migration. As a result, in common with Allard's participants, they relied largely and perhaps excessively upon informal networks, and also experienced an information disjunction and subsequent dissatisfaction upon arrival when expectations did not match reality. Shoham and Strauss (2008) also observed that migrants' information needs are often not satisfactorily met before arrival, resulting in knowledge gaps and anxiety.

In studying Polish economic migrants, we can see that this idea of an information disjunction is partly applicable; participants spoke of how the reality of life in the UK was different to what they had imagined, and this was particularly evident upon arrival, in some cases. Nonetheless, this did not appear to pose significant difficulty, and many participants did not mention a reality gap or culture shock at all, or framed it in a neutral or even a positive way. Allard attributes the information disjunction to the fact that her participants *thought* they were well informed about what life in Canada would be like, but had in fact formed "*very specific expectations*" (p. 2) about it via "well known narratives about migration circulating within their local and international social networks" (p. 3), and when these were not met, confusion and

disorientation resulted. The most significant component of these migrants' pre-arrival information practices consisted of engagement with social network ties, rather than with official or more detached, neutral sources. Information was "both actively sought and passively encountered" (p. 3), but was generally mediated through other people. In contrast, the Polish migrants' pre-arrival information practices made use of a wide range of formal and informal sources, and there was a greater attempt to find information that was seen as neutral, trustworthy, and realistic. There was still considerable use of social contacts as a source of information, but they did not appear to let these contacts shape their expectations in the way that Allard's participants did. Social contacts were used more for practical reasons, such as assistance in finding a job or accommodation, and there was little indication that participants had sought or encountered migration narratives from these contacts. As a result, their expectations of life in the UK were less solid, the "information disjuncture" was less intense, and they were able to overcome it more easily and experience positive outcomes in their information practices.

For both Polish economic migrants and refugees, their established knowledge bases or ways of knowing are disrupted by the circumstances of their move, albeit, as discussed, to differing degrees. As a result, both groups need to re-engage with information and establish or shape their new information landscapes; a pressing need is to develop an understanding of how the new information landscape is organised and connected and how access to information and knowledge sites is operationalised (Hicks & Lloyd, 2016; Kennan et al., 2011; Lloyd et al., 2013). For refugees, this may require a change in their established information seeking activities; for example, seeking information from outside the family rather than within it, or locating and using unfamiliar sources, such as online sources rather than analogue (Hicks & Lloyd, 2016). For the Polish migrants in this study, although their information environment was disrupted, they found that their new environment operated in similar ways to their previous one; they therefore were able to make use of the same information practices and information seeking strategies, such as online searching, making use of a wide range of social contacts and weak ties.

6.2.4 Compliance information and everyday information

The initial information practices of migrants focus on compliance and initiation into the landscape. Kennan et al. (2011) define compliance information as "information related to the rules and regulations of the society in general and the community in particular" (p. 197). Such information is usually disseminated via service providers; for the Polish migrants, these included

employment agencies, universities, and official websites for jobs and accommodation. These sources were generally seen as trustworthy and accessible. For refugees, their primary contact for compliance information initially is with case workers, upon whom they rely heavily at this stage (Kennan et al., 2011). Service providers are valued as authoritative information resources and as sources of guidance and clarification, particularly in situations where refugees are given conflicting information or do not understand information they have been given (Kennan et al., 2011). However, even within institutional sources, a personal connection with these service providers, such as that of a case worker with whom they are familiar, is valued highly. Refugees may experience trust issues resulting from the trauma they have experienced; Hynes (2009) observes that asylum seekers have “very little trust in institutions or political processes” (p. 117), which may lead them to value trusted interpersonal connections as information resources over anonymous institutional sources (Francis & Yan, 2016; Kennan et al., 2011; Lloyd et al., 2013; Shankar et al., 2016). Participants in the current study also valued interpersonal sources, but this was largely for reasons of convenience and less an issue of trust. There was also a difference in the types of information that they sought and received from these sources; as in the pre-arrival stage, it tended to be practical assistance on immediate short-term matters rather than more general or speculative advice about life in the UK and what it would be like. In terms of compliance information, this was generally freely sought and received from official sources, even if they were directed to these sources by interpersonal contacts. Allard (2015, 2016) observed that economic migrants, in the pre-arrival planning stage and immediately upon arrival, placed their trust in interpersonal contacts and seemed to engage little with formal sources until they were more settled. The study does not indicate why this might be the case except that interpersonal sources were perhaps easier to access; trust may have played a part but there was no indication of this. In the case of participants in the current study, none expressed, even indirectly, a generalised mistrust of institutional sources, and as noted, many were happy to use such sources for information and for practical assistance. However, although these sources were widely used, participants were careful to evaluate them in terms of their usefulness and legitimacy; for example, when choosing one employment agency over another.

In addition to compliance information, migrants’ other main information needs upon arrival fall into the category of everyday information (Kennan et al., 2011; Khoir et al., 2015). For all categories of migrants, this includes such issues as navigation, awareness of what services are available to them, where to purchase food and clothing, and knowledge of how various systems (formal and informal) work in their new environments. Such everyday information did not present substantial difficulties for participants in this study. For refugees, this type of knowledge could

also extend to the use of unfamiliar technology such as telephone systems and ATMs, how to engage with service providers in a culturally appropriate way, or even how to use money (Kennan et al., 2011). Refugees often originate from developing countries, so moving to a developed country is a considerable change for them; migrants moving to the UK from Poland, another developed country, did not experience the same level of difference. Many everyday tasks present significant challenges to refugees, particularly as “[much] everyday information is nuanced and based in convention and may be understood as implicit or tacit knowledge” (Kennan et al., 2011, p. 203). Case workers physically accompany refugees on visits to service providers, shops, and around their new neighbourhoods; by doing so, the refugees gain information not only by it being conveyed verbally, but by observing the behaviour of others in these spaces and thereby gaining tacit knowledge. It should be noted that most of the literature about refugees addresses movement to developed Western countries, which poses considerable challenges for them. Local displacement, such as refugees moving between different African countries, would presumably present a different set of challenges but might be less of a cultural shift.

Participants in the present study, in comparison, experienced less difficulty in accessing and using everyday information. This is likely partly because the experience of everyday life in the UK is broadly similar, culturally and socially, to that in Poland; or at least, it poses less of a difference than that experienced by refugees. As noted, participants experienced less of an information disjuncture, and as a result, their initial adjustment period was shorter and less intense. Their preliminary information seeking strategies were more independent than those of the refugees; they had a much lesser degree of formal guidance upon arrival and in the first few weeks of settlement. Many received informal help from family, friends or acquaintances, such as being shown around the neighbourhood or city, introduced to social contacts, or pointed in the direction of formal sources that had already been evaluated and deemed to be trustworthy and useful. Such behaviour is similar to that outlined by Shoham and Strauss (2008), who found that some migrants relied heavily upon such informal, personal sources of information in lieu of formal information gathering before arrival. The Polish economic migrants in this study also made use of less guided information seeking strategies in the early stages of arrival, such as walking around in order to get to know the area, and physical browsing to find work or accommodation, visiting potential employers or looking at notices in windows. Such strategies are described in work by Lingel (2011, 2013, 2015), wherein migrants are found to use wandering as a strategy to become familiar with their new environment. They use this movement and mobility as an information practice, helping them to internalise information they encounter while wandering and thereby make a successful transition to life in their new environment. While participants in this study did

use non-targeted wandering on occasion, for the most part their wandering was undertaken with a specific goal in mind: usually finding opportunities for employment or accommodation.

6.3 Intermediate settling in period

6.3.1 General information practices

This section examines the information practices of participants, as compared to those of refugees, during the initial settling in period after arrival, defined here as the first few months to one year in the new environment. At this stage, for both groups, immediate needs such as accommodation, employment, and basic orientation have been addressed, and migrants' needs progress to include access to, and engagement with, "various local systems and institutions, such as municipal services, legal services, long-term housing, health services, and employment-specific language instruction" (Caidi et al., 2010, p. 500).

At this stage, all groups of migrants, including both the Polish economic migrants in this study and the refugees studied elsewhere in the literature, develop more complex information practices. They become more familiar with the sources that are available and the activities and skills required to access these, and begin to establish their own information relationships with both institutional sources and informal sources such as neighbours and other members of the local community (Kennan et al., 2011). As a result of this behaviour, they then develop different, sometimes more complex, information needs; the process therefore is not entirely linear but can be circular or incremental, reflecting the overlap in the stages of the migration and settlement process (Kennan et al., 2011; Mwarigha, 2002). Their information seeking strategies become more diverse, varied, targeted and sophisticated, making use of a wider range of sources and networks; for example, to find employment, upon initial arrival migrants may simply walk around the local area, visiting local businesses or looking at advertisements in windows. In the intermediate settlement stage, they may use websites that they have discovered that are targeted at certain professions, or may ask contacts that they have made in that field since their arrival (Section 5.7.1). They become more able to identify new sources of information or navigators, and become more familiar with tacit knowledge that is disseminated via word of mouth; to continue the example of seeking employment, they may learn that informal sources may be more useful than

formal ones in finding work. As this tacit knowledge increases, there is a constant re-evaluating of their information landscape and the information practices associated with it (Kennan et al., 2011; Lloyd et al., 2013). The Polish migrants in the current study showed evidence of this (Section 5.7.3), their expanded information behaviour supporting Allard's (2015, 2016) observations of how economic migrants demonstrate new, different, and more complex strategies at this stage of settlement.

While this general picture of migrants' information practices applies broadly to both Polish economic migrants and refugees, upon examination there are differences between the two groups. Participants in this study had made some use of institutional sources in the stages of pre-arrival and immediate arrival, but did not rely heavily upon these sources. They drew upon a wide range of sources and connections and evaluated these sources continually for trustworthiness. Their information landscapes, broad to begin with, continued to expand during the period of settlement after arrival. The circumstances of refugees, taking the example of Australia as examined in works by (Kennan et al., 2011) and (Lloyd et al., 2013) differ from this. Refugees who have gone through the HSS program progress to receive support from the Settlement Grants Program (SGP), which provides funding to organisations that help new arrivals settle in Australia. Support provided by this program focuses less on individual case management and more on information sessions and workshops, dealing less with immediate everyday information needs and more with broader issues of community, integration and participation in Australian life. It also aims to involve the communities in which settlers find themselves and increase knowledge within these communities of settlers' situations and needs (Kennan et al., 2011). Refugees' information landscape is therefore less strongly shaped and mapped by official sources, and they gain greater autonomy in navigating it. Despite this, even after initial orientation, refugees continue to make use of the official and institutional sources that guided their first few weeks and months. While they display a more proactive attitude to information seeking, looking beyond the initial contact of these service providers, they maintain contact with them for guidance and clarification as their information landscape becomes more complex (Kennan et al., 2011).

6.3.2 Ethnic communities in the new environment

The ease of migrants' settlement in a particular area is influenced by the demographic of the existing population in that area, including the level of ethnic and cultural diversity and the number of co-ethnic (or perceived co-ethnic) inhabitants. Shoham and Strauss (2008) observed

that the mere presence of other migrants in an area can be helpful to new migrants through a sense of shared experience and adjustment. As noted already, the Polish population in the UK is widely dispersed, even being described as “ubiquitous” (Bauere et al., 2007, p. 11); participants in the current study could be assured that wherever they settled in the UK, there would be other Poles in the area, and in some areas, a large or established community. Although participants did not express an overt desire to move to an area where other Poles had settled, some chose their destination as somewhere where they already had friends or family, and most made use of the existing Polish community in some way. In addition to a high number of post-accession Polish migrants, there is a significant population of post-war Polish migrants in the UK and, as a result, a number of Polish institutions to serve this community (Garapich, 2008; Zubrzycki, 1956). For new Polish migrants, therefore, a certain level of infrastructure, both formal and informal, is in place to help meet their information needs. There are institutions they can contact for help, some Polish language material is available, and there is a community of other Poles who can provide support for practical or information needs. The existence of a community of older Poles also indicates that the UK seems to welcome Polish community; the fact that these migrants have settled and stayed in the UK for decades might suggest that the UK is a good place for Poles to settle. For those who wished to stay in touch with Polish culture, opportunities were there if required; for example, Polish church services and religious celebrations, Polish shops, Polish television, Polish social clubs, and Polish Saturday schools for children. As discussed in Section 5.3.3, participants displayed varying levels of uptake of these opportunities, but all were aware that this infrastructure was in place and they could call on it if required.

Online resources provided further options: access to Polish websites, especially for news or cultural events, and groups for local meetings or practical support for the Polish community. These online groups were also used as a source of information on a wide range of topics regarding life in the UK. Srinivasan and Pyati (2007) discuss how migrants employ both local and global information and knowledge in order to construct new realities, with particular emphasis on the use of technology to facilitate a modern diaspora and a concept of nationhood that draws on migrants' connections in both their home and host countries as well as in cyberspace. They argue that the combination of increasing migration and the proliferation of technology has made “e-diasporas critical for the formation and sustenance of community for immigrant groups” (p. 1734), and cite Appadurai's (1996, 2003) belief that online space provides hope and aspiration for migrant groups, not merely through the provision of information, but through engagement with it: what we may call the diasporic archive, or the migrant archive, is increasingly characterized by the presence of voice, agency, and debate, rather than of mere reading, reception, and

interpellation" (Appadurai, 2003). The Polish economic migrants in this study followed this pattern to some extent. They all made use of technology, and a key way in which they used it was in keeping in touch with other Poles. However, this generally took the form of contact with family and friends, via email, video calling, instant messaging, and social media websites such as Facebook. There was some evidence that participants were using the internet to engage with a wider Polish diaspora; some used web forums or social networking sites either before migrating or while living in the UK, to find out about life in the UK from those already living here, to gain practical information or advice, or to find employment or accommodation. It did not seem to be the case that they used these sources for intense political engagement, but there was some sense that they made use of online space to remain in touch with their Polish identity and events in Poland. Garapich (2008) outlines how the increase in internet forums aimed at Poles in the UK has helped to further a sense of community among this population; while participants in the current study did not discuss this explicitly, there was a sense that they made use of such forums or community pages on social networking sites in order to feel connected to Poland and the Polish community; for example, by staying up to date on news in Poland, or by reposting information on important dates in Polish history. As discussed in Section 4.3.5, the ease of access to these technological sources and connections may contribute to the post-accession generation of Poles seemingly feeling less need to foreground their nationality and to recreate their Polish life in their new environment; Poland is accessible to them not only physically, via cheap and frequent travel, but virtually, through connections with Polish media and hence the Polish diaspora.

For refugees in the studies examined, opportunities to engage with and gain support from co-ethnics varied according to location. Those in large urban areas found the population more diverse and there was a higher likelihood that they would be able to find a supportive community of their own nationality or ethnicity. However, for those in rural areas, this was less likely (Kennan et al., 2011). Of particular importance, especially in the early stages of settlement, was finding those who spoke the same language and could interpret for the migrant; for example, one participant in Kennan et al's (2011) study had hoped to find work specifically with a particular employer in order that this person could facilitate communication and help the participant better understand information that was presented to them. As discussed in Section 6.2.2, regional locations offer fewer opportunities for refugee settlers to find employment or other support from co-ethnics or possible interpreters, including gatekeepers or others who can help with the mediation or local knowledge that is important to enable successful settlement.

6.3.3 Technological access and usage

Access to resources, both physical and digital, is an important factor in migrant settlement. Participants in the present study were all reasonably well equipped financially, enabling them to access a range of useful sources and institutions in their new information environment; for example, travelling using their own vehicle or public transport, purchasing smartphones and computers, and undertaking educational opportunities such as language classes. In the early days of their settlement, some made use of free services such as internet provision at libraries, which was important to enable them to access job seeking or accommodation websites, complete applications for employment or education, and to stay in touch with family and friends. However, for most, this way of accessing the internet was only temporary, and most were able to purchase a smartphone or laptop to obtain individual access to the internet without much financial difficulty. All participants had used technology frequently before moving to the UK, and were comfortable doing so. The technological landscape in the UK was recognisable to them as it was similar to that in Poland, with the same systems, software and websites available. Technologies such as telephone banking, ATMs, and voice recognition systems were familiar. Participants were on the ‘right side’ of the digital divide, being educated in the use of technology and having easy access to technological resources. They were able to access online resources and opportunities for e-participation without much difficulty.

By contrast, the situation for refugees in the studies examined was quite different in terms of their access to, and ability to use, technology. Many were lacking in financial resources and relied more heavily on free services or help from others who had access to technology. This situation was sometimes worse for women refugees, who were less likely to work and support themselves financially on an individual basis (Nekesa Akullo & Odong, 2017). Refugees were often on the ‘wrong side’ of the digital divide, with unequal access to knowledge, training and resources in this area (Alam & Imran, 2015; Lloyd, 2016). Technologies such as telephone banking or ATMs, that were familiar to the Polish economic migrants, could be unfamiliar and sometimes overwhelming to refugees who had not encountered them before (Kennan et al., 2011; Lloyd et al., 2013). Some refugees expressed distrust of Internet sources, and some lacked awareness or familiarity with this form of information provision (Lloyd, 2016). Even for those who were familiar, “[the] digital environment was viewed by all participants as exploratory and as a secondary source of information” when seeking health information, for example (Lloyd, 2014, p. 59). In Australia, and many other refugee-receiving societies, much information is provided digitally, particularly compliance information such as that provided by government. Low levels of digital literacy,

mistrust of digital information, and a lack of access to the technology may be factors for the refugee settler and can all create barriers to accessing this information and using online e-participation resources (Kennan et al., 2011; Lloyd, 2016). For some refugees, although the Internet was used less as a source of information, for reasons outlined above, it was useful for connecting with family and friends elsewhere, or finding material in their own language (Kennan et al., 2011).

It is also important to note that while some refugees were unable or less willing to use technology for their information needs, for some of the younger generation in particular ICT was a very important part of their daily lives. The Internet was used for school or university work, social networking, and keeping in touch with family and friends elsewhere (Kennan et al., 2011; Lloyd, 2016; Lloyd & Wilkinson, 2017; Shankar et al., 2016). Access to such sources and networks enabled these migrants to “feel less disenfranchised, to remain connected to culture and maintain global affiliation with family, and communities overseas – to extend and anchor their world” (Lloyd & Wilkinson, 2017, p. 4). Lloyd (2016) also observed young refugees using socio-technical spaces such as Facebook or gaming to develop their information literacy skills and problem-solving abilities. Some younger refugees were expected to use technology on behalf of older family members, both for information seeking and e-participation and also for maintaining and mediating social and diasporic connections, which placed additional pressure on their information literacy skills (Lloyd, 2016). Younger refugees tended to display higher levels of technological familiarity and digital literacy, as well as more general information literacy skills in evaluating the content and format of sources and information found online (Lloyd & Wilkinson, 2017). Despite the generally positive connotations associated with younger refugees’ use of technology, Wilding (2009) observes a possible negative side-effect: that access to ICT and social media may encourage these young people to connect with their own ethnic group or language group in other locations, to the exclusion of participation in their new host environment and therefore hindering social integration.

Hicks and Lloyd (2016) suggest that when discussing information literacy skills among migrational individuals, it is important to remember that information literacy may be constructed and evaluated differently in different cultural settings. They suggest that the accepted model of information literacy may marginalise different cultural and social practices and ways of knowing, as it is presented as a one-way process of assimilation to Western values. Subscribing to this model leads to those from different cultures being seen as lacking in skills and needing to adapt to the prevailing information environment. However, a more constructivist approach proposed by the authors suggests that “linguistic and cultural variables are seen to bring complexity rather than

deficiency to international student information literacy experiences, and that difference is not positioned as a personal failing" (p. 3).

6.3.4 Education and employment

Participants in the present study were generally well educated; all had finished school to the age of 18, and many had undergraduate and/or postgraduate degrees, including PhDs. Education systems, and the everyday experience of education, in the UK and Poland are broadly similar. This helped participants to navigate their new information environments, as they had developed similar skills and competencies to those taught and expected in the UK. The educational background of refugee settlers is likely to be quite different from that which is prevalent in their new environment (Lloyd, 2015). They may be well educated, but this education may have been disrupted at various times and it may not translate well to the host society (Major et al., 2013; Sampson & Gifford, 2010). Even for well-educated refugees, if they lack language skills this can present a significant barrier to effective information practices (Lloyd et al., 2010).

The Polish migrants in this study generally had strong information literacy skills: for example, they were able to evaluate their own information needs; they had ideas regarding where to look for information; they knew how to evaluate information for trustworthiness and usefulness; and they were confident sharing information with others. In general, they displayed a high level of confidence in their information literacy skills and very little anxiety about potential barriers or problems, the one exception being in cases where their English language skills were low upon arrival. However, in general, participants had learned some English before arrival, or undertook language classes soon after arrival. This engendered a greater sense of independence as they were not relying upon interpreters or gatekeepers to mediate information for them. In contrast, refugee settlers may have information literacy skills that diverge from Western models of the concept and may therefore be seen as lacking these skills (Hicks & Lloyd, 2016). They may experience anxiety about their information practices as these may not be compatible with the new information landscape within which they find themselves; anxiety about their ability to process and evaluate information effectively can lead to a reduced capacity to make effective decisions (Lloyd, 2014; Lloyd et al., 2013). They may be entirely unfamiliar with the language of their new host country, which increases the need to rely upon interpreters and gatekeepers to obtain and process information (Kennan et al., 2011).

Participants in the present study were comfortable with a wide range of sources on different devices and in different formats, as evidenced in Section 5.7. Refugee settlers have been found to exhibit strong preferences for certain types of sources; for example, they often prefer non-textual sources, where information is presented orally and/ or visually, often in person (Kennan et al., 2011; Palmer, Lemoh, Tham, Hakim, & Biggs, 2009). Visual sources such as marketing catalogues or charts created by service providers are particularly valued. Interactive and applied information dissemination has been shown to be effective; for example, role playing exercises such as shopping transactions (Kennan et al., 2011).

For the female Polish migrants in the current study, gender was not a major factor in their education either pre- or post-immigration to the UK. However, education can be a gendered issue for refugees; some come from cultures where women are not routinely educated to the same level as men, which may mean that they arrive with low levels of education and that their education, including language learning, is not a priority upon arrival (Hou & Beiser, 2006; Sansonetti, 2016; Shirazi, Bloom, Shirazi, & Popal, 2013; Watkins, Razee, & Richters, 2012). As a result, they may be forced to rely upon male family members to navigate the new information landscape for them and communicate on their behalf (Health Issues Centre, 2016; Shirazi et al., 2013). Cultural factors may also impede women's ability or inclination to seek out or receive information on certain sensitive topics, such as healthcare and sexuality (Palmer et al., 2009; Sansonetti, 2016; Shirazi et al., 2013). Watkins et al. (2012) studied educational barriers among Karen refugee women from Burma who had migrated to Australia. Their research found that pre-immigration literacy levels were low among these women due to the socio-political situation of the country and cultural expectations that women should remain in the domestic sphere. Many were unable to read or write in their native language, so when they attended settlement classes or English language tuition, general study tasks such as holding a pen or finding a word in a dictionary presented challenges, as did the unfamiliar classroom environment. Education post-immigration was a low priority, which hindered these women's ability to fulfil even their domestic duties as expected: "women required English language to interact effectively with services and thus be successful in their activities as individuals, mothers, wives and carers, but these responsibilities meant they were unable to devote adequate time to education" (p. 132). Participants in the current study did not experience such issues or barriers to education and information due to their gender. They came from a position of relative cultural equality of gender, where their education was valued equally to that of men, and had no need to rely on male family members in order to seek or receive information.

Employment is an area of importance to migrants of all circumstances. The participants in the present study can be categorised as economic migrants, where a key motivation for all was a combination of more employment prospects, better pay, and opportunities for progression or career change. Nearly all participants had worked in Poland at some stage and had thus undertaken the process of job seeking and were aware of the information landscape around employment. In a broad sense, the labour market and associated systems dealing with employment operate in similar fashion in both Poland and the UK; there are differences, as covered in Section 5.2.1.2, but the transition between countries did not present great unfamiliarity for interviewees. An exception was that some experienced difficulty in converting qualifications between the two countries, necessitating further training or re-taking qualifications in order to be able to work in their sector of choice. In other cases, administrative issues such as providing references or a CRB check presented problems. Some challenges to finding employment could be seen as a natural result of being new to an area and not being aware of local sources and contacts that might be useful in finding employment. Perhaps the main barrier to participants finding employment was the linguistic one; this made job seeking difficult because information was nearly always presented in English, interviews and other communication were conducted in English, and the everyday working environment was generally English-speaking. Many participants were not proficient in English upon arrival and this often resulted in them taking jobs that did not reflect their educational status or employment history. Some participants found work in environments such as factories which employed a large number of migrants, including other Poles. This was beneficial initially, as participants were able to use fellow nationals as interpreters and mediators, much as has already been observed as an information practice of refugees (Kennan et al., 2011). However, as participants' English language skills improved, this support network was less important to them, and some felt that it could actually be detrimental to their opportunities to learn English. Many participants mentioned learning English as a secondary motivation for their migration; they were either aware before migration, or ascertained quickly upon arrival, that language skills would be important for everyday life and for employment in particular. Learning English therefore became a priority information need for them, whether through formal means such as language classes, or by finding work in an English-speaking environment to learn by immersion.

Initial job seeking behaviour by participants included browsing of both analogue and digital sources such as newspapers and websites, as well as physical browsing behaviours such as walking the streets of their new locale to look for advertisements in windows, or visiting local businesses and employment agencies to enquire about possible vacancies. Many participants put

their trust in organised formal sources such as agencies to find work, either before migration or upon arrival, but did not do so unquestioningly; although levels of trust in institutional sources were generally high, participants still evaluated sources such as agencies for credibility and reliability. Another common way of finding work was via friends or weak ties; some of these contacts were more reliable or trustworthy than others. As their settlement progressed, participants' information practices evolved and progressed as they began to understand the nuances of their new information landscape. Their information behaviour around seeking employment became more varied; their networks of social and employment-related contacts and weak ties expanded, and they therefore had access to a greater range of information and connections. They also became more able to evaluate these networks and identify the most reliable contacts or navigators. As they progressed from their initial employment and began to seek and find work in their desired areas, their online searching became more sophisticated; they understood which websites and online sources would be most useful, particularly for specialised positions in particular sectors. As their information needs became more specialised, their information behaviours became more targeted.

