



Brexit and

Polonia:

Challenges facing the Polish Community during the process of Britain leaving the European Union

One day Brexit Conference (in English), 16 December 2017, 10.00 – 17.00.

Polish University Abroad (Polski Uniwersytet na Obczyźnie, PUNO),
Sala Malinowa (2nd Floor), 238-246 King Street, London, W6 0RF.



Brexit and Polonia: Challenges facing the Polish Community during the process of Britain leaving the European Union

Registration 10.00

10.20-10.30 *Welcome / introduction*

Chair: Michael Fleming (PUNO)

10.30-11.30 *The socio-cultural contours of Brexit*

Part 1a. Framing the debate: Current scholarship

Chair: Michael Fleming (PUNO)

Dennis Novy (Warwick University)

Who voted for Brexit? A comprehensive district-level analysis

Alexandra Bulat (SSEES UCL)

'The brightest and the best', us, and the rest: Framing EU migration in the 2016 EU referendum campaign

Agata Błaszczyk (Polish University Abroad)

History of Poles in Britain before 2004

One day Brexit Conference (in English), 16 December 2017, 10.00 – 17.00.

Polish University Abroad (Polski Uniwersytet na Obczyźnie, PUNO),

Sala Malinowa (2nd Floor), 238-246 King Street, London, W6 0RF.



11.30-12.00 Tea/Coffee

12.00 - 13.15

Part 1b Brexit in relation to Britain's Polish community

Chair: Wojtek Rappak (PUNO)

Kathy Burrell (University of Liverpool)

Brexit Mobilities: Anticipating a New Polish Mobility Regime in the UK

Sara Young, (UCL Institute of Education, University College London)

Experiences of Polish-born adolescents in Britain during the run-up to Brexit

Magdalena Łuźniak-Piecha (Department of Psychology University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Warsaw), Grażyna Czubińska (INS, Polish University Abroad, London)

Britain's Poles after the Brexit vote. "Should we stay or should we go?"

13.15-14.15 Lunch

14.15-15.30

Part 2 Brexit as seen by (representatives of) the Polish community in the UK

Chair: Magdalena Łuźniak-Piecha (PUNO)

Włodzimierz Mier-Jędrzejowicz, Federation of Poles in Great Britain

Brexit concerns as seen by the Federation of Poles in Great Britain

Barbara Drozdowicz, East European Resource Centre

Impact of Brexit on inclusion and integration of Poles in the UK

Katarzyna Bogusławska (Carter Lemon Camerons LLP.)

Brexit: Implications for Polish Businesses

Adriana Górka (PUNO)

Brexit and Polish children in the UK

One day Brexit Conference (in English), 16 December 2017, 10.00 – 17.00.

Polish University Abroad (Polski Uniwersytet na Obczyźnie, PUNO),

Sala Malinowa (2nd Floor), 238-246 King Street, London, W6 0RF.



15.30-16.00 Tea/Coffee

16.00-17.00

Part 3 – Roundtable/ Q and A: The challenges and responsibility of government and the media

Wojtek Rappak – PUNO

Andy Slaughter – Member of Parliament for Hammersmith (Labour Party).

Wiktor Moszczyński – Union of Polish Writers

Sally Hamwee – Liberal Democrat Lords spokesperson for Home Affairs and Immigration

TBA

17.00 End of Conference

The conference organisers thank the Polonia Aid Foundation Trust, the Polish Embassy, London, and the Young Polish Emigrants' Association (Stowarzyszenie Młodej Polskiej Emigracji) for financially supporting the conference

One day Brexit Conference (in English), 16 December 2017, 10.00 – 17.00.

Polish University Abroad (Polski Uniwersytet na Obczyźnie, PUNO),

Sala Malinowa (2nd Floor), 238-246 King Street, London, W6 0RF.



SPEAKERS

Michael Fleming (PUNO)

Michael Fleming is a professor of history and vice-director of the Institute of European Culture at the Polish University Abroad, London. His recent publications include *Auschwitz, the Allies and Censorship of the Holocaust* (2014) and *Communism, Nationalism and Ethnicity in Poland, 1944-1950* (2010).

Dennis Novy (University of Warwick)

Dennis Novy is Associate Professor of Economics at the University of Warwick. He is also a Research Fellow at the Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR) and an Associate at the Centre for Economic Performance (CEP) at the London School of Economics. He received a PhD from the University of Cambridge and works in the fields of international trade, international economics and macroeconomics. Dennis has been a recent visitor at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis and the University of California, Davis. Dennis was the Specialist Adviser to the House of Lords for their inquiry into the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) in 2013/14.

