

Second-Generation Voices of the Polish and Ukrainian Diaspora in Northern Britain, 1948-1998

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Contents

Abstract	3
Acknowledgements	5
List of Figures	7
List of Acronyms	8
Foreword	10
Introduction	11
Brief Historical Background	17
Literature Review	26
Methodology	63
Chapter 1: The role of the family in the formation of second-generation Polish and Ukrainian identities	85
Chapter 2: Polish and Ukrainian supplementary schools in Britain, 1948 – 2000s	135
Chapter 3: Second-generation Polish and Ukrainian associations, 1948 – 2000s	185
Chapter 4: The role of religion in diaspora and second-generation religiosity	218
Conclusion	269
Appendices	276
Bibliography	280

Abstract

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War hundreds of thousands of migrants came to rebuild post-war Britain. The arrival of the so-called Windrush generation presented, in the words of Trevor Phillips, the irresistible rise of multi-racial Britain.¹ Yet whilst hundreds of thousands of non-white migrants did indeed transform the demographic profile of the UK, and have been the subject of an ever-expanding historiography, the arrival of white European workers during this period has received scant attention beyond seminal studies by Kathy Burrell. Even aboard the fabled RMT *Windrush*, hundreds of Polish settlers landed at Tilbury on 22 June 1948 – and yet they remain a chapter of Britain's island story that remains underexplored.

This study seeks to remedy this lacuna, not by focussing upon the first generation, but instead by using a plethora of oral histories, associational culture and regional archives deposited across Northern Britain to record the voices of their children. The transpennine mill towns were demographically transformed by migrants from the New Commonwealth.² Yet these post-industrial towns and cities, especially Huddersfield, Bradford, Rochdale, and Hull, also became a home to thousands of white migrants who saw themselves in time as either British or European, or somewhere in between. Recovering the experiences of the forgotten second-generation Ukrainian and Polish diasporas in comparative perspective reveals that the children of migrants occupied liminal spaces in the shadow of anti-migrant xenophobia during the divisive Cold War.

¹ Mike Phillips & Trevor Phillips, *Windrush: the irresistible rise of multi-racial Britain* (London: HarperCollins, 1998).

² Michael Hebbert, 'Transpennine: Imaginative Geographies of an Interregional Corridor', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 25:3 (2000), pp. 379-392.

Ethnically white, they could evade some of the race hatred that post-war scholars have traditionally focussed upon. Being non-Jewish, they also evaded the periodic bouts of antisemitism that surfaced in urban Britain. Yet during the Cold War aspects of their identities were purposefully preserved indoors to evade political prejudice. The memories of those five decades of living liminally are discussed here, including: the role of religion in preserving ties to pre-war Europe, the hybridity of white diasporas living in small towns and cities in northern Britain, the rediscovering of Polish and Ukrainian culture as the Cold War thawed, and the role of the second generation as cultural organisations decline in the twenty-first century.

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List of Figures

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| Figure 1 | Religious belief in Poland by linguistic group, 1931 |
| Figure 2 | Existing AUGB branches in the UK in 2013 |
| Figure 3 | Polish- born and USSR-born residents at selected places in West Yorkshire, 1951-1991 |
| Figure 4 | The proportion of children from Polish and mixed families, 1948-1968 |
| Figure 5 | Ethnic background of second-generation partners |
| Figure 6 | The regional distribution of Ukrainian Saturday schools in 1970 and Polish Saturday schools in 1985 |
| Figure 7 | Polish and Ukrainian Saturday schools in Great Britain, 1950-2011 |
| Figure 8 | Mother's religion as stated in Huddersfield Polish baptismal records, 1947-1968 |
| Figure 9 | Catholic population and number of priests in England & Wales and in Ukrainian Diaspora in Britain, 1960s-2010s |
| Figure 10 | Baptisms of Polish Catholic children in Huddersfield, 1948-2004 |

List of acronyms

APPWCG	All-Party Parliamentary War Crimes Group
AUGB	Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain
BHRU	Bradford Heritage Recording Unit
BPP	British Parliamentary Papers
DP	Displaced Person
EVWs	European Volunteer Workers
FUGB	<i>Obiednannia Ukraintsiw u Velykii Brytanii</i> [Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain]
OBVU	<i>Obiednannia buvshykh voiakiv ukraintsiw</i> [Ukrainian Former Combatants]
OUN	<i>Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv</i> [Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists]
OUN-B	OUN-Banderivtsi [OUN Banderite Branch]
OUN-M	OUN-Melnykivtsi [OUN Melnykite Branch]
OUZh	<i>Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Zhinok u Velykii Brytanii</i> [Association of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain]
PKEANO	<i>Polski Kościół Ewangelicko-Augsburski na Obczyźnie</i> [Polish Lutheran Church Abroad]
PMS	<i>Polska Macierz Szkolna</i> [Polish Education Society]

SPK	Stowarzyszenie Polskich Kombatantów [Polish Ex-Combatants Association]
SUM	<i>Spilka Ukrains'koi Molodi</i> [Ukrainian Youth Association]
SUP	<i>Soyuz Ukrainskych Plastunyv</i> [Ukrainian Plast Association]
UCC	Ukrainian Catholic Church
UOC	Ukrainian Orthodox Church
UOAC	Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church
ZHP pgK	<i>Zjednoczenie Harcerstwa Polskiego poza granicami Kraju</i> [Association of Polish Scouts Abroad]
ZNP	<i>Zrzeszenie Nauczycielstwa Polskiego</i> [Association of Polish Teachers]
ZPE	<i>Zjednoczenie Polek na Emigracji</i> [The Federation of Polish Women in Exile]

Foreword

My journey into migration history began unexpectedly when my grandma's cousin, Antonie Bartkova, presented me with her father's steamship ticket from Bremen to New York dated 1909 during my childhood visits. Little did I know that in 2006, I would leave my native Czechia for the UK, becoming a migrant myself. This fragile family memento ignited my lifelong interest in migration history. Settling in Huddersfield, renowned for its diverse ethnic makeup, provided the ideal backdrop for my exploration. Here, I encountered other migrants, particularly from Poland, with whom I worked, studied, and shared leisure time. Their influence led me to develop a strong interest in the Polish language and eventually prompted my decision to write a thesis on the history of the Polish Community in Huddersfield.

This pursuit was facilitated by my undergraduate studies of history at the university, which led me to secure a position at Huddersfield Local Studies Library. This role granted me access to knowledgeable colleagues and previously untapped sources. Consequently, I dedicated countless hours to sifting through microfilm newspaper records, seeking information about the Polish Community. During this process, I unearthed a wealth of new information about other European migrants who had settled in this town. Eager to delve deeper, I established connections with various local communities, including Ukrainian and Latvian ones, and embarked on an exploration of their histories as well. After 16 transformative years in the UK, during which I raised three children and became a British citizen, my journey brought me back to Czechia, where I successfully completed this study.

Introduction

On 22 June 1948 the *RMT Empire Windrush* landed at Tilbury. Aboard were several hundred migrants bound for a new life in the UK. Of all migrant arrivals into post-war Britain, it has been singularly remembered and profiled because it permanently changed the demographic profile of the UK forever. Yet when a new statue to the migrants was unveiled on 22 June 2022 it was only the Caribbean migrants on board that were depicted in a permanent statue to this episode in Britain's story of a millennia of migration. The 66 Polish refugees also on board were airbrushed from this latest mnemonic device recalling the *Windrush*, as they have been from so many monuments to Britain's migrant past erected across the length and breadth of the UK since the 1990s.³ Whether purposefully or not, these Polish migrants and the hundreds of thousands of other white migrants who arrived in the UK in the aftermath of the Second World War remain as what Charlotte Erickson called the English settling a century earlier in North America – 'invisible immigrants'.⁴ Yet unlike their English counterparts landing in the United States, those arriving in Britain after 1945, including Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles and Ukrainians, did not speak English, were followers of a different form of Christianity, and sought to maintain strong cultural traditions of their homelands through associational culture. Why they remained underexplored is central to this study.

If the first generation of Central and Eastern European migrants were invisible, then the experiences of the second generation remain even less understood. Brought up in a

³ Tim Stokes, 'Windrush Day: Who were the passengers heading to London?', *BBC News*, Available [online] at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-65927618>> [Accessed 28 June 2023]; Jane Raca, 'The other Windrush generation: Poles reunited after fleeing Soviet camps', *theguardian.com*, Available [online] at: <<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/jun/22/the-other-windrush-generation-poles-reunited-after-fleeing-soviet-camps>> [Accessed 28 June 2023].

⁴ Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible immigrants: the adaptation of English and Scottish immigrants in nineteenth-century America* (London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 1972).

polarised world in which the western democracies were heralded as bastions of freedom, and those living in the ancestral homelands were depicted as the opposite, being descended from the “wrong side” of the Iron Curtain presented obvious challenges as British-born citizens of Polish or Ukrainian migrant descent became conscious of their identities as they grew up during the Cold War. Their experiences in the privacy of their homes sought to preserve culinary and religious linkages to their parent’s backgrounds; meanwhile in public spaces the assimilation of their parents was a price worth paying if they could evade the xenophobia faced by their counterparts who had migrated at the same time from the Caribbean or South Asia and faced the well-documented hostility of casual and institutional racism in the half-century following Windrush. For while post-war European migrants to Britain did initially draw some attention, as is clear from contemporary newspaper reports, the novelty quickly wore off and was replaced throughout the second half of the 20th century with the concern about non-white, non-Christian, and non-Western groups – those groups that have dominated the scholarship of migrant Britain.

The spaces they inhabited, and studied here, were not those of the Windrush generation who tended to settle, like earlier waves of Jewish migrants in London, the imperial capital, and the country’s largest cities including Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Glasgow. The children born to the first-generation Poles and Ukrainian migrants, the focus of this study, were brought up in smaller towns and cities in Northern Britain. Literally living beyond the pale, these people who are central to this study therefore remained underexplored – like so much of the UK’s northern migrant history.⁵ The two chosen groups

⁵ It is impossible to account for all the British-born people descendent from at least one Polish and Ukrainian parent. Anna Żebrowska’s study of Polish second-generation provided an estimate of 40,000. However, the total is likely to be much higher and with Ukrainian second-generation could amount up to hundreds of thousands of individuals. See Anna Żebrowska, *Integration or assimilation: A study of second generation Poles in England* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Surrey, 1986), p. 249.

were, as detailed in data presented here, numerically significant but also cultural distinct. Both groups chosen for analysis observed different forms of Christianity to the host communities – Catholicism in the case of Poles, and Eastern Rite Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity for the Ukrainians. Through comparing both groups together this study seeks to identify the similarities and differences one or both groups faced.

The study highlights a significant paradox regarding the popular and scholarly amnesia surrounding both the first- and second-generation Polish and Ukrainian migrants in post-war Britain, that is more has been written about people arriving in the past two decades from Europe than the previous half a century. There has been remarkable academic interest in these perceived “new migrant groups” as well as an increased cooperation between British and other European scholars to study sending and receiving communities for those arriving since 2004. For instance, the amount of published material on the recent Polish migrants produced since their arrival has largely exceeded the number of studies written in the whole post-war period.⁶ Nevertheless, this preoccupation with post-accession migrants among social scientists has completely side-lined longer-term historical perspectives and the concern with post-war migrants and even more so with the post-war second-generation. To fully understand the implications of contemporary immigration, scholarly analyses need to go beyond simplistic narratives of community successes and smooth assimilation of the first-generation and establish what was experienced by those of Polish and Ukrainian descent for the duration of the Cold War.⁷

⁶ See for example Anne White, *Polish Migration: A resource for anyone interested in migration from and to Poland*; Available [online] at: <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/ssees/people/anne-white/ssees/research/polish-migration>> [Accessed 29 January 2022].

⁷ Kathy Burrell, ‘Framing Polish Migration to the UK’, in Jennifer Craig-Norton, Christhard Hoffmann and Tony Kushner (eds.), *Migrant Britain: Histories and Historiographies: Essays in Honour of Colin Holmes* (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 273-275.

This thesis argues that the study of generations descended from primary settlers offers fresh perspectives for research into migration, ethnic minorities, diasporic and post-diasporic consciousness, and national identity. Through interviewing over two dozen members of this second-generation cohort spread across northern Britain it has sought to give agency to the members of the Polish and Ukrainian diasporas. Such comparative study seeks to shed light on the diversity of experiences of multiple European migrant populations and their descendants in Britain. In particular, very little comparative research has been undertaken into post-war European migrant groups isolated from their homelands due to geopolitical implications of the Cold War.

The aim here is to move beyond the existing literature and consider the formation and development of second-generation identities across time and consider the wider global political shifts starting with the impact of the Cold War as well as the shift towards globalisation and multiculturalism that was marked by the disintegration of the bi-polar world order. Furthermore, other factors impacting on the transmission of values across generations such as the influence of both endogamous and exogamous marriages, local variables such as the presence or absence of organised ethnic community structures and local and ethnic schools and religious institutions will also be considered. As opposed to previous analyses that largely looked at the relationship with ancestral land, this study will take a holistic approach and investigate the role of the host country on second-generation identity formation. The comparison of the dominant Polish and the less explored Ukrainian group will facilitate a greater insight into the diverse nature of European diasporic identities and challenge the established narrative of perceived singleness of 'Eastern-Europeanness'.

This study is divided into five distinct sections. It begins with a comprehensive review of the differing historiographies of the Polish and Ukrainian diasporas both at home before the Second World War and overseas in diaspora. This exhaustive surveying was necessary to both contextualise the responses of those interviewed and to reveal the gap in the UK scholarship compared with elsewhere. Quantitative data is also presented to understand the patterning of first and second generation Polish and Ukrainian settlement to justify why they are worthy of study. This content is then followed by four substantive chapters that expand upon these ideas drawing upon the views of over two dozen interviews representing some 250,000 transcribed words. Each is thematically arranged. The first considers the home and the private spaces where the second generation were introduced to a replicated homeland from birth. Both the space and people that made their homes all played a key role in shaping the cultural hybridity of these diasporas. As the testimonies reveals, life at home was very different to the public displaying of their identity outside. The second chapter considers the pivotal role of supplementary schools in consolidating knowledge of their ancestral homelands. Again, these were private spaces in often publicly hired buildings where the sharing of diasporic identity was consolidated. Despite their parents' desires, they did not inculcate the need for diasporic purity – instead the spaces brought people who were spatially isolated together for fun. Linguistic skills were especially important to these reunions, along with enthusing a pride in the pre-war independence of both Poland and Ukraine. The third chapter considers the role of associational cultural groups, especially as the second generation grew into adulthood. Pride in the diasporas' ethnic distinctiveness became more important as the Cold War ended. People outside the community were invited in, gatherings showcased their identity in public spaces, and the second generation recognised the need to preserve their unique identity as they had children. The study concludes with Chapter Four

that explores the role of religion. Unlike earlier chapters, religious infrastructure was often shared with the host society because of practical reasons – especially the Polish Catholics. Yet the role of a “proper” religious education in the manner the first generation encountered “back home” was important. Some embraced this and enjoyed their Polish Catholicism or Eastern Rite Catholicism and Eastern Orthodox identities, however others eschewed this – reflecting the growing secularisation of the host societies.

