

Grand Valley State University

ScholarWorks@GVSU

Papers from the International Association for
Cross-Cultural Psychology Conferences

IACCP

2008

More Polish or More British? Identity of The Second Generation of Poles Born in Great Britain

Emilia Lewandowska

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/iaccp_papers



Part of the [Psychology Commons](#)

ScholarWorks Citation

Lewandowska, E. (2008). More Polish or more British? Identity of the second generation of Poles born in Great Britain. In G. Zheng, K. Leung, & J. G. Adair (Eds.), *Perspectives and progress in contemporary cross-cultural psychology: Proceedings from the 17th International Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology*. https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/iaccp_papers/12/

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the IACCP at ScholarWorks@GVSU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Papers from the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology Conferences by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@GVSU. For more information, please contact scholarworks@gvsu.edu.

MORE POLISH OR MORE BRITISH? IDENTITY OF THE SECOND GENERATION OF POLES BORN IN GREAT BRITAIN

Emilia Lewandowska

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Cultural identity refers to “the content of values as guiding principles, to meaning of symbols, and to life-styles that individuals share with others, though not necessarily within recognizable groups” (Boski, 2002: 457). The core of cultural identity is the personal meaning and personal evaluation of symbols and values rather than just the knowledge (Boski, 2006). Symbols as a separate, from values, aspect of cultural identity seem to catch less attention among scholars than other dimensions of cultural identity such as language, religion, social activities, family life, and maintenance of cultural heritage (Rosenthal and Hrynevich, 1984). Srole, in his publication from 1940 based on a study on multi-ethnic US city, was probably one of the first to describe cultural orientation based on different types of national (and patriotic) symbolisms. He referred to American-national, Ancestral-national (related to foreign born) and Bi-national symbols (Rudmin, 2003). The relation between cultural symbols, emotional states and cultural identity was confirmed in a study by Fong (1965; za: Rudmin, 2003). Studies, among Polish emigrants in Canada and USA, show that the more personally significant is a certain symbol; the strongest is symbolic identity (Boski, 1992). These findings indicate also that the period of emigration significantly influences this component of identity. The longer period of emigration, the weaker Polish symbolic identity. At the same time the meaning of symbols of migration country gets systematically stronger. The biggest distance between significance of symbols is particularly observable among the second generation of immigrants (Boski, 1992).

The *cultural model of acculturation* proposed by Boski (1992) offers a theoretical and methodological framework to study cultural identity. In contrast, Berry’s model is based on a concept of social identity which refers to out-group and in-group differences. The model however is accultural because the distinction between *Us* and *Them* can be based on a very trivial criteria not necessarily related to cultural differences.

This complex approach has a background *inter alia* in work of two scholars. A Polish sociologist Ossowski (1986) was the first to make such a division. In his concept of *private* and *ideological motherland* he related the former to personal experiences corresponding with certain territory, land view, behaviors and customs. On the other hand, the latter was related to symbols corresponding with the prior experience. The concept of private motherland was developed later on by Kloskowska (1991), another

Polish scholar, who referred to *symbolic culture* as a set of meanings that provide a specific and common language for communication within a certain group.

The model calls for a distinction between two components of cultural identity: symbolic identity and correlative identity (based on values). Symbolic identity pertains to *symbolic attributes of national identity* that are related to symbols characteristic for a certain culture such as i.e. heroes of the present and the past, symbolic sites, traditional celebrations, anniversaries of national events. Symbolic identity is obtained in the process of enculturalization through attendance in national events, visiting historical places etc. (Kloskowska, 1999, 2001). Later on in lifetime these cultural representations may appear as different kinds of associations or memories. They are coded, stored in memory and resembled in certain situations.

In contrast, *correlative attributes of national identity* are related to values and behaviors being significantly related with a certain culture. Based on several studies Boski (1992, 1999) separated a bipolar dimension called Hum-Mat Scale and four cultural dimensions based on values (Humanism, Materialism, Liberalism, Sarmatyzm). These cultural dimensions characterize Polish culture in relation to the other cultures. Polish culture is characterized particularly by high indicator of Humanism represented, for instance, by such features as hospitality, family carrying, cherishing close personal relations. In reverse, Western countries (such as USA or Great Britain) are described by high index of Materialism (Boski, 1992; Boski, 2005b; Rymek, 2002). Those attributes form a specific prototype of the most common cultural traits of a certain culture. For instance, it can be a prototype of a Pole or German.

Correlative identity is acquired in the process of socialization through the contact with members of the same national group. Internalization of correlative attributes is achieved by punishments, rewards and modeling (Kloskowska, 1991; Boski 1992) and it might be conscious or unconscious. On one hand, an individual accepts values existing in her/his culture as universal without deeper analysis. On the other hand, when stable life conditions drastically change - i.e. one migrate - an individual might become "aware" of his/her cultural values.

