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Title: Poles as "others" in the UK: the genealogy of a migrant[1]

Abstract

Since Poland's accession to the EU in 2004, the sizeable community of Polish migrants in one of the top destination countries – the UK, have been subject to growing discrimination and hate speech in the context of negative media coverage and populist political discourse. Moreover, the historically constructed image of Poles as *inferior* and *different* has been linked to the vulnerability of Polish migrants to unequal practices in low-paid sectors in particular. To trace the nexus between the past process of "othering" of Poles in the UK and the recent lived experiences in the post-2004 context, the paper aims to address the following questions: how was the image of a Polish migrant in the UK constructed historically as the "other" and how does this affect the present experiences of Poles? In an attempt to address these questions, the paper is structured as follows: the first part provides a brief overview of the history of Polish migration to the UK in the 20th century. Second, drawing on Foucault's method of genealogy and the idea of "the history of the present", I explore the process of the historically conditioned reproduction of the image of Poles in the UK as inferior "others" during the mentioned historical period, followed by the landmark event of Poland's accession to the EU and the establishment of a free mobility regime. Finally, I conclude by emphasising the role of the othering of Poles in reproducing their vulnerability to discrimination and exploitative practices in the post-2004 context.

Keywords

Migrants; othering; discrimination; exploitation.

Introduction

There is a growing body of literature is devoted to the issue of "othering" of migrants in countries of destination and the implications of these practices for their lived experiences. Outlining several areas of experienced vulnerability through which the inferiority of migrants can be reproduced, it focuses on the forms of institutional discrimination, negative media coverage, creating a negative representation of migrants as posing a threat to the wellbeing of British society,[2] as well as anti-migrant political discourse, provoking discrimination and hate incidents.[3]

Focusing on the specific example of Polish migrants and the historical conditions underlying the way they are perceived in the UK, one can first note a racialized character of attitudes to immigration in the UK, contributing to discursive hostility towards migrants. Within a racialized hierarchy, Poles, just like other Eastern Europeans are perceived as "not 'properly' white",[4] while media discourses label Eastern European migrants as "engaging in illegal activities, […] living in sheds and off handouts".[5] This perception also concerns labour relations: as argued by Wilkinson, "racist remarks, verbal abuse and harassment by gangmasters, employers and fellow workers are commonplace across the UK".[6]

Notwithstanding the centuries-long history of Polish migration to the UK,[7] prejudice towards Poles in the UK reproduces its historical form, reflecting past fears and justifications. For example, in the analysis of the sources of hostility towards the newcomers in light of the anti-immigration sentiment in the UK, McLare and Johnson outline three perceptions. The first perception is linked to the threat to the job security of the citizens. The second one stems from the assumption that immigration brings higher levels of criminal activity provoked by the newcomers – whereas the authors stress the lack of evidence to support these assumptions.[8]

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[2] Jingrong Tong and Landong Zuo, "Othering the European Union through Constructing Moral Panics over 'Im/Migrant(s)' in the Coverage of Migration in Three British Newspapers, 2011–2016," *International Communication Gazette* 81, no. 5 (August 14, 2019): 463, https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048518802237.

[3] Sara Benedi Lahuerta and Ingi Iusmen, "EU Nationals' Vulnerability in the Context of Brexit: The Case of Polish Nationals," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 47, no. 1 (2021): 284–306, https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1710479.

[4] Bridget Anderson, *Us and Them? The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control*, 1st ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 45.

[5] Anderson, 45.

[6] Mick Wilkinson, "Demonising 'the Other': British Government Complicity in the Exploitation, Social Exclusion and Vilification of New Migrant Workers," *Citizenship Studies* 18, no. 5 (2014): 505, https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2014.923702.

[7] Düvell and Garapich, "Polish Migration to the UK: Continuities and Discontinuities," 3.

[8] Lauren McLare and Mark Johnson, "Resources, Group Conflict and Symbols: Explaining Anti-Immigration Hostility in Britain," *Political Studies* 55, no. 3 (2007): 727, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00680.x.