Throughout, the study demonstrates the need for scholars to move both beyond metropolitan attitudes to migrants both in the UK and further afield. The contemporary concerns over large-scale Central and Eastern European migration could also learn from the positive influence both the first- and second-generation European diasporas played in the aftermath of the Second World War. That they remained invisible to most of the host society reveals the hard work of both generations in assimilating publicly, whilst maintaining cultural and religious distinctiveness at home. Both diasporas were evidence of the Janus-faced nature of migrant communities overseas. This study thereby provides a brief snapshot into both worlds to understand the complex identities, public and private, of tens of thousands of northern Britons during the Cold War.

Brief Historical Background

The Polish tradition of independent statehood stretches back over an extensive period. Arguably, the most triumphant epoch in early modern Poland was the era of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.⁸ However, despite its successes it eventually succumbed to its three imperial neighbours, Austria-Hungary, Prussia and Russia, as part of the three partitions of Poland between 1772-1795. It was not until the end of the First World War in 1918 that parts of the three previously divided historical areas were brought together to form the Second Polish Republic.⁹

Although this new state initially embraced democratic governance and enshrined the safeguarding of minority rights within its constitution, it soon emulated the authoritarian approach of fascist Italy, adopting assimilationist policies and fostering xenophobia.¹⁰ Moreover, despite Pilsudski's pursuit of the concept of *Intermarium*, a political coalition of states spanning the Baltic, Black and Adriatic seas, the realities of interwar international relations rendered such an aspiration unattainable.¹¹ In the absence of any viable counterforce, these nations became an easy prey for the bellicose ambitions of Hitler and Stalin in 1939.

⁸ Norman Davies, *Heart of Europe: The Past in Poland's Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 245-272.

⁹ Davies, *Heart of Europe*, pp. 95-137. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is commonly referred to as the First Polish Republic.

¹⁰ William W. Hagen, 'Before the "Final Solution": Toward a Comparative Analysis of Political Anti-Semitism in Interwar Germany and Poland', *The Journal of Modern History*, 68:2 (1996), pp. 351-381; Aneta Stępień, 'Women's Organizations and Antisemitism: The First Parliamentary Elections in Independent Poland', *Nationalities Papers*, 49:4 (2021), pp. 662-678; Natalia Aleksyńska, 'Crossing the Line: Violence against Jewish Women and the New Model of Antisemitism in Poland in the 1930s', *Jewish History*, 33 (2020), pp. 133-162; Yoav Peled, 'The viability of ethnic democracy: Jewish citizens in inter-war Poland and Palestinian citizens in Israel', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34:1 (2011), pp. 83-102; James M. Lutz, 'The Spread of Authoritarian Regimes in Interwar Europe', *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 18:3 (2017), pp. 248-9.

¹¹ Stefan Troebst, "'Intermarium' and 'Wedding to the Sea': Politics of History and Mental Mapping in East Central Europe", *European Review of History*, 10:2 (2003), pp. 293-321.

Similarly, Ukraine also has a long-term history of the struggle for self-determination. However, for most of its modern history, parts of Ukraine were ruled by its neighbours and historical rivals of Poland, Lithuania, and Russia. Apart from several military campaigns in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Ukrainian efforts did not result in a sustained territorial holding comparable to that of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹² Nonetheless, even in these challenging circumstances, Ukrainian national consciousness grew during the 19th century as a facet of the Romantic movement, especially in Galicia.¹³

Another effort for political autonomy emerged amid the upheaval surrounding the end of the First World War, spanning the years 1917-1921. This turmoil facilitated the brief existence of several Ukrainian republics.¹⁴ Throughout the rest of the interwar period, the Ukrainian people found themselves scattered across four different states. The two largest territories were annexed by Poland (Western Ukraine), and the Soviet Union (Eastern Ukraine). Additionally, Czechoslovakia and Romania incorporated smaller regions predominantly inhabited by Ukrainians.¹⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, that this prolonged suppression of national identity provided an ideal environment for the growth of radical nationalism, as exemplified by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).¹⁶ Having

¹² Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples, Second Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), pp. 209-292. Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History, Third Edition* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 105-200.

¹³ Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 374-410 and 423-490.

¹⁴ Wolfram Dornik (ed.), *The Emergence of Ukraine: Self-Determination, Occupation, and War in Ukraine, 1917-1922* (Toronto: CIUS Press, 2015).

¹⁵ Filip Herza, 'Colonial Czechoslovakia? Overseas and Internal Colonization in The Interwar Czechoslovak Republic', *Interventions* (2022), pp. 1-24; Paul Robert Magocsi, *With Their Backs to the Mountains: A History of Carpathian Rus' and Carpatho-Rusyns* (Budapest: Central University Press, 2015), pp. 191-2017; Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 642-654.

¹⁶ Myroslav Shkandrij, *Ukrainian Nationalism: Politics, Ideology, and Literature, 1929-1956* (London: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 17-48. Oleksandr Zaitsev, 'Fascism or ustashism? Ukrainian integral nationalism of the 1920s-1930s in comparative perspective', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 48 (2015), pp. 183-193; David R. Marples, *Heroes and Villains: Creating National History in Contemporary Ukraine* (Budapest: Central University Press, 2007), pp. 79-123.

little room for manoeuvre, many Ukrainian leaders were prepared to do whatever it took to make the idea of independent Ukraine happen.

The Second-World War caught both nations unprepared. Owing to the secret Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Poland was quickly overrun by both German and Soviet Armies.¹⁷ Despite these adverse circumstances, Polish soldiers formed the fourth largest allied army in Europe and made a notable contribution to the allied war effort, claiming significant successes at various battles, including the Battle of Britain and the Battle of Monte Cassino, and other places.¹⁸ The political future of Poland, however, was dictated more by realpolitik than by Poland's role in the Second World War. A meeting of the so-called Big Three (Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin) at Yalta in February 1945 confirmed that Poland would come under the sphere of influence of the USSR.¹⁹

The life of the Ukrainians during the Second World War was no less challenging as the country became what Timothy Snyder termed 'the Bloodlands', perhaps the greatest theatre of the Second World War.²⁰ Unlike the Poles, the Ukrainians remained relatively unknown in Britain, and they lacked the shared history of allied cooperation. Having been denied their

¹⁷ Davies, *Heart of Europe*, pp. 55-94.

¹⁸ Peter Caddick-Adams, *Monte Cassino: Ten Armies in Hell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 205-219; Wendy Webster, *Mixing It: Diversity in World War Two Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 135-164.

¹⁹ The Yalta Conference (also known as the Crimea Conference) held between the 4th and the 11th February 1945 was the second of three conferences among the USA, USSR, and UK, where they discussed the post-war reorganisation of Germany and Europe. For the Polish diaspora, Yalta represented Allied betrayal, yet it also served as a crucial event that justified the existence of the diaspora and its political goals. However, many authors concur that Yalta primarily affirmed the course of action set soon after Hitler's attack on the USSR in the summer of 1941. See: Peter D. Stachura, 'Towards and Beyond Yalta', in Peter D. Stachura, *The Poles in Britain 1940-2000*, pp. 6-20; Jan Lencznarowicz, 'Jałtańska zdrada. Z mitologii politycznej emigracji polskiej po II wojnie światowej', in Polska Akademia Umiejętności, *Prace Komisji PAU do badań diaspory polskiej, Volume 1* (Kraków: PAU, 2012), pp. 29-48. Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York: NY: The Penguin Press, 2005), pp. 100-103.

²⁰ Bloodlands is the term coined by Timothy Snyder used to describe the territory that lies between today's central Poland and, roughly, the Russian border where some of the greatest atrocities of Stalinist and Nazi regimes took place between 1930 and 1945. Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (London: Vintage Books, 2011).

own nation state, the Ukrainians took up countless roles during the Second-World War. Apart from forced labourers in the Third Reich and the USSR or members of the UPA, they became members of various foreign armies, including the Polish, Czechoslovak, Soviet, French, and Canadian (in the case of the members of North American diaspora). More controversially, there were those who also joined Ukrainian Auxiliary Police units set up by Nazi Germany, the Waffen-SS Division between 1943-1945 also known as Division 'Galicia' [thereafter the Division].²¹ It has been established that some members of these units, in particular, UPA, Ukrainian Auxiliary Police and the Division were involved in atrocities against civilians during the war.²² According to Paul Himka, Ukrainian policemen 'played a major role in the Holocaust in Western Ukraine' with many later joining the UPA's ethnic cleansing projects.²³ Following the war, many of these individuals fled to the West in fear of Soviet reprisals or voluntarily surrendered to the Allied forces. However, details of their individual involvement became largely obscured to their children born in Britain. The postwar position of Ukraine was not up for a debate. Stalin, like many Russian leaders before him, regarded Ukraine as an essential component of Russia's historical domain. As a result, it was directly integrated into the USSR as one of its republics, a status that persisted until the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991.²⁴

²¹ Peter J. Potichnyj, 'Ukrainians in World War II Military Formations: An Overview', online available at: <<http://www.infoukes.com/upa/related/military.html>> [Accessed 24 July 2013]; Graham Smith & Peter Jackson, 'Narrating the nation', p. 369.

²² Martin Dean, *Collaboration in the Holocaust: Crimes of the Local Police in Belorussia and Ukraine, 1941-44* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2000), pp. 161-166.

²³ John-Paul Himka, 'The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Ukrainian Police, and the Holocaust in Ukraine', Unpublished paper, Seventh Annual Danyliw Research Seminar on Contemporary Ukraine, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, 2011, p. 22.

²⁴ Serhii Plokhy, *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine* (London: Penguin Books, 2015), pp. 291-322; Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 684-700.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the narratives of the migrant generation within both diasporas revolved around Polish and Ukrainian efforts for self-rule and/or for independence from its more powerful neighbour/s. Accounts of suffering and injustice along with those venerating national heroes who stood up against foreign rule dominated migrant generation testimonies and received ample attention in oral history interviews told by the second-generation. As Kathy Burrell's research of Polish migrants in England has shown, the ordeal of Polish families deported to Siberia and their fate following the amnesty announced in 1941, became the key part of Polish diasporas' collective memory and was replicated in countless biographies, autobiographies, and memoirs.²⁵ Using the concept of 'postmemory', Burrell has shown how the gravity and character of migrant generation's memories could be ingested by the second-generation to 'access a past which is not theirs, but one which is nevertheless known to them'.²⁶ Originally coined by Marianne Hirsch in her research into the transmission of Holocaust memories to the second generation, Burrell has demonstrated that postmemory is also relevant within the Polish context.²⁷

However, the diasporas' demographic composition, religious affiliations, and political orientations often bore little resemblance to their respective home countries. Notably, the prominence of Polish and Ukrainian Catholic churches within the diaspora communities blurred the historical image of Poland and Ukraine as areas marked by historical contestation, geographical porosity, and cultural and religious diversity. As illustrated in Figure 1, while Roman Catholicism constituted the largest religious denomination in Poland in 1931,

²⁵ Kathy Burrell, 'Personal, Inherited, Collective: Communicating and Layering Memories of Forced Polish Migration', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 24:2 (2006), pp. 156-158. Recently, other types of recollections have sprung up including films and theatre plays. See: Matthew Zajac, *The Tailor of Inverness* (Dingwall: Sandstone Press, 2013); Sylvia Le Breton, *A Distant Country* (Self-published, 2010).

²⁶ Burrell, 'Personal, Inherited, Collective', pp. 155-156

²⁷ Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997).

representing 65 percent of the population, it achieved an overwhelming majority of over 90 percent within the diaspora.²⁸ It is important to note that discussions regarding religious identity within the Polish diaspora typically excluded both Protestant and Orthodox Christians as well as Jews, who were considered a distinct group culturally, religiously, and linguistically.²⁹ The composition of the UK's Ukrainian diaspora, consisting of 90 percent Ukrainian Catholics and 10 percent Ukrainian Orthodox members, diverged even further from the religious landscape in their homeland. This significant disparity can be attributed primarily to the geographical origin of migrants, who predominantly hailed from Western Ukraine (pre-war Eastern Poland), rather than reflecting the prevailing religious affiliation of the broader Ukrainian population, which was predominantly Orthodox Christian. It's important to note that both Ukrainian Catholicism and Orthodoxy were banned in Soviet Ukraine, except for the Russian Orthodox Church, which was under the control of the Communist Party.³⁰ Hence, the diaspora emerged as the sole space where the national religious tradition could be safeguarded and transmitted to subsequent generations, unfettered by the spectre of persecution.

²⁸ Following the Holocaust, border changes, and repatriations in Poland in the 1940s, Poland underwent a religious homogenization. The number of Catholics surged to 96.6 percent by 1946. Philip B. Barker, *Religious Nationalism in Modern Europe: If God be for us* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 101.

²⁹ Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, *Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dn. 9.XII 1931 R. Mieszkania i Gospodarstwa Domowe. Ludność. Seria C, Zeszyt 94a* (Warszawa: Nakładem Głównego Urzędu Statystycznego, 1938), p. 15; available [online] at: http://statlibr.stat.gov.pl/exlibris/aleph/a22_1/apache_media/VUNVGMLANSCQQFGYHCN3VDLK12A9U5.pdf > [Accessed 10 February 2020].

³⁰ Nickolas Lupinin, 'The Russian Orthodox Church', in Lucian N. Leustean, *Eastern Christianity and the Cold War, 1945-91* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 20-21.

Figure 1: Religious belief in Poland by linguistic group, 1931³¹

Religion	Total (31,915,779)	Polish speakers	Ukrainian speakers	Yiddish speakers	Hebrew speakers	“Tutejszy” (Local)
<i>Roman Catholic</i>	20,670,051 65%	20,333,333	12,617	0	0	1,477
<i>Greek Catholic</i>	3,336,164 10.5%	487,034	1,676,763	0	0	524
<i>Eastern Orthodox</i>	3,762,484 12%	497,290	1,501,308	0	0	696,397
<i>Lutheran</i>	424,216 1.3%	131,861	1,294	0	0	146
<i>Jewish</i>	3,113,933 10%	371,821	255	2,487,844	243,527	75

Source: 1931 Polish Census

³¹ *Ibid.*

The identities pursued and maintained by both diasporas in Britain significantly diverged from the intricate realities of fractured identities within their respective home countries before 1939. This divergence primarily mirrored the predominant backgrounds of the migrants. The first-generation Ukrainian diaspora, consisting of approximately 30,000 migrants, was predominantly comprised of Ukrainian Greek Catholics from Western Ukraine, the majority of whom supported the Bandera's faction of the OUN (OUN-B).³² In contrast, a significant portion of the UK's Polish diaspora, numbering around 160,000 members, originated from Eastern Poland, a region lost to the Soviet Union after the war.³³ Many of these individuals had enlisted in the Anders Army and subsequently resettled in Britain through the Polish Resettlement Corps (PRC) [*Polski Korpus Przysposobienia i Rozmieszczenia*], an organisation established by the British Government in 1946 to assist in the civilian resettlement of Poles who had served under British command and refused to return to Communist Poland. Notably, among the 114,000 eligible army personnel who joined the PRC, approximately 5,000 were women.³⁴ Nonetheless, both diasporas exhibited a significant gender imbalance, as the Polish diaspora comprised 70 percent male members, while the Ukrainian diaspora had an even more pronounced disparity, with 80 percent being

³² OUN-B (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Banderite branch) was a radical nationalist Ukrainian organisation with the objective of achieving Ukrainian independence by any necessary means. Alongside its anti-Communist stance, it harboured sentiments of anti-Semitism and Polonophobia within its membership and policies. Several historians with John-Paul Himka at the helm have shown how the OUN along with its military wing, UPA, partook in acts of brutality against civilians and were linked to the Holocaust. See: John-Paul Himka, *Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust: OUN and UPA's Participation in the Destruction of Ukrainian Jewry, 1941-1944* (Stuttgart: ibidem Press, 2021); Ivan Katchanovski, 'Terrorists or national heroes? Politics and perceptions of the OUN and the UPA in Ukraine', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 48 (2015), pp. 217-228.