Previous studies (Boski, 1992) showed that both components, values and symbols, are positively interrelated although the level of correlation varies from low to moderate. On one hand, it indicates that both are theoretically autonomous while on the other hand, it allows justifying that there is an influence between the two. The studies among Polish emigrants in Canada and USA indicate that the next generations seem to maintain Polish values much more than Polish symbols (Boski, 1992). The longer period of emigration, the weaker symbolic identity. The biggest distance between importance of symbols from the two cultures can be seen among the second generation of immigrants (Boski, 1992). Furthermore, Polish correlative identity is stronger than correlative identity of culture of settlement among all generations of Polish emigrants (Boski, 1992). Additionally, the significance of Canadian and American symbols gets systematically stronger while identification with Polish values gets stronger than identification with values of culture of settlement. One of the aims of the study presented below is to verify these findings.

POLISH POLITICAL EMIGRATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

A shift in cultural identity among migrants is shaped also by a specific migrational movement's history, the motives and paths of that migration, like in the case of Polish

political emigration in Great Britain after the World War the Second. Emigration of Poles to United Kingdom has a very long tradition. The first wave took place in the 19th century, followed by another significant flow related to the First World War. There were similarly successive waves during the period between the World Wars and during and just after the Second World War. In more recent history, three important waves are of interest: the year 1968 due to anti-Jewish battue, the 1980s—especially 1981 when a state of marshal law was declared, and the new labour waves of the 1990's.

The study is concentrated on the so-called *political emigration* that took place during and after the Second World War and between the years 1956 and 1968. This wave consist mainly of former soldiers of the Polish army, former war prisoners including those from work-camps, displaced persons, members of the intellectual elite, individuals with Jewish background expelled in 1968 and the families of all the former.

It is difficult to estimate precise number of Polish emigrants in United Kingdom during and shortly after the war because the amount fluctuated severely. It is assumed though that there was about 160,000 Polish emigrants during that time. Since then, the number of polish emigrants has both increased and decreased depending on the historical circumstance, and today it is estimated that there were around 130,000 emigrants before Poland joined the EU. One third of them were born on the British Island, which means that there is over 40,000 *British-Poles*.

The attachment of Polish migrants from that period of time to Polish culture was very strong. It was reflected in the presence of various national and cultural organisations, associations and schools of different levels of education, newspapers and a rich cultural life. The most important example is the presence of the Polish Government in Exile in London. Polish emigrants that belong to that wave define themselves as fighters for the freedom of their mother country against the then communistic regime. This political context was crucial for this group and the next generations' cultural identity. Another crucial characteristic of this group is temporality of presence. Even though Poles developed such a rich cultural setting in Great Britain, they treated their presence there as temporary as they were just waiting for an appropriate moment, namely the collapse of the communist regime to come back to their country of origin.

The attachment to Polish culture was emphasised by close attachment and engagement into the Polish Church, several cultural associations and different kinds of campaigns. Polish culture was also maintained and transferred into the next generations by sending children to Saturday Schools where they were taught Polish culture and language, geography and history.

For this particular migratory episode, the political situation was the key factor in their cultural identity transformation. The second generation of Poles called *British Poles* had to adjust to conditions not known to their parents. In case of the second generation¹ born outside of the country of origin, it becomes even more complicated-or rather the problem is given a new quality all together. They had to deal not only with their parents' culture of origin but also adapt to a culture of migration. Adjustment to these conditions is related not only to possessing the knowledge of both languages and bicultural scripts of behaviour, but also socially.

This leads to a number of questions. Namely, which culture is “the first one”, which is the “original one” if any, how cultural identity is shaped when being influenced by two (or more) different (sometimes even contradictory) cultural forces.

¹ The term “second generation” refers to individuals (children of people who migrated and settled in a country of migration) who were born outside of their parent's motherland.

This leads to another question which culture (of origin or of migration country) constitutes their identity or may be it is a combination of these two. Particularly, it is interesting to observe which cultural symbols and values are the core of their identity.

METHOD

Research questions

Polish culture was strongly internalized at homes where Polish language was the main mean of communication, and Polish literature was common. Therefore, it might be interesting to inspect which sets of cultural meanings present at family homes is included into children's identity. The influence of family home is a crucial factor that shapes individual's identity. Home is a place where tradition, ceremonies, symbols and values are assimilated through intentional or accidental learning and imitation of behaviours. The aim of this process is to create a competent member of culture who identifies himself / herself with a specific hierarchy of values, knows rituals and speaks the language (Schönpflug, 2001).

