



Is Polish a Resource? – A comparative study of linguistic attitudes among Heritage Speakers and Adult Migrants in the UK

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Keywords

Polish language in the UK, linguistic attitudes, heritage language, language and migration

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Abstract

This study explores how attitudes towards the Polish language differ between heritage speakers (HS) and adult migrants (AM). Apart from answering more general questions about their linguistic and cultural backgrounds, the respondents were asked to rate Polish as a resource across nine domains, previously identified by Borowczyk (2020) – economic, communicative, cultural, creative, cognitive, health-related, emotional, educational, and community prestige-related. The results reveal generally positive attitudes towards the Polish language across both groups. Both HS and AM express strong agreement in cultural, emotional, and cognitive domains. Agreement across both groups was also noticeable in communicative, creative, and health-related domains, although here AM showed slightly stronger positive responses than HS. Less positive attitudes were observed for the economic, educational, and community-prestige domains with neutrality being the most commonly chosen stance. However, HS are more likely than AM to positively view Polish as an economic and educational resource. On the other hand, AM show more positive sentiment in the community prestige domain than HS. These findings demonstrate that Polish language, despite not being an easily monetized or credentialed asset, remains a significant resource for the diaspora contributing to better communication, a stronger sense of cultural identity and higher levels of physical and emotional well-being.

1. Introduction

Since Poland's accession to the European Union, approximately one million Poles have emigrated to the UK, making Polish the second most spoken language in the country after English (and Welsh) (Małkosa, 2018;

Office for National Statistics, 2022). This large wave of migration was largely driven by economic factors. Previous studies have shown that employment in so-called “3D” sectors (dirty, dangerous and on-demand) combined with often limited English language skills and unfamiliarity with the British labour market all negatively contribute to the migrants’ self-evaluation (Trevena, 2010, p. 150). Poles have also been targets of racist discourse before and after the Brexit vote (Rzepnikowska, 2019) especially in the context of economic crisis in 2008, and subsequently after the EU referendum in 2016. While initially Poles have been perceived as a ‘desirable’ migrant group and labelled as ‘invisible’ due to their whiteness, this perception shifted to the representation of these migrants as taking jobs from British workers, putting a strain on public services and welfare. While racist and xenophobic violence has been particularly noted following the Brexit vote, Polish migrants experienced various forms of racist abuse before that. This paper draws on narrative interviews with Polish migrant women illustrating their experiences of racism and xenophobia in Greater Manchester before and after the Brexit vote, and how they make sense of anti-Polish discourses and attitudes. This paper illustrates the importance of the interplay between the media and political discourses, class, race and the local context in shaping relations between Polish migrants and the local population.”,-
container-title:”Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies”,”DOI:”10.1080/1369183X.2018.1451308”,”ISSN:”1369-183X, 1469-9451”,”issue:”1”,”journalAbbreviation:”Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies”,”language:”en”,”page:”61-77”,”source:”DOI.org (Crossref. The history of Polish migration is, however, not limited to the post-EU-accession wave and spans several centuries, and very different migrant profiles, making the Polish diaspora in the UK a very diverse group with varying social, financial and linguistic backgrounds. This study seeks to explore what the attitudes towards the Polish language are in the diaspora by comparing two groups: heritage speakers (HS) and adult migrants (AM). The main research questions to be answered in the study are: 1) In what ways Polish speakers in the UK view Polish as a resource? 2) How different are the attitudes of HS and AM? The questions are addressed by studying participants’ linguistic identities and practices as well as attitudes towards Polish as a resource across nine domains – economic, communicative, cultural, creative, cognitive, health, emotional, educational, community prestige – identified previously in Borowczyk (2020). Section 2 of this article serves as a research background: first it introduces the framework of multilingual realities developed by Kozminska and Zhu ((2021) and

then provides a historical background to the Polish migration to the UK. Section 3 gives an overview of the methods and the participants. Section 4 is the presentation of results. The discussion and conclusions make up section 5 of the article.