Alexandra Bulat (SSEES, UCL)

Alexandra Bulat is an ESRC-funded research student at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES), University College London (UCL). Her doctoral research focuses on attitudes towards EU migrants in East Ham and Clacton. She interviews British, Romanian, and Polish-born people living in these two UK constituencies. Previously, Alexandra mainly researched Romanian migration in the UK. Alexandra tweets @alexandrabulat.



Kathy Burrell (University of Liverpool)

Kathy Burrell is a Senior Lecturer in Social and Cultural Geography at the University of Liverpool. She has researched and written extensively on Polish migration to the UK - WW2, socialist and transition era, and post 2004, focusing especially on aspects of migration narratives, experiences of mobility and the material cultures and infrastructures of migration. She is now working on a large comparative project on Polish migrants in the UK, Norway and Sweden funded by The Research Council of Norway.

Sara Young (UCL Institute of Education, UCL)

Sara Young is a PhD candidate at UCL Institute of Education, University College London. Sara's doctoral research examines identity negotiation by Polish adolescent migrants in the UK, focusing on Polish teenagers currently attending mainstream state secondary schools. While much work on language and identity has been conducted in urban areas, Sara is interested in the experiences of adolescent Poles in more isolated communities. Her research explores how narrative may be used as a means to construct identity, both for the individual and for a country. Sara is also investigating the role played by language and a country's literature in formulating a national identity, with particular reference to the UK and Poland.

Agata Błaszczyk (PUNO)

Agata Błaszczyk is currently head of Institute of Research for Migration Studies of the Polish University Abroad (PUNO) in London. She is a university teacher in Modern History and Sociology. Agata's research examines historical and cultural sources and meanings of exile and forced migration, as well as the significance of encampment, enclosures and forced settlement. The study explores the origins of Polish Displaced People (political refugees) and all aspects of their settlement including the activity of the government agencies brought to life by the British after WW2. She is a member of the Young Academics Network Foundation for European Progressive Studies (Brussels).

One day Brexit Conference (in English), 16 December 2017, 10.00 – 17.00.

Polish University Abroad (Polski Uniwersytet na Obczyźnie, PUNO),

Sala Malinowa (2nd Floor), 238-246 King Street, London, W6 0RF.



Grażyna Czubińska (PUNO)

Grażyna Czubińska is a doctor of health sciences, a sexologist, a family counsellor, and a sex education specialist. Her research interests centre on sexual and reproductive health, gender issues and the prevention of crises in relationships. She is the author of research on the sexuality of young Polish immigrants in the UK and is one of the "experts" in the first Polish program of promoting women over 40 in the labour market. For nine years, she has been involved with PUNO, where she works on sexual health and family counselling. She teaches a range of postgraduate classes including the following: social psychology, social sexology, mediation and negotiation, crisis intervention, and coaching.

Magdalena Łuźniak-Piecha (PUNO)

Magdalena Łuźniak-Piecha holds a PhD in psychology and specialises in social and organisational psychology. Her research is focused on Organisational Performance and Diversity Management. Her current research includes cross cultural studies on psychopathic personalities in organisational environments. She is a Fellow and Trustee of the Polish Psychologists' Association in UK and the CEO of the Institute of Cross-Cultural Social Practice in Poland. She is also Visiting Professor of Polish University Abroad, UK, and Tecnologico Monterrey, Mexico.

Włodzimierz Mier-Jędrzejowicz

Dr Włodzimierz Mier-Jędrzejowicz was born in London to Polish parents who felt unable to return to Poland after World War II. He was educated in English schools and by Polish youth organisations. He studied at Imperial College, London, where he obtained a PhD in Physics. He is active in numerous Polish organisations, and is a former Chairman of the Federation of Poles in the UK, and is currently its Vice-Chairman.



Barbara Drozdowicz

Barbara Drozdowicz is the CEO of the East European Resource Centre. Barbara has lived in London since 2008. She joined the EERC in 2012, having earlier been involved in the charities support sector as a governance and funding adviser. Barbara worked in Poland as a coordinator for a number of European projects, among them a resettlement project for homeless Poles.