Simultaneously, emigrants are vulnerable to be influenced, at least to some extent, by another culture. An adult may decide to isolate from the dominant culture by accreting separation or marginalisation strategy (Berry, 2003) although a child, even if strongly influenced by parents have to interact with the outside world at least by attending school. Childhood is exactly the time when identity is shaped. Parents who are the first generation of migrants are not always able to transfer patterns of behavior adequate to new cultural situations. On the other hand, if they transfer patterns characteristic for their culture of origin it might be dysfunctional for their children (Schönpflug, 2001). Young people search than for new "authorities". Peer group which may include representatives of dominant culture than might become a point of reference. The influence if probably even bigger if the relationship between the actors is stronger (i.e. by visiting each other homes). It is than important to include the influence of this group into research on cultural identity.

The research has twofold character: exploratory and hypothesis-testing. The former is related to discover what is the structure of British-Poles cultural identity. The aim of the latter one is to verify cultural model of acculturation provided by Boski. Based on previous research, it is assumed that symbolic identity with the new country will prevail over symbolic attachment to the culture of origin, while value-identity will be stronger with the culture of origin. To test the above general hypothesis several research questions and more detailed hypothesis were posed:

- 1) Polish symbols will be better recognized and will be more personally significant among Poles from Warsaw than among British. Additionally, recognition and personal significance of these symbols will be lower among *British-Poles* than among Poles.
- 2) Recognition and personal significance of British symbols will be higher than of Polish ones among *British-Poles*.
- 3) *British-Poles* will evaluate values represented by their family home higher than Poles and British.
- 4) Normative humanistic orientation will be the highest among Poles and lower among British. At the same time materialistic index will be the highest among

British and lower among Poles. Location of *British-Poles* on Hum-Mat scale is left as an open question.

Participants

The aim of the research reported in this paper was to probe the cultural identity of the second generation of Poles born in Great Britain. Three groups of subjects were investigated. The first group consisted of the second generation of Poles born in Great Britain whose two parents were Polish in origin and have come to Great Britain either during the World War the Second or after it, but not later then till the beginning of 1970s. These are *British-Poles* (N=43). Additionally, in order to observe how cultural identity of British-Poles is structured it is useful to compare cultural capacity of representatives of the two cultures (Polish and British) that reflected them during their lifetime. Both of these culturally homogeneous group represented by British and Poles from Poland accounted as control groups. Additionally, in order to verify if certain symbols and values are representative for each culture each respondent (from all groups) had to have some kind of knowledge about the other culture. Due to this criteria as well as availability, British group consisted of close friends of British-Poles from early childhood (N=30).

The last group consisted of Poles born and living in Warsaw in Poland (N=31). This group was not related to the two former ones in any way.

The research was conducted in London, during three summer months of 2002 and in Warsaw in autumn 2002. There were 104 all together, half of them were women. The age average was 46,4 (SD=8,4). All levels of education were represented in each group and their distribution was similar between the groups (Table 1). Most of *British-Poles* knew Polish language at least at a basic level although most of the questionnaires in London were filled in English.

Table 1
Age, Education and Sex of the Participants

	<i>British Poles (N=43)</i>	<i>British (N=30)</i>	<i>Poles (N=31)</i>
<i>Age Average</i>	47,53 (SD=7,23)	44,80 (SD=7,90)	46,29 (SD=10,22)
<i>Education</i>			
<i>High School</i>	5%	7%	—
<i>High School+Courses</i>	2%	7%	—
<i>Bachelor</i>	42%	58%	37%
<i>Master</i>	49%	28%	63%
<i>Women</i>	47% (N=20)	53% (N=16)	53% (N=16)

Due to specific characteristics of the studied groups a snow ball method was chosen. Each respondent was asked to give contacts to other British Poles and British. The selection of “my British friend from childhood” and her/his consent to participate were the critical factors in this study. The relation between the two had to be very close including visiting in both family houses. This was supposed to give a base for later comparison of both family settings. Each respondent was asked to recommend a person that the respondent considers as a close friend from the childhood. The respondent first contacted the person and asked if she/he agreed, and then the researcher was given a telephone number and a meeting with a British person was arranged.

Materials

Cultural symbols. Cultural symbols are represented by pictures of public authorities from the present and the past, while buildings and places were the base for measuring symbolic identity. Twelve photos were divided into two sets (six per each culture). In each set half of the pictures represented persons while the other half pictures of architect objects. Polish symbols were represented by: 1) Jolanta and Aleksander Kwasniewski (presidential couple at the time of the research); 2) Lech Walesa (president of Poland 1990-1995); 3) Jozef Pilsudski (commander of Polish Forces before the Second World War); 4) presidential palace in Warsaw; 5) Parliament House “Sejm”; 6) Jasna Gora (sanctuary and pilgrimage site of Black Madonna the Queen of Poland). British sample consisted of: 1) royal couple; 2) Margaret Thatcher; 3) Winston Churchill; 4) Buckingham Palace in London; 5) Parliament Houses, and 6) Westminster Abbey in London.