³³ While Poland received compensation for the loss of Eastern Poland in the form of a portion of German territory (albeit smaller in size), the Polish diaspora refused to accept this settlement and continued to assert claims over Eastern Poland. However, this stance did not sit well with other nationalities originating in the same territory, including Ukrainians and Latvians, and it negatively impacted the standing of Polish diaspora politics on the international stage. Rafał Habielski, *Życie społeczne i kulturalne emigracji* (Warszawa: Biblioteka Więzi, 1999), pp. 314-315.

³⁴ Habielski, *Życie społeczne i kulturalne emigracji*, p. 28.

male. Consequently, this gender disparity contributed to a relatively high rate of mixed marriages. These various factors, including the experiences and preconceptions of migrants, exerted a substantial influence on the attitudes of both diasporas, extending to the second-generation.

Literature Review

The post-war study of immigration in Britain and influences from other disciplines

The first significant turning point in the writing of history in general came with the emergence of a new generation of radical scholars influenced by Marxist ideas such as E. P. Thompson, and Eric Hobsbawm, who challenged the way in which history had previously been constructed.³⁵ This group refused the prevalent 'history from above' approach focusing on political, economic and military themes. Instead, their bottom-up approach emphasised the concern with ordinary people, the oppressed and other previously silenced voices in history. This gave birth to parallel developments such as the *History Workshop* founded by Raphael Samuel in 1967 and *Oral History Society* a couple of years later which pioneered new methodologies through their journals while also emphasising collaborative historical research and the inclusion of previously neglected topics such as women's history, history of the family and gender, black history and others.³⁶

These wider influences also fuelled a burgeoning interest in the history of Britain's migrant groups whose number had grown since the end of the Second World War. A prime example of the new social history emerging in Britain from the late 1960s set within the context of the *History Workshop* movement was Bill Williams' path-breaking study of Manchester Jewry between 1740 and 1875.³⁷ His meticulous approach to sources characterised as 'total history' was not only a hugely significant milestone in the study of Anglo-Jewry and the history of the North of England; it also provided a model for the future

³⁵ Paul Thompson, 'Raphael Samuel 1934-96: An Appreciation', *Oral History*, 25:1 (1997), pp. 30-37.

³⁶ Kynan Gentry, 'Ruskin, Radicalism and Raphael Samuel: Politics, Pedagogy and the Origins of the History Workshop', *History Workshop Journal*, 76:1 (2013), pp. 187-211.

³⁷ Tony Kushner, *Anglo-Jewry since 1066: Place, locality and memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 43.

writing on immigration history in Britain by accentuating the importance of provincial communities and considering issues such as class, nationality and religion as well as cautioning before presenting migrant experience in isolation from wider context.³⁸

While the post-war study of immigrants evolved in part as a reaction to the literature on earlier Jewish and Irish influxes in the nineteenth century it was perhaps, more importantly, the response to the large-scale movement and settlement of migrants since 1945. The great diversity and size of different national groups making Britain their new home in the aftermath of the Second World War was certainly without precedent in modern British history.

Despite the advancements in mainstream history, very few historians ventured on researching immigrants and minorities in Britain. Those who did were preoccupied with earlier influxes as well as being reluctant to tackle such a recent phenomenon without adequate hindsight required for historical analysis. Understandably, social scientists such as Michael Banton, Ruth Glass and Sheila Patterson immediately proceeded with the study of contemporary concerns, particularly focusing on issues of race and assimilation relating to the recent arrival of Black and Asian immigrants.³⁹

The increasing focus of sociologists on issues of culture and community and the new links forged between historians through the founding of new universities in the 1960s all had a great impact on the evolution of oral history and the later proliferation of community projects in the 1970s and the 1980s which among other things also yielded many pioneering

³⁸ Tony Kushner, 'Bill Williams and Jewish Historiography: Past, Present and Future', *Melilah*, 1, (2006), pp. 1-14; Aubrey Newman, 'Review of The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740-1875', *Urban History*, 4 (1977), pp. 97-98.

³⁹ Kathy Burrell & Panikos Panayi, *Histories and Memories: Migrants and Their History in Britain* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), p. 5.

testimonies of immigrant groups.⁴⁰ Despite social scientists' concentration on different themes and their usage of separate methodologies, their crucial impact on post-war migration historiography should not be easily dismissed.⁴¹ As the following paragraphs will demonstrate, a significant number of key texts for the history of Polish, and to a smaller extent, Ukrainian immigration into Britain was written by sociologists, social anthropologists and ethnographers, many of whom originated from or had links to the respective countries.

The research into non-Jewish migration to the UK from Eastern Europe took longer to materialise and when it did materialise this was because of an increased interest in the European Economic Community and the process of democratisation in Poland and the Eastern Bloc. At the same time, population change within established ethnic communities and fragmentation of organised associational activities, created a sense of urgency to record and document memories of the gradually declining first-generation. When Colin Holmes published his seminal study about immigration and British society in 1988, immigration was on the margins of mainstream history.⁴² Holmes was the founding figure of the so-called *Sheffield School* of historians (including Donald MacRaild, Tony Kushner, Panikos Panayi, and Kenneth Lunn) that disputed the homogeneous portrayal of British society before 1945 and called for the incorporation of ethnic minorities into the larger historical narrative of Britain's 'Island story'.⁴³ Holmes' *Immigrants and Minorities* and successive studies remedied the

⁴⁰ Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History, Third Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 73-76.

⁴¹ Kathy Burrell & Panikos Panayi, *Histories and Memories*, p. 8.

⁴² Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988).

⁴³ For a more detailed discussion on the topic, see Wendy Webster, 'Immigration and Racism', in: Paul Addison & Harriet Jones (eds.), *A Companion to Contemporary Britain: 1939-2000* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005); Laura Tabili, *Global Migrants, Local Culture: Natives and Newcomers in Provincial England, 1841-1939* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Tony Kushner, 'New Narratives, Old Exclusions? British Historiography and Minority Studies: Review Essay', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 24:3 (2006), pp. 347-351.

absence of the Irish, Jewish and Roma in the mainstream historical writing and built on earlier seminal studies by Bill Williams on the Jews of Manchester (1975), Rosemary Ashton (1986) on Germans in Bradford and Kenneth Lunn on Lithuanians in Lanarkshire (1980).⁴⁴ Eschewing the descriptive nature of local histories, their analytical approaches reflected broader advances in social history.

The emergence of historical writing on Poles and Ukrainians in Great Britain before 1991

Seminal studies by the Sheffield School, and other studies by Cesarani, Feldman and Levine, all established the study of Britain's ethnic minorities in universities across the country at the conclusion of the Cold War.⁴⁵ The changing geopolitical situation in Europe in the late 1980s heralded a breakthrough in the historical studies of post-war Eastern European migrants by enabling scholars on both sides of the Iron Curtain to share their respective literatures and for scientific study of primary evidence in both sending and receiving countries. Clearly, this was a decade of major global changes and particularly of a gradual disintegration of bi-polar international relations and the weakening role of the Soviet Union in its satellite countries. The significance of such events could not go unnoticed. As a result of this, the relatively underreported parts of the Eastern Bloc also received an increasing attention in the

⁴⁴ Kenneth Lunn, 'Reactions to Lithuanian and Polish Immigrants in the Lanarkshire Coalfield 1880-1914', in Kenneth Lunn (ed.), *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society* (London: William Dawson, 1980); Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany: Exile and Asylum in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1979); Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740-1875* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976).

⁴⁵ Other seminal works on the Jews in Britain include David Cesarani (ed.), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1990); David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (London: Yale University Press, 1994); Tony Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice: Anti-Semitism in British Society during the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989).

mainstream media.⁴⁶ The election in 1978 of a Pope of Polish nationality, the struggle of the Polish Solidarity Movement in the 1980s as well as the Chernobyl disaster in Ukraine in 1985, all provided a strong impetus for the diaspora to reconnect with their countries of origin in various ways. This could take the form of private moral or material support or a more active collective action through political activism or organisation of charitable activities in different localities across Britain.⁴⁷ The recording of memories of immigrants, among them Poles and Ukrainians, was marked by several ground-breaking oral history community and academic projects.

Advances in the historiography of the first-generation immigration also embraced methodologies including greater use of oral history – a trend popularised by Williams, Rob Perks and founding members of the Oral History Society (established in 1973). Individual pursuit was followed by collective attempts to capture the voices of recent immigrants. The community-based oral history research of the *Bradford Heritage Recording Unit* (BHRU) established in 1983 and funded by the Manpower Services Commission ventured into a huge task of capturing memories of the East European population living in the city. It resulted in the production of a substantial sound archive and was accompanied by several community and academic publications and follow-up studies in subsequent decades.⁴⁸ Kirklees Sound

⁴⁶ Keith Sword, *Ethnic Identity and Association among Polish Emigres in a British Town* (Unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, University of Sussex, 1982). On how the events in Poland influenced second-generation in Britain, see: Thomas Kernberg, *The Polish Community in Scotland* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1990), pp. 384-5, 444-5.

⁴⁷ *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 2 December 1981, p. 5; 12 February 1982, p. 6; *Rochdale Observer*, 22 January 1994, page unknown.

⁴⁸ Rob Perks, 'A feeling of not belonging': Interviewing European Immigrants in Bradford', *Oral History*, 12:2 (1984), pp. 64-67; Rob Perks, 'Everyone has a story to tell: The Bradford Heritage Recording Unit and the value of oral history', *The Bradford Antiquary*, 2 (1986), pp. 18-27; Rob Perks, 'Immigration to Bradford: The Oral Testimony', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 6:3 (1987), pp. 362-368; Rob Perks, 'Ukraine's Forbidden History: Memory and Nationalism', *Oral History*, 21:1 (1993), pp. 43-53; Tim Smith, Rob Perks & Graham Smith, *Ukraine's forbidden history* (Stockport: Dewi Lewis Publishing, 1998); Graham Smith & Peter Jackson, 'Narrating the nation: the 'imagined community' of Ukrainians in Bradford', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 25:3, (1999), pp. 367-387; Tim Smith & Michelle Winslow, *Keeping The Faith: The Polish Community in Britain*

Archive was a slightly smaller project of similar scope set up in Huddersfield a few years later. Together with oral history collections at Manchester's Jewish Museum and similar work at the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre in Glasgow they provided a collective voice for first-generation immigrants across Northern Britain.⁴⁹

The first historical account in English on the initial years of the Polish settlement in Britain was initiated by Keith Sword based at the School of Slavic and Eastern European Studies in 1982. Spanning across more than a decade, the *Polish Migration Project* sponsored by the MB Grabowski Fund was broken into three phases including an investigation of the formation of the Polish Community in Great Britain, the experiences of Poles in the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1947 and the question of identity amongst younger generations.⁵⁰ Though Sword was a social anthropologist, his work had a significant historical focus and the first volume on the initial years of the Polish settlement was a joint project with two other historians, Norman Davies, already a well-established authority on the modern Polish history and Jan Ciechanowski. Using personal testimonies, it focused on four places with significant Polish populations, namely London, Slough, Brighton, and Bradford. The publication, however, attracted criticism for an insufficient engagement with wider historiographical

(Bradford: Bradford Arts, Museums and Libraries Service, 2000); Oscar Forero & Graham Smith, 'The reproduction of "cultural taste" amongst the Ukrainian Diaspora in Bradford, England', *The Sociological Review*, 58:2 (2010), pp. 78-96.

⁴⁹ Some of these projects also included second-generation individuals but they did not take a central focus. For instance, Smith's and Jackson's project in Bradford included only three interviews with 'the children of primary settlers' out of the total of twenty-three. The difference was even starker in the case of the Kirklees Sound Archive which conducted only one interview with a second-generation Polish individual out of around thirty. See: Graham Smith & Peter Jackson, 'Narrating the nation', p. 371; Kirklees Sound Archive, *Polish Community in Kirklees* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Sound Archive, 1988).

⁵⁰ Keith Sword, Norman Davies & Jan Ciechanowski, *The Formation of the Polish Community in Great Britain: 1939-1950* (London: University of London, 1989); Keith Sword (ed.) *The Soviet Takeover of the Polish Eastern Provinces, 1939-1941* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991); Keith Sword, *Deportation and Exile: Poles in the Soviet Union, 1939-48* (London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 1994); Keith Sword, *Identity in Flux: The Polish Community in Britain* (London: University of London, 1996); Krystyna Iglicka & Keith Sword (eds.) *The Challenge of East-west Migration for Poland* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

context of earlier Jewish and Lithuanian migrations and theoretical perspectives on refugee movements and community and institutional studies.⁵¹

As the Communist rule in the Eastern Bloc was on the verge of collapse, other local history projects emerged in the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham in 1987.⁵² The literature on the Poles in Britain has highlighted various concerns depending on the time of publication. Most of the authors writing before the fall of the Soviet Union, of whom the majority were social scientists, have analysed issues of settlement and incorporation of first- and second- generations into the host society, including Jerzy Zubrzycki, Bogdan Czaykowski & Bolesław Sulik, Sheila Patterson and Anna Żebrowska. Since the foundational study of Sword, Davies and Ciechanowski, *The Formation of the Polish Community in Britain* (1989), which established the historical writing on Poles in Britain, several new themes have emerged. Temple has questioned the idea of the homogeneous community and brought into focus the issue of home as well as concerns with the underrepresentation of gender. This has been taken on by Burrell who expanded the historiographical discourse on Poles in Britain through her comparative micro-study of European migration based in Leicester.

In contrast, the concern with the largest East/East-Central European minority in England has taken the focus away from smaller nationalities whose countries of origin fell under the influence of Communist Russia. The Iron Curtain did not only serve as an impenetrable physical boundary between East and West. It also contributed to a portrayal of migrant populations from this vast area as culturally, historically, and even linguistically

⁵¹ Dick Hoerder, 'Review of The Formation of the Polish Community in Great Britain, 1939-1950 by Keith Sword, Norman Davies & Jan Ciechanowski', *International Migration Review*, 25:3 (1991), p. 637.