Katarzyna Bogusławska

Katarzyna Bogusławska is a solicitor and partner at the law firm Carter Lemon Camerons LLP. Katarzyna has extensive expertise in commercial, employment and company law and has worked with a wide range of clients from start-up owners through to SMEs and some of the global main-players who need advice on business related matters. Katarzyna advises and represents Polish businesses both in the UK and Poland across a number of sectors. Through long-term relationships and understanding specific needs of her clients she is able to offer legal support and assist them in achieving their goals.

Adriana Górka (PUNO)

Adriana Górka MA is a psychologist with specialisations in clinical psychology and resocialisation. She graduated from the University of Łódź, Poland. Her postgraduate studies gave her experience of mediation, negotiation, life coaching, sexual health education and family counselling. She works with children and youth in the UK, including in a private practice focused on Polish community in London. She's been a member of the Polish Psychologists' Association and the British Psychological Society. She is also a member of the Polish Centre for Sexual Health and works as the Head of the Applied Psychology Unit at the Polish University Abroad in London.

One day Brexit Conference (in English), 16 December 2017, 10.00 – 17.00.

Polish University Abroad (Polski Uniwersytet na Obczyźnie, PUNO),

Sala Malinowa (2nd Floor), 238-246 King Street, London, W6 0RF.



Wojtek Rappak (PUNO and UCL)

Wojtek Rappak was born in Gdańsk and studied philosophy and history in Canada, Warsaw, Paris and London. He has a doctorate from the University of London for research into the foundations of logic and the early philosophy of Ludwig Wittgenstein. He is a Reader in history in the Institute of European Culture at the London-based Polish University Abroad (PUNO) and heads the Unit of Contemporary British Culture. He is currently completing a post-doctoral history research project at University College London (UCL) on Jan Karski.

Andy Slaughter

Andy Slaughter is a British Labour Party politician and has been the Member of Parliament for Hammersmith since 2010. He had previously been MP for Ealing, Acton and Shepherd's Bush from 2005 to 2010 and before that, Leader of the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham Council. He is currently a Shadow Minister for Housing and Shadow Minister for London, serving on the Labour Party's frontbench.

Sally Hamwee

Sally Hamwee is a British Liberal Democrat politician. She has been a member of the House of Lords since 1991 and is currently a spokesperson for her party on Home Affairs and Immigration. She was a councillor in the London Borough of Richmond upon Thames and a member of the Greater London Authority where she chaired the Assembly. She is a lawyer by profession.

Wiktor Moszczyński

Wiktor Moszczyński is a Polish-born campaigner, columnist, a former City trader, and is now employed by the London Chamber of Commerce. He was born in London in 1946 of Polish political refugees. He holds a BA in International Relations (Sussex). Between 1979 and 1980, he served as a councillor in Ipswich. From 1982 to 1983 he was the chair of the Polish

One day Brexit Conference (in English), 16 December 2017, 10.00 – 17.00.

Polish University Abroad (Polski Uniwersytet na Obczyźnie, PUNO),

Sala Malinowa (2nd Floor), 238-246 King Street, London, W6 0RF.



Solidarity Campaign; in 1983 he was the Labour Parliamentary candidate in Bury St Edmunds. In 1984 he was Labour Euro-Parliamentary candidate in Suffolk; from 1986-1990 he served as an Ealing Borough Councillor and from 1990-1992 he was Chair, North Circular Road (Ealing) Action Group. From 1990-1993 he was the vice-Chairman, Federation of Poles in Great Britain. He was the editor of "Orzel Biały" monthly from 1994-2001. From 2004-2008 he was the spokesman of the Federation of Poles in Great Britain who, successfully challenged anti-Polish campaign in the "Daily Mail". Since 2012 he has been the Chairman of the Friends of Polish Veterans Association and he is also currently Senior Adviser to the 3million group. He is the author of "Hello, I'm Your Polish Neighbour" and "Polak Londynczyk". He was awarded Commander Cross of Order of Merit for the Republic of Poland in 2014. Since 1972 Wiktor has been married to Albina Drabik, with one son.



ABSTRACTS

Dennis Novy

Who voted for Brexit? A comprehensive district-level analysis

On 23 June 2016, the British electorate voted to leave the European Union (EU). We analyse vote and turnout shares across 380 local authority areas in the United Kingdom. We find that exposure to the EU in terms of immigration and trade provides relatively little explanatory power for the referendum vote. Instead, we find that fundamental characteristics of the voting population were key drivers of the Vote Leave share, in particular their education profiles, their historical dependence on manufacturing employment as well as low income and high unemployment. At the much finer level of wards within cities, we find that areas with deprivation in terms of education, income and employment were more likely to vote Leave. Our results indicate that a higher turnout of younger voters, who were more likely to vote Remain, would not have overturned the referendum result. We also compare our UK results to voting patterns for the far-right leader Marine Le Pen in the 2017 French presidential election. We find similar factors driving the French vote. An out-of-sample prediction of the French vote using UK estimates performs reasonably well.