Due to the specific background of the studied group—namely a strong political background of migration—selected photos corresponded to political aspects of life. Another selection criteria was to choose those attributes which are easy available at school, especially at Sunday school, via different kinds of media i.e. Polish television transmitted in UK. Another selection criteria was to choose cultural equivalents (i.e. presidential couple vs. royal couple; well-known historical heroes; religious symbols).

The task was to recognize a symbol and write its name and the country of origin. Additionally, each symbol had its (7-points) scale of personal significance (important - not important; moving-uninspiring; not controversial-controversial; admirable - contemptible; warm-distant/reserved; homely (familiar)-strange; meaningful for Poland (/UK)-insignificant for Poland (/UK)) to which subjects were asked to respond. The aim of this part was to verify the respondent’s knowledge of cultural symbols as well as their attachment to them.

Internal consistency of items (Cronbach’s alpha) in personal significance scales towards persons and architectural objects seems not to be very high. Scales corresponded to British symbols appeared to be slightly weaker than Polish ones although the reliability indicator was located over .5 in all cases. The former became stronger when the third sub-scale “not controversial-controversial” is removed.

Cultural values. Descriptive measurement of correlative attributes was based on a modified version of inventory *KWiSK* created by Boski (1992, 2006). The new version called “My family home” included four original categories which represented particular cultural dimensions: Humanism, Materialism, Liberalism and Sarmatyzm. Additionally, another category was included called emotional distance. This dimension was based on assumption that Polish and British culture represented different attitude towards emotional closeness between people. Due to the aim of the paper only two of them are described here: humanistic and materialistic which combine into one bipolar dimension with two extremes called further on Hum-Mat scale. The humanism scale consisted of values describing Polish culture. These values were related to close family relations and its importance, to memory of past heroes and historic events, to long-term and close relationships. In a series of studies (total N=1273) conducted by Boski (i.e. 1992, 1999) the validity of the original HUMMAT scale was proved ($\alpha=0.855$) as well as its high correlation with Polish culture (with Poles from Warsaw, $r(396)=0.560$, and especially with Polish emigrants, $r(568)=0.956$ (Boski, 2005a)).

The Humanism Scale

- Family was very important. All members (i.e., elders, adults and children) found support, helped each other and contributed as they could to mutual well-being.
- Courtesy, certain respect expressed by men towards women.
- Understanding for people's weaknesses and mistakes, and being inclined to forgive.

The Materialism Scale recalled ideas of hard work, money, business, social status and social promotion, and it represents values characteristic for Western countries.

The Materialism Scale

- A tend to be business-like with people because time is money.
- Work around the clock to improve the standards of life.
- Planned, well organized, and predictable life.

The task was to answer the following question "Which of given values describes each family house best?" Respondents had to think back about the times when they were living at their family home mark these values and behaviors that were characteristic for it. Form of answering depended on a group. British-Poles were requested to divide given values, represented in the sentences, into four groups: 1) respondent's family home (when living with parents)—"My home"; 2) his/her British friend's home from childhood—"British Home"; 3) integrative values representative for both houses—"Both"; or 4) to any where it did not fit to any category or the respondent did not remember—"None". In case of the British and respondents from Warsaw the second group referred to Polish friend's home. The aim of this part was to compare whether certain values and behaviors occur within culturally different settings (family homes) and to check which cultural dimensions dominate in Polish culture and which in British one.

The second part of the questionnaire called "My aims and values" consisted of the same set of sentences but this time regarding personal values of respondents. The task was to estimate the degree to which respondents act accordingly to values and behaviors included in the sentences using a scale from (-3) 'definitely not' to (+3) 'definitely yes'. The aim was to verify whether cross-generational value transmission takes place and if yes with which dimensions it is related. The relation between those two measurements of values will enable to denominate axiological cultural identity.

RESULTS

Symbolic identity

Analysis of variance made on aggregated data regarding recognition of cultural symbols presented on the photos showed a considerable in-group and out-group differentiation (see Figure 1). Interaction between the groups and symbolic attributes ($F(2,104)=138,46$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=0.733$) indicate that British-Poles recognized British symbols more frequently which confirms the hypothesis that British symbols constitute more crucial base regarding identity than Polish ones. No differences between this

group and the British were observed. This leads to a conclusion that the symbolic sphere of the settlement country plays a predominant role in cultural symbols recognition. The aggregated indicator of symbolic identity was computed as the average sum of standardized outcomes of recognition and evaluation of the photos. The results are presented in Figure 2.

