TOURISM AND IDENTITY OF DIASPORIC COMMUNITIES: A STUDY OF POST-ACCESSION WEST SLAVIC MIGRANTS IN THE UK

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TOURISM AND IDENTITY OF DIASPORIC COMMUNITIES: A STUDY OF POST-ACCESSION WEST SLAVIC MIGRANTS IN THE UK

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Abstract

This research focuses on tourism and identity formation of post-accession West Slavic migrants in the UK. Following the European Union enlargement in 2004, the communities of post-accession migrants became Britain's increasingly growing populations. Moreover, with the scale of migration from Central Europe, West Slavic diaspora, consisting of Poles, Czechs and Slovaks became the single largest community of foreign nationals residing in the UK. Despite living in the age of migration, with increasing numbers as citizens in Westernized cultures, diasporic and ethnic communities have attracted only trivial attention of the tourism field. Particularly, the portrayal of Britain's post-accession migrants within the tourism context remains overlooked.

This study has adopted interpretivist ethnographic research strategy. Semi-structures in-depth interviews were conducted with 27 West Slavic migrants (12 Poles, 9 Slovaks and 6 Czechs) living in the UK. Data were coded and the themes and sub-themes arising, assisted development of the tourism, migration and cultural model of diasporic identity.

This research provides a valuable contribution to the understanding of tourism and identity formation of diasporic communities. The primary research reveals that West Slavic migrants in the UK, similar to Britain's Afro-Caribbean, South-Asian and Irish diasporas take preferential journeys to their ancestral homelands. Migrant's ethnic roots and origins impact on their tourism motivation and travel behaviour. Although for some post-accession West Slavic migrants the return visit to homeland was a reminder of migrants' pasts, this research proposes that most trips to homeland were not related to discovering roots or negotiating identity. This study suggests that the main purpose of homeland tourism is to maintain migrants' transnational existences and regular social and familial networks and contracts with friends and families across borders.

This research demonstrates that post-accession West Slavic migrants travel to their homelands more regularly than other displaced diasporas. These travel

patterns were facilitated by the closer proximity to migrants' homelands, freedom of movement within the EU and the recent development in transportation with availability of cheap flights in Europe. Although tourism plays a role in shaping identities of post-accession West Slavic communities in the UK, the research findings suggest that this role is less influential as demonstrated in similar past studies, especially those researching tourism motivation of Afro-Caribbean or South Asian diasporic communities. Therefore, the study concludes that post-accession West Slavic migrants are correctly referred to as modern transnational migrants, rather than displaced diaspora.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The United Kingdom has a long migration history of influxes of immigrants mainly from Ireland and the former territories of the British Empire including the Caribbean and the subcontinents of Asia and Africa (Parekh, 2000). Some voluntarily and some forced movements of nations have contributed to the creation of multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Britain (Klemm and Burton, 2011). The enlargement of the European Union (EU) in 2004 has influenced changes in migration patterns to the UK and produced the largest wave of migrants in its history (Brown, 2011). The records of the Home Office (2009) show that approximately 1.24 million National Insurance numbers were allocated to post-accession migrants, who are also known as 'Accession 8' (A8) nationals. According to Burrell (2008), some post accession migrants treat their stay in the UK as temporary with economic motivations and intentions to return home. However, many are now staying longer, hence they assimilate into the host culture and even embrace Britain as a new home. It has been suggested that most migrants live transnational existences with networks retained in their countries of origin and residence (Duval, 2004). Post-accession migrants have contributed to the formation of Central and Eastern European diasporas living in the UK.

Diaspora is the concept that describes the relationship between immigrants and their countries of origin (Duval, 2004). It includes elements of dispersal from a homeland, continuous orientation to it, collective identity with others of a similar background and a degree of separation from the host culture (Brubaker, 2005). As communities migrate and settle, there is potentially a shifting dynamic in the formation of identities of its members (Ali and Holden, 2006). According to Weeks (1990), identity is about belonging, about what people have in common and what sets them apart. However, transnational, migrant and diasporic communities, following their migration and settlement, are initiated into two or more historic traditions, languages, political loyalties and moral codes (Stonequist, 1935). These communities often identify themselves with one society more than with another,

while the majority maintains multiple identities and linkages to more than one society (Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc, 1995; Duval, 2004). Thus, the identities of diasporic and ethnic communities are referred to as shifting, multiple, or hyphenated positions of identities (Clifford, 1994; Cohen, 1997; Hall, 2000; Yeoh and Huang, 2000; Quirke, Potter and Convay, 2009).

Duval (2004) argues that relationships between diaspora, migration and identity are strengthened by episodes of diaspora tourism and return visits to ancestral homelands. He further advocated that homeland travel is characterised by a strong emotional bond between destination and return visitor and it can "ultimately be positioned as one vehicle through which transnational identity structures between diasporic communities and homelands are maintained" (Duval, 2004: 52). Similarly, Hollinshead (2004a: 46) characterizes diaspora tourism as "discursive spaces of identity-making and identity-projections" for restless people of diaspora with hybrid identities. However, it can be argued that visiting homelands might cause discontent and confusion as returnees are confronted by people and places which have changed from being familiar (Ali and Holden, 2006). Further consequences of displacement are felt as return visitors gain greater awareness of host culture influences on their identities, including language, culture, class and citizenship and they need to redefine who they are and where they belong (Stephenson, 2002). Hall (1990) argues that diasporic communities negotiating challenges of adjustment to the host society commonly regard cultural values of ancestral homeland rather than host country as a source of identity. However, this relationship remains unproven (Nguyen, King and Turner, 2003).

Despite living in the age of migration, with increasing numbers as consumers and citizens in Westernized societies in particular, diasporic and ethnic communities have not attracted much attention in the tourism field (Klemm, 2002; Stephenson, 2002; Moufakkir, 2011). According to Brunner (1996: 290), "the literature on diaspora […] has on the whole neglected tourism, perhaps because tourist visits are thought to be temporary and superficial". This area of study has been addressed within the social sciences as in the fields of sociology, geography, migration, race and ethnicity. The limited research published in tourism journals includes only a few UK based studies. The focus of these are

Afro-Caribbean communities longing for ethnic reunion (Stephenson and Hughes, 1995), marketing for Asian ethnicity (Klemm, 2002), the myth of return embodied in Pakistani communities (Ali and Holden, 2006) and the holiday taking of Irish diaspora (Hughes and Allen, 2010). The enlargement of the EU accompanied by mass migration has recently attracted some attention from scholars; however, portrayal of A8 migrants within the tourism context remains under researched. As diasporas are not homogenous group, Moufakkir (2011) argues that a better understanding can be achieved by researching particular communities. In line with this, the focus of this study is on West Slavic migrant communities living in the UK. West Slavs incorporates Poles, Czech and Slovaks, as they share similar culture, history, customs and traditions (Comrie and Corbett, 1993).Particular attention is paid to how return travel to ancestral homelands impacts on shaping identities of West Slavic communities.

1.2 Research Aims

1. To critically analyse theories and concepts of diaspora, migration and identity in relation to tourism.

2. To ascertain the identities of West Slavic migrants living in the UK.

3. To analyse the role of tourism in shaping identities of post-accession West Slavic communities in the UK.

4. To contribute to the understanding of tourism and identity formation of diasporic communities.

1.3 Thesis Structure

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter provides the background and rationale for this research study. The tourism of diaspora in the UK is a relatively under-researched field of study. In view of this gap, this research focuses on newly formed post-accession West Slavic diaspora in the UK, which became prevalent following EU enlargement in 2004. This chapter also states the study's aims and outlines the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2: Diaspora, Migration and Identity

As the first part of the literature review, this chapter examines the theoretical and conceptual characteristics of diaspora, migration and identity. This chapter also explains theories of ethnicity and transnationalism as they relate to the main concept of diaspora. An overview of Britain's migration history is provided, together with identification of the UK's most established minority populations.

Chapter 3: Diasporic Communities and Tourism

The second literature review chapter establishes the connections between diasporic communities and tourism. More specifically, the links of diaspora, identity and migration within the field of tourism are explored. The main tourism literature that reflects on diaspora and tourism is overviewed, as well as studies depicting UK's post-accession migration wave.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter explains and justifies approaches and methods used for the purpose of this research. This interpretive study has justified and adopted an ethnographic approach in order to achieve the research aims. The primary data collection

entailed 27 semi-structured in-depth interviews. The procedures for the analysis of the data are drawn and attention is paid to the quality assurance of the research.

Chapter 5: Findings

This chapter provides the results obtained from the primary data collection. The primary research findings ascertain identities of West Slavic communities in the UK by exploring their cultural differences, reasons for migration, travel motivation, orientation to homelands, collective identity and degree of separation from the host community in the UK. The findings address the study's central objective of analysing the role of tourism in shaping identities of West Slavic populations in the UK. The roles of return travel to ancestral homelands were analysed through migrants' perceptions and experiences during the visit, the extent to which their roots and identities are reinforced and their acceptance as insiders during tourism encounters.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The primary research findings are consolidated in the context of the broader literature in the discussion chapter. Moreover, this chapter demonstrates that West Slavic migrants' took preferential journeys to ancestral homeland, which is consistent with the visible pattern among other diasporas. Return travel is mainly seen as migrants' way to reconnect with their families in ancestral homelands, rather than purposefully seeking their roots and identities. A tourism, migration and cultural model of diasporic identity has been proposed.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

This chapter draws conclusions and provides recommendations with reference to the primary and secondary research. The strengths and limitations of the study are acknowledged and considerations for future research are suggested.

CHAPTER TWO:

DIASPORA, MIGRATION AND IDENTITY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the theoretical and conceptual characteristics of diaspora, migration and identity, as the linkages between these main concepts and the tourism field are established in the following chapter. Firstly, the concept of diaspora is proposed through various definitions and standpoints. The contemporary contributions and perspectives of diaspora have led to conceptualisation of related theories of ethnicity and transnationalism. Concepts of race, racism and multiculturalism are discussed in this section. This is followed by a conceptual and analytical debate regarding migration, delivered through the presentation of the UK's migration history. Migration history leads to a critical evaluation of diasporic, ethnic and transnational communities that currently reside in the UK. The concept of identity is introduced and leads into discussion of more specific concepts, such as national identity and cultural identity. Finally, this chapter incorporates the discussion on identities of diasporic, ethnic and transnational communities with the specific focus on newly formed post-accession West Slavic migrant communities residing in the UK.

2.2 Diaspora

Diaspora has its origin in the Greek term 'speiro', meaning to scatter or to sow, and the preposition 'dia' - over, hence the term was understood as migration and colonisation by the Greeks (Cohen, 1997; Gilroy, 2001; Shuval, 2000). Originally, diaspora referred only to populations of Jews who were "commonly considered a model for all diasporas" (Armstrong, 1976: 394). However, over the past few decades, the term has been applied by anthropologists, literary theorists and cultural critics to depict the mass migration and displacement that occurred in the second half of the twentieth century (Braziel and Mannur, 2003). The term

diaspora has become a key concept in migration studies (Van Hear, 2010), as it describes the relationship between migrants and their countries of origin (Duval, 2004). The concept has served as "prominent research lenses through which to view the aftermath of international migration and the shifting of state borders across populations" (Faist, 2010: 9).

Attempts to conceptualise and define the notion of diaspora have remained the focus of considerable debate as scholars have been challenged by the term's ambiguity (Braziel and Mannur, 2003; Che, 2004; Coles and Timothy, 2004; Brubaker, 2005). One contemporary definition of diaspora is that they are "ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin - their homelands (Shuval, 2000: 43). Coles and Timothy (2004: 3) asserted that diasporas are populations scattered across the world, yet pulled together collectively as a "community by their actual and in some cases perceived or imagined common bonds of ethnicity, culture, religion, national identity and sometimes race".

Sayyid (2000) has recognised three predispositions of the concept of diaspora as *homeland*, *displacement* and *settlement*. Firstly, the members of diaspora face displacement from *homelands* that cross state boundaries (Brubaker, 2005). In addition, the homeland, real or imagined, often acts as a horizon for diasporic and migrant communities (Anthias, 1998; Sayyid, 2000). Cohen (1997: ix) clarifies that diasporas *displaced* from their natural homeland acknowledge that the "old country - a notion buried deep in language, religion, customs or folklore, always has some claim on their loyalty and emotions". Furthermore, diasporic communities are likely to hold a strong ethnic group consciousness, a sense of collective identity and solidarity with similar 'others' (Cohen, 1997; Brubaker, 2005), which causes the boundaries and a degree of separation from the host society to be maintained (Armstrong, 1976; Safran, 1991). Although erosion of boundaries occurs over generations, diaporas resist complete social, cultural, economic and political integration into the country of *settlement* (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999; Faist, 2010). Finally, the ancestral homeland represents a place for eventual return for people of diaspora, at some point in the future when the time is right (Safran, 1991).

Over the course of history, the use of term diaspora has extended from Jews (Amstrong, 1976), to describing practically any population that originated in a country other than that in which it currently resides (Vertovec, 1999a). 'Diasporisation' of communities in the contemporary era includes movements of immigrants, expellees, alien residents, political refugees, foreign workers, exiles, expatriates and transnational, ethnic and racial communities (Totolyan, 1991; Cohen, 1997). However, Brubaker (2005) warns that extending the span of inclusion of the diaspora could lead to the disappearance of the concept. The following explanation of the related concepts of transnationalism and ethnicity aims to achieve a better understanding of diaspora, a major theme of this study.

2.2.1 Transnationalism

The concept of transnationalism became more prevalent through the widely spread processes of globalisation, accompanied by enhanced technology and communication in the form of air travel and the Internet (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002; Quirke et al., 2009). Transnationalism, similar to the concept of diaspora, broadly defines various kinds of global populations from migrant communities to all ethnic diaspora (Vertovec, 1999b). However, while the concept of diaspora has been utilised for centuries, transnationalism is a relatively new notion that has emerged in the social sciences over the past few decades (Wong, 2007; Quirke et al., 2009; Faist, 2010).

Scholars of transnationalism have suggested a number of definitions in the academic literature. Portes et al. (1999) note that the field of transnationalism comprises of the growing number of people, who live dual lives, speak two languages, live in two countries and maintain continuous regular contact across national boundaries. Glick-Schiller et al. (1995) define transnationalism as a process by which migrants forge and maintain simultaneous multi-stranded social, economic and political relationships with their countries of origin and settlement. Similarly, Spoonley (2000) asserts that transnationalism is the existence of links between communities in their current place of residence and the place of origin.

The multiple linkages of people and institutions reach across state borders and challenge the very nature of the nation states (Vertovec, 1999b; Spoonley, 2000). In the view of these transnational linkages, Braziel and Mannur (2003: 8) maintain, "transnationalism is the flow of people, ideas, goods and capital across national territories in a way that undermines nationality and nationalism as discrete categories of identification, economic organization and political constitution".

The literature suggests that there has been confusion in the use of terms transnationalism and diaspora, and these are often used interchangeably. Both concepts, diaspora and transnationalism, have overlapping meaning, therefore, there are difficulties in distinguishing one from another (Faist, 2010). Comparing both ideas, Castles and Miller (2009) suggest that the concept of diaspora is more emotional, as in a traditional sense, it refers to a forced displacement from home and a longing for eventual return. Transnational communities usually maintain close ties with friends and families across the borders and are more aware of what is happening in their countries of origin (Wong, 2007). In distinguishing both concepts, Braziel and Mannur (2003) further argue that while the concept of diaspora refers to the forced or voluntary movement of people from one society to another, transnationalism refers to a broader and more impersonal phenomenon, such as globalization. In the view of different opinions across the disciplines, it can be concluded that transnationalism and diaspora are two concepts, which "cannot be separated in any meaningful way" (Faist, 2010: 12). The following section explores ethnicity, as another important theme linking to the diaspora discourse (Shuval, 2000).

2.2.2 Ethnicity

The term ethnicity originates from the Greek word 'ethnos', meaning the nation (Connor, 1994). Similar to diaspora and transnationalism, the concept of ethnicity is imprecise, and its understanding is always context specific (Parekh, 2000). While diaspora and transnationalism refer to the movement of migrants, the term

ethnicity refers predominantly to describing the features of particular group of people.

According to Spoonley (2000), ethnicity acknowledges a sense of belonging to and sharing similar behaviour with those possessing common socio-cultural traits. Hence, ethnicity can be viewed as an authentic cultural phenomenon, described as a form of ideological constructs that divide people into different communities with shared individual and group identities (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1993). The members of ethnic groups form subgroups with common economic, cultural, linguistic and territorial resources such as cultural tradition, language, religion and customs (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969). Therefore, ethnicity can be treated as a normative identification process, or as a form of culture (Anthias, 2002). The ethnic boundaries of belonging to the ethnic group are heterogeneous and represent spaces for struggle and negotiation (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1993). As cultural features of the ethnic group change over time due to acculturation and contact with other groups, the sense of separateness from the host community often persists (Barth, 1969).

To achieve a better understanding of ethnicity, an interrelated concept of race has been proposed (Gilroy, 1987; Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1993). According to Bradley (1997), ethnicity and race are two of the social categories that have grown to clarify lived relationships that stem from territorial arrangements and migratory movements of people from different places around the world. More specifically, race refers to the biological differences that distinguish human beings, such as physical appearance, skin colour or hair type (Bradley, 1997). Race creates the boundary based of an "immutable biological or physiognomic difference" that separate "human populations by some notion of stock or collective heredity of traits" (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1993: 2).

The concept of race upsurges considering the issue of racism. Racism is not a static phenomenon, but rather it is a concept open to constant reformulation, its particular meaning varies according to time and place (Evans, 1997). Broadly, racism involves negative active censorship and evaluation of others with a tendency to disregard others as an equal (Guibernau and Rex, 2010).

The key role of racism has been the denial of social, political and economic participations in certain collectivities and the legitimation of various forms of exploitation, violence, discrimination and humiliation (Burns, 2008; Wievorka, 2010). The reasoning for racism includes "cultural preservation, fear of the unknown and, above all, the maintenance of a political-economic status quo" (Guibernau and Rex, 2010: 342).

Racially visible minorities are often those subjected to stereotyping, discrimination and racism (Allport, 1954; Hesse, 2000; Hutnik, 1991; Parekh, 2000; Stephenson, 2002; Gilroy, 2003). Ethnic and diasporic communities are often perceived as polluting, socially disadvantaged groups, symbolically excluded, and concentrated in inner city areas (Fenton, 2011). Their culture, language and ways of life are considered as inferior (Guibernau and Rex, 2010). Furthermore, racism is also associated with xenophobia, intolerance and a fear of all outsiders (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1993). Discrimination can occur on the grounds of race as well as nationality, ethnic origin, religion, language, or even accent (Ollerearnshaw, 1983). Brubaker, Loveman and Stamatov (2004) also point out that stereotyping is a key aspect of social categorisation and relates to the European tradition of research known as 'Social Identity Theory'. The colonial past, the history of slavery and genocide provide evidence, that history is not the past, it is an inseparable part of the institutional arrangements and the everyday life of many countries today (Kamali, 2008).

Multiculturalism, contrary to racism, celebrates ethnicity and difference as a sign of something fascinating to see and appreciate (Wood, 1998; Bellier, 2008). An ideology where differentiation and consideration appear to happen simultaneously, multiculturalism incorporates anything from minority discourses to postcolonial critique (Bhabha, 1996; Hasse, 2000). Multiculturalism is one concept embodying a "kind of broad vision of society and often represents a set of specific policies, whereby both specific ethnic and religious identities could be maintained alongside a common national one" (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002: 3).

The overview of diaspora and main related concepts and authors is provided in table 2.1. The following section explores migration, as a main prerequisite for the emergence of diasporic, ethnic and transnational populations around the world.

Table 2.1: Overview of Diaspora Main Concepts and Authors

Concept	Description and Authors
Diaspora	Greek term - migration and colonisation (Shuval, 2000; Gilroy, 2001).
	Key concept in the migration field (Van Hear, 2010)
	Ambiguous (Braziel and Mannur, 2003; Che, 2004; Coles and Timothy, 2004; Brubaker, 2005)
	Relationship between home and host culture (Duval, 2004)
	Minority groups of migrants maintaining links with homeland (Sheffer, 1986)
	Common bonds of ethnicity, culture, national identity and sometimes race (Coles and Timothy, 2004)
	Orientation to homeland (Anthias, 1998; Sayyid, 2000; Brubaker, 2005)
	Collective identity with similar others (Cohen, 1997; Brubaker, 2005)
	Boundary maintenance and separation from host society (Armstrong, 1976; Safran, 1991; Portes et al., 1999; Faist, 2010)
	Return to ancestral homeland (Safran, 1991)
Trans nationalism	Concept newer than diaspora, but interconnected and inseparable from diaspora (Faist, 2010)
	Processes of migrants' settlement, adaptation and integration (Glick-Schiller et al.,1995)
	Less emotional concept than diaspora (Castles and Miller, 2009)
	Links between a community, migrants' place of residence and place of origin (Spoonley, 2000)
	Flow of people, ideas, goods and capital across national territories (Braziel and Mannur, 2003)
	Multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders (Vertovec, 1999a; 1999b)
Ethnicity	Greek term - nation (Connor, 1994)
	Links to diaspora theory (Shuval, 2000)
	Broad range of experiences (Radhakrishnan, 2003)
	Positive feelings of belonging to a cultural group (Spoonley, 2000)
	Form of ideological constructs dividing people into different communities with shared cultural ingredients, existence of ethnic hierarchies (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1993)
	Sharing and mastering common ethnic resources, such as cultural tradition, language, religion, customs, and a sense of identity (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969)
	Normative identification process or as a form of culture (Anthias, 2002)
	Relates to race, racism and multiculturalism (Yuval-Davis, 1993; Wood, 1998; Belleir, 2008; Guibernau and Rex, 2010)

2.3 Migration

Migration is a worldwide phenomenon affecting many Westernised metropolitan societies (Parekh, 2000). Migration can be broadly defined as a permanent or semi-permanent movement of people across political boundaries to new residential areas or communities (Anwar, 1979; Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969). According to Sawyer (2008), migrants are simply people who are resident in a country that is different to the country of their origins. Migrants are people who have uprooted from their old society to identify themselves with a new country while maintaining multiple linkages with their ancestral homelands (Glick Schiller et al., 1995). As a part of a transnational revolution, migration has restructured societies and politics around the globe (Castles and Miller, 2003). However, Cohen (1997) argues that despite the virtually free movement of capital in the age of globalisation, developed countries do not welcome mass migration and try to prevent the settlement of unskilled, elderly or dependent migrants.

Migrants usually originate in areas of economic and political instability, often in the most vulnerable parts of the developing world (Urry, 2007). Migratory movements are driven mainly by economic underdevelopment, poverty, famines, civil wars and natural disasters (Parutis, 2006). The lack of employment opportunities, education, health, housing facilities, climate, politics, social, community and kinship ties are all salient factors that play a role in the migration processes (Furnham and Bochner, 1986). Recent development of transportation and communication technologies enhanced the mobility of migrants, enabling them to cross distances easier than before (Urry, 2002; Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006; Burrell, 2008). As migration is an emotional experience (Cohen, 1997; Castles and Miller, 2003; Ryan, Sales, Tilki and Siara, 2009), the distance motivates the desire to recreate homeland and therefore migrants often carry parts of it with them in the form of souvenirs, foods or music (Tolia-Kelly, 2006; Brown, 2011).

2.3.1 Migration to Britain

Migration to Britain dates back to the 16th century and operations of the transatlantic slave trade, which fell into the category of forced migrants (Brown, 1983; Linebaugh and Rediker, 1990; Myers, 1996). Consequently, immigration to the UK has grown to be a central concern in political and social discourse in Britain (Panayi, 2011). In the late 1840s, the Irish potato famine prompted mass migration of the Irish to Britain (Barrett, 1999). Approximately one million Irish migrants settled in cities such as Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow and formed a high proportion of the labour force in unskilled textile jobs (Brown, 1983; Anwar, 1979). Irish migration was followed by influxes of East European Jews, and groups of displaced migrants from Poland, Germany and Italy due to the First World War (Panayi, 2011). Having to escape persecution, around 120,000 Jews came to Britain between 1875 and 1914 as refugees from Eastern Europe, particularly Russia (Anwar, 1979). Post Second World War; between 1946 and 1951, a further 460,000 foreigners entered Britain, including 115,000 Poles who came under the Polish Resettlement Scheme (Anwar, 1979).

International migration in the UK gathered its momentum post-war, in the 1950s and peaked in the 1960s (King, 1993). This period saw a large-scale, particularly non-white immigration from British colonies; the Caribbean, India and Pakistan, followed by flows of migrants from Bangladesh, Hong Kong and Africa (Anwar, 1979; Furnham and Bochner, 1986; Nwanko and Lindridge, 1998). Migrants from the Caribbean were brought as a response to labour shortages in semi-skilled and unskilled manual occupations in the post-war period (Connolly and White, 2006). Similarly, Indian, Pakistani and other South Asian migrants arrived mainly through economic or chain migration (Anwar, 1979). Since the 1970s, political instability in many African regions has influenced further migratory movements to the UK, mainly from Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Somalia, Zimbabwe and Uganda (Connolly and White, 2006). The years following the 1980s have witnessed an increase in the numbers of asylum seekers in Britain due to ethnic conflicts in the Balkans (Panayi, 2010). The political changes in Europe and the collapse of the 'Iron Curtain' in 1989 brought a number of Central and Eastern Europe migrants

(Iglicka, 2000). Since the late 20th century, the UK population has significantly increased due to highly skilled migration and increased numbers of overseas students mainly from China, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand (Mahroum, 1999; Mason, 2004).

Following the enlargement of the European Union (EU) in 2004, the rights to live and work in the EU were granted to nationals of Accession 8 (A8) countries (Burrell, 2008; Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah, 2008). A8 countries included the Central and Eastern European states of Estonia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, with each country producing significant numbers of migrants (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Accession 8 (A8) Migrants in the UK

Country of Origin	Number of Migrants in 2011
Poland	545,000
Lithuania	89,000
Slovakia	51,000
Latvia	39,000
Hungary	39,000
Czech Republic	33,000
Estonia	N/A
Slovenia	N/A

Source: ONS (2011)

The UK was only one of three countries, together with Ireland and Sweden, to allow migrants to enter their labour market without restrictions right away after accession (Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich, 2006). This political agenda brought about the largest wave of migrants in history (Brown, 2011), as the UK became the single major destination for the majority of A8 migrants (Trevena, 2009). Home Office (2009) estimates that 1.24 million National Insurance numbers were allocated to A8 nationals, however due to the fluctuating character of this migration, the exact numbers of incoming migrants are not known. Migrants

arriving from A8 countries have quickly become statistically significant and one of the fastest growing communities in the UK (Burrell, 2008). The majority of post-accession migrants, approximately 545,000, are of Polish origin, which makes them the single largest foreign national group in the UK (Pollard et al., 2008; Trevena, 2009). Table 2.3 presents foreign populations in the UK by country of birth and by nationality.

Table 2.3: Foreign Populations in the UK in 2011

Country of birth	Country of Birth	By Nationality
India	684,000	324,000
Poland	521,000	545,000
Pakistan	419,000	158,000
Republic of Ireland	398,000	345,000
Germany	290,000	120,000
South Africa	236,000	107,000
Bangladesh	208,000	80,000
United States of America	197,000	143,000
Jamaica	155,000	48,000
Nigeria	154,000	96,000

Source: ONS (2011)

2.3.2 Ethnic, Diasporic and Transnational Communities in the UK

Ethnic, diaporic and transnational communities living in the UK are diverse, as migrants of varied ancestries entered the UK centuries ago speaking various languages, holding to different religious and cultural beliefs, and originating from varied educational and socio-economic backgrounds (Klemm, 2002; Connolly and White, 2006). Transnational communities are the most heavily concentrated in Britain's large cosmopolitan cities (Brown, 1983; Crewe, 1983; Cohen, 1997;

Coles and Timothy, 2004) and many of cities became dependent on immigrant labour to function (Datta, McIlwaine, Evans, Herbert, May and Wills, 2006).

It has been suggested that Britain's large-scale migration history has challenged the British national identity and poses a multicultural question (Hall, 2000; Klemm and Burton, 2011). Identifiable ethnic areas within many of Britain's cities are used as attractions, enhancing experiences of visitors and local populations (Hall and Rath, 2007). Many cities take pride in ethnic museums, ethnically themed parks, or quarters with concentrated ethnic populations such as Chinatowns, Little Italys, 'Bangla' towns, or Punjabi markets (Hall and Rath 2007). The influences of ethnicity have become so prevalent that ethnic styles music, dress, dance, fashion and language now provide a determining force shaping the style, music, dress, fashion and language of Britain as a whole (Gilroy, 1987).

Transnational and foreign-born nationals account for 13% of the UK's population today (see Table 2.4). The largest minority groups are of Asian origin, predominantly from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, accounting for 4% of the population in the UK (ONS, 2012). Caribbean and African descendants are the second largest group, accounting for 2% of the population in the UK (ONS, 2012).

Table 2.4: Foreign-Born Population Growth in the UK

Census	Foreign-born population	Percentage of total Population
1951	2,118,600	4.2
1961	2,573,500	4.9
1971	3,190,300	4,8
1981	3,429,100	6.2
1991	3,835,400	6.7
2001	4,896,600	8.3
2011	7,500,000	13

Source: ONS (2012)

Following the enlargement of the European Union in 2004, in excess of one million migrants from Accession 8 (A8) countries added to the melting pot of multi-

ethnic Britain (Pollard et al., 2008). The West-Slavic group, which includes migrants from Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, forms the largest group of post-accession migrants and one of the largest transnational communities in the UK with Asian and Black diasporas. Originating from the West-Slavic culture, these migrants belong to the same ethnic-linguistic groups; they share a common history, religion, customs and traditions (Comrie and Corbett, 1993; Sussex and Cubberley, 2006). Other recognisable migrant-origin groups residing in the UK include Irish, Chinese, Turkish and Greeks, among others (Nwanko and Lindridge, 1998). These population groups are also characterised as growing and increasingly important segments with young age profiles (Klemm and Burton, 2011).

Scholars argue that diasporic and minority populations in the UK cannot be considered as a single group because of growing differentiations between and within the groups (Floyd, 1998; Klemm, 2002; Moufakkir, 2011). There may be variations in the levels of acculturation, cultural norms and values, religious belief, socio-economic classes and local influences (Nwanko and Lindridge, 1998). In Britain, some minority groups have experienced economic success and upward mobility in education and employment, while others have found themselves and their descendants disadvantaged in comparison to the majority population as well as to other ethnic minorities (Connolly and White, 2006; Burton and Klemm, 2011).

Numerous scholars have argued that to move up the socio-economic ladder, groups of migrants were expected to shed their ethnic customs, values, identities and actively assimilate to the norms of the host society (Radhakrishnan, 2003; Levitt and Glick-Schiller, 2004; Quirke et al., 2009). However, the opposite soon became apparent and migrants were encouraged to protect many aspects of their ethnicity, culture and traditions (Shuval, 2000). Portes and Zhou (1993) in their study of ethnic minorities argue that groups who have the best economic opportunities for upward mobility are those resisting assimilation, while groups who have assimilated have a strong possibility of experiencing downward mobility and joining the 'urban underclass'. Studies have suggested that one reason why some migrants refuse to assimilate into society are transnational links with

ancestral homelands (Levitt, 1998; Portes et al., 1999; Levitt and Glick-Schiller, 2004).

Education has been the vehicle through which diasporic and ethnic communities have sought to enter the mainstream of society while preserving their own linguistic and cultural identities (Kirp, 1983). Britain's most prominent ethnic minority groups, Indian and Chinese communities, which consistently outperformed the British majority as being most likely to possess professional qualification and own their businesses (Parekh, 1983; Mirza and Reay, 2000; Burton and Klemm, 2011). Statistics also show that Afro-Caribbean, Bangladeshi and Pakistani minorities in the UK do not perform as well as British White, Chinese and Indians (Parekh, 1983). These communities subsequently suffer considerably higher unemployment rates in comparison to the British (Connolly and White, 2006). Moreover, ethnic minorities are often denied equal opportunities and benefits of citizenship as they continuously experience discrimination and racism while participating in tourism (Stephenson, 2006).

Providing a whole experience of diaspora, it has to be noted that almost every society has been inclined to exclude outsiders and treat them as those at the periphery (Delanty, Jones and Wodak 2008). Majorities often struggle to acknowledge minorities as "people with cognitive capacities and even with an intellectual history – attributes denied by modern racism" (Gilroy, 2003: 54). The stereotyped views of the abilities and characteristics of particular racial groups led to a significant amount of discrimination, particularly in selection for employment (Ollerearnshaw, 1983). Discrimination on the grounds of colour, race, nationality and national and ethnic origins affect employees in a number of different ways, including access to initial employment, promotion and training opportunities, general treatment at work, dismissal and redundancy (Ollerearnshaw, 1983). However, there is a widely but naively accepted view that racism and prejudice arise out of a lack of acquaintance and that bringing people of diverse backgrounds together develops understanding and acceptance (Klineberg, 1982). Depending on the situation in which the contact occurs, Allport (1954) argues that casual, superficial contacts may often do more harm than good, while contacts accompanied by true acquaintance usually diminish prejudice.

Post-accession Central and Eastern European diasporic and transnational migrants were the latest group to enter the UK's labour market. The new A8 migration wave is generally considered to be hard-working, motivated and capable (Trevena, 2009). The statistics demonstrate both the young profile of migrants and at the same time the very high employment rate, the highest for all immigrant groups and the UK-born average (Pollard et al. 2008). These migrants do not differ in race and skin colour, however there is substantial evidence that discrimination occurs (CRE, 2007; Cook et al., 2008). Klemm and Burton (2011) note that the individuals of Central and Eastern European origin, who are essentially white, are often constituted as the 'white other' in Britain due to their inferior social and economic position from mainstream British people. Statistics show that similar to former waves of migrants and ethnic minorities, most migrants arriving from A8 countries had relatively high levels of education and were often overqualified for the job they were settling for in the UK (Drinkwater et al., 2006). Post-accession migrants are predominantly employed in low-skilled, under-paid jobs, alongside an ethnically diverse workforce, in the leisure sector, agriculture, catering, food processing, domestic care and construction (Cook et al., 2008; Pollard et al., 2008; Gentleman, 2011). Many migrants are exploited by the UK employers who struggled to fill "3D (dirty, dangerous and dull) jobs", prior to the economic recession (Favell, 2008: 704). The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE, 2007), through the studies of the new group of A8 migrants and their experiences of the British labour market, presents challenges that new migrants working in the UK usually face:

- low paid employment
- provision of poor, over priced housing
- charging of migrants by agencies
- deductions from wages for uniforms, travel or even the placement of a worker in a job
- low rates of pay, often below that national minimum wage
- migrants working excessively long hours
- lack of written contracts, payslips and basic employment rights
- employers not paying tax or National Insurance contributions for employees

- ➢ summary dismissal and threats of summary dismissal
- ➢ withholding of employee's documents
- ➢ denial of the right joining trade unions
- ➢ violence, physical assaults
- ➢ dangerous working conditions

However, it appears that these descriptions only apply to newcomers without prior knowledge of the English language. Many established A8 migrants, following short periods in low paid jobs increasingly appear to enter Britain's higher education, or become self-employed.

Concerning discrimination and racism, Flam and Beausamy (2008: 239) argue that "migrants are currently among the most vulnerable people, and the most exposed to a wide range of hurts, both physical and symbolic". Prejudice and discrimination can be experienced through simple questions or a casual gaze that the majority often turns into an instrument of superiority, negative stereotyping or blame for general wrongs such as rundown neighbourhoods, poor schools or high unemployment rates (Flam and Beausamy, 2008). Yet, many incidents of racism remain unreported, as victims of discrimination do not want to protest (Sanders, 1983).

Research into the motivations and experiences of economic and labour migrants to the UK suggests that many intended to return to original, ancestral homelands after paid working periods. However, in reality, they have settled in Britain permanently (Anwar, 1979; Ali and Holden, 2006). Similar to other diasporas worldwide, the initial migration of post-accession migrants in the UK was supposed to be only temporary and opportunistic (Favell, 2006; Ryan et al., 2008). However, it would appear that viewing all A8 migrants this way is too simplistic as the decisions of long-term settlement depend on numerous factors (Cook et al., 2008; Ryan et al., 2008). Only long term, the future research can determine permanency of this migration wave, as further generations of post-accession migrants need to be clearly distinguishable. The following section provides the overview of identity, and main related concepts to provide the conceptual base for this study investigating the identities of diasporic communities within the tourism context.

2.4 Identity

Humans need a firm sense of identification with their own heritage and culture in order to find a secure sense of well-being (Lewin, 1997). According to Urry (2000), many societies have been characterised by the economic, political and cultural processes that produce visible social inequalities and hierarchies. The hierarchies between people stem from differences in class, gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, occupation, family background, religious affiliation, educational qualifications, age and many even broader foundations (Bradley, 1997). These differences and hierarchies between people assist the construction of identity, of how to define ourselves in relation to others and society (Hall, 1996; Gilroy, 2001; Anthias, 2002). Questions such as "who are we?" and "where do we fit in?" are becoming increasingly significant in today's world (Palmer, 1999: 313).

According to Billing (1995), identity is something that people already have or search for. Identity is important as a conceptual tool that assists understanding of social, cultural, economic and political relations that intersect our everyday lives (Rutherford, 1990; Woodward, 2001). Sharing an identity means bonding on national, regional, local, racial, or ethnic levels (Gilroy, 2001). Weeks (1990: 88) asserted that:

> "Identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others. At its most basic, it gives you a sense of personal location, the stable core to your individuality. But it is also about your social relationships, your complex involvement with others."

As well as symbolising a shared belonging, identity marks difference (Weeks, 1990; Woodward, 2001). The principle of difference divides populations into at least two polarised groups of people (Rutherford, 1990; Woodward, 2001). Weeks (1990: 88) asserted that "each of us live with a variety of potentially contradictory identities, which battle within us for allegiance: as men and women, black or white, straight of gay, able-bodied or disabled, British or European… The list is potentially infinite, and so therefore are our possible belongings". Similarly, Hall (1996) claims that belonging and identity are always in the state of flux, in a

process of construction that is never completed, never resolved and always open to change. Rutherford (1990) argues that we can only achieve a sense of personal integrity, if we are able to represent ourselves and recognise where we truly belong.

Bradley (1997) employed concepts of personal and social identity. Personal identity is a highly complex and individualised way of perceiving ourselves as unique individuals with various experiences (Bradley, 1997). Social identity refers to how we locate ourselves within the larger society and it derives from the engagement in a range of lived relationships, such as the dynamics of social inequality and difference (Bradley, 1997). Having a particular relevance to ethnic minorities and diasporas, cultural identity has been employed as an alternative, widely used term related to social identity (Bradley, 1997). Furthermore, hard and soft versions in the use of the concept of identity have been identified (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). Hard identity means too much, when understood in the strong sense, too little, when understood in a weak or soft sense and nothing at all, because of sheer ambiguity of the concept (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). The soft or weak identity version is preceded by terms such as fractured, fragmented, and multiple identities (Hall, 1990; Anthias, 2002). Finally, the question of culture has dominated the political agenda with the focus on concepts of national and cultural identities (Du Gay et al., 1997).

2.4.1 National Identity

Nationalism constitutes a form of political force that transforms cultural communities into entities or nations that manifest an aspiration to achieve statehood or some recognition of sovereignty (Gellner, 1999). The concept of national identity can be characterised as a complex phenomenon, constructed out of a number of related components – ethnic, cultural, territorial and political, which serve to hold the members of the nation together as a national community (Smith, 1991). The fundamental features of national identity include historic territory, shared myths and memories, common legal rights and duties, common public

culture and common economy with territorial mobility for members (Smith, 1991; Smith, 1992). In simpler terms, national identity is a very personal concept as individuals draw upon the differing identities available to them in order to construct their own sense of who they are and how they fit in (Palmer, 1999).

Nation is an irreducible component of identity (Jenkins and Sofos, 1996). In the Western model of national identity, nations are seen as united cultural communities, whose members were made homogenous by a common language, religion, historical memories, symbols and customs (Jenkins and Sofos, 1996). Among the most obvious national attributes and reminders of shared nationhood are flags, anthems, parades, currency, capital cities, museums of folklore, war memorials, passports, frontiers, as well as more hidden aspects, such as the countryside, popular heroes and heroines, fairy tales, distinctive customs, styles and habits of social life and the ways of acting and feeling (Smith, 1991; Billing, 1995). Although all nationalisms share common characteristics, each of them has its own particular features, determined by the historically specific context and circumstances in which the nationalist ideology emerged and persists (Holly, 1998). Communities come to identify themselves in relation to a nation composed of people with similar ways of behaving, communicating and thinking, what can be referred to as a mixture of loyalty and identification leading to an adherence to the rules of the group (Gellner, 1999). These symbols and acts can be translated into the feelings of a sense of national pride (Anderson, 1991).

Nation is the psychological bond that joins people, while at the same time differentiates them from all other nations (Connor, 1994). National identity has been conceptualised as a feeling of belonging and bonding with other fellow nationals as well as assertion of opposition to other communities (Hanauer, 2008). Triandafyllidou (2009) noted that even though fellow nationals might not stay close together, they are closer to one another than they are to outsiders. According to Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 27), the language of politics was "rigorously categorical, dividing the population into mutually exclusive ethno-national categories, making no allowance for mixed or ambiguous forms". The distinction of boundaries was central to a shared sense of national identity, a mechanism that enabled members of a national community to recognise who they

are, to differentiate between nationals and non-nationals, insiders and outsiders, belonging and otherness (Evans, 1996).

A growing body of opinion nowadays shows that nation-states are in decline (Billing, 1995; Hardt and Negri, 2000). Migrant, transnational and diasporic communities challenge the notion of national identity by valorising relationships that are larger or smaller than the forms of kinship sponsored by the nation-states, allowing for a more ambivalent relationship to nationalism (Spoonley, 2000; Gilroy, 2001). As members of diasporic communities maintain relationships with the homeland, the multiple identity structures allow for identification to more than one ethnicity or nationality (Duval, 2004). Defining the concept of diaspora and introduction of multiple identities and citizenships presented a challenge to the meaning of nation-states, to the pre-condition of loyalty to one community (Cohen, 1997). Similarly in Britain, the type and scale of international migration, has seriously challenged the notion of British identity (Hall, 2000). Globalisation, the closer integration of the countries and people of the world, has been brought about by the reduction of costs of transportation and communication and the breaking down of artificial barriers of the flow of people, goods, services, capital and knowledge across borders (Stiglitz, 2002). Cosmopolitan and global perspectives have arisen to be the main political initiative establishing frameworks and institutions that bridge the conventional political structures of the nation-state system (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002).

2.4.2 Cultural Identity

As national identities have been globally threatened, culture has emerged as a key marker, which has begun to occupy a fundamental role in providing identity to the organisation of present-day societies (Urry, 1990; Nguyen et al., 2003). The culture of a society incorporates its values, morals, behavioural norms, dress, cuisine, language and ways of life, which are passed from one generation to another (Sharpley, 2008). Kroeber and Parsons (1958: 583) defined culture as "transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas, and other

symbolic-meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behaviour and the artefacts produced through behaviour". According to Kluckhohn (1951, cited in Hofstede, 2001), culture entails the ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, traditional ideas and especially their attached values. Smith (1991) highlights that through a shared unique culture, we are able to recognise 'who we are' in the modern world. The cultural characteristics such as language, blood ties, shared history, ancestry, roots and traditions are essential ethnic markers of cultural identity (Hall, 1996).