⁵² Sav Kyriacou & Polish Reminiscence Group, *Passport to exile: the Polish way to London* (London: Ethnic Communities Oral History Project, 1988); Sav Kyriacou, (ed.), *Asian Voices: Life-Stories from the Indian Sub-Continent* (London: Ethnic Communities Oral History Project, 1993); Ethnic Communities Oral History Project, *Sailing on Two Boats: Second Generation Perspectives* (London: Ethnic Communities Oral History Project, 1993).

homogeneous with Poles perceived to be representative of other smaller nationalities. This socially constructed sense of East-Europeanness was also the consequence of constrained cultural interaction and information exchange between Western and Eastern Europe and resulted in a distorted view of post-war European migrants and their descendants.

Local British populations also relied on resident minority communities for information about their home countries. Nonetheless, some of these communities themselves contributed to further distortions. For instance, Perks' research in Bradford has shown how the local Ukrainian community chose to present only an eclectic version of their country's history by not revealing the more controversial facts that could have impacted on their positive self-image.⁵³ Information was also limited to an extent during the post-socialist period when most of Eastern Europe was recovering from the effects of Communism and was not fully integrated into the structures of the European Union which is still the case of Ukraine and some countries of former Yugoslavia.

Although interest in Ukrainians in Britain has been increasing since the 1980s, published studies on the topic have been scarce. The literature reveals three main trends. The first one largely coincided with the duration of the Cold War prior to 1991 when Ukraine gained independence from the Soviet Union, included the concern with Ukrainians only as part of larger studies of post-war migration, refugee movements and labour recruitment schemes resulting in the lack of in depth analysis and comparative detail.⁵⁴ Secondly, there

⁵³ Rob Perks, 'Ukraine's Forbidden History', p. 51.

⁵⁴ See: Elizabeth Stadulis, 'The Resettlement of Displaced Persons in the United Kingdom', *Population Studies*, 5, 3 (1952), pp. 207-237; J. Isaac, *British Post-War Migration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954); J.A. Tannahill, *European Volunteer Workers in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958); Sheila Patterson, *Immigrants in Industry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968); Brian Jackson, *Working Class Community: Some General Notions Raised by a Series of Studies in Northern England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968); James Brown, *The Un-melting Pot: An English Town and its Immigrants* (London: Macmillan, 1970); Yury Boshyk, 'Repatriation and resistance: Ukrainian refugees and displaced persons in occupied Germany and Austria, 1945-1948', in Michael R. Marrus & Anna C. Bramwell, *Refugees in the Age of Total War*

have been publications produced by central Ukrainian organisations in English such as the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB), and its different local branches.⁵⁵ These publications aimed to educate the wider population about Ukraine and the Ukrainian diaspora's cause, as well as celebrate community achievements. However, they often perpetuated the community myth in presenting the diaspora in a positive fashion without revealing the full extent of their daily lives. Thirdly, like the Polish diaspora, interest in Ukrainians grew during the 1980s.⁵⁶ The foundation for the writing on Ukrainians in Britain and particularly in the North has been laid by academics affiliated with the Bradford Heritage Recording Unit (BHRU) or working with its material. Perks (1984), for instance, coined a phrase 'feeling of not quite belonging', when showing that contrary to the popular perception of easy assimilation of white European migrants, their identification with homeland and the host country had been far more complex.⁵⁷

Little is known about how the complex geopolitical struggles experienced by Ukrainians during the first half of the 20th century affected diasporic activity following their

(London: Routledge, 1988), Chapter 12; Diana Kay & Robert Miles, 'The TUC, Foreign Labour And the Labour Government 1945 - 1951, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 9:1 (1990), pp. 85-108; Diana Kay & Robert Miles, *Refugees or Migrant Workers?: European Volunteer Workers in Britain 1946-1951* (London: Routledge, 1992); Diana Kay, 'The resettlement of displaced persons in Europe, 1946-1951', in Robin Cohen (ed.), *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 154-158.

⁵⁵ Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, *Ukrainians in Britain* (London: AUGB, 1954); Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, *Orlyk* (London: AUGB, 1955); Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, *Memorandum from the Free Ukrainians in Great Britain to the Prime Minister The Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson* (London: AUGB, 1967); I. Dmytriw and J. Wasyluk (eds.), *Ukraine and the Ukrainians: A Collection of Selected Articles* (London: AUGB, 1982); Lubov Povrozhnyk (ed.), *Ukrainian Woman in the Modern Age* (London: Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, 1963); Ukrainian Publishers, *Russian Oppression in Ukraine: Reports and Documents* (London: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 1962).

⁵⁶ The first in-depth study with a single focus on Ukrainians in Britain was Petryshyn's unpublished sociological thesis. While he used testimonies of community leaders across the North of England and archives of official Ukrainian institutions, Petryshyn nevertheless, portrays mostly the male-dominated organisational and political aspect of diasporic life with little attention devoted to everyday life activities, generational dynamics and gendered expressions of identity of individuals. See: Roman Petryshyn, *Britain's Ukrainian Community: A Study of the Political Dimension in Ethnic Community Development* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Bristol, 1980).

⁵⁷ Rob Perks, 'A feeling of not belonging', pp. 64-67.

migration westwards in the 1940s. Issues including several failed attempts at an independent statehood, Soviet-engineered famine, annexation of Ukrainian territory by different states, and Ukraine's role in the Second World War.⁵⁸ These have all resonated in the shaping of the fate of many Ukrainians with implications for diaspora activity.

It was the history of the SS-Division, however, which initially encouraged heated debates amongst academics. As confirmed by many second-generation interviewees, the issue of membership in the Division of around 8,000 members of Britain's Ukrainian diaspora was always a taboo subject.⁵⁹ This wall of silence was only breached in 1986, not by the Ukrainian diaspora, but by representatives of the American-based Simon Wiesenthal Centre. They extended their research into alleged war crimes of Ukrainian and Baltic Waffen-SS units from the USA, Canada, and Australia to the UK.⁶⁰ Consequently, the All-Party Parliamentary War Crimes Group (APPWCG) was established, followed by an independent Hetherington-Chalmers Inquiry initiated by the Home Office to investigate the allegations. The Inquiry's report concluded that 'there was sufficient evidence to mount a criminal prosecution' in four cases and recommended further investigation of other 75 individuals.⁶¹ This verdict was serious and suggested individual responsibility for war crimes by some members of the Division.

⁵⁸ Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (London: Vintage Books, 2011). On the fate of Ukrainians between 1914 and 1939, see: Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History, Third Edition* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 339-379; Paul Robert Magosi, *A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples, Second Edition* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2010), pp. 491-642; Anne Applebaum, *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine* (London: Penguin Books, 2018); Ploky, *The Gates of Europe*, pp. 201-276; Volodymyr Vjatrovyč, *Ukrajinské 20. století: Utajované dějiny* (Praha: Academia, 2020), pp. 54-154; Oksana Pelens'ka, *Ukrajina poza Ukrajinu: encyklopedyčnyj slovnyk mystec'koho, kul'turnoho i hromads'koho žyttja ukrajins'koi emihraciji v mižvojennij Čechoslovaččyni, 1919–1939* (Praha: Národní knihovna České republiky, 2019).

⁵⁹ Author interviews with Misko Czerkas, 18th March 2014; Michael Drapan, 3rd June 2014; Anonymous 2, 28th January 2015.

⁶⁰ David Cesarani, *Justice Delayed: How Britain Became a Refuge for Nazi War Criminals* (London: Phoenix Press, 2001), p. 1

⁶¹ Hansard 1803 – 2005, 'War Crimes Inquiry: Report', Vol. 510 cc1141-8 (24 July 1989), Available [online] at: <<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1989/jul/24/war-crimes-inquiry-report>> [Accessed 25 July 2023].

The timing of the investigations was very unfortunate for the diaspora as it coincided with several pivotal events, including the celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine in 1988 and the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, culminating in long-awaited Ukrainian independence in 1991.⁶² Nonetheless, by maintaining a veil of secrecy over the issues for four decades, the diaspora missed an opportunity to address its past, shape the broader historical narrative, and prevent suspicions of purposeful historical revisionism.⁶³

The historiographical debate surrounding the Division especially in the late 1980s and early 1990s was contentious and imbalanced. An example of such an approach was David Cesarani's 1992 monograph *Justice Delayed: How Britain Became a Refuge for Nazi War Criminals*.⁶⁴ Cesarani based much of his research on his work for APPWCG of which he was Principal Investigator. While on the one hand, Cesarani succeeded in shattering the diaspora silence and emphasizing an alternative narrative of events, his achievement was clouded by the failure to appreciate 'the phenomenon of radical Ukrainian nationalism', which had deep roots in a centuries-old struggle for self-rule.⁶⁵

Cesarani directed his efforts towards tracking down war criminals, allocating minimal attention to the circumstances leading to the Division's formation and the harsh realities endured under the world's most brutal regimes during the Second World War. In doing so, he perpetuated the tradition of Cold-War era debates surrounding the question of 'whether Ukrainian combatants were willing executioners or freedom fighters', despite the objective

⁶² *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 6 October 1988, p. 15 & 18 November 1988, unknown page; *The Guardian*, 23 December 1991, p. 4; *Rochdale Observer*, 31 August 1991, unknown page.

⁶³ Olesya Khromeychuk, *'Undetermined' Ukrainians: Post-War Narratives of the Waffen SS "Galicia" Division* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2013), p. 133; Michael Geyer, 'Review of *'Undetermined' Ukrainians: Post-War Narratives of the Waffen SS 'Galicia' Division* by Olesya Khromeychuk', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 95:2 (2017), pp. 385-387.

⁶⁴ This was David Cesarani's first published book. He later became a prominent and widely respected scholar of Jewish history and Jewish diaspora.

⁶⁵ Svoboda, p. 927

reality being considerably more intricate.⁶⁶ Three decades later, the historiography surrounding the Division remains polarized.⁶⁷ Recent studies such as Khromeychuk's *Undetermined Ukrainians* (2013), have offered a more balanced examination of this contentious chapter in Ukrainian history.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, given the absence of Division archives, largely biased oral narratives, and the lack of surviving witnesses, it is likely that the history of the Division will always contain factual gaps and silences.

The period between the end of the Second World War and the collapse of Communism was characteristic of ground-breaking changes within mainstream British history. It laid the foundation for a more representative and democratic historical writing that also became more open to the influences from other disciplines. This inevitably led to segmentation into many specialist sub-disciplines, one of which was the study of immigrants and minorities. Such studies were characteristics of its attempt to survey existing secondary sources and provide an overview of the diversity of immigrant experience in Britain across time as well as establishing its social relevance. In addition, due to the Anglo-centric approach of British historians, the themes were to a great extent limited to dealing with external responses to various immigrant groups and thus focusing on their adaptation to the British

⁶⁶ Kate Brown, 'Review of "Undetermined" Ukrainians: Post-War Narratives of the Waffen SS "Galicia" Division by Olesya Khromeychuk', *Slavic Review*, 74: 1 (2015), p. 154.

⁶⁷ An indication of this is the absence of references to Cesarani's work in sources on the Division produced by the Ukrainian diaspora. Also note the absence of references to the Ukrainian Waffen-SS. See: Roman Krawec, 'Former soldiers of the Galicia Division', *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom Online Encyclopaedia*, Available [online] at: <<https://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/01/former-e.htm>> [Accessed 26 July 2023].

⁶⁸ John Himka has also called advocated for increased engagement with debates in other countries, particularly in Germany. Sociologists there, including Jürgen Habermas, have established connections between the halting of the Soviet army advance and the continuation of the Holocaust and other Nazi atrocities. John Himka, 'Review of "Undetermined" Ukrainians: Post-War Narrative of the Waffen SS "Galicia" Division', *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 3:1 (2016), p. 179.

society and expressions of xenophobia in the form of racism and anti-alienism which revealed little about the internal dynamic of migrant groups.⁶⁹

Furthermore, the literature did not attempt to explore second-generation voices in more detail. Like studies of other diasporas overseas – such as the Irish, Scottish, or Scots-Irish – the debates have until recently largely ignored the oral legacy of immigration beyond the first-generation. Though the coming of new migrants after the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 has reinvigorated the debate on European migration into the UK, it has diverted focus away from the post-war diaspora to Accession 8 migrants and from the less explored analyses of post-war European second-generations in Britain this study is seeking to address. Apart from the Anglo-centric emphasis of some studies, the academic exchange between England and other countries has suffered from the ‘sad fact that English government and society do not value foreign languages’.⁷⁰

While the Cold War prevented a meaningful cooperation between scholars on each side, the language barrier continued to pose a great challenge to British immigration historians. The next section will therefore assess the evolution of the study of immigrants in one of the Eastern Bloc countries, namely Poland and Ukraine. It will also consider the bipolar historiographical relationship between academics in the two countries during and after the Cold War as well as showing the way in which Polish academics took advantage of the renewed possibilities created for research into the British diaspora after the break-up of the Soviet Bloc.

⁶⁹ Panikos Panayi, ‘The historiography of immigrants and ethnic minorities: Britain compared with the USA’, *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, 19:4 (1996), p. 829.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

The research on migration in Poland during and after the Cold War

While in Britain, the history of immigrants and minorities before the 1990s was thwarted by Anglo-centrism and inability to expand the scope of study through researching material in foreign languages, Polish academics had to face far more serious problems such as censorship, Communist propaganda, and a degree of isolation from the West. Despite heavy restrictions, the Iron Curtain was not completely impenetrable. Limited emigration to the West did occur and it was largely dependent on contemporary political and socio-economic climate within the Eastern Bloc as well as in individual countries. After the death of Stalin in 1953 and the subsequent accession of Władysław Gomułka to power in Poland in 1956, the political system became temporarily less draconian and effected several reforms.⁷¹ Though before the mid-1950s the umbilical cord between the Polish diaspora in Britain and homeland was completely cut off, a degree of contact was allowed after this critical period. This resulted in the reunification of family members who lost contact during the war and were not fortunate enough to get together before the Polish borders were sealed off. It also allowed for an increased contact between the two countries in the form of mutual visits, return migration and in some cases emigration for the purpose of marriage with a member of a local Polish community in Britain.⁷²

During the initial twenty years, the official state ideology greatly prevented academic exchange between the West which also impacted on the study of Polish settlements in Europe

⁷¹ This period known as Gomułka's thaw did not last long. Gomułka's reformist position was soon abandoned under an increasing pressure from the Soviet side and led to further persecution, including the anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic campaign and the military intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

⁷² Krystyna Iglicka, 'Migration movements from and into Poland in the light of the East-West European migration', *Prace Migracyjne Working Papers*, 33 (2000), pp. 1-27.

and the North America.⁷³ Nevertheless, a modest political liberalisation in the 1970s was an important turning point which marked, for the first time since 1945, a re-birth of the study of the Polish diaspora. This resulted in the foundation of two specialist journals *Przegląd Polonijny* in 1974 and *Studia Polonijne* in 1976 together with the establishment of several centres for the study of migration at several Polish universities.⁷⁴ The most notable feature of this newly emerging scholarship was its increasing interdisciplinary work which escaped narrow ethno-centric interpretations and ensured a wide-ranging analysis of ethnic identities.⁷⁵

Moreover, Polish academics kept up well with contemporary developments in the study of migration and ethnicity in the United States. The American research received numerous reviews in *Przegląd Polonijny* but this was not merely a one-directional relationship as the Polish research was also frequently cited by US-based scholars.⁷⁶ The historical research on migration was up to the late 1980s largely dominated by the focus on earlier (pre-WWI) Polish influxes to the North of America. One of the reasons for this was that the predominantly economic rather than ideological character of the nineteenth century peasant migrants including the time distance which did not pose a direct challenge to the Communist establishment.