2. Background

Multilingual realities of Polish speakers in the UK

Kozminska and Zhu (2021), who have studied language ideologies and practices of Polish-speaking migrants in the UK post the Brexit vote, use the term multilingual reality to capture the everyday experiences of multilingual individuals in the way they make use of multiple linguistic repertoires as well as the way they make sense of the symbolic value and role of each language. They point out that these beliefs are “linked to the workings of power, material inequality, legal status and social acceptance” (Kozminska, Zhu, 2021, p. 5). Therefore an individual existing in multilingual reality is aware of the existence of the political entities of named languages and is able to assign varying symbolic meanings and values to those entities (Li, 2018; Zhu, Li, 2021). Multilingual speaker’s repertoire consists therefore not only of knowledge of different linguistic varieties but also sets of language ideologies (Kroskirty, 2010, 2022) which have a direct effect on that speaker’s language use but also language maintenance and transmission. In this study, two groups of Polish speakers were asked about their views of Polish as a resource to explore what kind of language ideologies circulate in their multilingual realities.

Polish migration to the UK

In the UK 2021 census 612,000 people reported Polish as their main language, making it the most common language in the UK after English and Welsh in Wales (Office for National Statistics, 2022). Małkosa (2018) talks about three significant waves of Polish migration to the UK in the after-World-War-II period. He calls the first one “the military wave” since it refers to the Poles who as a result of the war, found themselves in

the British Isles and decided to settle there (Małkosa, 2018, p. 138). In 1947, a special Polish Resettlement Act (UK Public General Acts, n.d.) was passed which stabilized the situation of those who were already residing in the UK and facilitated an influx of new migrants. According to Janeta (2012, p. 6), the number of Poles rose from 3,500 in September 1939 to 157,300 in the years after the War. The second wave, termed by Małkosa (2018, p. 139) as the “Solidarity Migration” refers to several thousands of people who left Poland as a result of the introduction of the Martial Law in December 1981. None of these waves can be compared to the post-EU-accession migration. Data gathered by Małkosa (2018, p. 141) show that in the years 2004 – 2016, the number of Polish migrants in the UK rose from 69,000 to 1,000,000. Okólski and Salt (2014) summarize the unprecedented scale of that migration as “right people, right place, and right circumstances”. “Right people” refers to the fact that most migrants were young, aged 18-34, many brought children with them. In the years directly after accession, the UK attracted more highly educated people (university graduates). Only in the later stages, the flow became less qualified (Okólski & Salt, 2014, p. 18). “Right place” means the rapidly growing UK labour market mixed with reluctance of domestic workers to undertake the minimum wages vacancies and a generally favourable attitude towards the migrants from the new EU member states (Okólski & Salt, 2014, pp. 32, 33). “Right circumstances” were created by the coupling of Poland’s EU accession and the UK’s immediate decision to grant the migrants access to the British labour market (Okólski, Salt, 2014, p. 33).

Since 2016, Britain has entered the post-EU-referendum period. Kozminska and Zhu (2021, p. 2) found out that the public attitudes towards Polish and its speakers have worsened following the Brexit vote as the Leave campaign, which focused on the issue of mass immigration caused by EU’s freedom of movement, often represented Eastern European migrants, including Poles as contributing to the overall decline of the country. Rzepnikowska (2019) especially in the context of economic crisis in 2008, and subsequently after the EU referendum in 2016. While initially Poles have been perceived as a ‘desirable’ migrant group and labelled as ‘invisible’ due to their whiteness, this perception shifted to the representation of these migrants as taking jobs from British workers, putting a strain on public services and welfare. While racist and xenophobic violence has been particularly noted following the Brexit vote, Polish migrants experienced various forms of racist abuse before that. This paper draws on narrative interviews with Polish migrant women illustrating their experiences of racism and xenophobia in Gre-