Cultural identities are not points of identification, but rather on-going positioning made within the discourse of history and culture (Clifford 1988). Furthermore, Hall (1990) recognises at least two different ways of reflecting on cultural identity. The first defines cultural identity in terms of one, shared culture and history among individuals affiliated by race or ethnicity and is considered to have fixed and unchanging frames of reference (Hall, 1990; 2003). The second model emphasizes the impossibility of fully constituted, separate and distinct identities, based on shared origin or experience (Hall, 1990). Hall (1990) further acknowledges that this point of reference views identity as unstable and recognises many contradicting points of similarities and differences. "Cultural identity in this second sense is a matter of becoming, as well as of being. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation" (Hall, 1990: 225).

Hall (2003: 234) argues that instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices represent, it is necessary to consider identity as "production which is never complete, and always in process and always constituted within, not outside, representation". Du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay and Negus (1997) developed a model, called the 'Circuit of Culture' (Figure 2.1), which helps to understand the concept of identity.

Figure 2.1: Circuit of Culture
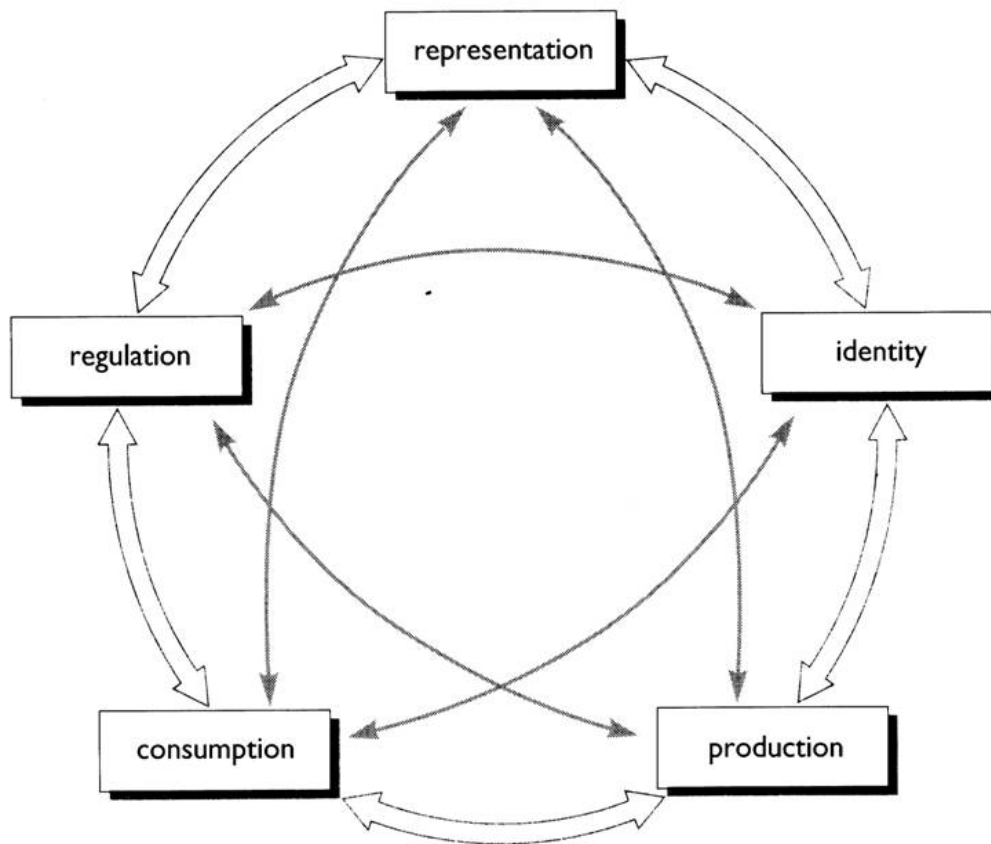
Source: Du Gay et al. (1997: 3)

The circuit of culture is a theoretical construct, which represents a moment in time, when identities are produced, consumed and regulated within culture, constructing meanings through symbolic systems or representation about the identity positions which we might accept (Woodward, 2001). The position of culture is central in the model, together with the five major cultural processes of representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation (Du Gay et al., 1997). The processes within the circuit of culture are not sequential, it is possible to start at any point, and every moment in the circuit is tied to another, but they are separated to allow focus on particular moments (Du Gay et al., 1997). In order to gain a full understanding of a cultural text or artefact, it is necessary to analyse the processes of representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation within the circuit of culture (Du Gay et al., 1997). Representation includes the signifying practices and symbolic systems that position us as subjects and through which meanings are produced. As a cultural process of

representation establishes individual and collective identities, while symbolic systems help to solve issues about who we are and what we want to become (Woodward, 2001). However, Weeks (1990) argues that the challenge is to achieve reconciliation of conflicts between collective needs as human beings and specific needs as individuals.

2.4.3 Identities of Diasporic, Ethnic and Transnational Communities

Recent "global changes have involved the movement of peoples on an unprecedented scale, the break-up of empires and decolonisation, the creation of new Europe and other new power blocks, the destruction of old nations and the re-formation of new ones" (Hall, 1998: 67). The movement of peoples have always been the defining socio-historical condition of humanity, the rule rather than the exception, transplanting cultures and individuals to such an extent that every city is something of a melting pot of races and nationalities (Stonequist, 1935; Goldberg, 1994). Nation-state sovereignty has been substituted by globalisation processes, such as the new mobilities paradigm, a system of mobile power resulting in the world with no clear boundaries (Hardt and Negri, 2000; Sheller and Urry, 2005). As a result, "most societies are not nations, let alone nation states" (Urry, 2000: 154). Instead, they are a huge global melting pot of ethnic, diasporic and transnational societies that challenge the traditions of nation-statehood (Timothy and Coles, 2004).

According to Smith (1986), the ethnic identity is a particular type of collective identity, constructed through a shared culture. However, "the question as to roots and origins haunt the imagination of diaspora people across national and international boundaries" (Hall, 1998: 67). The identities of diasporic, ethnic and transnational communities stem from being born into a particular society, accepting its values, language, and following a set of cultural practices that are associated with that community (Hitchcock, 1999). Following migration and settlement, diasporic and transnational communities are initiated into two or more

historic traditions, languages, political loyalties, moral codes and religions (Stonequist, 1935). The members of diasporic communities face issues of identity and meaning as they negotiate challenges of adjustment into a new place (Nguyen et al., 2003). Leaving their ancestral homeland behind and settling within a host community diasporas commonly regard, to varying degrees, their place of origin rather than the host country as their source of values and identity (Hall, 1990; Stephenson and Hughes, 1995). Although these communities usually identify themselves with one society more than with another, the majority maintain multiple identities and linkages to more than one society (Glick Schiller et al., 1995). As well as having multiple homes, people of diaspora may also represent the condition of homelessness, being caught in between two cultures, but feeling at home in neither (Stonequist, 1935; Sayyid, 2000).

Parekh (2000) argues that the identities of diasporic communities are not locked into unchanging traditions, as these communities are not separate enclaves from mainstream social life. Living in the new land requires a degree of cultural adaptation into host societies with the inevitable consequence of cultural hybridization (Che, 2004). Particularly the second and further generations of descendants of migrants from past British colonies, found themselves in the UK involuntarily, facing segregation due to the racial differences, alienated and in an urgent need to search for their roots and identity (Stephenson, 1995).

The process of the objective development of identification has been often challenged by the fact that ethnic and diasporic groups suffer inferior status relative to the majority groups (Hutnik, 1991). Influenced by sharing a social space with other nationalities, diasporic and ethnic identities are self-reproducing and result in constant changes (Hall, 1990; Nwanko and Lindridge, 1998; Maruyama et al., 2010). Consequently, the identities of diasporic and ethnic communities are referred to as shifting, multiple, or hyphenated positions of identities (Clifford, 1994; Cohen, 1997; Hall, 2000, Yeoh and Huang, 2000; Quirke et a., 2009). Bhabha (1990) named this form of changing and transforming identities as 'third space' identifications.

There have been a few successful attempts at clarifying the complexity of cultural adaptation and identity formation of diaporic communities. Stonequist (1935)

pictured immigrants as people with double consciousness, caught between two cultures, however unable to feel at home in either culture. Oberg (1954) introduced the concept of culture shock, explaining that entrance into a new culture is often a confusing and disorienting experience accompanied by anxiety that results from losing familiar signs of social intercourse. Aiming to contribute to the understanding of identity processes of ethnic and diasporic communities, Allport (1954) believed that most ethnic minority group members are of two minds. Some migrants believe in the preservation of all ethnic and cultural characteristics by in-group marriages and educating the children in the language and traditions of the group, while others favour amalgamation into the dominant culture (Allport, 1954).

Further investigating the identity processes, two independent empirical studies were conducted with overseas students studying in the UK and the USA (Bochner, 1982; Bochner and Furnham, 1986). The purpose of the studies was to investigate the friendship patterns and social networks of foreign students. The study showed that overseas students belonged to three distinct social networks, mono-cultural, bicultural and multicultural, each serving a distinct psychological function (Table 2.5: Social Networks of Overseas Students).

Table 2.5: Social Networks of Overseas Students

Social Group Network	Characteristics	UK study % relationships	USA study % relationships
Mono-Cultural	Bonding with fellow nationals	39%	
Bi-Cultural	Bonding with host national	18%	29%
Multi-Cultural	Bonding with other nationalities	38%	

Source: Furnham and Bochner (1982); Bochner, Hutnik and Furnham (1984)

The mono-cultural network consists of bonds with fellow nationals and its function is to provide a setting for the rehearsal and expression of ethnic and cultural values. The bicultural network consists of bonds with host nationals and its function is to facilitate academic and professional aspirations of the sojourner, while multicultural network consists of bonds with other foreign students, and its function is to provide mutual support based on a shared foreignness (Bochner, 1982; Bochner et al., 1984; Funham and Bochner, 1986).

When culturally disparate students come into contract with each other, the markers of race, skin colour, language, accent and religion usually evoke categorisation into an 'us versus them' classification (Bochner, 1976; Klineberg, 1982). Both studies of foreign students studying in the UK and the USA have consistently shown that the least salient network is the bi-cultural one. In the study of foreign students in the UK, close links with British people accounted for only 18% of friendships made by overseas students. A similar trend has been observed in the USA, where 29% of relationships of foreign students consisted of bonds with host culture members (Bochner et al., 1984). Newcomers into an alien culture are usually unaware of social behaviour and the rules of conduct (Trower, Yardley, Bryant and Shaw, 1978). Furnham and Bochner (1982) therefore argue that the stress experienced by foreign students is usually caused by the lack of necessary social skills, which would help to negotiate specific social situations. Furthermore, language fluency together with confidence in the use of the foreign language are necessary conditions for the adjustment of foreign students in the foreign land (Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1958). Furnham and Bochner (1982) also maintain that the distancing between foreign students and the host culture may be a two way process, as many of the foreign students do not seek out host culture friends, through whom they might be assisted in the learning of appropriate social skills.

Allport (1954) asserted that when groups of human beings meet, they normally pass through four successive stages of relationship. The first contact leads to competition, which in turn gives way to accommodation and lastly to assimilation (Allport, 1954). Further developing this area of study, Bochner (1982) presented and explained the various possible psychological outcomes for individuals, who come into the contact with another culture. Bochner (1982: 27) argued that the

psychology of the individual caught up in the cross-cultural situation might produce four different forms of response, namely 'passing', chauvinistic, marginal and mediating (Table 2.6: Outcomes of Cultural Contact at Individual Level). The changes that occur in a person's identity are regarded as the dependent variable. The fundamental idea is that people exposed to multicultural influences can either become or resist becoming multicultural.

Table 2.6: Outcomes of Cultural Contact at Individual Level

Response	Type	Multiple group membership affiliation	Effect on individual	Effect on society
Reject culture of origin, embrace second culture	"Passing"	Culture I norms lose salience Culture II norms become salient	Loss of ethnic identity Self-denigration	Assimilation Cultural erosion
Reject second culture, exaggerate first culture	Chauvinistic	Culture I norms increase in salience Culture II norms decrease in salience	Nationalism Racism	Intergroup friction
Vacillate between the two cultures	Marginal	Norms of both cultures salient but perceives as mutually incompatible	Conflict Identity confusion Over-compensation	Reform Social change
Synthesize both cultures	Mediating	Norms of both cultures salient and perceived as capable of being integrated	Personal growth	Intergroup harmony Pluralistic societies Cultural preservation

Source: Bochner (1982: 27)

The 'passing' response style means that individuals, exposed to the second culture, may reject the culture of origin and adopt the new culture as a natural desire to advance towards the group occupying a higher status (Stonequist, 1935). In the literature, the word 'passing' is often replaced by the assimilation of migrants (Hutnik, 1991; Taft, 2007). Chauvinism, as a response style that stands opposite to that of 'passing', characterises some individuals, who after coming into

contact with a second culture reject their new influences as foreign, move away into their culture of origin and become nationalists, even racists (Bochner, 1982). A third, quite common response for individuals is to hesitate between the two cultures, feeling at home in neither, an effect referred to as the marginal syndrome (Stonequist, 1935). Stonequist (1935) used the term marginal to refer to the location of individuals, who despite respecting both cultures feel unaccepted, or unable to achieve belonging, hence they find themselves on the margin of both cultures. The marginal syndrome has the least stressful effect on those caught up in the conflict (Stonequist, 1935). Finally, the mediating style of response is relatively rare, as it requires an ability to synthesise various cultural identities, and acquire genuine multicultural personalities, able to bridge cultural gaps by reconciling the respective societies to each other (Bochner, 1982).

Hutnik (1991), drawing upon the work of Driedger (1976), conducted similar research investigating identity patterns of second-generation South Asian ethnic minority groups in the UK. The study conceptualised ethnic minority identity along two main dimensions. The first dimension was related to the degree of identification with the ethnic minority group and the second related to the degree of identification with the majority group (Hutnik, 1991). This is similar to the previous study by Bochner (1982), Hutnik (1991) who recognised four levels of identification within British society and culture, including dissociative, assimilative, acculturative and marginal. Ethnic minority members who choose to identify entirely with their own culture and dissociate themselves from the British perspective comply with the dissociative style. In contrast, the assimilative style is where the migrants identify exclusively with British culture and deny their ethnic origin, also called ethnic denial (Driedger, 1976). The third option would be to affirm equally to the minority and the majority cultures through the acculturative style. Finally, there is the marginal style represented by those individuals who do not identify with either group (Hutnik, 1991).

According to the Styles of Cultural Adaptation model (Figure 2.2), acculturative and dissociative individuals show high levels of ethnic affirmation and low levels of ethnic denial. The difference lies in their affirmation to the majority group. Acculturative individuals show high affirmation to the majority group, while dissociative manifest lower levels of affirmation (Driedger, 1976).

Figure 2.2: Styles of Cultural Adaptation

High

Assimilative		Acculturative
		Identification with
Low	High	Ethnic Minority
		Group
Marginal		Dissociative

Low

Identification with
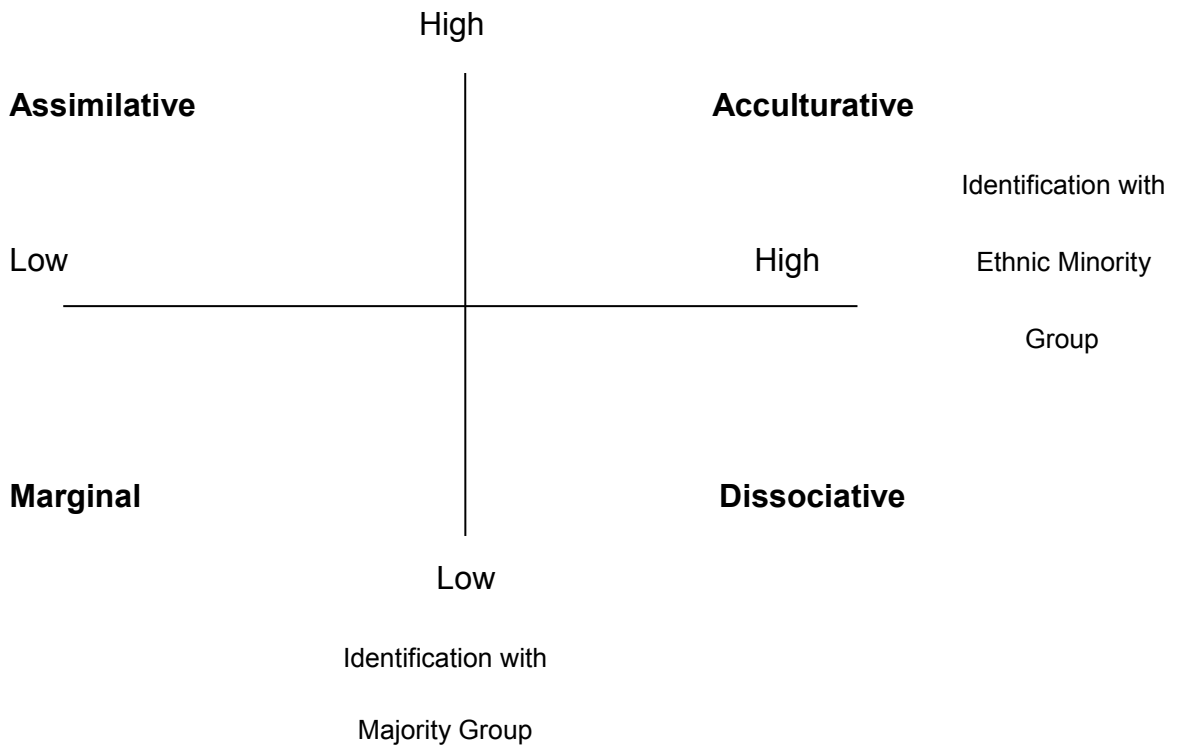
Majority Group

Source: Hutnik (1991: 158)

Hutnik (1991) argues that individual's self-categorization into the majority group will produce an area of tension in the individual's psyche. Those individuals that use only the ethnic minority self-identification suffer low status in the social hierarchy (Tajfel, 1982), yet defending both ethnic labels by acquiring acculturative or marginal strategy provides for greater flexibility of ethnic boundaries (Hutnik, 1991). The self-categorisation process of the South Asian ethnic minority has been further complicated by the simultaneous sense of belonging to the majority group by birth and to the minority group by cultural traditions (Hutnik, 1991).

Hutnik (1991), in his study, concluded that 29% of South Asians in Britain belonged to the dissociative category and 23% to the acculturative category, thus demonstrating a strong ethnic identity (Table 2.7). Therefore, Gordon (1964) distinguished between cultural and identificational assimilation as individuals often firstly assimilate in terms of their behaviour and attitudes, long before they shed

their ethnic identity. Despite past pressures to assimilate into mainstream society, diasporic and ethnic communities often manifested a determination to preserve their distinct identities (Barth, 1969; Gilroy, 1997; Radhakrishnan, 2003; Hanauer, 2008). Nowadays, a trend in the opposite direction has been witnessed as ethnic and diasporic individuals have made concerted attempts to rediscover their pasts and roots (Hutnik, 1991).

Table 2.7: The Styles South Asians' Cultural Adaptation in Britain

Style	% of population	Characteristics
Assimilative	35.9	Identification with the British culture Refusal of the original culture, ethnic denial
Acculturative	23.3	Norms of both cultures are equally important
Dissociative	29.1	Identification entirely with the original culture Refusal to accept the British culture
Marginal	11.7	Identification with neither group

Source: Hutnik (1991)

Further evaluating the body of research on identities of diasporic, ethnic and transnational communities, Sumner (1906) proposed a theory of ethnocentrism, which holds the generic norm that all people naturally learn to favour the in-group and discriminate against the out-group. Similarly, Tajfel (1981) argued that people are unconsciously able to develop biased attitudes towards the groups they belong to and hostility towards other groups. The process of becoming multicultural or resisting this change can be further connected to the field of second-language learning, the ability of the individual to acquire multi-lingual knowledge (Bickley, 1982; Taft, 2007). Bochner (1982) concludes that adopting a culture learning social skill approach may lead to a better theoretical understanding of how and why different people react in various ways. Nevertheless, much of the research is unable to answer the crucial question of what determines the various types of responses.

2.4.4 Identities of West Slavic Migrants in the UK

Ethnicities and diasporas are very often classed as one group in the eyes of the locals. However, human conduct is not random but to some extent predictable, hence there are differences between the identities of varied migrant, diasporic and ethnic communities (Hofstede, 2001). Hofstede (2001: xix) further explains that "people carry mental programs that are established in the family in early childhood and reinforced in schools and organisations, and that these mental programs contain a component of the national cultures", which are most clearly expressed in the different values that predominate among people from particular regions of the world. As a result, the groups of diaspora and migrant communities are inhomogeneous and diverse with varied ethnic identities, religious and political beliefs, cultural traditions, histories and values (Wodak, 2008). Ethnic and diasporic communities that originated from places such as Ireland, the Caribbean or South Asia, had past political and colonial ties with Britain, while other migrant communities do not have these connections. Moreover, growing differences between different ethnic and diasporic groups prevent drawing conclusions about their identification, and their better understanding can only be achieved by focusing the research on particular communities (Floyd, 1998; Klemm, 2002; Moufakkir, 2011).

Therefore, this study focuses on post-accession West Slavic groups of migrants living in the UK. These include migrants from Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, "countries which have much in common as a result of their geographical location, level of socio-economic development and recent political history" (Batt, 1991: 1). Post-accession communities of migrants arrived to Britain voluntarily, as a result of the free movement of human capital following EU enlargement in 2004. While South Asian, Afro-Caribbean and Irish communities have been established in the UK for generations due to their post-colonial links, post-accession West Slavic migrants are the first generation communities, with no previous linkages to Britain. Post-accession migrants arrived with a clear identity, knowing who they are and where they came from. Ethnic identities of these migrants are seen through their common language, history, religion, customs and traditions.

Language is an important vehicle of cross-cultural research and the most clearly distinguishable part of the culture (Hofstede, 2001). Knowing the language deepens the understanding of the culture, as language is "the most sensitive indicator of the relationship between an individual and a given social group" (Kramsch, 2000: 77). Brown (2011) asserted that the performance of speaking an ethnic language has an emotional influence on the sense of belonging. The West Slavic countries of Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia utilise West Slavonic languages, which form a homogenous group within the Indo-European language family (Comrie and Corbett, 1993). All three languages are very similar, while specifically Czech and Slovak languages are easily mutually intelligible (Short, 1993).

As language brings the cultures together, it differentiates between them and many aspects of everyday life may not be comprehensible without an understanding of the underlying ideas carried by language (Argyle, 1982). Past research shows that West Slavic migrants considered their language as a main barrier upon the arrival into a new culture and claimed that some prior language knowledge makes an instant difference (Brown, 2011). Furthermore, migrants often saw learning of the English language as a practical tool for improving employment prospects and occupational mobility (Cook et al., 2008). However, Argyle (1982) argues that despite the language knowledge a large number of migrants who work abroad, also have problems with intercultural communication. Difficulties of social interaction usually arise within confidence in the use of the language and its polite forms, non-verbal communication, gestures, rules of social situation, such as gifts and eating, as well as social relationships at work and between members of different groups (Argyle, 1982).

A common history is another prerequisite influencing the identity structures of the communities. Although originating from separate nation states today, Poles, Czechs and Slovaks trace their origins to the West Slavic people who have migrated from European-Asian borderlands in the fifth and the sixth century and settled in the area now known as Central Europe (Katzner, 2002). Furthermore, Poland and Czechoslovakia, were once a common state of Czechs and Slovaks, who faced a common post war fate, the Warsaw pact integration to the Eastern bloc (Kundera, 1984; Batt, 1991). Over forty years of communist rule ended in

1989, with the fall of the Iron Curtain (Hammersley and Westlake, 1994). The collapse of the Soviet bloc enabled countries of Central and Eastern Europe to join Europe and the free market system (Batt, 1991; Ashworth and Larkham, 1994). Furthermore, tourism and migration flows were manifested soon after the fall of communism (Cohen, 1997). As democratisation swept post-communist Europe, the countries of the Eastern bloc were able to rediscover their repressed identities (Ashworth and Larkham, 1994). Further political changes during the post-communist era brought a peaceful separation of Czechoslovakia, into the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993 (Nedomova and Kostelecky, 1997; Mussil, 2007). Another historical benchmark was the beginning of the new millennium, when Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia were among Accession 8 (A8) countries joining Europe following the enlargement of European Union in 2004 (Kvist, 2004).

History, in the sense of the remembered past, is not the only contributor to the broader concept of identity, but draws on religions, family relations, traditions, customs and folklores (Hammersley and Westlake, 1994). Traditionally, all West Slavic countries have a strong religious background in Roman Catholicism. Similarly, Britain has been historically Christian, however to a lesser extent Catholic in comparison to the West Slavic countries of Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia (Connolly and White, 2006). According to Brown (2011), practising religion provides migrants with a continuing strong sense of identity. Catholic Church services in Britain offer intensive performances that elicit emotions and generate sounds, sights and sensations that evoke emotional senses of longing for the homeland (Fortier, 2001). Food and its associated customs also play an important part in the affirmation and expression of identity (Bell and Valentine, 1997). Traditions accompanied by food customs become salient expressions of ethnicity especially during religious holidays, such as Christmas and Easter.

Closest family relatives and friends also constitute a very strong emotional sense of belonging and identity (Palmer, 1999). Emerging from unpredictable political and economic environments, West Slavic migrants are more family oriented and attach a greater importance to the group collective, such as familial networks, when compared to more individualistic Westernised cultures (Kolman,

Noorderhaven, Hofstede and Dienes, 2003). Migrant and diasporic communities receive emotional and moral support from ancestral relatives and friends in the homeland through the internet and inexpensive phone calls (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002; Urry, 2002). Special 'transnational objects' including photographs, letters, cards, souvenirs and gifts are also important largely because they can be touched and held and thus take the physical place of the longed for person or location (Baldassar, 2008).

2.5 Summary

This chapter established the background for the major themes of diaspora, migration and identity. Initially, the theoretical and conceptual characteristics of diaspora have been presented through varied definitions and underlying concepts of transnationalism and ethnicity. It was acknowledged that the term ethnicity relates to describing the features of particular ethnic group, while transnationalism and diaspora relate to the movements of migrants. However, the literature of diaspora and transnationalism does not suggest precise definitions of these concepts, which caused confusion in their use and they are often used interchangeably.

Consequently, the discussion shifted to the concept of migration, which provides a theoretical context for this research. Long migration history brought about an increasingly significant presence of ethnic, diasporic and transnational communities in the Britain's population profiles. South Asian, Irish, Afro-Caribbean and increasingly significant post-accession communities of Central and Eastern European migrants were identified as the most significant ethnic, diasporic and transnational communities residing in the UK.

Furthermore, this chapter provides a discussion on identity, and introduces particular concepts of national and cultural identity. The major focus is on the identities of diasporic, ethnic and transnational communities and the distinction between them. While communities from South Asia, Ireland and the Caribbean

have been established in Britain for generations because of their past political and colonial ties, post-accession migrants do not share the same political connections. Post-accession migrant communities came to the UK voluntarily, following recent political changes and EU enlargement in 2004 that ensured a free movement of human capital. In contrast, particularly the second and the third generations of South-Asian and Afro-Caribbean migrants found themselves in the UK involuntarily, visibly segregated due to racial differences, often feeling alienated and in need to search for their roots and identity. Therefore, the term diaspora, characterized by forced and voluntary displacement from homelands and longing for eventual return is a better description of South Asian, Afro-Caribbean, Chinese, and African migrants and their descendants. Newly established communities of post-accession migrants in the UK fall into the category of modern transnational migrants, who live dual lives, speak two languages and freely move across national borders. Moving to the next chapter, the links between diaspora, migration and identity with the tourism field are explored.

CHAPTER THREE: DIASPORIC COMMUNITIES AND TOURISM

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the theoretical and conceptual characteristics of diaspora, migration and identity. It has provided the bases for the consideration of the links between diasporic communities with the tourism field in the current chapter. Firstly, this chapter establishes diaspora tourism as a relatively under researched area of study. Next, the subject areas of migration and tourism are analysed and the relationships between the two phenomena are conceptualised. This chapter also reflects on the different concepts and theories that explain the travel behaviour of diasporic, ethnic and transnational communities. Furthermore, the discussion shifts on issues of diaspora, migration and identity and their reflection within the tourism literature. The main studies that portray the relationship between minority populations and their travel behaviour in the UK and worldwide are explored. Finally, the chapter outlines studies depicting Britain's latest migration wave, portraying migrants that entered the UK following EU enlargement in 2004.

3.2 Diaspora Tourism

"Tourism is, without a doubt, one of the major social and economic phenomena of modern times" (Sharpley, 2002: 11). As an influential tool for enhancing social capital, tourism is likely to become even more important in the world, where international migration for economic, political and other reasons has created diasporic populations all around the world (Lew and Wong, 2004). Nevertheless, Coles and Timothy (2004: 2) argue that the tourism literature offers only a "tacit recognition of the relevance of diasporic communities". Tourism research over the past few decades has been undertaken with its "subtle power […] to foreground

some issues leaving others untouched, […] to privilege some groups whilst excluding others and to tell stories in particular ways" (Tribe, 2006: 13). As a result, tourism researchers failed to recognise the importance of diaspora tourism and were predominantly concerned with researching travel behaviour and the importance of tourism from the perspectives of the 'majorities' (Cohen, 1979; Van den Berghe and Keyes, 1984; Smith, 1989; MacCanell, 1972; Urry, 2002; Tribe, 2006; Floyd, Bocarro and Thomson, 2008). Moreover, the producers and governors of tourism mainly treated diasporic and ethnic communities as objects of tourism, an exotic focus of the "tourist gaze" (Urry, 1990: 144), rather than purchasers of holidays for themselves (Klemm, 2002). A similar observation was noted by Bruner (1996: 290), who claims that "the literature on diaspora and hybridity has on the whole neglected tourism, perhaps because tourists are thought to be temporary and superficial". However, travellers such as migrants, refugees, exiles, expatriates, émigrés, explorers, traders, and missionaries may travel for limited periods of time (Bruner, 1996).

3.3 Migration and Tourism

Developed societies of the twentieth century, located in a world that is characterised by a range of mobilities, define themselves as open to tourism and migration flows (Bellier, 2008). Williams and Hall (2000) argue that migration and tourism have not been easy companions as subject areas, because of a deficient conceptualisation of their fields of enquiry. Both concepts describe the type of mobility that involves movement of people across geographical spaces, however of different durations (Hall and Williams, 2002). Tourism is a temporary or short-term migratory movement for leisure, recreation, business, or other purposes (Cooper, Flethcher, Fyal, Gilbert, and Warnhill, 2008). Modern tourism has become "the single largest peaceful movement of people across cultural boundaries in the history of the world" (Lett, 1989: 275). Migration, however, is a relatively permanent movement of people from one area to another, driven mainly by the economic instability, poverty, famines, and natural disasters (Theodorson

and Theodorson, 1969; Parutis, 2006). The relationship between migration and tourism has been enhanced by the emergence of new forms of mobility such as the extension of property rights across borders, the changes in approaches to work and leisure and structural alterations in economies and the demographic profiles of societies (Hall and Williams, 2002).

Research in migration has acknowledged that migrants maintain various forms of contact with people in their ancestral homelands (Portes et al., 1999). These contacts have recently intensified as "newer, cheaper and more efficient modes of communication and transportation allow migrants to maintain transnationally – effectively both 'here' and 'there' – their originally home-based relationships and interests" (Vertovec, 2001: 575). Williams and Hall (2002) recognised further linkages between the tourism field and migration by noting that tourism generates labour migration, which provides a workforce to service the tourism industry; also known as production-led migration. This type of migration is often temporary and covers shortages of low-cost flexible labour, mainly in cosmopolitan cities and urban destinations (Hall and Williams, 2002). Most migrants find employment as unskilled workers for mainstream tourism related companies such as restaurants and hotels, but also as self-employed entrepreneurs, owners of cafes, travel bureaus, internet and souvenir shops (Hall and Rath, 2007).

Secondly, consumption-led migration consists of tourists moving to their favourable destinations as their second homes, or migrating after retirement (Hall and Williams, 2002). Williams, King, Warnes and Patterson (2000) asserted that return holiday visits to the same destination could often be a stepping-stone to permanent relocation. Finally, Duval (2003) acknowledges the conceptual link between tourism and migration through visiting friends and relatives (VFR) travel. Duval (2004) further argues, that such a movement helps to maintain relationships with home and serves as social integration leading to permanent return, bridging identities between the two poles of migration. In line with this, other researchers have demonstrated that relationships between tourism and migration are alive through numerous case studies portraying migrants, who influenced by the regular visits to their ancestral homeland took steps towards permanent migration (Potter, 2005; Potter and Phillips, 2006; King and Christou, 2008).

3.4 Travel Behaviour of Diaspora

Since the early 1900s, tourism as a social activity was largely limited to the privileged, although recently participation in tourism has become increasingly widespread (Sharpley, 2002). Today, approximately 59% of the UK's population takes holidays in the UK or abroad of seven or more nights away from home (WTM, 2011). Modern tourists are increasingly aware of the range of travel choices and experiences available to them (Urry, 1990). More particularly, Westernised tourists aspire for rather unfamiliar experiences that would reflect contrast to their everyday lives (MacCannell, 1972; 1984). Nevertheless, diasporic, ethnic and transnational communities living in Western societies demonstrate somewhat varied patterns of travel behaviour. Several attempts have been made by tourism scholars over the past few decades, that have significantly contributed to the examination of tourism behaviour of diasporic, ethnic and transnational communities, known as the non-Western tourist perspective (Van den Berghe and Keyes, 1984; Philipp, 1994; Stephenson and Hughes, 1995; Coles and Timothy, 2004; Nguyen and King, 2004). Evaluating the travel behaviour and motivations of diasporic and ethnic communities, numerous explanatory theories, concepts and patterns of behaviour have been identified (Table 3.1: Travel Behaviour of Diaspora).

Scholars have determined that there are substantial differences in tourism participation between majority and minority populations (Washburne, 1978; Floyd, 1998; Stephenson, 2002; Klemm, 2002; Ali and Holden, 2006; Hughes and Allen, 2010). As a result, several theoretical explanations have been developed as an attempt to clarify the differences in participation and the reasons behind underrepresentation of minorities in tourism (Floyd, 1998; Moufakkir, 2011). These include ethnicity and marginality theory, discrimination theory and acculturation theory (Washburne, 1978; Portes, 1984; Hutnik, 1991; Stephenson and Hughes, 2005; Stodolska, 2005). Although these theories attracted criticism for failing to distinguish between race and ethnicity, they serve as a helpful

benchmark and point of reference to position subsequent theoretical and empirical studies (Floyd, 1998).

Table 3.1: Travel Behaviour of Diaspora

Concept, theory, framework	Author
Marginality and Ethnicity Theory	Washburne, 1978
Discriminatory Theory	Stephenson and Hughes, 1995; 2005
Acculturation Theory	Hutnik, 1991; Portes, 1984; Stodolska, 2005
Ethnic Tourism	Smith, 1989
Ethnic Reunion	King, 1994; Stephenson, 2002
Third Space Identification	Bhabha, 1990, 1996
Return Visits to Ancestral Homelands	Stephenson and Hughes, 1995; Klemm, 2002; Duval, 2003; Ali and Holden, 2006; Scheyvens, 2007; Baldasaar, 2008; Hughes and Allen, 2010; Huang et al., 2011; King, Christou and Teerling, 2011
Genealogical Ancestry and Family Tourism	Meethan, 2004
Travel to Places of Diaspora Trajectories	Ioannides and Cohen Ioannides, 2004
Heritage Tourism	Horne, 1984; Clifford, 1988; Palmer, 1999; Galani-Moutafi, 2000; Marschall, 2004; Ioannides and Cohen Ioannides, 2004
Diasporic Roots and Routes	Gilroy, 2003
Travel for leisure purposes to popular places similar to the pattern of majority (beach holidays, city breaks)	Coles and Timothy, 2004
Familial and Social obligations	Urry, 2003

Both marginality and ethnicity theories were developed by the seminal work of Washburne (1987), who conducted research on California's Black population in order to demonstrate the minority's under-participation in tourism. According to Washburne (1987), marginality hypothesis attributes differences in tourism participation to the marginal position of ethnic minorities in the society in terms of income and social class. The ethnicity hypothesis holds on the assumption that tourism choices vary with race and ethnic identity, as they relate to cultural differences, value systems, tastes and preferences (Washburne, 1987).

Building on ethnicity and marginality factors, Stephenson and Hughes (1995) developed a discriminatory theory that identified racial discrimination as yet another factor restricting ethnic groups from fully benefiting from leisure

participation. Discrimination theory concludes that certain diasporic and minority groups are less motivated to engage in tourism and leisure activities due to their expectations that they would be discriminated against (Stephenson and Hughes, 2006). The study of Afro-Caribbean minority in the UK demonstrated that racial prejudice and discrimination practices restrict ethnic minority citizens from appreciating countryside and cosmopolitan based tourism experiences (Stephenson, 2004; 2006; Stephenson and Hughes, 2005).

Acculturation theory is another attempt to clarify variations in tourism participation, through acculturation and ethnic resilience (Portes, 1984; Stodolska, 2005). Stodolska (2005) suggested that the level of acculturation; the extent to which members of minority groups are integrated into mainstream society, determines their tourism patterns. Factors, such as education, knowledge of the host country's language, high occupation status and information about the host society are those contributing to reducing the salience of ethnicity (Stodolska, 2005). These factors influence changes in behaviour patterns and subsequently translate into their travel behaviour (Floyd, 1998). The acculturation theory concludes that the differences in tourism behaviour may exist not only between but also within minority groups, relative to the level of their acculturation into mainstream culture (Hutnik, 1991; Floyd, 1998; Klemm, 2002).

According to Hitchcock (1999: 17), "ethnicity permeates many aspects of tourism, but remains poorly understood in this context". Past studies recognised ethnicity as a commonly discussed theme of tourism motivation (Smith, 1989; Stephenson, 2002), which is one of the most significant, yet complex areas of tourism research (Sharpley, 2002). Smith (1989) asserted that humans express a desire to be acquainted with other ethnic communities, to attain knowledge of their customs and the ways of life. These motivations have encouraged the growth of so-called "ethnic tourism", where ethnicity plays the primary role (Smith, 1989: 4). Stephenson (2002) identified two different roles of ethnicity when participating in the ethnic tourism and applied Dann's (1981) 'push' and 'pull' factors of tourism motivation to his concept. Concerning ethnicity as a pull factor, MacCanell (1984) and Urry (1990) recognised that tourists of Western societies often generate tourism through their motivations of a desire to 'gaze' upon the cultural exoticism and novelty. "The other and less frequent use of the term ethnic tourism is where

it applies to travel movements whose primary motivation is ethnic reunion" (King 1994: 173). Tourism research over the last decade demonstrated that there has been increased interest among communities and individuals "in uncovering more about their collective past and identities by discovering family roots and by improving awareness of past historical events and places" (Collins-Kreiner and Olsen, 2004: 279). In this context, ethnicity presents a push factor and ethnic reunion involves traveling to seek similarity, familiarity, belonging and cultural roots (King, 1994). Concerning ethnic tourism, Stephenson (2002: 216) further points out that ethnic reunion needs to be conceptually viewed as a distinct form of tourism, which "allows members of culturally displaced communities to renew or reconstruct a personal association with the ancestral homeland".

Familial influences play a powerful role in tourism behaviour (Sharpley, 2008). In an attempt to define travel patterns of diasporic, ethnic and transnational communities, numerous scholars have acknowledged that return visits to ancestral homelands are at the foremost of their travel motivation (Stephenson and Hughes, 1995; Klemm, 2002; Duval, 2003; Coles, 2004; Ioannides and Cohen Ioannides, 2004; Ali and Holden, 2006; Baldasaar, 2008; Hughes and Allen, 2010). Such visits help 'restless people' of diaspora to come to terms with their 'roots' (Gilroy, 1994; Hall, 1996; Holinshead, 2004a). Visiting friends and relatives occurs to many different places and especially to places that otherwise have no special tourist appeal (Conradson and Latham, 2005). Similarly, Urry (2003) acknowledged that people travel because of their familial and social obligations. Traveling due to familial obligations has a specific relevance to diasporic and transnational communities, as it includes tourism to attend family events such as Christmas and Easter celebrations, weddings, christenings and funerals (Urry, 2003). Similarly, social obligations involve seeing "'the other' 'face to face' and thus 'body to body'", enabling each other to read what the other is really thinking, to observe their body language, to hear 'first hand' what they have to say, to sense directly their overall response, to undertake at least some emotional work" (Urry, 2003: 163). Urry (2003) further claims that social obligation to friends and family are vital for developing the trust that persists during lengthy periods of distance and separateness. These social obligations are associated with the need to spend "moments of quality time" often within very particular

locations and often involving lengthy travel away from normal places of residence (Urry, 2003: 163).

According to Duval (2004), return visits originate in the diasporic environments, formed through migration. Incorporating the relationships between diaspora, transnationalism and tourism, Duval (2004: 51) further acknowledges that:

> "While diaspora travel to ancestral homeland permits the recognition of multiple social spaces at the level of the individual (as opposed to the community or ethnic group), transnationalism is shown to be a conceptual framework through which multi-stranded identities are rationalized. For the study of tourism, transnationalism provides an insight into patterns of touristic movement, meanings, and the linkages within and between broad social networks, but also considers notions of the local and the global beyond static notions of host and guest."

Homeland is a value-loaded, historically contested concept indicating belonging and identity. However, when applied to multicultural environments; it signifies nostalgia and diasporic longing for a remote and distant past (Strath, 2008). The return visits to the ancestral homeland can be defined as "periodic but temporally limited sojourns by members of diasporic communities to their formal natal homes" in order to maintain relationships and to bridge networks with homelands (Duval, 2003: 268). Cohen (1979) claimed that visiting the ancestral homeland fulfils a need for the spiritual centre and ultimate belonging for people in diaspora who feel alienated in their lives away from their homeland. Further conceptualising the return visit, Duval (2003) identified that the returning visitor usually has past non-tourist experience, socio-cultural and familial ties at the destination and is a part of a larger social unit that is associated with diasporic communities formed because of the past migratory episodes. Given the complexities of the connection linking tourism and diaspora, Coles and Timothy (2004: 13) recognised three widely accepted characteristics of diaspora which have an immediate importance on motivations in tourism participation:

➢ The duality of the 'home' and the 'host' country in the consciousness of diaspora members

➢ The myths, nostalgia, imagined and actual histories of the group and the home

> ➢ And most importantly, identities, behaviour and cultures in diasporic communities 'abroad', although similar to the 'homeland' and elsewhere in the diaspora, are inevitably distinctive and contrasting due to the infusions and conflations borne of their interstitial existence.

Current tourism literature also acknowledges heritage tourism as it relates to the link between diaspora, identity and tourism (Coles and Timothy, 2004; Meethan, 2004). According to Marschall (2004), heritage is a key mechanism that defines ethnic, cultural or national identity and re-inscribes the postcolonial landscape identity. Visits to monuments, memorials and heritage sites are a way of taking an "inward voyage" that looks into the past, and helps to rediscover self, recognise and validate cultural identity (Galani-Moutafi, 2000: 205). Clifford (1988) maintains that the link between identity and tourism became more obvious through the packaging of selected symbols of identity as 'our heritage'. Heritage tourism is a powerful force in the construction and maintenance of identity as its attractiveness relies upon historic symbols (MacCannell, 1972). The turning of ancient objects into monuments started to appear while the nation-states and concepts of nationality were being formed (Horne, 1984). Clifford (1988) explains that images of heritage tourism represent nationhood and provide individuals with means by which they can understand who they are and where they have come from. More particularly, Smith (1991: 16) notes that heritage attractions are "sacred centres", objects of spiritual and historical pilgrimage that reveal the uniqueness of nations' "moral geography". Travellers pay respect to their nationality through tourism's most stereotyped cultural forms such as souvenirs, national dishes, national drinks, the scenic quarter, old-fashioned traditional ceremonies, or national dress (Horne, 1984). Consequently, tourism's use of identity reaches to the heart of people because it defines their cultural identity and makes it visible, both to themselves and to others (Palmer, 1999).