The third perception contributing to the negative attitude to immigration in the UK is rooted in the concern over "the symbolic threats of immigrants – the threat of religions that are perceived to emphasise non-British values and […] the threat to shared customs and way of life".[9]

This paper analyses the rationality around the othering of Poles and the process of its transformation through history. Put in Foucault's terms, it attempts to understand the *genealogy* of a Polish migrant by unveiling the existing grounds and conditions that allow for the Polish subject to be relegated to the margin of British society. Besides tracing the process of transformation of the conditions for othering, the present paper also seeks to unveil how these historical othering tools and strategies are manifested in the everyday lived experiences of Poles who decided to migrate to the UK following Poland's accession to the EU.

To address these issues, the paper is structured as follows: the first part provides a brief overview of the history of Polish migration in the 20th century, particularly to the UK, with a specific focus on the political and socio-economic conditions in Poland that have contributed to these movements. In the second part, I will explore the tools and strategies contributing to the construction of the image of the Pole as inferior or different. In doing so, I will draw on Foucault's method of genealogy and the idea of 'the history of the present' to understand the transformation of the grounds for the othering of Poles in the UK. Analysing the testimonies of Polish migrants in the UK, I will conclude by emphasising how the previous historical junctures have affected the recent experiences of Poles in the post-2004 context. Finally, this paper stems from preliminary reflections on the topic. Representing the work in progress and published in the framework of a larger project deliverable, the article will be subject to further corrections and updates.

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[9] McLare and Johnson, 727.

Emigration from Poland during the interwar period

The long history of emigration from Poland, which has been referred to as a country with a hundred-year emigration history,[10] has been fostered by the diverse socio-economic and political contexts of the country at different times. While the beginning of the 20th century was characterized by another wave of nation-states' formation, it is important to mention the prevalent nationalism, impacting the administrative and policy framework of the formed states.[11] In this regard, there should be mentioned the landmark event in the history of Poland, namely the creation of the Second Republic in November 1918, which constituted the reunification of Polish lands after being divided by the three empires of Russia, Austria and Germany for more than a century.[12] The period following the reestablishment of the Polish state was characterised by a significant economic decline, which stemmed from the human and economic loss during the First World War.

Yet, at the international and regional level, during the interwar period, labour migration was linked to the emergence of the bilateral migration arrangements, fostered by the establishment of the International Labour Organization. In the framework of concluded inter-state agreements, such countries as France, Germany, Belgium and Luxembourg secured a supply of labour from "less developed and struggling with high population pressure "sending countries" – such as Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, and Yugoslavia",[13] whereas Germany and France represented the main destination countries for Polish migrants of the time.

Labour migration of Poles to Germany was primarily associated with seasonal migration, as Polish workers had a lower degree of social security and were obliged to return to Poland after harvest season.[14] Besides the lack of social protection, Polish migrants in Germany faced "second category" treatment and "were given the hardest and worst-paid jobs".[15] Moreover, a

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[10] Paweł Kaczmarczyk, "Labour Market Impacts of Post-Accession Migration from Poland," in *Free Movement of Workers and Labour Market Adjustment: Recent Experiences from OECD Countries and the European Union* (OECD Publishing, 2012), 174, https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264177185-10-en.

[11] Małgorzata Radomska, "The Political Origins of the Social Protection of Polish Migrant Workers in the German Interwar Labor Market," *Annales de Démographie Historique* 2, no. 124 (2012): 105, https://www.cairn.info/revue-annales-de-demographie-historique-2012-2-page-105.htm#.

[12] Jochen Böhler, *Civil War in Central Europe, 1918-1921: The Reconstruction of Poland* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 17.

[13] Radomska, "The Political Origins of the Social Protection of Polish Migrant Workers in the German Interwar Labor Market," 105–6.

[14] Jerzy Zubrzycki, "Emigration from Poland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Population Studies* 6, no. 3 (1953): 261–62, https://doi.org/10.1080/00324728.1953.10414889.