ater Manchester before and after the Brexit vote, and how they make sense of anti-Polish discourses and attitudes. This paper illustrates the importance of the interplay between the media and political discourses, class, race and the local context in shaping relations between Polish migrants and the local population.”,”container-title”:”Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies”,”DOI”:”10.1080/1369183X.2018.1451308”,”ISSN”:”1369-183X, 1469-9451”,”issue”:”1”,”journalAbbreviation”:”Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies”,”language”:”en”,”page”:”61-77”,”source”:”DOI.org (Crossref argues that Polish migrants have been racialized before and after the Brexit vote. She applies the term *xeno-racism* following Sivanandan (2001, 2009) and Cole (2009) who propose to use it in reference to migrant workers from Eastern Europe who face a high level of exploitation, unfavourable working and housing conditions and racist attacks. The putative whiteness of Polish migrants does not protect them from xenophobic and racist attacks as in their case race is “the socially constructed contingent outcome of processes and practices of exclusion. Racialization does not require putative phenotypical or biological difference” (Fox et al., 2012, p. 681). A study by Kozminska and Zhu (2021) shows that these challenges do not discourage Polish speaking families to keep on using and transmitting the language, as it remains an important intellectual and emotional resource for the participants. In the following study, the participants are asked about Polish being a resource in nine discrete domains. In this way, I hope to be able to document the attitudes of the Polish diaspora in a more systematic and quantitative way.

3. Methods

Questionnaire

The data for the study were collected through an online questionnaire consisting of two parts – a survey adapted from a survey used in Fisher (2022), to gather general information about the participants’ language use, cultural background and language identity, and a Likert-scale study where participants were asked to rate Polish as a resource across the nine domains identified in Borowczyk (2020). Table 1 lists all domains along with the statement participants were asked to rate from 1 (stron-

gly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The study used snowball sampling, and the data were collected over a one-month period from March to April 2024. The participants were mainly recruited through social media posts and mailing lists and no particular social group was targeted. Out of a total 51 responses, only 28 were used for data analysis as the rest did not finish the whole survey. For the purpose of the study, the participants were coded and numbered from HS-1 to HS-17 and from AM-1 to AM-11.

Table 1. Types of resource domains

Type of domain	STATEMENT
Economic	Knowing Polish improves my job and earning prospects.
Communicative	Knowing Polish allows me to better communicate with my family, friends, peers, or others.
Cultural	Knowing Polish enables me to access and sustain cultural values and traditions.
Creative	Knowing Polish allows me to better express myself and my imagination.
Cognitive	Knowing Polish improves my cognitive abilities as a result of bilingualism.
Health	Knowing Polish improves my physical and mental health (i.e. delayed onset of Alzheimer's) as a result of bilingualism.
Emotional	Knowing Polish pertains to a stronger emotional connection enabled by bilingualism.
Educational	Knowing Polish benefits me in the form of credits or other school-based awards.
Community Prestige	Knowing Polish means that I am respected in my community for being bilingual.

Participants

Out of the total 28 fully completed surveys, 16 were completed in English and 12 in Polish. They were, later on, divided into two groups: Heritage Speakers (n=17) and Adult Migrants (n=11) based on the answers

the participants provided for generation, migration age, schooling, first language etc. Even though, the participants were not numerous, they represented a rather varied demographic in terms of age, geographical distribution, and attitudes.

Heritage Speakers

Out of seventeen respondents in this group, only four answered in Polish. More than half of HS (n=9) grew up in the UK, while the rest were evenly distributed between Poland (n=4) or both¹ (n=4). The HS also included diverse age groups with majority (n=11) being between 18 and 24 years old. These participants are the children of the post-2004 wave. Three participants were between 55 and 64 and two 65 or over. All of them had one Polish-speaking parent, in most cases a father. The last remaining participant who was between 25 and 34 years old, had two Polish-speaking parents but it was their grandparents who moved from Poland. The data provided by those six participants suggests that they are children/grandchildren of what Mąkosa (2018, p. 138) calls “the military wave” - the Poles who as a result of the World War II, found themselves in the British Isles. In terms of education, seven participants went to Polish Saturday School, seven took online classes or university courses, one went to primary school in Poland till the age of 11 and two had no formal schooling in Polish, apart from speaking it at home.