Apart from some coverage in works by Kennan et al. (2011) and Lloyd and Wilkinson (2017), there is little in the information studies literature on refugees' information practices when seeking employment, which presents a challenge when attempting to contrast their behaviour with that of participants in the current study. Refugee migrants often experience more barriers to employment upon their settlement in their new environment. As noted already, their education may have been disrupted or may not translate well to the host country's system. Ratković's (2013) study of refugee female teachers in Canada lists difficulties such as "non-recognition of teaching credentials and work experience, lack of proficiency in the official language, lack of cross-cultural knowledge and a lack of familiarity with the multicultural student population, and negative stereotyping and discrimination by potential employers and government services, as well as domestic responsibilities and financial difficulties" (p. 105). Refugee settlers may lack hard skills, such as ICT skills, but their soft skills may differ from those expected in the new employment environment; for example, "the ability to use information critically and in culturally appropriate ways to solve problems, to engage in teamwork or to develop knowledge about the organisation and flow of information within a workplace" (Lloyd et al., 2010, p. 45). As with the Polish economic migrants, language can also present a barrier to finding desired employment, and working conditions may be poor. For all migrant groups, these conditions can lead to status loss and result in frustration and anxiety (Crooks et al., 2011; Yakushko et al., 2008). As with education, female refugees may have further issues to contend with when considering employment: domestic

responsibilities; cultural factors prohibiting women from working; and a lack of education or training (Sansonetti, 2016).

6.3.5 Cultural factors

Cultural similarities and differences between home and host countries play a large role in determining migrant information behaviours. There was no indication, in this study, that the social and cultural environments of the UK and Poland were significantly different. One interviewee did feel that “it was completely different culture to what I was expecting [or] to what I knew from back in Poland” (Gabriela) but this was an exception to the rule. Cultural differences were not even mentioned by many participants, despite the interview asking about expectations and impressions of the UK. Some participants did mention differences that they had noticed: as outlined in Section 5.2.2, the main difference observed upon arrival in the UK was a more ethnically and culturally diverse society than they had experienced in Poland. The percentage of the UK population classifying themselves as White British was 80.5% in the 2011 census (Office for National Statistics, 2012a); in Poland, 97.7% of the population was classed as Ethnic Polish (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2013). In terms of religion, Poland is predominantly Roman Catholic, with 92.2% of the population self-declaring as such; the UK is more mixed but still predominantly Christian (59.3%) or ‘no religion’ (25.1%) (Office for National Statistics, 2012b). While the UK is therefore more diverse than Poland, the two countries are largely similar in terms of ethnic and religious makeup. Some participants mentioned a small degree of ‘culture shock’ but it appeared to be relatively minor and they seemed to adapt to the UK quite easily. It can be imagined that if they were to move to a country place with very different cultural, religious or social norms, as refugees often do, the adjustment process would be harder. The general cultural similarity between the UK and Poland, as well as a relatively untroubled history of Polish migration to the UK, may also predispose the UK population to see Poles in a more favourable light than other ethnic groups. The UK was seen by participants as friendlier and more relaxed than Poland by some interviewees, both socially and within a work environment. The political climate in Poland was not seen as favourable by some participants, although these participants also expressed dismay at the post-Brexit situation in the UK. They had previously seen the UK as tolerant and welcoming of migrants and other cultures, but the referendum result had led them to question this.

In terms of information behaviour, therefore, Polish migrants in the UK are less othered than some groups due to this cultural similarity. They are not seen as being in need of help and support, in the way that refugees are, so information is not pushed to them by official sources. Their strong information literacy skills and independent information seeking behaviours support this. Cultural similarity results in a largely similar information environment, which is relatively easy for them to navigate. For example, the internet is widely available and frequently used; information from formal sources is generally accessible, transparent, and reliable; and social networks exist for support and information both locally and globally, physically and digitally. While refugees often make use of information grounds or everyday spaces in their information practices, participants in this study did not tend to obtain information from such spaces. Information grounds scenarios did not seem to arise frequently for them; when conversation with others took place in these spaces it was ‘small talk’ but this communication did not tend to garner useful information. They encountered information from walking around, or from weak ties at, for example, their places of employment, but information grounds in the sense described by Pettigrew (1999), later writing as Fisher (2004), did not really arise. A more applicable example would be that of everyday spaces, described by Lloyd (2016) as “ordinary spaces and territories where routine, informal daily life occurs” (p. 301). Examples for the refugees in Lloyd and Wilkinson’s research included church, sports teams, socio-technical spaces such as Facebook and gaming, and institutional spaces such as mental health services, youth networks, and libraries. These spaces may be seen as subtly different from information grounds, where information typically arises by chance when people are in the space for another reason. Everyday spaces are also spaces that are primarily accessed for non-information-related reasons, but the young people in the study recognised them as a source of information and support, and targeted and accessed them intentionally for these reasons. For participants in the current study, use of these kinds of spaces for information varied. While some attended church, this was generally not used as an information ground or a source of information. One exception was a participant who had found out about schools for her children via her church. Sports teams and computer gaming were not mentioned at all by participants. The major similarity was the use of Facebook as an everyday space for information seeking, gathering, and sharing, in common with findings by Khoir et al. (2015). Participants used Facebook as a source of everyday information, both from reading posts by others and by connecting with people to ask questions: for example, for advice on childcare issues, activities for children, travel, exchanging goods and services, and hobbies, as well as for social connections and keeping in touch with events in Poland (see Sections 5.3.1, 5.3.2, and 5.7.1). They did not access everyday institutional spaces as much as the refugee youth in Lloyd and

Wilkinson's study, but when they did, they did not appear to see them as a source of information beyond the specific need they approached with. By contrast, the young refugees made use of, and relied on, connections made at these places for information of all kinds.

Refugees often experience significant cultural, religious, and social differences between their home and host countries; these cultural factors influence their information behaviour and practices. The host society may lack awareness of refugees and the issues they face, especially cultural ones, and may also make assumptions regarding refugees' information behaviour, including their competencies and ease of access to information for them. Work by Allen, Matthew, and Boland (2004) on the Hmong refugee population in the USA, cited in an article by Lloyd et al. (2010), observed that "western understandings of information provision through the Internet did not reflect the migrant population's understanding of how info should be provided or could be accessed" (Lloyd et al., 2010, p. 50). Service providers may not be aware of the best ways to distribute information; as noted already, textual sources, both analogue or digital, may be less well received than visual or oral sources (Kennan et al., 2011; Palmer et al., 2009). Some groups may prefer information to be disseminated by respected members of their own ethnic or religious community, and in ways that are culturally appropriate to them (Palmer et al., 2009). Some topics, such as health or sexuality, may be sensitive), especially for women; this may result in a lack of access to accurate information, or even information avoidance (Brashers et al., 2002; Johnson & Case, 2013). Cultural factors may limit social participation in general for women of certain cultures, so they may not be able to access the information that they need. Tacit knowledge, which is important (Altheide & Johnson, 1994), is likely to be different between home and host countries; examples given by Kennan et al. (2011) include "what to wear to a real estate agent or job interview; that one's interview wardrobe may be different for different kinds of jobs; how food at eye height in supermarkets is more expensive; that hanging clothes over heaters is a fire hazard; that power for heating is very expensive" (p. 198-199).

Lloyd (2016) examined the information practices of refugee youth in Australia in the context of everyday spaces. A key finding was that these young people were using such spaces to connect with a wide range of people of different ages, professions, and nationalities who might be useful to them; for example, in finding employment or for advice on personal topics. Spaces connected with sports were also a way for participants to connect with information that enabled learning about leadership, teamwork, equality, and social inclusion. These informal sources may be more accessible for young people, but there is also a level of trust implied as participants had, in some cases, built relationships with contacts at these spaces. In addition to facilitating the

obtaining and sharing of information, the use of these spaces addresses young people's needs around social inclusion, of 'fitting in' and connecting with their new community. Face-to-face contact at the site of information exchange also allows contextualisation of information received and allows them to "integrate it collaboratively with peers and service professionals into [their] knowledge base" (Shankar et al., 2016, p. 4).

Libraries are a key everyday space for certain groups of migrants (see Section 2.4.3), functioning not only as information providers but as spaces within which migrants can orient themselves within, and integrate into, their new host environment (Audunson et al., 2011; Å. Berger, 2002). Information gathered at the library extends beyond practical advice or educational help, to implicit understandings of how the migrant's new community functions, and the place of the migrant within it (Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004). The Polish women in the present study made some use of libraries in the UK, but levels of usage varied (see Section 5.7.4). They were already aware of the library as an institution, and libraries in Poland and the UK, on the surface, appeared to them to be similar. However, upon questioning about their usage, some participants revealed that upon using the library in the UK it had become apparent that there were differences. Libraries in Poland, both public and academic, had been used primarily as a place to borrow books or study. Those in the UK were seen as "a real resource [for] all sorts of information" (Anastazja) including community groups and local activities, as well as a key source of internet access during the early period of settlement. It has been noted that the library is not always ranked highly as an information source among migrants (Chu, 1999; Metoyer-Duran, 1991) or that libraries in some areas experience difficulty in engaging effectively with migrants (Lingel, 2011). The fact that many participants did not use the library at all, or used it only for borrowing books, may signal a lack of awareness of the services available at UK libraries compared to those in Poland, or it may be that other information sources were more easily accessible. The findings of this study are supported by those of Listwon and Sen (2009), who observed that the Polish community in Sheffield used the library for borrowing books and using computers, but did not feel that it was a relevant source of information for wider topics such as housing or healthcare. Some studies have suggested that among communities from post-communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe, there may be a distrust of centralised government institutions such as libraries (Caidi, 2004), and a tendency to view such institutions as "a wheel in the ideological machine" rather than an egalitarian space with access to a wide range of resources (Dali, 2004, p. 342). This was not evident in interviews with participants, who seemed to exhibit a trusting attitude to official sources in general. It is also worth noting the comparatively young age of participants as a factor; most had grown up after the collapse of Communism in Poland and might therefore not exhibit attitudes of distrust towards

official sources that might be found in older Poles who had more direct experience of the Communist period.

While libraries appeared to have relatively straightforward functions for participants in the current study, library usage by groups who may be culturally different from the host environment is more complex. These migrational individuals may be unfamiliar with libraries as they exist in their new environment, and lack awareness of what resources are available or experience difficulty finding and accessing them (Caidi & Allard, 2005; Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004; Shoham & Strauss, 2008). However, there is also strong evidence to suggest that when the library is used, it can be beneficial in gaining information not only for educational or leisure purposes, but for practical support and assistance. Furthermore, other personal gains observed in migrational individuals from using the library included greater self-confidence, social involvement, information literacy skills, and a sense of community (Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004). The library has been seen to function as an information ground for these groups (Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004), in a way that it did not appear to for most participants in the present study. Lloyd and Wilkinson's (2016) study of refugee youth presented the library as an everyday space where these migrants could not only study in a safe and quiet environment, but could receive advice and access a wide range of information resources. For some cultures, the social nature of the library space is important (Å. Berger, 2002). This may be particularly applicable to women from some cultures; Audunson et al. (2011) and Å. Berger (2002) found that Muslim women and girls valued the library as a socially acceptable meeting place. Participants in the current study did not seem to experience the library in the same way; they treated it as a resource for books, internet access, and a narrow range of information, but did not seem to look beyond these usages and did not experience it as an information ground or socially significant space.

6.3.6 Social capital

Social capital is an important factor influencing migrants' settlement in their new environment. Participants in the current study, as recent migrants, initially had substantially less social capital than many others in their new environment. Although they were generally well educated and information literate, upon arrival limited social networks, low level English language skills, and difficulty in translating their educational and employment skills into their new environment all resulted in them having relatively low social capital. However, this period of low social capital was not an extensive one. Their educational background and information literacy

skills enabled them to make social connections and find information relatively quickly and easily. As illustrated already in this chapter, they were generally confident in their information skills and broadly familiar with the information environment of their new country, which was not hugely different from that in Poland. They were able to be flexible and adaptable, finding information in different ways, aided by their growing social networks. Navigating this new environment did not present a significant challenge, as it might to an individual who had come from a very different environment or whose information skills differed from those expected by the new host society. Importantly, they were not socially isolated. Many had contacts already in the UK, and because finding employment was a necessity for them and happened quickly, they were able to expand their networks of social contacts and weak ties almost immediately through their workplaces. Information from these social contacts was used frequently, and was seen as a useful and generally reliable information source. These networks often included fellow Poles, but not exclusively, and as a result, participants were able to become more socially integrated in their new environment and make use of the information opportunities that presented themselves.

Upon arrival, refugee migrants have very low levels of social capital. However, unlike the Polish economic migrants, they often find it harder and slower to increase these levels. The factors already listed surrounding education, cultural differences, lack of autonomy and planning, and physical isolation can all play a part. A lack of social connections can lead to "network poverty" (Vinson, 2009), where migrants have limited access to the informal sources that can prove valuable for "social support, social influence, opportunities for social engagement and meaningful social roles as well as access to resources and one-on-one contact" (p. 7). Vinson's examples of support and information gained from these networks includes both matters of daily life and opportunities to progress in employment or education. Such networks provided much important information to participants in the current study, in all the areas mentioned by Vinson; participants used social contacts and weak ties to find employment and accommodation, learn about educational opportunities for themselves and their children, obtain compliance information, and learn about services that were available to them. These networks were also used for practical support such as borrowing money, living rent-free for short periods, filling gaps in childcare, and friendship or emotional support. As noted by Hicks and Lloyd (2016), "the role of 'others' and social networks are central to the collective coping and resilience building of people in transition" (p. 7). Refugee migrants who lack these 'others' may well lack social capital.

This lack of social capital and social connections may lead refugee migrants to rely more heavily on the social networks they do have. This can lead to reliance on gatekeepers, who can influence the delivery of information and create power relationships that may inhibit the flow of

information. Membership of a group such as an ethnic minority community may “result in less contact with the wider community, leading to problems with integration and... [limiting the] amount and type of information available” (Lloyd et al., 2010, p. 48). Work on health literacy among refugees (Hicks & Lloyd, 2016; Lloyd, 2014) observed that refugees faced with a health issue, and lacking accessible information or the ability to navigate their new health information environment, pooled their knowledge to combine their limited literacies and fragmented information, a strategy that the authors refer to as ‘collective coping’. Such behaviour demonstrates the trust placed in refugees’ own communities as the first port of call for problem solving, but can also result in uncertainty, mis-information and not “knowing what is true” (Hicks & Lloyd, 2016, p. 6).

6.4 Longer term settlement

This section examines the information behaviour of participants in the context of longer term settlement in the UK, as set in the wider context of migrant settlement. The concept of ‘settlement’ in the longer term will naturally vary across groups and contexts, and is problematic to situate temporally. It has been broadly defined as “securing a permanent footing in a new country” (Holton & Sloan, 1994, p. 315), and more specifically as “full participation in the economic and social opportunity structure of the society” (Neuwirth, 1997, as cited in Fletcher, 1999, p. 8) or “[becoming] equal participants in the country’s economic, cultural, social and political life” (Mwarigha, 2002, p. 9). Caidi et al. (2010) note that at this stage, “immigrant needs are more diverse and individual in nature” and that learning to overcome “systemic barriers to equal participation” is a common requirement for many.

Participants in this study had generally been living in the UK for several years at the time of interview; the mean length of stay was 8 years, and of 21 participants, 17 had been in the UK for 5 years or longer. However, most had not intended to remain in the UK long term; a common narrative was that of intending to come to the UK to work and save up money for one or two years. Some had intended to return to Poland after this, but some had not thought further ahead at all. This lack of long term planning was reflected in their information behaviour as described in Section 6.2.1. While some had researched their new environment, others had done little planning. Those who did not intend to settle in the UK presumably had less need or desire to plan beyond their initial information needs, such as accommodation and employment. Their information seeking behaviours were often on an ‘as and when’ basis, and they frequently received

information through informal contacts or information encountering. Shoham and Strauss (2008) observed similar behaviour in some of their study population, who took the attitude of “we'll figure it out as it comes”, although the notable difference is that the migrants they studied were intending medium- to long-term migration, rather than the short-term or temporary moves planned by participants in the present study.

Refugee migrants, by necessity, are likely unable to plan longer term settlement. For them, short-term survival and adaptation to their new environment are the most important needs, and although they may wish to return to their home country one day, this may never be an option. As with the Polish economic migrants, they may have less need or desire to plan in depth or for the longer term, but they may also be less able to do this due to the uncertainty of their situation. There is little in the literature about their longer-term information practices; this may be because after the initial period of migration and settlement they fall under the wider umbrella of ‘migrants’ or even, eventually, ‘citizens’ rather than specifically refugees.

One important progression for all migrants in long term settlement is that of developing their information skills and behaviours. Kennan et al. (2011) state that “[e]stablished settlers are more aware of their information needs, are self sufficient and increasingly confident in their ability to find information and to evaluate a variety of information sources to ensure their information needs are met” (p. 202). The participants in this study demonstrated all these characteristics and behaviours and it was clear that their skills had developed and changed as they had settled in the UK. They were reasonably self-sufficient and confident upon arrival, but their ways of finding and evaluating information became more refined as they encountered more sources and developed their social networks. Another characteristic information behaviour of long term settlement was that they often fed information back to others in the community, and in particular they gave advice to newcomers or would-be migrants, via local or international social networks. Refugee settlers in Kennan et al.’s (2011) study “had constructed a complex internal map, which they readily passed on to others”; this sharing of information was viewed as strengthening both individuals and the community. The authors link it to the building of social capital, as once settlers have built social capital they are “able to mobilise these sources on demand” (p. 202). Participants in the current study typically only had a few contacts upon arrival, but after a period of time living in the UK they had developed networks of formal and informal sources that they were able to call on, and they were able to refine their choice of source according to which would be the most useful or reliable.

A key difference between the Polish economic migrants in this study and refugee migrants examined in the literature is that of their relative physical and political safety and future access or

return to their home country. For the refugee, their home society is no longer physically accessible, although they may have some digital access to it, and to the diaspora of other refugees throughout the world (Kennan et al., 2011; Lloyd, 2016). They are able to “to draw from local, national and global knowledges” and to stay in touch with the people and culture of their home country (Lloyd, 2016, p. 306). Earlier work by Kennan et al. (2011) found that refugees used technology primarily for staying in touch with friends and family elsewhere, and did not make much use of the internet as an information source. However, later studies found that young refugees in particular were using ICT not only for social connections but for finding other kinds of information, such as checking news websites or looking for jobs.

The Polish migrants had no need for sanctuary, and their political and physical safety was not an issue. With one exception, all had migrated at a time when borders between European countries were open and it was relatively simple to move back and forth between countries if required. For them, the rest of the world was accessible both physically and digitally, and their home society was also physically and digitally accessible whenever it was needed. There was therefore less risk inherent in their migration, as return to Poland was always possible, even if it was not desired. They were able to draw on local and global connections for help; for example, moving to a place where they already knew someone, being able to draw on these contacts for information and support, or accessing Polish Facebook groups or message boards for advice and information. This supports the findings of Srinivasan and Pyati (2007) that economic migrants use technology to facilitate new constructions of diaspora and nationhood. However, there was a sense that participants were less tied to their Polish identity than, for example, the post-war generation of Poles in the UK. The post-war generation could in fact be said to have something in common with refugee groups; they were displaced from their homeland and as a result they often lacked social capital in their new environment, including social connections, language skills, and transferrable professional skills. They also made strong use of their co-ethnic community, establishing “substantial diasporic institutional structures” to support the new Polish community in the UK (Garapich, 2008, p. 126), and relying heavily upon other members of the local Polish community for information and support, as well as sharing memories and experiences (Bielewska, 2012). Participants in the current study saw themselves less as Poles but more as European or even global citizens, having grown up in a post-socialist society and being exposed to western and American popular culture and lifestyles. The “safety net of ethnic solidarity” (Bielewska, 2012, p. 97) was not required and rather than use Polish networks or institutions, participants used modern communications technologies and a range of personal contacts. Because connections with Poland were always available, they had less need to recreate their Polish homeland or foster

Polish connections, and exhibited significant ties to their new society in the UK through relationships, social contacts, leisure activities and general participation in everyday life. Some stated that they actively preferred not to engage with other Poles if possible, despite making use of the Polish community for practical support and information. This supports findings by Ryan et al. (2008), who observed a dynamic among communities of recent Polish migrants wherein migrants' close Polish contacts are seen by them as supportive and trustworthy even as the Polish migrant population in general is seen as unhelpful or untrustworthy.

The nature of engagement with other Poles changed as participants settled and extended their networks: the Polish community was used, particularly through weak ties, to fulfil initial information needs, but many participants moved away from it, consciously or unconsciously, after this arrival stage. Ryan et al. (2008) observed Polish migrants choosing actively to avoid the Polish community and making an effort to experience different aspects of UK culture, make new friendships with UK and other nationals, and improve their language skills. Importantly, these migrants possessed a relatively high level of cultural capital, attained through professional work and education, which enabled them to connect more easily with a wider network. The current study presented a similar situation: those who were able to reach outside the Polish community were often those with higher levels of social capital, and those who lacked social capital in comparison tended to rely more upon the Polish community in the UK and in Poland.

The later steps in Allard's (2015, 2016) model of economic migrants' translocal meaning making involve the migrant re-imagining their new environment, based upon their direct experience, and then contributing to a re-imagining of the wider social imaginary of migration and settlement between the old and new environments. Some participants in this study, generally those who had been in the UK longer, showed evidence of these stages. In interviews, they reflected on how the expectations that they had had before migration and upon arrival had changed as a result of their experiences in the UK and both the explicit and tacit knowledge they had gained. They demonstrated a greater understanding of the context of their new environment, both generally and in terms of the information landscape and how they interacted with it. This process of re-imagining the UK was also performed for their perceptions of Poland; some participants spoke of how they viewed the country differently or how they no longer wished to return. They showed awareness of "multiple and sometimes conflicting ways of knowing and doing things" (Allard, 2016, p. 4). Some, though by no means all, had begun to undertake the final step in Allard's model: that of contributing to the re-imagining of broader social imaginaries of migration through communication with other potential migrants, narrating their experience and offering advice. Participants were asked what advice they would give to a potential migrant from

Poland to the UK, and frequent answers included the importance of planning and research, language learning, and awareness of their financial situation. Several participants stated that they had already given advice to other Poles on these and other matters. However, there also seemed to be a reticence on the part of some to giving such advice, which is an angle not addressed in Allard's model but which arose in the UKDA transcripts that were analysed and described in the exploratory study (Section 4.4). Participants in that study (Eade & Garapich, 2008), and the present study, were willing to give advice to other migrants, but in both cases this was tempered with caution and participants took care to ensure they were presenting both good and bad sides of the migration experience. Some in Eade and Garapich's study expressed a reluctance to give advice in case they were held accountable if things went wrong; others seemed to feel that new migrants would pose competition to them. Participants in the current study did not express these views but did stress the potential negative aspects of migration as well as the positive ones. In doing so, they nonetheless fulfilled the final step of Allard's (2015, 2016) model in contributing to wider social imaginaries of migration between the UK and Poland.

6.5 Model of migrational experience: factors shaping the experience of migrant groups

This section summarises the experience of recent Polish female migrants to the UK and sets their experience within the context of other migrant groups, in order to theorise the information behaviour around migration as a whole. It examines the series of factors that shape their migration experience and information behaviour, and demonstrates how these factors interrelate and play out to create different experiences for different groups of migrants. It is useful to examine these factors in roughly chronological order of occurrence, as the proposed stages of migration, from the moment of deciding to move up to longer term settlement, are one thing that provides commonality to every migrant experience. However, it is acknowledged that these stages are interdependent and are not always experienced in linear fashion. By observing two very different groups of migrants, contrasting young Polish women moving to the UK with refugee migrants, it can be seen that the various factors at play influence every stage and aspect of the migration experience in different ways for different groups.

An initial consideration is the motive for migration and the level of autonomy in the decision. The Polish migrants in this study were generally in control of their own movement at all

stages, although the specifics were sometimes influenced by social contacts or formal sources such as agencies. The major factor in their migration was economic improvement, but other reasons included language learning, a desire to travel, and self-fulfilment. Their autonomy enabled them to choose their own destination, and hence to have more access to formal and informal sources; for example, by choosing to go where there was work or where friends were, they were able to take advantage of the information that was present at these sites or through these connections. This is a common situation for many economic migrants. However, it should also be noted that while participants in this study were relatively autonomous in the ways described, social structures and conditions still influenced their behaviour and limited the opportunities available to them; for example, the poor economic situation in Poland acted as a push factor for many and it is possible that, given a better economic situation and more opportunity in Poland, they may not have migrated at all. Groups such as refugees, who have little choice in the decision to migrate or the destination, can experience difficulties as a result of not being able to plan their move. The level of autonomy available to migrants is therefore a key factor in shaping their experience, both generally and in terms of information; this autonomy is inextricably bound up with the motive for migration, whether forced or chosen. In turn, these factors shape the location in which migrants find themselves and the resources that are available to them.

The level of preparation also influences the migrant experience, and is linked to the level of autonomy. Participants in the current study were able to plan their move, although in practice degrees of planning varied widely. Previous migration, again on their own terms, had prepared some for their move to the UK. Of those who did not plan their move extensively, many did not plan to stay in the UK long term, so may have felt less need to plan beyond their immediate needs. They had imagined, largely correctly, that the information landscape of the UK would be similar to that in Poland, and that information would be accessible, transparent, and reliable. Some participants had their immediate needs taken care of by employment agencies working between the UK and Poland, or by family or friends, so again less research was required. There seemed to be no significant trust issues when dealing with institutional sources. Although the reality of life in the UK did not always match migrants' expectations, this information disjunction was temporary, and they adapted to it with relative ease. The ability to plan one's move is not available to all migrants, however; those who are displaced, such as refugees, are often obliged to leave with little to no notice or planning. This places them at a disadvantage as they are forced to accept help and information from whatever sources are immediately available, regardless of safety or reliability. Upon arrival in their new environment they may feel disoriented or overwhelmed and lack the information skills to navigate their new landscape. The ability to plan the migration is

therefore another key factor shaping the migration experience from the very start; those who are able to plan have a ‘head start’ in many respects.