The intersections of tourism and diaspora rest on the dislocation and identity issues of people in diaspora caused by migration (Shuval, 2000; Coles and Timothy, 2004). Diaspora's "displacement from one place to another and the subsequent implications that this has for identity, may therefore mean that tourism becomes a perhaps unexpected beneficiary of postcolonial dislocation" (Hall and

Tucker, 2004: 15). According to Gilroy (1987), both diasporic roots as well as geographical routes are crucial in identity formation. Roots refer to visions of common origin, language, history, tradition and culture that people of diaspora share together (Hall, 1996). Routes imply forms of diffusion, intercultural movement and migration (Gilroy, 1987). Accordingly, Timothy and Coles (2004) summarise types of tourism participation inspired by the collision between diaspora's migratory histories, their routes, their attachment to their homeland, their roots and their experiences in the host country, their routine. They propose six types of tourism:

> ➢ Firstly, diasporic, migrant and ethnic communities make trips in search of their roots and their routes, which aim to reaffirm and reinforce their identities. Most commonly, these are associated with trips back to their original homelands, but they may also include, as a second variant, trips to visit co-members of the extended community beyond the homeland (Bruner, 1996; Hall, 1996; Stephenson, 2002; Ali and Holden, 2006).

> ➢ Secondly, the search for roots and routes has also manifested itself in the rise of so-called genealogical, ancestral or family history tourism, which may be both domestic and international. Increasingly, visitors are travelling longer distances and over longer periods to retrace the footsteps and experiences of their ancestors (Meethan, 2004).

> ➢ The third pattern practically represents the first in reverse, the visits of relatives from the original homeland to diasporas (Che, 2004).

> ➢ The fourth mode of travel involves intra-diasporic travel to destinations beyond 'home' occupied by diasporas that are of significance to the history of diaspora (Timothy and Coles, 2004).

> ➢ Diasporas often visited spaces with importance to their heritage, such as Ellis Island, a place of transit in the scattering process along diasporic trajectories (Ioannides and Cohen-Ioannides; 2004).

> ➢ Finally, diasporas visit various other places for vacation, leisure purposes and escape from the routine as a sign of assimilation into the travel patterns of the mainstream society (Coles and Timothy, 2004: 14).

3.5 Diaspora, Identity and Migration in Tourism Studies

It is clear that a considerable, though far from exhaustive, number of studies has contributed to the knowledge of diaspora, migration and identity. The studies within a tourism context remain limited. Diasporas have been predominantly portrayed within the social sciences, as in the fields of sociology, geography, migration, race and ethnicity. The limited research published in tourism journals includes some international and only a few UK based studies. The focus of these are Afro-Caribbean communities longing for ethnic reunion (Stephenson and Hughes, 1995), marketing for Asian ethnicity (Klemm, 2002; Burton and Klemm, 2011), the myth of return embodied in Pakistani communities (Ali and Holden, 2006) and the holiday taking of the Irish diaspora (Hughes and Allen, 2010). The enlargement of the EU accompanied by mass migration has recently attracted some attention from scholars. The studies largely portrayed migrant working conditions (Drinkwater et al., 2006) and the processes of acculturation into the host societies (Parutis, 2006). Although there is no question that scholarly interest in post-accession communities is growing, the portrayal of these communities within a tourism context remains overlooked.

The long-term ethnographic research of the UK's first and second generation of Afro-Caribbean communities from Manchester produced a number of studies that contributed to the understanding of motivations and barriers to diaspora tourism (Stephenson, 2002, 2004, 2006; Stephenson and Hughes, 1995; 2005). The tourism paradigm amongst these communities recognised that Afro-Caribbean minorities do not necessarily wish to participate in the same experiences as mainstream tourists (Stephenson and Hughes, 1995). At the forefront of their tourism motivation is ethnic reunion, the return visits to the ancestral homeland that relate to the desire to fulfil social and family commitments and to reunite with similar others (Stephenson, 2002; 2006). Travel aspirations to visit ancestral homeland "are largely determined by mental images and retained cultural knowledge, reconstructed and transmitted within metropolitan societies" (Stephenson, 2002: 416).

Further analysing travel behaviour of the UK's Afro-Caribbean communities, Stephenson and Hughes (1995) developed the discriminatory theory that identified racial discrimination as a factor restricting ethnic groups from fully benefiting from leisure participation. The empirical research revealed that from the perspectives of non-white communities, racial prejudice is a major obstacle in the social and cultural appreciation of rural landscapes and cosmopolitan-based tourism (Stephenson, 2004; 2006). Other than conforming to the discriminatory theory, Stephenson (2002) through his research validated the previously discussed marginality theory developed by Washburne (1978). Through community involvement and ethnographic observation, the research further acknowledged that the Afro-Caribbean ethnic minority "may be a particularly vulnerable group, characterised by low income, unemployment and single parent households", which generally prevents them from participating in tourism (Stephenson and Hughes, 1995: 29).

In addition, Eastern Caribbean communities in Canada were studied by Duval (2003; 2004), who highlighted the intersection of diasporic identities and tourism participation. The research contributed to the literature addressing VFR tourism, and return visits to ancestral homelands in particular. Baldassar (2001) conceived the term 'return visit' in the analysis of migration experiences of overseas Italians residing in Australia. Duval (2004) suggests that the return visit may ultimately be positioned as a form or type of travel within the larger category of VFR tourism, which has built a clearer understanding of historic and social contexts and processes. The study highlighted the importance of the relationship between the returning visitor, originating from diasporic communities abroad and the host community as a stage for the negotiation of identities (Duval, 2004). The study concluded that "the return visit is used to revitalise, reiterate and solidify webs of social networks" at the destination (Duval, 2003: 301).

Klemm (2002) produced a marketing focused study of a South-Asian ethnic minority living in Bradford, UK. The study considered the attitudes of the Pakistani community to mass-market holidays in the light of the ethnicity and marginality hypotheses, as well as processes of acculturation and ethnic identity (Klemm, 2002). The study confronted the marginality theory, while somewhat supporting the ethnicity theory proposed by Washburne (1978). Unlike Stephenson's (2002)

research of Afro-Caribbean minority, Klemm (2002) concluded that Pakistani minorities in the UK have sufficient finance to participate in leisure and tourism. Nevertheless, their travel motivation differs slightly from the mainstream UK market. The population has shown motivation to travel to Pakistan, in the search for their roots and identity (Klemm, 2002). Furthermore, Klemm (2002) concluded that consumer behaviour, such as tourism preferences and holiday choices, are learned behaviour, determined by upbringing and affected by ethnic identity. Accordingly, to cater effectively for diasporic, ethnic and transnational communities as a globally growing market, the tourism industry needs to address different demands and behaviours of such 'hyphenated communities' in comparison to the mainstream ones (Klemm, 2002; Burton and Klemm, 2011).

Through the investigation of Vietnamese migrants residing in Australia, Nguyen, King and Turner (2003) developed conceptual frameworks (Figures 3.1 and 3.2.) explaining migrants' travel behaviour.

Figure 3.1: Conceptual Framework of Relationship between Adapted Culture and Migrant Travel Behaviour
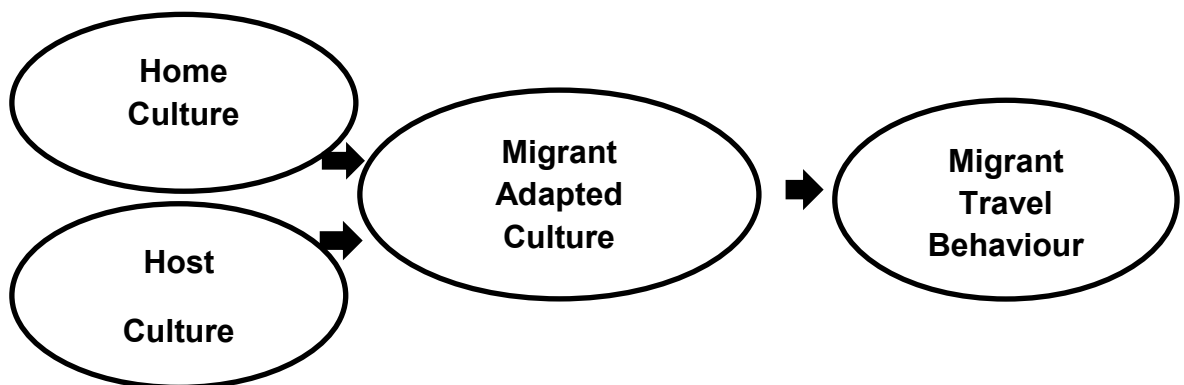
Source: Nguyen et al. (2003: 98)

Nguyen et al., (2003) suggested that as migrants display a sense of belonging and identifying with a way of life left behind, there is a need to investigate the role of family connections and shared cultural values system, in order to gain a better understanding of the relationship between tourism and migration. The study assumed that with the changes to values, identity, goals and the expectations of a migrant group, consumption behaviour also changes (Nguyen et al., 2003). More

particularly, it involves changes in the tourism context concerning travel motives, patterns, expectations and experiences (Nguyen et al., 2003).

Figure 3.2: Migrant Consumption Model
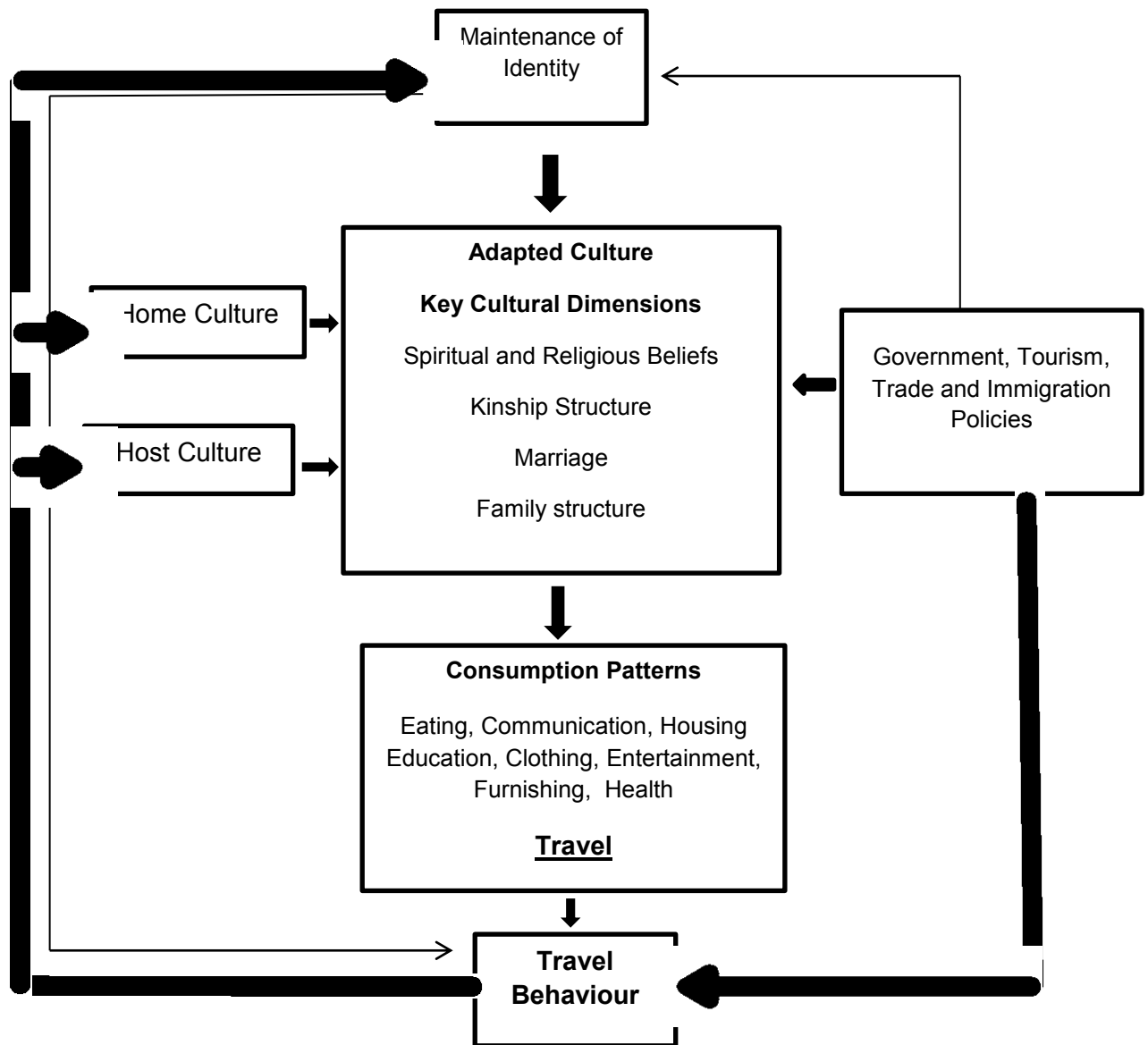
Source: Nguyen et al. (2003: 99)

The study by Ali and Holden (2006) embodied the 'myth of return' into a Pakistani community living in Luton, UK. The ethnographic study, based on case studies with members of ethnic community, examined the post-migration mobility of the Pakistani diaspora and their participation in tourism (Ali and Holden, 2006). The term 'myth of return' was originally used and applied by Anwar (1979) to Pakistani

communities arriving in the UK in the late 1950s and 1960s through economic and chain migration with the intention of an eventual return to Pakistan. However, both studies into these communities have shown that the intentions for eventual return proved to be short-lived, with families permanently settling in the UK due to better employment opportunities and improved standards of living (Anwar, 1979; Ali and Holden, 2006). Nonetheless, Ali and Holden (2006) concluded that migrants partially fulfilled their myth of return through post-migration tourism mobility, their return visits to ancestral homeland.

Mason (2004) also focused his study on Britain's Pakistani populations and recognised the circumstances in which physical co-presence was considered the most appropriate way in sustaining kinship over the distance. Mason (2004) found that the visits to ancestral homelands were significant symbolically and practically in maintaining transnational relationships in two major ways. Firstly, the return visits facilitated the demonstration of active kinship networks that were able to work across long distances (Mason, 2004). Even where there was no immediate link with relatives, visits involved a search for roots in the country of origin to give further dimension to migrants own identities (Mason, 2004). Secondly, the travel to the homeland helped to confirm a sense of belonging or compassion in relation to Pakistan, even though for many, Britain was now home (Mason, 2004).

Hughes and Allen (2010) focused their study on identities of the Irish diaspora living in Manchester, UK and their travel motivation to visit Ireland. The study confirmed that ethnic origins influence consumer behaviour (Nwankwo and Lindridge, 1998; Klemm, 2002) as many, especially those of the first generation, regularly travelled to Ireland (Hughes and Allen, 2010). Nevertheless, in addition to travel to Ireland, the overall holiday profile was similar to the rest of the British population (Hughes and Allen, 2010). Unlike Afro-Caribbean (Stephenson and Hughes, 1995) and Pakistani (Klemm, 2002) minorities, the Irish diaspora enjoyed sun and sea holidays and European city breaks. The study concluded that with generation progression and cultural similarities, many Irish found it easy to adopt the identity of the host British nation, and their 'Irishness' became diluted with second and third generations (Hughes and Allen, 2010). The overview of the tourism literature of diaspora, including theme and methods utilised is provided in the table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Overview 'Diaspora and Tourism' Studies

Community focus	Theme	Methodology	Author
UK Based Studies			
Afro-Caribbean community in Mosside, UK	Ethnic Tourism	Ethnography (Observation and Interviews	Stephenson and Hughes, 1995; 2005; Stephenson, 2002; 2004; 2005
South-Asian (Pakistani) minority in Bradford, UK	Marketing for Tourism	Survey (80 interviews)	Klemm, 2002; Burton and Klemm, 2011
Pakistani Community in Luton, UK	Post-migration Mobilities: the Embodiment of the 'Myth of Return'	Ethnography (unstructured interviews, focus groups)	Ali and Holden, 2006
Pakistani Community in the UK	The Significance of the Return Visit	Interviews	Mason, 2004
Irish Community in Manchester	Holidays of Irish Diaspora	Semi-structured interviews	Hughes and Allen, 2010
Pakistani Community in Rochdale, UK	'Myth of return' to Pakistan	interviews, observations, household survey	Anwar, 1979
Afro-Caribbean Diaspora in the UK	Roots and Routes of Diaspora		Gilroy, 2003
Non-UK Based Studies			
Eastern-Caribbean community in Canada	Return visits to Ancestral homeland	Interviews	Duval, 2003; 2004
Vietnamese Community in Australia	Migration and Tourism	Interviews and questionnaire-based survey	Nguyen et al., 2003
Italian Community in Australia	Return Visits to Ancestral Homeland	Interviews	Baldassar, 2008

3.6 Post-Accession Migration in UK Based Studies

Several studies have depicted the most recent migration to the UK, the wave of migrants following the enlargement of the European Union (EU) in 2004. The most significant work has been conducted using "large survey reports, offering important overviews into current trends, but perhaps less able to offer significant depth of analysis or empirical data" (Burrell, 2009: 11). Moreover, the studies almost exclusively focused on Polish communities, since the migration from Poland has been the most visible. Burrell (2009) recognised a few major inter-related themes have emerged in the published literature. These include migration motivations, a continued interest in whether these flows constitute temporary or permanent migration; experiences of work; and migrants' life beyond the workplace. This study focuses on the portrayal of post-accession migrants within a tourism context, which clearly presents a gap in the current literature.

A significant number of studies are concerned with migrants employment and working conditions (Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly and Spencer, 2006; Datta et al., 2006; Drinkwater et al., 2006; Pollard et al., 2008). Pollard et al. (2008) recognise that the UK labour market, in opening its doors to new migrants, was the fundamental factor for these contemporary migration flows. Most of the research in post-accession migrants and their employment in the UK also highlight the mismatch between often highly qualified migrants and their low-skilled jobs (Pollard et al., 2008; Datta et al., 2006). Drinkwater et al. (2006) produced a discussion paper focusing on Polish communities and their performance in the UK labour market, depicting migrants' propensity for employment in low paid jobs despite their relatively high levels of education. The study suggests the economic nature of post-accession migration, driven by high levels of unemployment in Poland to explain these migratory trends (Drinkwater et al. 2006). Similarly, Anderson et al. (2006) note that A8 migrants are facing variable conditions in the workplace, and are more likely to be in temporary jobs with working rights, which leave them less protected when compared to the UK citizens. Nevertheless, the employment opportunities of those who were already working in the UK before 2004 vastly improved with EU accession (Anderson et al. 2006).

Fomina and Frelak (2008) studied the perceptions of Polish labour migrants and their impact on the British economy as portrayed through the tone of the coverage in the British media. The study found that voice of media ranged widely between depicting "Polish good work ethic and relatively good integration of Poles into the British society", through to reinforcing stereotypical images of Eastern European migrants as frightening foreigners, bringing odd cultural traits, pushing up crime rates and exhausting UK's economy (Fomina and Frelak, 2008:75) .

Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2008) also draw on the EU enlargement to produce an extensive study exploring motivations, experiences and collective opportunities of different groups of post-accession migrants, while considering commonalities and differences amongst them. Garapich (2008) explored strong social networks established between different migrants themselves and drew attention to the antagonism that Poles especially seem to show towards other Poles.

Ryan et al. (2009) explored the implications of EU enlargement for the strategies of recent Polish migrants. The study contributed to theoretical understanding of contemporary migration by exploring diverse migratory strategies, particularly in relation to gender and family situations, and the different ways in which men and women access and construct social networks in both Britain and Poland. The study demonstrates that regular contact with the ancestral homeland and payment of remittances demonstrates migrants' complex family considerations, mutual support and continuing loyalty (Ryan et al., 2009).

Homes that are left behind are the main theme for the research of the Polish builders in London, who having to build homes for others, left their own homes in Poland uninhabited (Datta, 2008; 2009). Parutis (2006) portrayed the construction of homes among post-accession Polish and Lithuanian migrants in the UK. The study evaluates whether A8 migration was permanent or temporary. Despite the fact that many made their homes in the UK quite successfully, the majority of migrants have plans to return to their ancestral homelands (Parutis, 2006). Similarly, Pollard (2008) points out on circulatory character of post-accession migration, which shows that not only are numbers of incoming migrants falling, but more people are returning to their homelands.

Moores and Metykova (2010) focus their research on the environmental experiences of A8 migrants, particularly of young people who have moved to Britain over the recent years. The research explored migrants' practical and emotional relationships with physical environments, their environmental experiences and associated senses of place.

A comparative study conducted by Brown (2011), contrasts the emotional relationships with the ancestral homeland of Polish diasporas that settled in Britain following the Second World War with those arriving from Poland within the context of the newly enlarged European Union. The research concluded that despite coming to Britain at different times and with alternative settlement plans, both groups of diaspora share a strong emotional attachment to Poland, understood through a common culture, symbols, values and practices, yet the way in which these markers of belonging are experienced varies with their migration stories (Brown, 2011).

The overview of the studies depicting A8 migration and the methodologies utilised in these studies, is provided in the table 3.3. It is clear that there has been substantial interest of scholars to portray the latest and the largest migration wave to Britain. However, as already acknowledged, the majority of studies have been concerned with migrants' lives, experiences and their performance in the UK's job market. The portrayal of post-accession migrants in the tourism literature has remained overlooked. This study therefore aims to fill the gap in the literature by focusing on tourism and identities of post-accession West-Slavic migrants in the UK.

Table 3.3: Overview of 'A8 Migration' Studies

Community Focus	Theme	Methodology	Author
Polish and Lithuanian Migrants	Construction of home in the UK	Semi-structured interviews	Parutis, 2006
Polish Communities	Performance in the Labour Market	Survey	Drinkwater et al., 2006
A8 Migrants	Migrants in low wage employment in the UK	Interviews	Anderson et al., 2006
A8 Migrants	The Experiences of A8 Migrants	Interviews	Cook et al., 2008
Polish Migrants	Immigration before and after EU Enlargement		Garapich, 2008
A8 Migrants	Post EU Enlargement migration flows to the UK	Survey	Pollard et al., 2008; Blanchflower, Salaheen and Shadforth, 2007
Polish Migrants	Social networks	Interviews, focus groups	Ryan et al., 2009
Polish Migrants	Public perception of A8 labour migration	Quantitative research	Fomina and Frelak, 2008
A8 Migrants	Environmental experiences of migrants	Interviews	Moores and Metykova, 2010
Polish Diaspora	Comparison of Post-war and Post-Accession Diaspora	Interviews	Brown, 2011
Polish Community	Polish Migration to the UK		Burrell, 2008; 2009
Polish Migrants	Lives of Polish construction workers in London	Interviews	Datta, 2008; 2009
Romani Migrants	Romani in the UK		Vasecka and Vasecka, 2003

3.7 Summary

This chapter has established how issues of diaspora, migration and identity are reflected within the tourism. Firstly, it has been acknowledged that diaspora tourism is a relatively under-researched area of study, as tourism scholars often failed to consider these communities as purchasers of holidays for themselves. Subject areas of migration and tourism have been evaluated and the relationships between the two phenomena have been conceptualised. This chapter has also proposed different concepts and theories that explain the travel behaviour of diasporic, ethnic and transnational communities. The discussion has then shifted on how issues of diaspora, migration and identity are reflected within the tourism literature. Main studies that portray the tourism and diaspora relations have been explored. Finally, a brief overview of published studies depicting post-accession migration to the UK pointed to the gap in the literature, as these communities have not been portrayed in the tourism context. The following chapter provides rationale for the methodology utilised.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed the literature of diaspora, identity and migration, and explored their connections within the tourism field. This current chapter provides the rationale for the study's methodology, used in order to achieve the research aims. Firstly, the research philosophy that guides the study is explored. The process of conducting secondary research, the literature review, is detailed. The discussion of the primary research incorporates the study's methodology approach adopted, as well as data collection methods. The reflexivity of the research is considered through the position of the researcher in the research process. Moreover, the access to the field and sampling strategies are discussed. Furthermore, the issues of reliability, validity, ethical consideration and the pilot study are considered within the quality assurance measures for this study. Finally, the data analysis process is detailed.

4.2 Theoretical Perspective: Research Philosophy

The research process incorporates elements of research, which include theoretical perspectives, methodology and methods (Crotty, 1998). The overview of the elements of the research is provided in the table 4.1. Research methods are techniques employed in consistency with the methodology that aid data generation (Crotty, 1998). Research methodology can be defined as overall research strategy linking the choice and use of methods to the research question (Mason, 1996). Research philosophy relates to the development and the structure of knowledge in relation to research, informs the research procedures, provides a context for the process and grounds its logic and criteria (Crotty, 1998; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2012).

Table 4.1: Elements of Research

Theoretical perspective	Methodology	Methods
Positivism (and post-positivism Interpretivism Symbolic interactionism Phenomenology Hermeneutics Critical inquiry Feminism Postmodernism	Experimental research Survey research Ethnography Phenomenological research Grounded theory Heuristic inquiry Action research Discourse analysis Feminist standpoint research	Sampling measurement and scaling Questionnaire Observation Interview Focus group Case study Life history Narrative Visual ethnographic methods Statistical analysis Data reduction Theme identification Comparative analysis Cognitive mapping Interpretative methods Document analysis Content analysis Conversation analysis

Source: Crotty (1998: 5)

There are two theoretical perspectives in research, positivism and interpretivism (Kirk and Miller, 1986; Silverman, 2001; Baker and Foy, 2008). Positivism is the objectivist epistemological position, which holds "not only that there is an external world, but that the external world itself determines absolutely the one and only correct view that can be taken of it, independent of the process or circumstances of viewing" (Kirk and Miller, 1986: 14). Positivism, as a model of the research process treats 'social facts' as existing independently of the activities of both participants and researchers (Silverman, 2001). Positivism, as a research process emphasises the use of highly structured methodology that aims to generate valid

and reliable data that enable replication and generalisation of results, independently of the research setting, offering assurance of accurate and unambiguous knowledge of the world (Crotty, 1998; Silverman, 2001). Positivism is mainly utilised by the physical and natural scientists, who advocate research with an observable social reality (Saunders et al., 2012).

Opposed to positivism, the theoretical perspective of interpretivism looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of social life (Crotty, 1998; Baker and Foy, 2008). Therefore, interpretivism as an inquiry process has specific relevance to the study of social or human relations in attempts to understand and explain human and social realities (Cresswell, 2007). Interpretive research is guided by the researchers' set of beliefs and feelings about the world, in order to understand, describe and explain social phenomena by analysing everyday experiences and life histories of individuals or groups (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Flick 2009). The researcher here emerges as "bricoleur", piecing deferent parts of the research together (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 4).

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue that both positivism and interpretivism, fail to take into account the element of the social researcher as part of the studied social worlds. Furthermore, there has been criticism of the inability of the researcher to escape the reliance on common-sense knowledge and methods of research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). A distinction between science and common sense, between the actions and knowledge of the researcher and researched, have led to the concern of eliminating the effects of the researcher on the data (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Therefore, studies should acknowledge the researcher's role, and how the researcher's views may reflect and affect his judgement (4.4.4 Position of the Researcher in the Research Process). The solution for positivism is the regulation of research procedures; for naturalism, it is indirect contact with the social world and the requirement that ethnographers "surrender" themselves to the cultures they study (Wolff, 1964: 240).

For the purpose of the current study, an interpretive, naturalistic approach has been utilised as a research philosophy, as this study aims to investigate social and human relations through diverse opinions, knowledge, practices, perspectives

and viewpoints of participants from different social backgrounds. This current research study seeks to gain in-depth insights into feelings, attitudes and perceptions of West Slavic post-accession diasporic communities in the UK in order to ascertain their identities (Aim 2). Additionally, the social phenomenon, the role of tourism in shaping identities of post-accession West Slavic communities (Aim 3), is studied. Finally, this research aims to contribute to the understanding of tourism and identity formation of diasporic communities (Aim4).

4.3 Secondary Research

A literature review is a critical search through relevant material that demonstrates an understanding and awareness of the existing state of knowledge within the chosen area of research (Jankowicz, 2000; Veal, 2006; Saunders et al., 2012). The literature review revealed that although much work centres on diaspora and ethnicity, these concepts remain relatively under-researched within the tourism field. Particularly, post-accession West Slavic migrants (Poles, Czechs and Slovaks), as one of the most significant foreign-born populations living in the UK, have not been portrayed within the tourism context. As detailed in Chapter 1, research aims were developed as follows:

1. To critically analyse theories and concepts of diaspora, migration and identity in relation to tourism.
2. To ascertain the identities of West Slavic migrants living in the UK.
3. To analyse the role of tourism in shaping identities of post-accession West Slavic communities in the UK.
4. To contribute to the understanding of tourism and identity formation of diasporic communities.

The literature search utilised a variety of approaches. Relevant literature in the form of books and academic journals were amongst the most important sources. The literature search was conducted by utilising Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU) and the British Library resources, electronic databases (e.g.

Science Direct, Scopus) associated with the research fields of diaspora, ethnicity, migration and identity in relation to tourism. The Internet, especially search engines such as Google Scholar, also proved useful in providing access to a wide range of additional literature sources.

The literature review facilitated the overview and evaluation of the methodologies of other researchers, which informed the research design process, including the appropriateness of the research strategies (Saunders et al., 2012). The review of methodologies of past research studies related to the topic is provided in the tables 3.2 and 3.3. Finally, for some projects, the literature review identifies theories and ideas that are tested using primary data, known as a deductive approach (Saunders et al., 2012). However, this current study explores data, which are subsequently related to the literature, known as the inductive approach (Saunders et al., 2012). The literature review therefore helps to generate analytic frameworks for the research (Jankowicz, 2000).

4.4 Primary research

Primary research involves the collection and analysis of original, primary data by utilising an accepted research methodology (Clark, Riley, Wilkie and Wood, 1999). Research methodology, research methods, research instrument, position of the researcher in the research process, access to the field, sampling strategy and quality assurance in research are discussed in the following sections.

4.4.1 Research Methodology

Research methodology is the theory that explains how the research should be conducted, incorporating theoretical and philosophical assumptions of the research and the implications of these for adopted methods (Saunders et al., 2012). In simpler terms, research methodology is an overall research strategy or an action plan, linking the choice and use of methods to the research question and desired results (Mason, 1996; Crotty, 1998). There are numerous options in

the choice of methodology, described by authors within the research methods literature, as outlined in the table 4.1 (Elements of Research). Most strategies utilised to undertake research include ethnography, phenomenological research, grounded theory, case study, narrative inquiry, ethnomethodology, and mixed methods (Cresswell, 1998; Crotty, 1998; Saunders et al., 2012).

Phenomenological and ethnographic research theories were initially considered as possible methodological approaches for the purpose of this study. Phenomenology is the "study of the phenomena, where the notion of a phenomenon coincides, roughly, with the notion of experience" (Cerbone, 2006: 3). Phenomenological research seeks to understand lived experiences and perspectives of participants, which are unique and individual (Moran, 2000). According to Gomm (2009: 244), appeals to phenomenology in anthropological and sociological research can take one of two opposing forms; "either as an injunction for the researcher to become a thoroughly competent member of the culture of the people being studied, and to understand matters as they understand them, or to transcend such common-sense understanding".

Ethnography is the art and science that focuses on describing group or culture, and interpretation of collectively shared and learned patterns of behaviour, values, beliefs or language (Fetterman, 1998). The critical assumption guiding ethnographic inquiry is that every human group that is together for a period evolves a culture (Patton, 1990). The origins of the term lie in nineteenth century Western anthropology, where an ethnography was a descriptive account of a community or culture, usually one located outside the West (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Ethnographers attempt to position specific cultural encounters into a fuller, more meaningful context (Tedlock, 2003). Ethnography is informed by the theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism (Crotty, 1998).

While phenomenological research focuses on capturing individualistic and unique experiences of lived phenomena (Moran, 2000), ethnographic research emphasises collective, or group experiences of members within the certain culture (Fetterman, 1998). Therefore, this research study utilises ethnographic technique as a methodological perspective, as it centres upon the cultural group of West Slavic migrants, and their collective experiences. Semi-structured, in-depth

interviews have been utilised as a data collection method for this qualitative research study, as it focuses on attaining diverse opinions, which describe cultural groups, shared and learnt patterns of behaviour, values and beliefs rather than the interviewees' unique individualistic experiences. The aim of the research is to gather in-depth information related to the identity formation of West Slavic diasporic communities living in the UK; their feelings, attitudes and perceptions (Aim 2) and the role of tourism on their identity formation (Aim 3). Finally, the choice of this particular methodological perspective has been consistent with numerous similar studies in the area of diaspora tourism, which similarly combined ethnography and in-depth interviewing (Stephenson, 1995; Duval, 2003; Ali and Holden, 2006; Hughes and Allen, 2010; Park, 2010).

4.4.2 Research Approach

Research approach is the actual techniques or strategies that are employed in consistency with the methodology, in order to generate data (Crotty, 1998). At the level of research methods, the distinction between qualitative and quantitative research is established, as both are set against each other as polar opposites (Crotty, 1998). Quantitative research is where data is in the form of numbers, and statistical relationships of one set of facts to another are gathered and studied (Finn, Elliott-White and Walton, 2000). Qualitative research is concerned with understanding peoples' perceptions of the world; it seeks insights from contextual, non-numerical data (Pope, Ziebland and Mays, 2000; Bell, 2005; Weal, 2006; Saunders et al., 2012). The quantitative approach relies on the research instruments employed, while qualitative techniques rely on the skills of the researcher (Clark et al., 1999).

Qualitative research has been particularly utilised in the social sciences, which fundamentally depend on watching people in their own territory and interacting with them in their own language (Kirk and Miller, 1986). However, as criticisms of qualitative research stemming from a lack of research procedures that result in insufficient reliability, validity and generalisability of findings (Kirk and Miller, 1986; Crotty, 1998), persist, the mixture of both, quantitative and qualitative methods

has become increasingly popular (Bryman and Burgess, 1994; Saunders et al., 2012). Nevertheless, in tourism, many authors of similar research advocated qualitative, rather than quantitative research methods (Stephenson and Hughes, 1995; Klemm, 2002; Duval, 2003; Ali and Holden, 2006; Park, 2010); therefore, this current study applies a qualitative research approach exclusively.

4.4.3 Research Instrument

Fieldwork is the most characteristic element of any ethnographic research (Fetterman, 1998; Gobo, 2008). A process of ethnographic fieldwork involves observation of the group, typically through participant observation, or through one-on-one interviews with members of the group (Cresswell, 1998). According to Fetterman (1998), the interview is the ethnographer's most important data generating technique. The purpose of an interview is to collect valid, reliable and rich descriptions (Miles and Huberman, 1984) through a "purposeful discussion between two or more people" (Kahn and Cannell, 1957 in Saunders et al., 2012: 245). Qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the views of others are meaningful, understandable and explicit (Patton, 1990). In ethnographic interviews, the primary concern is to generate data, which gives an authentic insight into the lives and experiences of the studied group (Silverman 2001). The researcher has a special importance within the research process of interviewing as his "communicative competencies are the main instrument of collecting data and of cognition" (Flick, 2002: 54). However, there are some criticisms of interviews as research methods. Radical social constructionists suggest that no knowledge about a reality that is "out there" in the social world can be obtained from the interview, as the interview is exclusively an interaction between the interviewer and interview subject, in which both participants create and construct narrative versions of the social world (Silverman, 2011: 132). Therefore, these narratives, as representatives of some 'truth' in the world, are context specific, projected to fit the demands of the interactive interview context and are representative of nothing more or less (Silverman, 2001).

General interview types include structured, semi-structured, unstructured, informal and retrospective interviews (Fetterman 1998; Oppenheim 2005). Flick (2002) argues that semi-structured interviews in particular attracted significant importance and are widely used in academic research. The interest in semi-structured interviews is related to the expectation that the views of interviewees are more likely to be expressed in an openly designed interview situation rather than in a structured interview or a questionnaire (Kohli, 1978 in Flick, 2002). Furthermore, Fetterman (1998: 38) affirms that a "semi-structured interview is most valuable when the field worker comprehends the fundamental of a community from the 'insider's' perspective". Additionally, combining semi-structured and in-depth interviewing provides a meaningful opportunity to study and theorise about the social world (Miles and Glassner, 2004, cited in Silverman, 2011).

The fieldwork of this study was conducted by utilising semi-structured, in-depth interviews, which are a valid instrument for ethnographic studies. Semi-structured questions enable access to in-depth insights in less formal and flexible conduct and prompts allowed for expansion of responses and investigation of underlying motives (Saunders et al., 2012). The design of the research instrument, the main study interview schedule (Appendix 4), was deductively guided by the research aims and the theoretical knowledge, which was derived from the previous empirical findings. The questions, in the form of an interviewer guide, oriented the interviewer to the topical domains for which answers and narratives were needed. The interview schedule was divided into three sections; section one provides background information on interviewees; section two focuses on identities of West Slavic migrants living in the UK (Aim 2) and section three aims to analyse the role of tourism in shaping the identities of West Slavic communities in the UK (Aim 3).

4.4.4 Position of the Researcher in the Research Process

Stephenson (2002) argues that ethnographic texts are often a product of personal impressions of the researcher rather than objective evaluations of the researched phenomena. The stories interviewees share can be shaped not just by the

established rapport, but also by social similarities and distances between the researcher and those interviewed (Silverman, 2011). Therefore, the role of researcher, as a single most important tool in qualitative data collection, raises the question of reflexivity.

"The concept of reflexivity acknowledges that the orientations of researchers will be shaped by their socio-historical locations, including the values and interests" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 15). Similarly, Gibbs (2009) asserts that the product of research inevitably reflects the researcher's background and predilections. Therefore, all qualitative research should involve active critical self-scrutiny by the researcher (Mason, 1996). The process of reflexivity requires that the researchers suspend their judgement and propensity for subjectivity and bias (Russell and Kelly, 2002). Accordingly, during the research process, researchers should constantly take stock of actions and process, and make these explicit subject to the same critical scrutiny as the rest of the data (Mason, 1996; Fetterman, 1998). However, it has been argued that researchers, as products of culture, cannot be neutral, or objective, or detached from the knowledge and evidence they are generating, instead they should seek to understand their role in the research process (Mason, 1996).

There are two ways of approaching research, the etic (outsider) and the emic (insider) perspectives (Fielding and Fielding, 1986; Fetterman, 1998). Etic or outsider's perspective is a social scientific perspective on reality that utilises an imposed frame of reference (Fielding and Fielding, 1986). Fetterman (1998: 21) maintains:

> "The emic perspective – the insider's or native's perspective of reality – is at the heart of most ethnographic research. The insider's perception of reality is instrumental to understanding and accurately describing situations and behaviours. Native perceptions may not conform to an 'objective' reality, but they help the fieldworker understand why members of the social group do what they do. An emic perspective compels the recognition and acceptance of multiple realities."

Henderson (1998) argues that the researcher studying minority groups might be particularly biased, if he or she is a native member of the group under study.

However, according to Fetterman (1998) sharing of ethnicity does not guarantee emic or etic positions. The ethnographer is both storyteller and scientist, and "the closer the reader of ethnography comes to understanding the native's point of view, the better the story and the better the science" (Fetterman, 1998: 5). What makes the ethnographic approach distinct is an insightful and sensitive interpretation and application of the findings from a cultural perspective, combined with rigorous data collection techniques (Wolcott, 1980 cited in Patton, 1990). Fetterman (1998) argues that although some ethnographers are interested only in describing emic or insider's perspectives, it is equally crucial to place data and make sense of them from an etic or external social scientific perspective. Therefore, a good ethnography requires a combination of both emic and etic perspectives (Fetterman, 1998).

As it has proven helpful that researchers acknowledge their own perspectives and backgrounds (Henderson, 1998), I shall present my perspective and position within the current research study:

I am originally from Slovakia and I have lived abroad for 12 years. Manchester, UK has been my home for 7 years and I consider myself a member of diaspora, which forms the population for this particular study researching tourism and identities of West Slavic (Polish, Czech and Slovak) communities in the UK. Therefore, I shall adopt the emic approach, position as an insider, the researcher who shares the same ethnicity as those researched. Living away from my ancestral homeland for such a long period and consequently having to face the 'identity crisis', I have found the question of identity formation particularly interesting. I do travel to my ancestral homeland at least once every year, to visit my closest family, and to remind myself of the place where I come from. I can feel that each time I travel, the visit does have tremendous impacts on my identity, as it reinforces the confusion about my belonging. However, at the same time, it is a positive reinforcement of the relationship with my family that I deeply miss, the opportunity to spend precious moments with them. The psychological impacts of the return visits to my ancestral homeland usually continue long after the trip has ended, and result in the conclusion that I do not plan for eventual permanent return, as I have acculturated well in life away from my homeland. Yet, the UK

does not feel like 'home' either. However, I will aim to suspend these preconceptions in the research, and I shall focus on providing a true picture of stories and experiences as described by the interviewees of this study.

Over time, I have developed a network of friends and acquaintances that live in the UK and originate from the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland (besides other countries as well). Therefore, an emic approach has also been naturally adopted during the sampling and selection process. My position as insider allowed me to gain initial access to the communities, without the need of a gatekeeper. Fetterman (1998) advised that ethnographers should observe 'key events', especially as they are believed to be a 'metaphor' for the wider expression of particular cultures. Accordingly, at the commencement of this current research study, I have also become a member of Facebook groups called 'Manchestraci a Manchestracki', 'CZ SK Party Manchester' and 'Nasza Klasa'. Membership of the groups serves networking purposes for Poles, Czechs and Slovaks living in Manchester, providing an access to information about the community's on-going hangouts, parties, concerts, etcetera. Consequently, I have attended numerous events and community meetings in Manchester, throughout the period from March to September 2012. These included a concert of Slovakian music group 'Desmod' performing in Jabez Clegg, a Manchester venue, Czech and Slovaks 'get together' to watch the Ice Hockey 2012 championship in the Tatton Arms pub in Altrincham, a number of Czech and Slovak parties, which are organised monthly and held either in Label, Deansgate Manchester or Jabez Clegg, Manchester. Further, networking events included a Rodeo Party organised in the Tatton Arms pub, Altrincham, as well as a number of private networking events, such as house parties in Altrincham, Manchester and Chester. Taking part in the community events gave me an opportunity to network and to gain vital personal contacts for the research agenda as well as develop new friendships.

4.4.5 Access to the Field and Sampling Strategy

Flick (2002) argues that gaining access to the researched field is more crucial in qualitative research as informant and researcher become more involved than would be required for just handing over a questionnaire. Obtaining access to the data is of a high significance particularly in ethnographic research. Researchers must construct a network or relationships with reliable interviewees who enable an accelerated understanding of the studied group, to grasp the meanings of actions, words and symbols (Gobo, 2008). Although individuals and groups under study may be available in public settings, they may not always welcome researchers or outsiders in general (Anderson, 2006). In the process of negotiating access to the research settings, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) emphasise that the most important are initial negotiations to enter the setting; however, the problems may persist throughout all data collection processes. Moreover, interviewees' conceptions of the nature and purposes of the particular research project and of the personal characteristics, such as gender, age, race, and ethnic identification of the interviewer, may also act as a strong influence on what is being said, and how it is being said (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

The population of this research are post-accession West Slavic migrants (Poles, Czechs and Slovaks) who currently reside in the UK. Focusing research on a homogenous group of migrants seeks to achieve a better understanding of this particular community. Although there are no practical guidelines regarding the sample size in qualitative inquiry (Patton, 1990; Guest, Bunce and Johnson; 2006), Lincoln and Guba (1985: 202) suggest a "sample selection to the point of redundancy", where "in purposeful sampling the size of the sample is determined by informational consideration". Initially, between 25 and 35 in-depth interviews were to be held with UK's West Slavic migrants, a number consistent to other comparable qualitative studies (Mason, 2004; Ali and Holden, 2006; Hughes and Allen, 2010).