Adult Migrants

Out of eleven responses in the AM group, eight were in Polish and only three in English. All of the participants grew up in Poland and majority of them (n=8) were between 35 and 44 years old. The remaining respondents were either 25-34 (n=2) or 45-54 (n=1). All of them completed formal education in Poland, some of them also graduated university in Poland.

¹ Meaning those participants spent their childhood both in Poland and the UK.

4. Results

Cultural and linguistic identities

In the first part of the questionnaire the participants were asked about the cultural and linguistic identities. In the following section, I present selected results from that part. Which of these best describes your cultural identity? (I strongly/somewhat/do not identify with Polish culture).

Strong identification was indicated by thirteen out of seventeen the HS, moderate identification by three and only one participant (HS17) chose no identification. HS17 is a child of “the military wave” Polish father, who did not learn Polish at home except a few words and phrases. The person has participated in Polish evening courses in order to research WW2 archives held by Sikorski Institute. Among the AM the strong and moderate identification gathered equal number of responses, five each. One participant (AM3) indicated no identification, which seems to be correlated with participant’s desire to distance themselves from Polish communities both in Poland and the UK.

How important is celebrating Polish traditions to your identity as someone of Polish heritage?

This question also attracted more positive responses from the HS as thirteen of them chose either ‘extremely important’ or ‘very important’. The rest of the answers were equally distributed between ‘moderately important’ and ‘slightly important.’ None of the HS chose ‘not at all important’ for this questions which was the case for two participants in the AM group. In this group only five participants, which is below 50%, chose the two most positive answers.

How important is it to you that Polish culture is maintained in the UK?

Very similar answers to the previous questions as only about 45% of AM, in comparison to 70% of HS, indicated ‘extremely or very important’. None of the HS chose the two most negative alternatives, while there were three AM participants who marked ‘slightly or not at all important’. About 30% in both groups feel moderately about Polish culture being maintained in the UK.

How important is communicating in Polish to your identity as someone who has Polish heritage?

Here stronger responses were recorded among the AM with over 54% choosing 'extremely important' in comparison to less than 30% among the HS. However, in total the two most positive answers were chosen by about 60% in each group. Moderate answers were only found in the HS group, about 30%. Two respondents in the AM group (AM3 and AM8) chose the option 'not at all important', which was not seen in the HS group. However, both AM3 and AM8 as well as AM4 who responded 'slightly important' to the above question make comments about Polish language not being relevant for their identity but being a valuable resource otherwise:

Excerpt 1² – Participant AM4

I find it extremely important to maintain my communication skills in Polish as a tool/skill that is useful, but it has no relevance to my identity.

Excerpt 2 – Participant AM8

I don't see myself through the prism of the country I come from or where I live. I try to speak Polish well, because I have always done it well and I would not like to lose this ability.

On the other hand, many participants from both groups but especially the HS commented that their perspective changed over the years:

Excerpt 3 – Participant HS1

My best friend at school was Polish but we always spoke in English because we could express ourselves and our humour better that way and our parents would nag us to speak Polish bc it was important but we didn't care. Now I care more and would only speak Polish to someone who is Polish and speaks it. I like keeping up my Polish.

Excerpt 4 – Participant HS9

When I was young I did not give it much thought, but when my father died, I felt it was important to do this as I became a Polish citizen. he lost his Polish citizenship in 1945 after the war and he escaped the Russians who took over Poland.

Others in the HS group commented on the link between speaking 'proper' Polish and their identity (excerpts 5 and 6). For participant HS11, speaking 'proper' Polish is a necessary requirement for claiming Polish identity. The same participant also wrote that they have taken on an acti-

² Excerpts' texts are kept in the original language and spelling. All translations were done by the author.

ve role in maintaining Polish at home by ‘forcing’ their mother to speak it. On the other hand, participant HS16, who also agreed that language is an important part of being Polish and also observed that their Polish is not ‘perfect’, did not feel the same identity dissonance. They felt they have the right to Polish identity even despite their language not being ‘perfect’ or ‘proper.’