Compared to other migrant groups, the Polish women in this study were offered little formal help. Support was available to them, but was not pushed in the way that it might be to a refugee or disadvantaged migrant; they had to find it themselves. This involved more work in terms of seeking information and evaluating sources, but also meant that they therefore had control over their information gathering and processing. For those migrant groups that are recognised as being in need of assistance, information and support is pushed to them, largely through formal sources. This is useful to a degree, but can result in information overload or an over-reliance on these sources. The type of sources and support available, and whether they are pushed to the migrant or found autonomously, influence the migrant experience, particularly in the early stages, affecting the amount and character of information available. These factors are also linked to the motive and type of migration; economic, autonomous migrants are more able to shape their own information landscape, whereas displaced migrants are less able.

For all migrants, their knowledge bases and information behaviours have the potential to become disrupted and fragmented as part of the migration process and settlement in a new environment. Upon arrival, migrants need to re-engage with information, establish the characteristics of their new information landscape, and learn how to navigate it. The level to which this fragmentation and reconstruction occurs is influenced by several factors, of which the cultural similarity between their home and host environments is a major one. The UK and Poland are similar in many ways; cultural differences described by participants were nuanced, in contrast to the large differences illustrated in the literature regarding refugees moving to Western countries. As a result, the information landscape of the UK was generally familiar and easy for them to negotiate. They were able to use the same information practices and information seeking strategies as they had used in Poland, with relative confidence that information would be accessible and transparent, and were able to make use of a wide range of social contacts and weak ties. Most migrants arrive in their new environment with lower levels of social capital than they had experienced in their home society, but some groups are able to build social capital more quickly than others. For migrants who move to a country that is culturally quite different from their home country, the experience is often more difficult. These groups tend to rely on co-ethnics and find information in everyday spaces.

A migrational individual’s new information landscape is shaped by a number of sources and factors. Institutional sources, such as agencies, employers, or official websites, play a part in

most migrants' experience, but the level of this varies. Participants in the present study used these sources, but did not rely heavily upon them in the way that refugees in work by Kennan et al. (2011) did. In common with most migrants, they made strong use of interpersonal connections, whether strong ties such as friends, family, or work colleagues, or weak ties in the outer reaches of their social networks. These connections were important in assisting with everyday information, and in directing participants to sources of compliance information. In addition to making use of these networks, participants also displayed a high degree of independence in their information behaviours. There were indications that some were cautious of engaging too much with the Polish community, although many had made use of other Poles for practical support and friendship. This measured level of engagement with co-ethnics perhaps indicates a level of comfort with their new environment, in which the social milieu seems to operate in a similar way to their previous one; migrants who experience large cultural and social differences appear to rely more heavily on co-ethnics for information and support. The kinds of sources and networks that migrants use, and their level of engagement with their co-ethnic community, play a large part in determining how well they are able to settle and integrate into their new environment. These factors reflect again the significance of the migrant's ability to make social connections and leverage weak ties, which is in turn influenced by cultural similarities between countries, linguistic competence, and access to the broader range of sources and contacts that is afforded by more autonomous migration.

Use of technology was also an important factor in participants' information behaviour; all of them used it frequently for seeking information and maintaining social contacts both in the UK and in Poland. The technological landscape of the UK was familiar to them and they experienced little trouble in accessing or using technology. Groups such as refugees also make use of technology, but primarily for keeping in touch with friends and family overseas, and less for information seeking or e-participation. Financial pressures, a lack of technological training, and unfamiliarity with digital sources all contribute to some migrants lacking access or skill with technology. The exception is younger refugees, who make use of technology more than older age groups; participants in the current study were generally young and this likely played a part in their inclination to use technological sources and means as a matter of course. Technology is therefore significant in migrants' information behaviour, and will likely become more so in the future; the ways in which it is used, however, may vary according to migrants' information needs and their technological competence.

Levels of language skill and educational background also influence migrants' settlement. For the Polish economic migrants, their education and qualifications largely translated

satisfactorily into the UK system, although there were barriers for some. They all had good information literacy skills, which assisted them in negotiating their new environment; they were able “to recognize when information is needed and [had] the ability to locate, evaluate, and use effectively the needed information” (American Library Association, 1989). Participants’ language skills were generally good at the time of interview, although some acknowledged that upon arrival they had struggled due to a lack of ability or confidence in English; this had particularly manifested itself in the type of work they were able to do. Those who had learned English to at least conversational level before arrival, or who made learning English a priority upon arrival, adapted more quickly. Migrants who arrive with little or no ability in the language of the host society, as refugees often do, face substantial barriers. Competency in the language of one’s new environment is a key factor in many facets of migrants’ lives, affecting everything from employment to social life and ability to engage with systems such as healthcare and education. It is shaped by several factors addressed already, including the level of autonomy and ability to plan one’s migration; for example, those in a crisis situation may have little time or inclination to learn a new language. Cultural factors, such as the educational status of women, influence language acquisition and education. A lack of language skill may lead to over-reliance on gatekeepers, reduced employment opportunities, social isolation, and status loss. Many of the most characteristic aspects of refugee information behaviour seem to arise from the language barrier; for example, reliance on visual information or on co-ethnic gatekeepers. Overall the young Polish migrants had a much wider potential range of sources, whereas refugees could be reasonably characterised as “information poor”. The ability or opportunity to improve one’s skill in the language of the new host country is vital to successful settlement.

The process of migration is a gendered one, as discussed in Sections 2.2.3 and 2.2.4. Much literature in the past has focused on men’s experience, but increasingly, women are choosing to migrate independently rather than as family joiners, and their motivations for migration are changing (Abramovitz, 2004; United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2007). This type of migration has received less attention in the literature, but participants in the current study presented strong examples of it. Female migrants are often presented as working in domestic or reproductive labour, but for participants in this study this was generally not the case. They were often highly skilled and educated, and were working in roles reflecting this. Again, there is a relational aspect to this factor; the home and host societies of these migrants share many characteristics in terms of women’s roles and the possibilities open to them. When moving between countries that exhibit a higher level of cultural difference, gender issues may well come into play more.

The negative effects of migration, and challenges faced by migrants, have been well documented, but it is also important to note the positive aspects. Migration can provide improvements in financial, professional, educational or social conditions, for both migrants and their children. It can also result in less tangible benefits such as greater self-belief, social status and recognition, a sense of achievement, broadened horizons, a sense of freedom, and increased personal autonomy (R. Berger, 2004; Fisher, Durrance, et al., 2004; Friedman-Kasaba, 1996; Georges, 1992; United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, 2007). Migration also presents the opportunity to renegotiate gender roles and expectations; while the young Polish women in this study had not experienced entrenched traditional gender roles to any significant degree, migration had afforded them greater independence and self-sufficiency. Participants in the current study frequently expressed these qualities, either explicitly or implicitly, supporting the findings of Cook et al. (2011) who found that for female A8 accession migrants:

“Moving abroad had allowed them the space to develop a different personal perspective on who they had been and, in some respects, who they might be in the future. Their lives continued to be mediated by gender but relocation to a new social setting had allowed them in some ways to reconsider and reconfigure their identities as women.” (p. 20)

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the migration experience of young Polish women in the UK, with particular focus on their information behaviour and the factors that shape their information landscape. It has set this experience against that of other groups of migrants, particularly refugees, and examined the range of issues that should be considered when researching different migrant groups. The experience of these Polish migrants is complex and nuanced; it has some characteristics in common with the experiences of other well-studied migrant groups, but a different narrative emerges that contrasts in many ways with the accepted familiar narratives of migration that often accompany migrational groups. Their information behaviour reflects their status as capable, resourceful, confident migrants. However, it is also symptomatic of the relation between their home and host countries, which share many cultural and social structures and systems, resulting in information landscapes that are similar and present fewer navigational challenges than the shift between developing and developed countries that other migrant groups

experience. Most importantly, this chapter has presented an expanded conceptualisation of migration, which emphasises the variety of experience and the factors that shape this diversity.

7. Conclusion and further research

7.1 Introduction

This chapter draws together the preceding work, connecting the initial aims and objectives with the findings of the study. An overview of the research is given and the contribution that the thesis has made to current knowledge in the field is presented. The scope of the research is discussed, and suggestions are made for future research. Finally, practical recommendations are offered in order to demonstrate how the findings of the research might influence future policy and practice.

7.2 Overview of research

This work has addressed the objectives set out in Section 1.2 of this thesis. It has critically reviewed the existing literature on information in the context of migration, and in particular the migration of women. The wider context of Polish migration to the UK has also been examined through the literature review and exploratory work, which also assisted in developing and evaluating an appropriate toolkit of data collection and analysis methods. Twenty-one Polish women who had recently migrated to the UK were interviewed, and the data gives deeper understanding of their experiences, the issues facing them, and their information behaviour. The use of a drawing method enabled the capture of rich data and the engagement of participants. The data was analysed using thematic analysis techniques and the ensuing discussion supported further understanding of information in the life course of Polish migrational women.

When returning to the research questions, aims, and objectives outlined in Section 1.2, it is clear that these have been met. The study has identified and explored the factors shaping migrational Polish women's information behaviour during the process of migration and settlement. The features of this experience have also been identified, in terms of how this group seeks, finds, encounters, and uses information. Their experience has been compared to that of other migrants and set in a broader context. The objective to identify what is known about the

information behaviour of migrants, in particular the Polish community and women, has been met through a thorough review of the literature. This literature review, and the exploratory study, have explored the context of Polish migration to the UK and its relevance to the experience of participants. Through the exploratory study, an appropriate toolkit of data collection and analysis methods was developed and evaluated. The successful interviewing of twenty-one Polish women provided a deeper understanding of the issues facing them and their information behaviour. The objective to collect data through innovative and engaging visual and participative methods was fulfilled via the use of mental mapping in conjunction with semi-structured interviews, allowing the capture of different perspectives and rich data. A better understanding of the role of information in the lives of migrational Polish women was then afforded through analysis of this data. Their experience was then contextualised by comparing it to the experiences of other migrants, particularly refugees. Finally, a conceptual model was developed of the underlying factors shaping the relationship between migration and information behaviour.

7.2.1 Findings: answers to research questions

- What are the factors shaping migrational Polish women's information behaviour during the process of migration and settlement?

Through interviewing and researching this population, this study has provided more insight into these factors. The motive for migration is key in understanding the information behaviour of participants. This motivation is often multifaceted, comprising a combination of economic push and pull factors, language learning, the desire for travel and 'adventure', and self-fulfilment or self-discovery. Closely linked to this is the level of autonomy in their move; these migrants were generally in control of their experience, at least compared to other groups such as refugees or displaced migrants, but their experience was still shaped by social forces such as the poor economic situation in Poland, as well as by factors such as whether they had social or professional contacts in certain areas. By possessing a degree of control over the situation, however, they were able to shape their migration to some extent and were at least afforded the chance to plan their experience.

Cultural similarities further shape the information behaviour of Polish migrants to the UK; these likenesses contribute to the relative similarity of the information landscapes of Poland and the UK. Information sources, systems, and practices are used and encountered in comparable fashion in both countries. For example, formal sources are generally easily accessible and

information from them is largely reliable; digital information is widespread; and social networks are available for information and support both in the local area and more globally in the form of contact with family, friends, or the wider Polish diaspora. This ensured that the information behaviours that participants had used before their migration were relatively easily transferable to their new environment, and that they were quickly able to overcome the minimal information disjuncture between their imagined new life and the reality of it. In addition, they were able to build social capital relatively quickly.

The level of help and information offered to migrants, and how, also shapes their experience. As willing economic migrants, participants in this study often spoke of how they were compelled to seek and find information of their own accord, rather than having it pushed to them. As a result, they exhibited self-directed, proactive information behaviour at all stages of the process; even those who relied upon personal contacts for information or practical support demonstrated these traits. They were thereby able to shape their own information landscape, although it is also highly likely that in doing so they missed out on information that could have been relevant or helpful.

Another key factor shaping the experience of these participants was their education and level of competence in using the English language. They were generally well-educated with good information literacy skills, enabling them to seek, find, use, and exchange information effectively. However, their level of language skill varied, and this was reflected in their information behaviour; for example, those with good English felt more comfortable accessing a wider range of sources and contacts for information, while those whose English was less good were often forced to rely on gatekeepers or weak ties to navigate the information landscape for them, which therefore limited the options available to them and sometimes placed them in precarious positions.

- What are the features of their experience, in terms of how they seek, find, encounter, and use information?

The level of preparation and planning around migration varied greatly among this population. Some undertook extensive and detailed research before their move, not only into significant practical needs such as finding employment or learning about the cost of living, but down to more detailed information needs such as how to drive on the other side of the road or what food products might be available. Others did comparatively little information seeking before their move, whether this was due to a lack of time, scarcity of resources, or the knowledge that they would be able to rely on help from friends or other contacts.

The Polish women in this study made use of a range of sources in the course of their migration experience. In common with many migrational communities, interpersonal sources were used frequently. These might be family members or friends, work colleagues they had met in the UK, or weak ties who were at the outer reaches of their social networks, often from the existing Polish community in the UK. However, despite relying on other Poles for practical support and information, participants were often guarded regarding their interactions with them, or chose not to engage with the wider Polish community. Personal contacts were commonly used for obtaining and exchanging everyday information, and sometimes for direction to other sources for compliance information. Participants engaged in physical browsing, resulting in information encountering; for example, one strategy to find work was simply by walking around to businesses in the vicinity, or accommodation might be found by looking for advertisements in windows. Formal sources such as employment agencies and universities were also used, but were not relied upon heavily; information from these sources was often used in conjunction with information from other sources such as personal contacts or internet forums. The library was used by participants, but generally the impression was that it was seen as a practical resource for borrowing books or using the internet, rather than a space for community gathering or integration.

Technology featured heavily in the information behaviour of these migrants; it was easily accessible to them and was largely familiar. They were all comfortable with commonly available technologies and used online sources to find information, often as a first route of information seeking. Information found online covered all aspects of their daily lives and was used at all stages of the process: for example, they searched online to find accommodation or employment opportunities before or upon arrival; to learn how to register with a doctor or to find childcare; to speak with other Poles to find out about the realities of everyday life in the UK; and to find out about requirements for residency or citizenship. In addition, they used digital forms of information to remain in constant communication with family and friends both in the UK and Poland.

- How does their experience compare to other forms of migration and other migrants' information behaviour?

In order to better understand and contextualise the experience of these migrants, their information behaviour has been examined in comparison to that of other migrants; in particular the refugee, as perceptions of this highly visible group contribute to shaping public and academic

discourse around migration; but also other economic migrants, as examined in the LIS literature. The factors outlined in the first question of course shape not only the migration experience of young Polish economic migrants, but that of all migrants; issues such as the motive for migration, the migrant's level of autonomy, similarity or difference in the cultural and information landscapes, levels of education and language competency, and the amount of help offered to them all affect the migrant's journey and experience, whether they are a highly skilled economic migrant who has planned a move for several years under favourable conditions, or a displaced refugee forced to flee their home at a moment's notice and relocate to a deeply unfamiliar environment. The experience of participants in this study as compared to these other groups of migrants has been described and discussed in detail in the preceding chapters, but key points of comparison will be outlined briefly here.

Economic migrants, including participants in this study, have more autonomy and choice in their migration than displaced migrants; although social forces, such as a poor economy or hostile social climate, may well play a part in the decision to migrate, they are not physically forced to migrate in the way that refugees often are. Refugees may have little to no time to prepare for or plan their move or their new life, whereas economic migrants are usually able to make at least rudimentary plans, and some are able to plan and research extensively. Cultural similarities and differences play a part in many migration experiences; it is rare that a migrant of any kind will feel instantly familiar or at home in their new environment. However, refugees often find themselves in countries which are substantially different from their previous environment, in both obvious and more subtle ways. Economic migrants may also experience such a move between diverse environments, and may also struggle to adapt if the culture is very different to that which they are used to. However, Polish economic migrants to the UK do not seem to experience significant cultural differences or difficulties; their information disjuncture is relatively easily overcome and many spoke of how the UK was more relaxed and life was easier than in Poland. Language and education are also vital factors in all migrant experiences. Refugees often arrive in their new environment with limited language skills and this influences their information behaviour, compelling them to rely on gatekeepers or visual information. Economic migrants, by contrast, often have the resources to learn the language of their new country, undertaking some language learning before or upon arrival. The Polish economic migrants in this study varied in their levels of English language skill but all were competent enough to navigate life in the UK and this was evident in their more sophisticated information behaviour.

Refugees are often offered support and information from formal sources such as governments and agencies, leading to their information landscape, at least early in the migration

process, being heavily shaped by such sources. By contrast, information is generally not pushed to economic migrants by these sources. Their information behaviour is necessarily more self-directed and independent. Interpersonal sources of information are used by all groups of migrants, but again there are differences in this behaviour between groups. Refugees are often forced to rely on fellow members of their ethnic community to translate both linguistically and culturally. While this is highly important and useful to these migrants, it can lead to over-reliance on such sources, who may convey incorrect information, and less successful settlement or integration in their new environment. Economic migrants also use interpersonal sources, but there is less reliance on these sources and information from them is often evaluated more carefully as it is able to be used in conjunction with information gathered from other, more formal, sources. Participants in the current study used this strategy but were also sometimes notable in their reluctance to engage with, or fully trust, the co-ethnic community in their new environment. Digital information also features in the experiences of migrants from all groups; technology is used by economic migrants for seeking information, e-participation, and maintaining contact with friends, family and diasporic connections around the world. However, while refugee migrants make strong use of technology for keeping in touch with contacts abroad, they may be less inclined to use it for information seeking or e-participation; the exception to this is refugee youth, who have been shown to use technology in all aspects of their everyday life and are sometimes responsible for using it on behalf of older family members to seek information and maintain relationships.

7.3 Contribution to current knowledge

7.3.1 Contribution to the literature

A leading contribution of this thesis is to provide a new reading of the migrant experience and to highlight themes and issues to consider when studying migrant groups. Much literature and coverage of migration focuses on refugees and asylum seekers. This is of course important for many reasons: the UN Refugee Agency estimates that there are currently 65.6 million forcibly displaced people worldwide, of which 22.5 million are classed as refugees (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017a). Such a large population of individuals in flight or seeking refuge is a matter of concern for governments and international organisations. These migrant

groups are subject to extremely difficult conditions and experience many challenges during the process of migration. They are therefore an important group to study, and research across a range of disciplines has addressed their situation. Within the LIS field, literature on migrants has tended to focus on groups that may be seen as marginalised or disadvantaged, the challenges and barriers faced by migrants, and recommendations for support and assistance of these populations.

This study has uncovered a different, more complex narrative of the migration experience for the group studied. Young Polish women moving to the UK have been shown to be capable, competent, resourceful, and confident. They follow Harzig's (2001) portrayal of modern female migrants as "well-informed global players... decisive agents pursuing their own agenda" (p. 25). Their experience has, admittedly, been easier than that of the refugee population, due to cultural similarities between Poland and the UK and the relatively autonomous circumstances of their move. Like all migrants, they are naturally in need of assistance to some degree during the migration and settlement process, and their migration was not without challenges. However, they were obliged to be independent in their information behaviour and displayed highly developed information skills. It should be noted that refugees and other disadvantaged groups of migrants are often also well-educated and information literate, even if their skills and competencies are not always apparent or do not always correspond to Western perceptions (Khoir et al., 2015). Nonetheless, the literature has tended to focus on the barriers they face, or the ways in which they are 'lacking' or need help. The present study has demonstrated the positive qualities and self-directed information behaviours of a different group of migrants, moving towards presenting an expanded view of the migration experience. This conceptualisation of migration, as presented in the Discussion chapter, encompasses a wider range of types of experience. The experience of the displaced refugee, and that of the highly skilled migrant moving between culturally similar countries, sit alongside many other potential forms of migration to produce a more nuanced account of migration and the role of information in it. This study demonstrates that a wider conceptualisation of migration is needed, both in LIS and in migration studies in general.

This work has investigated the migration experience of young Polish women in the UK, and has set it against the experience of other migrational populations, exploring the range of issues and complexities that should be considered when researching different migrant groups. From researching young Polish women, it can be seen that this group shares some characteristics with other migrant groups, but that their experience is also different in several ways. When looking at the range of migrant experience, there are several major factors shaping this experience. Motives for migration, whether these are questions of economic or educational improvement, self-fulfilment, or physical security when the home country becomes unsafe,

shapes much of the experience, including the level of planning migrants are able to undertake, the location in which they find themselves, and the resources available to them there. The relationship between the home and host countries has a significant bearing on the ability of migrants to adapt to their new environment; cultural factors play a large part in how quickly migrants are able to reconstruct their fragmented information landscapes and build social capital, and the extent to which they rely upon their co-ethnic community, if one exists in the new environment. Educational and employment background and technological competence influence the experience of migration, and is linked to gender for some populations. Language is also a key factor in the migrant experience, affecting both everyday and longer-term information needs and experiences.

In terms of contribution to the LIS field more specifically, this work is the first study of young Polish women migrants to the UK, an area which has not been studied in depth but which is significant. This more positive experience of migration has been widely reflected across the EU in the past few decades, with many forms of similar migration within the EU's borders. The Polish population of the UK has increased greatly in recent years, and as the UK moves towards the moment of leaving the European Union it becomes even more important to study the movement of migrants from elsewhere in Europe to and from the UK. Data collection was conducted over a period of months following the referendum on EU membership, and acquiring the thoughts of participants during this time was valuable in illustrating the range and strength of reactions to the vote to leave.

Much literature regarding the information behaviour of migrants addresses details such as their preferred sources, barriers they face, and their day-to-day behaviour, taking a practitioner-based approach in order to deliver recommendations for service providers. This study attempts to take a broader perspective, stepping back from the details of other studies, viewing participants' information behaviour over the course of many years and emphasising the role of information in the life course. Literature on refugees in particular emphasises the period of arrival and immediate settlement, with less material on their pre-arrival practices and longer-term settlement. This study has attempted to provide more insight into all stages of the migration process, examining participants' lives before migration, the decision to migrate, pre-migration planning, the journey, arrival, immediate settlement, and longer-term settlement.

7.3.2 Methodological contribution

In methodological terms, this study contributes to the use of drawing methods in work with migrants, both for LIS and in the broader field of migration studies. Visual methods such as photovoice have been utilised widely in migration studies (Rhodes & Hergenrather, 2007; L. R. Schwartz et al., 2007; Streng et al., 2004). They have been used successfully in LIS studies with migrants, and some mapping and drawing techniques have also been employed (Hartel, 2014; Lingel, 2011, 2013; May, 2011; Scull et al., 1999; Sonnenwald & Wildemuth, 2001). However, none of these studies has used the mental mapping and timeline technique employed in the present study. This technique was useful for several reasons: it enabled ‘ice breaking’ with participants; it produced rich, resonant data; it encouraged participants to think about the task in non-standard ways; it ensured that their stories were laid out systematically and all stages were captured; it helped to clarify ideas and events; and it produced a different type of engagement with the topic and acted as “a tool for thinking with” (Bragg, 2011, p. 94).

7.4 Scope of the research and suggestions for future research

This research is highly qualitative and adopts an interpretivist, constructionist approach, acknowledging subjectivity and multiple interpretations of reality in both researcher and participants. Findings presented are therefore subject to the researcher’s interpretation and the inherent bias that accompanies it. The research paradigm acknowledges this as unavoidable, but the work has tried to mitigate these issues by being reflexive and transparent at all stages. As the researcher, I had certain characteristics in common with the study population: I am a young woman, who has previously lived abroad and has worked both in academia and in roles outside it. I have also visited Poland and have a strong awareness of Polish culture and history. These characteristics and experiences helped to build trust and I was able to empathise with participants. While not being of Polish descent, and therefore being unable to draw on that as a resource, I was able to reflect on and discuss their experience from the point of view of the host country.

As with all studies where participants are volunteers, there were limitations to the study population. Despite there being a significant Polish population in South Yorkshire, it was difficult to find, contact, and persuade individuals to take part. Many participants were studying or working in academia, a group whose information behaviour has been relatively well-studied

already. However, most participants from academia had also worked in other areas and moved between sectors, and so had complex narratives that were nonetheless worthy of study. The range of work done by the group of participants was broad, and shows that the confidence and resourcefulness of this group was not simply down to working in academia and the opportunities afforded therein. Participants working outside academia also demonstrated these qualities. Future research could seek to reach young Polish women working in a broader range of careers. It could do that by contacting more gatekeepers and organisations in non-academic settings such as language schools, employment agencies, and training centres specialising in the target population.

Most participants were generally content with life in the UK and happy to talk about their experiences; it may have been the case that when recruiting, individuals who were unhappy in the UK were less likely to want to discuss their experience. This could have affected the data gathered, with potential for more positive experiences to be represented and fewer negative ones. Future research could attempt to address this issue by recruiting through different avenues where potential participants might be less likely to have had a positive experience, although more research would be needed to ascertain what these avenues might be; this is a difficult group to reach. When snowball sampling, or recruiting in person, it could be emphasised to potential participants that there was an interest in those who had had a negative experience. It is likely that some Polish women who have been unhappy with their move to the UK have returned to Poland, and so attempts could be made to access this population. Several gatekeepers and experts in the area also ascribed reluctance to take part to the current climate in the UK surrounding the Brexit referendum, stating that migrant groups in general were wary of institutional sources and how their data might be used. The researcher attempted to mitigate this by being open and transparent about the study's purpose and potential outcomes, and presenting a positive attitude towards the study population. The Brexit context proved to add interest to the interviews for both researcher and participants because they were held at a critical time.

When conducting research with a population whose first language is not the same as that of the researcher, there will inevitably be a language barrier to some degree. This meant that participants who responded were only those who felt comfortable conversing in English, and that those who took part may have been unable to express themselves as fluently as they would have done in their native language. This could have affected the results and interpretation of the data, as the researcher is only able to work with what has been said by participants. It would be interesting to conduct similar research in the future, but to conduct the interviews in Polish, to facilitate interviews with those whose English language skills were not of a high level.