[15] Radomska, "The Political Origins of the Social Protection of Polish Migrant Workers in the German Interwar Labor Market," 107.

set of other factors contributed to the decline in Polish immigration to Germany. The redirection of the foreign policy agenda of the Polish government towards France (an important political ally at the time), the rise of nationalist ideas in Germany and the industrialization of the German economy, and internal labour market challenges in Poland, were linked to the increasing unemployment[16].

Meanwhile, two conventions between Poland and France, ratified in 1919 and 1920, provided a legal framework for labour emigration, aiming at the establishment of the regime of free migration as well as at authorizing migrant workers' access to social security.[17] The 1919 Convention set an equal status for Polish and French workers "as regards rates of wages and benefits from domestic social legislation".[18] As a result, Poles represented the second biggest foreign population settled in France by 1931 (after the Spaniards).[19]

Polish migration during the communist era

The post-World War II era represented a new political and economic landscape, changing the "character and direction" of international migration[20]. In Europe in particular, the creation of the European Economic Community, its free trade and emerging free movement regime, paved the way for considerable inward migration, among others from the "European periphery"[21]. Hence, post-war economic growth in industrialized Western European countries resulted in the need to recruit foreign workers.

Thus, it is relevant to mention the development of the "guest-worker" systems, which implied the temporary employment of foreign labour by highly industrialized North-Western European states after the Second World War, from the "less developed European periphery".[22] A closer look at the British post-war immigration policy shows that over 100,000 workers arrived in the UK from Eastern Europe between 1945 and 1949 via the European Volunteer Workers

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[16] Radomska, 106–7.

[17] Janine Ponty and Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *Polonais Méconnus : Histoire Des Travailleurs Immigrés En France Dans l'entre-Deux-Guerres* (Paris: Publication de la Sorbonne, 1988), 35–50.

[18] Zubrzycki, "Emigration from Poland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," 269.

[19] Stephen Castles, Hein de Haas, and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 5th ed. (New York: The Guilford Press, 2014), 98.

[20] Castles, Haas, and Miller, 103.

[21] Castles, Haas, and Miller, 102.

[22] Castles, Haas, and Miller, 104.

scheme,[23] developed by the British Government. It has been argued that the foreign workers admitted through the mentioned scheme faced highly restrictive and precarious conditions.[24]

Although most of the migration movements during the post-war period were associated with economic reasons, a political dimension can be noted with regard to Polish nationals. In particular, the 1947 Polish Resettlement Act constituted a landmark legal tool in the context of the history of Poles in the UK, aiming to provide political refuge to members of Polish troops of the Allied forces, unable to return to communist Poland. Therefore, the Resettlement Act guaranteed employment and pension entitlement, unemployment benefit, access to health services, and education for resettled Poles.[25] It is estimated that around 250,000 Polish soldiers and their family members were residing in the UK, at the same time contributing "to the reconstruction of the UK economy".[26] Beyond this, in the period between 1947 and 1950, the biggest part of the ex-members of the Polish Resettlement Corps was occupied, among others, in agriculture, building, coal-mining and hospitality sectors.[27]

At the same time, during the post-war period, cross-border movements took place in the context of the restrictive approach toward the international movement of persons conditioned by the Cold War era.[28] More specifically, communist ideology was associated with "the construction of emigration as a morally dubious choice",[29] which, however, "had had little impact on millions of Poles escaping poverty and oppression".[30] In 1970, this tendency was fostered further by "a gradual liberalisation of passport regulations in Poland",[31] which facilitated the

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[23] Lauren Herlitz, "Pilot Research Study for the European Migration Network on 'The Impact of Immigration on Europe's Societies': Contribution from the UK Contact Poin" (Croydon, 2005), https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/reports/docs/emn-studies/illegally-resident/uk-finalstudyt3_6_en.pdf.

[24] Stephen Castles, "The Guest-Worker in Western Europe - An Obituary," *The International Migration Review* 20, no. 4 (1986): 762, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2545735.

[25] Agata Blaszczyk, "The Resettlement of Polish Refugees after the Second World War," *Forced Migration Review* 54 (2017): 72, https://www.fmreview.org/resettlement/blaszczyk.

[26] Blaszczyk, 73.

[27] Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain: A Study of Adjustment*, 1st ed. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956), 66.