Excerpt 5 – Participant HS1

I’ve always considered myself a Pole and as a Pole you have to speak Polish. So, it irritates me when I sometimes find myself thinking in English, then I feel a bit like an imposter who tells himself who he is even though I don’t even know Polish properly, after all I am making mistakes in my speech more and more often. I know it’s a bit of a silly feeling, but this is how I feel about my language - it’s so strong that when I make a small mistake, I immediately attack myself.

Excerpt 6 – Participant HS16

I identify as Polish despite being 3rd generation and therefore the language is an important part of this. However, I also recognise that my Polish is unlikely to ever be perfect/ ‘native’ and I recognise that even despite this my identity as a Pole is still valid.

How important is it to you that Polish be maintained as a heritage language in the UK?

The answers to this question in the AM group were identical to the answers to the previous question. Equal part of the HS, five participants, chose ‘extremely important,’ ‘very important,’ and ‘moderately important’. Only two marked ‘slightly important’. The participants were then asked if they know about efforts to preserve Polish language in their communities and how they feel about them. This question encouraged quite extensive answers especially in the HS group. Participant HS1 mentioned the importance of Polish Saturday schools but also noticed the lack of resources which would motivate teenagers to keep up their Polish.

Excerpt 7 – Participant HS1

There are Polish schools which I think is a great idea but it is usually the kids who go the most and then teenagers aren’t that motivated to go. Often it is down to the parents to be strict and motivate the kids to learn polish and to pass it down but I’ve seen it not work and the kids grow up speaking broken or non-existent polish. More should be done in terms of motivating the youth and showing the value of knowing another language particularly a heritage language.

Participants HS7 and HS13 mentioned the Polish Catholic Church as one of the most important actors in the diaspora. Historically, the church was the first organization that the diaspora united around (Trevena, 2009). However, today the position it holds seems to drive some diaspora members away. The comments in excerpt 7, 8 and 9 point to lack of diversified offer of activities that would be attractive to younger members of the diaspora or those who are not or do not want to be a part of the church.

Excerpt 8 – Participant HS7

I don't think it's my responsibility nor do I have the right to tell anyone whether they should learn another language. I don't know of any gatherings of Polish people in my community outside of maybe a Polish church that gathers on Saturday to celebrate mass and where we go to bless our święconka (Easter basket).

Excerpt 9 – Participant HS13

I got sick of the Polish Catholic Church's monopolistic colonisation of Polishness in the city, and the way the local council automatically contacted the Polish parish priest, the self-appointed community representative, to find out 'the community's views' and to disseminate information. I desperately tried to explain how, historically, Polish civil society and democracy and women had been held back from developing by this powerful, unelected body of money, land, cultural and institutional sway. But to no avail.

Participant HS10 viewed the parents as the most responsible for transmitting the language, almost completely removing the community's role. This participant also reported using Polish only among friends and family and not being interested in the Polish diasporic life. They also expressed certainty of passing Polish language to their children in the future but accepted that others choose not to do it.

Excerpt 10 – Participant HS10

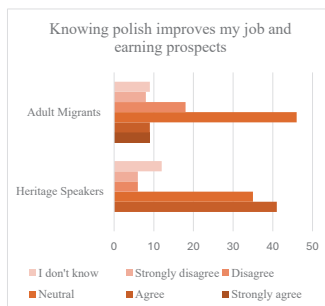
I don't understand this question. On an individual level, I think it really is a great shame that people are growing up with parents who speak a language they will never learn / understand. This is a great shame. But, if I want to see Polish preserved anywhere, it would be Poland. Would be a disaster if we lost the Polish tongue there, I don't see the same here. Things will evolve as they evolve, I would just always encourage people to teach their kids their native tongue (or even non-native tongue) - my children will speak Polish without a doubt. Though probably worse than me, as my Polish is already slightly worse than a native, so my kids will be learning by Chinese whispers in a way.

Polish as a Resource

In the following section, I present the statistical results from the “Polish as a Resource” part of the questionnaire.