According to Gobo (2008), an ethnographer usually selects interviewees in two different ways, by contacting the participants in a specific scene previously observed, or by contacting members of the community being studied. Both ways

of contacting interviewees were utilised for the purpose of this study. As already acknowledged, the researcher's emic, insider's position within the study has assisted with access to the research settings without a need for a gatekeeper. The initial interviewees for this study were the personal contacts of the researcher. Further contacts and acquaintances were obtained through the attendance of the community networking events, as acknowledged within the position of the researcher within the current research study in the previous section. Consistently with the approach of ethnography, the researcher relied on her judgement to select members of the subculture based on the research question (Cresswell, 1998). Therefore, non-probability purposive sampling method has been adopted, as the researcher aims to obtain information-rich cases from participants with the best possible contribution in answering questions under study. Furthermore, selection was utilised through media networking such as Facebook, and subsequent snowballing methods. Snowball sampling included selection of individuals who display the necessary attributes, and then, through their recommendations, finding other individuals with the same characteristics (Gobo, 2008). However, there are limitations to the use of snowballing sampling, as it may produce interviewees of similar backgrounds and therefore uniform views and experiences (Jordan and Gibson, 2004). The sampling process continued until the data saturation was reached (Glasser and Strauss, 1967; Flick 2002) and no new information was forthcoming (Guba and Lincoln, 1985). Twenty-seven interviews were held in order to ensure the data were saturated. The length of interviews varied between 20 and 90 minutes. Interviews were conducted face-to-face and on a one-to-one basis. Furthermore, for the participant's convenience, interviews were conducted either in English, or in the mother tongue of the interviewee. Appendix 1 indicates the overview of interviews given in English and mother tongue of the interviewee. Interviews conducted in the mother tongue of the interviewee, were subsequently translated into English. Interviews were digitally recorded, as documentation through tape recorders provides the merit of securing the most reliable data (Gobo, 2008).

4.4.6 Quality Assurance in Research

For the quality, rigour and wider potential of the research, the researcher has to consider how to achieve reliability and validity in the qualitative research (Kirk and Miller, 1986; Mason, 1996; Crotty, 1998; Gobo, 2008). "Reliability is the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answer however and whenever it is carried out, [and] validity is the extent to which it gives the correct answer" (Kirk and Miller, 1986: 19). Flick (2002) maintains that the description of reliability and validity has particular importance to non-qualitative social scientists and it rarely seems appropriate or relevant to the way in which qualitative researchers conduct research, given the nature of qualitative, naturalistic inquiry. Therefore, Lincoln and Guba (1985: 301) also introduced a "trustworthiness" criterion of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability in interpretivism, to replace conventional positivist terms of internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity. Nevertheless, Kirk and Miller (1986) maintain that both concepts of reliability and validity apply equally well to quantitative and qualitative studies.

4.4.6.1 Achieving Reliability in Qualitative Research

Reliability is the extent to which data collection techniques yield consistent results, provided other researchers have undertaken similar research (Saunders et al., 2012). Reliability involves the accuracy of research methods and techniques (Mason, 1996). Particularly, it concerns the confidence in the consistency of a research instrument and its capacity to replicate findings (Gobo, 2008). Some social researchers argue that reliability should concern only the quantitative research tradition, because positivism does not see a difference between the natural and social worlds, hence produces reliable measures of social life (Silverman, 2001). It has been argued that in interpretivist, qualitative research, social reality is treated as always in flux and therefore the researcher should not

be concerned whether research instruments measure accurately (Silverman, 2001). Similarly, Kirk and Miller (1986: 72) argue:

> "Qualitative researchers can no longer afford to bet the issue of reliability. While the forte of field research will always lie in its capability to sort out the validity of propositions, its results will (reasonably) go ignored minus attention to reliability. For reliability to be calculated, it is incumbent on the scientific investigator to document his or her procedure."

Despite the criticisms, there are further means by which researchers aim to ensure reliability in the qualitative research. These include:

➢ recognition of data collection methods
➢ standardisation of the interview procedure
➢ pre-testing of interview schedules
➢ tape-recording of face-to-face interviews
➢ carefully transcribing tapes according to the needs of reliable analysis
➢ reliability checks of the coded answers to open-ended questions
➢ presenting long direct quotes to manifest the findings, including questions that triggered answers
➢ reflexivity

(Cresswell, 1998; Silverman, 2001; Flick, 2002; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Gobo, 2008).

For the purpose of this study, the researcher has considered the issue of reliability through the research process. As suggested by Kirk and Miller (1986), all research procedures were documented systematically and included reflexivity, the position of the researcher in the research process (Section 4.4.4). The selection of interviews in the data collection process was to ensure reliability by utilising tools, which are widely used and recognised in academic research (Flick, 2002). Questions in the form of an interviewer guide were used to ensure a further level of standardisation (Flick, 2002). The interview schedule was pre-tested during the pilot study interviewing process. All interviews were digitally tape-recorded. The tape recorder assisted with obtaining reliable data, and allowed the researcher to engage in lengthy interviews without the distraction of manual recording, and simultaneously providing the opportunity to maintain a natural conversation flow

(Fetterman, 1998; Gobo, 2008). The recorded data was subsequently transcribed carefully word for word. According to Fetterman (1998), quotations allow the reader to judge the quality of the work, how close the ethnographer is to the thoughts of the researched, as well as to access whether the ethnographer used data appropriately to support the conclusions. Therefore, finally, long direct quotations have been presented to endorse the findings (Chapter 5).

4.4.6.2 Achieving Validity in Qualitative Research

Validity is the correspondence between a researcher's account and the researched phenomenon, meaning that the research is valid when it really identifies, observes or measures what it claims it will (Mason, 1996; Gobo, 2008). More specifically, "validity is the extent to which data collection method or methods accurately measure what they are intended to measure", or "the extent to which research findings are really about what they profess to be about" (Saunders et al., 2012: 614). Gobo (2008) argues that the concept of validity is similar to the concept of truth. Therefore, validity is the truth "interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers" (Hammersley, 1990, cited in Silverman, 2001: 232).

However, it is argued that no researcher can be completely certain about the validity of his research conclusions (Fetterman, 1998). With regards to the ethnography, Gobo (2008: 260) claims that

> "If we abandon the positivistic idea that an objective reality exists independently of the observer, the problem of the correctness and veracity of the ethnographer's statements shifts to a broader dimension, where it is not so much the truth that matters, as the researcher's ability to persuade his or her audience of the credibility of his or her conclusions."

Therefore, ethnographers need to gather necessary and sufficiently accurate data to feel confident about their research conclusions and to convince others of their accuracy (Fetterman, 1998; Gobo 2008). According to Kirk and Miller (1986: 21) "to focus on the validity of an observation or an instrument is to care about whether measurements have currency (what do the observations buy?), and

about whether phenomena are properly labelled (what are the right names for variables?)". Gobo (2008) suggested that the researcher publish the empirical documentation, the main material, observational notes, dialogue transcripts, photographs and drawings of the places observed, on which the analysis was based and conclusions drawn.

Moreover, the validity in ethnography can be ensured by numerous other means:

➢ triangulation procedures of data and methods (Fielding and Fielding, 1986; Fetterman, 1998)

➢ respondent validation and member checking (Silverman, 2001)

➢ analytic induction (Glaser and Strauss, 1967)

➢ the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss, 1987; Silverman, 2001).

Triangulation incorporates a comparison of different kinds of data and different kinds of methods to see whether they confirm one another (Fielding and Fielding, 1986; Silverman, 2001). Triangulation always improves the quality of data and the accuracy of ethnographic findings (Fetterman, 1998). Respondent validation means taking one's findings back to the subjects being studied, where these people verify them (Silverman, 2001). Analytic induction is equivalent to the statistical testing of quantitative research (Silverman, 2001). In qualitative research, "there is no random error variance. All exceptions are eliminated by revising hypotheses until all the data fits. The result of this procedure is that statistical tests are actually unnecessary, once the negative cases are removed" (Fielding and Fielding, 1986: 89). The constant comparative method involves simply inspecting and comparing all the data fragments that arise in a single case (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Concerning validity of interview data, Legewie (1987, cited in Flick 2002: 223) maintains that these have to be "judged separately in terms of (a) that the contents of what is said is correct, (b) that what is said is socially appropriate in its relational aspect… and (c) that what is said is sincere in terms of the self-presentation of the speaker".

Finally, Wolcott (1990, cited in Flick, 2002: 225) suggests nine points, which were considered for this ethnographic study: (1) the researcher refrained from talking in the field and listened as much as possible. The researcher (2) produced notes as exactly as possible, (3) began to write early, and in a way (4) which allows readers of his or her notes and reports to see for themselves. This meant providing enough data for readers to make their own inferences and follow those of the researcher; the report aimed to be complete (5) and truthful (6). The researcher sought feedback on her findings and presentations (7). Presentations were characterised by a balance (8) between the various aspects and (9) by accuracy in writing.

4.4.6.3 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations relate to the appropriateness of the researcher's behaviour in relation to the rights of those researched (Saunders et al., 2012). In pursuing research, ethnographers subscribe to a code of ethics that preserve the participants' rights by giving them complete information about the aims of the research, so that they can decide whether to give their consent (Gobo, 2008). Furthermore, ethical codes facilitate communication in the field and leave the door open for further research (Fetterman, 1998).

The key ethical consideration for the purpose of this research included information regarding:

- ➢ purpose of the research
- ➢ what the research involved and its implications, including the recording of the conversation
- ➢ anonymity and privacy of participants
- ➢ voluntary nature of participation
- ➢ the right to withdraw from the process
- ➢ confidentiality of the data

(Saunders et al., 2012; Gobo, 2008)

Participants of this study were treated in compliance with the research ethics framework of the Manchester Metropolitan University. Signed informed consent was requested from all participants and included information about of the purpose of the research, their assured anonymity, confidentiality of the data and their ability to withdraw the information provided.

4.4.6.4 Pilot Study

A pilot study aims to trial the research instrument, in order "to minimise the likelihood of respondents having problems in answering the questions and of data recording problems as well as to allow some assessment of the questions' validity and reliability of the data that will be collected" (Saunders et al., 2012: 606). All data-gathering instruments should be piloted to test the wording of the questions and sequencing, to estimate interview time, to test analysis procedures, thus enabling the removal of any items that do not yield usable data (Oppenheim, 2005; Veal, 2006).

For the purpose of the pilot study, the researcher contacted a number of potential interviewees through personal phone calls and scheduled a time and date for face-to-face interviews with three respondents who were willing and available during the Easter holiday, 2012. All interviews proved to be useful in testing and modifying the pilot study interview schedule (Appendix 2). Consequently, numerous changes were made to the research instrument (Appendix 3: Amendments in Interview Schedule), to produce the main study interview schedule (Appendix 4).

The pilot study interview schedule was modified as greater balance between sections number two (Aim 2) and section number three (Aim 3) of the schedule was needed. The questions were added into section 3 of the main study interview as the pilot study identified a great need to generate more data regarding tourism and identity. Some prompts were added and excluded, some were combined and modified. The question sequencing was changed, and some questions were rephrased. A full list of amendments that took place in order to obtain the main study interview schedule (Appendix 4) are included in Appendix 3.

4.5 Data Analysis

As data means very little until evaluated and analysed (Bell, 2005), data analysis is at the core of qualitative research (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Flick, 2002). Collected data were word-for-word transcribed and translated into English if necessary. Appendix 1 provides information regarding the language that was utilised in each interview. Transcription provided the researcher with a readable version of what was recorded and enabled data to be repeatedly reread as many times as necessary (Gibbs, 2009). Full interview transcripts of three interviewees (Polish, Slovak and Czech) are presented in Appendices 5-7.

Data analysis c be approached from an inductive or deductive perspective (Mason, 1996). Deductive reasoning is the "theory comes first" view, where theoretical propositions or hypotheses are generated in advance of the research process, and then modified by the empirical research, often characterised as moving from the general to the particular (Mason, 1996: 142). The inductive approach involves the development of a theory from the empirical data (Saunders et al., 2012). Induction is also known as the "theory comes last" view, where the researcher develops theoretical propositions or explanations out of the data, in a process which is commonly seen as moving from the particular to the general (Mason, 1996: 142). The Inductive approach is associated with qualitative research philosophies (Glaser and Strauss (1967), while deduction owes more to positivism (Saunders et al., 2012). Regardless, Saunders et al. (2012) argue that these labels are misleading and most researchers combine both, inductive and deductive perspectives (Bell, 2005).

Collected qualitative data were analysed using the thematic method. Thematic analysis is a process used with qualitative information that identifies and analyses patterns within the data by developing a thematic framework that is crucial in the process of data interpretation (Flick, 2002). All the text that exemplified the same theme was coded by the same name (Gibbs, 2009). According to Boyatzis (1998: 1), "thematic analysis is a way of seeing. Often what one sees through thematic analysis does not appear to others, even if they are observing the same

information, events, or situations". Furthermore, thematic analysis can be a beneficial bridge between researchers of varying fields as it allows communicating findings and interpretations of meanings to others who are using different method (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

Initially, the selection of themes has been guided deductively by the literature; the most significant themes have arisen inductively from the data. Therefore, both inductive and deductive approaches were combined, when guiding the analysis. The coding was done manually using the computer software NVivo 9 to organise the data. Having acquired some categories for data analysis, the researcher began to work on those which seemed likely to be central to the analysis, with a view to clarifying their meanings and exploring their relationships with other categories (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Identified codes and themes were modified as analysis progressed (Robson, 2011). Theme and categories of description became saturated when no additional codes were emerging. Identified themes are presented as findings in the following chapter (Chapter 5).

4.6 Summary

This chapter presented the methodology for this research study. Interpretivist research philosophy has been adopted as a theoretical perspective that guides the study. The choice of ethnographic methodology has been justified as the most appropriate, considering the purpose of this study, in which social and human relations are investigated, as the researcher intended to gain in-depth insights into feelings, attitudes and perceptions of West Slavic diasporic communities in the UK in relation to their tourism and identity formation. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were utilised as a valid data collection method. As ethnography is not just about examining data, but also accounting for the ethnographer's role during the research process, the role of the researcher within the study has been presented. The pilot study demonstrated that adjustments were needed to produce an interview schedule, suitable for use in the main study. Interviewees

were selected through a non-probability purposive sampling method, with subsequent snowballing. Twenty-seven interviews were conducted with Polish, Slovak and Czech post-accession migrants living in the UK. Data were digitally recorded and subsequently transcribed and translated if necessary. The collected qualitative data were analysed by using thematic analysis, a process widely used with qualitative data, which identified patterns within data by developing a thematic framework, crucial in the process of data interpretation (Flick, 2002). The following chapter discusses the primary research findings.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter detailed the methodology used for the current study. The aim of this chapter is to provide the results obtained from the primary data collection. This chapter centres upon the roles of tourism in shaping identities of post-accession West Slavic migrants living in the UK. Firstly, a profile overview of interviewees is presented in order to provide the context for the findings. The analysis of identities of post-accession West Slavic migrants begins with their migratory stories and their reasons for migrating to the UK. Next, the migrants' motivations for permanent return to their ancestral homelands or settlement in the UK are provided. This is followed by the travelling profile of post-accession West Slavic migrants. The identities of West Slavic migrants are ascertained through their experiences of culture shock and perceived cultural differences. Furthermore, characteristics of the notion of diaspora, such as migrants' collective identity and their separation from the host community, together with the experiences of discrimination and racism are presented. The migrants' relationships with their language, food, customs and religion are analysed, as these are equally important aspects of their identities.

The latter part of the chapter centres upon tourism with a focus on the migrants' return visits to their ancestral homelands. The role of tourism in shaping identities of West Slavic migrants are thematically approached through an assessment of the migrants' ability to discover and reinforce their roots and identity during the return visit to ancestral homelands through their personal experiences, feelings and perceptions. Furthermore, the chapter presents illustrations as to whether migrants are accepted as insiders or tourists during their trips to homelands. Finally, migrants' changing identities and places of belonging are revealed together with evaluating the process of migrants' acculturation in Britain.

5.2 Profile of Interviewees

The research was undertaken with 27 migrants originating from West Slavic cultures (Poles, Slovaks and Czechs) who currently reside in the UK (Table 5.1). The profile of interviewees includes their names, age, countries of origin, occupations and the length of residency in the UK. The names of interviewees were changed in order to maintain their anonymity and confidentiality. The sample provided for a variety of backgrounds, experiences and travel patterns. It consisted of 12 interviewees of Polish origin, 9 Slovaks and 6 Czechs. The age profile of interviewees varied and the largest proportion were younger migrants in their 20s and 30s. Some interviewees can be considered as new arrivals, however mostly they were already established UK residents. The length of residence in the UK varied, ranging from 7 months to 12 years. All interviewees were either employed, self-employed, full-time students, or currently on maternity leave. The work profile shows that those who reside in the UK for longer periods in particular were often either self-employed or in professional occupations, while newcomers were employed in low-skilled manual jobs.

Table 5.1: Profile of Interviewees

No	Name	Age	Nationality	Profession	Residency in the UK
1	Daniel	22	Slovak	Kitchen porter	7 months
2	Petra	26	Czech	Post-graduate student	10 months
3	Justyna	22	Polish	Waitress	2 years
4	Jakub	31	Czech	Postman	4 years
5	Monika	48	Polish	Cleaner	5 years
6	Gertruda	25	Polish	Post-graduate student	5 years
7	Karolina	28	Polish	Office clerk	5 years
8	Sylvia	33	Slovak	Stay at home mum	6 years
9	Anna	25	Slovak	Cleaner	6 years
10	Zaneta	25	Slovak	Self-employed	6 years
11	Emilia	31	Polish	Cleaner	6 years
12	Robert	30	Polish	Pharmacist	6 years
13	Anastazia	33	Polish	Receptionist	6 years
14	Violeta	32	Polish	Stay at home mum	6 years
15	Tomas	32	Czech	Aircraft designer	7 years
16	Paulina	27	Polish	Social worker	7 years
17	Michal	32	Polish	Administrator	7 years
18	Miriama	33	Slovak	Accountant	8 years
19	Agata	33	Polish	Beautician	8 years
20	Vanda	28	Slovak	Coffee shop manager	8 years
21	Apolonius	39	Polish	Cleaner	8 years
22	Adriana	30	Czech	Post-graduate student	9 years
23	Jozef	31	Slovak	Business owner	9 years
24	Edita	32	Slovak	Test analyst	10 years
25	Ema	34	Czech	Accountant	10 years
26	Blazena	31	Slovak	Post-graduate student	11 years
27	Marcela	30	Czech	Under-graduate student	12 years

5.3 Post-Accession West Slavic Migrants in the UK

The purpose of this section is to ascertain identities of West Slavic migrants arriving from Poland, Czech Republic and Slovakia to the UK (Aim 2).

5.3.1 Post-Accession Migration to the UK

This study identified a wide variety of reasons why post-accession migrants migrate to the UK (Figure 5.1: Reasons for Post-Accession Migration to the UK). The economic incentive to migration appears to be the most salient reason for migration (n=20). Economic related motivators concerned either 'jobs' (work) or 'pay' (money). Simply, migrants relocated because the UK could offer them work and better pay. Further focusing on the 'jobs', it has been noted that the weak economic situation, in particular high unemployment rates, were a reason for relocation to the UK:

> "I couldn't find a job in my city. I come from a small city; it is more like a big village, something like that. There are no jobs for young people, who finished school… I tried to find something here [in the UK], that is why I came to England" (Violeta, Polish).

> "Well, in my opinion, the Slovak politics are a disaster. There is only a little opportunity for young people and if you do not know anyone, it is hard to get by… I mean to get a job" (Miriama, Slovak).

Furthermore, migration to the UK was an opportunity to obtain better jobs than those available in the homeland. Finally, concerning jobs and work, it has been noted that it was the accession to the European Union that opened the door to the job market anywhere in Europe:

> "When the European Union and job market has opened I could just go to work anywhere…" (Robert Polish).

Figure 5.1: Reasons for Post-accession Migration to the UK

Economic	**Job** (Weak economy at home, EU accession, Better jobs in the UK)
	Pay (Higher salaries, money saving opportunities, improved living standards)
Education	**English Language** (Better prospects after improving English language knowledge)
	University Studies (Erasmus exchange, courses)
Reasons for Relocating to the UK	**Experience** (Adventure, New culture, Novelty, Change, Company transfer)
	To join someone (Partner, Friend, Family member)
	Other (Travel, Family disintegration, Escape from memories)

Similarly, alongside the economic drivers of money and pay, three sub-themes were discovered. Firstly, migration to the UK was motivated by prospects of migrants receiving better salaries than in their home countries:

> "It was very difficult to find a proper job in Poland and obviously to get good money for what you were doing…" (Michael, Polish).

> "The situation in the Slovakia is not the best, the salaries are low. I didn't have a future over there…" (Daniel, Slovakia).

Secondly concerning 'pay', migration was influenced by possibilities for improved living standards and finally by money-saving opportunities. Michael from Poland explains:

> "Even let's say, doing a crap job [in the UK], you are still able to live on your own and get to treat yourself. Even on a minimum wage, which I think in Poland is not possible. You will not be able to buy a cheap car, rent a room, or flat and have spare money, for let's say, partying … just to be able to live normally, not in a crazy way… With minimum wage in Poland, it will not be possible… that is really the first thing you would be comparing, comparing the lifestyles… It is definitely way easier here…"

After economic reasons, education appears to be the second most salient motive, for post-accession migrants anticipating relocation to the UK (n=12). There were two main educational purposes. Language appeared to be the main educational reason. Migrants either wanted to improve their English in order to obtain a better job in their home country or to return to higher education in the home. Paulina who has lived in the UK for seven years initially took a break from university in Poland to improve her English during summer holidays:

> "I studied Economics and we had some exams in English and my English was not good, I could not speak at all… I thought that I would come to England for two months … and learn English …"

Relocation also took place as migrants secured their places at University in the UK. The courses included undergraduate, post-graduate, or Erasmus exchange studies.

The prospects of benefiting from gaining new experiences was considered another prominent reason to migrate for many interviewees (n=11). Experiential reasons mainly included 'change from the routine' and seeking of 'novelty'. Other

migrants were looking for 'adventure', experiences of the 'new culture', or were offered a 'company transfer':

> "I worked for an Airline company in Prague; it was a British company… I was offered a position on the project in Britain. I happily accepted it … and from 2 months project, I stayed 4 months, from 4 months, it was 8 months … and now it has been 7 years" (Tomas, Czech).

A number of migrants (n=8) relocated to the UK because they were joining their partners, family members or close friends. Finally, less important factors that influenced migration to the UK included the opportunity to 'travel', 'family disintegration' through parent's divorce or death or 'escape from memories'.

5.3.2 Permanent Return to Homeland

This section presents the findings of the analysis about whether migrants plan permanent returns to their countries of origins. Firstly, the primary research findings show that the majority of interviewees (n=17) originally had plans to relocate to the UK only for a certain period of time, in order to 'learn the language', 'save up money', or 'gain new experience', as acknowledged in the previous section. Nevertheless, many 'overstayed' their original plans. With the time spent in the UK, the vast majority of interviewees (n=21) do not plan a permanent return for a various reasons (Figure 5.2: Reasons why West Slavic Migrants settle in the UK).

The findings show that the most significant reason why migrants (n=17) do not return to their homelands according to their plans are their relationships in the UK.

> "I have never planned to stay here for so long. Well, I met my current partner that I am with right now. He is from the UK, from Manchester. And obviously one thing linked to another… I have my beautiful daughter and here I am still…" (Sylvia, Slovak).

> "I came to England, planning to stay for 6 months and after improving my English, I wanted to go to the USA… but I stayed here… I met my husband Steve…" (Marcela, Czech).
> "Yes, I thought that I would stay for a maximum of five years and by that time, I would have so much money aside and I would go back… but as it

turned out, my plans have changed completely… I met my partner who is English… and I thought I would live here. I have settled here" (Robert, Polish).

Figure 5.2: Reasons why West Slavic Migrants Settle in the UK
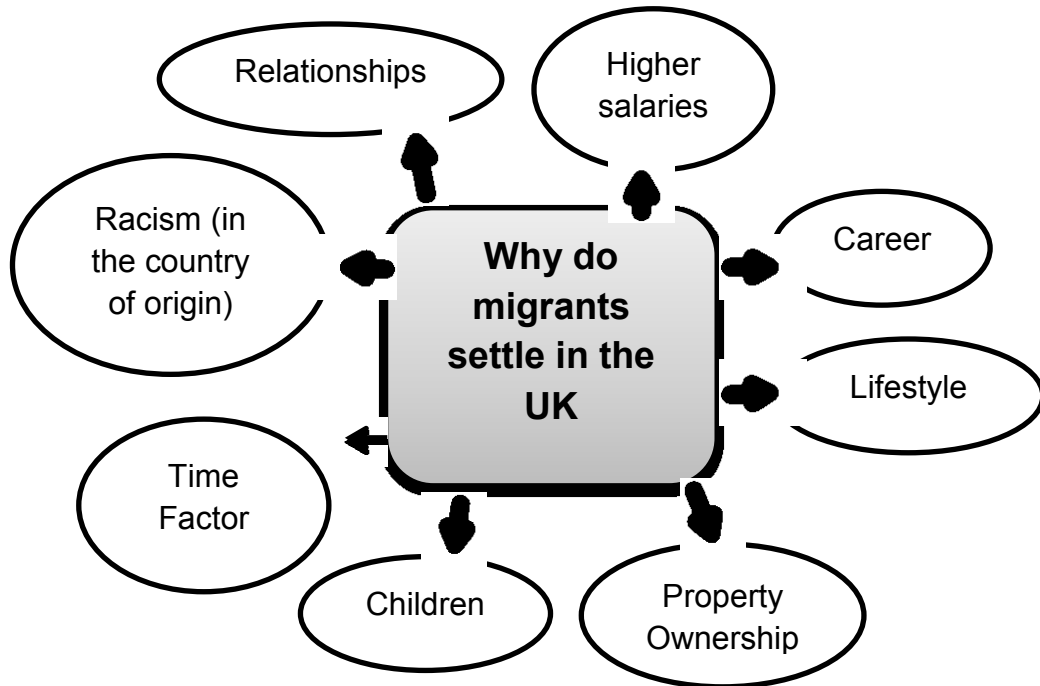
Among other important reasons migrants settling in the UK are betterment of economic situation through improved lifestyle and higher salaries:

> "I planned to stay for 6 month… but somehow I got used the lifestyle here and I wanted to stay longer and longer… and right now I don't have a timeline when I would come back" (Ema, Czech).

> "I want to stay here [in the UK] for a long, long time… forever actually… After I relocated to the UK, I knew I would not come to live in Poland. I already knew during the first visit. When I started to make money here in the UK, I was able to send money home and help my parents in Poland. If I would be working in Poland, I would not be able to help anybody; my parents would need to help me. It was much better for me to work here…" (Emilia, Polish).

The development of migrants' careers appears to be another important reason why they prefer to stay in the UK. Blazena from Slovakia felt that she would not be

able to continue her career in research in Slovakia, as "science and technology are on a completely different level".

Further, some interviewees have started their own families in the UK. A few interviewees also noted the fact that their children are in UK schools as a reason for not returning to their homelands. Other reasons also included property ownership by migrants in the UK and racism in the countries of migrants' origins as explained by Sylvia from Slovakia:

> "People here in the UK are not as racist as in my country [Slovakia], which is a key priority for me as I am having a mixed race child."

Lengthy periods spent in the UK also appear to be contributor to permanent settlement. Blazena from Slovakia concludes:

> "I do feel sometimes quite distant and I would like to come home one day, but I don't know whether it is going to be possible in the future. The longer you are here, more distant you get."

Further analysis of the primary data shows that although migrants do not have definite plans for permanent return, there are numerous situations why they would consider leaving the UK (Figure 5.3: Reasons why West Slavic Migrants Leave the UK).

Figure 5.3: Reasons why West Slavic Migrants Leave the UK
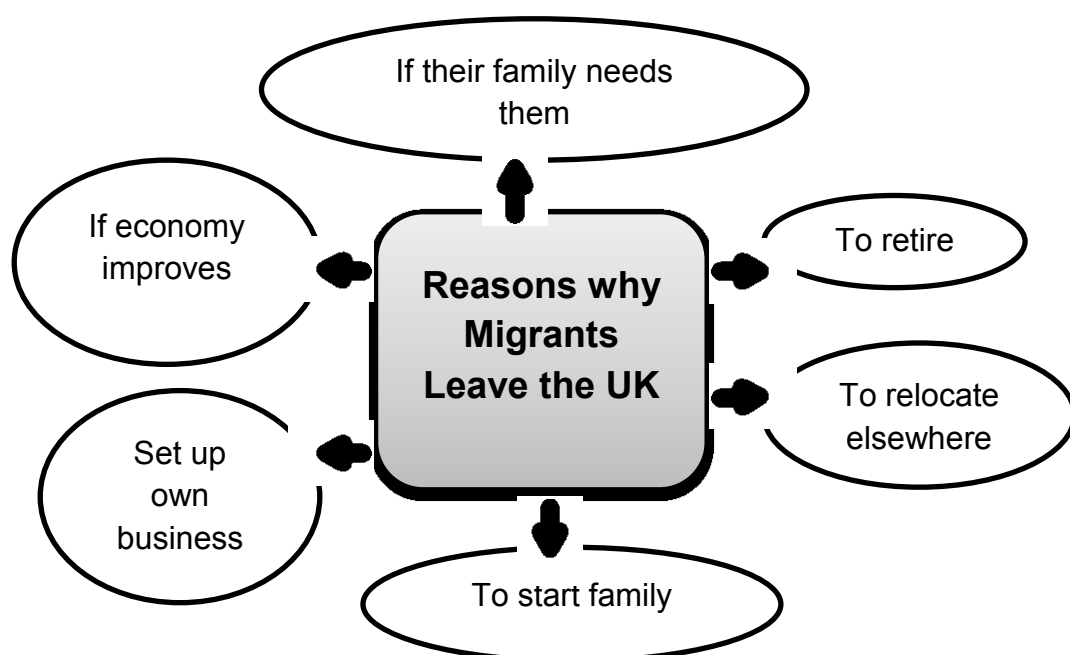
The primary research findings show that many interviewees would like to return, or would prefer to live in their countries of origin, but think this unlikely because of the economic reality. Migrants would consider returning to their homeland if the economy situation and job prospects improved:

> "Although my heart knows that the home is in Slovakia, in the UK I feel protected… Right now in Slovakia I would not get even 50% of possibilities to improve my life economically and professionally as in here" (Sylvia, Slovakia).

> "Everybody is asking me about how long I would stay in the UK, or if I am going to come back… I cannot answer that… it might sound really bad, but money is the motivation. I will not come back somewhere, where is less money… If I had the same money, I wold prefer to be in Poland" (Michal, Polish).

> "It is my homeland but I would live there [in the Czech Republic] only if I could find work that would enable me to provide for myself and my future family… I think that my job as a physiotherapist would be underpaid there and I would not be able to live off that kind of money. Right now, I would prefer to focus on my work with possibilities I have abroad, even if it has to be away from homeland and for the price of not being with my family" (Petra, Czech).

A few interviewees had vague plans to return to their countries of origin to retire:

> "Yes, I do have plans to return, but I do not know when… maybe I will go back to retire…" (Miriama, Slovak).

> "It is my homeland… I want to come back one day and I certainly will. I am here only for a certain period of time, actually uncertain period of time [laughs] but I will certainly come back some day… I don't know when, it can be in two years, it can be in five years, certainly I will be there to retire" (Ema, Czech).

Only one of the interviewees had definite plans to relocate in the near future, but only a temporary return because of better career opportunity:

> "I was trying to get a job in Poland as a teacher of German language, because I could not get one in the UK. I actually got the job and I am about to move back [to Poland] next week. I will be going back to Poland for one school year but I am not sure yet, whether I will stay in Poland… It depends. I am going for a year and then we will see… because my husband is in England and we will see how everything is going…" (Anastazia, Polish).

Other migrants would consider returning as a duty towards their parents:

> *"There have been many occasions when I thought about it [returning]… All my family is there, so if my family will need me to come back…"* (Adriana, Czech).

> "Three months ago, when I lost my mum to cancer, I wanted to return to Poland permanently because my father was alone… but he said: 'No, no way, stay in the UK, you have different life, you have kids'…" (Emilia, Polish).

Revealing future plans and other potential reasons to leave Britain, a number of interviewees also included the possibility of relocation to other countries:

> "I do not have plans to return to the Czech Republic, I will stay here [in the UK] over the next few years and I am thinking to possibly move to other English speaking country, Australia, Canada or USA as I have a job offers in these countries …" (Tomas, Czech).

> "I do not think I will live in the UK. I am attracted to try America or Australia but that is too far from my family. I don't know…" (Vanda, Slovak).

Finally, reasons to leave the UK also included migrants' consideration of their countries of origin to be a better place to raise a family or to start own business.

5.3.3 Tourism Patterns of West Slavic Migrants in the UK

This section presents the findings of the analysis of the travelling patterns of West Slavic migrants in the UK. The findings show that having sufficient disposable incomes, post-accession West Slavic migrants in the UK are able to travel extensively. 89% of interviewees (n=24) took holidays abroad of seven or more nights over the past year. Furthermore, a number of interviewees (n=22) travelled abroad more than once over the past year, including eight interviewees who travelled four or more times per year.

Further analysing holiday patterns of migrants, visits to their ancestral homelands appear in the tourism profile of all interviewees (Table 5.2: Travel Profile of West Slavic Migrants in the UK).

Table 5.2: Travel Profile of West Slavic Migrants in the UK

Type of Holidays and Destinations	No of Interviewees
Travel to Ancestral Homeland	24
Seaside (Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria)	12
City Breaks (Amsterdam, Paris, Barcelona, Porto, Lisbon, Milan, Brussels, Berlin)	10
Long Haul Destinations (Bermuda, Thailand, Asia, Middle East, Israel, Jordan)	3
Ski Holidays (Italy)	1

Moreover, travel to ancestral homelands has been a priority over any other holiday destinations for the vast majority of interviewees (n=24):

> "Travel to homeland is very important… if I have a choice to go to Greece, or Spain, or to Poland. I choose Poland, because my family is there, because I have a very close relationship with my father, with my grandma and I miss them. I want to see them as much as I can …" (Emilia, Polish).

> "It is very important. I would say that it is sort of the highlight of the year, those two visits to homeland, the time spent in the homeland…I take holidays every 6 months and I always travel only to the Czech Republic" (Jakub, Czech).

Further, the primary research findings show that the majority of interviewees (n=21) are used to travelling 'elsewhere' in addition to travelling to their homeland. The most popular destinations amongst interviewees (n=12) are seaside holidays in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria.

> "When I take my annual leave, I try to spend some time with my family, but I also try to visit something new… to really get some rest. I usually choose Spain or Portugal. Going to homeland is not a traditional holiday because I do not get enough rest. I am always busy, busy, busy, so it's not really relax, but it's very important to see the family…" (Karolina, Polish).

> "I travelled to Turkey at the end of April. I am trying to take other holidays other than just travelling to Poland" (Justyna, Polish).

Other favourable places for interviewees (n=10) included European city breaks to Amsterdam, Paris, Barcelona, Porto, Lisbon, Milan, Brussels or Berlin. Finally, a few interviewees (n=3) travelled to long haul destinations which included

Bermuda, Thailand, Asia, Middle East, Israel and Jordan and ski holidays to Italian Alps.

> "I have been influenced by my friends to take holidays elsewhere because sometimes when you are just travelling back home you feel like that you don't see other countries but the UK and homeland… Now that my boyfriend is from Italy, we travel there more often. Plus we are trying to take other holidays, weekend city breaks" (Blazena, Slovak).

> "It depends; every year, I have the main holiday and I am trying to get to know something new, Asia, or Middle East… Then, I travel somewhere closer, in Europe, for example to Amsterdam or a short city break. For example this year, I travelled to my main vacation in Israel and Jordan" (Vanda, Slovak).

5.3.4 Homeland, a Horizon for Diaspora

All interviewees acknowledged their connection to their countries of origin. Migrants felt homesick and nostalgic during their stay in the UK. Several themes emerged from empirical data as reasons for experiencing homesickness and nostalgia amongst migrants (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4: Main Reasons why West Slavic Migrants Feel Homesick in the UK
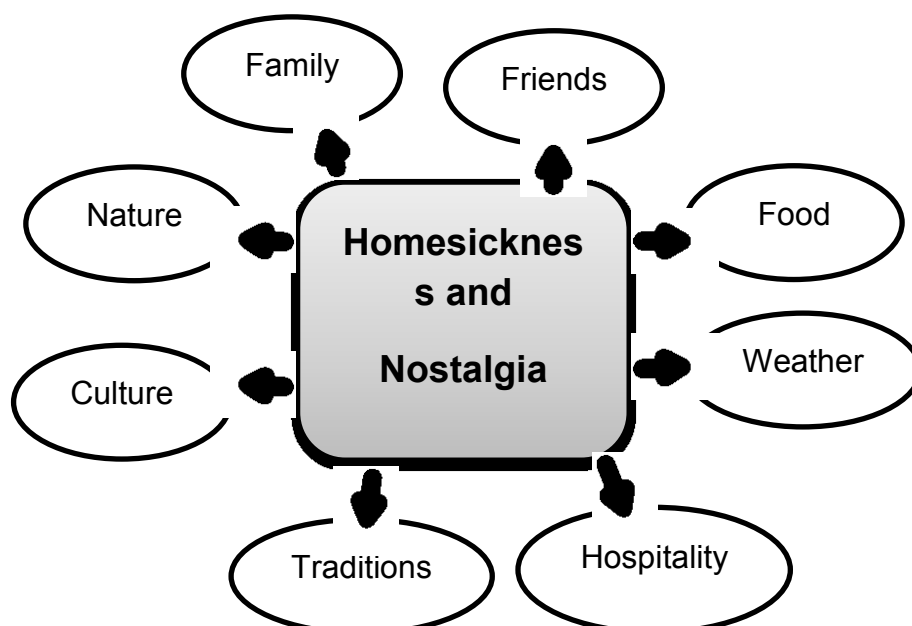
Firstly and most importantly, migrants (n=22) missed their families and networks of friends in the countries of their origins:

> "I do not miss the land so much; I don't think it is about the land… I think it is about the family and the relationship with them. If I could bring my family over here [to the UK] I would be very happy… I think it is just the family that I miss. And the weather, but… it is all about the family…" (Edita, Slovak).

> "I am connected to Slovakia through people, my family, parents, it is the place where I was born, and it is a place where I spent my youth, but mostly people. I miss people. People bring everything with them; the food, the culture …" (Jozef, Slovak).

> "I have my family there, my best friends are over there… even though I have lived here for such a long time and met many people, nobody has replaced my two best friends who are in the Czech Republic" (Tomas, Czech).

Moreover, migrants usually missed the weather in their homelands:

> "I miss the weather; I miss the summer time in Poland" (Justyna, Polish).

Finally, other migrants missed the nature, traditions and hospitality of their countries of origins:

> "I miss Czech history, which is interesting. I miss the Czech castles and chateaux … therefore I miss the Czech culture completely, something that you cannot move over here…" (Tomas, Czech).

> "I miss the tradition… the Christmas time, Easter time, all the shops are closed, everything is quiet, they don't have that over here …" (Vioeta, Polish).

> "I miss the nature … because I am from village… I miss going outside my house in the night-time, just watching the stars… and it is so quiet… nothing more… I also miss my forest; I live about one kilometre away from the forest and I miss it" (Apolonius, Polish).

To overcome homesickness and nostalgia, migrants receive emotional and moral support from friends and relatives in homelands through the Internet, letters, phone calls, as well as through regular visits to homeland. Miriama from Slovakia recalls how much more difficult it was to stay in touch in the past, without the Internet or mobile telephony:

> "I remember that at the time, we did not use mobile phones and when I received letter from my mum, I would start crying emotionally, being homesick… I think that it was very difficult periods for everyone who had to leave home and stay abroad. Everything that we have achieved is well deserved because of what we had to go through…"

Finally, the findings show that the development of communication systems, mobile phones, the Internet, as well as low cost air travel appeared to help in overcoming migrants' feeling of being homesick:

> "I think that in today's interconnected world, it doesn't really matter where you live, you can live wherever and always fly back whenever you wish, if you have the means to do so" (Petra, Czech).

> "I didn't have problems at all… maybe because I speak to my family on Skype every day… Probably I would miss my family more, if I did not see them but because of Skype, I do not… "(Paulina, Polish).

5.3.5 Collective Identity among Diaspora

Collective identity means that migrants originating from the same parts of the world, or from the same culture, tend to be closer to each other. Concerning the friendship patterns of West Slavic migrants, the primary research findings show that the majority of interviewees (n=17) were involved in friendships with other West Slavic migrants (Mono-cultural social group network). This group includes close relationships with other Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, as these are considered as a homogenous cultural group for the purpose of this study.

> "It was easier to make friendships with people from my country because of the language, the cultural barriers and I think it is kind of nature for the human being that you tend to be closer to people that are from the same background as yourself" (Sylvia, Slovak).

The findings further revealed that a number of interviewees (n=8) made friendships predominantly from within the multicultural environment that Britain has to offer. These friendships included relationships predominantly with other foreigners in the UK, the friendships made away from their own cultures (multi-cultural social group network). The involvement in bi-cultural relationships,

however, appeared less important, where only a small number of interviewees (n=2) expressed close friendships with English nationals.

However, as socialising only with migrants from the same background is very common, it has its disadvantages. Isolation from the host culture in the UK leads to a lack of English language skill development and provides only a limited experience of the host culture as explained by Blazena from Slovakia:

> "The problem is that when you are within a community and you don't speak good English, the chances are that you never will if you are only holding onto community. It just depends of what you do; because many people came over here [to the UK] just to do manual jobs like being a pot washer or working in a warehouse for example. That really does not give you any language skills. If you are working hard, I mean many hours, and all you come back to is your community, which is good because it holds you up, but then it can be difficult developing your language skills."

Further analysing migrants' collective identity, the findings show that a significant number of interviewees (n=17) were in the past, or currently are affiliated with larger communities that can be considered diasporic. The involvement within the community includes attending communities' Sunday church services, following and participating in the community's goings on, such as meetings, parties and social events. The internet appears to be an important intermediary when getting information about what is happening inside the community:

> "I am participating in the Facebook community of Czechs and Slovaks online. I also went few times to pub called Tatton Arms in Altrincham, where this community meets during ice-hockey matches and different occasions. I don't go all the time; I go sometimes, so I get to communicate in my language" (Miriama, Slovak).

> "Yes … we have online community called 'Nasza Klasa' and I am involved there… and I do go to meetings, I also followed the community on Twitter as well" (Emilia, Polish).

> "Yes… we meet about 5 miles from here, there is a Polish church, opposite the church, there is Polish school for children… on Saturdays they [kids] go and play… I used to go every week" (Violeta, Polish).

Concerning diaspora, Jozef from Slovakia further expressed his perception that the community of Slovaks in Manchester, UK, lacks structure and organisation:

"I think that there will never be enough Slovaks over here to make you feel completely comfortable. I would prefer to have more Slovaks here in the UK… and there should be a cultural or community centre where we could meet up more often. I know that this is what people from South East Asia do… I would like to have Slovakian church over here, Slovakian pub… one was closed down; the Czech bar, because there was not enough interest… In my opinion, Slovaks started to integrate into the British society more and more, especially those who live and work here for longer and they do not really protect the boundaries of their traditions and community."