[28] Agnieszka Fihel et al., "Labour Mobility within the EU in the Context of Enlargement and the Functioning of the Transitional Arrangements: Country Report: Poland" (Warsaw, 2007), 1–43, https://wiiw.ac.at/labour-mobility-country-report-poland-dlp-658.pdf.

[29] Michal P. Garapich, *London's Polish Borders: Transnationalizing Class and Ethnicity* (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2016), 87.

[30] Garapich, 87.

[31] Marek Okólski, "Poland's Migration: Growing Diversity of Flows and People," Prace Migracyjne (Warsaw, 1999), 5, http://www.migracje.uw.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/029.pdf.

mobility of Poles abroad in light of the economic imbalances, resulting in "the back and forth flow of petty traders between Poland and Western Europe".[32]

Furthermore, the rise of Solidarność in the early 1980s paved the way for an unprecedented increase in the freedom to travel, mainly for reasons of family reunification, and occasional work".[33] Besides, the increase in the mobility of Poles can also be related to the increasing discontent with "weaknesses and the systemic fallacy of a centrally planned economy",[34] despite the aim to legitimise the oppressive system "through mass employment, mass leisure programmes, and mass education and industrialisation".[35]

Migration dynamic from 1989 onwards

Another relevant example can be drawn from the post-communist period of Polish history, when in the course of its economic transition and integration into the capitalist system, Poland provided "cheap and transitory work force",[36] which was in demand in post-industrialized Western European states. While by 1989 around 150,000 documented Polish migrants were working abroad, the number reached 350,000 in 1998.[37] Yet, one could note that population movements "steadied for a while in the mid-1990s mainly due to economic stagnation".[38]

Finally, it is important to refer to the 2004 EU enlargement, which involved, among others, the so-called "A8" countries, namely the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Poland. It is noteworthy that certain EU Member States – such as the UK, Ireland and Sweden – refrained from restricting access to citizens of the newly-joined countries to their respective labour markets. In practical terms, this provided equal conditions as compared to their citizens, while in the case of the UK as of three countries which opened labour markets to the workers of A8 countries, it should be noted that Poland still represents the most common country of origin for migrants.[39]

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[32] Piotr Plewa, "The Rise and Fall of Temporary Foreign Worker Policies: Lessons for Poland," *International Migration* 45, no. 2 (2007): 22, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2007.00402.x.

[33] Fihel et al., "Labour Mobility within the EU in the Context of Enlargement and the Functioning of the Transitional Arrangements: Country Report: Poland," 1.

[34] Garapich, *London's Polish Borders: Transnationalizing Class and Ethnicity*, 96.

[35] Garapich, 82.

[36] Ewa Morawska, "Structuring Migration: The Case of Polish Income-Seeking Travelers to the West," *Theory and Society* 30, no. 1 (2001): 57, https://doi-org.e.bibl.liu.se/10.1023/A:1011081228016.

[37] Okólski, "Poland's Migration: Growing Diversity of Flows and People," 6.

[38] Castles, Haas, and Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 116.

[39] Carlos Vargas-Silva and Cinzia Rienzo, "'Migrants in the UK: An Overview,' Migration Observatory Briefing," 2019, 6, https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-in-the-uk-an-overview/.

While the EU citizenship was an important factor privileging Poles with regard to other migrant populations within the UK migration system,[40] this did not diminish the severity of xenophobic attitudes and hate crimes against Polish migrants,[41] among others due to their being labelled as "not white enough".[42] Similar views have been reinforced by the result of the discursive analysis of British media, stressing "persistent use of metaphors of natural disasters to frame the 'otherness' of migrants, who in particular are blamed for threatening the employment security of the local population".[43]

Foucault's genealogy: history of the present

To understand the logic of othering, it is relevant to refer to the Foucauldian approach of genealogy, which allows grasping the historically conditioned reproduction of the image of Poles in the UK as inferior 'others'. The relevance of the method of genealogy is justified by its investigative capacity to trace "how contemporary practices emerged out of specific struggles, conflicts, and exercises of power".[44] Put in Foucault's terms, it is "an attempt of tracing the processes of *descent* and of *emergence*" of power structures.[45] The analytical method of genealogy has also been referred to as an attempt to analyse "effective history" as "its intent to problematize the present by revealing the power relations upon which it depends and the contingent processes that have brought it into being".[46]