There is also scope to extend the parameters of the current study; for example, studying the Polish population in more rural areas; studying Polish men in the UK; and studying those who have returned to Poland, or who live a more transnational existence than participants in the current study. The experiences of these other groups will differ from those in the current study. For example, those in rural areas might have less access to services and resources, and either have fewer co-ethnics in their area, or have a co-ethnic community that is rather insular. This could lead to a lack of access to information, an over-reliance on certain gatekeepers, smaller networks of social connections and weak ties, and potentially a greater degree of discrimination than in areas with established ethnic diversity. As noted by several interviewees, Polish men in the UK are likely to work in different environments from women, such as warehouses and factories. Participants with experience of these environments felt that such employment had sometimes held them back from improving their language skills and extending their social contacts beyond fellow Polish or Eastern European employees, both of which would impact upon their experience. Given the greater sense of freedom and more relaxed attitude that the Polish women felt was a condition of life in the UK as compared to the more traditional and restrictive situation for women in Poland, it would be interesting to examine whether Polish men noticed similar differences between the two countries. The significant difference in studying migrants who have returned to Poland, or live a more transnational existence, would be their reasons for doing so, which would perhaps be connected with family, their Polish identity, economic factors such as not being able to find work in the UK, having improved their professional or linguistic skills sufficiently to find better work in Poland, or feeling unwelcome or insecure of their status after the EU membership referendum. The Brexit context is especially interesting and worthy of further study, particularly if other European countries decide to follow suit. Finally, although the current study addressed the life course of migrants, it was still limited to a relatively brief period of engagement with participants. It would be interesting to conduct a more longitudinal study, following migrants from the moment of deciding to move, through the process, and monitoring their experience over several years.

7.5 Practical recommendations

The findings of this work present several recommendations for various groups involved in the migration process. Most participants had had little contact with migration-related organisations or formal networks. While they were generally able to seek and find information themselves, it would be useful for formal institutions, such as local migration organisations, government institutions, voluntary organisations and charities, to find a way to make contact with new arrivals from EU countries. This will become particularly important given the context of uncertainty and insecurity surrounding residency and employment status during and after the Brexit process. These organisations should make an effort to reach out to EU migrants to keep them informed and make information accessible and transparent. Such organisations often focus their attention on more disadvantaged migrants such as refugees and asylum seekers; while this is understandable, there is scope to develop their engagement with migrants who appear less in need of help. By broadening their perspective, there are lessons to be learned from those groups of migrants who have been relatively successful in their transition, such as those in the current study.

The Polish institutions that were encountered in the course of this research, while seeming to suffer from a lack of funding, also did not seem to engage with the younger generation of Polish migrants. This is likely partly due to a lack of desire or need on the part of the young Poles to engage with institutions that they saw as belonging to the older generation. While many stated that they had no inclination to engage with the wider Polish community in the UK, their actions often belied this, as nearly all had made use of connections with other Poles, whether strong or weak ties, for information, practical support, and friendship. It is therefore suggested that Polish institutions make efforts to reach this younger generation and demonstrate their relevance.

The pre-migration stage was identified as an area where information was often lacking for migrants. Many had little contact with formal organisations before moving; it would be useful for institutions such as the British Council in Poland to try to access those who are thinking of moving to the UK before they do so, and to offer information and support. This could be in the form of more official, formal, material regarding compliance information, but another suggestion would be to establish a network whereby those considering the move could be put in contact with Polish people in the UK for informal advice and support.

Libraries are identified in the literature as a key source of support and information for migrants; however, in this study it was found that the young Polish women used the library less than might have been expected, indicating perhaps that libraries could do more to engage with this population. Those who did use it limited their use largely to borrowing books, using the internet (mostly in the early days after arrival), and for children's events. It is possible that this limited use is partly due to the perception of libraries in Poland, where they may be seen as a place to borrow books or study, but little more (Listwon & Sen, 2009). A previous study of library provision to the Polish community in Sheffield concluded that the library service should improve their outreach and community engagement programmes, and that greater sensitivity and awareness of the needs of newly arrived Polish individuals was required (Listwon & Sen, 2009). Libraries in the UK could do more to make new arrivals aware of their services; a key moment for this engagement would be at registration. The Welcome To Your Library project, which operated from 2003 to 2008, aimed to connect public libraries with refugees and asylum seekers. Recommendations from this project included partnership development and sharing information across organisations, including cross-sector initiatives. The project also provided examples of good practice in relation to mapping need, reaching communities, building partnerships, enhancing access, improving awareness, and supporting community cohesion (Lamb, 2007). While the focus of this project was the refugee and asylum seeker communities, it is recommended that libraries should look back over the findings and recommendations from this project and consider how they could be applied to other groups, such as EU migrants. Additionally, greater awareness of the Polish community in the local area would be beneficial to the library service; studies such as this one should help to achieve this.

For young Polish women themselves, learning English to a reasonable standard, if possible, was a recommendation made by many participants. As has been seen, linguistic ability is a major factor in ensuring successful settlement, influencing nearly all aspects of daily life. Many also emphasised the importance of planning and research, although as noted, information was often scant or difficult to find in the planning stage. Informal networks were an effective way for some to find out about life in the UK, whether this was through contacts who had already migrated, or the wider Polish diaspora that was accessible to them online. However, such connections were not available to all participants. Many experienced an information disjuncture, even if they had thought they were well-informed. A mentoring network connecting would-be migrants with Poles already living in the UK would be beneficial to aid pre-arrival planning and effective settlement.

7.6 Conclusion

This study took place over a significant moment in recent UK history: the beginnings of the Brexit process. When the research began, Brexit was not a factor, but as the research progressed, it became increasingly important and influential, and was a topic discussed substantially in interviews. Participants expressed a range of emotions regarding Brexit, and even over the few months of data collection, the consensus of feeling and thoughts of future plans fluctuated. It was extremely interesting to observe the first-hand experiences and views of participants at this particular moment, and the future should provide opportunities to examine opinions and feelings at various different stages in the process. More research on the range of experience throughout the process would contribute to the emerging model of the variety of migrational experience. Research later in the Brexit process, for example, after the exit itself has occurred, might reveal changes in the interpretation of the experience by interviewees. The sense of identity of some participants seemed to be in flux, with some identifying strongly as Polish, some stating that they felt more British, and most expressing a complex sense of identity that appeared almost transnational, even though their lives could not be truly described as transnational, being largely settled in the UK. It would be interesting to examine how this sense of identity changed over the process of Brexit; participants who had previously felt themselves to be welcome and well-integrated in the UK had this world view disturbed by the outcome of the referendum and were forced to reconsider their position. Several participants expressed that the Brexit vote, rather than encouraging them to leave the UK, had in fact made them more determined to acquire citizenship and stay in the UK where they had settled and built their lives. Whether this is indicative of a broader trend, and whether this intent translates into a large number of young Poles remaining in the UK, would be interesting to examine in the future.

References

- Aabø, S., Audunson, R., & Varheim, A. (2010). How do public libraries function as meeting places? *Library & Information Science Research*, 32(1), 16-26.
- Abramovitz, M. (2004). Foreword. In R. Berger (Ed.), *Immigrant women tell their stories* (pp. xi-xiii). New York: Haworth Press.
- Akselbo, J. L., Arnfred, L., Barfot, S., Bay, G., Christiansen, T. B., Hansen, J. H., . . . Nielsen, M. P. (2006). The hybrid library: from the users' perspective: The National Library and Copenhagen University Library, The Aarhus School of Business Library, The State and University Library, The University Library of Southern Denmark.
- Alam, K., & Imran, S. (2015). The digital divide and social inclusion among refugee migrants. *Information Technology and People*, 28(2), 344-365.
- Allard, D. (2015). *Living "here" and "there": exploring the transnational information practices of newcomers from the Philippines to Winnipeg*. (Doctor of Philosophy), University of Toronto, Toronto.
- Allard, D. (2016). Translocal meaning making: Examining the information practices of migrants from the Philippines to Winnipeg. *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, 53(1), 1-4.
- Allen, M., Matthew, S., & Boland, M. J. (2004). Working with immigrant and refugee populations: Issues and Hmong case study. *Library Trends*, 53(2), 301-328.
- Altheide, D. L., & Johnson, J. M. (1994). Criteria for assessing interpretive validity in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2 ed., pp. 485-499). Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.
- American Library Association. (1989). Presidential committee on information literacy: Final report. Chicago, IL: American Library Association.
- Anderson, B., & Blinder, S. (2017). Who counts as a migrant? Definitions and their consequences *Migration Observatory Briefing*. Oxford, UK: COMPAS, University of Oxford.
- Andrews, M., Squire, C., & Tamboukou, M. (2008). *Doing narrative research*. London: SAGE.
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Appadurai, A. (2003). Archive and aspiration. In J. Brouwer & A. Mulder (Eds.), *Information is alive* (pp. 14-25). Rotterdam: V2 Publishing/ NAI Publishers.
- Appleby, R. (2010). *ELT, gender and international development: myths of progress in a neocolonial world*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Asanin, J., & Wilson, K. (2008). "I spent nine years looking for a doctor": exploring access to health care among immigrants in Mississauga, Ontario, Canada. *Social Science & Medicine*, 66(6), 1271-1283.
- Audunson, R., Essmat, S., & Aabø, S. (2011). Public libraries: A meeting place for immigrant women? *Library & Information Science Research*, 33(3), 220-227.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2014). Where do migrants live? , from <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/lookup/4102.0main+features102014>
- Aziz, K. (2015). Female migrants' work trajectories: Polish women in the UK labour market. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 4(1), 1-19.
- Bagnoli, A. (2009). Beyond the standard interview: the use of graphic elicitation and arts-based methods. *Qualitative Research*, 9(5), 547-570.
- Baker, T. A., & Wang, C. C. (2006). Photovoice: Use of a participatory action research method to explore the chronic pain experience in older adults. *Qualitative Health Research*, 16(10), 1405-1413.
- Baldassar, L., & Merla, L. (Eds.). (2014). *Transnational families, migration and the circulation of care*. New York: Routledge.

- Bartram, D. (2011). Economic migration and happiness: comparing immigrants' and natives' happiness gains from income. *Social Indicators Research*, 103(1), 57-76.
- Bates, M. J. (2010). Information behavior. In M. J. Bates & M. N. Maack (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of library and information sciences* (3 ed., pp. 2381-2391). New York: CRC Press.
- Bauere, V., Densham, P., Millar, J., & Salt, J. (2007). Migrants from Central and Eastern Europe: Local geographies. *Population Trends*, 129(3), 7-19.
- BBC News. (2016a). Anti-Polish cards in Huntingdon after EU referendum. Retrieved 18 July 2017, from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-cambridgeshire-36633388>
- BBC News. (2016b). UK and the EU: Better off out or in? Retrieved 6 July, 2017, from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-32793642>
- Beebejaun, Y., Durose, C., Rees, J., Richardson, J., & Richardson, L. (2013). 'Beyond text': exploring ethos and method in co-producing research with communities. *Community Development Journal*, 49(1), 37-53.
- Bell, J. (2016). Migrants: keeping a foot in both worlds or losing the ground beneath them? Transnationalism and integration as experienced in the everyday lives of Polish migrants in Belfast, Northern Ireland. *Social Identities*, 22(1), 80-94.
- Benson-Rea, M., & Rawlinson, S. (2003). Highly skilled and business migrants: Information processes and settlement outcomes. *International Migration*, 41(2), 59-77.
- Berger, Å. (2002). Recent trends in library services for ethnic minorities - the Danish experience. *Library Management*, 23(1/2), 79-87.
- Berger, R. (2004). *Immigrant women tell their stories*. New York: Haworth Press.
- Bernhard, J., Landolt, P., & Goldring, L. (2006). Transnational, multi-local motherhood: experiences of separation and reunification among Latin American families in Canada. In CERIS (Ed.), *Policy Matters* (Vol. 24). Toronto, Canada.
- Berry, E. (2007). Family storytimes for new immigrants combine learning and fun. *Feliciter*, 53(1), 44-45.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, 46(1), 5-34.
- Bielewska, A. (2012). National identities of Poles in Manchester: Modern and postmodern geographies. *Ethnicities*, 12(1), 86-105.
- Binnie, J. (2014). Neoliberalism, class, gender and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer politics in Poland. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 27(2), 241-257.
- Binnie, J., & Klesse, C. (2012). Solidarities and tensions: Feminism and transnational LGBTQ politics in Poland. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 19(4), 444-459.
- Binnie, J., & Klesse, C. (2013). 'Like a bomb in the gasoline station': East-West migration and transnational activism around lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer politics in Poland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(7), 1107-1124.
- Blinder, S. (2017). Non-European migration to the UK: Family unification & dependents. Oxford, UK: The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford.
- Boguszewski, R. (2014). Religijność a zasady moralne: Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej.
- Bolton, A., Pole, C., & Mizen, P. (2001). Picture this: researching child workers. *Sociology*, 35(2), 501-518.
- Booth, R. (2013, 30 January 2013). Polish becomes England's second language, *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2013/jan/30/polish-becomes-englands-second-language>
- Booth, T., & Booth, W. (2003). In the frame: Photovoice and mothers with learning difficulties. *Disability & Society*, 18(4), 431-442.
- Borkert, M., Fisher, K. E., & Yafi, E. (2018). The best, the worst, and the hardest to find: how people, mobiles, and social media connect migrants in(to) Europe. *Social Media and Society*, 4(1), 1-11.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *Photography, a middle-brow art*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

- Boyes, R. (2006, 25 May 2006). Pilgrimage will let Pope pray for a country that is turning to intolerance, *The Times*. Retrieved from <https://web.archive.org/web/20070208080656/http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article725521.ece>
- Bragg, S. (2011). "Now it's up to us to interpret it": 'youth voice' and visual methods. In P. Thomson & J. Sefton-Green (Eds.), *Researching creative learning: methods and issues* (pp. 88-103). London: Routledge.
- Branyon, A. P. (2017). 'A home for me when I am so far from home': Perceptions of libraries by immigrant mothers in language acquisition and cultural acclimation. *Public Library Quarterly*, 36(3), 185-198.
- Brashers, D. E., Goldsmith, D. J., & Hsieh, E. (2002). Information seeking and avoiding in health contexts. *Human Communication Research*, 28(2), 258-271.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.
- Brennan, P. F., & Kwiatkowski, K. (2003). *How do lay people manage health information in the home?* Paper presented at the 8th International Congress in Nursing Informatics, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
- Brilden, J. (2007). Photo surveys: eliciting more than you knew to ask for. In N. F. Foster & S. Gibbons (Eds.), *Studying students: The undergraduate research project at the University of Rochester* (pp. 40-47). Chicago, IL: Association of College and Research Libraries.
- Broadbent, R., Caciattolo, M., & Carpenter, C. (2007). A tale of two communities: Refugee relocation in Australia. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 42(4), 581-601.
- Brown, L. M., & Gilligan, C. (1992). *Meeting at the crossroads: women's psychology and girls' development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods* (4th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Burke, S. (2008). Use of public libraries by immigrants. *Reference & User Services Quarterly*, 48(2), 164-174.
- Burnett, G., & Erdelez, S. (2010). Forecasting the next 10 years in information behaviour research. *Bulletin for the American Society of Information Science and Technology*, 36(3), 44-48.
- Burrell, K. (2009). Migration to the UK from Poland. In K. Burrell (Ed.), *Polish migration to the UK in the 'new' European Union* (pp. 1-19). Farnham, UK: Ashgate.
- Burrell, K. (2010). Staying, returning, working and living: key themes in current academic research undertaken in the UK on migration movements from Eastern Europe. *Social Identities*, 16(3), 297-308.
- Caidi, N. (2004). National information infrastructures in Central and Eastern Europe: perspectives from the library community. *Information Society*, 20(1), 25-38.
- Caidi, N., & Allard, D. (2005). Social inclusion of newcomers to Canada: an information problem? . *Library & Information Science Research*, 27(3), 302-324.
- Caidi, N., Allard, D., & Quirke, L. (2010). Information practices of immigrants. *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology*, 44(1), 493-531.
- Cambridge Dictionary. (2017). Meaning of "economic migrant" in the English Dictionary. *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus* Retrieved 30 November, 2017, from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/economic-migrant>
- Cameron, D. (2014, 15 March 2014). David Cameron: the EU is not working and we will change it, *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/eureferendum/10700644/David-Cameron-the-EU-is-not-working-and-we-will-change-it.html>
- Carlson, E. D., Engebretson, J., & Chamberlain, R. M. (2006). Photovoice as a social process of critical consciousness. *Qualitative Health Research*, 16(6), 836-852.
- Case, D. O., & Given, L. M. (2016). *Looking for information: A survey of research on information seeking, needs, and behavior* (4th ed.). Bingley, UK: Emerald.

- Castles, S. (2000). International migration at the beginning of the twenty-first century: global trends and issues. *International Social Science Journal*, 52(165), 269-281.
- Castles, S., de Haas, H., & Miller, M. J. (2014). *The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Catalani, C., & Minkler, M. (2010). Photovoice: a review of the literature in health and public health. *Health Education & Behavior*, 37(3), 424-451.
- Chamberlain, M. (1997). Gender and the narratives of migration. *History Workshop Journal*, 43(Spring), 87-110.
- Chambers, R. (2006). Participatory mapping and geographic information systems: Whose map? Who is empowered and who disempowered? Who gains and who loses? . *The Electronic Journal of Information Systems in Developing Countries*, 25(2), 1-11.
- Chatman, E. A., & Pendleton, V. E. M. (1998). Small world lives: implications for the public library. *Library Trends*, 46(4), 732.
- Chu, C. M. (1999). *Immigrant child mediators (ICM): bridging the literacy gap in immigrant communities*. Paper presented at the 65th IFLA Council and General Conference, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Clark-Ibanez. (2007). Inner-city children in sharper focus: sociology of childhood and photo elicitation interviews. In G. C. Stanczak (Ed.), *Visual Research Methods: Image, Society and Representation* (pp. 167-196). London: SAGE.
- Clark, A. (2010). *Transforming children's spaces*. London: Routledge.
- Clifford, J. (1986). Introduction: Partial truths. In J. Clifford & G. Marcus (Eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (pp. 1-26). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Coleman, J. S. (1990). *Foundations of social theory*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Commission for Rural Communities. (2007). Migrant workers in rural areas. *CRC Briefing Papers*. Cheltenham, UK: Commission for Rural Communities.
- Cook, J., Dwyer, P., & Waite, L. (2011). The experiences of Accession 8 migrants in England: motivations, work and agency. *International Migration*, 49(2), 54-79.
- Cox, A., & Benson, M. (2017). Visual methods and quality in information behaviour research: The cases of photovoice and mental mapping. *Information Research*, 22(2). Retrieved from <http://www.informationr.net/ir/22-2/paper749.html>
- Coyle, A. (2007). Resistance, regulation and rights: the changing status of Polish women's migration and work in the 'new' Europe. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 14(1), 37-50.
- Croghan, R., Griffin, C., Hunter, J., & Phoenix, A. (2008). Young people's constructions of self: Notes on the use and analysis of the photo-elicitation methods. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11(4), 345-356.
- Crooks, V. A., Hynie, M., Killian, K., Giesbrecht, M., & Castleden, H. (2011). Female newcomers' adjustment to life in Toronto, Canada: sources of mental stress and their implications for delivering primary mental health care. *GeoJournal*, 76(2), 139-149.
- Currie, S. (2007). De-skilled and devalued: The labour market experience of Polish migrants in the UK following EU enlargement. *International Journal of Comparative Labour Law and Industrial Relations*, 23(1), 413-419.
- Currie, S. (2009). Regular migrants in the irregular workplace: Central and Eastern European women in the UK after enlargement. In S. Currie, H. Stalford & S. Velluti (Eds.), *Gender and migration in 21st century Europe* (pp. 107-). Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Dali, K. (2004). Reading by Russian-speaking immigrants in Toronto: use of public libraries, bookstores, and home book collections. *The International Information & Library Review*, 36(4), 341-366.

- Danish National Library Authority, Danish Ministry of the Interior, Aarhus Public Libraries, & State and University Library in Denmark. (2001). Refuge for integration: a study of how the ethnic minorities in Denmark use the libraries.
- Datta, A. (2009). Places of everyday cosmopolitanisms: East-European construction workers in London. *Environment and Planning A*, 41(2), 353-370.
- Dekker, R., & Engbersen, G. (2014). How social media transform migrant networks and facilitate migration. *Global Networks*, 14(4), 401-418.
- Dekker, R., Engbersen, G., Klaver, J., & Vonk, H. (2018). Smart refugees: how Syrian asylum migrants use social media information in migration decision-making. *Social Media and Society*, 4(1), 1-11.
- Denzin, N. K. (1970). *The research act in sociology: a theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. London: Butterworths.
- Denzin, N. K. (2001). *Interpretive interactionism* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Diminescu, D., & Loveluck, B. (2014). Traces of dispersion: Online media and diasporic identities. *Crossings: Journal of Migration and Culture*, 5(1), 23-39.
- Dodd, V. (2016, 1 December 2016). Boy, 15, charged with killing of Polish man in Harlow, *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/dec/01/boy-15-charged-with-killing-of-polish-man-in-harlow>
- Donato, K. M., & Gabaccia, D. (2015). *Gender and international migration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Donato, K. M., Gabaccia, D., Holdaway, J., Manalansan IV, M., & Pessar, P. R. (2006). A glass half full? Gender in migration studies. *International Migration Review*, 40(1), 3-26.
- Drinkwater, S., Eade, J., & Garapich, M. (2009). Poles apart? EU enlargement and the labour market outcomes of immigrants in the United Kingdom. *International Migration*, 47(1), 161-190.
- Drinkwater, S., & Garapich, M. (2015). Migration strategies of Polish migrants: Do they have any at all? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(12), 1909-1931.
- Dustmann, C., Frattini, T., & Halls, C. (2010). Assessing the fiscal costs and benefits of A8 migration to the UK. *Fiscal Studies*, 31(1), 1-41.
- Düvell, F. (2004). Polish undocumented immigrants, regular high-skilled workers and entrepreneurs in the UK *Prace Migracyjne* (Vol. 54). Warsaw: Institute for Social Studies.
- Eade, J., & Garapich, M. (2008). *Class and Ethnicity: Polish Migrant Workers in London, 1996-2006*.
- Edwards, R. (1990). Connecting method and epistemology: a white woman interviewing black women. *Women's International Studies Forum*, 13(5), 477-490.
- Ellingson, L. L. (2009). *Engaging crystallization in qualitative research: an introduction*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Elliott, D. C. (2015). Secondary data analysis. In F. K. Stage & K. Manning (Eds.), *Research in the college context: Approaches and methods* (pp. 175-184). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Elliott, J. (2005). *Using narrative in social research: qualitative and quantitative approaches*. London: SAGE.
- Erlandson, D. A. (1993). *Doing naturalistic inquiry: a guide to methods*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.
- Favell, A. (2008). The new face of East-West migration in Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34(5), 701-716.
- Fellmeth, G., Fazel, M., & Plugge, E. (2017). Migration and perinatal mental health in women from low and middle-income countries: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *BJOG: An International Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology*, 124(5), 742-752.
- Fihel, A., & Grabowska-Lusinska, I. (2014). Labour market behaviours of back-and-forth migrants from Poland. *International Migration*, 52(1), 22-35.

- Fihel, A., & Kaczmarczyk, P. (2009). Migration: a threat or a chance? Recent migration of Poles and its impact on the Polish labour market. In K. Burrell (Ed.), *Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union: After 2004* (pp. 23-48). Farnham, UK: Ashgate.
- Fisher, K. E. (2018). Information worlds of refugees. In C. F. Maitland (Ed.), *Digital lifeline? ICTs for refugees and displaced persons* (pp. 79-112). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Fisher, K. E., Durrance, J. C., & Bouch Hinton, M. (2004). Information grounds and the use of needs-based services by immigrants in Queens, New York: a context-based, outcome evaluation approach. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 55(8), 754-766.
- Fisher, K. E., Erdelez, S., & McKechnie, L. E. F. (Eds.). (2005). *Theories of Information Behavior*. Medford, NJ: Information Today.
- Fisher, K. E., Landry, C. F., & Naumer, C. (2007). Social spaces, casual interactions, meaningful exchanges: 'information ground' characteristics based on the college student experience. *Information Research*, 12(2).
- Fisher, K. E., Marcoux, E., Miller, L. S., Sánchez, A., & Ramirez Cunningham, E. (2004). Information behaviour of migrant Hispanic farm workers and their families in the Pacific Northwest. *Information Research*, 10(1). Retrieved from <http://www.informationr.net/ir/10-1/paper199.html>
- Fisher, K. E., Naumer, C., Durrance, J., Stromski, L., & Christiansen, T. (2005). Something old, something new: preliminary findings from an exploratory study about people's information habits and information grounds. *Information Research*, 10(2).
- Fisher, K. E., Yefimova, K., & Bishop, A. P. (2016, 7-12 May). *Adapting design thinking and cultural probes to the experiences of immigrant youth: Uncovering the roles of visual media and music in ICT wayfaring*. Paper presented at the CHI Conference Extended Abstracts on Human Factors in Computing Systems, San Jose, CA.
- Flake, R. (2012). Multigenerational living arrangements among migrants. In T. K. Bauer (Ed.), *Ruhr Economic Papers* (Vol. 366). Bochum, Germany: Ruhr-Universität Bochum (RUB), Department of Economics.
- Fletcher, M. (1999). Migrant settlement: A review of the literature and its relevance to New Zealand. Wellington: New Zealand Immigration Service.
- Flick, U. (2002). *An introduction to qualitative research* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE.
- Foster-Fishman, P., Nowell, B., Deacon, Z., Nievar, M. A., & McCann, P. (2005). Using methods that matter: the impact of reflection, dialogue, and voice. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 36(3-4), 275-291.
- Francis, J., & Yan, M.-C. (2016). Bridging the gaps: Access to formal support services among young African immigrants and refugees in metro Vancouver. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 48(1), 77-100.
- Friedman-Kasaba, K. (1996). *Memories of migration: gender, ethnicity, and work in the lives of Jewish and Italian women in New York, 1870-1924*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Gabaccia, D. (2016). Feminization of migration. In N. Naples, R. C. Hoogland, M. Wickramasinghe & W. C. A. Wong (Eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell encyclopedia of gender and sexuality studies*. New Malden: Wiley Blackwell.
- Gabridge, T., Gaskell, M., & Stout, A. (2008). Information seeking through students' eyes: The MIT photo diary study. *College & Research Libraries*, 69(6), 510-522.
- Galasińska, A., & Kozłowska, O. (2009). Discourses of a 'normal life' among post-accession Polish migrants from Poland to Britain. In K. Burrell (Ed.), *Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union* (pp. 87-105). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Galush, W. J. (1990). Purity and power: Chicago Polonian feminists, 1880-1914. *Polish American Studies*, 47(1), 5-24.