There has been a consistent perception that with the acculturation process and influences of other religious beliefs and interests West Slavic migrants change and often keep away from larger diasporic communities:

"I am not part of the community any more, since I converted as Muslim. I used to be a part of the Polish community here in Higher Broughton… There was a Polish circle in Cheetham Hill, but there is not any more… People just meet … you can find adverts on the Polish shops that inform you about Polish discotheques, for example… they would rent club in town and make Polish party" (Agata, Polish).

"I didn't take part in what is happening in our community in a long time. Sometimes I perceive myself as changed from what I used to be, because I can see that people form my community live different lifestyle. The one that I used to live but I would not want to live any more…" (Vanda, Slovak).

When considering inter-group differences between Czech, Slovaks and Polish, one distinction was noted as respondents revealed the consistent pattern of hostility that Polish felt towards other Polish. The interviewees from the Czech Republic and Slovakia have not been experiencing such an antipathy amongst themselves.

"No [I am not a member of community], because I have this, maybe it is a prejudice against 'Polishness' … There is something I don't really like about being Polish… Do not get me wrong, I do not mind being Polish, but there is something in the nation that I really, really do not like… Envy, is one of the things… if you do better than somebody else does, than it is wrong … So Polish people do not rejoice with you in your successes, they envy you and they bad mouth you for it…" (Robert, Polish).

"I also think that Polish people are the most jealous people when you have something better… They could easily stab you at work. Polish co-worker would go and speak to the boss behind your back, saying that you were drunk yesterday… I love Polish people, I like to see them, but after work… When I am looking for a job and I have a choice, I prefer not to work with other Polish people. Polish people at work are horrible" (Emilia, Polish).

"Polish guy doesn't like Polish guy, we fight… I do not know why… it is something, maybe the culture, but I know that people from Poland are jealous. I know lot of people from Slovakia, they are my friends and they are still living together in this big house; they have six rooms and it means that 10 or more people live there… and when I go to the party, they are always like brothers and sisters… It is very nice, I love it … I think they hold more together, much more…" (Apolonius, Polish).

5.3.6 Degree of Separation from the British, Discrimination and Racism

As migrants experience collective identity with other migrants, many (n=10) perceived a degree of separation from the host community in the UK. Migrants assigned the reasons why they have felt this separation mainly to the language barrier and to general cultural differences. The perceived degree of separation from the British had not changed over time; migrants have experienced it as newcomers, as well as when resident in the UK for a decade. Adriana from the Czech Republic, who lived in the UK for 10 years perceived the barrier as follows:

"Through my experience, I realised that no matter how hard you try you will never fit within this society [in the UK], or you are never going to be English. You are still going to have your roots back home, or this is how I feel because I was born in different country."

Furthermore, the majority of interviewees (n=15) experienced discrimination or racism in the UK. Discrimination has been particularly connected with the perception that foreigners steal jobs from UK nationals. Other interviewees perceived themselves to be discriminated against at work, or when competing for work with British nationals:

"I felt like I couldn't get the job I wanted… I wanted to work as a teacher, and I thought when I went to England… I thought that it was very easy to find a job as a teacher… but it was not, so… I have all the qualifications from the English educational sector, I have a qualified teacher status, I got all the qualifications that I need, and they accepted the diploma from my country… you know… I think that I couldn't find a job because… because I was Polish, because English is not my first language… and think that was the main reason for that… but I understand it, because I can imagine, that in my country, people prefer to employ Polish teachers than foreigners, so somehow, I understand this situation" (Anastazia, Polish).

Moreover, at least four interviewees had strong personal negative experiences of discrimination and racism:

> "Another situation was last week… I was shopping with a friend, nearby here in Salford and a very old English lady followed us from one shop to another as she heard us speaking Polish… and the whole time she was screaming at us: 'Oh you fucking Polish, go back to your country, fucking Polish, fucking Polish…' . I did not say anything… she was over 70 years old… she followed us with a basket wheels. Fucking Polish, take everything, take my job…I felt uncomfortable on several occasions; it can be hard sometimes…" (Emilia, Polish).

Finally, some interviewees felt they had been subjected to stereotyping by the British. Stereotyping can be positive as well as negative:

> "Sometimes, I am afraid of stereotyping that some people have about Polish, for example that we drink too much… but on the other hand, there are some positive stereotyping, that Polish people are hardworking… I can feel proud when I hear positive comments about Polish people" (Karolina, Polish).

> "However, there is a saying: Italian and Spanish cuisine but the Polish builder. I have a business and I employ Polish builders because I think that people from Central Europe have better working habits, they are more responsible. I am talking about manual workers here; I would always prefer to choose a person from Central Europe to English one. Our clients are very happy with my company, appreciating the fact that their bathroom is going to be done by the Polish, for example. Therefore, we, as foreigners can be also positively stereotyped, not only discriminated…" (Jozef, Slovak).

5.3.7 Cultural Differences

When comparing the cultural differences between West Slavic and British cultures, the primary research findings report that the vast majority of interviewees (n=19) experienced some shock of the new culture but the differences were minor and they got used to living in new environments in the UK without difficulties. Multiculturalism, a variety of races and religions appear to be one important difference that many respondents noted when comparing both cultures:

> "The biggest shock after moving to the UK was the multiculturalism you have here… I have never in my life seen so many people of different races,

people from Africa, people from Muslim countries, dressed in their traditional attire…" (Justyna, Polish).

Generally, most interviewees (n=21) had a positive outlook and many aspects of the British culture were perceived as a positive change in comparison to the cultures of their countries of origin. The UK has been perceived as an open and cosmopolitan society by many interviewees. Moreover, the differences between attitudes to work and work ethics between Central European countries and the UK have been noted:

> "One thing that I remember surprised me was the way English people communicate and their easy-going ways, nothing is a problem. I mean it in the work context, for example, if someone is ill, or just not feeling good enough, he would call sick, or just inform work and miss few days… People [in the UK] understand these situations more and that is what I like about England… While in the Czech Republic or other parts of Europe, this is a big problem. People are scared to call in work even when they are really sick … In England they are more easy-going and that is what I like about it" (Tomas, Czech).

Two interviewees specifically noted the evident freedom and safety in the UK when considering gay sexuality:

> "I thought that everything was more open in comparison to Slovakia… for example, regarding sexuality. There is Gay village over here… I talk about this because I am lesbian and this is taboo in Slovakia. You can feel more yourself over here, when it comes to sexuality, even though I had girlfriends in Slovakia… When I moved to Manchester and I found out that there is a Gay Parade, I was so ecstatic and every year I do go there… I really enjoyed the fact how gay people are accepted and nobody looks at them in a funny way…" (Vanda, Slovak).

> "Being gay in Poland is just so difficult… it is not xenophobia, it is homophobia… Again, Polish people are very homophobic. Why? ... I don't know why. I remember, when I was coming to terms of being gay living in Poland, I was completely devastated about it. It is freedom really… this is what life is about, if you feel free then you feel safe… or the other way around, if you feel safe, you feel free, and here nobody really comes across any abuse… or I definitely haven't" (Robert, Polish).

Further focusing on perceived cultural differences, a number of interviewees (n=8) pointed out a positive attitudes and politeness of people in the UK in comparison with their country of origin:

"People were so nice, always polite, saying 'sorry' and stuff like that…" (Karolina, Polish).

"One thing I remember especially that shocked me a lot, was the kindness… how polite people are…" (Sylvia, Slovak).

However, several interviewees also noted that even though British people are 'nicer', it is often the politeness of the language rather than genuine interest in foreigners:

"On one hand I was impressed with people's decency, but on the other hand I thought it is was only superficial … It is difficult to say. I definitely had mixed feelings" (Tomas, Czech).

"I think that English people are more open… At first, everything was beautiful, but later, when you get to know them better, not everything was that nice, because they are fake, false… They just smile and then behind your back, you know… Polish people are not usually that nice and polite like English because everyone is real…" (Paulina, Polish).

Interviewees also faced negative experiences of the culture and disappointment. Robert from Poland remembers the misconception that he had about the UK prior to his relocation, about how people lived, and how people behaved:

I was so disillusioned, really, these first weeks in the UK, I felt like: 'Oh my God, they [British] are just as savage as we - Polish people can be…'"

A few interviewees (n=3) made remarks about the past Communist era in the countries of origin, when comparing the cultural differences, namely the differences in the levels of development between the 'East and West':

"I see that people in the country [Czech Republic] want to really catch up with Westernised countries because we have been for such a long time closed like in the cage if you think about it. I am generation that grew up during communism and post-communism… I could feel that as a teenager, I could not get great pair of jeans but I really loved that when I came here I could see Lewis and you … you just love the fact that… I think that really the key is the variety, just like all that different things…I just feel like that things that we can buy there [in the UK], or for what prices we can buy them…" (Adriana, Czech).

Finally, emerging from unpredictable political and economic environments, Czechs, Slovaks and Poles are more family-oriented and attach greater importance to group collectives in comparison to more individualistic Westernised

cultures such as the British culture. It has been noted by a number of interviewees (n=6) that families in the West Slavic culture hold closer together, spend more together, and help each other. Paulina from Poland who lives with her English partner explains:

> "English people are so different… In Poland, parents usually help you later on… My brother [in Poland] has kids and our parents still help him with everything… Here, in England, you have to pay parents for renting the room inside the house. For me, this is not normal, because in our culture, parents should help you. That is what I am used to, but here [in the UK] it is not like that… When you have a baby [in Poland], the whole family looks after it, helping you as much as you can, brothers, sisters aunties … I have to be with my son [in the UK] every day… Only my boyfriend looks after him sometimes. Sometimes, his mum does look after my child, but she is trying to do everything to avoid it. She always needs to have a rest [sarcastically]… It is just so strange for me, I do not understand it sometimes…" (Paulina, Polish).

5.3.8 Language as Marker of Identity

Migrants' identities are visible through their everyday use of the language. The language has been analysed as another marker of migrants' identities, while the use of English language is considered a sign of acculturation into the host community in the UK. The findings show that the majority of interviewees (n=17) use both English and their own native languages during their day-to-day encounters. A few interviewees (n=3) used English language exclusively, while others (n=7) used only their native tongue:

> "All my friends are Polish so I speak Polish all the time… and with my husband as well…" (Anastazia, Polish).

Further, a number of interviewees (n=11) found it difficult to express themselves in their native tongue due to the influences of the English language:

> "My language speaking patterns have changed… Sometimes people laugh at the way I construct sentences because I am trying to copy how I would construct the sentences in English, so… Sometimes my friends just laugh on the sentence I have just said…" (Blazena, Slovak).

> "I am really quite switched, you see, my partner is English as I said, so we speak English all the time. I rarely, rarely speak Polish these days. When I speak Polish, it is a little bit embarrassing because I find myself using an English construction of the sentence… Sort of direct translation from English to Polish, but it doesn't work that way, because the construction of the sentence is completely different, so sometimes, I come up with some nonsense, but that's is ok… I think that everybody has those problems…" (Robert, Polish).

All interviewees who had children born in the UK (n=7) were teaching their children their native language as well as English:

> "I felt all right at the beginning… later I was avoiding speaking Polish, or I would be quiet about it… but now, I started to be proud again that I am Polish, and I don't care… I just speak loud to my son and if somebody has problem, they can just tell me… I am teaching my son to speak Polish!" (Paulina, Polish)

> "My daughter, she speaks and understands both, English and Polish …" (Agata, Polish).

5.3.9 Food, Customs and Religion

The majority of interviewees (n=21) expressed connections to food and its associated customs as representing their attachment to their ancestral homeland. Food appeared to be a significant marker of migrants' identities. Interviewees often expressed a sense of pride in their national foods, which was often accompanied by a disparaging remark about their perceptions of British food:

> "English food, to start with… was terrible. Bland in taste, completely flavourless … I thought that some things were disgusting. Probably, everybody says the same things about bread… I still hate English bread… I hate it… I sometimes do [buy Polish groceries], because when it comes to food… you know that is my real Polish identity, it really comes across there. I sometimes crave what I used to eat during my childhood" (Robert, Polish).

> "I buy Polish food in the Polish shop…. I shop a lot in Lidl because it is a good food… English food is no good for us… We cook and buy everything in the Polish shop" (Violeta, Polish).

The interviewees perceived that their needs concerning food were catered for, especially after the expansion of the 'Polski sklep' throughout the UK. Polish

shops offer a variety of Polish traditional foods and often carry stock of Slovak and Czech products:

> "After the expansion of the Polish shops, I was able to get hold of all these things; I was regularly buying everything that I would miss from back home; bread, rolls, ham, bacon, cheese, spices, cordial, juices, yogurts, 'horalky' and sweets… Afterwards, with the expansion of the Polish shops, you would not have anything really missing, when it comes to food" (Jozef, Slovak).

Concerning customs and traditions, the primary research findings show that the vast majority of interviewees (n=23) prefers their traditional way of celebrating customs and traditions:

> "I follow all the Czech traditions because I was raised in the Czech Republic… English Bank Holidays do not have any significance for me. Except the fact that it is a day off at work…" (Tomas, Czech).

> "By the rule I follow Slovak traditions, especially Christmas is special to me" (Jozef, Slovakia).

The identity of interviewees was expressed especially concerning the celebration of Christmas, the main Christian tradition, which differs in the UK and in the West Slavic countries of Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Christmas tradition in West Slavic Culture is celebrated on 24th of December, with the traditional meal consisting of fish and potato salad:

> "Here, people eat turkey, it's great… but I grew up and I used to have fish and potato salad… These are the things that represent my Christmas…" (Adriana, Czech).

> "If I have to spend Christmas here, it is according to Slovakian tradition, with the traditional dish, which is fish…" (Marianna, Slovak).

> "We have fish, because we are Catholic, also salads, lots of things... but I love to eat traditional food during my visit to homeland" (Justyna, Polish).

The primary research findings show that a majority of interviewees (n=15) would prefer to travel the distance, just to spend the 'special moments' of Christmas with their families. However, with the processes of acculturation, a large number of interviewees follow the British traditions and the customs as well as their own.

Small number of interviewees even rejected the way of celebration in their own culture, and took on the customs of the host society.

Finally, the findings show that the significant number of interviewees (n=13) follow the Christianity in the countries of their origin. However, influenced by the lifestyle changes in the UK, only a small number of interviewees (n=6) would actually attend church services in the UK. Migrants found themselves having less free time, often having to work on Sundays, which prevents them from attending church services regularly. However, the intention to attend church have been expressed by interviewees:

> "We are both Catholics, but it is quite difficult to practice, because of the work… My husband used to work on Sundays and we live far away from the Polish church… Now, when we have time and manage to get ready, we do go to church on Sundays…" (Emilia, Polish).

> "I believe in God and when I am in Poland, I go to church because I feel like I need it. Or sometimes it is just for Christening or Wedding when we have in the family… However, in Manchester, I am not going to church because I do not have time. I know there is a Polish church here in Manchester, and maybe I am going to start attending it, that could be nice. But it is not so easy because I have to work on Sundays" (Justyna, Polish).

5.4 Tourism and Identity of West Slavic Migrants in the UK

The previous section aimed to ascertain identities of West Slavic migrants in the UK. This section centres upon the travel and identities of West Slavic Migrants in the UK. The roles of return visits to migrants' ancestral homelands in shaping their identities and belongings are analysed. This is achieved through investigating migrants' feelings, perceptions and experiences during their visits to their ancestral homeland, whether the travel reinforces migrants' roots and identities and whether they are accepted as an insiders or tourists. Finally, migrants changing identities and places of belonging are shown.

5.4.1 Travel to Ancestral Homeland

As previously discussed, the vast majority of interviewees (n=24) considered travel to their homeland to be "a priority that you have" (Blazena, Slovakia). The findings show that all interviewees took a journey to their homeland over the past three years and the vast majority (n=23) travelled over the past year. The frequency of travel to migrants' homelands varied (Figure 5.5: Frequency of travel to ancestral homeland). The majority of them (n=21) travelled to their homeland several times over the past year. Migrants' length of stay in their homeland varied greatly, from long weekends, several days, to three months long-term stays. The average migrants' stay in their homeland was 12 days.

Figure 5.5: Frequency of Travel to Ancestral Homeland
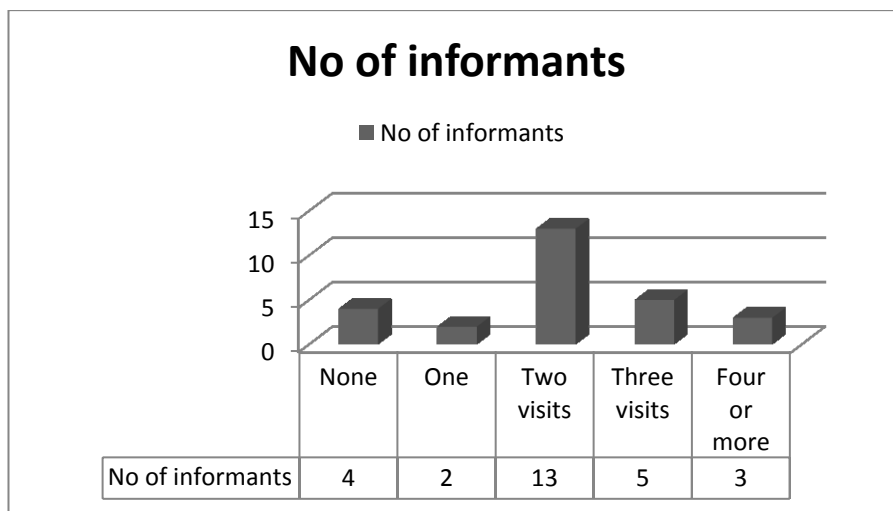
The primary research findings acknowledged different motives for tourism trips to ancestral homelands made by West Slavic migrants in the UK (Figure 5.6). Most visits to ancestral homeland were undertaken as visits to friends and relatives (VFR tourism). Consequently the majority of interviewees (n=25) stayed in their parents' house, with friends, other family members, or alternatively in their own house, or apartment.

"I stay at my mums. My mum has an apartment, where I used to live with her since I was little. I still have my little room, that's why when I get home, I feel like at home because it looks like when I left, or very similar, even though it was 8-9 years ago…" (Adriana, Czech).

"I have a house in Poland. I bought my own house" (Monika, Polish).

Figure 5.6: Reasons why West Slavic Migrants Travel to Homelands
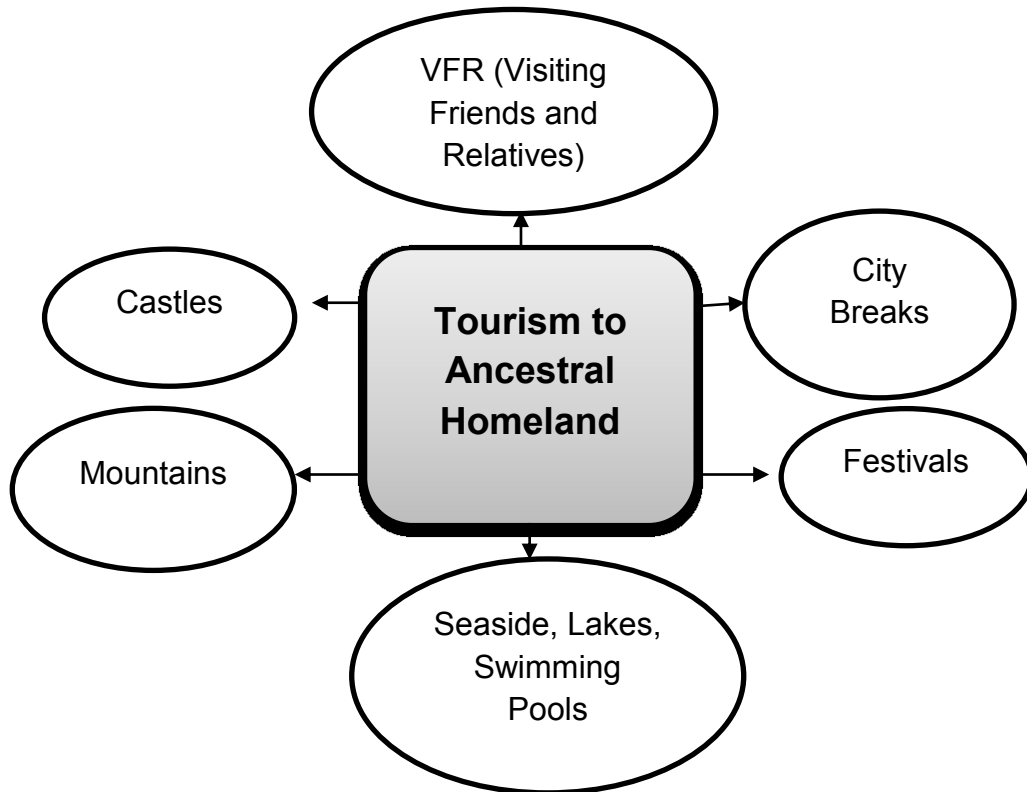
The findings show that these trips have been mostly fuelled by nostalgia, migrants' desire and obligation to see their families, but also due to social obligation to participate in important family events, such as weddings, christenings, holy communions, celebrations and funerals.

"I think that everyone who lives in a different country will have these little moments that you are feeling homesick… I get homesick and I can definitely feel that if I do not see my family, sort of at least twice a year, I would not be probably as happy as I am" (Adriana, Czech).

"I feel it [travel to homeland] is an obligation to see my father, my mother (Agata, Polish).

"I have a need to see my family, and I know they are happy to see me too. I know that my family are people that I can rely on the most, trust the most, and I feel great when they are around..."(Jozef, Slovak).

However, other touristic patterns are visible. Other than visiting closest friends and relatives in the hometowns, migrants (n=15) travelled to other places in their home countries as tourists. These trips included mainly tourism visits such as city breaks, visiting relatives and friends from school that live that live somewhere else, trips to capital cities and other places of interest, visits to galleries, etcetera.

"Sometimes, I am visiting different towns, just to see them, you know…" (Michal, Polish).

"I visit Prague because I have lot of friends over there as well…" (Tomas, Czech).

Further tourism-motivated trips of West Slavic migrants are summer trips to the seaside, lakes and water attractions, music festivals and winter trips to mountains.

"I enjoy nice weather and opportunity to go swimming, visit Aqua Park, or Senec Lakes, or just the pools… In the winter, I enjoy skiing in the mountains" (Zaneta, Slovak).

"My friends, they go for festival, music festival every year and I never had a chance to actually join them on that occasion. Therefore, my next trip is going to be in summer and my main purpose this time is going to be a little bit exceptional because this time it is not going to be as much about my family but it is going to be more about me and my friends. And also I turned 30 this year, so for that reason I am going to use this time and I am actually choosing this specific time to celebrate my birthday with my friends who I grew up with" (Adriana, Czech).

As West Slavic countries are famous for their rich history, visits to historical attractions, such as castles were of importance to migrants:

"Last time, we took a trip to the 'Orava Castle'. Sometimes we take trips also around Slovakia… if something interesting goes on; I always want to be a part of that" (Jozef, Slovak).

Although the overwhelming majority of migrants stayed with their friends and families, two interviewees stayed at hotels during their visit to their homeland, as they considered it more comfortable or convenient:

"I stayed once with my brother, when I went there … but I feel more comfortable staying in the hotel" (Robert, Polish).

"If we go to a different city, we normally stay in the hotel for a couple of nights (Edita, Slovak).

Christmas, as a traditional religious family holiday appeared to be the most preferred travel period according to the interviewees (n=15). Many consistently travelled to their ancestral homelands year after year during Christmas holidays, as Christmas spent away from their families often resulted in too much nostalgia.

> "Last Christmas, I spent a lot of money for the ticket just to be in Poland for four days and I believe it was a good choice. Christmas, Easter or other Bank holidays, we [Polish] celebrate completely differently. In Poland, we celebrate these times of the year very emotionally. Christmas for us is not only presents like here in the UK. We do not go to the restaurants every single day of Christmas holiday as English people are used to doing. We are more religious. My experience from the childhood is that Christmas means a big table with lots of family members behind it, an amazing atmosphere, lots of nice food and Christmas wishes for everybody… and presents as well… The Christmas atmosphere is so great; it is something what I am waiting for the whole year… As I mentioned the Christmas holiday must be spent at home. I was spending 20 years at the same table with the same people during Christmas. When I stayed here in the UK, everybody was crying over there [in Poland], because I was missing. When my mum called me, I could not even speak to her... It was just really sad. I realised that even if I don't go there the whole year, I have to go during Christmas" (Justyna, Czech).

> "I would try to avoid spending it [Christmas] away from Slovakia, away from my family back home, even though it is not always possible… I have already spent Christmas here in the UK, but I can conclude that the Christmas were less merry, because I think that the happiness of Christmas is based on spending them with people close to you, people that you love, your family and closest relatives, with food, traditions, church services that you followed growing up…" (Jozef, Slovak).

5.4.2 Travel to Discover Roots and Identity

Evaluating deeper meanings behind the return visits, the primary research findings show that for some interviewees homeland travel signified their desire to explore, or rediscover their roots and origins. Tourism to their homeland was the migrants' reminder of who they are, where they come from, where they used to live and maybe where they will one day return.

> "I think that when I get home, what is the most important for me is really touching those roots and making not being able to forget where you really come from" (Adriana, Slovak).

> "The visit gives me a sense of belonging, being with my own people in my real homeland" (Petra, Czech).

> "I think the visit is a good way to remind yourself of your roots, of where do you come from… the feeling that I know who I am, I know where do I come from, I know where I used to live and maybe where I will one day return to…"(Jozef, Slovak).

For other migrants, the travel to homeland does not appear to be a way to confirm migrants' identities, as they tend to reassure themselves of their belonging while they are in the UK. Tomas from the Czech Republic stated:

> "Paradox is that I am reassuring myself to be Czech in the United Kingdom because when I am over here [in the UK], I miss Czech Republic and I get to think about my heritage, my way of thinking ... When I come to visit the Czech Republic I don't think about being Czech, because I am Czech regardless, alongside others…"

However, the frequency and affordability of international travel meant that some migrants were not concerned with identity during the visit:

> "I don't think about my identity when I go there [to Poland]. The most important is my family… but it definitely helps to keep traditions, even just visiting for Christmas and Easter… My home is definitely here in the UK for now, but [long pause] I don't know, it does not affect me… Trips home do not affect me so much or make me realise if I belong here or there… for me it is just a normal way. I remember that during my last visit in February, we were altogether, having a nice dinner and my cousin left and his wife said goodbye, hugged me, and he did not even say anything. Therefore, I called him and I said: 'Do you want to say goodbye to me? I am leaving tomorrow.' And he said: 'Oh I forgot, you are here so often, that I forgot that you are going back over there… [Laughs]" (Karolina, Polish).

The visit to ancestral homeland was mainly seen as a migrant's way to reconnect with their friends and families. interviewees often treated the moments with their families as precious, while some expressed sentiment over the life away from the family:

> "I think that identity doesn't change. You can change as a person, as you grown up you tend to have a different view of life, different priorities … I did not perceive my visits to homeland in the same way as I do now… Only now, as I am getting older, for the first time I have started to realise and appreciate things that really matter in life. The family matters the most. I often ask myself whether it is really worth it, whether I should not rather stay at home near people that really matter in my life the most. I regret that I am not an active part of their life, that I cannot see my niece growing up, my grandparents getting older... The visit to homeland doesn't really change my identity, but it does change my view of life and priorities that I

have, it makes me appreciate my family and people who really matter in life" (Petra, Czech).

"I travel to see my parents, spend time with my family. When I go home, because I do not see them much… that time is just so precious to me, I do not even like going out when we go home. Last year, we went home for Christmas and New Year's, and we did not even go out. I just stayed in with my parents, just drinking you know, we watch rubbish telly, and go to sleep after midnight … I think I appreciate it so much now, because I have been here [in the UK] for so long and I just want that relationship to work" (Edita, Slovak).

The homeland was also often referred to as a 'special place' that served as a reminder of nostalgic memories. Just looking with hindsight, migrants often appreciated the beauty of landscapes, which they failed to see before their relocation abroad.

"You do have a different feeling when you are in your homeland. That is the real feeling of being at home. It is your real home, because it reminds you of your childhood, the places you grew up in, your old memories. You will always be pulled back to homeland … Home is home" (Blazena, Slovak).

"It is quite nice to just walk through my hometown on my own … because I think that once you leave to a different country and once you get back to your place or to different places, you just become more aware of what you really have" (Adriana, Czech).

Especially migrants who had children appeared to travel around their homeland more, in order to introduce the place and people to their children. The visit was the opportunity when migrants' parents could bond with their grandchildren:

"I want to see my family, my friends, my nice city… I want to show my kids where I come from, explain them what happened … I show them the nature, the lake where I used to swim when I was growing up…" (Paulina, Polish).

"I visited with my son and I wanted to show him to everyone…" (Paulina, Polish).

"The visit to homeland means spending time with my family, ability to be with them … my kids have chance to bond with my parents …" (Marcela, Czech).

The visit to homeland also meant a time when returnees could enjoy their traditional foods and drinks, while celebrating their customs and traditions, as well as the time when they found themselves attending Sunday church services as they used to in the past:

> "I really go there to enjoy food and drink [laughs] … The meaning of my visit is real enjoyment of the food and drink together with my friends in the Czech Republic" (Tomas, Czech).

> "I believe in God and when I am in Poland, I go to church because I feel like I need it" (Justyna, Polish).

Migrants' language, food, customs and religion appeared to be an important reminder of their roots and identity during their return visits. interviewees usually remembered their past visits to their homeland, some of them in fine detail, even though it could have been many years ago. Migrants described narratives of their first return visits to their ancestral homeland:

> "Yes, I do… I recall the visit very well … it was just before Christmas of 2003 and I was studying on the University of Glasgow… I recall two specific moments; the first one was when I took bus from Glasgow to Edinburgh where I departed my flight to Prague. I even recall the type of music I was listening; it was an emotional moment for me because I was really looking forward to go home" (Tomas, Czech).

> "The first time I went home was for three weeks at Christmas of 2001 and I was really looking forward to seeing my friends again, my family, my little brother… I remember my parents waiting for me at the airport. It has been 8 months since I last saw them... because there is a big age gap between my brother and me. He was 11 years old at the time when I left; I could see how he has grown. I was like: 'Oh my God, he is so much bigger' and it really made me emotional, and I thought that I was missing so much out" (Blazena, Slovak).

Moreover, the primary research has assessed the acceptance of the migrants by the locals, their close relatives as well as migrants' perception of themselves as insiders or tourists during their visits to their homeland. The primary research findings suggest that during their visits migrants did not want to adopt a tourist identity. Migrants shared more of an emic status, an insight into the local way of life in places that would otherwise have no tourism appeal. The visit to their homeland was a way to enhance migrants' ethnic and cultural identities as insiders. Therefore, some interviewees explain that for them, the travel to

homeland is not considered 'holiday', but rather a 'visit' in the sense that a trip to homeland is way to reconnect with families and usually means no time to relax:

> "If I go to see my parents, I don't treat it as holidays, I treat is as visit…" (Michal, Polish).

> "I travel to Poland about 3-4 times per year and then we take another holiday elsewhere… because when I go to Poland, it is not holiday, it is such a busy time in Poland [laughs]" (Violeta, Polish).

However, at the same time, the primary research findings also reveal that many interviewees felt more like tourists than insiders during their trips:

> "I feel like I am visiting only… and others take me as a visitor" (Anna, Slovak).

> "I only feel like a visitor. I know that I do not belong there… I got married over here [in the UK]" (Marcela, Czech).

> "Tourist, absolutely… We used to have a flat in my hometown, and when I went there a couple of years ago, after my brother sold this flat… and at that time he was renting a flat in the town centre… and I went there, and I thought, well, there is nothing here for me any more… our flat is not there… I am here with my brother, but it is not the place… I never get to see people that I know when I am in my hometown…" (Robert, Polish).

Furthermore, it appears that migrants' length of residence in the UK did not influence their perceptions of themselves as locals or tourists. Daniel from Slovakia, a newcomer who has been resident in the UK for only 7 months stated:

> "It was a very strange feeling. I have not felt the same about that place [Slovakia] any more… I felt that something has changed, as if it was not my home any more… in such a short period, a lot has changed, everything has changed, mainly I have changed… When I entered my childhood room during the visit home, it felt lifeless, as if it wasn't my room any more…" (Daniel, Slovak).

Other interviewees have not felt like outsiders or tourists but nor did they feel like insiders in their countries of origin:

> "I don't feel like tourist at all because I am Czech and I will always be one… However, I do not feel completely as a person who lives there, because I am so used to living in the UK and a lot has changed. However, when I come to the Czech Republic, I feel like at home, I feel it in my heart… I feel like someone returning there after a while, not as someone who lives there…" (Tomas, Czech).

"I feel like both, I feel like at home but also like on the visit. The room that used to be mine is utilised as a guest room now … it is not only mine anymore, so I feel like a guest sometimes" (Jakub, Czech).

Even though some migrants did not want to adopt tourist identities, and perceived themselves as insiders, locals might have not shared the same perceptions as explained by Miriama from Slovakia:

"My girlfriend [in Slovakia] would ask me: 'When are you leaving?' as soon as I get there. That really upsets me…"

5.4.3 Changing Identities and Acculturation Process

This section presents the findings of the analysis of changes in migrants' identities and places of their belonging. Evaluating the national identities of migrants, the findings demonstrate that the vast majority of interviewees felt a strong sense of orientation to their countries of origin:

"I feel like my identity is somewhat partially tied to my roots, to the place where I come from… but of course. I think you kind of … I feel like I am definitely Czech in many respects I always will be Czech… When people ask me: 'Where are you from?' I am quite proud being Czech and I will be a patriot to the country that I come from" (Adriana, Czech).

"Yes, it is my homeland, I will always belong there [Czech Republic], it is a place where I was born… I think that identity doesn't change; you can change as a person as you grown up you tend to have a different view of life, different priorities…" (Petra, Czech).

"I am proud to be Slovak, I would love my children to speak Slovakian and have contact with Slovakia and I will try to do everything to enable this … I don't know if they are going to live in Slovakia or be happy there. Me as a parent, I would not want to find myself in a similar position as my parents did… where their children, for whatever reason left the country and settled down 2000 miles away just to live the life they wanted. I would want my children to be close to me. I think that those parents whose children live abroad are having it hard, having to deal with that kind of distance" (Jozef, Slovak).

"I feel 100% Polish. I have all my family over there [in Poland]. I try to speak or be in touch with them all the time when it is possible. I like to visit Poland as much as I can, it is my homeland" (Justyna, Polish).

However, when asked to locate home, as a place of belonging, interviewees presented a mixture of feelings and emotions. Only very few (n=5) would express allegiance to their countries of origin exclusively:

> "I feel like a foreigner in the UK, a little bit … I perceive my stay in the UK as temporary, as if it was a trip…" (Jakub, Czech).

> "Poland is my home; of course, I will come back to Poland to retire, maybe after 5 years, or more" (Monika, Polish).

Most interviewees (n=15) were disoriented when asked to locate home and usually expressed belonging to multiple locations. Mostly, it was felt that identity was informed by country of origin, however at the same time they would identify themselves with the country of settlement:

> "I think that anyone can belong to the community in the UK; there is a lot of diversity, facilities for anyone coming from abroad… I feel like this is my home now… But my real home is Slovakia, that will never change… but as a second home, yes I do feel like at home here in the UK" (Sylvia, Slovakia).

> "When we talk about home, I always mean home in Slovakia and then my husband says: 'that is not your home, you home is here!' But my home is maybe here [in the UK], but there as well, I don't think that you can ever leave your country, that is just in your heart… No matter where you are, that is going to be your home forever and yeah, you can have an additional home… but that is never going to be the same…" (Edita, Slovak).

> "I have to say that I have two homes now. When I think about Manchester, I think of home and I also consider Poland my home" (Karolina, Poland).

> "That's a really difficult question. When I go back home, in Slovakia, that's what I call it, I feel like home, but I know that I can't stay there long, that I have got different life and I have to leave although I would like to stay with my parents as well. I don't really know… I am probably more home here [in the UK] than I am home there [in Slovakia]. But I am questioning whether this is my real home or whether it's going to be something else…it's confusing" (Blazena, Slovakia).

On the other hand, Adriana from the Czech Republic after living 9 years in the UK, could not feel at home anywhere:

> "No, I don't think this [the UK] feel like home; I just feel that is a place where I am right now, in this moment… I think that at the moment I don't feel at home anywhere…"

Some interviewees (n=7) felt that over time, with the process of acculturation, they completely settled in the UK and claimed that the connection with their homeland was fading:

> "I feel like that I really do not belong there [to Slovakia] anymore. People that I know, and even my family live completely different lives. I still remember that life, but I have a feeling that I am completely in a different place right now. I don't want to come back to that any more. I just know that the life in Slovakia is too conservative for me now... everybody knows each other and I prefer to be living in bigger city" (Vanda, Slovak).

> "Few years ago, the connection was much, much better than it is now… Now, I started living my own life in the UK, I have a daughter" (Apolonius, Polish).

> "Poland is just a place where I was born… Now, I am here [in the UK] and I feel like this is my home, I am in another stage of my life… I feel close when I go there, my heart is happy when I go to Poland, I lived there for 25 years, but it is not my home any more…" (Agata, Polish).

> "I like the distance that I have to Poland and the 'Polishness', the distance that I have mentally and the distance that I have physically" (Robert, Polish).

After lengthy periods in the UK, some interviewees seem to have experienced identity crises:

> "Every time I go to Poland, I feel very strange… I don't like going to Poland, it turns out… because… every time we go… there is something… I don't know… I cannot remember, really… my first trip back to Poland, it might have been maybe after 3 months in the UK… It was after a very short time… I did not know anything at that time… All these changes in my thinking and in my attitude have been very gradual… without getting upset, or homesick, or thinking that I am a bad Polish person because I started to dislike Poland… I did not have any of that… I do get a crisis of identity occasionally when we go to Poland… On coming back I have a problem of finding myself back in England… going back to Poland… I find it difficult to find my space back in Poland… so, it is very difficult … it kicks in, for a few days, these strange thoughts in my head… Who am I really? Am I Polish? ... Or am I Polish-British? Or am I none of these? Am I citizen of the world? You know… Where is my place? ... It is very strange because it comes with some sadness, somehow… but… I don't know… I really grew to be quite fond of England… I really came to like England quite a lot, I really embraced it and especially after meeting my partner, and … well, making the decision of staying here for rather longer than five years …you know… it is just where I live now…(Robert, Polish).

"To be honest, sometimes I wish I was just the typical English person, born here in the UK, so I could feel 100% comfortable and myself. For example, if you are somewhere in the disco, they play very nice English songs and all English people can sing along… you would want to sing along with them, but you don't know the words. What I want to say is that sometimes I think about how my life would be different if I was born here. If I was from here… I would be a happier person living in the UK. I would be able to integrate more into the society here, just being a part of British culture, and be one of them, because now, I have a feeling that I would never truly belong here, even though I lived here for so long" (Jozef, Slovak).

"In some small way, I don't feel like attached… I don't know if that is a good word… Attached to people in Poland … I know that my life basically, is not in Poland, it is in here… I started to feel like this gradually, it depends on the style of your life. During the first years in the UK, my life was not good, working a lot, always tired, renting out a small room, living with some nob heads. At that time, when I travelled back to Poland, I felt relief, quiet and safe… but now, because my life has improved quite a lot, I live in a nice flat, I drive car… I got good money; I am pretty stress free… I feel like this is my home at the moment… yeah…" (Michal, Polish).

West Slavic migrants' styles of identification with the British culture have been evaluated by assessing migrants' plans for permanent returns to their homelands, the travel taking-patterns, friendship patterns, food consumption, and use of language, celebration of customs and traditions, and migrants locations of homelands. Migrants who chose to identify entirely with their original cultures and dissociate themselves from the British perspective complied with dissociative style. Contrarily, the assimilative style is where migrants identified exclusively with British culture and deny their origin. The acculturative style would be to affirm equally to the minority and the majority cultures. The findings showed that with the time spent in the UK, West Slavic migrants appear to be acculturating into the society in the UK as migrants' acknowledged their roots and origins, while at the same time they accepted the cultural norms of the host society in the UK. Only a small minority of interviewees appear to have complied with dissociative and assimilative styles. The changes of migrants' identities have occurred gradually.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has provided the findings of the primary data collection. Firstly, the reasons explaining the success of the UK in attracting post-accession migrants

have been identified as predominantly economic, educational and experiential motivators. Furthermore, the findings point out possible permanency of these flows as many migrants are settling in the UK indefinitely influenced by their relationships, better economic opportunities and improved living standards. The analysis of migrants' travel patterns confirmed sufficient disposable incomes that enabled them to travel. The travel pattern of post-accession West Slavic migrants has been dominated by their return travel to their ancestral homelands. However, other tourism trips, such as visits to the seaside and European city breaks have been also very popular among migrants. The migrants' identities were explored by investigation of their experiences of the culture shock after relocation and their perceived cultural differences. Moreover, collective identity amongst migrants and their degree of separation from British society were evaluated. The experiences of discrimination and racism amongst migrants have been investigated. In assessing migrants' identities, the focus has been also on food, language, customs, traditions and religious beliefs as these are important aspects of their cultures.

The latter part of the chapter has centred on tourism and identities of post-accession West Slavic migrants. The role of tourism in shaping identities of West Slavic migrants has been analysed through their perceptions and experiences during their return visits. The extended periods of living in the UK, with subsequent acculturation and trips to their ancestral homelands challenged the relationship of migrants with their countries of origins and settlement. The return visits to their homelands were seen as a means of keeping in close touch with families that they had left behind. However, many migrants have not perceived the visit as a way of re-asserting their identities, but rather as demonstrations of their transnational existences between their ancestral homelands and the UK. The majority of post-accession West Slavic migrants have undergone identity formations and acculturated well into British society, having no definite plans to return to their countries of origin. The discussion of the primary data with reference to the literature is presented in the discussion chapter (Chapter 6).

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 presented the primary research findings. The overview of different themes, sub-themes and codes that have arisen from the primary data analysis are presented in Table 6.1. This chapter places primary research findings into the broader context of the published literature. The discussion begins with a depiction of the West Slavic mass migration to the UK, complementing and contrasting the primary data with those of other researchers. Next, the chapter evaluates migrants' plans for permanent return and assesses whether these flows have potential permanency, as was the case with previous migratory waves to Britain. Furthermore, West Slavic migrants' tourism patterns are presented and contrasted with those of other UK diasporic populations. The chapter also discusses the notion of homeland amongst the diaspora. The migrants' collective identifies, the degree of separation from the host community in the UK, and experiences of discrimination and racism are placed into the context of broader literature on these subject areas. West Slavic migrants' cultural characteristics and differences are evaluated; a reference has been made to their food, language, customs and traditions as main cultural identity markers.

The latter part of this chapter focuses on the tourism of West Slavic migrant communities in the UK, as the findings are compared and contrasted with the broader literature on diaspora tourism. The roles of return travel to homeland in shaping identities of West Slavic migrants are assessed. The chapter evaluates the meanings behind the return visits, whether migrants travel to discover their roots and identities, while perceiving themselves as either insiders or tourists during their trips. The subsequent influences of tourism, combined with other impacts on changing identities and belonging, are presented. West Slavic migrants' styles of identification with the host community in the UK are evaluated. Finally, primary and secondary research findings are summarised in the tourism, migration and cultural model of diasporic identity.