Alexandra Bulat

‘The brightest and the best’, us, and the rest: Framing EU migration in the 2016 EU referendum campaign

The 2016 referendum campaign on the United Kingdom’s continuation of European Union (EU) membership had two dominant themes: the economy and immigration. ‘Remain’ campaigners emphasised the former, whereas ‘Leave’ supporters put more effort into discussing immigration. Although there is consensus regarding the relevance of immigration for the vote, there is little research systematically examining the detail of this campaign issue. This study focuses on how immigration was spoken about in political ephemera distributed during the referendum campaign. A frame analysis illustrates that, despite the issue at stake



being ‘uncontrolled EU migration’, a significant proportion of materials spoke about non-EU populations. Overall, a positive case for EU freedom of movement as a whole was absent. Remain campaigns focussed on specific groups, such as British people and ‘the brightest and the best’ EU migrants, while ‘the rest’ was left to be criticised by Leave arguments. The analysis reflects on how EU migrants did not have a voice through these media.

Kathy Burrell

Brexit Mobilities: Anticipating a New Polish Mobility Regime in the UK

The last decade or so has seen much discussion about the so-called ‘hypermobility’ of Polish and other EU migrants, and while this notion has not gone uncontested it is clear that A8 citizens have been exercising certain freedoms of movement within the realms of the expanded EU. Now, with Brexit looming, the nature of Polish mobilities in the UK looks set to change again. In addition to the fundamental mobilities linked to the right to stay in the UK after 2019, which are, at the time of writing, still unclear, this paper will consider a range of other mobilities which may also be under threat - those mobilities which have helped forge rich transnational/local bonds through the physical movement of bodies and things between Poland and the UK. The paper will underline the taken for granted nature of these kinds of links and mobilities and reflect on what is at stake as Brexit unfolds.

Sara Young

Experiences of Polish-born adolescents in Britain during the run-up to Brexit

The accession of Poland to the European Union (EU) in 2004 saw Polish migration to the UK increase exponentially. While the migratory demographic prior to 2004 had mainly been young, single men, perhaps foreseeing only a temporary stay, post-2004 saw a rise in the number of families coming to Britain, often with thoughts of settling in the country. Following the 2016 Referendum on Britain’s membership of the EU, however, the position of EU citizens in the UK – including that of Poles – has become uncertain. One group to whom

One day Brexit Conference (in English), 16 December 2017, 10.00 – 17.00.

Polish University Abroad (Polski Uniwersytet na Obczyźnie, PUNO),

Sala Malinowa (2nd Floor), 238-246 King Street, London, W6 0RF.



attention is increasingly being paid is that of the younger generation, with concerns raised by academics, charities and children's groups as to how children and teenagers may be impacted by Britain's withdrawal from the EU. My own doctoral study focusing on the experiences of Polish-born teenagers living in Britain was conceived during the campaign period prior to the UK General Election in May 2015. Fieldwork was conducted during the spring of 2016, finishing one month before the Referendum. It consisted of interviews held with eleven participants, aged 11-16, whose time in the UK ranges from nine to two years. The adolescents all attend state secondary schools and live in semi-rural areas with relatively small Polish communities, one of which is a post-2004 settlement. The aim of this current paper is to demonstrate how a reflection on the adolescents' lives at that time can be seen to contribute to an understanding of the current situation. It will be suggested that even prior to Brexit, many of the themes and concerns which appeared to emerge after the Referendum were present in the adolescents' lives and experiences. The vote for Brexit will therefore be understood as situated in a wider context than is sometimes acknowledged. This paper will also emphasise the importance of listening to younger voices about the challenges they have faced and continue to encounter, and how these should be recognised in the ongoing discussions over the impact of Brexit.

Agata Błaszczyk

The Polish Resettlement Act (1947) – The Experience of British Migrant Settlement Policy and the origins of the Polish Diaspora in the UK after WW2.