The study of the more recent Polish migration into Britain and other parts of the world was obviously more retarded due to its prevailing political character. The Poles in Britain and

⁷³ Krystyna Iglicka, 'A note on rebirth of migration research in Poland after 1989', in Anna Kicingier & Agnieszka Weiner (eds.), 'State of the Art of the Migration Research in Poland', *CMR Working Papers*, 26:84 (2007), p. 12.

⁷⁴ Dorota Praszałowicz, 'Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny: tradycja i nowoczesność', *Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny*, 1 (2009), p. 5; Ewa Jaźwińska et al., 'Studies of mechanisms of emigration from Poland after 1989', in Anna Kicingier & Agnieszka Weiner (eds.), 'State of the Art of the Migration Research in Poland', *CMR Working Papers*, 26:84 (2007), p. 35.

⁷⁵ Dorota Praszałowicz, 'Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny: tradycja i nowoczesność', p. 5.

⁷⁶ Władysław T. Miodunka, *Stan badań nad Polonią i Polakami w świecie*, Ekspertyza Nr 154 (Kraków: Instytut Polonijny Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1998), p. 10

their central organisations were one of the major political opponents of Communist Poland in the diaspora with the London-based Government in Exile claiming to be the only justified political successor of the Second Polish Republic. If the research during this time was at all pursued, it could only venture into ideologically acceptable areas such as cultural and social life.⁷⁷ The analysis of political activism, the key component of the Polish migrant existence in Britain was either absent or became a scapegoat of Communist propaganda, thus making the validity of such studies highly questionable.⁷⁸

Notwithstanding the continuing presence of censorship and ideological restrictions in two final decades of the Communist supremacy in Poland, scholars were able to successfully lay foundations for the historical study of migration. Meanwhile in Britain, easy access to local Polish communities and organisations, together with the inability of Poland-based researchers to fully pursue the research on their compatriots abroad did not seem to encourage an overly enthusiastic response well up to the 1980s. Most of the studies before this time were produced by exiled or visiting Polish scholars. Still, the works of Zubrzycki, Patterson and Sword published before the end of the 1980s have provided a solid foundation for further Polish research and became the backbone of several initial studies in the post-socialist era.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Tadeusz Radzik, 'Stan i potrzeby badań nad Polonią w Wielkiej Brytanii', in G. Babiński & H. Chałupczak, *Diaspora polska w procesach globalizacji: Stan i perspektywy badań* (Kraków: Grell, 2006), p. 176.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain: A Study of Adjustment* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956); Jerzy Zubrzycki, 'Emigration from Poland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', *Population Studies*, 6:3 (1953), pp. 248-272; Jerzy Zubrzycki, 'The Role of the Foreign-Language Press in Migrant integration', *Population Studies*, 12:1 (1958), pp. 73-82; C. A. Price and J. Zubrzycki, 'Immigrant Marriage Patterns in Australia', *Population Studies*, 16:2 (1962), pp. 123-133; Jerzy Zubrzycki, 'Polish Emigration to British Commonwealth Countries: A Demographic Survey', *International Migration Review*, 13:4 (1979), pp. 649-672; Sheila Patterson, 'The Polish Exile Community in Britain', *Polish Review*, 6:3 (1961), pp. 69-97; Sheila Patterson, 'Polish London', in Ruth Glass, *London: Aspects of Change* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1964), pp. 309-335; Sheila Patterson, *Immigrants in Industry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 20-36; Keith R. Sword, *Ethnic Identity and Association among Polish Emigres in a British Town* (Unpublished D. Phil. Thesis, University

As soon as the bar of the communist ideology was lifted in 1989, Polish academics quickly took the lead and in the following twenty years produced a great corpus of historical studies covering many aspects of the Polish migrant life in Britain. One of the most notable attempts was to chart the history of the Polish diaspora around the world which resulted in several publications such as the pioneering work *Polonia w Europie* focusing on Polish migrants in Europe published in 1992.⁸⁰ This also included three chronological chapters on Poles in Britain before during and after the Second World War which mostly drew on the existing secondary material in English and Polish and to a smaller extent used newspaper archives and material issued by diaspora organisations.⁸¹ A decade later, a group of prominent historians specialising in the Polish diaspora undertook a similar endeavour, resulting in a comprehensive volume with a global geographical scope edited by Adam Walaszek.⁸² Titled *Polska diaspora*, this work has emerged as a seminal text on Polish migrant settlements across six continents, including in Great Britain, consolidating path-breaking Polish research from the past decade into one cohesive resource.⁸³ Despite its indispensable overview, this study, akin to prior British texts of comparable breadth, faced limitations due to the absence of in-depth analysis.

of Sussex, 1982); Keith Sword, 'Problemy adaptacji i duszpasterstwa Polaków w Wielkiej Brytanii 1945-1950', *Studia Polonijne*, 10 (1986), pp. 261-285; Keith R. Sword, 'The Cardinal and the Commissars: Views of the English Catholic Primate on the Communist Takeover in Poland, 1944-47', *The Polish Review*, 31:1 (1986), pp. 49-59; Keith Sword, 'The absorption of Poles into civilian employment in Britain, 1945-1950', in Anna C. Bramwell (ed.), *Refugees in the Age of Total War* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), pp. 233-252; Keith Sword, Norman Davies & Jan Ciechanowski, *The Formation of the Polish Community in Great Britain: 1939-1950* (London: University of London, 1989).

⁸⁰ Barbara Szydłowska-Ceglowska (ed.), *Polonia w Europie* (Poznań: PAN, 1992).

⁸¹ Katarzyna Paradowska, 'Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii do 1939 roku', in Barbara Szydłowska-Ceglowska (ed.), *Polonia w Europie* (Poznań: PAN, 1992), pp. 411-422; Jacek Serwański, 'Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii w latach II wojny światowej', in Barbara Szydłowska-Ceglowska (ed.), *Polonia w Europie* (Poznań: PAN, 1992), pp. 423-436; Tadeusz Radzik, 'Społeczność polska w Wielkiej Brytanii w latach 1945-1990', in Barbara Szydłowska-Ceglowska (ed.), *Polonia w Europie* (Poznań: PAN, 1992), pp. 437-468.

⁸² Adam Walaszek, *Polska diaspora* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2001).

⁸³ Tadeusz Radzik, 'Polska diaspora w Wielkiej Brytanii', in A. Walaszek, *Polska Diaspora* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2001), pp. 149-166.

More specifically, the research with a single focus on Poles in Britain has been equally abundant. Academics pursued a great number of specialist themes covering various aspects of the Polish life in diaspora ranging from education to journalism and newspaper publishing, to political and educational organisations, and many others.⁸⁴ The ideological impediments placed on historians and social scientists during the communist era produced an incredible and perhaps a little over-zealous reaction in the times of renewed democratic governance. An example of this is an ambitious project taking place between 1994 and 1999 that resulted in the publication of eight volumes encompassing the major aspects of the Polish life in diaspora between the outbreak of WWII and the dissolution of the Government in Exile in 1990.⁸⁵ Though there has been a significant amount of other studies which have considered multiple aspects of social and cultural life the prevailing discourse of the post-socialist historiography has centred upon political themes.⁸⁶ These have included issues related to the London-based Exile Government and other political activities of central émigré organisations. This preoccupation with political history has left other topics understudied. One of such areas

⁸⁴ See: Tadeusz Radzik, *Szkolnictwo polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii po drugiej wojnie światowej 1945 – 1990* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1991); Rafał Habielski, *Niezlomni, nieprzejednani: emigracyjne "Wiadomości" i ich krąg 1940 - 1981* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1991); Tadeusz Radzik, *Zjednoczenie Polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii 1947 – 1997* (London: The Federation of Poles in Great Britain, 1997); Tadeusz Radzik, 'Geneza i powstanie Zjednoczenia Polskiego w Wielkiej Brytanii', *Annales*, LIV/LV, (1999/2000), pp. 361-368.

⁸⁵ See: Aleksander Szkuta (ed.), *Kierownictwo obozu niepodległościowego na obczyźnie 1945-1990* (London: Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe na Obczyźnie, 1996); Tomasz Piesakowski (ed.), *Akcja niepodległościowa na terenie międzynarodowym 1945-1990* (London: Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe na Obczyźnie, 1999); Roman Lewicki (ed.), *Pomoc krajowi przez niepodległościowe uchodźstwo 1945-1990* (London: Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe na Obczyźnie, 1995); Zbysław Błażynski & Ryszard Zakrzewski (eds.), *Zakończenie działalności władz RP na uchodźstwie* (London: Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe na Obczyźnie, 2000); Andrzej Suchcitz, Ludwik Maik & Wojciech Rojek (eds.), *Wybór dokumentów do dziejów polskiego uchodźstwa niepodległościowego 1939-1991* (London: Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe na Obczyźnie, 1997).

⁸⁶ See: Andrzej Friszke, *Życie polityczne emigracji* (Warszawa: Biblioteka Więzi, 1999); Paweł Ziętara, *Misja ostatniej szansy. Próba zjednoczenia polskiej emigracji politycznej przez gen. Kazimierza Sosnowskiego w latach 1952– 1956* (Warszawa: Trio, 1995); Tadeusz Wolsza, *Rząd RP na obczyźnie wobec wydarzeń w kraju 1945 - 1950* (Warszawa: DiG, 1998); Wiesław Hładkiewicz, *Polska elita polityczna w Londynie 1945 - 1972* (Zielona Góra: Wyższa Szkoła Inżynierska, 1994).

is second-generation identity which, except for the recent report by Agata Górny and Dorota Osipovič, remains to be examined.⁸⁷

The Cold War bi-polar relationship between the West and other Eastern Bloc countries did not allow for a fully-fledged academic cooperation and mutual study of archives. Polish scholars were further limited in not being able to publish work untainted by official ideology or going beyond socio-cultural themes. The removal of these obstacles after 1989 which allowed an unrestricted study and interpretation of material has greatly improved the situation, but the relationship has been unbalanced. While in Poland historians and social scientists have put the UK-based research to good use and thus improved their understanding of the Polish diaspora, their British counterparts have been generally reluctant to study primary and secondary material in other language than English. The language barrier, therefore, continues to provide a great challenge to British researchers and is an impediment to a more holistic study of migration and diaspora.

The Polish academics, nevertheless, have underestimated the impact of local and regional dynamics on communities and individuals beyond the capital and remained concerned principally with the dominant political and social organisations and personalities. There is, therefore, a large potential for the exploration of Polish language archives created by associational groups and individuals outside London as well as other miscellaneous English language sources. According to Tadeusz Radzik, one of the most prolific Polish historians of the Polish diaspora in Britain, 'there is also a particular need for researchers to analyse the relationship between political émigrés and homeland since 1990 and to explore the sense of

⁸⁷ Agata Górny & Dorota Osipovič, 'Return migration of second-generation British Poles', *CMR Working Papers*, 6:64 (2006), pp. 1-107.

identity of the Polish diaspora in the UK which has undergone transformation from the resilient political force into one of the many Polish ethnic settlements around the world.’⁸⁸ On the downside, the Polish research hardly utilised the oral history method which could have advanced understanding of the human element and of individual identities.

Second-Generation studies in North America and Britain

What is ‘second-generation’? The answer to this question is far from straight-forward. People belonging to this category can perhaps be most simply defined as direct descendants of immigrants. Most of them are not immigrants and some even see themselves in the same way as any member of the majority culture which raises an issue of whether this subject should at all be considered within the framework of migration studies. Still, narratives of migration and of a feeling of difference are likely to form part of second-generation identities. These narratives and memories could be forgotten or deliberately suppressed but they can never be rejected as a historical fact. Several other terms have been used in the literature such as the ‘post-immigrant generation’⁸⁹ or ‘half-generation’ with their position in the society being defined as ‘between two cultures’⁹⁰ or creolised, hybrid and mixed identities. Though there has not been a consensus on its precise definition this study applies the most frequently used term of second-generation which it refers, in its widest sense, to a cohort of individuals born to at least one immigrant parent who permanently settled outside their

⁸⁸ Tadeusz Radzik, ‘Stan i potrzeby badań nad Polonią w Wielkiej Brytanii’, p. 186.

⁸⁹ Rubén G. Rumbaut, ‘Severed or Sustained Attachments? Language, Identity, and Imagined Communities in the Post-Immigrant Generation’, in Peggy Levitt & Mary C. Waters (eds.), *The Changing Face of Home: The Transitional Lives of the Second Generation* (New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002), pp. 43-95.

⁹⁰ James L. Watson, *Between Two Cultures: Immigrants and Minorities in Britain* (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 1977).

homeland. Nonetheless, it is far from precise. It is the aim here to show that the position of second-generation is much more complex than what a single or hyphenated definition can encompass.

The study of second-generation identities has been approached in many ways depending on discipline, geographical location, ethnic background or age and life stage of a particular individual. The debate on second-generation in Britain has been limited due to a general concern with the more immediate and certainly more palpable impact of the actual immigrant generation and a comparatively smaller significance of immigration into Britain compared with Northern America. Therefore, it may be beneficial to briefly engage with the American research concerned with the study of generational dynamics which has a long tradition. Not only can it provide a useful context for this study, but it can also serve a useful analytical tool for a more advanced and critical analysis of second-generation identities in Britain.

The debate in the United States relating to children of immigrants has resulted in the formulation of two main theories of assimilation. Unlike classical assimilation theories based on the study of pre-1920, largely white European immigrant waves which were characterised by a gradual diffusion of ethnic identity and socioeconomic advancement in the following generation, the more recent theory of segmented assimilation proposed by Portes and Zhou was formulated in reaction to the perceived differences of the more recent immigration flows.⁹¹ The theory of segmented assimilation suggests another two distinct outcomes of societal adaptation of successive generations other than the classical assimilation version of

⁹¹ Alejandro Portes & Min Zhou, 'The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 530 (1993), pp. 74-96.

a more or less forthright 'melting' into the host society. The second option is downward assimilation when second-generation offspring rejects parental values and integrates primarily into an inner-city underclass (i.e., Caribbean youth).⁹² The third possibility is economic assimilation advanced through ethnic minority channels and a continued attachment to the inherited culture and associational life.⁹³ Although historians such as Foner and Perlmann and Waldinger accept some differences between earlier and more recent migrant cohorts, they claim that their generational assimilation shows similar patterns as well as cautioning that it is perhaps too early to draw definite conclusions without having sufficient hindsight.⁹⁴ A perhaps more productive outcome of the debate of generational issues has been the recognition of differences within and among different generational cohorts intersecting with aspects such as age, life, stage, class and gender.