Focusing on the specific example of Polish migrants and the historical conditions underlying the way they are perceived in the UK, it is important to note a racialized character of attitudes to immigration in the UK, contributing to discursive hostility towards migrants. Within a

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[40] Akwugo Emejulu, "On the Hideous Whiteness of Brexit: Let Us Be Honest about Our Past and Our Present If We Truly Seek to Dismantle White Supremacy," 2016, https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/2733-on-the-hideous-whiteness-of-brexit-let-us-be-honest-about-our-past-and-our-present-if-we-truly-seek-to-dismantle-white-supremacy.

[41] Alina Rzepnikowska, "Racism and Xenophobia Experienced by Polish Migrants in the UK before and after Brexit Vote," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 45, no. 1 (2018): 61–77, https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1451308; Zinovijus Ciupijus, "Talking about 'Labour Camps' in Post-2004 Europe: Lived Experiences of Work, Transnational Mobility and Exploitation among Central Eastern European Migrants," *Employment and Economy in Central and Eastern Europe* 3, no. 1 (2012): 1–12, https://www.emecon.eu/index.php/emecon/article/view/22/13.

[42] Kathy Burrell and Mateus Schweyher, "Conditional Citizens and Hostile Environments: Polish Migrants in Pre-Brexit Britain," *Geoforum* 106 (2019): 194, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2019.08.014.

[43] Ian Fitzgerald and Rafał Smoczyński, "Anti-Polish Migrant Moral Panic in the UK: Rethinking Employment Insecurities and Moral Regulation," *Sociologický Časopis / Czech Sociological Review*, no. 03 (2015): 341, https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=283308.

[44] David Garland, "What Is a 'History of the Present'? On Foucault's Genealogies and Their Critical Preconditions," *Punishment & Society* 16, no. 4 (2014): 372, https://doi.org/10.1177/1462474514541711.

[45] Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow, 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 80–86.

[46] Garland, "What Is a 'History of the Present'? On Foucault's Genealogies and Their Critical Preconditions," 372.

racialized hierarchy, Poles, just like other Eastern Europeans are perceived as "not 'properly' white",[47] while media discourses label Eastern European migrants as "engaging in illegal activities.[48] This practice also concerns labour relations: the previous research highlights common character of "racist remarks, verbal abuse and harassment, employers and fellow workers.[49]

The practice of stereotyping as a tool of 'othering' is dating back to the Second World War. Following the arrival of the Allied Polish Army members to the UK in 1940, the anti-Polish sentiment encompassed various dimensions: political, economic, and religious: Polish immigrants were perceived as a burden on the British economy. There was fear that Poles would jeopardize their employment, bring down British workers living standards or wages, and provoke the housing shortage.

Therefore, the recent manifestation of prejudice towards Poles in the UK echoes its previous forms, grounded in the same fears and justifications. For example, in a more recent analysis of the sources of hostility towards the newcomers in light of the anti-immigration sentiment in the UK, McLare and Johnson outline three perceptions: first, that immigration poses a threat to the jobs of the citizens; second, that immigration brings higher levels of criminal activity provoked by the newcomers – whereas the authors stress the lack of evidence to support these assumptions.[50] Finally, another factor contributing to the negative attitude to immigration in the UK was argued to be rooted in the concern over "the symbolic threats of immigrants – the threat of religions that are perceived to emphasise non-British values, and the threat to shared customs and way of life".[51]

The restrictive immigration regime in the UK should also be mentioned in relation to its effect on constructing the image of a Polish migrant. It was argued that before the 2004 EU enlargement, relevant governmental policies provided the conditions "highly unfavourable for migrations, both in terms of access and patterns of settlement, as well as structures of opportunities".[52] As a result of these restrictions, "a vast number of migrants from Poland prior