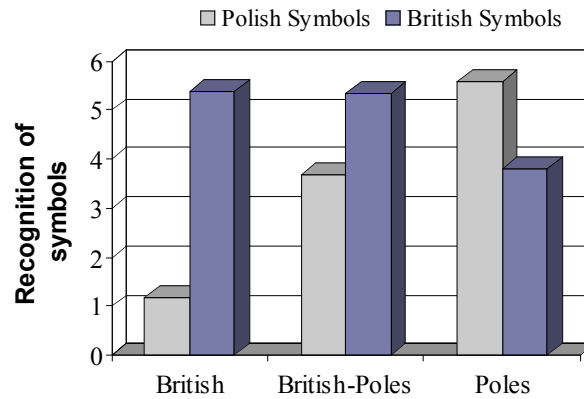


Figure 1

Recognition of Polish and British Cultural by Three Groups of Respondents

Interaction between identity and groups is highly significant, $F(2,101)=85.40$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=0.628$. Having in mind previously posed research questions, it is important to pay attention to contrasts in both aspects of identity (e.g. recognition and evaluation) between British Poles and the other control groups. The first contrast are located between Poles from Warsaw and British regarding Polish identity and strongly differ from the two ($PL>PL-UK>UK$). Concerning British symbolic identity British-Poles are similar to the British although both groups are very much different from Warsaw inhabitants $\{(UK=PL-UK)>PL\}$. To sum up, with British identity British-Poles seem to be as British as their local friends but they are less Polish than Poles from Warsaw in their Polish identity.

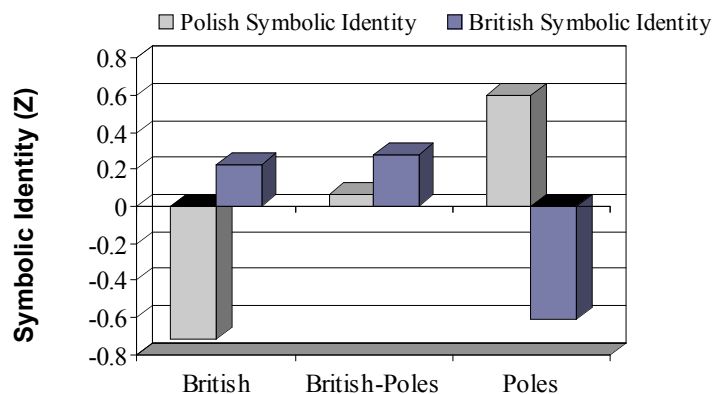


Figure 2

Symbolic Identity towards Both Countries by Three Groups of Respondents

Correlative identity

The indicators of descriptive Polish and British correlative identity were built on the basis of aggregated data from the questionnaire A (“My family home”). Due to the values assortment descriptive data concerning 6-category taxonomy *My Home* (yes / no) \times *Friend’s Home* (yes / no) \times *Integrative* (yes / no) was obtained. The results are illustrated in Figure 3.

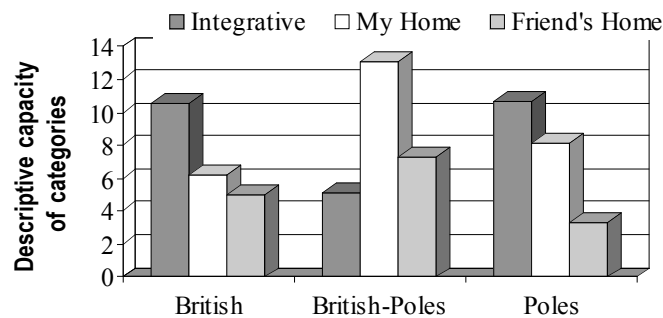


Figure 3
Descriptive Capacity of Three Categories of Family Home by Values

Interaction of capacity of three settings and three groups [$F(4,202)=12.37, p<.001, \eta^2=0.197$] shows that the second generation migrants have different retrospective images of their own and their friend’s family home. In both homogeneous groups the integrative category contained the most elements. However, among British Poles their own home was saturated the most while the integrative category contained the least elements.

An indicator based on evaluation weights of respondents own values (questionnaire B—“*My values and goals*”) assigned to cultural values from questionnaire A (“*Family home values*”) was built. For each item, it was a product of the two measures: descriptive (*where does the value belong?*) and evaluative (*how important is it to me?*). Conjunction of these two sets (evaluative and descriptive, respectively) is a measurement of cultural identity during the process of acculturation (Boski, 2005a, b). In this study it enabled me to assess how much valued (from today’s position) was participant’s *Family home* and her/his *Friend’s home in their childhood*. To test how do the respondents shape their present identity in relation to the image of their family home from childhood an analysis model was built: 3(groups) \times 2(My Home: yes/now) \times 2(Friend’s Home: yes/now). The results being a base for MANOVA are showed in Figure 4.