The differences in generational adaptation to American society were already highlighted by William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki from the Chicago School of Sociology over 90 years ago who had coined the term 'half-second-generation'.⁹⁵ Warner and Srole in 1945 developed two categories of the parental P generation (which was further subdivided into P1 generation to describe the group entering after the age of 18 and P2 describing immigrants younger than 18) and the filial F generation of American-born children (with

⁹² Portes & Zhou, 'The New Second Generation', p. 82.

⁹³ Monica Boyd & Elizabeth M. Grieco, 'Triumphant Transitions: Socioeconomic Achievements of the Second Generation in Canada', *The International Migration Review*, 32:4 (1998), p. 856.

⁹⁴ Nancy Foner, 'The Immigrant Family: Cultural Legacies and Cultural Changes', *The International Migration Review*, 31:4 (1997), pp. 961-974; Roger Waldinger and Joel Perlmann, 'Second generations: past, present, future', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 24:1 (1998), pp. 5-24; Maurice Crul & Hans Vermeulen, 'The Second Generation in Europe', *The International Migration Review*, 37:4 (2003), p. 966; Joel Perlmann, 'Toward a Population History of the Second Generation: Birth Cohorts of Southern-, Central-, and Eastern-European Origins, 1871-1970', *Working Paper No. 333* (2001), pp. 1-27.

⁹⁵ William Isaac Thomas & Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America: Monograph of an Immigrant Group*, Volumes One, Two, Three (Boston: MA: The Gorham Press, 1918-20).

second-generation receiving the F1 label, third-generation F2 and so on).⁹⁶ Rumbaut's 1976 study of Cuban and Southeast Asian youths introduced the term 'one-and-a-half' or '1.5 generation'.⁹⁷

Further decomposing Warner's and Srole's categories, Rumbaut has argued that life stages of migration and birth, as well as the fact whether a child was born to two or just one immigrant parent significantly impacted on acculturation of individuals.⁹⁸ For example those arriving in America in early childhood (1.75 generation) would have a similar experience to the US-born second-generation as they had a little memory of the home country and were mostly educated in the US as opposed to those who migrated as children of primary school age (1.5 generation) or in their teenage years (1.25 generation).⁹⁹ Yet the American studies of assimilation and integration provide very little insight into multiple identities of second-generation. Their focus on themes such as educational achievement, occupational position and social mobility serves as a good tool for policy makers but reveals very little about everyday individual experiences.

Undeniably, the American sociologists have made headway in understanding the different generational categories based on age and life stage. Nevertheless, it has been too much immersed in the search for accurate definition and quantification of various aspects of second-generation existence. This was not always the case. The leading representatives of the Chicago School, Thomas and Znaniecki, most notably known for pioneering the life-story interviewing in the early 1920s, had provided an early example of how historians and

⁹⁶ W. Lloyd Warner & Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945).

⁹⁷ Rubén G. Rumbaut, 'Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States', *International Migration Review*, 38:3 (2004), p. 1166.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1164-1169.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1162-1185.

sociologists could find a common ground using oral testimonies.¹⁰⁰ As Paul Thompson noted, 'despite a promising beginning [and the use of] remarkably inventive methods... Chicago sociologists soon became a victim of professionalization' and retreated to the study of statistics and general theory.¹⁰¹

The Northern American case has, therefore, demonstrated that the empirical study of statistical evidence and the attempt to arrive at accurate over-reaching generational categories can only have a limited effect. While these highly theoretical and statistically-based sociological studies are useful to policy makers they do not reap equal benefits for historians. They have revealed a great deal about general characteristics of generational cohorts but little about wide-ranging individual experiences. The concentration on the general, quantifiable and classifiable aspects of second-generation identity has drawn attention away from the complex and indefinite processes of identity-making. Thus, a holistic study of second-generation needs to consider the myriad factors involved in the development of ethnic identities such as family upbringing, education, religion, social class, gender, age, local environment (presence or absence of organised community, demographic character of the local society), a degree of contact with ancestral land and many others. The brief outline of the debates in North America has shown how the selection of methods crucially affects the final shape of a study. The life-story method pioneered by the Chicago School will reveal entirely different information than a mere analysis of official statistics. It is better equipped with providing a better insight into everyday lives of second-generation individuals.

¹⁰⁰ William Isaac Thomas & Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America: Monograph of an Immigrant Group*, Volumes One, Two, Three (Boston: MA: The Gorham Press, 1918-20).

¹⁰¹ Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, pp. 62-63.

Compared with North America, the study of second-generation in Britain has been less established. In fact, there are very few published studies with a single focus on second-generation identity and their incorporation into the wider society. Such studies usually consider the issue of children of immigrants within broader analyses of immigrant groups.¹⁰² Similar to North America, the subject in Britain has been largely adopted by social scientists while showing a very meagre interest from historians. This is evident from the haphazard attention paid to it in *Immigrants and Minorities* throughout its thirty-year existence.¹⁰³

Ullah writing in 1985 criticised social science research for its tendency to predominantly focus on the problems faced by non-white second-generation individuals as well as the inclination to assume an absence of prejudice and discrimination towards the children of the Irish immigrants based on 'their numbers, their familiarity and their phenotypic similarity to the indigenous population'.¹⁰⁴ The criticism of the assimilationist thesis which assumes a smooth integration if not a forthright assimilation of the second-generation Irish has also been adopted by others such as Sean Campbell and Mary Hickman who have demonstrated that second-generation experiences were far more diverse than the dominant historical and sociological discourse was able to admit.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² See: Rosalyn Livshin, 'The Acculturation of the Children of Immigrant Jews in Manchester, 1890-1930', in David Cesarani (ed.), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, pp. 79-95.

¹⁰³ There have been less than a dozen of articles dealing in some way with second-generation issues and only few of them carrying 'second-generation' in its title. A greater attention has been paid to it by a social science UK journal – *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. The research on second-generation, nevertheless, has focused mainly on individuals of Asian, West Indian, Central American and African origin. This was also the case of the special issue published in 2005 entitled 'The Second Generation in Early Adulthood' with little attention being paid to second-generation white European identities. The journal has also widely covered other relevant issues such as transnationalism, white and other identities, multiculturalism and, migration and diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 28, Iss. 6 (2005).

¹⁰⁴ Philip Ullah, 'Second-generation Irish youth: Identity and ethnicity', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 12:2, (1985), pp. 310-320.

¹⁰⁵ Sean Campbell, 'Beyond 'Plastic Paddy': A Re-examination of the Second-Generation Irish in England', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 18:2-3 (1999), pp. 266-288; Mary J. Hickman, 'Reconstructing deconstructing 'race': British political discourses about the Irish in Britain', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21:2 (1998), pp. 288-307; Mary J. Hickman, Sarah Morgan, Bronwen Walter & Joseph Bradley, 'The limitations of whiteness and the

Also, the preoccupation with second-generation assimilation amongst social scientist has prevented the exploration of other important issues. The reliance on social science texts such as Zubrycki, Patterson and Żebrowska, has also contributed to an undue attention being paid to it by historians of the Polish diaspora in Britain.¹⁰⁶ These considerations call for the undertaking of new studies challenging the assumption of unproblematic conformity to British identity by second-generation of European descent, including a more complex investigation of ethnic identities not solely reduced to the study of assimilation.¹⁰⁷

A discussion about the descendants of post-1945 Polish and Ukrainian migrants into Britain has not been completely absent. Writing in 1961, still relatively soon after the arrival of Poles, Czaykowski and Sulik in their 'road trip style' journalistic study of Polish 'communities' in Britain commented in considerable detail on the different ways of experiencing Polish identity depending on belonging to a particular generational group.¹⁰⁸ While not being as specific in their definition as Rumbaut in his later study of generational cohorts, they were already very conscious of the diverse composition of migrant groups. Referring to one group as 'younger generation', the authors have shown how the older section (1.25 generation) brought up and educated in Poland stood apart from those born in the late 1930s (1.5 generation) who came to England as child refugees and they were still completely separate from British-born 'youngest generation' (classical second generation).¹⁰⁹

boundaries of Englishness: Second-generation Irish identifications and positionings in multiethnic Britain', *Ethnicities*, 5:2 (2005), pp. 160-182.

¹⁰⁶ Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain*; Sheila Patterson, 'The Polish Exile Community in Britain'; Anna Żebrowska, *Integration or assimilation*.

¹⁰⁷ The research on second-generation Italian is an example of such attempts. Wendy Ugolini has recently drawn attention to Italian-Scottish individuals whose identities reflected the political dynamics of the Second World War. See: Wendy Ugolini, "'Spaghetti Lengths in a Bowl?' Recovering Narratives of Not 'Belonging' Amongst the Italian Scots", *Immigrants and Minorities*, 31:2 (2013), pp. 214-234.

¹⁰⁸ Keith Sword, *Identity in flux*, pp. 15-16.

¹⁰⁹ Bogdan Czaykowski & Bolesław Sulik, *Polaci w Wielkiej Brytanii* (Paryż: Instytut Literacki, 1961), pp. 520-555.

It was also noted that there was a significant discord based on age, education and the degree of interaction with the British environment with the future prediction that second-generation would become only half-Polish, half-English or even English with some emotional attachments to Poland.¹¹⁰

A similar but more analytical attempt to measure Polishness was pursued by Żebrowska in 1986 who in her sociological study aimed to investigate the degree of identification with Polish identity of second-generation defined on the lines of participation in mainstream community associational life.¹¹¹ She made a distinction between integration of second-generation, which meant 'a determination to maintain, develop and transmit one's Polishness' (Polish Consciousness), and assimilation involving 'a drifting away from Polishness in the ultimate direction of total British identity' (Polish Awareness).¹¹²

Nevertheless, Temple has criticised Żebrowska's distinction between 'weak' and 'strong' Poles and her attempt to reduce Polishness to some sort of core and the fact that the definition of the Polish identity is constructed and effectively controlled by the Polish 'community'.¹¹³ Rejecting the notion of a single Polish community, Temple, building on the work of Williams, has also stressed the importance of other influences such as geographic location, time change, class and gendered experiences of home and community life. Further, Temple's feminist critique has shed light on how earlier academic writing on Poles (including Zubrzycki, Patterson, Żebrowska and Sword) has been shaped by the notion of the visible

¹¹⁰ Bogdan Czapkowski & Bolesław Sulik, *Polaci w Wielkiej Brytanii*, p. 555.

¹¹¹ The issue of second-generation decline was in the 1980s regarded so important that some first-generation members hired Żebrowska to conduct 'a survey of the extent of commitment to Polishness among the second generation'. See: Anna Żebrowska, *Integration or assimilation*, p. ii.

¹¹² Anna Żebrowska, p. ii.

¹¹³ Bogusia Temple, *Polish Community and Identity* (Occasional Paper No. 38, University of Manchester, 1994), pp. 1-45.

community dominated by male leaders and completely dismissing the less visible but equally important role of women in ethnic organisations and family home. However, her suggestion that academic studies should pay more attention to dissonance and individuals instead of focusing on coherence and groups, has not yet been fully taken on board.¹¹⁴

Which community exactly do authors have in mind when writing about the Polish Community in Britain? Is it the country-wide imagined exile community, like that of Benedict Anderson's conception of imagined nation?¹¹⁵ Does this actually refer to the Polish population in Britain as a whole and does it at all include the offspring of post-war migrants? Rather than talking about the Polish population, what authors often seem to talk about are the Polish Catholic parishes in Britain. This inevitably excludes other Poles of different faith and political belief such as Polish Protestants, Polish Jews, Polish Communists, Poles serving in the Wehrmacht and the POWs and many others, who do not fit into a definition of Polishness as defined by the Polish Catholic Ex-Servicemen since 1945. It has indeed been a common practice when collecting information about the Poles in Britain to contact the Catholic parish or an existing community organisation which has perpetuated the myth of a single cohesive community and obscured the different ways in which Polishness has been experienced across time and in different localities.

Still, it is very surprising that while many authors have studied Polish Catholic 'communities', their analysis of religion and its crucial effect on personal, social and family life as well as the role of religion in the retaining or abandoning Polish identity has not been addressed in much detail. It is notable that it is mostly individuals with Polish roots who

¹¹⁴ Bogusia Temple, *Polish Community and Identity*, pp. 20-23.

¹¹⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, 1991).

incorporate the study of Polish Catholicism into their research as opposed to British academics who, though using Polish parishes in Britain as an information channel, very rarely delve into the exploration of religion as a concept.¹¹⁶ Even Sword in his *Identity in Flux* (1996), which devoted a great deal of space to the analysis of second-generation issues, accepted that he had concentrated on a more formal, conventional approach to the Polish community and a description of obvious and visible aspects of community organisation. He has also indicated that future research should focus on groups and social networks and their interactions with the more formal institutions of the community.¹¹⁷ Winslow has reemphasised Temple's and Sword's argument about the necessity for further research to investigate second- and third-generation British Poles who 'want to assert their Polish origins... but who find it difficult to do so within the constraints of existing Polish community networks'.¹¹⁸

During the last two decades since the collapse of the Soviet Bloc, the historiography of the Polish migrant population has undergone a significant change. Temple has contested the previous definition of Polishness based on the public and masculine and has drawn more attention to the private and feminine as well as other issues of identity and language in the lives of first and second-generation as well as the more recent post-accession Polish

¹¹⁶ See: Joanna Marzec, *The role of the Polish Roman Catholic Church in the Polish community of the U.K.: A Study in Ethnic Identity and Religion* (Community Religions Project Research Papers No. 5, University of Leeds, 1998), pp. 1-81; Józef Gula, *The Roman Catholic Church in the History of the Polish Exiled Community in Great Britain* (London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies, 1993); Szczepan Wesoły, *Fifty Years of the Church in the Polish Diaspora, 1945-95: A Lecture in English and Polish* (SSEES Occasional Papers, No. 35, University of London, 1996), pp. 1-33; Christopher Jackson, 'The Polish Community in Cambridge', in Nicholas Rogers (ed.), *Catholics in Cambridge* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2003), pp. 231-236; Paweł Chojnacki, *The Making of Polish London through Everyday Life, 1956-1976* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Central London, 2008).

¹¹⁷ Keith Sword, *Identity in Flux*, p. 233.

¹¹⁸ Michelle Winslow, *War resettlement, rooting and ageing: An oral history study of Polish émigrés in Britain*, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Sheffield, 2001), p. 223.

arrivals.¹¹⁹ Since Temple's call for a focus on individuals and dissonance, there has been an increasing number of studies using oral history methods through which the migrant narratives of everyday life have received greater prominence.