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[47] Anderson, *Us and Them? The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control*, 45.
[48] Anderson, 45.
[49] Wilkinson, "Demonising 'the Other': British Government Complicity in the Exploitation, Social Exclusion and Vilification of New Migrant Workers," 505.
[50] McLare and Johnson, "Resources, Group Conflict and Symbols: Explaining Anti-Immigration Hostility in Britain," 727.
[51] McLare and Johnson, 727.
[52] Garapich, *London's Polish Borders: Transnationalizing Class and Ethnicity*, 24.

to the EU enlargement came as 'visitors', 'tourists', and 'visiting relatives' violating immigration restrictions *en masse* – with previous cohorts, extending up to the Second World War refugees, travel agents, ethnic press, and British employers, complicit in these activities".[53]

Among other factors, historically contributing to the segregation of Poles, the literature on Polish migration to the UK in the 20th century identifies the linguistic and economic aspects, particularly, due to the fact that "the congregation of people belonging to one ethnic group offers opportunities for employment in establishments run by members of the group".[54]

The geographical and cultural segregation of Poles also impacted the patterns of employment for Poles. As Zubrzycki puts it: "for reasons of efficiency, mainly on account of linguistic difficulties, the employers preferred to leave Poles to themselves as one team or a gang under a British foreman",[55] whereas this practice was also explained "by the fear of conflicts and outbursts on the part of the largely hostile British workers which might have followed, and indeed did follow in the few cases of mixed employment".[56]

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[53] Garapich, 24.
[54] Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain: A Study of Adjustment*, 69.
[55] Zubrzycki, 170.
[56] Zubrzycki, 170.

Conclusions

Therefore, the history of Polish migration has encompassed various geographies, being conditioned by the complex political and socio-economic development of the country. Unlike previous cross-border movements of Poles explained mainly through the lens of political context, the nature of the contemporary Polish migration in the aftermath of recent EU enlargement has been marked by a considerable increase in population mobility, followed by the unprecedented phenomenon of Brexit, among others affecting the migration dynamic within the EU. The method of genealogy allows for understanding the history of the construction of the image of a Polish migrant, which was often the result of ignoring or eliminating the truth. The common claim of the economic threat associated with migrants is a relevant example: as mentioned above, the scholarship on Polish migration to the UK in the 20th century commonly agrees on the absence of economic grounds behind the fears of losing jobs due to the arrival of Poles in the aftermath of the Second World War, which is relevant as well to the recent issue of freedom of movement as the main driver of the anti-EU vote in Britain, that was argued to be "a political story, not one that has any economic foundation".[57]

Still, the negative framing of the Polish migrants as invading outsiders threatening the population, legitimised by their dehumanisation as a natural disaster, conformed to previous ways in which immigrants, in general, have been portrayed in Britain.[58] Moreover, these negative attitudes tend to have more severe forms than mere discursive hostility. Within the established hierarchy of British society, the historical "separateness"[59] of Poles is linked to their vulnerability to "discrimination and exploitation".[60] Finally, the history of the restrictive immigration regime, providing numerous obstacles to accessing the UK's labour market resulting in the violation of legislation, as well as the hostility based on the perceptions of threats to the British economy, "national identity and culture",[61] affect the migration experiences of Poles who decided to leave for the UK.

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[57] Roxana Barbulescu and Adrian Favell, "Commentary: A Citizenship without Social Rights? EU Freedom of Movement and Changing Access to Welfare Rights," *International Migration* 58, no. 1 (2020): 155, https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12607.

[58] Ariel Spigelman, "The Depiction of Polish Migrants in the United Kingdom by the British Press after Poland's Accession to the European Union," *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 33, no. 1/2 (2013): 111, www.emeraldinsight.com/0144-333X.htm.

[59] Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain: A Study of Adjustment*, 175.

[60] Kathy Burrell, "Migration to the UK from Poland: Continuity and Change in East-West European Mobility," in *Polish Migration to the UK in the "New" European Union After 2004*, ed. Kathy Burrell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 8.

[61] Spigelman, "The Depiction of Polish Migrants in the United Kingdom by the British Press after Poland's Accession to the European Union," 100.

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