- Ganss, D. (1999). A nation of immigrants; web sites on immigration. *The School Librarian's Workshop*, 20(3), 13-15.
- Garapich, M. (2008). Odyssean refugees, migrants and power: Construction of the 'other' and civil participation within the Polish community in the United Kingdom. In D. Reed-Danahay & C. Brettell (Eds.), *Citizenship, political engagement and belonging: immigrants in Europe and the United States* (pp. 124-143). New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Georges, E. (1992). Gender, class, and migration in the Dominican Republic: women's experiences in a transnational community. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645(1), 81-99.
- Georgiou, M. (2013). Diaspora in the digital era: Minorities and media representation. *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, 12(4), 80-99.
- Gieseking, J. J. (2013). Where we go from here: The mental sketch mapping method and its analytic components. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 19(9), 712-724.
- Gillespie, M., Ampofo, L., Cheesman, M., Faith, B., Iliadou, E., Osseiran, S., & Skleparis, D. (2016). Mapping refugee media journeys: smartphones and social media networks: The Open University/ France Médias Monde.
- Gilpin, N., Henty, M., Lemos, S., Portes, J., & Bullen, C. (2006). The impact of free movement of workers from Central and Eastern Europe on the UK labour market. London: Department for Work and Pensions.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory; strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co.
- Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Transnationalism: a new analytic framework for understanding migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645(1), 1-24.
- Glover, S., Gott, C., Loizillon, A., Portes, J., Price, R., Spencer, S., . . . Willis, C. (2001). *Migration: an economic and social analysis* (Vol. 67). London: Home Office: Research, Development and Statistics Directorate.
- Główny Urząd Statystyczny. (2013). Narodowy spis powszechny ludności i mieszkani 2011 (National Survey of Population and Housing 2011). Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny.
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Report*, 8(4), 597-606.
- Gonzalez, L. (1999). Public libraries reach out to new North Carolinians: meeting the information needs of immigrants and refugees. *North Carolina Libraries*, 57(1), 4-7.
- Graff, A. (2006). We are (not all) homophobes: A report from Poland. *Feminist Studies*, 32(2), 434-449.
- Granovetter, M. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6), 1360-1380.
- Green, E., & Kloos, B. (2009). Facilitating youth participation in a context of forced migration: A photovoice project in Northern Uganda. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 22(4), 460-482.
- Greenhalgh, L., Worpole, K., & Landry, C. (1995). *Libraries in a world of cultural change*. London: UCL Press.
- Greyson, D. (2013, 1-6 November 2013). *Information world mapping: A participatory, visual, elicitation activity for information practice interviews*. Paper presented at the ASIST 2013, Montreal.
- Groger, L., Mayberry, P. S., & Straker, J. K. (1999). What we didn't learn because of who would not talk to us. *Qualitative Health Research*, 9(6), 829-835.
- Grove-White, R. (2011). Restrictions on A8 nationals lift at last. Retrieved from <http://www.migrantsrights.org.uk/blog/2011/05/restrictions-a8-nationals-lift-last>
- Gruszczyńska, A. K. (2006). Living la vida internet: Some notes on the cyberization of the Polish LGBT community. In R. Kuhar & J. Takács (Eds.), *Beyond the pink curtain: Everyday life of LGBT people in Eastern Europe*. Ljubljana: Peace Institute.

- Hagan, J., & Ebaugh, H. R. (2003). Calling upon the sacred: migrants' use of religion in the migration process. *International Migration Review*, 37(4), 1145-1162.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: principles in practice* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Hancock, P. (2009). Recent African refugees to Australia: Analysis of current refugee services, a case study from Western Australia. *International Journal of Psychological Studies*, 1(2), 10-17.
- Hannides, T., Bailey, N., & Kaoukji, D. (2016). Voices of refugees: Information and communication needs of refugees in Greece and Germany. Retrieved 16 October 2017, from <http://odihpn.org/magazine/voices-refugees-information-communication-needs-refugees-greece-germany/>
- Harris, C., Moran, D., & Bryson, J. R. (2015). Polish labour migration to the UK: data discrepancies, migrant distributions, and indicators of entrepreneurial activity. *Growth and Change*, 46(2), 196-217.
- Hartel, J. (2006). Information activities and resources in an episode of gourmet cooking. *Information Research*, 12(1).
- Hartel, J. (2010). Managing documents at home for serious leisure: a case study of the hobby of gourmet cooking. *Journal of Documentation*, 66(6), 847-874.
- Hartel, J. (2014). An arts-informed study of information using the draw-and-write technique. *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, 65(7), 1349-1367.
- Hartel, J., & Thomson, L. (2011). Visual approaches and photography for the study of immediate information space. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 62(11), 2214-2224.
- Harzig, C. (2001). Women migrants as global and local agents: new research strategies on gender and migration. In P. Sharpe (Ed.), *Women, gender and labour migration: historical and global perspectives* (pp. 15-28). London: Routledge.
- Health Issues Centre. (2016). Working together to improve health literacy of women from refugee backgrounds. Melbourne, Australia: Health Issues Centre.
- Heath, S., McGhee, D., & Trevena, P. (2015). Continuity versus innovation: young Polish migrants and practices of 'doing family' in the context of achieving independence in the UK. *Studia Migracyjne: Przeglqd Polonijny*, 3, 139-156.
- Heaton, J. (1998). Secondary analysis of qualitative data. *Social Research Update*, Autumn 1998. Retrieved from <http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU22.html>
- Heaton, J. (2008). Secondary analysis of qualitative data: An overview. *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, 33(3 (125)), 33-45.
- Helsper, E. (2008). Digital inclusion: An analysis of social disadvantage and the information society. London: Department for Communities and Local Government.
- Hergenrather, K. C., Rhodes, S. D., Cowan, C. A., Bardhoshi, G., & Pula, S. (2009). Photovoice as community-based participatory research: a qualitative review. *American Journal of Health Behavior*, 33(6), 686-698.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2012). *The handbook of feminist research: theory and praxis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Hicks, A., & Lloyd, A. (2016). It takes a community to build a framework: Information literacy within intercultural settings. *Journal of Information Science*, 42(3), 334-343.
- Hirschman, C. (2004). The role of religion in the origins and adaptation of immigrant groups in the United States. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 1206-1233.
- Ho, C. (2006). Migration as feminisation? Chinese women's experiences of work and family in Australia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(3), 497-514.
- Hodgetts, D., Radley, A., Chamberlain, K., & Hodgetts, A. (2007). Health inequalities and homelessness: considering material, spatial and relational dimensions. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 12(5), 709-725.

- Holton, R., & Sloan, J. (1994). Immigration policy - intake and settlement issues. In M. Wooden, et al (Ed.), *Australian Immigration: A Survey of the Issues*: Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research, Australian Government Publications.
- Home Office. (2014). Immigration statistics, January to March 2014. *Immigration statistics quarterly release*. Retrieved 19 June, 2014, from <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/immigration-statistics-january-to-march-2014/immigration-statistics-january-to-march-2014>
- Hou, F., & Beiser, M. (2006). Learning the language of a new country: A ten-year study of English acquisition by South-East Asian refugees in Canada. *International Migration*, 44(1), 135-165.
- Hudson, L., & Ozanne, J. (1988). Alternative ways of seeking knowledge in consumer research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 14(4), 508-521.
- Hynes, P. (2009). Contemporary compulsory dispersal and the absence of space for the restoration of trust. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 22(1), 97-121.
- Iglicka, K. (2001). *Poland's post-war dynamic of migration*. Aldershot, Hampshire, England ; Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate.
- Ignatowicz, A. (2012). *Migration and mobility of new Polish migrants in England: narratives of lived experience*. (Doctor of Philosophy), Aston University, Birmingham, UK. Retrieved from <http://eprints aston.ac.uk/17474/1/Studentthesis-2012.pdf>
- ILPA. (2010). A8 and A2 Free Movement. London: Immigration Law Practitioners' Association.
- Im, H., Lee, K. Y., & Lee, H. Y. (2014). Acculturation stress and mental health among the marriage migrant women in Busan, South Korea. *Community Mental Health Journal*, 50(4), 497-503.
- International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights. (2000). Women 2000: an investigation into the status of women's rights in the former Soviet Union and Central and South Eastern Europe. Vienna: IHFHR.
- Johnson, D. J., & Case, D. O. (2013). *Health information seeking*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Joly, D. (2017). *International migration in the new millennium: Global movement and settlement*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Jones, P. A. (1999). *Libraries, immigrants, and the American experience*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Jönsson-Lanevska, Y. (2005). The gate to understanding: Swedish libraries and immigrants. *New Library World*, 106(3/4), 128-140.
- Jordan, B., & Düvell, F. (2002). *Irregular migration: the dilemmas of transnational mobility*. Cheltenham and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Julien, H., Given, L. M., & Opryshko, A. (2013). Photovoice: A promising method for studies of individuals' information practices. *Library and Information Science Research*, 35(4), 257-263.
- Jurkowski, J. M., & Paul-Ward, A. (2007). Photovoice with vulnerable populations: addressing disparities in health promotion among people with intellectual disabilities. *Health Promotion Practice*, 8(4), 358-365.
- Kennan, M. A., Lloyd, A., Qayyum, A., & Thompson, K. (2011). Settling in: The relationship between information and social inclusion. *Australian Academic and Research Libraries*, 42(3), 191-210.
- Khoir, S., Du, J. T., & Koronios, A. (2015). Everyday information behaviour of Asian immigrants in South Australia: A mixed-methods exploration. *Information Research*, 20(3). Retrieved from http://www.informationr.net/ir/20-3/paper687.html#.WkkKxt9I_IU
- Kitchin, R. M. (1994). Cognitive maps: What are they and why study them? . *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 14(1), 1-19.
- Kitchin, R. M., & Freundschuh, S. (2000). *Cognitive mapping: Past, present and future*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Knorr, J., & Meier, B. (2000). Women and migration: anthropological perspectives. In J. Knorr & B. Meier (Eds.), *Women and migration: anthropological perspectives* (pp. 9-17). New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Kofman, E., Phizacklea, A., Raghuram, P., & Sales, R. (2000). *Gender and international migration in Europe: employment, welfare, and politics*. London: Routledge.
- Komito, L. (2011). Social media and migration: Virtual community 2.0. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 62(6), 1075-1086.
- Komito, L., & Bates, J. (2009). Virtually local: Social media and community amongst Polish nationals in Dublin. *Aslib Proceedings: New Information Perspectives*, 61(3), 232-244.
- Kritz, M. M. (2015). International migration. In J. Stone, M. D. Rutledge, P. Rizova, A. D. Smith & X. Hou (Eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell encyclopedia of race, ethnicity, and nationalism*. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.
- Kwok, J. Y., & Ku, H. (2008). Making habitable space together with female Chinese immigrants to Hong Kong: An interdisciplinary participatory action research project. *Action Research*, 6(3), 261-283.
- Lamb, A. (2007). Welcome To Your Library: Connecting public libraries and refugee communities: Evaluation report. London: London Libraries Development Agency.
- Leckie, G. J., & Hopkins, J. (2002). The public place of central libraries: Findings from Toronto and Vancouver. *Library Quarterly*, 72(3), 326-372.
- Leung, L. (2007). Mobility and displacement: Refugees' mobile media practices in immigration detention. *M/C—A Journal of Media and Culture*, 10(1), 1-5.
- Leung, L. (2010). Message from a refugee. *Australasian Science*, 31(1), 36-37.
- Levin, T., Scott, B. M., Borders, B., Hart, K., Lee, J., & Decanini, A. (2007). Aphasia Talks: photography as a means of communication, self-expression, and empowerment in persons with aphasia. *Topics in Stroke Rehabilitation*, 14(1), 72-84.
- Levitt, P. (2003). "You know, Abraham was really the first immigrant": religion and transnational migration. *International Migration Review*, 37(3), 847-873.
- Levitt, P., & Jaworsky, B. N. (2007). Transnational migration studies: past developments and future trends. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33(1), 129-156.
- Levitt, P., & Nyberg-Sorensen, N. (2004). The transnational turn in migration studies. *Global Migration Perspectives*. Geneva, Switzerland: Global Commission on International Migration.
- Lewis-Beck, M. S., Bryman, A., & Liao, T. F. (2004). *The SAGE encyclopedia of social research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE.
- Lingel, J. (2011). Information tactics of immigrants in urban environments. *Information Research*, 16(4).
- Lingel, J. (2013). *Information practices and urban spaces*. (PhD), Rutgers University.
- Lingel, J. (2015). Information practices of urban newcomers: an analysis of habits and wandering. *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, 66(6), 1239-1251.
- Listwon, A., & Sen, B. (2009). Public library services and the Polish community in England: case study. *Library Review*, 58(4), 290-300.
- Lloyd, A. (2014). Building information resilience: How do resettling refugees connect with health information in regional landscapes - implications for health literacy. *Australian Academic & Research Libraries*, 45(1), 48-66.
- Lloyd, A. (2015). Stranger in a strange land; enabling information resilience in resettlement landscapes. *Journal of Documentation*, 71(5), 1029-1042.
- Lloyd, A. (2016). Researching fractured (information) landscapes: Implications for library and information science researchers undertaking research with refugees and forced migration studies. *Journal of Documentation*, 73(1), 35-47.

- Lloyd, A., Kennan, M. A., Thompson, K. M., & Qayyum, A. (2013). Connecting with new information landscapes: information literacy practices of refugees. *Journal of Documentation*, 69(1), 121-144.
- Lloyd, A., Lipu, S., & Kennan, M. A. (2010). On becoming citizens: Examining social inclusion from an information perspective. *Australian Academic & Research Libraries*, 41(1), 42-53.
- Lloyd, A., & Wilkinson, J. (2016). Knowing and learning in everyday spaces (KALiEds): Mapping the information landscape of refugee youth learning in everyday spaces. *Journal of Information Science*, 42(3), 300-312.
- Lloyd, A., & Wilkinson, J. (2017). Tapping into the information landscape: Refugee youth enactment of information literacy in everyday spaces. *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science*. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0961000617709058>
- Lopez Rodriguez, M. (2010). Migration and a quest for 'normalcy': Polish migrant mothers and the capitalization of meritocratic opportunities in the UK. *Social Identities*, 16(3), 339-358.
- Lopez Rodriguez, M., Sales, R., Ryan, L., & D'Angelo, A. (2008). Polish pupils in London schools: opportunities and challenges: Social Policy Research Centre research report.
- Lubbers, M., & Gijsberts, M. (2016). Comparing the labour market position of Poles and Bulgarians before and after migration to the Netherlands. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 4(22), 1-18.
- Luborsky, M. R., & Rubinstein, R. L. (1995). Sampling in qualitative research: Rationale, issues and methods. *Research on Aging*, 17(1), 89-113.
- Lucas, R. E. B. (2008). International labor migration in a globalizing economy. *Trade, Equity, and Development Program* (Vol. 92). Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Luévan-Molina, S. (2001). *Immigrant politics and the public library*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Lundh, A., & Alexandersson, M. (2012). Collecting and compiling: the activity of seeking pictures in primary school. *Journal of Documentation*, 68(2), 238-253.
- Lykes, M. B., Blanche, M. T., & Hamber, B. (2003). Narrating survival and change in Guatemala and South Africa: the politics of representation and a liberatory community psychology. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 31(1-2), 79-90.
- Lynch, K. (1960). *The image of the city*. London: MIT Press.
- Magnusson, E., & Marecek, J. (2015). *Doing interview-based qualitative research: A learner's guide*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Mai, N., & King, R. (2009). Love, sexuality and migration: Mapping the issue(s). *Mobilities*, 4(3), 295-307.
- Major, J., Wilkinson, J., & Langat, K. (2013). Sudanese young people of refugee background in rural and regional Australia: Social capital and education success. *Australian and International Journal of Rural Education*, 23(3), 95-105.
- Maldonado, B., & Brock, S. (2017). Women's rights and the patterns of migration. *Economics and Business Letters*, 6(1), 20-27.
- Malone, T. (1983). How do people organize their desks? Implications for the design of office information systems. *Proceedings of ACM Transactions on Office Information Systems*, 1(1), 99-112.
- Mannay, D. (2010). Making the familiar strange: can visual research methods render the familiar setting more perceptible? *Qualitative Research*, 10(1), 91-111.
- Mansoor, S. (2006). *An investigation into the provision of ethnic minority library services in predominantly white areas*. (Master of Arts in Librarianship), University of Sheffield, Sheffield.
- Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative researching* (2 ed.). London: SAGE.

- Mason, R. (2016, 24 June 2016). How did UK end up voting to leave the European Union?, *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/how-did-uk-end-up-voting-leave-european-union>
- Massey, D. B. (1993). Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place. In J. Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam, G. Robertson & L. Tickner (Eds.), *Mapping the future: local cultures, global change* (pp. 59-69). London: Routledge.
- Massey, D. B. (1994). *Space, place, and gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Massey, D. B. (2005). *For space*. London: SAGE.
- Mauthner, N. S., & Doucet, A. (2003). Reflexive accounts and accounts of reflexivity in qualitative data analysis. *Sociology*, 37(3), 413-431.
- Mavroudi, E., & Nagel, C. (2016). *Global migration: Patterns, processes, and politics*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- May, F. (2011). Methods for studying the use of public spaces in libraries/ Les méthodes d'étude de l'utilisation des espaces publics dans les bibliothèques. *Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science*, 35(4), 354-366.
- Maykut, P. S., & Morehouse, R. (1994). *Beginning qualitative research: a philosophic and practical guide*. London: Falmer Press.
- Mazzucato, V. (2013). Transnational families, research and scholarship. In I. Ness (Ed.), *The encyclopedia of global human migration*. New Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.
- McCook, K. d. I. P. (2000). *A place at the table: participating in community building*. Chicago: American Library Association.
- McDonald-Wilmsen, B., Gifford, S., Webster, K., Wiseman, J., & Casey, S. (2009). Resettling refugees in rural and regional Australia: Learning from recent policy and program initiatives. *The Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 68(1), 97-111.
- McDowell, L., Batnitkzky, A., & Dyer, S. (2007). Division, segmentation, and interpellation: The embodied labors of migrant workers in a Greater London hotel. *Economic Geography*, 83(1), 1-25.
- McGregor, J. (2004). Spatiality and the place of the material in schools. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society*, 12(3), 347-372.
- McIntyre, A. (2003). Through the eyes of women: photovoice and participatory research as tools for reimagining place. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 10(1), 47-66.
- Meardi, G. (2007). The Polish plumber in the West Midlands: Theoretical and empirical issues. *Review of Sociology*, 13(2), 39-56.
- Mellon, C. A. (1990). *Naturalistic inquiry for library science: methods and applications for research, evaluation, and teaching*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Melnik, A. (2017). *Information practices of the refugees and communication strategies in the integration system: The case of Afghans in Kronoberg County, Sweden*. (M. Sc.), Linnaeus University, Växjö, Sweden.
- Metoyer-Duran, C. (1991). Information-seeking behavior of gatekeepers in ethnolinguistic communities: overview of a taxonomy. *Library & Information Science Research*, 13(4), 319-346.
- Metoyer-Duran, C. (1993). *Gatekeepers in ethnolinguistic communities*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Metykova, M. (2010). Only a mouse click away from home: Transnational practices of Eastern European migrants in the United Kingdom. *Social Identities*, 16(3), 325-338.
- Micklethwaite, J. (2016, 26 June 2016). Police probe racist graffiti smeared on Polish centre after Brexit vote, *Evening Standard*. Retrieved from <http://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/police-probe-racist-graffiti-smeared-on-polish-centre-after-brexit-vote-a3281081.html>
- Migration Yorkshire. (2017). Sheffield: Local migration profile June 2017 summary document. Leeds, UK: Migration Yorkshire.

- Miller, A. M., Sorokin, O., Wang, E., Feetham, S., Choi, M., & Wilbur, J. (2006). Acculturation, social alienation, and depressed mood in midlife women from the former Soviet Union. *Research in Nursing and Health*, 29(2), 134-146.
- Miner-Rubino, K., Jayaratne, T. E., & Konik, J. (2007). Using survey research as a quantitative method for feminist social change. In S. N. Hesse-Biber (Ed.), *Handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Mitra, A. (1997). Virtual commonality: looking for India on the Internet. In S. Jones (Ed.), *Virtual Identity: identity and communication in cybersociety* (pp. 55-79). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Momsen, J. H. (1992). Gender selectivity in Caribbean migration. In S. Chant (Ed.), *Gender and migration in developing countries* (pp. 73-90). London: Belhaven Press.
- Morgan, D. L. (1990). Combining the strengths of social networks, social support and personal relationships. In S. Duck & R. Cohen Silver (Eds.), *Personal relationships and social support* (pp. 190-215). London: SAGE.
- Morokvasić, M. (2003). Transnational mobility and gender: a view from post-wall Europe. In M. Morokvasić-Muller, U. Erel & K. Shinozaki (Eds.), *Crossing borders and shifting boundaries Vol. 1: gender on the move* (pp. 101-133). Opladen: Leske and Budrich.
- Mulvihill, M. A., Mailloux, L., & Atkin, W. (2001). *Advancing policy and research responses to immigrant and refugee women's health in Canada*. Winnipeg, MB: Centres of Excellence in Women's Health.
- Mwarigha, M. S. (2002). Towards a framework for local responsibility: taking action to end the current limbo in immigrant settlement -- Toronto Retrieved 11 February, 2014, from http://maytree.com/PDF_Files/SummaryTowardsAFrameworkForLocalResponsibilityMwraighaMS2002.pdf
- Nekesa Akullo, W., & Odong, P. (2017). *Information needs and information seeking behaviour of women refugees in Uganda: Public libraries' role*. Paper presented at the IFLA WLIC 2017, Wrocław, Poland. <http://library.ifla.org/1783/1/S15-2017-akullo-en.pdf>
- New Arrivals Service. (2011). New Europeans in central Sheffield. In S. C. Council (Ed.). Sheffield: Sheffield City Council.
- O'Dwyer, C., & Schwartz, K. Z. S. (2010). Minority rights after EU enlargement: A comparison of antigay politics in Poland and Latvia. *Comparative European Politics*, 8(2), 220-243.
- O'Mara, B., Babacan, H., & Borland, H. (2010). Sending the right message: Use and access of ICT for communicating messages of health and community wellbeing to CALD communities. Melbourne: Institute for Community, Ethnicity and Policy Alternatives, Victoria University.
- Oakley, A. (1985). Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.), *Doing feminist research*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Office for National Statistics. (2009). Labour Force Survey - user guidance. Volume 5: LFS classifications, from <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/method-quality/specific/labour-market/labour-market-statistics/volume-5---2009.pdf>
- Office for National Statistics. (2012a). Ethnicity and National Identity in England and Wales: 2011 Retrieved 1 November, 2017, from <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity/articles/ethnicityandnationalidentityinenglandandwales/2012-12-11>
- Office for National Statistics. (2012b). Religion in England and Wales 2011 Retrieved 1 November, 2017, from <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/religion/article/s/religioninenglandandwales2011/2012-12-11>
- Office for National Statistics. (2013). 2011 Census: quick statistics for England and Wales on national identity, passports held and country of birth. (QS213EW). Retrieved 23 April 2014, from Office for National Statistics <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011->

[census/quick-statistics-for-england-and-wales-on-national-identity--passports-held-and-country-of-birth/fft----qs213ew.xls](https://www.ons.gov.uk/census/quick-statistics-for-england-and-wales-on-national-identity--passports-held-and-country-of-birth/fft----qs213ew.xls)

- Office for National Statistics. (2017). *Population by country of birth and nationality*.
- Oldenburg, R. (1999). *The great good place: cafés, coffee shops, bookstores, bars, hair salons, and other hangouts at the heart of a community*. New York: Marlowe.
- Packard, J. (2008). 'I'm gonna show you what it's really like out here': the power and limitation of participatory visual methods. *Visual Studies*, 23(1), 63-77.
- Palmer, R., Lemoh, C., Tham, R., Hakim, S., & Biggs, B.-A. (2009). Sudanese women living in Victoria, Australia: Health-information-seeking behaviours and the availability, effectiveness and appropriateness of HIV/AIDS information. *Diversity in Health and Care*, 6(2), 109-120.
- Panagakos, A. N., & Horst, H. A. (2006). Return to Cyberia: Technology and the social worlds of transnational migrants. *Global Networks*, 6(2), 109-124.
- Parham, A. A. (2004). Diaspora, community and communication: Internet use in transnational Haiti. *Global Networks*, 4(2), 199-217.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Pauwels, L. (2011). An integrated conceptual framework for visual social research. In E. Margolis & L. Pauwels (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of visual research methods* (pp. 3-23). London: SAGE.
- Perkins, C. (2007). Community mapping. *The Cartographic Journal*, 44(2), 127-137.
- Pettigrew, K. E. (1999). Waiting for chiropody: contextual results from an ethnographic study of the information behaviour among attendees at community clinics. *Information Processing & Management*, 35(6), 801-817.
- Pickard, A. J. (2007). *Research methods in information*. London: Facet.
- Pink, S. (2004). Visual methods. In C. Seale, G. Gobo, J. F. Gubrium & D. Silverman (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice* (pp. 391-406). London: Sage.
- Pink, S. (2007). *Doing visual ethnography* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE.
- Piper, N. (2008). International migration and gendered axes of stratification. In N. Piper (Ed.), *New perspectives on gender and migration: livelihood, rights and entitlements* (pp. xiv, 347 p.). London: Routledge.
- Porter, B. (2001). The Catholic nation: religion, identity, and the narratives of Polish history. *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 45(2), 289-299.
- Public Library Quarterly. (2009). Library services for immigrants, an abridged version. *Public Library Quarterly*, 28(2), 120-126.
- Pumariega, A. J., Rothe, E., & Pumariega, J. B. (2005). Mental health of immigrants and refugees. *Community Mental Health Journal*, 41(5), 581-597.
- Pustułka, P. (2012). Polish mothers on the move: Transnationality and discourses of gender, care, and co-residentiality requirement in the narratives of Polish women raising children in the West. *Studia Sociologica IV*, 2, 162-175.
- Rabindrakumar, S. (2008, 27 February). Mapping migration, *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2008/feb/27/immigrationandpublicservices.immigration>
- Radley, A., Hodgetts, D., & Cullen, A. (2005). Visualizing homelessness: A study in photography and estrangement. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 15(4), 273-295.
- Ratković, S. (2013). The location of refugee female teachers in the Canadian context: "Not just a refugee woman!". *Refugee*, 29(1), 103-114.
- Rayes, W., Martin-Hammond, A., Komlodi, A., Caidi, N., & Sundin, N. (2016). *An informed transition? International medical graduates settling in the United States and Canada*. Paper presented at the ASIST 2016, Copenhagen, Denmark.