Burrell's attempt to move away from analysing migrants' relationship with the host society to studying migrant groups from within has been the most notable example of the shift towards the ordinary everyday practices that shaped migrants' national identity.¹²⁰ Her comparative study of Polish, Italian and Greek-Cypriot migrants in Leicester (2006) has provided an excellent analysis of the complex relationship between voluntary and involuntary migration, including the diverse experiences of community life and an investigation of how the notion of homeland resonates in migrants' lives once they have settled. The primary focus on first-generation did not allow Burrell to consider second-generation experiences in more depth. The personal testimonies she collected were too limited and thus only serving to reinforce certain stereotypes such as the overemphasis of wartime memories.¹²¹

Contrary to Burrell's claims that the debate surrounding the integration and/or assimilation of Poles in Britain since 1939 has been saturated, Blenkinsop has shown the importance of informal internet forums in maintaining and negotiating Polishness of second-

¹¹⁹ Bogusia Temple, 'Constructing Polishness: Researching Polish Women's Lives', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 17:1 (1994), pp. 47-55; Bogusia Temple, "'Gatherers of Pig-swill and Thinkers': Gender and Community amongst British Poles', *Journal of Gender Studies*, 4:1 (1995), pp. 63-72; Bogusia Temple, 'Telling Tales: Accounts and Selves in the Journeys of British Poles', *Oral History Journal*, 23:2 (1995), pp. 60-64; Bogusia Temple, 'Time Travels: Time, Oral History and British-Polish Identities', *Time and Society*, 5:1 (1996), pp. 85-96; Bogusia Temple, 'Diaspora, Diaspora Space and Polish Women', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 22:1 (1999), pp. 17-24; Bogusia Temple, 'Polish Families: A Narrative Approach', *Journal of Family Issues*, 22:3 (2001), pp. 386-399; Bogusia Temple, 'Feeling special: Language in the lives of Polish people', *The Sociological Review*, 58:2 (2010), pp. 286-304.

¹²⁰ Kathy Burrell, *Moving Lives: everyday experiences of nation and migration within the Polish, Greek-Cypriot and Italian populations of Leicester since 1945* (Published Ph.D. Thesis, University of Leicester, 2003), p. 4.

¹²¹ This is highlighted in Treitler's book review which criticised Burrell's sampling method which resulted in an unbalanced analysis of some issues and groups. See: Vilna Bashi Treitler, 'Review of Moving Lives: Narratives of Nation and Migration among Europeans in Post-War Britain', *Contemporary Sociology*, 37:6 (2008), p. 573.

and third-generations.¹²² While showing how the internet can be used as a new platform in creating a bottom up virtual community it has also exposed the issue of self-selected groups and their perpetuation of the dominant Polish narratives and myths at the expense of other less explored issues.¹²³ Most importantly, through the sophisticated use of official sources such as governmental archives in combination with personal testimonies and internet fora, Blenkinsop has shown the different ways in which the history of post-war Polish migrants has been represented. In doing so she follows on from Williams' pioneering research in which he demonstrated how the communal myth gets re-enacted in the sources created or influenced by local minority elites. His contrasting of these sources to individual oral narratives and other material is an example of the writing of more representative histories which consider the role of agency in the life of an individual migrant.¹²⁴

Another important point discussed by Blenkinsop is the debate on assimilation and integration and the different reading of the official definition as well as the varied interpretation of it by scholars who sometimes use the two terms interchangeably. In fact, it seems to be one of the key themes cutting across the literature.¹²⁵ Zubrzycki, for example, has observed that the Poles were alert to the danger of losing their national characteristics while both Żebrowska and Patterson have made a conclusion that assimilation or integration

¹²² Lisa J. Blenkinsop, *Writing histories: narratives of integration and Poles in Great Britain since the Second World War* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Lancaster, 2006), p. 324.

¹²³ The online fora heavily focused on the wartime tragedy, betrayal by the Allies and invisibility of Polish suffering while silencing other narratives such as the role of Polish women in the Second Corps and serving in the WAAFs in the Middle East and Africa, work of Polish Social Services in Great Britain, the financial support of the British government to fund housing and education of Poles, etc. See: Lisa J. Blenkinsop, *Writing histories*, pp. 302-303.

¹²⁴ Bill Williams, 'The Jewish Immigrant in Manchester: The Contribution of Oral History', *Oral History*, 7:1 (1979), pp. 43-53.

¹²⁵ Ruth Johnston, *Immigrant Assimilation: A Study of Polish People in Western Australia* (Perth: Paterson Brokensha, 1965); Ruth Johnston, *The Assimilation Myth: A Study of Second Generation Polish Immigrants in Western Australia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969); Peter Stachura (ed.), *The Poles in Britain, 1949 - 2000: From Betrayal to Assimilation* (London: Frank Cass, 2004).

is an inevitable outcome of the contact between Polish and British cultures. Lane has further argued that 'in the first generation of Polish settlement many factors combined to preserve rather than dilute Polish culture and identity, whereas cultural dilution was characteristic of the second and third generations'.¹²⁶

In addition, Blenkinsop's own contribution has pointed to innovative ways of looking at the issue mainly through the use of internet by second- and third-generation.¹²⁷ Nonetheless, rather than being a journey from the point A to the point B, it is a complex two-way open-ended process. It requires both the migrant and the host society to adjust and to be open to a dialogue. Still, assimilation and integration appear arbitrary in the light of the complexities of individual lives. They seem to be expectations of the host society rather than lived experiences or goals set up by individuals to be achieved at a particular point in time. Therefore, as assimilation and integration are of questionable value to migrant lives, they should be abandoned in favour of more person-centred humanistic approaches which are the essence of analysing complex issues of identity.

The most notable recent addition to the literature on second-generation British Poles has been produced by Polish-based academics Górny and Osipovič who took on an important task of updating Żebrowska's and Sword's research into the Polish diasporic identities.¹²⁸ This study of second-generation return has shown that individual decisions to visit or even temporarily settle in Poland were motivated chiefly by ideological and economic considerations. The number of individuals settling permanently has in the end been negligible

¹²⁶ Thomas Lane, 'Victims of Stalin and Hitler: The Polish community of Bradford', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 20:3 (2001), p. 43.

¹²⁷ Lisa Blenkinsop, *Writing histories*, p. 324.

¹²⁸ Agata Górny & Dorota Osipovič, 'Return migration of second-generation British Poles', *CMR Working Papers*, 6:64 (2006), p. 3.

due to a re-evaluation of personal attachment to Poland based on feelings of difference, uncertain citizenship status and family considerations. While being one of the key texts on second-generation British Poles, like much of earlier research, it has fallen into the trap of conforming to the official version of Polishness as defined by mainstream ethnic organisations in Britain. It only focused on people 'who maintain their Polishness in some way and can be recognised as members of a Polish group' with both parents originating from pre-war Poland.

The visible aspects of identity such as the use of Polish language, participation in community activities, maintenance of culture and attachment to Poland served to exclude narratives of individuals with weaker institutional attachment and knowledge of heritage language or with multiple heritage roots whose expression of Polishness is more tentative and subtle. The current research will, therefore, remedy this situation by arguing for a holistic approach to the study of second-generation which also includes the influence of British environment that studies commissioned or supported by official Polish organisations did not fully consider. As earlier demonstrated by Temple, trying to arrive at a single definition of Polishness is neither feasible nor is it desirable. Even the 'institutional version' of Polishness cannot be reduced to a list of key characteristics but is largely contested on a national, local, and individual level.

It is also important to ask how appropriate is the notion of diaspora for the study of second-generation identities? Neither the Ukrainians nor the Poles fit neatly into the five-fold typology of global diasporas (victim, labour, imperial, trade, cultural) and their common features as defined by Cohen.¹²⁹ Satzewich agrees that 'the Ukrainians who settled abroad do

¹²⁹ Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction, Second edition* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 17-18.

bear a strong resemblance' to Cohen's typology but this is not without reservations.¹³⁰ His Northern American case study has shown that the Ukrainian diaspora contained various elements of the four out of five Cohen's ideal types. This is why he suggested that 'diasporas are not homogeneous entities' and 'can be fractured along a number of lines, including political ideologies, class background, gender, religion and the circumstances of emigration'.¹³¹ Smith's and Jackson's research in Bradford similarly concluded that there are 'multitude of ways in which members of a single diaspora can change their own definitions of themselves as a group particularly in relation to the homeland'.¹³² Indeed both studies have refused the idea of one single collective memory and suggested that there are 'certain competing understandings of both the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian state' based on different local experiences and political affiliation.¹³³ This also applies to how the different generations in the diaspora create and maintain their group boundaries which is to say that the way first-generation immigrants organise their diasporic life does not necessarily attract second and subsequent generations.¹³⁴

Therefore, it is evident that different typologies of diaspora 'may lead to certain static understandings of community life' and that the complexity of Ukrainian and Polish experience present several anomalies that challenge but not entirely invalidate Cohen's typology.¹³⁵ In addition, the concept of diaspora does not seem to provide enough flexibility to capture the realities lying beyond organised community life of first-generation migrants and their descendants. It is not suited to include post-diasporic identities and the myriad reasons for

¹³⁰ Vic Satzewich, *The Ukrainian Diaspora* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 214.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 218.

¹³² Graham Smith & Peter Jackson, 'Narrating the nation', p. 384.

¹³³ Vic Satzewich, *The Ukrainian Diaspora*, p. 215; Graham Smith & Peter Jackson, 'Narrating the nation', p. 384.

¹³⁴ Vic Satzewich, *The Ukrainian Diaspora*, p. 220.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 218-19.

non-involvement in formal associational life and the maintenance of the sense of ethnonational identity outside this framework.

Conclusion

The literature review has demonstrated that the historiography of post-Second World War immigration is still retarded despite the expansion of scholarly interest in diaspora studies since Holmes first published his seminal *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society* in 1978. Despite the statistical significance of first-generation Eastern European immigration to northern Britain after 1945, studies of firstly Polish and Ukrainian immigration and secondly the experiences of second-generation immigrants remain limited. It has also shown that the research on second-generation European identities is relevant in several ways. It extends the study of migration, diaspora and ethnic identities reaches well beyond the first-generation. The descendants of primary immigrants are involved in multiple processes of identity-making that set them apart from their parents and their British peers. More importantly, they provide unique lenses through which to view the history of the Cold War and its aftermath as well as throwing light on wider attitudes towards different cultural groups within the British society over time.

As has been manifested, the relationship between the first, second and later generations has often been presented on a trajectory of a fast decline of ethnic consciousness and a steep progression towards assimilation. It is easy to buy into this hypothesis because of the general invisibility of white post-immigration cohorts within the wider society, the lack and inaccessibility of relevant records as well as the reluctance to analyse sources in other

languages. Such a trajectory, nevertheless, does not exist. Individual identities continuously evolve within the changing context of individual lives. These include internal variables such as family and associational life, personal convictions and beliefs, gender orientation and the process of ageing, as well as external variables such as political and socio-economic processes at local, inter-state and global levels all of which interact together in various ways. Thus, while a mixed-methods approach is proposed, it needs to be stressed that this research will extensively utilise the oral history method which 'offers evidence about the changing and complex meanings of identity in the migrant experience'.¹³⁶ Naturally, the way in which individuals of Polish, Ukrainian and mixed-marriage background experienced their identities varied. It is thus believed that a comparative study of these groups with a shared history of the Soviet oppression will render an innovative perspective underlining that 'ethnic boundaries are often contextual and fuzzy'.¹³⁷

The current research, therefore, investigates the following aspects of this lacuna: What is the impact of immigration beyond the first-generation? How can second-generation narratives advance our understanding of the attitudes towards immigration in Britain? In what ways did the changing political and socio-economic boundaries in Eastern Europe and Britain affect second-generation thinking about home and self-identification? What role did membership in ethnic associational groups have in the formation of second-generation identity across time? How does the notion of easy assimilation fit into the real-life experience of the second-generation? What can second-generation narratives reveal about generational dynamics, understandings of ethnicity and the transmission of cultural values?

¹³⁶ Alistair Thomson, 'Moving Stories: Oral History and Migration Studies', *Oral History*, 27:1 (1999), p. 29.

¹³⁷ This was emphasised by Aleksandra Kazłowska, 'Review of The Ukrainian diaspora by Vic Satzewich', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32:3 (2006), pp. 553-555.

Through a combination of both qualitative and quantitative evidence, this study on second-generation in the North of England will provide a fresh perspective on the changing nature of diasporic identities in Britain before and after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. A comparison between individuals of Polish and, Ukrainian descent, as well as those of mixed descent such as Ukrainian-Italian or Polish-British, will render a more nuanced understanding of the complexity of post-immigration experiences both within and outside the boundaries of ethnic associational life.

Methodology: Understanding the Polish and Ukrainian post-war diaspora in the North of England

The study of official data from Governmental and non-governmental organisations provides a useful insight into different demographic features pertaining to migration, including characteristics such as immigrant population density, ethnic background, and regional distribution. But as with any qualitative sources there are many limitations as to what it can reveal, and different methods of recording demographic data reflecting historical, administrative, and geopolitical boundaries that changed in the five decades following the end of the Second World War. Therefore, they do not necessarily provide a complete picture of the demographic and socioeconomic phenomena and changes over time and space.

Moreover, modern European history has shown that the census enumeration has not always been apolitical. Some obvious examples of census engineering include, for example the case of the Polish Second Republic in 1931 when the aim was to boost numerical strength of the Polish population and to obscure ethnic diversity in eastern regions of Poland.¹³⁸ More importantly, the results of the 1937 Census taken in the Soviet Union were deliberately delayed as the expected increase of population had not been achieved due to millions of deaths caused by collectivisation, forced famine and removal of the population to Siberian gulags.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ Stephen D. Corrsin, 'Literacy Rates and Questions of Language, Faith and Ethnic Identity in Population Censuses in the Partitioned Polish Lands and Interwar Poland (1880s - 1930s)', *The Polish Review*, XLII: 2 (1998), pp. 131-160.

¹³⁹ Francine Hirsch, 'The Soviet Union as a Work-in-Progress: Ethnographers and the Category Nationality in the 1926, 1937, and 1939 Censuses', *Slavic Review*, 56:2 (1997), pp. 251-278; see also Robert Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror Famine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 299 - 303; For a more general debate, see: Dominique Arel, 'Language categories in censuses: backward- or

Less controversial, but equally counterproductive was the Census enumeration of various ethnic groups in Britain in the aftermath of the Second World War. Whether this was the result of a policy intending not to exacerbate the fragile international balance of power during the initial stages of the Cold War or a product of ignorance of government officials, it produced a skewed understanding of the European cultural and political map. The problem lay in the fact that the definition of nationality (not necessarily corresponding with ethnicity) was based on the post-Yalta geopolitical division which completely ignored the earlier independence of countries incorporated into the Soviet Union such as Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.¹⁴⁰

The citizens of these countries were enumerated either as Russians in 1951 and citizens of the USSR from 1961 onwards, or as stateless persons. The case of Ukrainians was similar, although compared to the Baltic States, they only enjoyed a very brief period of independence in the first half of the 20th century (1917-1921).¹⁴¹ Therefore, despite the number of post-war European migrants to the UK being known, the statistics for later years are less revealing. As many migrants were grouped into one category, it is difficult to observe separate demographic characteristics including the exact number of people from these groups resident in the UK, population growth or decline, and, remigration and naturalisation. Similarly, the 1971 UK Census was seen as a vehicle for measuring the size of the Black Commonwealth population and 'a baseline against which to measure the effects of the 1968 Race Relations Act.'¹⁴²

forward-looking?', in: David, I. Kertzer & Dominique Arel, *Census and Identity: The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Language in National Censuses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 92-120.