Table 6.1: Themes, Subthemes and Codes

Themes	Subthemes	Codes
Post-Accession Migration to the UK	Reasons for A8 migration to the UK	Economy (Jobs, Pay), Education (Language, University), Experience (Adventure, Change, Company Transfer, Novelty, New Culture), To join partner, friend, family, Other (travel, family disintegration, escape from memories)
	Reasons why migrants stay in the UK	Relationships, Higher Salaries, Career, Lifestyle, Property Ownership, Children, Time Factor, Racism (in the countries of origin)
Permanent Return to Homeland	Migrants' plans to return	When family needs them, When economy improves, To retire, To set up business, To start family
Tourism Patterns	Travel to homeland, Travel to Other destinations	VFR tourism, European city breaks, Seaside destinations, Ski holidays, Long haul destinations
Homeland, a Horizon for Diaspora	Homesickness, Nostalgia	Family, Friends, Food, Weather, Culture, Nature, Traditions, Hospitality
Collective Identity	Mono-cultural, Bi-cultural, Multi-cultural friendship networks	Diasporic community involvement, Antipathy among Polish migrants
Degree of Separation from British	Language barrier, Cultural differences	Time factor, Collective Identity
Discrimination, Racism	Stereotyping, Racist attacks	When competing for work, foreigners steal jobs, attacks from British
Cultural Differences	Culture shock	Multiculturalism, Attitudes to work, Freedom, Positive attitude, Politeness, Superficiality of British, Misconception, Difference of political system, Family life
Language as Marker of Identity	Language barrier Preservation of mother tongue	Way to occupational mobility of migrants, difficulties to communicate, teaching children to mother tongue
Food, Customs, Religion	Traditional foods, Preservation of traditions and customs, Christianity	Tasteless English food, Polish groceries, International cuisine
		Christmas, Easter, Acculturation
		Influences of other religions, Attendance of Sunday church services, Polish church
Travel to Ancestral Homeland	Travel frequency, Reasons for visiting Homelands	Priority, Regular visits, VFR, Travel in touristic manner (trips to other cities, seaside and water attractions, mountains, festivals, castles), Hotel accommodation, Lengths of stay, Visits during Christmas
Travel to Discover Roots and Identity	Acceptance as an Insider or tourists	Frequency and affordability of international travel, Precious moments with families, Special place, Appreciation of culture and landscape, Children bonding with their grandparents, Traditional foods and drinks, Attendance of Sunday church, Mother tongue
Changing Identities and Acculturation Process	National identity, Cultural identity	Allegiance multiple locations, Time factor, Fading connection to homeland, Identity crises
	Styles of cultural adaptation	Acculturative, Assimilative and Dissociative Styles

6.2 Post-Accession West Slavic Migrants in the UK

This section aims to ascertain identities of West Slavic migrants arriving from Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic and settling in the UK. The primary research findings are placed into the context of broad secondary research. Following the thematic scheme of the previous chapter, this section firstly presents analysis of migrants' reasons for their relocation to the UK, and compares their reasons to those from previous waves of migration to the UK. Moreover, migrants' considerations of their future permanent return to their ancestral homelands are analysed. Next, West Slavic migrants' travelling patterns are contrasted with the main theories explaining the travel behaviour of ethnic, diasporic and migrant communities. Characteristics of the notion of diaspora as established in the literature are applied to the condition of post-accession West Slavic migrants. These include their orientation towards their ancestral homelands, collective identity with similar other, and the degree of separation from the host's community with subsequent experiences of racism and discrimination. Finally, similarities and differences between West Slavic and British cultures are established, followed by an evaluation of the language, food, custom and religion as markers of migrant identities.

6.2.1 Post-Accession Migration to the UK

Recent "global changes have involved the movement of peoples on an unprecedented scale, the break-up of empires and decolonisation, the creation of new Europe and other new power blocks, the destruction of old nations and the re-formation of new ones" (Hall, 1998: 67). The nation-state sovereignty has been substituted for globalisation processes, such as a new mobilities paradigm, a system of mobile power resulting in a world with no clear boundaries (Hardt and Negri, 2000; Sheller and Urry, 2005). Recent political changes, such as the enlargement of the European Union in 2004, meant that the rights to live and work in the UK were granted to Accession 8 (A8) nationals (Burrell, 2008; Pollard et al.,

2008). This political agenda produced the largest wave of migrants in the UK's history (Brown, 2011), when approximately 1.24 million National Insurance numbers were allocated to A8 nationals (Home Office, 2009). The groups of West Slavic migrants became a significant minority, with Poles alone becoming the single largest group of foreign nationals residing in the UK (ONS, 2011).

Post-accession migrants in the UK have the highest rates of employment for all immigrant groups and well above the UK-born average (Pollard et al., 2008). All interviewees of this study were employed, self-employed, full-time students, or currently on maternity leave. Although statistics show that post-accession migrants are predominantly employed in low-skilled, under-paid jobs (Drinkwater et al., 2006; Cook et al., 2008), the work profile of interviewees reveals that, those who reside in the UK for longer periods are often either self-employed, in professional occupations or in higher education. Understandingly, newcomers with limited knowledge of English language were employed in low-skilled, manual jobs.

Investigation into the reasons to relocate to the UK shows that post-accession West-Slavic migrants have arrived mainly for economic reasons. The economically-driven migratory trends can be explained by high unemployment, especially in Poland and Slovakia (Drinkwater et al. 2006). The economic incentive to migration concerned migrants' work and pay. In respect of finding work at home, it has been noted that weak economies were amongst the motives for relocation to the UK. Moreover, migration to the UK was an opportunity to obtain better jobs than those within the homeland. It has been also noted that it was the accession to the European Union, which opened the door for migrants to the job markets anywhere in Europe. The UK, as one of the first countries to open their job markets without any restrictions for migrants, became a popular destination for the majority of migrants (Drinkwater et al., 2006). The main economic reasons concerned money and pay; migrants were motivated by prospects of better salaries, possibilities to improve living standards, and money-saving opportunities.

After economic reasons, education appeared to be another important motive for post-accession migrants considering relocation to the UK. There were two main

educational purposes. The English language has been the main educational reason for migration to the UK. Migrants either desired to improve their English language skills, to obtain a better job in the home country after improving their English language knowledge, or to return to higher education in the home country after improving their English. In other words, the knowledge of the English was seen as a valuable asset for the migrants' futures. Many of them originally planned to return to their countries of origin, following short 'experiential' periods in the UK and, with an improved knowledge of the English language, to seek better employment or further studies in their countries of origin.

Furthermore, migrants' relocation to the UK often took place after they secured their place at a UK university. The courses included undergraduate, post-graduate, or Erasmus exchange studies. Prospects of benefiting from gaining new experiences were considered another prominent reason for migration. Migrants relocated to the UK as they were seeking a change from the routine, novelty, adventure, experience of the new culture, or were offered a company transfer, which also presented an opportunity to gain a new experience. A number of migrants relocated to the UK because they were joining their partners, family members or close friends. Finally, less important factors that influenced migration to the UK included the opportunity to travel, migrants' family disintegration through parent's divorce or death, or escape from migrants' pasts and memories.

The reasons for West Slavic migrants to relocate to the UK were similar to previous waves of migration, particularly to the migration of South Asians to the UK in the 1950s and 1960s. However, the economic reasons of West Slavic migrants were substantially less important when compared to the study of South Asians, as many migrants considered educational and experiential reasons equally important. In comparison, when considering post-war migration waves from British Commonwealth countries, Anwar (1979) shows that nearly 79% of South Asian migrants entered the UK solely for the economic reasons, with educational and other reasons less important in comparison to post-accession West Slavic migrants.

6.2.2 Permanent Return to Homeland

According to Safran (1991), ancestral homelands represent a place for eventual return for people of diaspora at some point in the future when the time is right. As already acknowledged, the initial migration of post-accession migrants in the UK was supposed to be temporary and opportunistic (Favel, 2006; Ryan et al., 2008) with the majority of migrants having plans to return to their ancestral homelands (Parutis, 2006). However, despite plans to relocate to the UK only for temporary periods, to "save up money", "learn the language" or "gain new experiences", many interviewees seemed to have out-stayed their original intended timeframe. The majority of migrants have not clearly planned for their permanent return to their ancestral homelands. Research revealed that migrants' relationships (partnerships and marriages) in the UK was the most important reason for not returning to their homelands as intended. Amongst other important reasons are betterment of economic situation, which included the UK's lifestyle and higher salaries. Economic reasons were also of major importance in the previous migration waves in the 1950s and 1960s from South Asian countries to the UK. Similarly, Pakistani migrants intended to return to their ancestral homelands after paid working periods; however, in reality they have settled in Britain permanently because of employment opportunities and improved standards of living (Anwar, 1979; Ali and Holden, 2006).

On further consideration of reasons why post-accession West Slavic migrants do not return, their careers appear to play an important role as to why they prefer to stay in the UK. Migrants acknowledged that some careers, such as that of a researcher, would be impossible to continue in their countries of origin. Moreover, migrants have in the meantime started their own families in the UK, and their children's attendance at UK schools appears to be another reason for migrants to stay. It appears that migrants simply become distant from their homelands during prolonged periods of time living in the UK. Those migrants who become property owners in the UK are also less likely to stay. Finally, racism in the migrants' countries of origin also appears to be a reason to stay in the UK, which offers a more tolerant and cosmopolitan society (Cook et al., 2008).

Although plans to return are not definite, migrants expressed their desire to live in their countries of origin in order to be 'happier'. However, the economic reality at home often prevents them from making decisions. Some migrants expressed vague plans to return to homelands for their retirements, while others would consider returning as a duty towards their aging parents. Not quite happy with life in the UK, a number of interviewees also included a possible future relocation to other, mainly English speaking countries, including Australia, Canada or USA. Finally, some migrants have considered return to their countries of origin, if it appears to be a better place to raise a family or to start their own business.

6.2.3 Tourism Patterns of West Slavic Migrants in the UK

The travel-taking pattern of West Slavic migrants in the UK reveals that these communities are able to travel extensively, as the vast majority of them (89%) took holidays abroad of seven or more nights over the past year. In other words, it can be suggested that migrants had sufficient disposable income that enabled them to travel. Not only rejecting Washburne's (1987) marginality theory suggesting that ethnic populations' marginal position in the society prevents them from travelling, West Slavic migrants' tourism trends are well above the UK's national holiday-taking average, where approximately 59% of Britons take holidays of seven or more nights per year (WTM, 2011).

According to Urry (1992: 5), postmodern tourists' travel patterns involve the search for "ever-new places to visit and capture". However, the primary research findings revealed that the tourism pattern of post-accession West Slavic migrants was dominated by return visits to ancestral homelands. Homeland travel appeared in the tourism profile of all West Slavic migrants in the UK, as ethnic roots and origins have influenced their travel behaviour (Washburne, 1987; Stephenson and Hughes, 1995; Nwanko and Lindridge, 1998; Klemm, 2002; Duval, 2003; Ali and Holden, 2006; Hughes and Allen, 2010). Moreover, travel to the homeland has been a priority over any other holidays for the vast majority of migrants.

However, the majority of migrants are also used to travelling 'elsewhere' in addition to homeland travel. Unlike Afro-Caribbean (Stephenson and Hughes, 1995) and Pakistani (Klemm, 2002; Ali and Holden, 2006) minorities, West Slavic migrants, similar to the Irish diaspora (Hughes and Allen, 2010), enjoyed holidays to other European destinations. The most popular destinations amongst migrants are visits to seaside resorts (e.g. Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria), European city breaks (e.g. Amsterdam, Paris, Barcelona, Porto, Lisbon, Milan, Brussels, or Berlin); as well as long haul destinations (e.g. Caribbean, Thailand, Asia, Middle East, Israel and Jordan) and ski holidays (e.g. Italy). The travel to other destinations, particularly in Europe, rejects the discriminatory theory, which concludes that certain diasporic and minority groups are less motivated to engage in tourism and leisure activities due to their expectations that they will be discriminated against (Stephenson and Hughes, 1995). Moreover, popularity of seaside and city destinations amongst migrants suggests the acculturation process, as West Slavic migrants also demonstrate the tourism pattern that is similar to the majority of the British population (Portes, 1984; Stodolska, 2005).

6.2.4 Homeland, a Horizon for Diaspora

According to Wallman (1998: 181), homeland is a "proxy for belonging somewhere". The first predisposition for the diasporic population is that its members face displacement from their ancestral homelands that cross state boundaries (Brubaker, 2005). Yet, homeland, real or imagined, often acts as a horizon for the migrants' identity (Anthias, 1998; Sayyid, 2000). The study shows that all migrants acknowledged their connection to their ancestral homelands, their feelings of homesickness and nostalgia. Primarily, migrants missed their families and networks of friends in the countries of their origin, as these often constitute migrants' strongest emotional sense of belonging and identity (Palmer, 1999). Moreover, migrants usually missed the weather, nature, culture, traditions and hospitality of their countries of origins.

Migrants' transnational existences between their countries of origin and settlement became more prevalent through the widely spread process of globalisation, accompanied by enhanced technology and communication in the form of air travel and the Internet (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002; Quirke et al., 2009). The research shows that the development of communication systems, mobile phones and the Internet, as well as low cost air travel, helped greatly in overcoming migrants' feelings of homesickness and nostalgia. The research shows that migrants receive emotional and moral support from friends and relatives by being in regular contact with them through letters, the Internet and phone, as also acknowledged by the literature (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002; Urry, 2002; Baldassar, 2008).

6.2.5 Collective Identity among Diaspora

Evaluating West Slavic migrants' affiliations with other people in the UK, the research shows that the majority of them developed friendships with other West Slavic migrants. Many migrants felt that it was natural to be closer to others of similar backgrounds. The literature of diaspora also acknowledges that diasporic and migrant communities are likely to share a sense of collective identity with similar 'others' (Brubaker, 2005). Having a shared history and language, diasporic groups hold a strong ethnic consciousness and sense of solidarity (Cohen, 1997). The tendency to gravitate towards fellow nationals is a strategy to cope and share everyday pressures rather than rejecting integration with the host culture (Cook et al., 2008). Evaluating the body of research on identities of diasporic, ethnic and migrant communities, these trends can be also explained by the theory of ethnocentrism, which holds the generic norm that all people naturally learn to favour the in-group and discriminate against the out-group (Sumner, 1906). Similarly, Tajfel (1981) argued that people are unconsciously able to develop biased attitudes towards the groups they belong to and hostility towards other groups. However, some migrants also made friendships within the UK's cosmopolitan environment, with other foreigners, as well as with Britons.

Further analysing West Slavic migrants' collective identity, this study revealed that many migrants were in the past, or currently are, affiliated with larger communities that can be considered diasporic. The involvement within the community includes attending Sunday church services and participation in community social events, such as meetings, weddings and parties. Membership of particular websites, such as the Polish 'Nasza Klasa' or Czechs and Slovaks 'Manchestraci a Mancestracki', appeared to be an important intermediary when getting information about what is happening inside the community. However, there has been a consistent perception that with the acculturation process, influences of other religious beliefs or interests, West Slavic migrants often distance themselves from larger migrant communities. Moreover, socialising only with migrants from the same background has its disadvantages. Due to isolation from the host culture, West Slavic migrants are often lacking the necessary English language skills and appropriate social skills, preventing them from being able to negotiate social encounters (Furnham and Bochner, 1982).

Although the West-Slavic cultural group, consisting of Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, is considered as homogenous for the purpose of this study, one intergroup distinction has been noted. The research has revealed consistent experiences of prejudice, antipathy and jealousy amongst migrants within the Polish community. Some previous studies of Polish post-accession migrants in the UK already drew attention to the antagonism that Poles seem to show towards other Poles (Garapich, 2008). The interviewees from the Czech Republic and Slovakia have not experienced such a tendency. The explanation could be that Slovakia and the Czech Republic are much smaller countries, with relatively fewer migrants to the UK in comparison to Poland, therefore they appear to have a closer bond.

6.2.6 Degree of Separation from British, Discrimination and Racism

The primary research demonstrated the collective identity amongst West Slavic migrants, which has caused boundaries and a degree of separation from the British. Maintaining a degree of separation from the host community is another

predisposition of diaspora (Amstrong, 1976; Safran, 1991). This research shows that migrants perceived the degree of separation from the host community in the UK. This barrier did not seem to be disappearing over time; it has been experienced by newcomers, as well as by migrants who have resided in the UK for over a decade. The degree of separation might also be attributed also to the language barrier, as difficulties with social interaction arise with the usage of language, its polite forms, non-verbal communication, gestures, the rules of social situations and the style of interaction between members of different groups, as well as the topics they choose to talk about (Argyle, 1982; Kramsch, 2000).

Furthermore, a degree of separation of West Slavic communities from the British might have been caused by the migrants' frequent experiences of discrimination and racism. According to Guibernau and Rex (2010), racism involves a negative active censorship and evaluation of others, a tendency to disregard others as an equal on the grounds of race, while discrimination can occur on the grounds of race as well as nationality, ethnic origin, religion, language, or even due to accent (Ollerearnshaw, 1983). The research showed that similar to other minority populations (Allport, 1954; Hutnik, 1991; Stephenson and Hughes, 1995; Hesse, 2000; Parekh, 2000; Gilroy, 2003; Hughes and Allen, 2010), post-accession West Slavic migrants became the subject of discrimination and racism in the UK. Some migrants experienced discrimination that has been particularly connected with the perception that foreigners steal jobs from the British. Others perceived themselves to be discriminated against at work, or when competing for work with British nationals. Past research already highlights the mismatch between the often highly qualified A8 migrants and their low-skilled jobs in the UK (Drinkwater et al., 2006; Pollard et al., 2008; Datta et al., 2006). As with the Flam and Beausamy (2008) study, this research found that the prejudice towards migrants could be experienced through the simple questions or a casual gaze that majorities often turn into an instrument of superiority and negative stereotyping. Finally, some migrants were perceived to be subject to stereotyping by the British. West Slavic migrants were praised for a good work ethic on one hand, while stereotypical images of Eastern European migrants as frightening foreigners, pushing up crime rates and exhausting the UK's economy were reinforced on the other (Fomina and Frelak, 2008).

6.2.7 Cultural Differences

Entrants into a new culture often experience culture shock characterised by confusion, disorientation and anxiety that results from losing familiar signs of social intercourse and ability to negotiate specific social situations (Oberg, 1954). However, West Slavic migrants did not experience a great culture shock after arrival to the UK and they got used to living in new environments without major difficulties According to Furnham and Bochner (1982), the degree of difficulty often relates to disparity between the culture of the host society and the migrants' own culture. Therefore, the research has demonstrated smaller cultural distance between mainstream British and immigrant cultures of the Central Europe.

Nevertheless, some differences between the West Slavic and British cultures have been noted. Multiculturalism and the cosmopolitan nature of British society, which consists of a 'variety of races and religions' appeared to be one central difference that migrants recognised when comparing cultures. Most migrants perceived multiculturalism to be a positive change. Differences regarding attitudes to work and work ethics between Central European countries and the UK have been noted. British work ethics were described as 'laid back' and 'easy going' in comparison to those of other parts of Europe. Other noticeable differences expressed by migrants were the open nature of British society, as well as their evident freedom and safety, for example, when it comes to raising mixed race children, or revealing gay sexuality.

Moreover, other migrants pointed out the positive attitudes and politeness of the English, although the perception was this might be superficial. Other migrants were disillusioned from having certain expectations of the British culture and the way Britons behaved. A few of them made remarks about the past Communist era in the West Slavic countries, when comparing cultural differences. In particular, the differences in the levels of socio-cultural and political development were noticeable. Emerging from unpredictable political and economic environments, West Slavic migrants appeared more family-oriented and attached a greater importance to the group collective, such as family networks, when compared to more individualistic Westernised culture (Kolman et al., 2003). Migrants noted that

families in the West Slavic culture hold closer together, spend more time together, and help each other more in comparison to the more individualistic British culture. Nevertheless, overall it appears that despite minor cultural differences, both West Slavic and British cultures are similar.

6.2.8 Language, Food, Customs and Religion

Cohen (1997: ix) maintained that dispersed diasporas usually acknowledge that the "old country - a notion buried deep in language, religion, customs or folklore, always has some claim on their loyalty and emotions". Therefore, language, food, customs and religion as important expressions of West Slavic migrants' identities have been evaluated and contrasted.

Migrants' identities were primarily visible through their everyday use of the language. The language is the most clearly distinguishable part of the culture (Hofstede, 2001). Knowing the language deepens the understanding of the culture, as the language is 'the most sensitive indicator of the relationship between an individual and a given social group' (Kramsch, 2000: 77) as many aspects of the everyday life may not be comprehensible without an understanding of the underlying ideas carried by the language (Argyle, 1982). The research shows, that post-accession West Slavic migrants strongly felt their language barriers on their arrival in Britain, despite some prior language knowledge. Conversant with Cook et al., (2008), this research showed that West Slavic migrants saw learning the English language as a tool for improving employment prospects and occupational mobility. The findings show that migrants communicate in English, while also preserving their own native language, as the speaking an ethnic language has an emotional influence on the sense of belonging (Brown, 2011). Migrants with children actively taught their offspring their native language together with English, which could be seen as a sign of acculturation into the British society. Only those who restrained themselves from contacts with the local cultures and strictly stayed in the circle of the West Slavic diaspora, failed to attain satisfactory English language skills.

According to Bell and Valentine (1997), food and its associated customs also play an important part in expressing and affirming migrants' identities and their attachment to homeland. West Slavic migrants voiced a sense of pride in their traditional dishes, often accompanied by a disparaging remark about their perceptions of British food, which appeared "tasteless" for many interviewees. The expansion of the Polish shops throughout the UK seemed to cater for all migrant needs. Traditions and customs accompanying food also became important expressions of migrants' ethnicities especially during religious holidays, such as Christmas and Easter. However, with the process of acculturation into British society, migrants also enjoyed the variety of multicultural foods in the UK.

Cultural characteristics also relate to the celebration of customs, traditions and folklores, which are essential ethnic markers of cultural identity (Hammersley and Westlake, 1994; Hall, 1996). Ethnic identities of interviewees were visible especially during Christmas as it is the main Christian tradition. The celebration of Christmas differs in the UK and in the West Slavic countries of Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Christmas tradition in Eastern Europe is accompanied by compulsory church services and the consumption of West Slavic traditional foods. Despite the differences between British and West Slavic cultures in the celebration of major customs, this research shows that migrants are likely to preserve their customs and ethnic identities. Moreover, migrants often prefer to travel a distance, just to spend "special moments" of Christmas with their families. However, the findings also show that with the process of acculturation, many migrants also follow British traditions and customs, and a few migrants have rejected celebration of their own culture, and taken on customs of the host society.

Traditionally, all West Slavic countries have a strong religious background in Christianity and Roman Catholicism (Brown, 2011). Similarly, Britain has been historically Christian but the cosmopolitan nature of the country made many other religions prominent (Connolly and White, 2006). According to Brown (2011), practising religion provides migrants with a continuous strong sense of identity, as church services offer intensive performances that elicit emotions and generate sounds, sights and sensations that evoke emotional senses of longing for the homeland (Fortier, 2001). This research shows that although many migrants

follow the Christian religion in their homelands, with changes in their lifestyles living in the UK, only a few actually attend church services. Migrants found themselves with less free time, often having to work on Sundays, which prevented them from attending church services regularly, although the intentions to go to church were there.

6.3 Tourism and Identities of West Slavic Migrants in the UK

This section centres upon tourism and the identity of West Slavic migrants in the UK. Focus is on travel to ancestral homelands in shaping identities of these migrant communities, as the primary research findings are placed into the broader landscape of studies in this area. Firstly, the meanings behind treturn visits to ancestral homeland are evaluated, as some migrants are believed to travel to discover their roots and identities, while perceiving themselves as insiders or tourists during the trip. Other migrants travel with intention of reconnecting with their distant families but also travelling around the homeland as a tourist. Migrants' location of their homelands helps in assessing their identities and places of belonging. Finally, the migrants' styles of identification with British culture have been evaluated.

6.3.1 Travel to Ancestral Homeland

The return visits are defined as "periodic but temporally limited sojourns" undertaken by diasporic communities to their ancestral homelands (Duval, 2003: 268). This study shows that West Slavic post-accession migrants in the UK placed their homeland travel as the foremost of their tourism aspirations. The past research within this area has already acknowledged that ethnic, diasporic and migrant communities take preferential journeys to their ancestral homelands, as

their travel patterns are influenced by their ethnic origins (Stephenson and Hughes, 1995; Nwanko and Lindridge, 1998; Burton, 2000; Klemm, 2002; Duval, 2003; Ioannides and Cohen, 2004; Ali and Holden, 2006; Baldasaar, 2008; Hughes and Allen, 2010).

This study shows that migrants travel to their homelands on a regular basis, often several times per year. Improved mobility of migrants was brought about by enhanced technology and communication in the form of air travel (Urry, 2002; Hannam et al., 2006). As migrants want to maintain their relationships and to maintain networks in homelands (Duval, 2004), this research demonstrates that the vast majority of visits to ancestral homelands could be characterised as visits of friends and relatives (VFR tourism). Trips to homelands were mostly fuelled by nostalgia, migrants' desire to see their families, and also as a social obligation to participate in important family events, such as weddings, christenings, holy communions, celebrations and funerals (Urry, 2003).

This research has further revealed that during the return visits, post-accession migrants often travelled round their homeland as a tourist. These travels included tourism and day-trip visits such as city breaks, summer trips to the seaside, lakes, water attractions and music festivals and winter ski trips to mountains. As heritage tourism relates to the link between diaspora, identity and tourism (Coles and Timothy, 2004), this research has shown that the visits to historical attractions, such as castles and chateaux were also popular amongst migrants.

6.3.2 Travel to Discover Roots and Identity

Homeland travel is characterised by a strong emotional bond between destination and return visitor and it can "ultimately be positioned as one vehicle through which transnational identity structures between diasporic communities and homelands are maintained" (Duval, 2004: 52). Moreover, visiting ancestral homelands should fulfil a need for the spiritual centre and ultimate belonging for people in diaspora who feel alienated in their lives away from their homelands (Cohen, 1979). This study suggests that for some West Slavic migrants, homeland travel signified their

desire to explore or rediscover their roots and origins. Return visits became the migrants' reminder of a place that symbolises who they are, where they come from, where they used to live and maybe where they will return one day. It was an opportunity for migrants to reconnect with their friends and families and to be with their own people in their own homelands. Migrants often saw the moments with their families as very precious and some expressed sadness over having to live their life away from them. Migrants who had children appeared to travel around homeland the most, in order to introduce people and places to their children. The visit was an important occasion when migrants' parents could bond with their grandchildren.

Cultural markers, such as migrants' language, food, customs, religion and history appeared to be an important reminder of migrants' roots and identity. Whilst visiting, West Slavic migrants could speak their mother language with everyone, they could really enjoy their traditional foods and drinks, they found themselves attending Sunday church services as they used to in the past, and celebrated their customs and traditions. Even where there was no immediate link with relatives, visits to the ancestral homeland involved a search for roots in the country of origin to give further dimension to migrants own identities (Mason, 2004). West Slavic migrants often saw their homelands as symbolic places that served as a reminder of nostalgic memories. Travelling around their homeland as a tourist provided for hindsight-enabled appreciation of historical and cultural beauty of their countries of origin, which they often failed to see prior to their migration.

However, this research also demonstrates that for many West Slavic migrants their visits to their ancestral homeland were not a time during which they negotiated their identities. Migrants were not concerned with identity during their visit, maybe because visits to their homeland were more frequent than is typical for displaced diaspora. Freedom of movement within the EU, closer proximity of homeland and availability of cheap flights within Europe enabled West Slavic migrants to visit their ancestral homelands every few months, a pattern of travel that varied to the one revealed in previous studies of Pakistani or Afro-Caribbean minorities in the UK (Anwar, 1979; Klemm, 2002; Ali and Holden, 2006; Stephenson, 2002). According to Klemm (2002), South Asian diaspora typically travel to their ancestral homeland once every few years, while Stephenson,

(2002) acknowledged that for the Afro-Caribbean community, travel to ancestral homelands was often only a lifelong aspiration.

A combination of rare homeland travel opportunities, with wider cultural differences and subsequent perceived rejection by the British culture, led Afro-Caribbean and South Asian diasporas to have a higher meaning assigned to their return visits to homelands, than appeared to be the case for the post-accession West Slavic migrants. Moreover, West Slavic migrants' white skin colour and European appearance, minor cultural differences, relatively short distance to their homeland, freedom of movement in the EU and their subsequent frequency of homeland tourism brought no similar feeling of alienation in the UK as was the case for Afro-Caribbean or South Asian minorities (Stephenson, 2002; Ali and Holden, 2006). These could be the reasons why the West Slavic diaspora in the UK failed to see as much of the meaning in their return visits to homeland. Using the term 'diaspora' might seems more appropriate when referring to Britain's Chinese, South-Asian, African, or Afro-Caribbean communities, as the concept of diaspora tends to be more emotional, and refers to a forced displacement from home and longing for return, even in the form of visits (Ali and Holden, 2006; Castles and Miller, 2009). This research shows that post-accession West Slavic migrant communities in the UK could be better described as modern transnational migrants who according to Portes et al. (1999), speak two languages, live in two countries and maintain continuous regular contact between Britain and their ancestral homelands.

Finally, the migrants' stories revealed that their identities were changing. Despite staying with friends and family rather than hotels, it became evident that many did not feel like complete insiders and had to adopt tourist identities during the return visits. Even if migrants wanted to feel like insiders, their family members and friends would unintentionally make them feel like tourists. Therefore, it can be argued that the visits to homelands, the time away and migrants' perceptions of themselves as insiders or tourists have contributed to transforming migrants identities as discussed in the following section.

6.3.3 Changing Identities and Acculturation Process

According to Weeks (1990), identity is about belonging, about what people have in common and about what tells them apart. Following migration and settlement, diasporic and transnational communities are initiated into two or more historic traditions, languages, political loyalties and moral codes (Stonequist, 1935). Influenced by sharing a social space with other nationalities, diasporic and ethnic identities are self-reproducing and constantly changing (Hall, 1990; Nwanko and Lindridge, 1998; Maruyama et al., 2010).

Asking migrants about their identities often produced a "blank stare", just simply because it is a difficult topic for anyone to talk about and to provide answers to (Floya, 2002: 492). However, in evaluating national identities, this research shows that many West Slavic migrants have acknowledged a strong sense of orientation to their countries of origin. Lewin (1997) maintains that people can find a secure sense of their well-being only through a firm sense of identification with their own heritage and culture.

As home is a value-loaded, historically contested concept indicating belonging and identity (Strath, 2008), migrants were asked to locate their place of belonging so that their identities could be accessed. Bhabha (1994) already acknowledged that the difficulty in locating home is a condition faced by most diasporic communities, as they find themselves between cultures. These communities often identify themselves with one society more than with another, while the majority maintains multiple identities and linkages to more than one society (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Duval, 2004). Thus, the identities of diasporic and ethnic communities are referred to as shifting, multiple or hyphenated positions of identities (Clifford, 1994; Cohen, 1997; Hall, 2000, Yeoh and Huang, 2000; Quirke et al., 2009).

The primary data provided a mixture of feelings and emotional expressions by Britain's post-accession West Slavic migrants. Only a few of them expressed allegiance to their countries of origin exclusively, having definitely set plans for permanent returns to their homelands. The majority of migrants showed confusion in not having a clear idea about a place where they actually belonged. Although

migrants' perceptions were individual, they all found themselves between two cultures (Bhabha, 1994), and their identities were, to varying degrees, informed by home West Slavic cultures and Britain's cultural influences. The findings show that West Slavic migrants maintained their allegiance to their country of origin through frequent return visits to their homeland, their collective identities and through their acknowledged relationships with their inherited traits, language, foods, customs, traditions and religions, which had significant claim on the loyalties towards their ancestral homelands. As well as having multiple homes, some migrants also represented the condition of homelessness, being caught in between two cultures, but feeling at home in neither (Stonequist, 1935; Sayyid, 2000). These mixed emotions among West Slavic migrants sometimes resulted in identity crisis.

At the same time, migrants were taking on British identities through the process of acculturation. West Slavic migrants' styles of identification with the British culture have been assessed by analysing the findings of migrants' plans for a permanent returns to their ancestral homelands, their patterns of travel taking, friendships, food consumption, the use of language, celebration of customs and traditions, and migrants location of home as a place of belonging. In order to assess migrants' identities, the framework describing the styles of identification with the host culture has been adopted from previous studies and included dissociative, assimilative, and acculturative styles of identification (Driedger, 1976; Bochner, 1982; Hutnik, 1991). According to Hutnik (1991), ethnic minority members who choose to identify entirely with their original cultures and dissociate themselves from the British perspective, comply with dissociative style. Conversely, the assimilative style is where the majority identifies exclusively with British culture and deny their ethnic origin, also called the ethnic denial (Driedger, 1976). The third option would be to affirm equally to the minority and the majority cultures through acculturative style, where migrants acknowledged their roots and origins, while adapting well into the norms of the host society (Hutnik, 1991). The assessment of migrants' identities has demonstrated that with the time spent in the UK, the majority of West Slavic migrants appear to be acculturating into the society in the UK relatively well.

6.4 Tourism, Migration and Cultural Model of Diasporic Identity

The primary and secondary research findings led to development of the tourism migration and cultural model of diasporic identity (Figure 6.1). Diasporic identity is central in the model and it is influenced by tourism, migration and cultural powers. Firstly, migrants' home culture influences combined with their personal circumstances in their ancestral homelands translate into migrants' reasons for migration. The most prominent reasons for migration have been identified as economic, educational and experiential motives. Following the migration, diasporic identities are initiated into the second culture with its host cultural influences. Migrants and their identities are now located 'between cultures' and become to a greater or lesser extent influenced by migrants' countries of origin (home culture influences) and the country of settlement (host culture influences) at the same time.

All these powers over migrants' identities serve as a predisposition either for their permanent return to their homeland in the future, or the process of settlement and cultural adaptation to the host country. Amongst the reasons for settlement in the host country are migrants' relationships, lifestyle, career, higher salaries and others. Those migrants, who settle in the UK demonstrate different styles of cultural adaptation, which include dissociative, assimilative and acculturative styles.

Home culture influences, such as migrants' friends and family, weather, food, customs and traditions, affect diasporic identity in the way that migrants' experience homesickness and nostalgia. These feelings often initiate migrants' travel to their ancestral homelands. The visits to ancestral homelands serve multiple purposes; it is VFR tourism and it enables migrants to travel around their homelands as a tourist. Moreover, the return visits aid rediscovery of migrants' roots, and identity affirmations. Where identity affirmation is concerned during their return visits, migrants are accepted as either tourists or insiders. The host cultural influences also translate into migrants travel behaviour, as they demonstrate

tourism patterns similar to the majority of the population. This has been identified one of the demonstrations of the migrants' acculturation process. Migrants travel to mass-market tourism destinations including sun and sea holidays, European city breaks, ski holidays and long-haul destinations.

The model has been developed through the systematic process of model development (Figure 6.2). Firstly, the primary data were collected by utilising twenty-even semi-structured, in-depth interviews. Secondly, collected data were audiotaped, transcribed and translated as necessary. The examples of the transcribed and translated data are provided in Appendices 5-7. The discussion of the primary research findings identified main themes, sub-themes and codes (Table 6.1). NVivo 9 software has helped in organising and managing data. Subsequently, the primary research findings were presented in chapter 5. Finally, discussion (Chapter 6) established further links between the main themes, as it consolidated the primary and secondary research findings into the broader context of published literature. This process has subsequently assisted development of the tourism, migration and cultural model of diasporic identity (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1: Tourism, Migration and Cultural Model of Diasporic Identity

Experience (Adventure, New Culture, Novelty, Change, Work transfer)

Other (Travel, Family Disintegration, Escape)

Education (English language, University)

Permanent Return to Homeland

Time Factor

Lifestyle

Racism

Relationships

Career

Reasons for Settlement in Host Country

Children

To Join Partner, Family, Friend

Reasons for Migration

Economic (Jobs, Pay)

Property Ownership

Higher Salaries

Diasporic Identity

Home Culture Influences (Friends, Family, Language, Food, Weather, Traditions, Customs, Religion, Collective Identity, Nature, History, Hospitality, Family Life, Political System, Style

Host Culture Influences (Culture Shock, Language Barrier, Relationships, Multiculturalism, Superficiality, Racism, Discrimination, Freedom, Lifestyle, English Language. Traditions, Food, Political System, Work Ethics, and Style of dress)

Association

Assimilation

Rediscovery of Roots

Ski Holidays

Return Visits to Ancestral Homeland

Friends and Relatives)

Style of Cultural Adaptation

Travel to Other Destinations

European City Breaks

Acculturation

Travel in Homeland (Cities, Castles, Seaside, Lakes, Mountains, Festivals)

Identity Affirmation

Acceptance as an Insider

Long-Haul Destinations

Sun and Sea Holidays

Acceptance as a Tourist

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Figure 6.2: The Systematic Process of Model Development

Data generation by utilising semi-structured interviews, audio recording of the data. Main Study Interview schedule is attached in Appendix 4

Transcription and translation of audio recorded data (Appendices 5-7)

Development of themes, sub-themes and codes (Table 6.1) from transcribed data, NVivo 9 used to manage data

Main themes, sub-themes and codes have arisen from **primary data analysis** (Chapter 5)

Discussion (Chapter 6) established links between themes and assisted with the development of the tourism, migration and cultural model of diasporic identity (Figure 6.1)

6.5 Summary

This chapter has consolidated the main themes, which were identified from the primary data analysis (Chapter 5), and the secondary research findings (Chapters 2 and 3). The post-accession West Slavic migrants, similar to previous waves of migration, moved to the UK for economic, educational and experiential reasons. Despite plans to stay in the UK temporarily, in order to learn the language, save up money or gain new experiences, the research findings indicate possible permanency of A8 migration. Relationships, better economic opportunities and improved standards of living cause that many migrants might be settling in the UK indefinitely. This study has determined that extended periods of living in the UK and travels to ancestral homeland challenge the relationship of migrants with their countries of origin and settlement. Similar to other diasporic populations worldwide, this research has demonstrated that the return visits to homeland dominate the tourism pattern of West Slavic migrants. The regular visits were mainly seen as VFR tourism, a means of keeping in close touch with families that were left behind. Many migrants have not perceived their travel to homeland as a way of reassuring their identities, but rather as demonstrations of their transnational existences between their ancestral homelands and the UK. Living between two cultures, migrants started to have unclear ideas about their belonging. Migrants identified connection to Britain, as to their current place of residency, while acknowledging strong permanent relationships to their ancestral homelands. Finally, this study shows that post-accession migrants in the UK demonstrate high levels of acculturation. The final chapter provides conclusion to this study, evaluation of the research process and suggestions for the future research.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Introduction

This research centres upon the role of tourism in shaping identity of post-accession West Slavic migrants living in the UK. Firstly, the literature review proposed theoretical and conceptual characteristics of diaspora, migration and identity (Chapter 2), as the links between these main concepts and tourism are explored in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 provided a rationale for the study's methodology. The analysis of primary research findings were presented in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 provided the discussion that placed the primary research findings in the context of the theories and concepts, which facilitated the development of a tourism, migration and cultural model of diasporic identity (Figure 6.1). This current chapter provides the conclusion to the study; it summarises the study's key outcomes and contributions and provides an evaluation of the research and possible directions for future research.

7.2 Key Outcomes and Contributions of the Research

Britain's long migration history has contributed to its image as an ethnic and cultural 'melting pot' of various diasporic, migrant and transnational communities. Recent political changes and the enlargement of the European Union (EU) in 2004 have further influenced migration patterns, as the UK has become a key destination for many post-accession migrants (Trevena, 2009). Post-accession migrants have quickly become statistically significant and one of the fastest growing communities in the UK (Burrell, 2008).

Despite increasing numbers as citizens and consumers in Westernized cultures in particular, diasporic and ethnic communities have not attracted much attention in the tourism field (Cohen, 1979; Van den Berghe and Keyes, 1984; Smith, 1989;

MacCanell, 1972; Urry, 2002; Tribe, 2006; Floyd et al., 2008; Moufakkir, 2011). Whilst accepting there are some research studies on this area, few are UK based. These studies have considered Afro-Caribbean communities' desire for ethnic reunion (Stephenson and Hughes, 1995; Stephenson, 2002), marketing for Asian ethnicity (Klemm, 2002), the embodiment of the myth of return in Pakistani communities (Ali and Holden, 2006), and the holiday partaking of Irish diaspora (Hughes and Allen, 2010).

The enlargement of the EU, accompanied by mass migration to the UK, has recently attracted some attention from scholars; however, the portrayal of A8 migrants within the tourism context remains overlooked. Therefore, in the light of the latest migration wave into Britain, the focus of this study is on tourism and identity formation of post-accession West Slavic diasporic communities living in the UK. As diasporas are not homogenous groups, it has been argued that their better understanding can only be achieved by focusing research on particular communities (Floyd, 1998; Klemm, 2002; Moufakkir, 2011).

West Slavic migrants consist of Poles, Slovaks and Czechs, who originate from one ethnic-linguistic group and share collective cultural traits as a result of their common history, geographical position and level of socio-economic development (Kundera, 1984; Batt, 1991; Comrie and Corbett, 1993). Twenty-seven semi structured interviews, held with respondents originating from the UK's post-accession West Slavic cultures generated rich data that enabled contribution to the knowledge on tourism and the identity formation of diasporic communities (Aim4).

The main reasons for the UK's success in attracting post-accession West Slavic migrants were economic, educational and experiential. The economic nature of post-accession migration to the UK, similar to Britain's previous migratory waves from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean, has been caused by weaker economies and high unemployment rates in many post-communist Central European countries. Nevertheless, this research shows that for many post-accession migrants, the initial migration was supposed to be only temporary, similar to Pakistani migrants arriving in the post-war period (Ali and Holden, 2006). Migrants relocated to the UK to save money, learn the language, or to gain new experiences. However, this

study demonstrated that the majority of post-accession migrants are settling in the UK indefinitely, influenced by their relationships, better economic opportunities and improved living standards. Although statistics show that UK's ethnic minorities are predominantly employed in low-skilled, under-paid jobs (Parekh, 1983; Stephenson and Hughes, 1995; Drinkwater et al., 2006; Cook et al., 2008), not all post-accession West Slavic migrants follow these patterns. This study reveals that migrants who reside in the UK for longer periods are often either self-employed, in professional occupations, or in higher education. Understandably, newcomers with limited knowledge of English language are often in low-skilled manual jobs.

When investigating the tourism motivation of respondents this study revealed that similar to Afro-Caribbean (Stephenson and Hughes, 1995; Duval, 2003), South-Asian (Klemm, 2002; Ali and Holden, 2006) and Irish diasporas (Hughes and Allen, 2010), post-accession West Slavic migrants have been influenced by their ethnic roots and origins as tourism to ancestral homelands has dominated their travel patterns. Interviewees of this study, as first generation migrants regardless of their length of residence in the UK, displayed connection to their ancestral homelands. Furthermore, unlike Afro-Caribbean and South Asian minorities, West Slavs in the UK often travel to other tourism destinations, such as sun and sea holidays and European city breaks. The patterns of travel behaviour are similar to the British and maybe explained by a smaller cultural distance between the mainstream and immigrant cultures of Central and Western Europe. Hughes and Allen (2010) noted findings conversant with those in this study, as Irish diaspora in addition to visits to Ireland demonstrated patterns similar to the rest of the British population.

This study also found that the travel pattern of West Slavic communities does not conform to Washburne's (1987) marginality theory that suggested that ethnic minorities' marginal position in the society prevents them from travelling. The frequency and length of migrants' tourism trends, as highlighted in this study, were well above the UK's national holiday taking average. It appears that migrant's high employment rates with subsequent availability of disposable incomes, freedom of movement within the EU, and the recent developments in low-cost aviation have greatly facilitated post-accession migrants' mobilities.