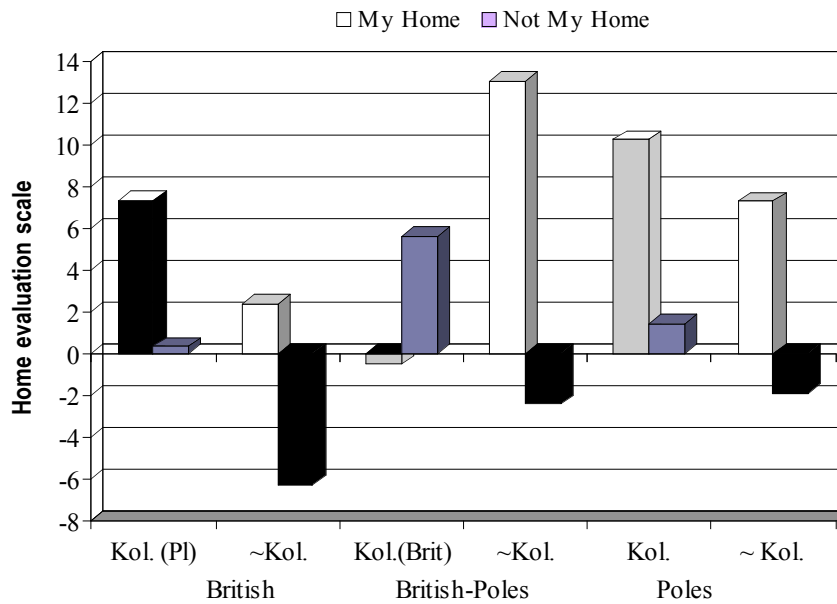


Figure 4
Identity Expressed in Actual Values on the Basis of Family Home Characteristics from Childhood

The main effects of *My Home* [$F(1,101)=92.50, p<.001, \eta^2=0.478$] and at weaker effect of *Friend's Home* [$F(1,101)=6.44, p<.05, \eta^2=0.06$] indicate that values related to the respondent's own setting dominate over common ones. On the other hand, their interaction effect [$F(1,101)=32.30, p<.001, \eta^2=0.242$] informs that the latter ones prevail over values that are characteristic for friend's home setting. One of the most important result is the three way interaction [$F(2,101)=27.21, p<.001, \eta^2=0.350$]. It shows that British Poles have a different identity profile than both homogeneous control groups. Integration of cultural values seem to be the most appreciated among the latter while the identity of the former seem to be based on separation of their home values from so called the rest. In retrospect the family home of British Poles occurred as a very culturally capacious field. At present it seems to become a powerful base for their exclusive identity. Furthermore, the integrative field which was characterized by low capacity of elements is negatively evaluated as well.

Summing up, British-Poles strongly identify themselves with symbolic attributes of the dominant culture on one hand, and represent strong attachment to values related to Polish culture, on the other hand. At the same time there is a strong depreciation of migration culture values.

Symbols and values

Previous analysis regarding the two aspects of identity (symbolic and correlative) seems to indicate that both symbolic and axiological profiles are different in comparison to two control groups. The symbolic aspect is equal with the British although concerning Polishness the main group is located in between the two. Regarding the axiological aspect, the second generation of migrants strongly maintains Polish culture.

Correlation analysis of both identity aspects gave an interesting outcome. Namely, Polish symbolic identity was negatively correlated, $r(43) = -0.542$, $p < .001$, with values that were not related to own family home. However, there was no positive significant relationship between this indicator and values related to own family home.

Positive correlation between both components of the identity appeared among Poles from Warsaw [$r(31) = 0.436$] whereas any kind of relationship was observed among the British.

Estimated correlation of *HUMAT - Polish Home - British Home* showed significant positive relationship between humanistic orientation and Polish home, $r(73) = 0.296$, $p < .05$.

DISCUSSION

Some implication for cultural identity

Identity is based on expectations of others, on what we assume that others expect from us, on our self, our biography and hierarchy of values. Identity is a very complicated and complex matter and its structure has many levels. History, motives and trajectory of migration are tightly related to one's identification. Polish political emigration in London is a group determined by specific reasons of migration, particular attitudes towards destination country shaped by expectations regarding temporality of residence, and the quality of life "on exhale". This paper tried to answer a question how cultural identity of the second generation of Poles in Great Britain is structured as well as verify cultural model of acculturation (Boski, 1992). Even though reported research focuses only on some aspects of the identity, particularly, correlative and symbolic attributes still some general conclusions may be drawn out.

Results clearly demonstrate that cultural identity of British Poles is more British in its symbolic aspect and more Polish in its value-correlative aspect. What stands behind this might be the lack of permanent contact with symbols of culture of origin. On the other hand, concerning the personal significance of cultural attributes the main group represents a specific bicultural identity.