<https://www.asist.org/files/meetings/am16/proceedings/submissions/papers/42paper.pdf>

- Reinharz, S. (1992). *Feminist methods in social research*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rendell, J. (2000). Introduction: 'gender, space'. In J. Rendell, B. Penner & I. Borden (Eds.), *Gender space architecture: an interdisciplinary introduction* (pp. 101-111). London: Routledge.
- Rhodes, S. D., & Hergenrather, K. C. (2007). Recently arrived immigrant Latino men identify community approaches to promote HIV prevention. *American Journal of Public Health*, 97(6), 984-985.
- Richardson, L. (2000). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Riessman, C. K. (1987). When gender is not enough: Women interviewing women. *Gender and Society*, 1(2), 172-207.
- Riessmann, C. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. London: SAGE.
- Robinson, J., & Tansey, J. (2006). Co-production, emergent properties and strong interactive social research: the Georgia Basin Futures Project. *Science and Public Policy*, 33(2), 151-160.
- Roulston, K., deMarrais, K., & Lewis, J. (2003). Learning to interview in the social sciences. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 9(4), 643-668.
- Rowbotham, S. (2001). Foreword. In P. Sharpe (Ed.), *Women, gender and labour migration: historical and global perspectives* (pp. xvi-xvii). London: Routledge.
- Rumbaut, R. G. (2004). Ages, life stages, and generational cohorts: decomposing the immigrant first and second generations in the United States. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 1160-1205.
- Rutter, J., & Latorre, M. (2009). Migration, migrants and inequality. In J. Hills, T. Sefton & K. Stewart (Eds.), *Towards a more equal society?: poverty, inequality and policy since 1997* (pp. 201-220). Bristol, UK: Policy Press.
- Ryan, L. (2010). Becoming Polish in London: Negotiating ethnicity through migration. *Social Identities*, 16(3), 359-376.
- Ryan, L. (2015). 'Another year and another year': Polish migrants in London extending the stay over time. London: Social Policy Research Centre, Middlesex University.
- Ryan, L. (2017). Differentiated embedding: Polish migrants in London negotiating belonging over time. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(2), 233-251.
- Ryan, L., Sales, R., Tilki, M., & Siara, B. (2008). Social networks, social support and social capital: the experiences of recent Polish migrants in London. *Sociology*, 42(4), 672-690.
- Ryan, L., Sales, R., Tilki, M., & Siara, B. (2009). Family strategies and transnational migration: Recent Polish migrants in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(1), 61-77.
- Saarinen, T. F. (1974). Student views of the world. In R. Downs & D. Stea (Eds.), *Image and environment: Cognitive mapping and spatial behaviour* (pp. 148-161). New York, NY: Hodder & Stoughton Educational.
- Salaff, J. W., & Greve, A. (2004). Can women's social networks migrate? *Women's Studies International Forum*, 27(2), 149-162.
- Salazar, N. B. (2010). Tanzanian migration imaginaries. Oxford, UK: International Migration Institute, University of Oxford.
- Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. London: SAGE.
- Sampson, R., & Gifford, S. M. (2010). Place-making, settlement and well-being: The therapeutic landscapes of recently arrived youth with refugee backgrounds. *Health & Place*, 16(1), 116-131.
- Sansonetti, S. (2016). Female refugees and asylum seekers: The issue of integration. Brussels: European Parliament.
- Savolainen, R. (2009). Small world and information grounds as contexts of information seeking and sharing. *Library & Information Research*, 31(1), 38-45.

- Savolainen, R., Wilson, T. D., Olsson, M. R., & Cavanagh, M. (2009). The behaviour/practice debate: A discussion prompted by Tom Wilson's review of Reijo Savolainen's *Everyday information practices: a social phenomenological perspective*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2008. *Information Research*, 14(2). Retrieved from <http://www.informationr.net/ir/14-2/paper403.html>
- Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., & Blancszanton, C. (1992). Towards a definition of transnationalism - introductory remarks and research questions. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645, R9-R14.
- Schwartz, D. (1989). Visual ethnography: Using photography in qualitative research. *Qualitative Sociology*, 12(2), 119-154.
- Schwartz, L. R., Sable, M. R., Dannerbeck, A., & Campbell, J. D. (2007). Using Photovoice to improve family planning services for immigrant Hispanics. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 18(4), 757-766.
- Scull, C., Milewski, A., & Millen, D. (1999). Envisioning the Web: user expectations about the cyber-experience. In L. Woods (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 62nd American Society of Information Science Annual Meeting* (pp. 17-24). Medford, NJ: Information Today.
- Settlement Council of Australia. (2016). Exploring options for regional settlement. Canberra, Australia.
- Shankar, S., O'Brien, H. L., How, E., Lu, Y., Mabi, M., & Rose, C. (2016). The role of information in the settlement experiences of refugee students. *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, 53(1), 1-6.
- Sharpe, P. (2001). Introduction: gender and the experience of migration. In P. Sharpe (Ed.), *Women, gender, and labour migration: historical and global perspectives* (pp. 1-14). London: Routledge.
- Sheffield First Partnership. (2014). State of Sheffield 2014. Sheffield, UK.
- Shirazi, M., Bloom, J., Shirazi, A., & Popal, R. (2013). Afghan immigrant women's knowledge and behaviors around breast cancer screening. *Psychooncology*, 22(8), 1705-1717.
- Shoham, S., & Strauss, S. K. (2008). Immigrants' information needs: Their role in the absorption process. *Information Research*, 13(4). Retrieved from <http://www.informationr.net/ir/13-4/paper359.html>
- Shoham, S., & Yablonka, I. (2008). Monumental library buildings in the internet era: The future of public libraries. *IFLA Journal*, 34(3), 266-279.
- Side, K. (2005). Snapshot on identity: Women's contributions addressing community relations in a rural Northern Irish district. *Women's International Studies Forum*, 28(4), 315-327.
- Skeggs, B. (1994). Situating the production of feminist ethnography. In M. Maynard & J. Purvis (Eds.), *Researching women's lives from a feminist perspective*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Slany, K. (2007). Female migration from Central-Eastern Europe: Demographics and sociological aspects. In M. Morokvasić, A. S. Müst & L. Metz-Göckel (Eds.), *Migration and mobility in an enlarged Europe: a gender perspective* (pp. 27-51). Opladen: Barbara Budrich.
- Sligo, F., & Jameson, A. (2000). The knowledge - behaviour gap in use of health information; cervical screen for Pacific immigrants living in New Zealand. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science*, 51(9), 858-869.
- Smith, K., & Warner, L. (2015). Women and migration *Introduction to migration*. Leeds, UK: Migration Yorkshire.
- Sonnenwald, D. H. (1999). Evolving perspectives of human information behavior: Contexts, situations, social networks and information horizons. In T. D. Wilson & D. K. Allen (Eds.), *Exploring the contexts of information behavior: proceedings of the second international conference in information needs, seeking and use in different contexts* (pp. 176-190). London: Taylor Graham.
- Sonnenwald, D. H. (2005). Information horizons. In K. Fisher, S. Erdelez & L. McKechnie (Eds.), *Theories of Information Behavior: A Researcher's Guide* (pp. 191-197). New York: Springer.

- Sonnenwald, D. H., & Wildemuth, B. M. (2001). *Investigating information seeking behavior using the concept of information horizons*. University of North Carolina. Chapel Hill, NC.
 Retrieved from <http://sils.unc.edu/sites/default/files/general/research/TR-2001-01.pdf>
- Srinivasan, R., & Pyati, A. (2007). Diasporic information environments: Reframing immigrant-focused information research. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science & Technology*, 58(12), 1734-1744.
- Stacey, J. (1988). Can there be a feminist ethnography? *Women's International Studies Forum*, 11(1), 21-27.
- Stanczak, G. C. (2007). Using photography in studies of immigrant communities: Reflecting across projects and populations. In G. C. Stanczak (Ed.), *Visual Research Methods*. London: SAGE.
- Stein, B. N. (1981). The refugee experience: Defining the parameters of a field of study. *The International Migration Review*, 15(1/2), 320-330.
- Stella, F., Gawlewicz, A., & Flynn, M. (2016). Intimate migrations: Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender migrants in Scotland. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.
- Stevens, C. A. (2006). Being healthy: Voices of adolescent women who are parenting. *Journal of Specialists in Pediatric Nursing*, 11(1), 28-40.
- Strack, R. W., Magill, C., & McDonagh, K. (2004). Engaging youth through photovoice. *Health Promotion Practice*, 5(1), 49-58.
- Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. London: SAGE.
- Streng, J. M., Rhodes, S. D., Ayala, G. X., Eng, E., Arceo, R., & Phipps, S. (2004). Realidad Latina: Latino adolescents, their school, and a university use photovoice to examine and address the influence of immigration. *Journal of Interprofessional Care*, 18(4), 403-415.
- Su, S. S., & Conaway, C. W. (1995). Information and a forgotten minority - elderly Chinese immigrants. *Library & Information Science Research*, 19(1), 69-86.
- Sumption, M., & Somerville, W. (2010). The UK's new Europeans progress and challenges five years after accession *Equality and Human Rights Commission report*. Manchester: Equality and Human Rights Commission.
- Sutton, C. R. (1992). Some thoughts on gendering and internationalizing our thinking about transnational migrations. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645(1), 241-249.
- Szabo, V., & Strang, V. R. (1997). Secondary analysis of quality data. *Advances in Nursing Science*, 20(2), 66-74.
- Tangen, L. (1996). Libraries as a life source - the immigrant population's use of the Trondheim public library system. *Scandinavian Public Library Quarterly*, 29(4), 26-28.
- Taylor, C. (2004). *Modern social imaginaries*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Taylor, R. S. (1968). Question negotiation and information seeking in libraries. *Journal of College and Research Libraries*, 29(3), 178-194.
- Thulin, E., & Vilhelmsen, B. (2014). Virtual practices and migration plans: A qualitative study of urban young adults. *Population, Space and Place*, 20(5), 389-401.
- Toruńczyk-Ruiz, S. (2008). Being together or apart? Social networks and notions of belonging among recent Polish migrants in the Netherlands *CMR Working Papers*. Warsaw: Centre of Migration Research.
- Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight "big-tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(10), 837-851.
- Trevena, P. (2011). A question of class? Polish graduates working in low-skilled jobs in London. *Studia Migracyjne: Przeglqd Polonijny*, 1, 71-96.
- Tuan, Y.-f. (1977). *Space and place: The perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Umoquit, M. J., Tso, P., Burchett, H. E. D., & Dobrow, M. J. (2011). A multidisciplinary systemic review of the use of diagrams as a means of collecting data from research subjects:

- Application, benefits and recommendations. *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 11(11).
- UNESCO. (2017). Migrant/ Migration Retrieved 30 November, 2017, from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/migrant/>
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2013, 11 September). 232 million international migrants living abroad worldwide – new UN global migration statistics reveal. Retrieved from <http://esa.un.org/unmigration/wallchart2013.htm>
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2016). International Migration Report 2015: Highlights. New York, NY: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs.
- United Nations Department of Public Information. (2016). 244 million international migrants living abroad worldwide, new UN statistics reveal Retrieved 30 November, 2017, from <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/blog/2016/01/244-million-international-migrants-living-abroad-worldwide-new-un-statistics-reveal/>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2017a). Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2016. Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2017b). What is a refugee? Retrieved 10 October 2017, from <http://www.unrefugees.org/what-is-a-refugee/>
- United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women. (2007). Feminization of migration. *Gender, remittances and development*. Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.
- Urry, J. (2007). *Mobilities*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Van Eyck, K. (2004). Women and international migration in the health sector. Ferney-Voltaire, France: Public Services International.
- Van Riel, R., Fowler, O., & Downes, A. (2008). *The reader-friendly library service*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Society of Chief Librarians.
- Vargas-Silva, C. (2014). Migration flows of A8 and other EU migrants to and from the UK. *Migration observatory briefing*. Oxford, UK: COMPAS, University of Oxford.
- Vargas-Silva, C., & Rienzo, C. (2017). Migrants in the UK: An overview *Migration Observatory briefing*. Oxford, UK: COMPAS, University of Oxford.
- Vertovec, S. (2004). Cheap calls: The social glue of migrant transnationalism. *Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs*, 4(2), 219-224.
- Vinson, T. (2009). Social inclusion: The origins, meaning, definition and economic implications of the concept social inclusion/ exclusion. Canberra: Australian Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations.
- Wang, C. C. (1999). Photovoice: A participatory action research strategy applied to women's health. *Journal of Women's Health*, 8(2), 185-192.
- Wang, C. C., & Burris, M. A. (1994). Empowerment through photo novella: Portraits of participation. *Health Education Quarterly*, 21(2), 171-186.
- Wang, C. C., & Burris, M. A. (1997). Photovoice: concept, methodology, and use for participatory needs assessment. *Health Education and Behavior*, 24(3), 369-387.
- Wang, C. C., Cash, J. L., & Powers, L. S. (2000). Who knows the streets as well as the homeless? Promoting personal and community action through photovoice. *Health Promotion Practice*, 1(1), 81-89.
- Wang, C. C., Yi, W. K., Tao, Z. W., & Carovano, K. (1998). Photovoice as a participatory health promotion strategy. *Health Promotion International*, 13(1), 75-86.
- Ward, O. (2016, 25 June 2016). Toxic Brexit debate has led the U.K. into political turmoil: Analysis, *Toronto Star*. Retrieved from <https://www.thestar.com/news/world/2016/06/25/toxic-brexit-debate-has-lead-the-uk-into-political-turmoil-analysis.html>

- Watkins, P. G., Razee, H., & Richters, J. (2012). 'I'm telling you... the language barrier is the most, the biggest challenge': Barriers to education among Karen refugee women in Australia. *Australian Journal of Education*, 56(2), 126-141.
- Weick, K. E. (2007). The generative properties of richness. *Academy of Management Journal*, 50(1), 14-19.
- Weisman, L. (1992). *Discrimination by design: A feminist critique of the man-made environment*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- White, A. (2009). Family migration from small-town Poland: A livelihood strategy approach. In K. Burrell (Ed.), *Polish migration to the UK in the 'new' European Union: after 2004* (pp. 67-85). Farnham, UK: Ashgate.
- White, A. (2010). Young people and migration from contemporary Poland. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 13(5), 565-580.
- White, A., & Ryan, L. (2008). Polish 'temporary' migration: The formation and significance of social networks. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60(9), 1467-1502.
- Wiegand, W. A. (2003). To reposition a research agenda: What American studies can teach the LIS community about the library in the life of the user. *The Library Quarterly*, 73(4), 369-382.
- Wilding, R. (2006). 'Virtual' intimacies? Families communicating across transnational contexts. *Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs*, 6(2), 125-142.
- Wilding, R. (2009). Refugee youth, social inclusion, and ICTs: Can good intentions go bad? *Journal of Information, Communication & Ethics in Society*, 7(2/3), 159-174.
- Willmott, P. (1987). *Friendship networks and social support*. London: Policy Studies Institute.
- Wilson, E. (1992). *The sphinx in the city: urban life, the control of disorder, and women* (1st University of California Press ed.). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Wilson, N., Dasho, S., Martin, A. C., Wallerstein, N., Wang, C. C., & Minkler, M. (2007). Engaging young adolescents in social action through Photovoice—The Youth Empowerment Strategies (YES!) project. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 27(2), 241-261.
- Wilson, T. (2010). Fifty years of information behavior research. *Bulletin of the American Society for Information Science & Technology*, 36(3), 27-34.
- Withers, G., & Powall, M. (2003). Immigration and the regions: Taking regional Australia seriously. Canberra: Chifley Foundation.
- Witteborn, S. (2011). Constructing the forced migrant and the politics of space and place-making. *Journal of Communication*, 61(6), 1142-1160.
- Witteborn, S. (2012). Forced migrants, new media practices, and the creation of locality. In I. Volkmer (Ed.), *The handbook of global media research* (pp. 312-330). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Witteborn, S. (2015). Becoming (im)perceptible: Forced migrants and virtual practice. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 28(3), 350-367.
- Wolcott, H. E. (1994). *Transforming qualitative data: Description, analysis and interpretation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Wolf, D. L. (1996). Situating feminist dilemmas in fieldwork. In D. L. Wolf (Ed.), *Feminist dilemmas in fieldwork* (pp. i-xiii). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Worth, N. (2011). Evaluating life maps as a versatile method for lifecourse geographies. *Area*, 43(4), 405-412.
- Yakushko, O., Backhaus, A., Watson, M., Ngaruiya, K., & Gonzalez, J. (2008). Career development concerns of recent immigrants and refugees. *Journal of Career Development*, 34(4), 362-396.
- Yakushko, O., & Chronister, K. M. (2005). Immigrant women and counseling: The invisible others. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 83(3), 292-298.
- Zlotnik, H. (2003). The global dimensions of female migration. *Migration Information Source*. Retrieved from <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/global-dimensions-female-migration/>

Zubrzycki, J. (1956). *Polish immigrants in Britain; a study of adjustment*. The Hague,: M. Nijhoff.

Appendix A: Interview schedules

Exploratory study

First interview

1. Name (choose a pseudonym?), age, marital status, children
2. Could you tell me about where were you born and brought up?
3. What is your experience of being a woman in that society?
4. How did it come about that you came to live in Sheffield?
5. How did you find out about Sheffield before you moved? (then follow-up questions as applicable re: info sources mentioned – why were these sources particularly useful?)
6. Where do you live in Sheffield (area) and how did you come to live there?
7. Is there anywhere where you feel particularly welcome or comfortable, and why?
8. Are there places where you feel unwelcome or uncomfortable?
9. Have you been working since you live in Sheffield? How did you get your first job here?
Have you changed jobs?
10. How did you make friends when you came to Sheffield?
11. (If applicable – questions about children – do they go to school/ other groups?)
12. How do you stay in contact with your home country and the people there? (literally and metaphorically – e.g. keeping cultural connections)
13. What is your experience of being a woman in Sheffield?

Introduce next section as focussing on your particular area of interest – finding out information.

14. Throughout the process of settling in Sheffield, was there any information that you found hard to find or access? Why do you think this was?
15. Could you tell me about your use of the library in your home country and here in Sheffield? (what do they use it for, why/ why not?)
16. Sometimes people go to a place for a particular reason such as to eat, get a haircut, to worship, for child care, get something repaired, make crafts, see a health provider or get exercise, but end up sharing information just because other people are there and you start talking. Does such a place come to mind for you? What is it?
17. What makes this a good place for obtaining information, either accidentally or on purpose?
18. What are some examples of information that you might pick up there?
19. Are there places you would like to visit/ sources you would like to use to find things out, but feel you cannot? Why not?
20. Do you feel that your move has been a positive step?

Prompts to use with questions about finding information

- Where did you find that out?
- What's that place like?

- Did you get information there easily?
- Did people give you information freely?
- Did you/ do you share information with others in that place?
- Do you think a man could have found out this information differently?

Briefing

- (send info sheet beforehand) – confirm that they are OK with it and ask if any questions about it
- Briefly explain photovoice process and why I am using it
- Check what device they will be using (phone, camera) and if they are able to upload, save, etc. photos
- Make sure they are comfortable with basic photography
- Ethical issues – when taking pictures in public/ of people/ in spaces such as shops, libraries, etc.
- Explain time frame – one week, 20 pictures – can also use found images if difficult to take photos themselves, and can include screenshots/ images of computer if relevant
- Briefing Qs:
 1. Tell me, through your photographs, the story of living in Sheffield
 2. Show me how you keep informed, and help others to stay informed, while living in Sheffield (explain what “stay informed” means – give some examples, e.g. finding out about things, events, meeting people, staying connected here and elsewhere – also explain that it can include encountering info as well as actively seeking it – e.g. things you may see on the street, overheard conversations, TV/ radio...)

Second interview

- Driven by photos – with each photo ask them to tell me about it
Why have you included this (place/ person/ etc.) in the photo? (bring out how it makes them feel – welcome/ unwelcome/ powerless/ inspired/ etc. – what’s it like?)
- What information do you get from it/ them?
- What are the drawbacks of using this source?

Photovoice briefing notes and reminders for participants

You have approximately one week to take 20 photos that answer the following two questions:

1. Tell me, through your photographs, the story of living in Sheffield.
2. Show me how you keep informed, and help others to stay informed, while living in Sheffield – in particular the places you visit (this could include finding out about things or events, meeting people, and staying connected here and elsewhere. It could also include coming across information without necessarily looking for it – for example, things you may see on the street, overheard conversations, TV/ radio...).

Remember:

When you are taking pictures in public spaces such as shops or libraries, please ensure you have permission from the relevant person if required.

If you want to take a picture of someone, please ensure you have their permission. Where peoples' faces are visible but are not the focus of the picture (e.g. in a photo of a street) their faces will be blanked out before any publication of the image.

You are welcome to use photo editing programs such as Photoshop to edit your images (e.g. cropping them, blurring faces) but this is not a requirement of the study.

There may be places that you want to photograph, but where it may be difficult or inappropriate to take pictures (e.g. a school; a children's library; a swimming pool). In these cases you are allowed to use images that you have found on the Internet or elsewhere as a substitute.

Screenshots from computers, phones, etc. are also acceptable (e.g. a screenshot to show your use of a particular website or application if this is important to you).

If you experience any problems during the photo-taking period, or if you have any queries about the project, you are welcome to contact me at mtbenson1@sheffield.ac.uk.

Interview questions (expert/ context interviews)

Name/ organisation/ role

1. Could you tell me about what your organisation does and what your role is/ what your research is about?
2. What were the patterns of migration from Poland to the UK following WWII?
3. Since Poland joined the EU in 2004, what have been the patterns of migration from Poland to the UK? (e.g. trends in gender/ age/ employment, etc. – particularly gender)
4. Why has migration occurred from Poland in this way? (or not... ask some 'why' questions based on answer to 3, particularly re: gender)
5. What do you see as the main differences between these two groups (post-war and post-accession) in the way they migrated and settled?
6. How do these two groups relate to each other?
7. a) Thinking about post-accession migrants, why do they come to the UK?
b) Does this differ for men and women?
8. Do they come directly from Poland to their 'final destination' or do they migrate in stages? (e.g. to London then elsewhere in UK)
9. When Polish migrants arrive, what are some of their first points of contact?
10. Where in [city/ region] do they tend to live (upon arrival and later)?
11. What would you say are the main challenges facing Polish migrants into the UK/ this area?
12. Do you perceive any differences between the challenges facing male and female Polish migrants?
13. Where do the Polish community in [city/ region] tend to congregate? (areas plus specific places or groups)
14. Where do they go to find information about: employment/ housing/ rights such as benefits/ health/ language learning?
15. ... to socialise?
16. (for each place mentioned): why do you think they use this place?
17. If you were recruiting participants for my research, how would you do it?
18. Is there anyone you think I should talk to to find out more?

Main study

Interview questions – participants

Explain grouping of questions before starting, then describe mapping process

Youself

1. Name, age, marital status, children
2. Could you tell me about where were you born and brought up?

Your move to Sheffield, accommodation and employment

3. How did it come about that you came to live in the UK/ Sheffield?
4. What did you need to find out before you came? How did you do this? (then follow-up questions as applicable re: info sources mentioned, as in list below)
5. Was there anything that you couldn't find out about, or were not prepared for?
6. Can you describe your first few days in Sheffield?
7. When you came to Sheffield, how did you find a place to live?
8. Have you been working since coming to Sheffield? How did you get your first job here? How did you find out about jobs? Have you changed jobs?
9. (If applicable – questions about children – do they go to school/ other groups? If so, how did you find out about these?)

Polish identity and contacts

10. Do you have many Polish contacts in Sheffield? Friends/ workmates/ acquaintances?
11. How do you stay in contact with your home country and the people there?
12. Do you keep in touch with Polish events, culture, etc.? e.g. watch Polish TV, read Polish websites?
13. Do you feel a need to maintain or keep in touch with a Polish identity? e.g. do you engage with Polish institutions in the UK?

How you find information

14. Were you a library user in Poland? (what do they use it for, why/ why not?)
15. Have you used the public library since being in Sheffield? (what for, why, etc.)
16. Sometimes people go to a place for a particular reason such as to eat, get a haircut, to worship, for child care, get something repaired, see a health provider or get exercise, but end up sharing information just because other people are there and you start talking. Does such a place come to mind for you? What is it? What makes this a good place for obtaining information, either accidentally or on purpose? What are some examples of information that you might pick up there?

Being a woman in Poland/ the UK

17. Do you think there is a difference in the opportunities available to women in Poland/ the UK? If so, why?
18. Are expectations of women different in the UK compared to Poland? Have you noticed any examples?

19. Do you think Polish men who move to the UK have a different experience to Polish women?

General/ conclusion

20. What are your plans for the future?

21. Has Brexit changed your feelings or plans?

22. What advice would you give to other Polish women wanting to migrate to Sheffield or the UK?

Prompts to use with questions about finding information

- Where did you find that out?
- What's that place like?
- Did you get information there easily?
- Did people give you information freely?
- Did you/ do you share information with others in that place?

Appendix B: Participant information sheets

Exploratory study

Participant pilot interviews

The University of Sheffield. Information School	Information behaviour of migrational individuals: an ethnographic study of space, place and gender
--	--

Researchers

Melanie Benson – mtbenson1@sheffield.ac.uk

Purpose of the research

I am researching the information behaviour of women who have recently moved to the UK from Eastern Europe. I want to understand what places are most useful to them for seeking, using and creating information, and how they use these places. I also want to understand what qualities these places have, and what role, if any, the public library plays in the process.

Who will be participating?

I am inviting women over 18 who have moved to Sheffield from Eastern European countries within the last five years (approximately).

What will you be asked to do?

I will conduct a brief introductory session, which will involve a short interview about your personal circumstances, and a full briefing on the process. There will then be a period of approximately one week during which I will ask you to take or source a minimum of twenty photos reflecting a range of topics: your daily life; places or sources where you visit regularly or see as particularly helpful in finding information; your experience of arriving in, and getting to know, the city; your impressions of the library and its services; and more broadly, what it means to be an Eastern European woman living in Sheffield. I will then conduct a follow-up interview where we discuss the images.

What are the potential risks of participating?

The risks of participating are the same as those experienced in everyday life. Every effort will be made to ensure that any data collected from you is done so with anonymity and confidentiality.

What data will we collect?