The orientation to ancestral homelands, collective identities, a degree of separation from the host communities, and intention for eventual return to homeland as the main predispositions of the notion of diaspora (Safran, 1991; Brubaker, 2005) have become visible markers of identities among West Slavs in the UK. Migrants' relationships with their homelands were acknowledged through their feelings of homesickness and nostalgia over life away from close family and networks of friends, as these often constitute diasporas' strongest emotional sense of belonging and identity (Palmer, 1999). In particular, the development of communication systems, such as mobile telephony and the Internet (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002; Urry, 2002; Baldassar, 2008), appear to help respondents greatly, as they enable them to be in regular contact with their distant friends and relatives. West Slavic migrants' collective identities were clearly visible through their friendships, which often developed within the same culture. However, the study has also drawn attention to antipathy that Polish migrants expressed towards each other. West Slavic migrant's perceptions of the British culture, combined with their frequent experiences of discrimination and racism from the British, had negative repercussions that might have contributed to their separateness from the host communities in the UK.

Nevertheless, this research revealed that migrants appeared to have acculturated in Britain relatively well. This may be explained by the smaller cultural distance between countries within Central and Western Europe. However, West Slavic migrants' identities were still visible through their perceptions of cultural differences, when comparing, their home culture with the host culture in the UK. Respondents depicted multiculturalism and a relatively open nature of British society as something that is missing in the countries of Central Europe. Moreover, the respondents recognised that there were differences in British attitudes to life, work and UK's evident freedom and safety, when it comes to raising mixed race children, or revealing gay sexuality. These differences might be the results of different levels of socio-cultural and economic development between Britain and post-communist Central European countries.

Regular and frequent travel to ancestral homelands enabled post-accession migrants to live dual lives in the countries of their origins and in the UK. This study shows that tourism to their homelands was mostly driven by migrants' desires to

retain social and familial networks in their ancestral homelands. More importantly, for some migrants more than others, the travel to their homeland was a way of rediscovering roots and affirming identities. Research shows that the visit to ancestral homelands allowed respondents to remind themselves of who they were, where they came from, where they used to live and where they might return. Even where there was no immediate link with relatives, West Slavic migrants referred to the homeland as a symbolic place that served as a reminder of nostalgic memories. Travelling around the homeland in the touristic manner allowed for hindsight-enabled appreciation of historical and cultural beauty of migrants' countries of origins, which they often failed to notice while they were living there. Migrants perceived the moments with their families as precious and some expressed sentiment over having to live their life away from them. During the visits, it became apparent that West Slavic migrants "old country - a notion buried deep in language, religion, customs or folklore, always has some claim on their loyalty and emotions" (Cohen, 1997: ix). Migrants' cultural identity markers, such as language, food, customs, religion and history acted as important reminders of migrants' roots and identity whilst visiting their homelands.

The research also revealed that for some West Slavic migrants visits to their ancestral homelands were not a time during which they negotiated their identity. Most trips were not roots-related in the sense of purposefully seeking to discover culture or identity, as found to be the case for Afro-Caribbean (Stephenson and Hughes, 1995) and South Asian diaspora (Ali and Holden, 2006). For many post-accession migrants, tourism to their homelands was not identity and roots related, maybe because they travelled to their homelands more frequently than is typical for displaced diasporas. The closer proximity of homeland and the freedom of movement within the EU, combined with the availability of cheap flights in Europe enabled West Slavic migrants to visit their ancestral homelands every few months.

As Castles and Miller (2009) suggest that the concept of diaspora is more emotional compared to transnationalism, as it refers to forced displacement from home and longing for eventual return, using the term 'diaspora' might better fit when referring to African, Afro-Caribbean or South-Asian communities. Following their settlement, Afro-Caribbean and Asian communities, due to broader racial

and cultural differences, have experienced discomfort, dislocation and alienation from the communities in the UK (Stephenson and Hughes, 1995; Ali and Holden, 2006). This study suggests that West Slavic migrants are voluntarily settling in the UK, feel less discomfort, and rather than alienation from the host community, they demonstrate good levels of acculturation. Therefore, using the term diaspora in its traditional sense here might seem an inappropriate description of these communities. This study demonstrates that A8 West Slavic migrants in the UK could fall into category of modern transnational migrants, who according to Portes et al. (1999), live dual lives, speak two languages, live in two countries and maintain continuous regular contact across national boundaries.

The interviewees' narratives also revealed that their identities were changing. Despite their desire not to adopt tourist identities during their visits to their homeland, it became evident that many failed to feel as complete insiders during their return visits. Time spent in Britain, combined with their perceptions of life left behind in ancestral homelands made it difficult for them to locate their identities and belonging. Many West Slavic migrants acknowledged a strong sense of orientation to their countries of origins, when it came to evaluating their national identities. However, when locating identity in the sense of belonging, West Slavic migrants expressed a mixture of feelings and emotions. The vast majority of migrants displayed signs of confusion, having no clear ideas about the place where they actually belonged. The perceptions changed from one migrant to another, and many found themselves 'between cultures' (Bhabha, 1994), as their identities were, to varying degrees, informed by their ancestral homelands and the host culture in the UK. However, many located their home and belonging in Britain, as they acculturated well and referred to Britain as the place of their current and future residency. As well as having multiple homes, some migrants also represented the condition of homelessness, which, according to Stonequist (1935), describes the condition of being caught between two cultures and feeling at home nowhere. The mixture of emotions among West Slavic migrants sometimes resulted in experiences of identity crises. Therefore, as already acknowledged by previous research on identity and migration, the identities of diasporic and ethnic communities are referred to as shifting, multiple, or

hyphenated positions of identities (Clifford, 1994; Bhabha, 1994; Cohen, 1997; Hall, 2000, Yeoh and Huang, 2000; Quirke et al., 2009).

This research has been valuable as it contributes to a growing literature related to tourism, identity and diaspora. The study has further clarified drawbacks in the understanding of minority tourism in the UK. Specifically, this research programme has addressed views and experiences of Britain's newly established and increasingly growing A8 migrant populations, which have not attracted attention in tourism academic research to date. The research recognised the invisible and intangible cultural differences through the diversity of viewpoints expressed by West Slavic migrants in the UK. There were certain variances between this research and studies of other ethnic populations in the UK. This research has demonstrated that tourism to ancestral homelands remains at the foremost of West Slavic migrants' travel motivation. To a greater or lesser extent, tourism has played a role in shaping migrants' identities. Travel to homeland was a great reminder of a place where migrants once belonged and maybe where they will one day return. However, for many West Slavic migrants, similarly as found in the study of Irish migrants in the UK (Hughes and Allen, 20101), the meaning of tourism was to maintain continuous regular contract with their ancestral homelands, the desire to reconnect with their friends and families (VFR tourism). Past research of other displaced diasporas expressed more urgent desires to visit homelands, with motivation of roots-related attempts to take on identities of ancestors, as acknowledged by tourism studies of Afro-Caribbean (Stephenson and Hughes, 2005) and South Asian diaspora (Ali and Holden, 2006). Finally, the research made it explicit that post-accession West Slavic migrants, with their closer cultural and geographical distance to ancestral homelands, their freedom of movement within the EU and subsequent frequent visits to homelands, should be correctly referred to as modern transnational migrants, rather than displaced diaspora. This conclusion was based on the perception that the concept of diaspora tends to be more emotional, as it refers to a forced displacement from home and a longing for eventual return (Castles and Miller, 2009), while transnationalism refers to broader and more impersonal phenomenon such as globalization (Braziel and Mannur, 2003).

7.3 Evaluation of the Research

This study has utilised interpretivist ethnographic research as a methodological perspective and semi-structured in-depth interviews as a data collection method. The choice of methodology proved to be particularly successful as the study aims to provide a picture of collective experiences and insights into feelings, attitudes and perceptions of the cultural group of post-accession West Slavic migrants in the UK in relation to their tourism and identity formation. The choice of the methodological perspective has been consistent with numerous similar studies in the area of diaspora tourism, which similarly combined ethnography with in-depth interviewing (Stephenson, 1995; Duval, 2003; Ali and Holden, 2006; Hughes and Allen, 2010).

Moreover, semi-structured, in-depth interviews as a recognised data collection method, allow the study to be replicated by other researchers who are able to follow the same methodological procedures. Primary data obtained from 27 respondents of Polish, Czech and Slovak origin provided sufficiently rich data that helped to meet all the aims of this study. Data were digitally recorded, subsequently transcribed and translated. Collected qualitative data were analysed by using thematic analysis, with the assistance of NVivo 9 software. Themes and subthemes with codes arising from primary data (Table 6.1) assisted development of the tourism, migration and cultural model of diasporic identity (Figure 6.1), which provides a summary of the findings.

Nevertheless, limitations of this study can be identified. The methodological approaches utilised are by no means the only ones that could have been adopted for this particular study. Firstly, the phenomenological research approach could have been adopted as an alternative methodology, when the researcher adopts an emic, insiders approach and becomes a thoroughly competent member of the studied group (Gomm, 2009). The phenomenological approach to this particular research study would focus on understanding of the unique and individualistic lived experiences and perspectives (Moran, 2000) of post-accession West Slavic

migrants with regards to their tourism and identity formation, rather than the collective description of the culture (Fetterman, 1998).

The non-probability purposive sampling technique with subsequent snowballing utilised by the researcher might have generated respondents of similar backgrounds and experiences despite efforts to ensure a desired spread of respondents within the sample. Hence, sampling and selection process raised the question of how representative the sample actually is within the whole of the population. Although the sample is relatively large, a greater balance of ages and genders could have preferably been ensured. Most respondents within this study were females, which was partly the consequence of the fact that the female researcher had more access to female social spaces and perspectives, encouraged through close relationships with female audiences. A male researcher engaged in a similar ethnographic study could possibly contribute to an understanding of the quintessential nature of male perspectives. Furthermore, a sample based in Manchester might have produced research conclusions that would be slightly different from those of post-accession West Slavic migrants in larger cities, with more concentrated foreign populations such as London, or from those living in less concentrated migrant areas, such as the countryside. Given a greater sample, this exploratory study could further distinguish between Czech, Slovak and Polish respondents within West Slavic migrant group, as some minor in-group differences were acknowledged in the primary research findings.

The use of supplementary research techniques, such as questionnaires could facilitate reaching a greater number of respondents and generating data from a larger sample within the population. However, the strength of interviews utilised for this particular study lays in their ability to produce rich data that would not be attainable through questionnaires. Other qualitative data could have been derived from focus groups, observations or diaries. The combination of these methods would enable triangulation of methods (Jankowicz, 2000) with consequent affirmative bearings on the validity of the research (Fielding and Fielding, 1986; Fetterman, 1998).

Reflection of the research process has enabled self-evaluation of the researcher's development, evaluating what has been learnt during the research process.

Firstly, the researcher has gained a good overview of the researched subject through continuously keeping up to date with the published literature. The research process has been particularly successful in ensuring reflexivity, when both emic and etic approaches were adopted. The emic approach became dominant during the initial negotiation to enter the research settings and gain access to the culture under study. Being an "insider" of the studied group, the researcher encountered no difficulties in obtaining unrestrained and freely expressed perspectives, which might have proved to be more difficult if researcher originated outside the studied culture. Moreover, data quality was enhanced as the emic approach enabled the researcher to conduct a significant number of interviews in the mother tongue of the informant. The native language is part of the migrants' identity and through conducting interviews in their mother tongue the researcher could better capture the complexity of ideas, as interviewees did not lack breadth of language. Collected data were subsequently translated to English and the researcher ensured the preservation of the original meanings.

One difficulty that occurred was the respondents' difficulty in articulating the issue of their identities. Direct questions would lead to interviewees only 'brushing off' answers, not giving anything to 'hold onto'. This experience has shaped the researcher's skills, as there was a need for the information context to be negotiated, in order to provide a balance of opinions and perspectives. Consequently, the views of migrants' identities mostly had to be probed and extracted from the answers to related questions. The challenge, however, was the researcher's attempt not to influence any opinions, which is a common criticism directed at the role of the researcher in qualitative studies. In developing good research habits, the researcher refrained from talking and listened as much as possible to ensure validity of the research (Wolcott, 1990, cited in Flick, 2002). The whole research procedure was documented as the aim was to ensure the study's reliability (Kirk and Miller, 1986).

Moreover, the research process has greatly enhanced the researcher's ability in extracting relevant information from the data. The feedback received throughout the duration of the research has shaped the study and greatly assisted the researcher's learning process. As the project progressed and researcher began to

better judge the scope of the research, scheduling and time management became a crucial part of the process. Despite all shortcomings and difficulties encountered during the research, confidence in the validity of the study was enhanced given that the main findings correspond to those of other similar studies. Finally, conducting the current study enabled the researcher to come up with new ideas for future research, as discussed in the following section.

7.4 Future Research

This research has attempted to contribute to the body of knowledge within the under-researched area of diaspora tourism. As directly borne out from the picture presented by the current study, further research could expand the results and counter the limitations by adopting different sampling techniques, reaching a greater sample of the population and utilising supplementary data collection tools. The study has also given rise to a number of possible areas for future research, which relate to post-accession West Slavic migrants and tourism and diaspora.

Post Accession West Slavic Migrants

- This research explored migrant communities around Manchester. Future research could involve the replication of the study, with migrants from other locations in the UK to confirm whether the findings would generate similar results. Particularly, it would be interesting to contrast migrants from more concentrated migrant communities, in larger cities, such as London, as well as less concentrated migrant areas, such as those living away from cities, in the countryside.

- Future research may also explore intra-group differences among West Slavs consisting of Poles, Czech and Slovaks. Some minor differences have already been noted in the primary research findings. In addition, other intra-cultural variations, such as class and gender, could be addressed and further explored in future research.

- Another direction for future research is the examination of A8 migrants in other EU countries (e.g. Spain, France or Germany), within the same tourism context as provided in this study. The research focus would be migrants' travel to the homeland and identity formation; whether they feel equally accepted and whether they are successfully creating their homes in these countries.

- The study from a different perspective could be conducted with friends and relatives of A8 migrants in their homelands, or while visiting the UK. The research would depict further impacts of A8 migration on tourism flows between the UK and Central Europe. The research could clarify how migrants' closest friends and families influence their decision-making, identities and plans for permanent returns.

Tourism and Diaspora

- Other A8 diasporic communities could be investigated within the same research context, especially those who have significant representations in the UK (e.g. Latvia, Lithuania and Hungary). The comparison between these and West Slavic migrants could be made to determine whether these migrants share similar travel patterns and identity values.

- Looking at the long-term, when second/third generations of post-accession West Slavic A8 migrants in Britain are easily identifiable, similar research could include inter-generational comparisons, where views of first generation migrants are contrasted to those of second and third generations. It would be interesting to find out how the tourism patterns of second/third generations vary to the first generation, and to what extent first generation migrants pressure latter generations in respect to visits to the ancestral homelands, but also in preserving the language, customs, traditions and other identity markers.

- The tourism of other ethnic minorities in Britain remains under researched, particularly the context of tourism and ethnicity of Chinese and African diaspora.

This chapter has concluded the research by consolidating the secondary and primary data to meet the aims of this study, primarily to contribute to the understanding of tourism and identity formation of diasporic communities. Overall, as a result of the employment of a well-planned methodology, all aims of this study have been met.

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Appendix 1: Language Utilised in Interviewing

No	Name	Nationality	English	Mother Tongue
1	Daniel	Slovak		x
2	Petra	Czech		x
3	Justyna	Polish	x	
4	Jakub	Czech		x
5	Monika	Polish	x	
6	Gertruda	Polish	x	
7	Karolina	Polish	x	
8	Sylvia	Slovak	x	
9	Anna	Slovak		x
10	Zaneta	Slovak		x
11	Emilia	Polish	x	
12	Robert	Polish	x	
13	Anastazia	Polish	x	
14	Violeta	Polish	x	
15	Tomas	Czech		x
16	Paulina	Polish	x	
17	Michal	Polish	x	
18	Miriama	Slovak		x
19	Agata	Polish	x	
20	Vanda	Slovak		x
21	Apolonius	Polish	x	
22	Adriana	Czech	x	
23	Jozef	Slovak		x
24	Edita	Slovak		x
25	Ema	Czech		x
26	Blazena	Slovak	x	
27	Marcela	Czech		x

Appendix 2: Pilot Study Interview Schedule

My name is Daniela Sevcikova and I am undertaking postgraduate research at the Manchester Metropolitan University. This research will investigate tourism and identity of West Slavic communities in the UK; the influences of the travel to homeland on their identity formation. Thank you for taking the time to participate in this research. I would like to tape record the interview, however if you wish not to be recorded, please let me know, and I will make notes instead. I will not disclose your name or names of organisations. You have the right to withdraw the information supplied at any time. All information will remain confidential and will be used only for the purpose of this research.

Section 1: Background information
  1. Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?
  i. Country and place of origin
  ii. Age
  iii. Educational background
  iv. Professional field
  v. Last job title
  vi. Length of residence in the UK

Section 2: The experiences of British culture, cultural differences, work experience (Aim 2: To ascertain the identities of West Slavic diasporic communities living in the UK)
  2. Why have you decided to move to the UK?
  i. Influences
  ii. Long term/short term plans
  3. Can you tell me what was it like during the first few months living in the UK?
  i. First Impressions
  ii. Culture shock
  iii. Difficulties/challenges
  iv. Homesickness/nostalgia
  4. What are your experiences of cultural differences?
  i. Language
  ii. Food
  iii. Religion
  iv. Customs
  v. Family orientation
  vi. Fashion
  vii. Life style
  viii. Discrimination
  ix. Racism
  5. How do you interact with other people in the host society?
  i. Friendships patterns with English people
  ii. Friendships patterns with own or other nationalities
  iii. Belongingness to community
  iv. Dissociation
  v. Discrimination
  6. What is your experience of the UK's job market?
  i. Stability/Instability

ii.   Over qualified
iii.   Discrimination/Racism
iv.   Exclusion
7. Where do you consider yourself to be at home?
i.   Long term/short term
ii.   UK/Slovakia/Czech Republic
iii.   Multiple homes
iv.   Citizenship
v.   Why

Section 3: Travelling to ancestral homeland and the formation of identity
(Aim 3: To analyse the role of return visits to ancestral homeland in shaping identities of West Slavic communities in the UK)
8. Do you take holidays?
i.   Domestic/international
ii.   How often
iii.   Where
9. Can you recall your fist visit to homeland?
i.   Feelings
ii.   Family and friends
iii.   Change
10. What about further visits to homeland?
i.   How long do you usually travel for?
ii.   Where do you stay?
iii.   How do you spend time?
iv.   Experiences of roots
v.   Confusion
vi.   Change of identity

Appendix 3: Amendments made to Interview Schedule

1.	Unnecessary or irrelevant prompts (Educational background, last job title) were removed from Section 1 of the Pilot Study Schedule: Background information.
2.	Q 2: "Why have you decided to move to the UK?" and 3: "Can you tell me what it was like was during the first few months living in the UK?" of pilot schedule were modified into one Q no 2: "Can you tell me about your feelings after relocation to the UK?" in main interview schedule. The prompts were combined and modified.
3.	Q 4: "What are your experiences of cultural differences?" of pilot schedule became Q3 of main schedule: "What are your experiences of the new culture living in the UK?" The wording of the Q was changed and prompts were modified.
4.	Q 5: "How do you interact with other people in the host society?" in the pilot study schedule became the first prompt in Q 4 of the main study schedule: "Friendship patterns".
5.	Q 6: "What is your experience of the UK's job market?" in pilot schedule was rephrased became last prompt of Q 2 in the main study schedule: "What is your working experience in the UK?"
6.	Q7: "Where do you consider yourself to be at home?" of pilot schedule was placed at the end of the main study schedule as Q 15, as it appeared sequence that is more appropriate.
7.	Q 6: "Visiting Homeland" and 7: "How do you experience your own culture and rots during the visit to homeland?" were added to main schedule, as there was a great need in providing balance between sections 2 and 3.
8.	Q 8: "Can you recall your very first visit to homeland?" was added to the schedule in order to generate more data regarding return visits and migrants feelings during the visit.
9.	Q 11: "How do you feel like during the visit? An Insider or Tourist?" was added in main study interview schedule.
10.	Q 12: "How do other make you feel during the visit?" were added to the main study schedule in order to provide more insights into migrants' identities.
11.	Q 13: "How do these visits shape your identity?" was added in main study interview schedule.
12.	Q14: "Do you have plans to return home permanently?" was added in main study interview schedule.

Appendix 4: Main Study Interview Schedule

<u>**Introduction**</u>

My name is Daniela Sevcikova and I am undertaking postgraduate research at Manchester Metropolitan University. This research will investigate tourism and identity of West Slavic (Polish, Czech and Slovak) communities in the UK; influences of travel to homeland on their identity formation. Thank you for taking the time to participate in this research. I would like to tape record the interview, so I can better capture the conversation for the purpose of my research. I shall offer you a summary of the final report, if you desire. I will not disclose your name and all the information will remain confidential and will be used only for the purpose of this research. Firstly, I would like to ask you to sign a consent form.

<u>**Section 1: Background information**</u>

1. Can you tell me about yourself?
  i.   Country of origin
  ii.   Nationality
  iii. Age
  iv.   Professional field
  v.   Length of residence in the UK

<u>**Section 2: The experiences of the culture and cultural differences**</u> (Aim 2: To ascertain the identities of West Slavic migrants living in the UK)

2. Can you tell me about your feelings after relocation to the UK?
  i.   Reasons for relocation to the UK
  ii.   Original plans
  iii. Change of circumstances
  iv.   Overcoming homesickness/nostalgia (use of technology/travel)
  v.   First impressions after moving to the UK
  vi.   Experience of the culture shock (positive/negative)
  vii. Overcoming difficulties/challenges (language, securing housing, transportation)
  viii. What is your working experience in the UK (securing jobs, co-workers)

3. What are your experiences of the new culture living in the UK?

  i.   Speaking different language
  ii.   Eating different foods
  iii. Multiculturalism/Variety of religions
  iv.   Different customs/traditions
  v.   Changes in life style (consumption patterns, spending free time, eating out, attending events, fashion)
  vi.   Following British media/politics
  vii. Discrimination/Racism (opinion on racism experienced by non-white minorities)

viii.   Are you missing anything from your culture in particular?

4. Identity affirmations

  i.   Friendships patterns (English people/other nationalities/co-nationals)
 ii.   Do you see people of the same nationality holding together?
iii.   Do you have connection to Poland/Slovakia/the Czech Republic
 iv.   How do you feel connection to Poland/Slovakia/the Czech Republic?
  v.   What are your feelings of being 'Polish/Slovakian/Czech' living in the UK
 vi.   What are your feelings about Slovakia/the Czech Republic as a country?
vii.   Do you participate in the community of Poles, Czechs and Slovaks living in the UK (membership groups, networking, meetings, attending community events, online community)
viii.   Following politics/media/music/other in homeland

Section 3: Tourism and identity formation (Aim 3: To analyse the role of tourism in shaping identities of post-accession West Slavic communities in the UK)

5. Do you take holidays?

  i.   How often?
 ii.   Where? (domestic/international)
iii.   Why? (if they don't visit homeland but go elsewhere)
 iv.   Where did you travel for the last trip you took?

6. Visiting Homeland

  i.   Do you travel to homeland?
 ii.   How important is it for you? (priority/second holidays)
iii.   How often do you travel to homeland?
 iv.   How long do you usually travel for?
  v.   Where do you stay?
 vi.   When do you usually travel? summer/winter/family occasions/anniversaries
vii.   Types of tourism participation (VFR/Heritage tourism/Sports tourism)?
viii.   Why do you travel to homeland? (pull and push factors)
 ix.   What does the visit give you?
  x.   Family obligation/cultural expectations?
 xi.   What do you usually do during the visit?
xii.   What do you enjoy the most during the visit?
xiii.   What do you miss about the UK, while you are at home?

7. How do you experience your own culture and roots during the visit to homeland?

  i.   How confident are you speaking/reading/writing your language
 ii.   Eating traditional food
iii.   Practising religion
 iv.   Customs (Christmas/Easter)

    v.   Following media/music/politics
    vi.   Life Style (spending free time, family life orientation, fashion)

8. Can you recall your very first visit to homeland?

    i.   Feelings
    ii.   Purpose
    iii.   Experiences

9. Can you recall your last visit to homeland?

    i.   Feelings
    ii.   Purpose
    iii.   Experiences

10. Do you have your next visit to homeland planned?

    i.   When?
    ii.   Occasion

11. Do you feel like during the visit; an insider who belongs there or tourists?

12. How do others (family members/friends) make you feel?

13. How do these visits shape your identity?

14. Do you have plans to return home permanently?

15. Where do you consider yourself to be at home?

    i.   UK/Poland/Slovakia/Czech Republic/Elsewhere/Multiple homes/Nowhere
    ii.   Why

Appendix 5: Interview Transcript (Polish informant)

Interviewer: Daniela Sevcikova (Caption in bold)

Interviewee: Robert, Male, Polish, 30 years old, Pharmacist and PhD Student, 6 years resident in the UK

Can you tell me little bit about yourself?

My name is Robert, I am Polish and I am 30 years old… In my professional field, I am a PhD student. I am doing my PhD in Food Science and Human Nutrition. My first degree was in pharmacy, and I am registered pharmacist, I work as a pharmacist. I have lived in the UK for almost 6 years now.

Why did you relocate from Poland to the UK?

Well … I suppose it was money… I don't know… when the European Union and job market has opened I could just go anywhere, to work anywhere… I thought, well… the United Kingdom seems ok, and the pound to Polish zloty seemed good at that time… After I finished my master's degree in Poland, I thought: well I have a debt because I took on a student loan in Poland and I would have to work for ages to pay that off… Not to mention that I would have to work for ages to be able to afford to buy a car, to buy a flat or a house … and so on, and so on… I didn't have anything to tide me in Poland… my family has sort of disintegrated after my mum died… I didn't have anything to stay there for… the job was boring…. because working in the Polish pharmacy is boring in comparison to English one, as it turned out… So, I thought, why not to move here [to the UK]… A friend of mine was working in the UK already… She worked for one company and she said that this company is looking for a pharmacist and advised me to get in touch with the area manager... The day after I arrived to the UK, I already started my training in the pharmacy; I started the conversion training, because working in the pharmacy in the UK was slightly different. You have to have this conversion training and an exam, before you can register as a pharmacist in the UK.

Did you have original plans about your stay in the UK?

Yes, I thought that I would stay for a maximum of five years and by that time, I would have so much money aside and I would go back… However, as it turned out, my plans have changed completely…

What has changed your plans?

Well, I met my partner, who is English… and I thought I would live here. I have settled here [in the UK].

Did you have problems with homesickness and nostalgia after relocating to the UK?

No, not really… I am maybe not terribly sentimental, if you know what I mean… I see the value of things in life and I said that I am not terribly sentimental person and I rarely ever get homesick when it comes to Poland. I don't feel terribly connected to Poland and maybe that is why I don't get homesick. When it comes to family, I keep in touch with a few members of my family but we are not so close

for me to go there even every so often, or to go and spend Christmas with them... I went to visit my brother in February, because he got married, had a child and I wanted to see my little nephew, it was his first birthday, so we went to Poland… but not really, you see, I don't get homesick…

What was your first impression of the UK after relocating from Poland? Have you experienced a culture shock?

God, I was petrified… completely petrified. Well, the first of all … I had some English at school and then, when I was a student, I had some English, so I thought that it cannot be really difficult because I know some English already… And then you come to England and you hear people speak; they speak differently to what you were thought in school… And especially, what they teach you in school are those round vowels, which are spoken really in South England, near London and the area ... When I came here, people had broader accent and in the beginning it was very difficult to understand them… I lived in North-East Lincolnshire where the spoken English is completely different to what teachers teach you at school… I didn't understand why people kept calling me love, or mate, and so on… Oh my God, this is just too familiar [laughs]… That was one thing. The second thing, I had this misconception about England as a whole… About how English people live, about how they behave and you think when you live in Poland, after what you see on telly… and … you think that English people, or Brits are very well behaved and they have this politeness in their language, and this is how they live by that… I was so disillusioned really… these first weeks in the UK, I felt: 'Oh my God, they are just as savage as we - Polish people can be…' They drink excessively and they cannot drink… they throw up… I mean, you can see them throw up at 7 o'clock on the streets… you think, isn't it a little bit too early for a party to be over? [Laughs]… that was one of these things… but there are other things of course… I thought that England was a completely scary place because I did not know it at all…

Did you see anything positive?

Yes, well, people are really friendlier here than people in Poland. There is no doubt about that and I am sure you thought the same about Slovakia as well. There is this politeness in the language here [in the UK], so you notice the difference in the customer service. I just remember again, coming back to Poland with my partner and I thought; 'now we are in one of my favourite cities in Poland and I am going to show you my favourite botanical garden'… So, we went there, and at the counter, at this ticket booth, I asked lady for two tickets, politely… and she threw the tickets in front of me, I said thank you… I gave her money, she threw the change back at me without saying anything again…, and my partner said to me: 'what did you say to her to offend her?' I said: 'nothing' [laughs]… so, this is one thing… but there are others things … it is probably the cultural thing… I don't know… I find living in the UK really, really, seriously easier and less stressful than living in Poland … For example, paying taxes and sorting that out in Poland… I mean anything you do, you phone the tax office and you have to sort of, almost apologise for bothering them… and over here, you know, they send you a very polite reminder that you need to pay tax, make sure you have to file your tax return… and then you get a letter which says thank you for you payment… You know what I mean?

How did you overcome difficulties with the language, job, co-workers, and housing?

A had a friend of mine who worked in the pharmacy, the same one who actually arranged for me to come to the UK… It turned out that she was working at the pharmacy, where my training took place… She advised me: 'you will overcome your language barrier really quickly if we don't speak Polish in the pharmacy…' I said: 'yeah, that is fine…' So, we spoke only English in the pharmacy… of course, we spoke Polish, when we were meeting after work, or if we were going out, things like that … In the workplace, it was only English and it was great, I quickly got into that… Also, I didn't have problems with making friends. I have quite a lot of English speaking people, it helps you really…, you get out of your little bubble of Polishes… yeah…, and so I thought I embraced the language quickly…. And I had to work in the pharmacy every day and all you heard was English language all day long, it was very tiring to start with because … I don't know… I think it must be very exhausting for the brain to switch from one language to the other to start with… Because I clearly remember that the first three months of me being in the UK, I was translating in my head from Polish to English, and from English, back to Polish… and that was really tiring… that was really, really tiring… I just remember one day, I was in the pharmacy all by myself, probably, one of the first days as a pharmacists all by myself… That was the first day, when I was talking and thinking in English as well… I was so tired after work, and when I came back home, without anything to eat, even undressing, I just sat on the bed and fell asleep. I woke up the next morning… It can give you an idea of how tiring that was. It was not any physical activity that wore me out… it was only brainwork… but after that day, I completely switched to thinking in English… I started dreaming in English [laughs]… now after almost six years in England, if you wake me up in the middle of the night, I will speak English, I will not speak Polish [laughs] so… I am really quite switched, you see, my partner is English as I said, so we speak English all the time. I rarely, rarely speak Polish these days. I have Polish friends here, whom I met through work as a pharmacist… I keep in touch with them and of course, when I go there, unless I go with my partner, I speak Polish with them … If my partner goes with me then we speak English… I can hear the difference between my language and their language, because they are a couple, and they are both Polish and they speak Polish all the time...

Do you find it hard to switch back to Polish after speaking English most of the time?

Oh, yes… When I speak Polish these days, it is a little bit embarrassing, because I find myself using an English construction of the sentence, sort of direct translation from English to Polish… It does not work that way, because Polish construction of the sentence is completely different, so sometimes, I come up with some nonsense, but… that is ok… I think that everybody has those problems…

How did you get used to the English food? Or what do you prefer eating?

Oh, God! English food to start with… was terrible, bland in taste and completely flavourless. I thought that some things were absolutely disgusting… Probably, everybody says the same things about bread… I still hate English bread… I hate it… There are some brands that are bearable but there are some brands that are

completely unbearable, I just cannot even stand the smell of them… you know… Because I am doing my PhD in Food Science and Human Nutrition, I do understand, why that is … I do understand what processes they use to make the bread and sometimes, when you open this packet with bread and all you can smell is this yeasty smell… you know, our bread [Polish/Czech/Slovak] doesn't smell like that, does it?...

Do you think that the bread that they sell in the Polish shop is the same one that you get in Poland?

You can see the difference as well… Now, after six years living here [in the UK], I know where to do to buy nice Polish bread, which has some structure, a good texture and when you slice it, it doesn't fall apart… When you spread butter on it, it does not compress like a sponge and never comes back …

Do you buy Polish groceries?

I sometimes do [buy Polish groceries], because when it comes to food… you know, that is my real Polish identity… It really comes across there. I sometimes crave what I used to eat during my childhood. I am going to cook this… then I am going to cook that… There is not a problem with the Polish supplies; of course, there are plenty of Polish shops… With the influx of Polish people to the UK, there is this market niche for the Polish groceries and they are quite good shops. There is quite a good shop in Northenden, which is fairly close to where I live… or it used to be good and then maybe the quality has slipped a bit, so I haven't been there for a while now… There is another really good shop just between Salford and Whalley Range, maybe it is Whalley Range actually, I cannot remember what the street is called, but they really have good supplies there… Even my local Tesco has the worldwide foods and there is some Polish stuff… If I ever fancy some Polish soft cheese, or I don't know… a sausage… or even sour croute, I just go there, and there is no problem to get it, yeah…

How have you perceived multiculturalism and a variety of religions?

I did not have problems with that, because you come to…. I came straight to pharmacy and I had multitude of cultures coming to the pharmacy with their problems. I did not have problems with that… I perceived it absolutely positively, because these racial or cultural barriers in the UK are completely blurred… When it comes to Poland, people can be racist in a really nasty way… Absolutely. I think it might be our national thing… I am washing my hands clean of that, but Poland is very xenophobic country. They fear anything that is foreign… Anybody, who is not Polish, anybody who looks differently, acts differently, worships a different God a different church… Polish people are very intolerant in my opinion…

Do you think you became more tolerant being in the UK?

I have always been tolerant; I have always been open-minded. I am not saying that I am a saint, or anything like that [laughs]… There is no need or obligation to like everyone, but tolerant, absolutely. Everybody is a human and everybody has a right to live and behave the way they want to, as long as they do not violate my right to live and behave the way I want to… I think, maybe… I do not know… I am gay… and maybe being gay helps me to be more tolerant…

Do you find England better in that way?

You mean England being gay friendly? Oh my God! Are you kidding me? Of course [laughs]. Oh my God, absolutely. Being gay in Poland, is just so difficult… For the same reason as I mentioned before, it is not xenophobia, it is homophobia… Again, Polish people are very homophobic. Why? I don't know why…

Do you think that this is the reason why would you prefer to settle in the UK?

Yes, absolutely. I remember, when I was coming to terms of being gay living in Poland, I was completely devastated about it …

Was this also one of the reasons why you wanted to leave?

No, it was not the reason, why I wanted to leave Poland, because I have found the way to live. I had gay friends and gay relationships and it was all fine… The only thing is, that here [in Manchester], you have the whole area, which is openly gay… You can go to Gay Village, you can go anywhere by Canal Street, it is like… wow! It is freedom really… This is what life is about, if you feel free than you feel safe… or the other way around; if you feel safe, you feel free and here, nobody really comes across any abuse… or I definitely have not. In Poland, I remember going to gay bars, or gay clubs, which were completely underground. Straight people would not know that there was a club there or a bar there… they were hidden from view… It makes a huge difference as well… The fact, that you can legalise your relationship with the same sex person in the UK…

You would not be able to do it in Poland.

Absolutely not, and you probably never will be… [Laughs]

How do you perceive different customs and traditions here in the UK, or do you follow Polish ones?

Yes, there are things that bother me. Christmas Eve, for example, which English people really do not celebrate here, while in Poland it is the main celebration. This is when you have massive supper, when the first star comes out… And this is when you unwrap your presents… In England, and being a part of English family, which I am as well… they open their presents on the Christmas day… But, my partner made an allowance for me; I am allowed to open one Christmas present on Christmas Eve, after we have Polish meal. The whole family does it now… it came very naturally; I want a Polish meal on the Christmas Eve and then the next day we have English Christmas day, which is absolutely fantastic… It means more celebrating, more food and I can open presents on both days as well…

Do you think that life in England brought you a different lifestyle in comparison to life in Poland?

Yeah. Absolutely, there is no doubt about that… in many ways… I definitely speak better English… Moneywise, the amount of things that you can afford living here… that changes your life as well and it changes your attitude and outlook… Sadly, but money does it to you… I still think that you cannot buy happiness with

money, but you definitely can live a happier life with money [laughs] … And travelling, absolutely, because it is so much cheaper and easily more affordable here, to go anywhere abroad… to go even for a short trip… I don't know, it comes from the fact that you can afford it easier… and you have so many international airports, and so many international flights flying to and from here as well… so you can really get anywhere really cheaply, and really quickly… so my appetite for travel has even increased.

Do you follow British media, politics, or do you rather follow what is happening in Poland?

No, I don't follow what is happening in Poland at all, because it always drives me crazy… I like the distance that I have to Poland and the 'Polishness', the distance that I have mentally and the distance that I have physically.

Did you know you would feel the distance, what created it?

Of course not… I think that it just happened… I remember reading this book, when I was in high school… that we had to read… The book was by the Polish author, who emigrated from Poland, maybe just before the Second World War… He went to Argentina… and of course, because he emigrated, he was named a traitor and he was very hated, his books were banned in the post-war Poland, until the 90's, or so… I remember reading this book and this author is laughing at these block headed Polish people, who are really, so blockheaded and so hang up about these little things that have no significance whatsoever… looking for a hole in something that really doesn't have a hole anywhere… I know I probably shouldn't laugh about that but I find it very funny actually… There was this plane crash, two years ago in Smolensk where Polish president, his wife and other people from the government got killed… And it was a simple plane crash, the visibility was poor, the pilot was told to land, so he endeavoured to land, but he didn't see that there were trees there and he clicked his wing on the trees and planed crashed… You know what?… Polish people to these days, the government pursue this as an assassination… And it is Russians' fault. Therefore, we are almost at the stage of war between Poland and Russia because of the plane crash, which was an accident, for Christ's sake… What is the point of even digging into that? It still happens. It is always happening in Poland… and these stupid people who don't sort out the Politics and the Polish reality, the way of living in Poland and the quality of living in Poland, or health care in Poland… They just get hanged up on stupid things like that … That the president got killed… well, he was killed, because he told pilot to land, so he got what he bargained for [laughs]… that is my way of looking at it and I know it might sound cruel, but I really find it extremely stupid… This is also the reason why I do not wish to follow Polish politics because I find it too annoying… and life is too short for that… On the other hand, I do follow the politics in the UK, absolutely… whenever, there is voting, I go vote… this is where I live and these matters are important for me.

Have you ever felt discriminated in the UK?

No, I haven't … but I have heard some stories, of course, where Polish people got some abuse from someone, or somebody got beaten up…But I don't have that experience.

Do you miss anything from Poland in England?

No, England is England; there is no need to improve England.

What about your friendship patters, or people that you spend time with; What are their nationalities?

My partner is English. I have Polish friends …but not most of them… One of my friends is Lithuanian, we have a group of friends that are multicultural, there is one German lady, Dutch guy, a guy from Jamaica, there is a Spanish girl as well, so it is absolutely multicultural….

Do you think that people of the same nationality are holding together?

It depends on where are you from… English people are generally, in my opinion open minded and they pretty much don't care where are you from …

Do you think that English people are like that?

I do think so… yeah. Maybe, it is because … just as I said, I have never ever come across anybody saying: 'Ou, you are Polish' so you are sort of inferior to us, or something like that… No, it is not like that, actually pretty much, wherever I go to work, people tent to say: 'Where are you from?' I would say: 'I am from Poland'. And they would say: 'Really, we wouldn't think so…' [laughs]. Maybe, it is because of the jobs that I do… me, being pharmacist, and now being at the university… Polish people, I mean those, who strictly come here to earn money, they tend to live in this massive communities… I remember that my brother used to live not faraway…. And there was 8 of them, sharing a house… and I thought: 'oh God, how?!' and… so they basically come to England and they isolate themselves… they live in this massive Polish bubble and … you know…

What is your connection to Poland?

I would love to take British nationality and there is very calculated reason behind it… the reason is the British passport… My connection with Poland is… I have a brother, twin brother and he has a son, as I mention before… so I have a little nephew there, who is absolutely gorgeous and adorable… and I think I am going to go to Poland again… Also, this year is my mum's 10th anniversary of death… Well, that is sad connection, but it is connection and I want to go to Poland, to put some fresh flowers on grave, on her death anniversary. It is her birthday today… anyways… What else? … My mum's family still lives there and my mum's sister; my auntie who gave me a lot and lot of attention and really helped with the family feel when I was a student and away from home, and when my mum died… Also people that I used to study with, who I would love to go and see and sometimes I speak to them on the phone … My best friend still lives in Poland and the lady who was the manager of the first pharmacy that I worked there…. I have some friends and some family in Poland….absolutely, I have some people there [in Poland] that I could go and visit...

Have you been a part of Polish community, or are you a part of it?

No, because I have this, maybe it is a prejudice against 'Polishness'. Because there is something, I don't really like about being Polish… Do not get me wrong…

I don't mind being Polish, but there is something in the nation, that I really, really don't like … Envy, is one of the things … If you do better than somebody else, than it is wrong, because you … if you have more money, then you obviously stole it from somewhere… I don't know … If you have a PhD then you probably bought it on the Internet … So Polish people do nor rejoice with you in your successes, they envy you and they bad mouth you for it… This is completely stupid… also, when you go to work in England, when you go abroad and you work anywhere else… I came across some people who I used to be friends with… and in their opinion, if you go abroad to work, then you are a traitor, you should not be allowed to… somebody said to me that everyone who lives abroad should not be able to vote for Polish government, president etc… which I thought, why??... Again, this is one of these Polish envy things… you are abroad, you are gaining experience there, and you have a different life… I do not like it… Let's take something away from you in return… This is how I perceive Polish to be and it is completely stupid… Things like this do happen. And when it comes to the British passport, let me tell you this story… It happened to me several times, being somewhere abroad… travelling with my British partner and boarding a plane with Brits… that your passport get retained by somebody, and they look at it, they look at you and you feel like: 'oh my God, what have I done? What is wrong? Why are they treating me like that? I haven't done anything wrong… ' and then… travelling to America was very funny…

Do you take holidays abroad?

Yes.

How often do you travel?

Well, once a year, really, sometimes, twice per year… Because of the PhD, I have been busier… before I started my PhD, we would go somewhere, 4-5 times per year … Even for a short break, weekend somewhere, like weekend in Scotland or weekend in Spain or weekend in Paris… Holiday in Greece, definitely there used to be more holidays…

Where was the last trip you travelled?

Abroad? Portugal.

How often do you usually travel to Poland?

Hmmm… last year, I didn't go at all… a year before that, I went once for my brother's wedding…

Is it your priority to travel to Poland?

No, it is not the priority… Definitely not.

When you travel to Poland, how long do you usually stay there?

There is not a usual period of time… few days I would say… It depends where we go… what is the purpose of the visit… Normally I travel just for a few days… We [me and my partner] have never been longer than a few days…

Where do you usually stay?

At the hotel.

Do you not have family where you can stay?

No, I stayed once with my brother, when I went there… but I feel more comfortable staying in the hotel …

What does the visit to Poland mean to you?