The attachment to Polish values is strongly antagonistic comparing to evaluation of values of the other culture. It is even more interesting when one recalls that respondent's task was not to describe their attitude towards a culture in general but towards a particular (existing) friend being a representative of another culture. In contrary, British perceived many more common values among both cultures. This implies at least two conclusions. Firstly, mental boundaries seem to be a significant base for cultural self-definition. Secondly, cultural distance may play an important role in construction of cultural identity and should be involved in the future research.

Family home seems to play an important role in the cultural identity of British Poles. It is perceived as an exclusive island on exile. It is not only a meaningful but also very capacious category which constitute their present system of values. This tendency to idealize everything that is Polish (especially the past and the tradition) might be seen as a sort of a marginalisation strategy. Everything that is Polish is positively valued by British-Poles even though objectively some of those elements represent negative side of Polishness (Boski, 2005).

Results question Berry's assumptions on integrative acculturation strategy and its dominant power among other strategies. Presented research, together with that of

Rymek-Gmytrasiewicz (2006) and Boski (2005) show something opposite. Integration is a good strategy but for the people living within their local culture, but not for the immigrants, where the attachment to their parents' culture of origin is clearly dominant.

Cultural identity of British-Poles seems to represent a type of biculturalism where both cultures are in a certain "unequal balance". In some aspects it is strongly Polish and in others it is more directed towards British culture. It might be called "a third value" (Mostwin, 1995) or "a third culture" (Casmir, 1995) where elements of both cultures are mixed. It is a kind of ideological ethnicity that is a consequence of relation between present, past and anticipated future (Nikitorowicz, 2001). In other words, it is a type of cultural identity that is not ethnic culture from the past nor the present national culture but it is an idealized form which is a reaction against injustices in the present (De Vos, 1995).

Limitation of the study

Some attention should also be put to the limitations of the study. The small size of the sample indeed influences the possibilities to generalize as well as lack of its representativity. Unfortunately, due to the lack of reliable official records on the second generation in Great Britain it was not possible to follow this requirement. Still, such studies focused on migrants provide some interesting input into the recognition of the phenomenon.

The influence of the native Polish researcher should be also taken under consideration. Most of the respondents knew Polish language at least to some extent. The knowledge among few of them would easily allow them to fulfill given tasks in Polish. Nevertheless, none of them took an advantage of this opportunity. One of the explanations might be that, in a way, competing with a native Pole (who was a researcher) in language might lead to a malaise or even internal conflicts.

REFERENCES

- Berry, J. W. (2003). Conceptual approaches to acculturation. In: Chun, K. M., Organista, P. M., & Marin, G. (Eds). *Acculturation. Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research*. (pp. 17-38) Washington: APA.
- Berry, J., Dasen, P.R., Poortinga, Y.H., & Segall, M.H. (2002). *Cross-Cultural Psychology: Research and Applications*. Cambridge University Press.
- Boski, P. (1992). O byciu Polakiem w ojczyźnie i o zmianach tożsamości kulturowo-narodowej na obczyźnie. In: P. Boski, M. Jarymowicz., H. Malewska-Peyre (Eds.), *Tożsamość a odmiennność kulturowa*. (pp. 71-196). Warsaw, Poland: Instytut Psychologii PAN.
- Boski P. (1999). Humanizm w kulturze i mentalności Polaków. In: B. Wojciszke i M. Jarymowicz (Eds.) *Rozumienie zjawisk społecznych* (pp.79-119). Warsaw, Poland: PWN.
- Boski, P. (2003). Kultura jako źródło automatyzmów. In: R. K. Ohme, M. Jarymowicz (Eds.), *Automatyzmy: Nowe perspektywy [Kolokwia Jadwisińskie, III]*. Warsaw: Instytut Psychologii PAN & SWPS.
- Boski, P. (2005a). Czy wyraża Pan/Pani zgodę na przystąpienie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej do Unii Europejskiej? -Wartości kulturowe euro-entuzjastów i euro-