Economic

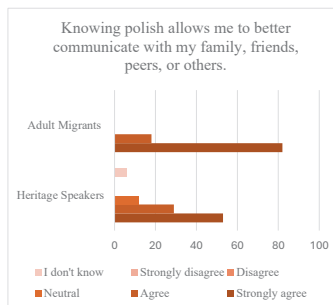
As a surprise might come that majority of HS (41%) agree that Polish improves their job or earning prospects, while this attitude is expressed by only one participant in the AM group (a Polish Heritage Language teacher). That group also exhibits more polarized views than the HS. However, the dominating attitude in both groups is neutral.



Source: author's own research

Communicative

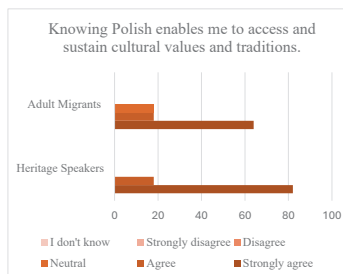
For both groups Polish is an important communicative resource with ‘strongly agree’ and ‘agree’ dominating in the results. The AM show stronger agreement than the HS, some of whom feel neutral or do not have an opinion in this regard. This is perhaps not surprising taking into consideration the lower perceived fluency in Polish among the HS.



Source: author's own research

Cultural

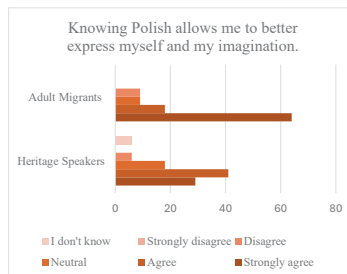
This domain revealed very similar results across the studied groups. Interestingly, the HS showed stronger agreement than the AM. Some of the participants in the latter group also felt neutral about Polish being a cultural resource.



Source: author's own research

Creative

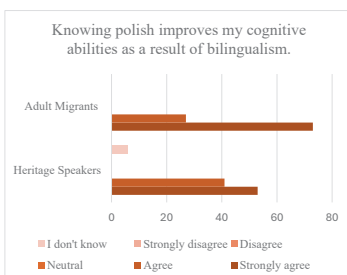
Stronger agreement was observed among the AM than the HS, although majority of participants in both groups chose either 'strongly agree' or 'agree'. There is no significant difference between the groups when it comes to the number of neutral/negative attitudes in this domain.



Source: author's own research

Cognitive

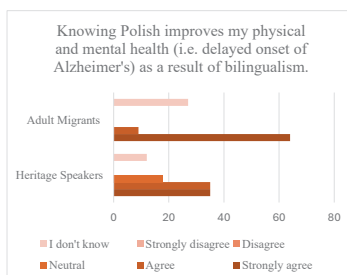
Very similar responses from both groups, indicating strong agreement. Here too, the AM responded more positively than the HS.



Source: author's own research

Health

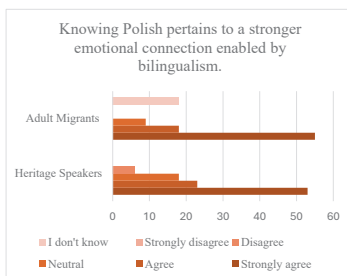
Both groups showed inclination towards agreement, but the tendency is stronger among the AM where an overwhelming majority chose 'strongly agree'. Similar number of respondents in both groups feel neutral or do not have an opinion about this topic.



Source: author's own research

Emotional

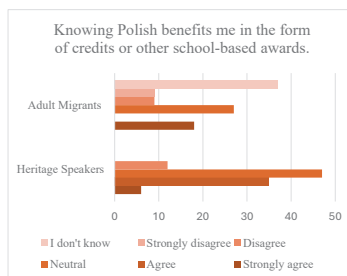
Over half of the participants in both groups responded 'strongly agree' to Polish being an emotional resource. Similar proportions of neutrality were also observed.



Source: author's own research

Educational

Both groups had a significant portion of neutral responses, but it was more pronounced among the HS. On the other hand, the HS also report stronger agreement than the AM. Many of the AM did not have an opinion, which is explained by their lack of direct experiences with the British school system.