Every time I go to Poland, I feel very strange… It turns out that I don't like going to Poland … Every time we go… there is something… I don't know… I think it is… Well, it is a funny thing… When anybody serves me, I think: 'Oh my God, how rude', you know… no thank you, no nothing… no good morning, no goodbye, no kiss my arse... Nothing… In restaurants, in the hospitality industry, people are rarely polite. Oh, and travelling with Polish people; Christ almighty… Honestly, you know what… Let me tell you story… it was a few years ago… we were in Liverpool, flying to Wroclaw… my partner is English, so for him it was just so shocking… I wasn't embarrassed, but I just tried to prepare himself for what was going to happen… we came there, and he said: 'Why are they queuing? The plane is not even at the gate… I suppose they are queuing because they are Polish… If it were English people, they would be just sitting and waiting…Then the announcement was made that the plane was delayed by 40 minutes… And I said to my partner to watch and see how they are all going to sit down on the floor so they don't lose their space in the queue… And he was so embarrassed… He was embarrassed, not me. He was like: 'Oh, my God' [laughs]… So to spare myself from things like this, when you fly with a budget airlines, there is an option to book a seat, which is usually an emergency aisle, where you have more leg room… Nobody books those seats there because Polish people are very tide with money, so nobody wants to sit there… or there is a priority boarding as well, but normally I book seats, so there is no problem…

Do you remember your first visit to Poland after relocating to the UK? Do you think that you have already changed at that time knowing you would settle in the UK?

I cannot remember, really… my first trip back to Poland, might have been maybe after 3 months in the UK… It was after a very short time… did not know anything at that time… all these changes in my thinking and in my attitude have been very gradual… without getting upset, or homesick, or thinking that I am a bad Polish person because I started to dislike Poland… I did not have any of that… I do get a crisis of identity occasionally when we go to Poland… On coming back I have a problem of finding myself back in England… going back to Poland… I find it difficult to find my space back in Poland… so, it is very difficult … it kicks in, for a few days, this strange thought in my head… Who am I really? Am I Polish? ... or am I Polish-British? Or am I none of these? Am I citizen of the world? You know… Where is my place? ... It is very strange because it comes with some sadness, somehow… but… I do not know… I really grew to be quite fond of England… There are such a beautiful places [in the UK]… I am not saying that there are not such beautiful places in Poland because there are … but I haven't seen them in ages and I started forgetting them… Maybe it is fading … but these rolling hills when you go down to Derbyshire… and you go to Peak District, or Lake District … It is absolutely beautiful there… Or you go to seaside, down in Cornwall, it is just

like being in a different country again… Or you go to London and London is so lively and noisy and flashy and so on … And the history of England is very interesting… I really came to like England quite a lot, I really embraced it and especially after meeting my partner and … well, making the decision of staying here for rather longer than five years …you know… It is just where I live now…

When was your last visit to Poland, we already spoke about it…

I went to see my nephew…

Do you have your next visit planned?

I want to go to Poland in December on my mom's death anniversary…

When you are in Poland, do you feel like a tourist, or someone who belongs there?

Tourist absolutely… We used to have a flat in my hometown and when I went there a couple of years ago, after my brother sold this flat… and at that time he was renting a flat in the town centre… When I went there and I thought, well, there is nothing here for me anymore… our flat is not there… I am here with my brother, but it is not the place… I never get to see people that I know when I am in my hometown…

Do you have plans to return permanently to Poland?

No.

Where do you think you home is?

My home is here [in the UK].

That was the last question. Thank you very much.

Appendix 6: Interview Transcript (Slovak informant)

Interviewer: Daniela Sevcikova (Caption in Bold)

Interviewee: Jozef from Slovak, 31 years old, business owner and project manager, resident in the UK for 9 years.

Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?

My name is Jozef, I am 31 years old and I come from Slovakia, from a small town in the North Slovakia called Namestovo.

What are you doing in the UK?

I work as a project manager and I am a co-owner of my own business, I am self-employed.

How long have you been living in the UK?

I lived in the UK 8 and half years, actually nearly 9 years.

Why have you moved to the UK?

I had a few reasons, but mainly I wanted to get to know new culture, new people, new environment and I was not afraid to try something new after graduating from the university in Slovakia. I felt that I would be missing something out, if I stayed in Slovakia right off the university and lived the kind of life typical for Slovakia. I did not want to be looking back one day, let's say after 10-15 years, thinking that I have missed out on something in life. That was the main reason. I travelled abroad also prior to coming the UK, I lived short term in the USA and I had a positive experience with the life abroad. I met new people, gain new experience, knowledge, opinions, way of thinking and outlook on life in general…

Have you had plans to stay in the UK for a certain period?

That is a good question… At first, I planned to stay in the UK for four months and come back to Slovakia by Christmas.

How have your plans changed?

The main change was that … my wife and I come from two different countries. I am Slovak, and she is from Poland and we could not imagine living in either Slovakia or Poland. Therefore, we looked for some kind of neutral settings where we would both feel equally comfortable. In Slovakia, I would feel more comfortable and Poland would be more suitable for her… Therefore, we decided to stay in the UK. Here, we got comfortable quite easily; we were both well equipped with the language skills gained during summer 'work and travel' program in the USA. We saw the opportunity in the UK to better our lives during the first few months, so we decided to stay here for longer.

Arrival to a new culture usually comes with homesickness and nostalgia; how have you dealt with that?

I felt homesick, I missed my family, my country, people, environment, food, culture, I missed everything... However, I knew that it was not going to be forever; I perceived it only as if I put all these things temporarily on hold and I could return to them at any time.

Have you experienced a shock from the new culture?

The first shock after arrival to Bradford was the strong representation of people from South Asia. Therefore, my first impressions of England were influenced by the shock of seeing Asian people nearly exclusively. However, as we came to Manchester, we settled to live to the house that was full of other Slovakian people. I have the very same feeling today; even though I live in the UK, I feel very comfortable, living in the house with other Slovakian people, communicating in Slovak, we have Slovak TV broadcasts, radio broadcast… I definitely prefer Slovak people around me, speaking my mother tongue than English people with whom I would have to communicate in English.

Do you spend most of your free time with Slovaks, or are you mixing with the British culture?

I would like to divide this into two perspectives. Firstly, concerning work, I am happy to work with English people, exclusively English people, who are my business but all my relationship with them would be always strictly work and that is where it ends… I do not have any real English friends in my personal life and that is the way it is…I just do not feel comfortable enough with people that can't understand me in my mother tongue. For example, if went for a coffee and I had to choose between attractive English girl, or just an average Slovakian girl, I would go for Slovakian one because I know I would feel more comfortable.

How do you perceive cultural differences? Do you have positive or negative experience?

I perceive English culture very positively. English people are open minded, tolerant and accepting.

How did you overcome difficulties with housing, job…after relocation to the UK?

I didn't come to the UK alone, we were three of us from Slovakia. I was the only one speaking English… We had an accommodation arranged in the shared house with other Slovaks. Jobs were also pre-arranged through Slovaks. I had very good experience with networking with other Slovaks; we helped each other with accommodation, work, and sorting out bank accounts and all basic things… That is the great thing about Slovaks trying to stand by each other and help each other in every situation. I have for example an experience with the Polish culture, since my wife is Polish and it is completely different. I think that Slovaks, especially in the beginning are not so competitive and envious of each other achievement. They would help each one another, hoping that one day the favour would be returned… On the other hand, Polish are more competitive, the other Polish person is perceived as a threat especially when it comes to work. Slovak would

help you with the job, take you on as a co-worker; happily thinking that there would be more of us and we would have someone to talk to, to rely on... While Polish would perceive another Polish negatively from the start, as someone who can threaten his own position at work…That is the reason why Polish don't want to help other Polish… It also has to do probably with Slovakia being this tiny little nation, trying to hold on together because there is a saying that the harmony or unity carries the strength...

Did you change your eating habits after relocating into a new culture?

At the beginning, just after relocation to the UK before the expansion of Polish groceries and shops, I had the strongest desire for Slovak bread and butter… I was tired of eating those light soft toasts that were tasteless and would never fill you up. I would be missing our yogurts, ham or even spices for soups… Just the simplest things you can get in Slovakia that connect you to your childhood, for example 'haslerky', or 'tatranky' [Slovakian sweets]... After the expansion of the Polish shops, I was able to get hold of all these things; I was regularly buying everything that I would miss from back home; bread, rolls, ham, bacon, cheese, spices, cordial, juices, yogurts, 'horalky' and sweets… Afterwards, with the expansion of the polish shops, you would not have anything really missing, when it comes to food.

How do you perceive multiculturalism in the UK?

I perceive multiculturalism very positively. I am a little sceptical about some communities, especially growing South East Asian communities of Pakistanis that are closing up, their way of thinking and I even perceive them threatening if they are in those big ghettos such as one for example in the Rusholme or Longsight… When you enter some of these communities, you feel like as if you were in the Middle East and not in England and it rather bother me… Even though I understand that they do that to bring their homeland over to the UK but I think that this country should not allow something like that, I find it very dangerous and threatening…

How do you perceive different customs and traditions?

I follow Slovakian traditions, when it comes to Christmas and other major holidays… However, I really like Bank Holiday Mondays here in the UK. That is something I would love to implement in Slovakia as well [laughs]. I think that it is very positive, just having a longer weekends… However, by the rule I follow Slovak traditions, especially Christmas is special to me and I would try to avoid spending it away from Slovakia, away from my family back home, even though it is not always possible… I have already spent Christmas here in the UK, but I can conclude that the Christmas were less merry, because I think that the happiness of Christmas is based on spending them with people close to you, people that you love, your family and closest relatives, with food, traditions, church services that you attended growing up…

Are you religious?

Yes, I am Catholic. I used to go to church in Slovakia and I always try to find an hour to go when I am visiting Slovakia. Over here, with the busy lifestyle, I have to admit that I do not go to church regularly…

Do you think that living in the UK has changed your lifestyle?

Lifestyle in the UK is completely different. When it comes to my economic independence, I feel free here and that is the most important thing the UK gives me... The person living in this economic climate [in the UK] can live a better, more fulfilling life without having to sacrifice one thing over another… When it comes to the way I dress, I am sure, I am dressing differently, than I would in Slovakia. In Slovakia, I would dress more practically over there. I think I dress a little more extravagant… For example, I have 8 pairs of shoes, each for a different style, while in Slovakia, I would probably have two pairs…

Do you think that as a university graduate from Slovakia, you would not be able to have the same lifestyle in Slovakia?

I think that I could… For example, I went to my classmate's wedding in Slovakia and they are making similar money in Slovakia than me over here… But I would say that my jacket, my tuxedo was more expensive than his… People in Slovakia are still in that state of mind, that they would not want to spend money on things that are not necessities. That is just the way of thinking of Slovaks, even though they have the same amount of money and they could afford it. In general, I think that I can just afford more over here in the UK, for the same money. Goods in Slovakia became much more expensive lately and there is not so much to choose from as well… Therefore, I think that the economic freedom is much greater over here.

Do you follow British media and politics?

I am not interested in British politics or media; to get the basic information about what is happening here, I listen to the UK radio in the car, really… I do not even have English channels on TV because I completely follow Slovakian TV and channels. I watch it because I want to feel in my house like at home, happy as if I was in Slovakia. I used to watch 'X Factor' before, but I stopped even that.

Have you ever experienced discrimination or racism living in the UK?

I think that the UK is very tolerant country and they accept foreigners very well, however of course there is a feeling of being foreign. If you are not born into this country, you will always be treated as a foreigner, slightly differently than person who was born here. Therefore, I think that there is some discrimination, but it is very low. England is very good place, people are tolerant to foreigners more than many other places. However, there is a saying: 'Italian and Spanish cuisine but the Polish builder'. I have a business and I employ Polish builders because I think that people from Central Europe have better working habits, they are more responsible… As a businessperson talking about manual workers here, I would always prefer to choose a person from Central Europe to English one. Our clients are very happy with my company, appreciating the fact that their bathroom is done

by the Polish for example. Therefore, we as foreigners can be also positively stereotyped, not only discriminated…

What do you miss the most from your culture?

I miss people. People bring everything with them, food, culture…

Do you think that there is not enough of Slovaks in the UK?

I think that there will never be enough Slovaks over here, to make you feel completely comfortable. I would prefer to have more Slovaks here, in the UK… Moreover, there should be a cultural or community centre where we could meet up more often. I know that this is what people from South East Asia do… I would like to have Slovak church over here, Slovak pub… One was closed down, 'Czech bar', because there was not enough interest. Also, there should be centres for let's say lonely people, or people with problems, where counselling or advice would be provided in my mother tongue, or some information exchanged, for example if there is someone else, who feels lonely and would like to meet…That kind of thing.

What are your friendship patterns? Whom do you spend most time with?

I mostly spend time with other Slovaks but I have few friends from the Czech Republic and Poland.

Do you think that people from the same nationality hold on together?

I think they do and that is the right thing to do.

What is your connection to Slovakia?

I am connected to Slovakia through people, my family, and parents. Slovakia is the place where I was born; it is a place where I spent my youth… The connections are mostly people.

What are your feelings of being Slovak in the UK?

To be honest, sometimes I wish I were just the typical English person, born here in the UK, so I could feel 100% comfortable and myself. For example, if you are somewhere in the disco, they play very nice English songs and all English people can sing along… you would want to sing along with them, but you don't know the words… What I want to say is that sometimes I think about how my life would be different if I was born here [in the UK]. If I were from here, I would be a happier person living in the UK. I would be able to integrate more into the society here, just being a part of the British culture and be one of them. Because now, I have a feeling that I would never truly belong here, even though I lived here for so long.

What are your feelings of being Slovak? Are you proud? Or are you saying you would rather want to be English as you said?

No, I did not say that! I said that I have those thoughts sometimes. I said that I would love to sing along English songs, knowing their words, because their [English] songs are the best... You would want to know what do they sing about, the meaning even behind words, that is what I am talking about. I am happy to be

Slovak, but what does that mean today? To be born in Slovakia, follow some traditions, cultural customs… I am proud to be Slovak, I would love my children to speak Slovakian and have contact with Slovakia and I will try to do everything to enable this … I don't know if they are going to live in Slovakia or be happy there. Me as a parent, I would not want to find myself in a similar position as my parents did… where their children for whatever reason left the country and settled down 2000 miles away just to live the life they wanted. I would want my children to be close to me. I think that those parents whose children live abroad are having it hard, having to deal with that kind of distance.

Are you a member of the Slovak community in the UK?

In my opinion, Slovaks started to integrate into the British society more and more, especially those who live and work here [in the UK] for longer and they do not really protect the boundaries of their traditions and community. We do not have any centre for the community, at least I do not know of any… There are some internet groups online suitable for networking among Czechs and Slovaks, it is called 'Manchestraci a Manchestracki' but being a member in the group does not mean anything. You can sometimes meet new people through that website. Only if people are not scared to meet up with a stranger, you can find a good friend. However, mostly it does not really work like that. People are sceptical about meeting online; they have their own network of friends and do not want to accept anyone new.

Do you take holidays?

Yes, I do.

How often do you take holidays?

I go very often, even 12 times per year.

Where do you usually travel?

I would say that 10 out of 12, I travel to Slovakia and the rest of the time would be elsewhere, to Spain mostly.

Why do you travel so often?

Firstly, in the UK, I do not tend to spend my free time in such a fulfilling and enjoyable way as I do in Slovakia… Secondly, I have my two brothers there, my sister, my parents, and family as well… When I was happily married, we used to go to Slovakia 4-5 times… Now, that I am going through divorce, I looked for support in my family and I started to travel to Slovakia much more often…

Where was the last trip you took?

I went to Slovakia two weeks ago…

How important are the trips to Slovakia?

Very important. Having personal problems, my family used to be my support. In the difficult moments, I need someone to rely on… That is why I travel home so often.

How long do you usually stay in Slovakia?

I usually go for long weekends, leaving on Thursday morning, or I go for a week. My last visit lasted 10 days, so it depends…

Where do you stay?

I stay with my family, in my house.

What do you do during your visit to homeland? How do you spend your time?

My brother or my father would always come to pick me up at the airport. After arrival home, we would have a dinner together, sit together and just talk about what has happened in our lives, just some sort of catching up with each other… I am just spending my time, enjoying myself, going swimming, and on the boat… just actively spending time with brothers, family and friends. Last time, we took a trip to the 'Orava Castle'. Sometimes we take trips also around Slovakia… if something interesting goes on; I always want to be a part of that. For example, in September, I would like to visit auto salon in Nitra…

What does the visit to Slovakia give you?

I have a need to see my family and I know they are happy to see me too. I know that my family are people that I can rely on the most, trust the most and I feel great when they are around.

What do you enjoy the most during the visit to Slovakia?

Just the time spend with my closest family and friend, people. You always go there because of people…

Do you miss anything from the UK during your time in Slovakia?

Nothing at all. It is a holiday time, and you are not bothered to think about England. You are just enjoying things that Slovakia offers and do not think about what or whether something is missing…

How confident are you speaking, reading and writing in your mother tongue?

I am very confident, 100%.

What foods do you eat during the visit?

We consume our traditional Slovakian cuisine, which I really enjoy.

Do you think you change your lifestyle in any way during the visit to homeland?

Yes, of course, I do not work, as I am on holidays, therefore every moment is filled with fun and enjoyment.

Do you remember your first visit to homeland after relocating to the UK?

I remember that after return back to the UK, I cried… I did not want to return to the UK. I was really looking forward to the trip to Slovakia, because the first return visit I took was after nearly a year away from home, after 10 months exactly. I stayed there holidaying for two weeks and when the time to return to the UK approached, I was not happy. I did not want to come back at that time…

Do you remember why have you felt that way?

It was because the beginnings are always hard… Starting in the UK from scratch, from nothing was very hard… The living standards at the beginning would be even lower than in Slovakia. However, this would change with the time. At the beginning, the livings standards and quality of our lives were lower, than it would be in Slovakia. We had to live in the shared accommodation in poor area, while in Slovakia; we had our own family house. However, now I cannot say the same, because the quality of life here, with the time grew and I live better than I would in Slovakia.

Can you recall your last visit to homeland? Why did you go and what was the experience?

I had free time and I wanted to spend it with my family. It was a great summer holiday we had lots of fun, we went swimming at the lake, took boat trip, spend quality time together …

Have you planned the next visit?

Yes, I do. I am travelling to Slovakia in two weeks. I am just taking another holiday trip to Slovakia that is all.

How do you feel during the visit? As a tourist, or someone local who belongs there?

I think its half-and-half, I feel like a tourist on one hand, but also someone visiting his own country…

Do you feel like the visits to ancestral homeland shape your identity?

I think it's a good way to remind yourself of your roots, of where do you come from… the feeling that I know who I am, I know where I come from, I know where I used to live and maybe where I will one day return to…

Do you have plans to return to Slovakia permanently?

Before I started my own business, I always knew I wanted to return some day. However, now, with having my own company and being my own boss, I feel so proud of what I have accomplished here and I would not want to leave that behind. In today's interconnected world, I feel that Slovakia is really close to me, even though I live here in the UK, I know that I could travel to visit whenever I wish.

Where is your home today?

Now, my home is here in the UK. I think that the home is where your work is, where your family is… Most of my family is in Slovakia, but my children live here in the UK.

Thank you. That was the last question.

Appendix 7: Interview Transcript (Czech informant)

Interviewer: Daniela Sevcikova (Caption in Bold)

Interviewee: Adriana, Czech, 30 years old, post-graduate student, resident in the UK for 9 years.

Can you tell me little bit about yourself?

I am originally from the Czech Republic and I am 30 years old. My name is Adriana and… what else would you like me to tell you?

What is your educational background, profession?

I am actually postgraduate student. I have an undergraduate degree from Manchester Metropolitan University and right now, I am doing my postgraduate research, so I am postgraduate student.

How long have you been living in the UK?

Wow, it has been quite a long time, over 8 years, 9 years I think actually. I arrived in 2003, so yeah…

What are your experiences of the British Culture? What are the cultural differences that you have noticed?

I think that the fact that I have been living here [in the UK] for 9 years, I got used to different cultures and I am very much open minded to different cultures. There are surely certain differences in celebration of Easter for example…

Do you remember why have you decided to take a step to move to the UK?

I think that the first time when I decided I really wanted to travel… I did English in primary school and my high school and I really wanted to develop my language skills. That is why I decided to go to English speaking country. At that time, I was about 20 years old and I just felt like trying something new… Moreover, for my parents it was more convenient that I go to the UK, which was closer to my home country. That's why I decided to go to the UK, to mainly improve my language skills.

So when you came to England for the first time, you didn't think you were going to stay for so long.

No. Definitely not. My real intention was to stay for a year or so and just to learn the language and come back or travel somewhere else…

So what has changed your mind?

I guess, see I used to work as an au pair and I had a nice family to stay with… They were not English: the father was Canadian and mother was from New Zealand. I just got on really well with the family and I enjoyed living in England. I quite liked the challenge, I really liked learning the skills and I just felt I could do

better, I could learn the language little bit more, I just thought I stay little bit longer, little bit longer and suddenly it is 9 years now and I am still here, so…

Do you think you have acculturated?

Yes.

So do you feel like this is home for you?

No, I do not think this feel like home; I just feel that this [the UK] is a place where I am right now, in this moment.

So do you think your home is in the Czech Republic?

Hmmm, no, I think that …, I think that at the moment, I don't feel at home anywhere, or feel at home everywhere, if it makes sense… I sort of feel that I have roots in the Czech Republic, but because I have been living here for such a long time… I feel at the same time at home here, because I have my work here, my accommodation here, I have my sort of, all the things that I would do as a normal person living in different country I have more here [in the UK] than actually in my home country.

Can we go back to your beginnings in the UK, how were you getting used to living here, your first impressions… Have you experienced culture shock?

No, not necessary culture shock... Actually, probably I have experienced some culture shock but for me what was very different was the weather… I think that my main influence was the weather; it was more the climate than the culture… I was leaving from the Czech Republic and it was really sunny and 30 degrees and I arrived here and it was three weeks of just constant rain so… That was quite challenging for me. Moreover, as a young person, I used to go out and in the Czech Republic and many pubs were open 24 hours… I could never understand why people are so drunk at 10 o'clock in the evening [in the UK]… Later I realised that it was because the pubs were closing really early and people were probably trying to get as much to drink as they could … So that was my culture shock; that people were wasted at 10 o'clock in the evening already... Just generally, I think what was different… Definitely, the food was different… I explored so many different flavours of crisps that I have never taste before… The first expression that I had tasting salt and vinegar crisps was that I would never eat it again… Now, 10 years later, or 9 years later, I am here eating all different flavours that I thought I would never eat, so… [Laughs]

You have pointed out crisps… Does it mean that they have more junk food here?

I do not think that it is the junk food. I think that it is more of the variety that you can get here. I think that the Czech Republic is sort of post-communist country… I don't want to say we are behind, compared to England in certain way but I just feel like that things that we can buy there, or for what prices, we can buy that, I just… I just think that there is more variety [in the UK], so you can have different taste and all that.

Have you experience homesickness and nostalgia after moving to the UK? How have you dealt with it?

Definitely. I think that everybody or everyone who lives in different country will have these little moments that you are feeling homesick and even though you can feel that everything is fine; your job, work or anything, you still have… I think it very much depends on how many people, or how much family you have left in that country… I just feel that am very close to my mum and my grandma so… I definitely miss them. I grew up surrounded by lots of people, lot of family members. When I came here, I was kind of on your own and it was very difficult for me. It is very difficult for you to interact in the beginning because of the language skills that you might not have so you might not interact with as many people as you would like to, or become as good friends with people [in the UK]. While at home [in the Czech Republic] I had friends since you was a child. So I think for those reasons, yeah, I was missing and I sill experience on many occasions nowadays that I am missing something that is somewhere at home.

How did you overcome the language barrier?

I thought that when I was arriving here [to the UK], that I was quite ready. I studied English for about 10 years before I arrived here, so I just thought I would be fine. Once you arrive, you hear different accents, and different people speaking, you know, it is not just the accent, it is the language they use, the slang they use… Therefore, I think at the beginning it was quite challenging. I arrived in May but in September, I started taking the course at the college to get English skills. I was selected for intermediate level. At college, I met many different people, different international students, people who were here for many years… I realised that I was in many respects on the same boat with so many different people and they were going through the same experiences. They may not be able to communicate, to such a great extent, but at the end of the day you need to somehow communicate, so you are just in yourself, the fact that you are just doing the language, studying the language gives you little bit more confident and I think… For me, this was the challenge at the same time… It was what I really wanted; to really challenge myself, try to learn English language, be able to understand the language and at the same time, having people to be able to understand me. Therefore, I think that I just really want to study and learn the language as far as I feel in myself with the language, when the level is enough, or it is satisfactory …

Is it enough now?

I think that you will never be satisfied I would say… I think that I communicate really well and the fact that I am in the university… I think that my language skills improved dramatically from the day one that I have been here, but you still make mistakes. Over the years, you realise that English people make mistakes, as well as people that have been living here for so much longer than you have. There is nothing wrong with making mistakes. I think that what is difficult to adjust and… Sometimes you become just rude and it is only because you do not use certain expression in the language… I think that this is the sort of the cultural difference. In England you use lots of 'would', 'should' and all these words to be somewhat polite, whereas in my language you do not necessary say 'please' or 'thank you'.

You are polite but you never really say it as much as… Therefore, I think that on many occasions I may be perceived as being rude because I just did not use the right expression… because I just dint feel that it was necessary to use such an expression.

Do you think that moving to the UK brought you different lifestyle?

I think that it really depends which place you live in, or which city you are staying in… I really loved Manchester when I arrived. I thought that it was great because I love different people and I felt that the place is multi-cultural. I like the fact that there were many students, different nationalities, different cultures, different people and I really loved the fact that everybody looked different… Or you could look different… I just felt little bit more freedom here, in certain way that you can wear what you feel, or what you want and nobody really gives you that so much sort of negative feedback… I just felt that it is lot more freedom… As I said before, I am generation that grew up during communism and post-communism… I could feel that as a teenager, I could not get great pair of jeans… but I really loved that when I came here I could see Lewis and you … you just love the fact that. I think the key is really the variety, you can get much more variety of different things in the UK…

Have you ever experienced discrimination or racism towards you in any situation?

I never really felt that much that I would experience any sort of racism. I think that only once in a club I experienced sort of racism from black people towards me but it was not … I think it is just … I just think it is really up to you how you are as a person. I mean sometimes you could feel it when English people as you: 'Where are you from?' But it just really depends how the people ask you... I don't think I really felt as much that I don't fit, but at the same time, though my experience I realised that no matter how hard you try you will never fit within this society… Or you are never going to be English. You are still going to have your roots back home. This is how I feel because I have been born in different country and I have been living … if I think about it… I have been living here less than half of my life, so it is kind of half-and-half really.

What about your friendship patterns? Where are your friends from?

In general, I think that it does not really matter where people are from; I think that it is more about who people are. I have friends who are really good friends of mine that are English, I have friends who are of different culture, they are Spanish, I really like socialising with Spanish people because I feel that they are little bit on the same page.

What do you mean on the same page?

I think it is really the culture. It is the fact that I am as a person, or people from my culture are much warmer… We give people hug we give people kiss… Whereas here if you… When I arrived, I felt that not everybody would be so welcoming … For example, I used to work for this retail company and remember that I gave somebody a hug and you just could feel how the person felt uncomfortable about it… I just thought to myself 'Oh wow, what have I done?' Actually, there was

nothing wrong with what I have done; it was nothing wrong... I just felt that people are not as touchy. Over the years, I have realised it is very much individual, it is how people are generally. The younger generation [of English] is more sort of open and more open minded to different people and accept more, whereas the older generation might not be as accepting. However, on the same note saying that I have never really felt discriminated.

So do you think you associate yourself the same way with British people and other nationalities as with people of your own culture?

I think that in terms of friendship, I really do not see any difference. I have good English friends, and I have very good Spanish friends, I have very good Slovakian friend. For me it is really about the people more than actually about where are they from …

Do you feel like you can belong to the community here in the UK?

As I said, in certain way I feel like I belong, and in certain way I feel like I will never be the part of this community.

Do you take holidays?

Yes, definitely, I think that not necessarily in England but I try to take holidays at least two or three times a year.

Where do you travel?

Actually, most of the time I go home [to the Czech Republic]… Occasionally, once I arrive home, I might go with my mum for holidays to different country. But most of the time I go home… I feel like that most of my expenditure goes for my travelling home… And whatever it's left, I enjoy travelling somewhere else.

Why do you travel home?

I really, I think that it's something that you have mentioned before, about that sort of nostalgia and I think yeah, you get homesick… I can definitely feel that if I do not see my family, sort of, at least twice a year, I would not be probably as happy as I am. So I am going home not only as a normal holiday to recharge, but mainly to spend time with my friends and family.

You said that you are travelling at least twice a year… How long do you usually go for?

It really varies, as much as I can… when I was employed full time; it was bit more difficult… Ideally, I would like to take even three-week holidays, just so I can really spend some time there, and maybe go for a different holiday meanwhile I am with my family. But I would say on average, I try to spend there really at least two weeks …

Do you travel at any specific time of the year?

I mean sometimes even though I would love to go, I could not go because of the prices of the tickets… I do not go as often as I would like to go … See I always really wanted to go home for a Christmas but the company… because I worked in

the retail, it was difficult… It was kind of black period, so you never could request that time of the year off…

Does it have to do with the tradition?

I mean, it is just really nice… I think that everybody likes Christmas, it is about the time of family get-together but also very much about different foods and traditions… Here [in the UK], people eat turkey, it is great, but I grew up and I used to have fish and potato salad… Moreover, traditional Christmas is so much about family: I know that Christmas day, I am going to spend it with my mum, on the next day I am going to go to my grandma and day after I am going to see my uncle and his family. You have it built up in your head from your childhood and think that this is what you would normally do… I remember my Christmas here… that I had to stay [in the UK]… Oh my God, I didn't really like it, because I just …I missed the whole … See, in winter it gets really cold, and I missed the snow… that sort of when you look around and don't have any snow, you could not built a snowman… These things represent my Christmas… So the first Christmas that I stayed here [in the UK], I felt a bit lost that …'Wow is it a turkey? What do you eat it with?' …But I really think that it depends on people that you spend it with… I think that these times are so precious when your family gathers… Even though you might not be appreciating it in your teens, I think that as I get older, my values changed… What I really try to focus on people who I love the most in my life…and the fact that I still have the family back in the Czech Republic and my grandma is getting old… I just really feel like that I want to spend the time over these special moments with them… However, unfortunately I cannot always be there, so… Ideally, if I could, I would travel every time that somebody has a birthday, or for Easter and Christmas celebrations… To join my family, during these times… but I think that on the other hand, I little bit, sort of … I don't do it because I could not because of the work, so … For that reason, I think that I don't travel home as much as I would want to during these seasons… not just only for Christmas… I also enjoy traveling home through the summer, because I am influenced by the weather more, than the culture. If I go through the summer, I love hot summers there, and I can cycle… I thing that I just live slightly different life, when I go there … Not only that you feel that you are on holidays but the life pace… how people are busy, or…what people are managing to do during their life, or during their everyday lives…I think it's just life. I really like that because I don't have to work and it's my holiday… but at the same time I see my friends working but I still manage to see them and to spend some quality time, whereas, in England I find it… it's sometimes hectic and I just feel like it's very difficult for me to arrange things. But as well as it's the place where I live, because I live in town, small town, so there is sort of that sense of community, people know each other, so you just feel little bit more welcome I guess. Whereas here [in the UK], its lot of distances… If I meet my friends back home it takes me 20 minutes to walk to the city centre and see them, whereas here, when I arrange meeting, it is going to cost me much more … so it is just different motivation because once you are back home, you want to enjoy your time… I always, when I arrive, I am already having questions form my mum; what she is supposed to prepare for me, for my meal… what do I fancy. I mean, you know … You start appreciating different things and … so every time when I go home, I just eat all these different specialities, if I can call them, or local cuisine, and have a proper pint… the food that your mum or your grandma made you… Let's be honest, there are differences in the food, so

for me, if I can go home, and I can get something that I can't get in the UK, or it is very difficult to find it, and it just would not taste the same … No matter how people try, the products are slightly different. I think that each country actually has different taste of tea, cheese, tobacco…

Do you prefer the food from back home?

Yes… Well not necessarily prefer, but I once I go there [to the Czech Republic] I think that it's a touch of nostalgia, when you want your grandma to make you your favourite sauce… My traditional food is actually roast pork with sour cream cabbage and dumplings… And I can get dumplings in China town, but they are slightly different, sour cream cabbage - you cannot really get it here [in the UK]… I mean, there used to be Czech bar so you could get some sort of things… As well, it is also beer, we are famous for the beer, I love beer… and I like to have a pint with hat on. I know, it might sound silly, but these are the little things that make quite a big difference to me… Therefore, when I go home, I am definitely having fried cheese and all things that I would not be able to get in the UK, or it would be too much hustle to prepare…

When you go home, do you stay with your family, or with your friends?

I stay at my mums. My mum has an apartment, where I used to live with her since I was little. I still have my little room, so that is why when I get home it feels like home. The room looks exactly like when I left it, or very similar, even though I was 8-9 years ago. Sometimes, I also go and stay in my friend's house. I think that during the visit to homeland I live normal, I do sort of the things that I would normally do probably here, it's just that I replace my friends, my English friends or my Spanish friends for my friends that I grew up with… It's been different, because once you start growing up, and you move to a different country, you are little bit losing out because you cannot … I think that it depends, but I am not really the person that stays so much intensively in touch with all my friends. So for me, it's like… I am happy when I get back and I can see how people got married, and they have kinds, and it's kind of… nice to see people who I grew up with, seeing them in different life stages.

Have people moved on faster there?

I think so… because I think that it is just generally the culture… I mean it is changing…

Do people settle down earlier?

Yeah, I think that the expectancy is that ye you are thirty, you should be married, and have kids, whereas here in the UK, you are thirty and your life just starts… Therefore, I think that this is the difference. For that reason, I just feel like that … I do kind of same things as I would do in the UK, but just with different people.

Do you think that you have missed out on something living in the UK?

I am not sure if I am missing on something… I think that it's just the way, what I decided for myself right now… You know I am living in this country for such a long time and having so many international friends who have been living in different countries… I think that you get that homesickness wherever you are, there always

will be something missing… but it is something that is just up to you, how you deal with it and what you do about it.

During the return visit, do you go to heritage sights, cultural sights, or take part in sports tourism?

It really varies again… I always fly to Prague but I am not from Prague, I am from place called Olomouc which is close to Slovakian border… so I always fly to Prague but then I take a train to Olomouc, so … Most of the time, I have to say, I just get off the plain, get a train, and go home. Once I am there, it is very much spontaneous. I do not like planning things much; I take every day as it comes. Yes, my friends are very active and that is what I really love about them… No matter how busy they are, they still go skiing, in the evening they go cycling and swimming to open waters and lakes… I suppose it is just a different lifestyle. That is how I feel when I arrive there… that I can go with these people and do these things. I do these things if I have time. For me the priority is really to visit friends and family, spend some time with them. However, I have to admit that sometimes I have a plan that I am definitely going to see these and those people and… I think I am just trying to enjoy my time as I am on holidays; you want to choose the best thing that you can do… If somebody comes up with a good plan, to go for a trip, I would always love to join in, even though I probably went there as a child many years ago… Or they [friends] might be coming up with some ideas of places that I have never visited, sometimes, it's a music band they might be listening to, that I haven't had a chance to listen to yet, so I would go, and experience different music scene. Yes, I definitely get involved in different things. And for me, it's quite nice to just walk through my hometown on my own because once that you leave to a different country and you get back to your place or to different places you just become more aware of what you really have. One example is food… When I come home, my grandma she has like a little farm and as a child, I hated it… I never seen the point why I had to work so hard on the farm to produce and collect potatoes, but actually living in the UK made me really appreciate all these things, because here you pay so much money for fruit and vegetables, which are delivered from different countries and they don't taste the same, the taste is different.

So do you are appreciating organic food that is typical back home?

Definitely. Organic food is what I really love the most when I go back. My grandma still has a farm, so I go and I just gorge myself on home grown strawberries, raspberries and whatever I can find there, it's just like a taste of homeland.

We have already touched upon the cultural aspects of homeland visit. How do you go on about talking your own mother language, do you have any problems with that?

Wow, that is quite a good question. I actually have to say that on many occasions… It is funny, but when I arrived here [to the UK], I was in my mind translating sentences from Czech to English and now… I must admit that as I come home, I have it so fixed in English that must translate it from English to Czech. People definitely notice that I am trying to adjust… and I am very talkative, so I am somewhat ok… I need a couple of day s to acclimatize and speak my

language again. However, many friends are telling me that I have an accent already when speaking Czech.

Are you mixing words?

Definitely… I really struggle in expressing myself in my mother tongue. I would often say to people; 'you know what I mean' or describe things to the person… Or I try to use English worlds, but I personally would try to avoid using English expressions and speak my mother language because for me the visit home is as well an opportunity to practice and somehow, to make sure that I never forget my language. And I think that what is hard for me now, is that I have been quite good at grammar in Czech language but while living in the UK I didn't get to read as much in my language… I think I am just little bit losing it in a sense that I don't read that much newspapers… I think that sometimes I actually use too old language as the life changed there as well, so people use nowadays more English expressions but I still would like to use Czech expressions because I appreciate the language that I was brought up in … For me it's very important to speak the Czech language once I am there.

Do you speak only English while you are in the UK?

Absolutely. I rarely speak in my mother language. Actually, I have a friend in the University who is Slovakian, so we speak the same language and that is my only practice, I must admit.

Other than speaking to your mum and family?

In my family, everybody speaks Czech, so nobody really… I do not speak with my family on the daily basis. There is more time when I don't practice my language than I do…I think that with keeping in touch with my family, it's not just for the language practice, it's really for the nostalgia, making sure that everyone is all right and healthy. I think that is the main point. I can really feel that if I do not speak to my mum for a while, I think it is her voice that you want to hear; the voice of your parents sometimes. It could be in the good situation or even in bad… I think that these people are the most important for me, so for that reason, I feel like I just really would like to talk to them. It helps me to carry on living in different country.

Can you tell me about religion? Is there any difference between the two places?

That is a bit tough question for me, because I am actually not believing in anything, I was not brought up into Christianity, being Catholic. But as I mentioned, even though I am not really falling under certain religions, I think it still leads me to follow certain traditions.

Do you think that there is more of it in Czech than in the UK?

I am not sure because my family is not heavily religious and therefore, I do not really feel that there [in the Czech Republic] would be so much difference. I do not really tend to find out much about people's religions here, if you know what I mean.

How is it to get back to lifestyle and fashion during your visit?

When I came to Manchester, I loved the fashion here… it was very different, in certain way extreme and bit diverse… Sometimes you may wear something that people might not understand, but generally, I wear what I want to wear there. I really do not know I just feel that I would wear my pair of jeans and the T-shirt. Of course, I would probably adjust to the weather better. I think that now talking about this is quite funny because when I arrived here and you asked me about cultural differences… I had to laugh because for me seeing people in the shorts and wearing high boots was just something that I would not understand … Now, I actually can understand it; people do it because it is so cold all the time. Therefore, there are certain differences, the dress code even… As I said, it may be more open… I think it's because as I said before, as I have been living here for 8 years, so the time when I left my country was different than into what I am coming now. I can really see the move and how much of the fashion is coming from the UK, the same sort of patterns, so this is really taking away the differences... You can get the same brands as you get here, and you get Marks and Spencer, similar with Debenhams… Therefore, I think that slowly Czechs just dress the same. When I go for example, in the village, I am trying to dress little bit more ordinary... that I am not trying to put on my leather jacket to be really pointed by finger at... It is just little bit about adjusting into life over there [in the Czech Republic].

With regards to living in more Westernised culture for a long period of time and getting used to lifestyle in England, when you come back to the Czech Republic, do you see anything that bothers you?

I really like the fact that I can see all these different brands in my country now… On the other hand, I am just little bit seeing how we really want to be … I do not know how to explain this, but it is kind of… I see that people in the Czech Republic want to really catch up with the Westernised countries… We have been for such a long time closed like in the cage if you think about it… I think that life here [in the Czech Republic] is ok… The technological advanced are great but on the other hand people are coming back to really basics, with again home-grown foods and all that, so… For me when I go home, I like the fact that I can find nowadays things that I wasn't able to find there before… talking about food or fashion, so you kind of see familiar brands, so it's kind of linking between the UK and the Czech Republic. Otherwise, I do not feel really much difference.

What about the customer service?

That is different. I think that it is cultural… You get different service, I mean… the way I see it that people really are different. On one hand, we were saying that people are quite cold but on the other when I get back home … when you ask English person; 'How are you?' and even though they are not great, they would say: 'I am well, thank you'. Whereas, when I go home, and I ask people: 'How are you?' the most of them would tell you everything that is wrong, wrong and wrong. And they would moan and moan and moan. I think that is cultural, they would just moan. We just were probably unhappy about certain things in our system that we would moan so…

Do you recall you last visit to ancestral homeland, you feelings? What was the purpose of the visit?

Last time I went home was actually in October this year. It was for two weeks. I started my post-graduate degree, I was not happy at my personal life, and I really needed to see my family. Actually, no… That was not my last visit. I went home for Christmas. Yeah. Every time, when I go home, it is being mixed up. This time I went for Christmas. I think it was very special for me because as I mentioned before, I was not able to go for Christmas, so after about 6 years, I could really spend the time home for Christmas… What was special for me was that my cousin was getting married, so that was something very exciting. I am actually happy that they fit the wedding into that … I am the only child, so I have only my cousin... he is like my brother, so that was great for me to be a part of this special occasion. I was excited because I was flying on the 15th and on the 17th, I was going for a wedding and I was meeting a new member of family and greeting new baby. What I really liked was spending the Christmas and doing the things that we have done when we were little.

What about your next visit to homeland? Do you have anything planned?

Actually, I booked myself a trip for summer this year… My friends go for festival, music festival every year, and I never actually had a chance to join them on that occasion… Therefore, my next trip is going to be in summer and this time my main purpose is going to be a little bit exceptional; time it's not going to be as much about my family but it's going to be more about me and my friends… As I turned 30 this year, this is going to be a chance to celebrate… I am choosing this specific to celebrate my birthday with my friends who I grew up with… This visit is going to be also very special because it will be the first time I am going to see my little niece. I am excited to see her in person rather than only through the Skype or through the pictures, it is not the same…

So do you think that these visits to homeland are helping in shaping your identity, make you closer to homeland, or make you more distant?

I am definitely confused. I think that when I get home, what is the most important for me is really touching those roots and making not being able to forget where I come from.

Do you think about returning home permanently?

I thought about it on many occasions and the time might come when I actually decide that I would like to return home… This decision will really be determined by my family circumstances, all my family is there… So if my family will need me to come back … because… I do not want to think about anything unexpected or unpleasant… Maybe once I decide to return because of my friends, but right in this stage I am little bit unsure. I feel like my identity is somewhat partially tied to my roots, to the place where I come from … but of course. I think you kind of … I feel like I am definitely Czech in many respects I always will be Czech… When people ask me: 'where are you from?' I am quite proud being Czech and I will be a patriot to the country that I come from. However, I think that the fact that I have been living here, as I said nearly half of my lifetime… It is slowly influencing me to feel like partly English and partly Czech… Sometimes feel like I want a new

challenge… So my new challenge maybe just coming back home and starting over again … I feel like even if it is the place where I grew up and lived, I would be starting again… so I am just thinking that I might like to go and have a go somewhere else and learn maybe a different language… Maybe not to stay there for 10 years, but who knows, you never know…

So do you have a plan to go somewhere else?

My main purpose when I came here, for the first time was to learn the language and then travel, because I really wanted to travel… My sort of mission was to learn that language and then you go across the world and travel, because everybody speaks English. So that was the first intention, but now looking at it, I think it has changed… I kind of feel like, I fulfilled certain challenge and now I feel like that, I like this place [the UK]; I like my home, but is there anything else? Is there anything else around the world that I might like even more? Therefore, I think I am just keeping this sort of option open for me right now…

So you are not thinking about settling down in England.

You never say never, but right now, I think that I would like to travel somewhere else.

That was the last question, thank you very much for your time.