- sceptyków. In: U. Jakubowska, K. Skarżyńska (Eds.), *Demokracja w Polsce. Doświadczenie zmian.*, (pp. 243-256). Warsaw: Academica
- Boski, P. (2005b). Humanism-Materialism: Polish cultural origins and cross-cultural comparisons. In U. Kim, & Kuo-Shu Yang (Eds.), *Advances in indigenous psychologies.* (pp. 373-402). New York: Plenum Press
- Byczkowski, J. (1994). Polacy w Europie: Informator o Polonii i Polakach w Europie w XX wieku. Opole, Poland: Wydawnictwo Instytut Śląski.
- Byczkowski, J. (1990). Polonia w Europie. Opole: Wojewódzki Ośrodek Informacji Naukowej, Technicznej i Ekonomicznej.
- Chodubski, A. (1998). Tożsamość kulturowa, kwestie narodowościowe i polonijne. Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- De Vos, G.A. (1995). Ethnic pluralism: Conflict and accomodation. In: L. Romanucci-Ross & G.A. De Vos (Eds.), *Ethnic identity: Creation, conflict and accomodation* (3rd ed., pp. 15-47). London: Altamira.
- Euler, H.A., Hoier, S., & Rohde, P.A (2001). Relationship-specific closeness of intergenerational family ties. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32 (2).
- Jarymowicz, M. (1984). Spostrzeganie własnej indywidualności. Warsaw, Poland: Instytut Psychologii PAN.
- Jarymowicz, M. (1992). Tożsamość jako efekt rozpoznania siebie wśród swoich i obcych. Eksperymentalne badania nad procesem różnicowania Ja-My-Inni. In: P. Boski, M. Jarymowicz, & H. Malewska-Peyre (Ed.). *Tożsamość a odmiennosc kulturowa.* (pp. 213-167). Warsaw: Instytut Psychologii PAN.
- Kłoskowska, A. (1991). Kultura narodowa. In: A. Kłoskowska A. (Ed.), *Encyklopedia Kultury Polskiej XX wieku. Pojęcia i problemy wiedzy o kulturze.* (pp. 51-62). Wrocław, Poland: Wiedza o kulturze.
- Lasry, J.C., Adair, J., Dion, K. (1989). *Latest contributions to cross-cultural psychology: Selected papers from Thirteenth International Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology.* Swets & Zeitlinger Publisher.
- Liebkind, K. (Ed.) (1898). *New identities in Europe.* European Science Foundation, Billing & Sons Ltd, Worcester, Great Britain.
- Malewska-Peyre, H. (2000). Ciągłość i zmiana tożsamości. In: *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, XLIV (1), 129-145.
- Mostwin, D. (1995). Trzecia wartość: wykorzenienie i tożsamość. Lublin, Poland: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego.
- Nauck, B.(2001). Intercultural contact and intergenerational transmission in immigrant families. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32 (2), 159-173.
- Nikitorowicz, J. (2001). Pogranicze. Tożsamość. Edukacja międzykulturowa. Białystok, Poland: Trans Humana. Ossowski, S. (1986)
- Paradowska, K. (1992). Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii do 1939. In: B. Szydłowska-Ceglowa (Ed.), *Polonia w Europie.* (pp. 411-421). Poznań, Poland: Polska Akademia Nauk. Zakład Badań Narodowościowych.
- Radzik, T. (1992). Społeczność polska w Wielkiej Brytanii w latach 1945-1990. In: B. Szydłowska-Ceglowa (Ed.), *Polonia w Europie.* (pp. 437-468). Poznań, Poland: Polska Akademia Nauk. Zakład Badań Narodowościowych.
- Rosenthal, D.A., Hrynevich, C. (1985) Ethnicity and ethnic identity: a comparative study of Greek-Italians, and Anglo-Australians Adolescents. *International Journal of Psychology*, 20 (1985), 723-742. North-Holland: Elsevier Science Publishers B.V.

- Rudmin, F. (2003). Catalogue of acculturation constructs: descriptions of 126 taxonomies, 19918-2003. In: W.J. Lonner, D.L. Dinnel, S.A. Hayes, & D.N. Sattler (Eds.), *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture* (Unit 8, Chapter 8) (www.wvu.edu/~culture), Center for Cross-Cultural Research, Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington USA.
- Rymek, M. (2006). Transmisja wartości kulturowych i postawy rodzicielskie wśród Polaków w kraju i polskich emigrantów w USA. *Studia Psychologiczne* 44(1), 49-62.
- Schönpflug, U. (2001). Intergenerational transmission of values. *Journal of cross-cultural psychology*, 32 (2), 174-185.
- Serwański, J. (1992). Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii w latach II wojny światowej. In: B. Szydłowska-Ceglowska (Ed.). *Polonia w Europie*. (pp. 423-436) Poznań, Poland: Polska Akademia Nauk. Zakład Badań Narodowościowych.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1986). The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior. In: S. Worchel & W.G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Tajfel, H. (1978). Differentiation Between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations. *European Monographs in Social Psychology*, 14. London; Academic Press.
- Todd E. (1985). The explanation of Ideology. Family Structures and Social Systems. In: P. Laslett, M. Anderson, & K. Wrightson. *Family, sexuality and social relations in past times*. (pp. 19-32).
- Waluga, G. (Ed.) (2000). Imigranci i społeczeństwa przyjmujące. Adaptacja? Integracja? Transformacja? *Migracje i społeczeństwo*, 5. Warsaw, Poland: Neriton.

AUTHOR

Emilia Lewandowska, Warsaw School of Social Psychology and Centre for Migration Research, Institute of Social Studies, Warsaw University, Warsaw, Poland.
Email: emilia.lewandowska@uw.edu.pl