This paper considers Polish immigration to post-War Britain. It discusses the Polish community's life in Britain and the British government's migrant settlement policy for Polish refugees after 1946. It explains how Poles successfully integrated into mainstream British society and highlights the importance of education as their route to civic integration. The research leading to this study examined the political implications of the passage of the Polish Resettlement Bill in March 1947 (the first ever British legislation dealing with mass



immigration) and setting up the Committee for the Education of Poles, a body brought into being on 1 April 1947.

Taking charge of thousands of new Polish settlers meant establishing their political and civil status, and consequently integrating them into the society. For the British, the passing of the Polish Resettlement Act and the creation of the different agencies related to it was undoubtedly their first modern experience arising out of mass migration and an unprecedented challenge. Both initiatives, enabled Poles to integrate in Britain and thus potentially provide the requisite labour force after the British economy had been hard hit by the repercussions of the Second World War. They and their descendants continue to make up a large part of Britain's Polish community as it exists today. Moreover, they demonstrated that in providing adequate resources and responding positively to the needs of refugees, the integration process into the host society can be significantly eased.

In the end, the Poles emerged as dedicated contributors to the rebuilt British economy. Those who obtained secondary or higher education found profitable and prestigious posts in the British labour market and made successful professional careers. Their different culture and tradition, along with their traumatic wartime experience, slowly came to be seen as assets contributing towards community life. Polish refugees became one of the most prosperous immigrant groups in Great Britain and the Polish minority constitutes one of the largest ethnic groups in the UK today.

Magdalena Łuźniak-Piecha, Grażyna Czubińska

Britain's Poles after the Brexit vote. "Should we stay or should we go?"

The presented research report introduces preliminary data analysis from an online survey conducted in the UK during four months: from March to June 2017. Data was collected from 617 Polish respondents residing in the UK via closed and open-ended questions about attitudes towards particular aspects and consequences of Brexit. This paper reports preliminary analysis of responses to questions about fears, hopes, and decisions of Poles in UK, and considers Brexit as a game-changing point in their lives. Unsurprisingly, initial data

One day Brexit Conference (in English), 16 December 2017, 10.00 – 17.00.

Polish University Abroad (Polski Uniwersytet na Obczyźnie, PUNO),

Sala Malinowa (2nd Floor), 238-246 King Street, London, W6 0RF.



analysis reveals a variety of factors that are considered to be worrisome for the Polish community. This and other results from the survey may benefit public service workers as well as the Polish community. We also discuss wider socio-psychological implications of the findings.

Włodzimierz Mier-Jędrzejowicz

Brexit concerns as seen by the Federation of Poles in Great Britain

The Federation of Poles, as an umbrella organisation, cannot take an official position on behalf of all its various and varied member organisations. It can and does, however, hear the concerns of Polish citizens in Britain, and of British citizens of Polish extraction, over the current uncertainty. We shall briefly present what actions we see as most needed from central government and from local authorities to alleviate this uncertainty pending final decisions.

Barbara Drozdowicz

Impact of Brexit on inclusion and integration of Poles in the UK

The momentous decision of the British nation to leave the EU is expected to have a deep and long-lasting impact on the United Kingdom, and its Polish residents in terms of systemic barriers to integration and inclusion. This contribution looks at the intended and unintended impact on Poles in London and solutions that would encourage integration and mitigate social and cultural exclusion of the most disadvantaged. The uncertainties of Brexit are compounded by the effects of the Immigration Act 2016 that introduced a range of 'rights' limiting access of immigrants to formal labour, housing and health markets. All this is of great importance particularly to Poles who are disadvantaged, in low-income work or financially struggling due to illness or caring responsibilities.

One day Brexit Conference (in English), 16 December 2017, 10.00 – 17.00.

Polish University Abroad (Polski Uniwersytet na Obczyźnie, PUNO),

Sala Malinowa (2nd Floor), 238-246 King Street, London, W6 0RF.



Katarzyna Bogusławska

Brexit: Implications for Polish Businesses

Brexit will impact Katarzyna's clients and her presentation will deal with the concerns that Brexit has created. She will show the business trends that she has observed recently and share her insights into how companies can try to prepare and safeguard their business in the wake of Brexit.

Adriana Górka

Brexit and Polish children in the UK

From the psychological point of view, Brexit may be seen as a failure of human resources management in organization at the state level. The Brexit referendum and its result created a lot of unease among the broad Polish community in Britain. It is still unclear what arrangements will be in place when the UK leaves the EU, and the lack of clarity continues to generate unease among adults and children within the Polish community in Britain. This paper considers the impact of Brexit on Polish children.