Interviews will be digitally audio recorded at all stages of the process and paper notes will also be made.

Photographs and screenshots will be collected.

What will we do with the data?

The anonymised digital data (photos, text, and audio recordings) will be stored on the researcher's PC, on digital data sticks, and on the Information School's secure Research Data Server. Paper notes will be transcribed, stored securely, and then shredded. You may also retain copies of your photographs, once we have ensured that they adhere to confidentiality requirements. Print data will be stored in a secure location (lockable drawers/ locker) in the researcher's office. The anonymised data will be stored for use in writing journal articles or presentations on the research, and for reanalysis. The storage and retention of data will be reviewed at the end of the PhD study and at one year intervals following this. Photographs collected during the course of the study may be included in a small temporary exhibition in Sheffield Central Library, but only with your full consent and co-operation.

Will my participation be confidential?

Data will be anonymised and participants' names will be changed. Individuals or identifying features will be obscured in photographs where necessary. Digital files will be coded with a random number. No identifying information will be retained.

Where participation involves group sessions, the data will be anonymised, but I cannot guarantee that members of the group will not discuss their participation, although I will request that they do not do so.

During the study sensitive information about participant life may be acquired by the researcher (e.g., from photographs and personal stories). This will be kept strictly confidential unless there are pressing legal reasons to disclose it (for example, as a result of police investigations or court proceedings). In addition, the researcher will report to the relevant authorities any actions or planned actions, discovered during the course of research, which are likely to result in serious and immediate harm to others.

What will happen to the results of the research project?

The results of this study will be included in my PhD thesis, which will be publicly available. The results may also be reported in journal papers; a summary of the results will be available by contacting the primary investigator. Photographs collected during the course of the study may be included in a small temporary exhibition in Sheffield Central Library, but only with your full consent and co-operation.

I confirm that I have read and understand the description of the research project, and that I have had an opportunity to ask questions about the project.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without any negative consequences.

I understand that I may decline to answer any particular question or questions, or to do any of the activities. If I stop participating at all time, all of my data will be purged.

I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential, that my name or identity will not be linked to any research materials, and that I will not be identified or identifiable in any report or reports that result from the research.

I give permission for the research team members to have access to my anonymised responses.

I give permission for the research team to re-use my data for future research as specified above.

I agree to take part in the research project as described above.

Participant Name (Please print)

Participant Signature

Researcher Name (Please print)

Researcher Signature

Date

Note: If you have any difficulties with, or wish to voice concern about, any aspect of your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Angela Lin, Research Ethics Coordinator, Information School, The University of Sheffield (ischool_ethics@sheffield.ac.uk), or the University Registrar and Secretary.

Expert interviews

The University of Sheffield. Information School	Information behaviour of migrational individuals: an ethnographic study of space, place and gender
--	--

Researchers

Melanie Benson – mtbenson1@sheffield.ac.uk

Purpose of the research

I am researching the information behaviour of women who have recently moved to the UK from Poland. I want to understand what knowledge and behaviour is most useful to them for seeking, using and creating information. In this stage of the project I particularly want to find out what is the context that shapes the information practices and experience of recent female Polish migrants.

Who will be participating?

For this stage of the project I am inviting individuals with a knowledge of the context of Polish migration to the UK.

What will you be asked to do?

I will conduct an interview lasting approximately one hour, during which I will ask questions regarding the context of Polish migration and settlement in the UK.

What are the potential risks of participating?

The risks of participating are the same as those experienced in everyday life. Every effort will be made to ensure that any data collected from you is done so with anonymity and confidentiality.

What data will we collect?

Interviews will be digitally audio recorded at all stages of the process and paper notes will also be made.

What will we do with the data?

The anonymised digital data (photos, text, and audio recordings) will be stored on the researcher's PC, on digital data sticks, and on the Information School's secure Research Data

Server. Paper notes will be transcribed, stored securely, and then shredded. Print data will be stored in a secure location (lockable drawers/locker) in the researcher's office. The anonymised data will be stored for use in writing journal articles or presentations on the research, and for reanalysis. The storage and retention of data will be reviewed at the end of the PhD study and at one year intervals following this.

Will my participation be confidential?

Data will be anonymised and participants' names will be changed. Digital files will be coded with a random number. No identifying information will be retained.

During the study sensitive information about participant life may be acquired by the researcher (e.g., from photographs and personal stories). This will be kept strictly confidential unless there are pressing legal reasons to disclose it (for example, as a result of police investigations or court proceedings). In addition, the researcher will report to the relevant authorities any actions or planned actions, discovered during the course of research, which are likely to result in serious and immediate harm to others.

What will happen to the results of the research project?

The results of this study will be included in my PhD thesis, which will be publicly available. The results may also be reported in journal papers; a summary of the results will be available by contacting the primary investigator.

I confirm that I have read and understand the description of the research project, and that I have had an opportunity to ask questions about the project.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without any negative consequences.

I understand that I may decline to answer any particular question or questions, or to do any of the activities. If I stop participating at all time, all of my data will be purged.

I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential, that my name or identity will not be linked to any research materials, and that I will not be identified or identifiable in any report or reports that result from the research.

I give permission for the research team members to have access to my anonymised responses.

I give permission for the research team to re-use my data for future research as specified above.

I agree to take part in the research project as described above.

Participant Name (Please print)

Participant Signature

Researcher Name (Please print)

Researcher Signature

Date

Note: If you have any difficulties with, or wish to voice concern about, any aspect of your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Angela Lin, Research Ethics Coordinator, Information School, The University of Sheffield (ischool_ethics@sheffield.ac.uk), or the University Registrar and Secretary.

Main study

The University of Sheffield. Information School	Information behaviour of migrational individuals: an ethnographic study of space, place and gender
--	--

Researchers

Melanie Benson – mtbenson1@sheffield.ac.uk

Purpose of the research

I am a PhD student in the Information School, researching the experiences of Polish women in Yorkshire who have migrated to the UK, and how they use information as part of their experience of moving. I am looking for participants to take part in interviews about their experiences of moving to the UK, including the context around their migration and settlement, what information they need, and how they seek, use and share information.

Who will be participating?

I am inviting women over 18 who have moved to Yorkshire from Poland within the last five to ten years (approximately).

What will you be asked to do?

I will conduct a face-to-face interview, during which I will ask questions about your experiences. I will ask you to draw a ‘map’ of your experience of moving to the UK and how you used information during that process.

What are the potential risks of participating?

The risks of participating are the same as those experienced in everyday life. Every effort will be made to ensure that any data collected from you is done so with anonymity and confidentiality.

What data will we collect?

Interviews will be digitally audio recorded at all stages of the process and paper notes will also be made.

The map that you draw during the interview will also be collected.

What will we do with the data?

The anonymised digital data (scanned maps, text, and audio recordings) will be stored on the researcher's PC, on digital data sticks, and on the Information School's secure Research Data Server. Paper notes will be transcribed, stored securely, and then shredded. Print data will be stored in a secure location (lockable drawers/locker) in the researcher's office. The anonymised data will be stored for use in writing journal articles or presentations on the research, and for reanalysis. The storage and retention of data will be reviewed at the end of the PhD study and at one year intervals following this.

Will my participation be confidential?

Data will be anonymised and participants' names will be changed. Individuals or identifying features will be obscured in maps where necessary. Digital files will be coded with a random number. No identifying information will be retained.

During the study sensitive information about participant life may be acquired by the researcher (e.g., from maps and personal stories). This will be kept strictly confidential unless there are pressing legal reasons to disclose it (for example, as a result of police investigations or court proceedings). In addition, the researcher will report to the relevant authorities any actions or planned actions, discovered during the course of research, which are likely to result in serious and immediate harm to others.

What will happen to the results of the research project?

The results of this study will be included in my PhD thesis, which will be publicly available. The results may also be reported in journal papers; a summary of the results will be available by contacting the primary investigator.

I confirm that I have read and understand the description of the research project, and that I have had an opportunity to ask questions about the project.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without any negative consequences.

I understand that I may decline to answer any particular question or questions, or to do any of the activities. If I stop participating at all time, all of my data will be purged.

I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential, that my name or identity will not be linked to any research materials, and that I will not be identified or identifiable in any report or reports that result from the research.

I give permission for the research team members to have access to my anonymised responses.

I give permission for the research team to re-use my data for future research as specified above.

I agree to take part in the research project as described above.

Participant Name (Please print)

Participant Signature

Researcher Name (Please print)

Researcher Signature

Date

Note: If you have any difficulties with, or wish to voice concern about, any aspect of your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Angela Lin, Research Ethics Coordinator, Information School, The University of Sheffield (ischool_ethics@sheffield.ac.uk), or the University Registrar and Secretary.

Appendix C: Stages of coding

First pass: 95 codes

Name	Sources	References	Created On
[English SA identity]	1	2	04/04/2017 17:09
[Put a map in my head]	1	1	12/04/2017 17:00
Adapting	3	6	24/04/2017 22:01
Bad experience	11	34	12/04/2017 17:59
Barriers (Poland)	7	19	04/04/2017 16:50
Barriers (UK)	12	37	04/04/2017 16:26
Better conditions	1	1	21/04/2017 14:48
Borders	7	7	04/04/2017 16:39
Brexit - actions	8	18	04/04/2017 17:23
Brexit - no change	7	10	13/04/2017 17:54
Brexit - uncertainty	15	28	04/04/2017 17:22
Brexit - understanding	5	10	18/04/2017 18:48
Brexit - unhappiness	9	22	18/04/2017 19:42
Children	14	60	12/04/2017 23:05
Church and religion	15	21	04/04/2017 17:04
Class	1	1	20/04/2017 18:05
Contact with Poland	19	26	12/04/2017 19:43
Cultural mix	13	40	12/04/2017 19:59
Desire to move	9	20	18/04/2017 19:44
Desire to stay	17	31	04/04/2017 17:24
Difficult conditions	7	16	19/04/2017 12:52
Education	5	12	21/04/2017 14:35
EU expansion	5	11	20/04/2017 15:40
Expectation v reality	14	29	04/04/2017 16:46
Family members in UK	11	37	04/04/2017 17:08
Fear-anxiety	10	24	04/04/2017 16:14
Feminism	1	1	12/04/2017 19:46
Flexibility	1	4	04/04/2017 16:38
Food	10	15	12/04/2017 19:56
Friends in UK	7	14	12/04/2017 22:45
Hard work	13	40	04/04/2017 17:28
Helping others	3	4	24/04/2017 18:27
Hobbies	3	5	18/04/2017 19:10
Independence	4	5	21/04/2017 14:40
Info avoidance	1	1	25/04/2017 14:05
Info encountering	5	6	20/04/2017 17:56
Info from friends	4	7	20/04/2017 17:57
Info from other Poles	12	30	04/04/2017 16:25
Information grounds	8	13	13/04/2017 19:45
Information overload	3	3	13/04/2017 19:41
Information sources	18	75	04/04/2017 16:21
Integration	3	7	20/04/2017 18:04
Intention of short stay	9	17	04/04/2017 16:32
Journey	6	13	12/04/2017 17:43
Lack of info	3	8	25/04/2017 00:18

Language	20	104	04/04/2017 16:12
Library	20	55	13/04/2017 17:49
Lucky	6	14	12/04/2017 17:50
Making friends	8	14	13/04/2017 19:18
Methodology	9	18	12/04/2017 16:59
Money	19	72	04/04/2017 16:24
Moving in UK	4	5	24/04/2017 18:29
New life	1	2	18/04/2017 18:22
Not first choice	8	14	12/04/2017 17:00
Older generation	3	6	19/04/2017 11:26
Organisations	2	4	18/04/2017 20:20
Organised by others	4	7	21/04/2017 14:41
Other nationalities	6	7	18/04/2017 18:48
Parents	4	5	20/04/2017 16:07
Planning	15	45	12/04/2017 17:03
Polish community	20	58	04/04/2017 17:05
Polish identity	20	64	12/04/2017 19:46
Polish men	6	8	19/04/2017 13:10
Polish mentality	13	29	04/04/2017 16:58
Polish TV, websites, etc.	19	29	13/04/2017 17:38
Polish-UK recruitment	4	4	20/04/2017 15:41
Pre or post Communism	4	10	04/04/2017 16:41
Previous migration	13	32	04/04/2017 16:40
Proactive	8	28	04/04/2017 16:23
Push factors from Poland	15	48	04/04/2017 16:43
Quick move	7	8	12/04/2017 22:46
Relationship	17	39	04/04/2017 16:36
Return to Poland	15	33	18/04/2017 17:16
Safety	9	19	04/04/2017 16:15
Search strategy	1	1	20/04/2017 16:41
Self fulfilment	20	72	04/04/2017 16:20
Self-employment	10	19	04/04/2017 16:37
Social networks	1	2	20/04/2017 18:09
Space	10	26	13/04/2017 17:22
Stages	7	8	13/04/2017 19:13
Status loss	10	22	18/04/2017 18:01
Transnationalism	4	7	18/04/2017 18:54
UK mentality and culture	15	31	04/04/2017 17:12
UK opportunities	16	44	12/04/2017 20:08
UK people - negative	8	24	13/04/2017 17:53
UK people - positive	13	26	04/04/2017 16:55
Visiting Poland	14	20	13/04/2017 17:34
Visits to UK	1	1	24/04/2017 21:54
Walking around, physical visit	8	16	21/04/2017 15:09
Weak ties	18	56	04/04/2017 15:32
Weather	8	9	12/04/2017 17:39
Women - expectations	16	44	13/04/2017 19:48
Women - experiences	15	39	04/04/2017 17:22
Women - opportunities	12	28	04/04/2017 17:16
Work via friends	2	3	20/04/2017 17:56

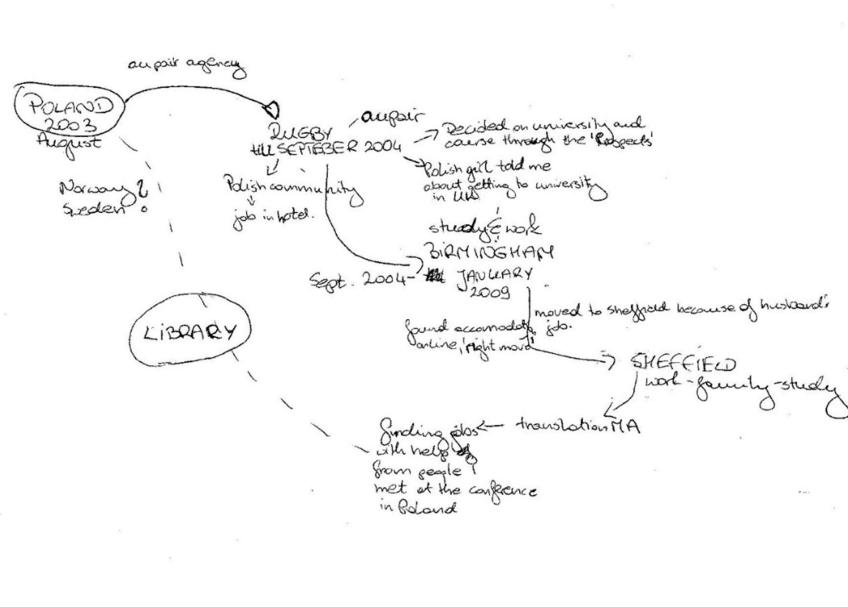
Second pass: 104 codes

Name	Sources	References	Created On
[English SA identity]	1	2	04/04/2017 17:09
[Put a map in my head]	1	1	12/04/2017 17:00
Adapting	6	11	24/04/2017 22:01
Bad experience	12	39	12/04/2017 17:59
Barriers (Poland)	7	19	04/04/2017 16:50
Barriers (UK)	13	39	04/04/2017 16:26
Better conditions	3	3	21/04/2017 14:48
Borders	7	7	04/04/2017 16:39
Brexit	0	0	10/05/2017 19:12
Brexit - actions	8	20	04/04/2017 17:23
Brexit - no change	7	10	13/04/2017 17:54
Brexit - uncertainty	15	28	04/04/2017 17:22
Brexit - understanding	6	11	18/04/2017 18:48
Brexit - unhappiness	10	23	18/04/2017 19:42
Children	14	66	12/04/2017 23:05
Church and religion	15	22	04/04/2017 17:04
Class	1	1	20/04/2017 18:05
Comfort	1	2	10/05/2017 19:26
Communism	5	11	04/04/2017 16:41
Compromise	2	4	10/05/2017 17:26
Contact with Poland	19	27	12/04/2017 19:43
Cultural mix	13	42	12/04/2017 19:59
Desire to move	9	18	18/04/2017 19:44
Desire to stay	17	31	04/04/2017 17:24
Desire to travel	8	13	11/05/2017 16:00
Difficult conditions	10	26	19/04/2017 12:52
Education	8	15	21/04/2017 14:35
EU expansion	5	12	20/04/2017 15:40
Expectation v reality	14	30	04/04/2017 16:46
Family members in UK	11	37	04/04/2017 17:08
Fear-anxiety	11	27	04/04/2017 16:14
Flexibility	2	5	04/04/2017 16:38
Food	10	15	12/04/2017 19:56
Friends in UK	7	14	12/04/2017 22:45
Gender	19	121	10/05/2017 19:09
Feminism	1	1	12/04/2017 19:46
Polish men	7	9	19/04/2017 13:10
Women - expectations	16	44	13/04/2017 19:48
Women - experiences	15	39	04/04/2017 17:22
Women - opportunities	12	28	04/04/2017 17:16
Hard work	14	43	04/04/2017 17:28
Helping others	6	9	24/04/2017 18:27
Hobbies	3	5	18/04/2017 19:10
Independence	7	8	21/04/2017 14:40
Info avoidance	1	1	25/04/2017 14:05
Info encountering	4	6	20/04/2017 17:56
Info from people	1	1	11/05/2017 14:56
Info from employer, supervisor	5	14	11/05/2017 14:55
Info from friends	9	17	20/04/2017 17:57
Info from other Poles	13	32	04/04/2017 16:25
Information grounds	8	14	13/04/2017 19:45
Information overload	3	4	13/04/2017 19:41
Information sources	20	84	04/04/2017 16:21
Integration	9	19	20/04/2017 18:04

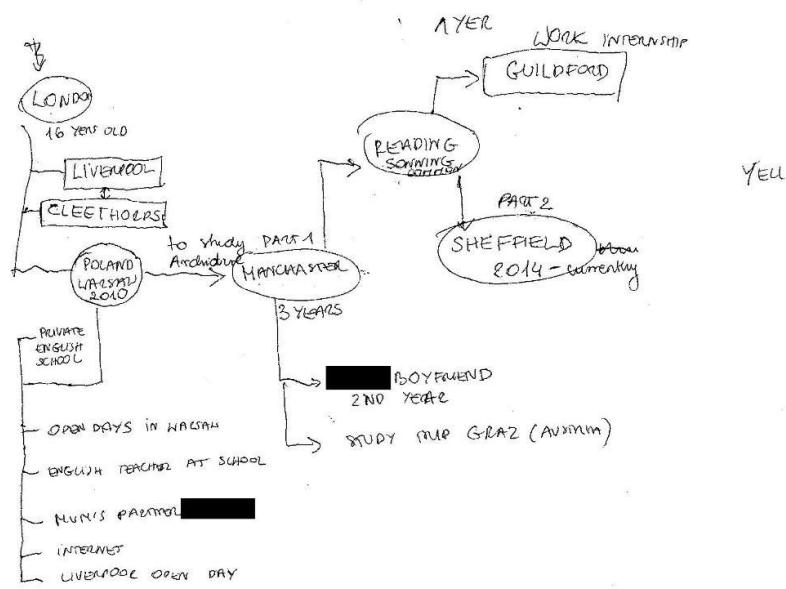
Intention of short stay	9	18	04/04/2017 16:32
Journey	7	15	12/04/2017 17:43
Lack of info	8	23	25/04/2017 00:18
Language	20	109	04/04/2017 16:12
Library	20	56	13/04/2017 17:49
Lucky	7	15	12/04/2017 17:50
Making friends	12	19	13/04/2017 19:18
Methodology	13	30	12/04/2017 16:59
Money	19	77	04/04/2017 16:24
Moving in UK	10	15	24/04/2017 18:29
New life	3	4	18/04/2017 18:22
Not first choice	8	14	12/04/2017 17:00
Older generation	5	8	19/04/2017 11:26
Organisations	4	6	18/04/2017 20:20
Organised by others	7	14	21/04/2017 14:41
Other nationalities	7	9	18/04/2017 18:48
Parents	10	11	20/04/2017 16:07
Planning	15	48	12/04/2017 17:03
Polish community	21	64	04/04/2017 17:05
Polish identity	20	67	12/04/2017 19:46
Polish mentality	13	33	04/04/2017 16:58
Polish TV, websites, etc.	20	31	13/04/2017 17:38
Polish-UK recruitment	7	8	20/04/2017 15:41
Previous migration	13	36	04/04/2017 16:40
Proactive, determined	8	34	04/04/2017 16:23
Push factors from Poland	15	51	04/04/2017 16:43
Quick move	7	9	12/04/2017 22:46
Relationship	17	40	04/04/2017 16:36
Return to Poland	15	33	18/04/2017 17:16
Safety	9	19	04/04/2017 16:15
Search strategy	3	4	20/04/2017 16:41
Self fulfilment	20	77	04/04/2017 16:20
Social networks	8	13	20/04/2017 18:09
Space	10	26	13/04/2017 17:22
Stages	7	8	13/04/2017 19:13
Status loss	11	26	18/04/2017 18:01
Transnationalism	6	10	18/04/2017 18:54
UK mentality and culture	16	38	04/04/2017 17:12
UK people - negative	8	24	13/04/2017 17:53
UK people - positive	13	28	04/04/2017 16:55
UK opportunities	17	45	12/04/2017 20:08
Visiting Poland	14	22	13/04/2017 17:34
Visits to UK	2	2	24/04/2017 21:54
Walking around, physical visit	10	22	21/04/2017 15:09
Weak ties	18	62	04/04/2017 15:32
Weather	8	10	12/04/2017 17:39
Work	0	0	11/05/2017 15:39
Career progression	9	13	11/05/2017 15:07
Self-employment	10	18	04/04/2017 16:37
Work via friends	7	8	20/04/2017 17:56

Appendix D: Participants' maps

(names of people and companies have been blocked out to preserve anonymity)



P001: Anastazja



P002: Julia

POLAND



studying in Nollendorf (6months)



POLAND



GERMANY

→ MC Scholarship (1y)

→ Job (1y)



POLAND

P003: Oliwia (pp. 278-279)

Exchange
to Holland +

EURAXESS

POLAND — 1. JOB

2. Interviews

Money
pack
car
church

3. MC Scholarship

4. Planning to move

5. Research → YT
Internet
UNI

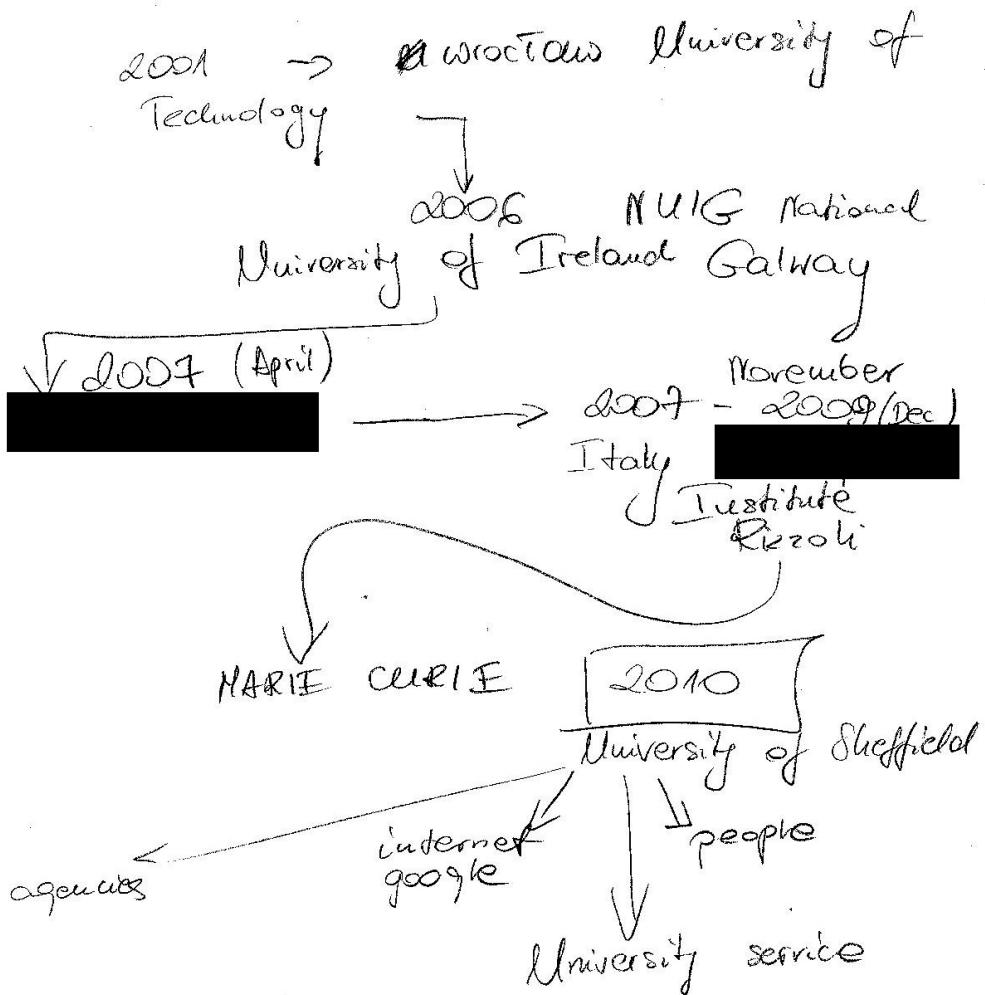
6. Moved!