Source: author's own research

Community prestige

Half of the HS felt neutral in this regard, while the rest was mostly positive. The AM had an overall more positive stance with majority choosing 'strongly agree' or 'agree.'



Source: author's own research

Conclusions

A key limitation of this study is the number of collected responses, however, the analysed data suggest generally positive attitudes of both groups towards the Polish language. Most participants viewed Polish as an important part of their identity. Those who thought otherwise still commented on Polish being a valuable resource for them, however separated from their “national” identity. Around 60% in both groups felt that it was important to maintain Polish as a heritage language in the UK. However, the attitudes of the HS were not as strong as among the AM. The opposite can be said about the responses to the question about the importance of maintaining Polish culture in the UK. Here, majority of the HS indicated strong agreement which contrasted with rather varied responses in the AM group. Similarly, for the AM celebrating Polish traditions was not equally important to their identity as for the HS.

Polish was an important cultural, emotional, and cognitive resource for both groups with majority of respondents choosing ‘strongly agree’ in those domains. The respondents also agreed that Polish was a communicative, creative, and health-related resource, although here the AM showed slightly stronger positive responses.

The economic, educational and community prestige domains attracted less positive attitudes with neutrality being the most commonly chosen alternative. That being said, the HS were more likely than AM to positively view Polish as an economic and educational resource. On the other hand, AM showed more positive sentiment in the community prestige domain than HS.

These findings demonstrate that Polish language, despite not being an easily monetized or credentialed asset, remains a significant resource for the diaspora contributing to better communication, stronger sense of cultural identity and higher levels of physical and emotional well-being. However, it is important to note that these results are not indicative of the whole Polish diaspora in the UK and that studies with a bigger scope should be conducted to gain better understanding of the attitudes of different groups within the diaspora. Such insights would allow community leaders in the diaspora as well as the British policy makers to provide better support for those who wish to maintain Polish language and culture in the UK.

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Funding

This research did not receive any grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors. It was conducted as part of coursework.

Opór Czy język polski jest zasobem? – badanie porównawcze postaw językowych osób pochodzenia polskiego i dorosłych migrantów w Wielkiej Brytanii

Słowa kluczowe

język polski w Wielkiej Brytanii, postawy językowe, język odziedziczony, język i migracja

Abstrakt

Niniejsze badanie analizuje różnice w podejściu do języka polskiego pomiędzy użytkownikami języka odziedziczonym (HS) a dorosłymi migrantami (AM). Oprócz udzielania ogólnych odpowiedzi dotyczących ich zaplecza językowego i kulturowego, respondenci zostali poproszeni o ocenę języka polskiego jako zasobu w dziewięciu obszarach, wcześniej zidentyfikowanych przez Borowczyka (2020) – ekonomicznym, komunikacyjnym, kulturowym, twórczym, poznawczym, zdrowotnym, emocjonalnym, edukacyjnym oraz związanym z prestiżem społecznym. Wyniki ujawniają ogólnie pozytywne nastawienie wobec języka polskiego w obu grupach. Zarówno HS, jak i AM wyrażają wysoką zgodność w obszarach kulturowym, emocjonalnym i poznawczym. Zbieżność postaw widoczna była również w domenach komunikacyjnej, twórczej i zdrowotnej, choć w tych przypadkach AM wykazali nieco silniejsze pozytywne reakcje niż HS. Mniej pozytywne nastawienia odnotowano w odniesieniu do domen ekonomicznej, edukacyjnej i związanej z prestiżem społecznym, gdzie najczęściej wybieraną postawą była neutralność. Jednak HS częściej niż AM postrzegają język polski pozytywnie jako zasób ekonomiczny i edukacyjny. Z kolei AM wykazują bardziej pozytywne nastawienie w zakresie prestiżu społecznego niż HS. Wyniki te dowodzą, że język polski, mimo iż nie jest łatwo monetyzowany ani potwierdzany formalnymi kwalifikacjami, pozostaje istotnym zasobem dla diaspory, przyczyniając się do lepszego poczucia tożsamości kulturowej oraz wyższego poziomu dobrostanu fizycznego i emocjonalnego.