7. Sheffield → neighbours
→ Friend
→ church
(keep in touch with me)

8. Contact → Viber, What's up, Skype,
letters, packages ^{email}
POLISH SHOP

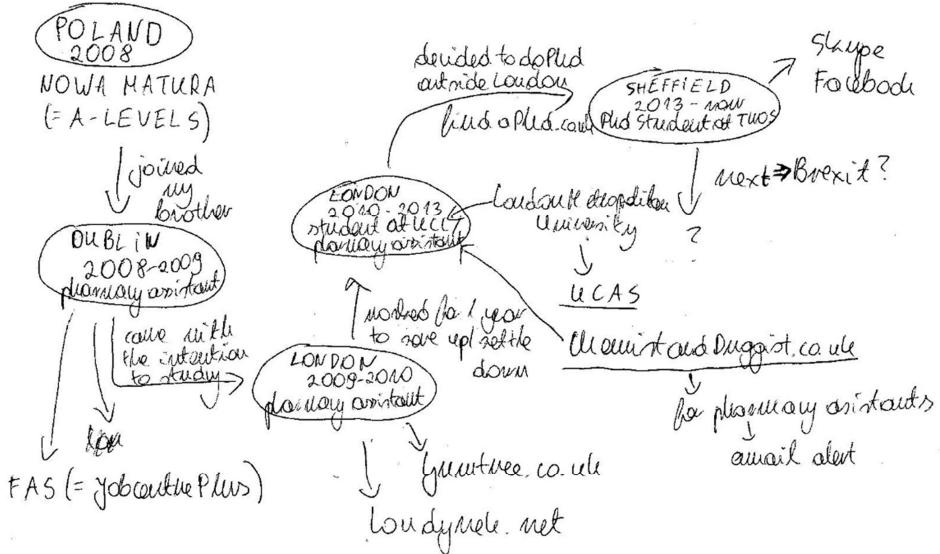
HYSOKIE OBČASY EXTRA - paper
Book, ARTICLES ON-LINE

YT → LANGUSTA NA PALMIE



Jan 2010 → Aug 2016
 May 2013 PR (2 days a week)
 2015
 2014 (3 days) → Aug 2015
 Sept 2015 - NAMR

P004: Izabela



P005: Barbara

Born: Ciebrzydowice
↓
Rybniček

2004



source of info:
the family → Llandudno, Wales → Au pair agency → found on the Internet.

degree info:
→ family at the B&B
→ library
* prospectuses
* internet



2006 → accommodation:
→ info from friends
→ going to West St &
Ecclesall Rd to look
for notices.

Sheffield



2008/2009



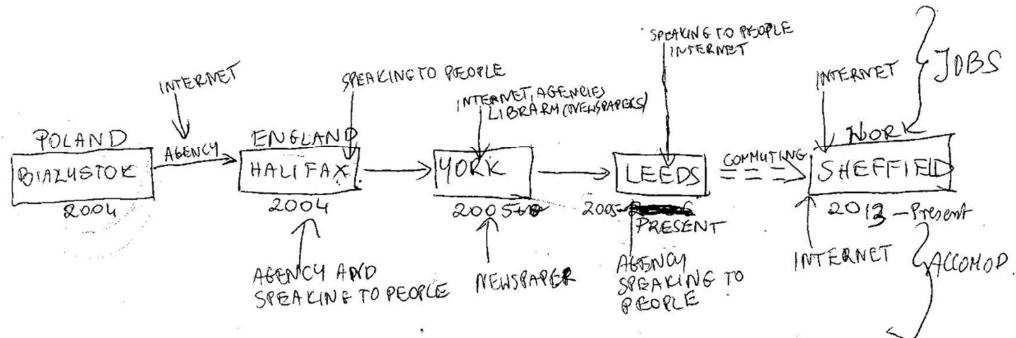
St. Petersburg
(Year Abroad
as part of degree)



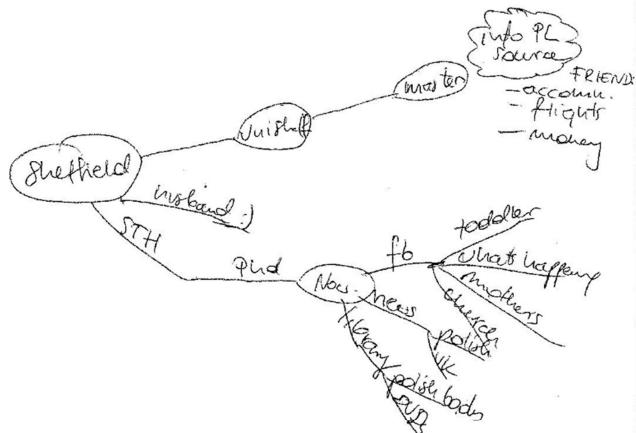
Future

→ Brexit made me think about moving elsewhere
x before didn't think of it as much.

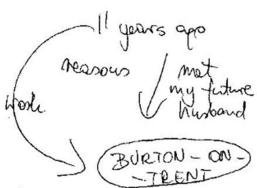
P006: Natalia



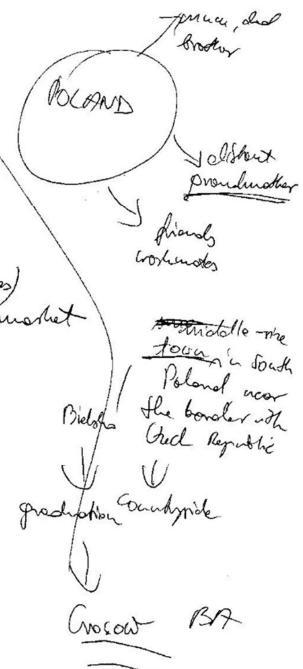
P007: Kornelia



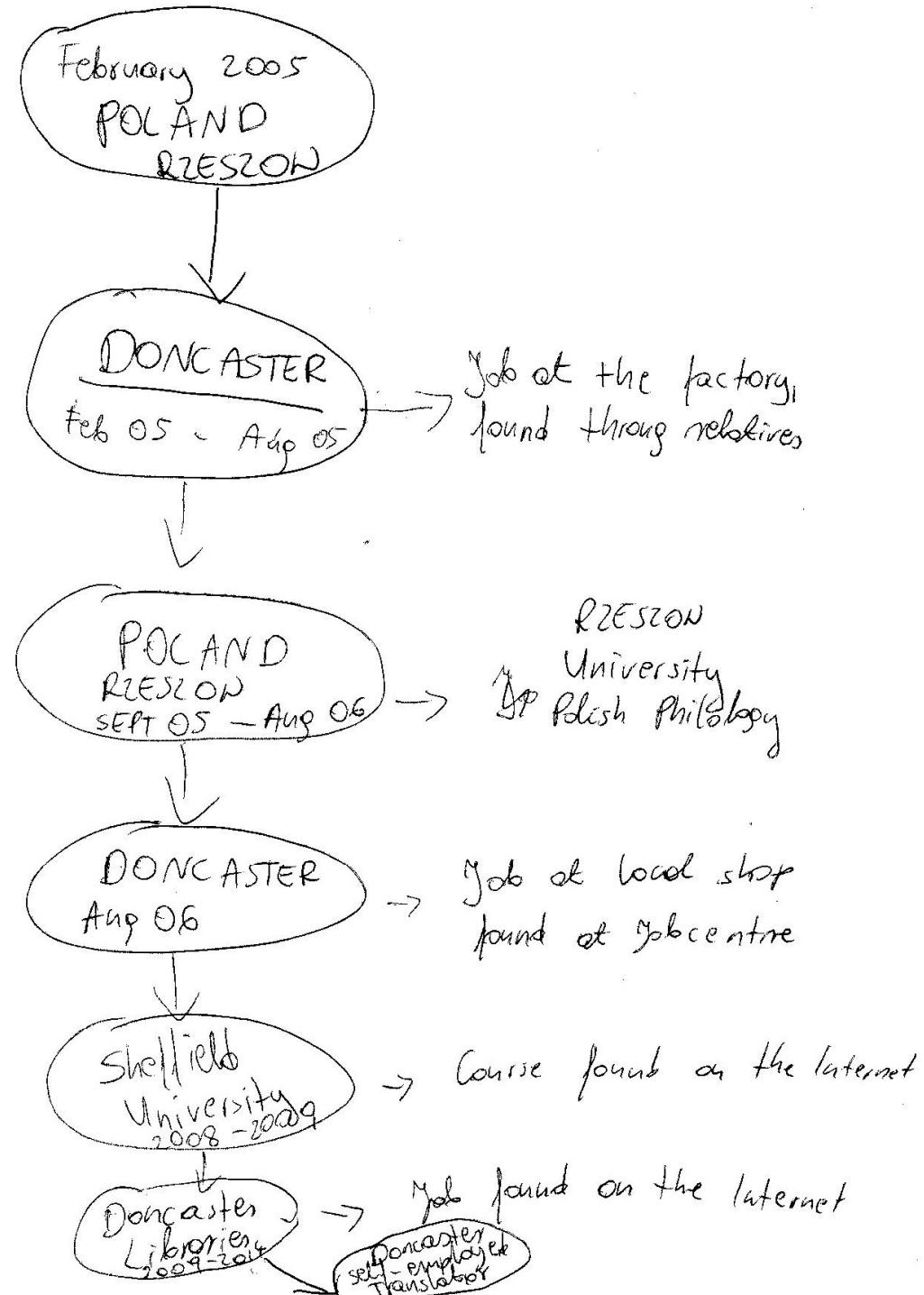
P008: Klara



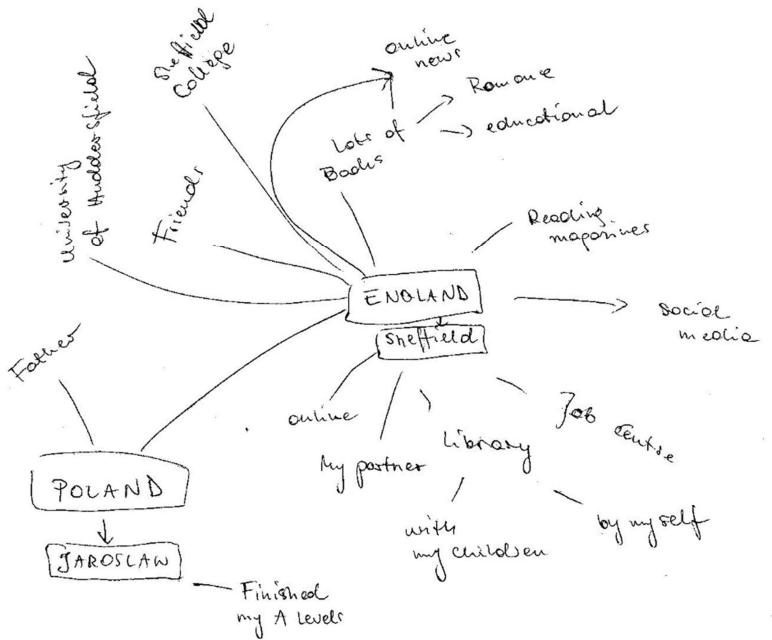
- reasons:
- meeting my future husband
 - fell in love with my job in Poland: teacher in secondary Latin & Ancient Culture (History)
 - EU enlargement (Accession Countries)
Poland - open labour market



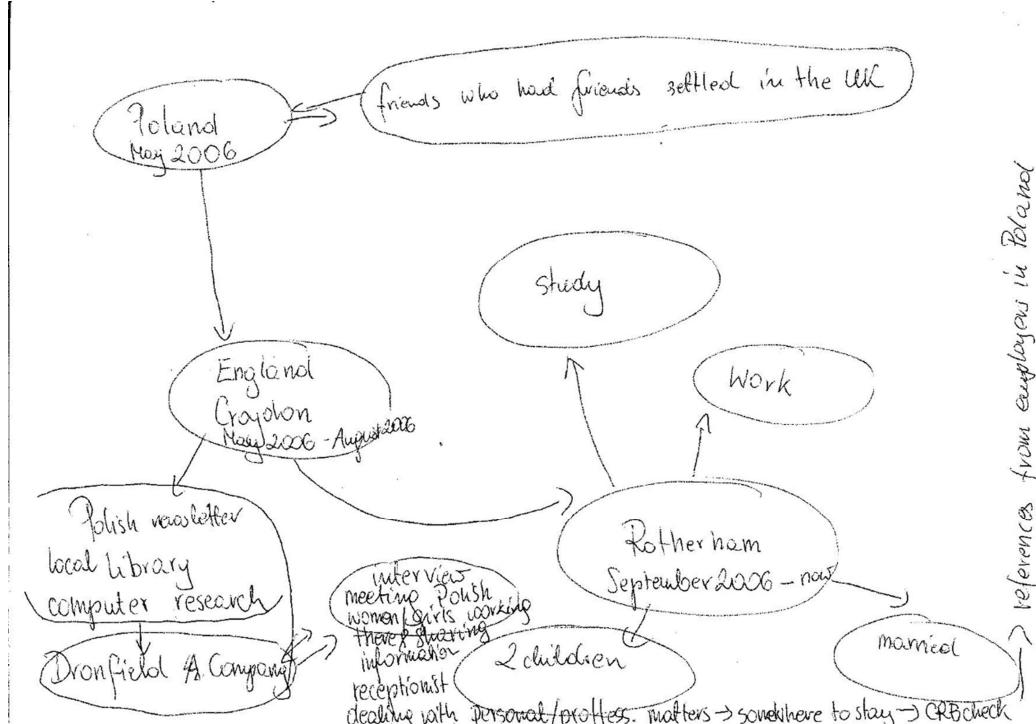
P009: Adelajda



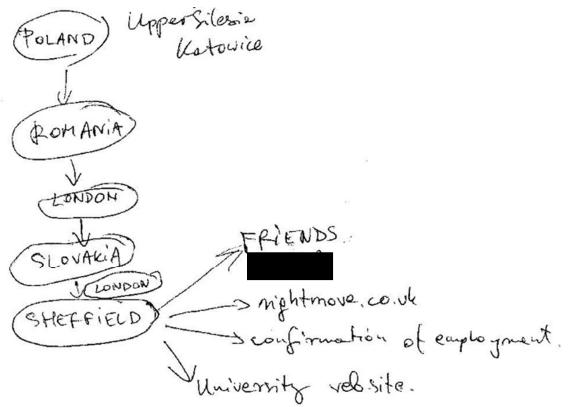
P010: Sonia



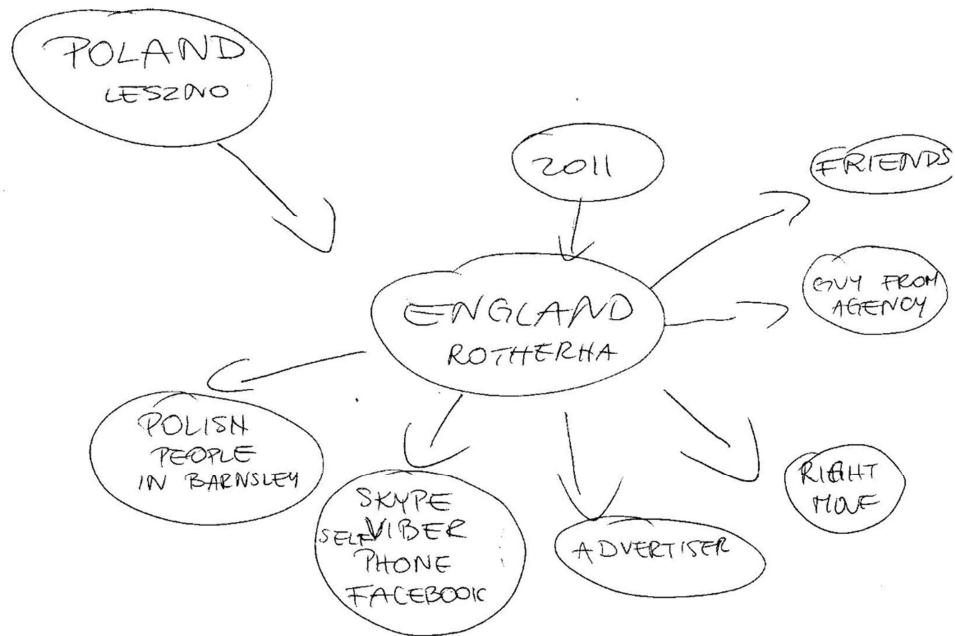
P011: Renata



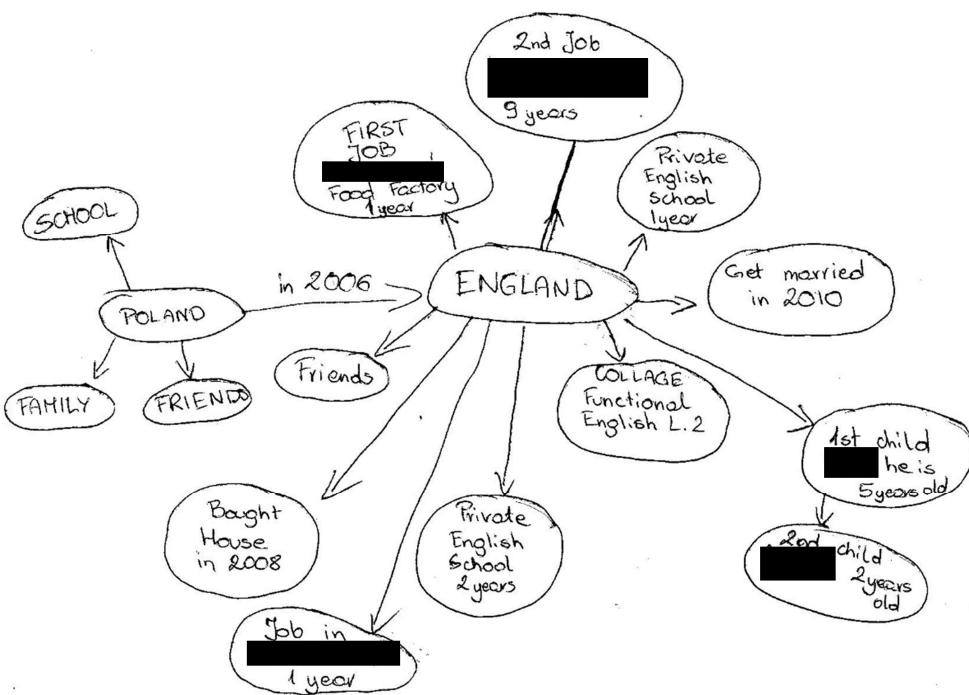
P012: Ana



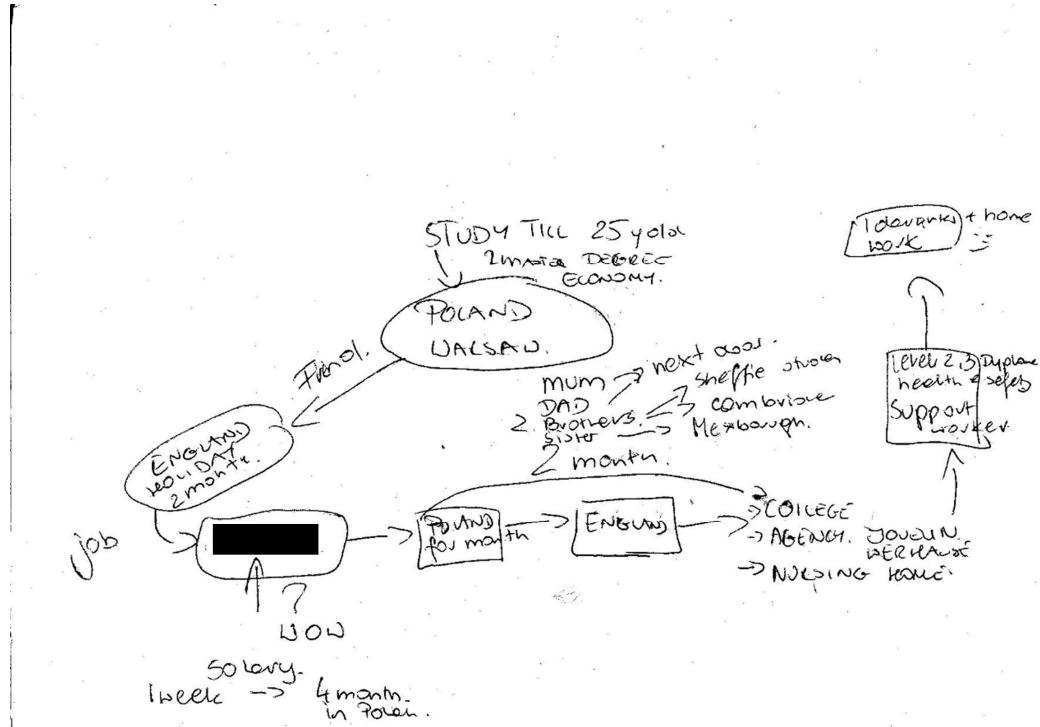
P013: Janina



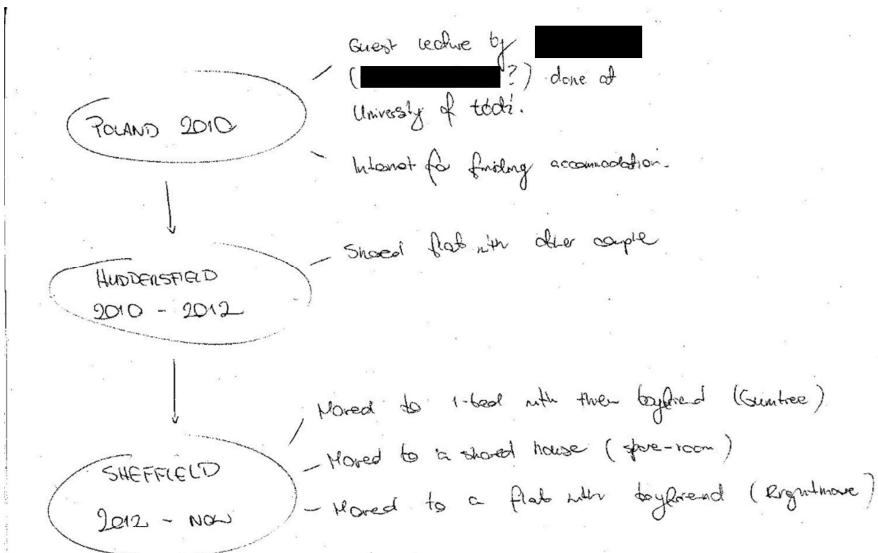
P014: Penelopa



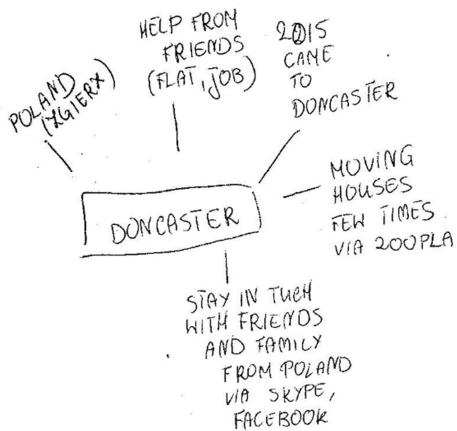
P015: Jolanta



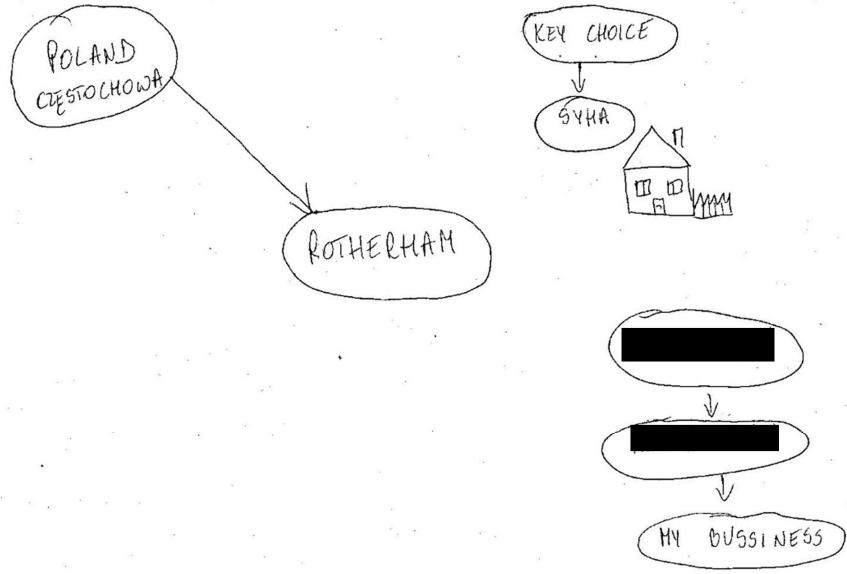
P016: Nikola



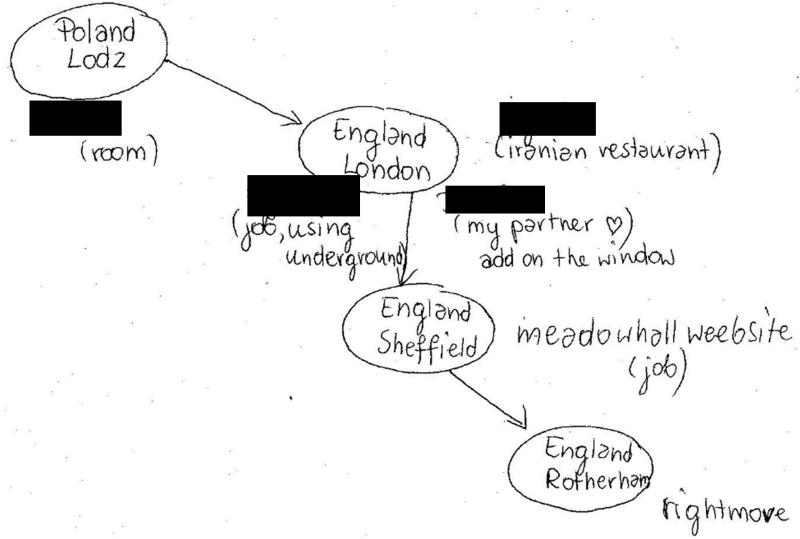
P017: Gabriela



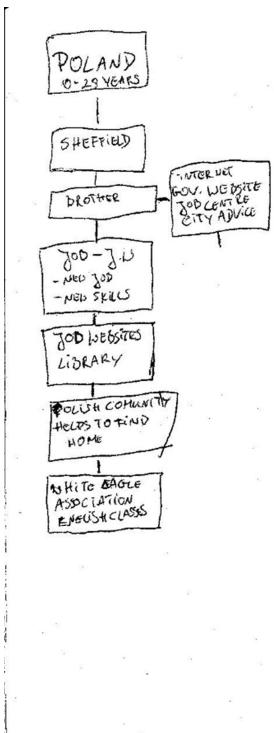
P018: Kamila



P019: Marianna



P020: Apolonia



P021: Monika