¹⁴⁰ Stachura, 'Towards and Beyond Yalta', in Peter D. Stachura, *The Poles in Britain 1940-2000*, pp. 6-20.

¹⁴¹ Plokhy, *The Gates of Europe*, pp. 201-227.

¹⁴² Angela Dale & Clare Holdsworth, 'Issues in the analysis of ethnicity in the 1991 British Census: evidence from microdata', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 20:1 (1997), p. 161.

The Census category easier to discern is that for the Poles because Poland did technically exist as an independent entity after 1945 despite being a virtual satellite of Moscow. This is, of course, not without its own complications. While it can be said that the Iron Curtain served as physical barrier between the West and the East, it became clear that even metal has its pores as a limited number of people from People's Republic of Poland was allowed to emigrate in the period between 1956 and 1980.¹⁴³ Emigration of Ukrainians from the Soviet Union was almost non-existent during this period. There were around 1,500 Ukrainian women, however, who came to the UK from Poland and Yugoslavia.¹⁴⁴ This and other arrivals, nevertheless, never radically altered the sharply declining Polish- and Ukrainian-born population resident in Britain which was less than a half of the 1951 number by the time the collapse of Communism in Europe had reached its final stage in 1991.

In addition to providing quite a distorted picture about the number, origin and composition of post-war European migrants, the UK Census does not account for the children of this diverse corpus of nationalities. While the number of people belonging to "mixed-race" or British-Asian 'ethnic' categories is well-known, it is much more difficult to trace individuals of European descent. This, therefore, indirectly supports the view that subsequent

¹⁴³ These were mainly the Polish Jews for who became the victims of Poland's anti-Israeli policy and were encouraged, sometimes forcibly, to emigrate in the late 1960s. Another group were the Polish women who travelled to England for the purpose of marrying a member of a local Polish community that was short of female members. More people came after the emergence of the Solidarity movement and the introduction of the martial law in Poland in the early 1980s. See: Dariusz Stola, 'Jewish emigration from communist Poland: the decline of Polish Jewry in the aftermath of the Holocaust', *East European Jewish Affairs*, 47: 2-3 (2017), pp. 169-188; Krystyna Iglicka, *Poland's Post-war Dynamic of Migration* (London: Routledge, 2001); Kathy Burrell, 'War, Cold War, and New World Order: political boundaries and Polish migration to Britain', *History in Focus*, Available [online] at: <<https://archives.history.ac.uk/history-in-focus/Migration/articles/burrell.html>> [Accessed 12 June 2023].

¹⁴⁴ Roman Krawec, 'Ukrainians in the United Kingdom', *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom Online Encyclopaedia*, Available [online] at: <<http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/01/ukrinuk-e.htm>> [Accessed 10 September 2014].

generations have culturally assumed British characteristics as well as nationality from birth which is simply false.

Why study the Poles and Ukrainians in the North of England?

This is a very diverse place demarked by two coastlines and consisting of vast moorland and isolated rural districts as well as densely populated industrial towns and cities. The divide between the North and the South of England is sometimes based on linguistic differences, but it is most defined alongside socio-economic lines.¹⁴⁵ Though the region is not officially recognised as a separate administrative entity neither it is specially marked on the maps, the concept is very much alive in the minds of most UK adult citizens. But where exactly does the border lie? For instance, the difficulty appears when it comes to the categorisation of the Midlands region or of Eastern England. Our understanding of the term is not set in stone and evolves with time. In addition, any categorisation will always be open to interpretation but may still provide a useful framework for analysis. According to the recent research which suggests a broader understanding of the North based on socio-economic factors, its boundary 'lies above the old counties of Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire and Lincolnshire and 'nips' only into parts of some of those counties.'¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ For a debate about the northern English identity and heritage see: Michael Reeve & Andrew McTominey, 'Grim up North?: Northern Identity, History, and Heritage', *International Journal of Regional and Local History*, 12:2 (2012), pp. 65-76; Karl Spracklen, 'Theorising northerness and northern culture: the north of England, northern Englishness, and sympathetic magic', *Journal for Cultural Research*, 20:1 (2016), pp. 4-16.

¹⁴⁶ Danny Dorling, *The North – South divide*, Danny Dorling; Available [online] at: <https://www.dannydorling.org/wp-content/files/dannydorling_publication_id2938.pdf> [Accessed 31 December 2022].

‘Industrial North’

This study is based in the North of England for an obvious reason. Its industrial heartland has attracted the greatest number of eastern European immigrants in the aftermath of the Second World War. If the Ukrainian and Polish diaspora in the UK were to be compared to a human body, the head would be London with the headquarters of all important organisations, which is only natural due to its strategic importance, but the body would be represented by the North of England which consisted of dozens of large and small independently functioning communities spread across the area spanning from Birmingham and Wolverhampton to Manchester and Carlisle on the western side of the Pennines and from Leicester to Derby, Sheffield and Bradford on the eastern side of the Pennine range.

This claim is well supported by official statistics. The 1981 Census, for instance, shows that 44 percent of the Polish-born population in England and Wales had lived in this area. What is more, when the Polish population of Greater London (26,000) is taken out, then the proportion of Polish population in the North of England reaches a far greater figure of 62 percent. The statistical evidence for the UK’s Ukrainian population is even more telling as approximately 72 percent of the Ukrainian-born population from outside Greater London lived in the North in 1981.¹⁴⁷

In particular, the greatest concentration of Polish and Ukrainian communities can be found in the industrial areas of Yorkshire, the largest English County, and of neighbouring Lancashire. These places naturally attracted many east Europeans due to a great diversity of

¹⁴⁷ The Ukrainians were not enumerated in UK Censuses. They came under the category of the USSR-born population of which they formed the greatest part, but which also included the Baltic nations and other smaller groups living in the Soviet Union. Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, *Census for England and Wales, 1981* (London: HMSO, 1983).

industries and a shortage of labour in the aftermath of WWII. The significance of this vast area lies in the fact that it boosts the greatest number of well-organised, Polish, and Ukrainian communities in the country. The geographical proximity of the communities is also notable. For instance, Lancashire's largest Ukrainian community is in Manchester, is almost geometrically encircled by smaller communities all less than 15 miles away and all part of the Greater Manchester metropolitan area, including Stockport, Ashton, Oldham, Rochdale, Bury and Bolton.¹⁴⁸ These places, of course, are accompanied by a similar number of Polish communities. The area of West Yorkshire, on the other side of the Pennines is also dotted with numerous Polish and Ukrainian communities, including the largest ones in Bradford and others in Huddersfield, Halifax, Dewsbury, Todmorden and Keighley.

¹⁴⁸ It was almost a rule that wherever there was a Ukrainian community, there was also in most cases a separate Polish or other eastern European community. This is, therefore, also the case for the places within the Greater Manchester metropolitan area.

Figure 2 Existing AUGB Branches in the UK in 2013

Regions of the UK	Number of Branches
Yorkshire & Humberside	6
North West	8
East Midlands	3
West Midlands	2
Eastern	3
London	1
South East	1
South West	1
Scotland	2
Total	27

Source: The official website of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain.¹⁴⁹

The associational life of an ethnic group is best measured not necessarily by the size of the local ethnic population but rather the number of organisations and the strength of their membership. As Figure 2 shows, there were fourteen Ukrainian clubs in the North West and Yorkshire alone in 2013 running under the auspices of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB), UK's largest Ukrainian umbrella organisation. In conjunction with the Midlands, the area of the North of England represented 77 percent of the total number of Ukrainian

¹⁴⁹ Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Branches, Available [online] at: <<https://www.augb.co.uk/about-us-and-our-community/branches>> [Accessed 29 November 2022]. This website gets regularly updated so the number of branches may be different at different points in time.

clubs in the UK, all of which are presently under the management of second-generation individuals.¹⁵⁰ The size of first-generation Polish associations in the mid-1990s is well demonstrated in Tadeusz Kondracki's research on SPK clubs around Britain. Kondracki has demonstrated that in 1996, there were 15 SPK clubs in the North of England which was more than half the total of 26 clubs in the UK.¹⁵¹

Evidently, the numerical presence of Poles and Ukrainians in the North of England cannot be easily dismissed. Yet existing studies of Polish and Ukrainian diaspora in the UK have never considered this region as a single entity. Instead, much of the research has been either centred around London (Ethnic Communities Oral History Project, 1988; Habielski, 2000; Chojnacki, 2008) or large single communities such as Bradford (Smith & Jackson, 1999; Smith & Winslow, 2000; Lane, 2004), Bedford (Brown, 1970), Leicester (Burrell, 2006) and Sheffield (Hanson, 1995). One of the few studies considering a compact geographical space such as the North of England was Kernberg's Ph.D. research (1990) and to a smaller extent, Stachura's article on the Poles in Scotland (2004). A notable exception is also the *Polish Migration Project* and the subsequent publication by Sword, Davies and Ciechanowski (1989) of a study based around 4 large Polish communities although it is also geographically based much around London and the South (Brighton, Slough) with Bradford being the only northern exception.

¹⁵⁰ The twenty-seven AUGB branches in the North of England include (North West, North East, Yorkshire and the Humber): Ashton, Bolton, Bradford, Bury, Carlisle, Doncaster, Halifax, Huddersfield, Keighley, Leeds, Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale and Stockport; (East and West Midlands): Coventry, Derby, Leicester, Nottingham, Wolverhampton. Other eight branches can be found in East of England (Bedford, Luton and Waltham Cross), London, South of England (Gloucester, Reading) and Scotland (Edinburgh, Glasgow). For more information on each place, see the AUGB website: <http://www.augb.co.uk/>.

¹⁵¹ Tadeusz Kondracki, *Historia Stowarzyszenia Kombatantów w Wielkiej Brytanii 1946 - 1996* (London: Polish Ex-Combatants' Organisation in Great Britain, 1996). The rapid population decline of the first-generation in the 2000s, however, led to mass closures of these clubs.

Local Polish and Ukrainian populations

Furthermore, the Census statistics, therefore, provide a good general overview of the number of eastern Europeans resident in the UK, but its usefulness becomes limited when it comes to statistics about local ethnic communities. This can be demonstrated with Figure 3, with the example of West Yorkshire, which was in 1951 part of a larger administrative county of Yorkshire West Riding. When it came to enumeration of individuals born outside the UK, it only considered the three biggest cities – Bradford, Leeds, and Sheffield, with a combined Polish-born population of 6,149 and ‘Russian-born’ population of 5,546. However, this did not imply any correlation between the size of a city and the size and number of ethnic groups. Consequently, there were another 7,000 Poles and 4,400 Russian-born individuals across the rest of the county left uncounted for. This was addressed in the 1961 Census which also included other places of settlement of eastern European migrants but by this time, a large number had re-migrated to new destinations while other had died. It is also evident that the communities in towns could be as big as those in the cities or even larger. This was the case, for example, of the Huddersfield Polish and Halifax Ukrainian communities when compared to their counterparts in Sheffield. The Local Government Act of 1972 which altered administrative boundaries shook up the situation even further. The result of this was the creation of Metropolitan Councils such as Kirklees. This was a merger of the former Huddersfield and Dewsbury districts which included separate Polish and Ukrainian communities, but they were not differentiated in the 1981 Census, thus in effect inflating statistics for eastern European communities in the area.

Figure 3: Polish- born and USSR-born residents at selected places in West Yorkshire, 1951-1991

PLACE	DATE	NUMBER OF POLISH-BORN MIGRANTS	NUMBER OF USSR-BORN MIGRANTS
Bradford	1951	2,757	2,750
	1961	2,303	2,326
	1971	1,940	2,025
	1981	2,142	2,109
	1991	1,504	1,475
Halifax (1961,1971); Calderdale (1981,1991)	1951	no data	no data
	1961	500	590
	1971	460	535
	1981	606	606
	1991	456	429
Huddersfield (1961, 1971); Kirklees (1981, 1991)	1951	no data	no data
	1961	850	372
	1971	765	375
	1981	1,016	446
	1991	698	330
Sheffield	1951	1,206	360
	1961	1,079	204
	1971	990	190

	1981	900	156
	1991	667	127

Source: Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, *Censuses for Yorkshire West Riding and West Yorkshire, 1951-1991* (London: HMSO, 1953-1993).

It has become clear that the inconsistencies of the UK Census in recording people's ethnic and national background as well as the changes in the country's administrative boundaries make any straightforward comparison over time complicated and often unfeasible. While the research has identified the benefits and limitations of the UK Census when studying the immigrant post-war generation, second-generation descendants are completely absent from official statistics as if their British identity was assumed automatically. On the other hand, it would be difficult to accurately account for and define second-generation. Would this category include only those born to parents both originating from one country or children from mixed marriages too? Such statistic would be only tentative and not necessarily demonstrating their belonging and emotional attachment to Britain. Even if the questionnaire had asked the question: 'Which country do you owe your allegiance?' or 'How would you define yourself in terms of national identity?' This is because identities are not static but volatile conceptions which are prone to change based on political, social, economic, and personal circumstances at different moments in time. Therefore, there are important methodological and theoretical challenges to any study of second-generation individuals based solely on quantitative sources.

Researching second-generation Polish and Ukrainian identities

Additional strategies need to be employed to harvest the necessary data that may be available on the second-generation. To gain a broader evidence base, therefore, a case study of the Huddersfield Polish Community has been conducted and the extracted data analysed and compared with official statistics. This approach was inspired by Keith Sword's 1996 study¹⁵² which surveyed available community publications for statistics on births, marriages, and deaths. This study, nevertheless, has unearthed a unique source of primary data which were studied in detail. Apart from the information on the rites of passage, it also revealed other useful data absent from official statistics such as the exact place of origin of the Polish-born parent generation, including their occupations and dates of birth and marriage and associational networks. But most important for the purpose of this study was the information on children which provided dates and places of birth (some of the earlier ones occurred in Polish resettlement camps), number of siblings, parents' residence at the time of baptism and sometimes a date of confirmation. The scrutiny of naturalisation records has provided an additional insight into occupational and social mobility of the parents' generation. This blend of information has formed a robust data set, unprecedented in earlier studies, allowing a more in-depth study of the local Polish population.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

Figure 4 The proportion of children from Polish and mixed families, 1948 - 1968

Type of parentage	Number of children	Proportion of total marriages
Mixed marriages	262	39%
Both Polish parents	387	58%
Illegitimate children	5	1%
Unknown parentage	15	2%
Total	669	100%

Sources: Kirklees Local Studies Library, St. Patrick's Church Records on microfiche (1948-1963); Our Lady of Częstochowa Church, Huddersfield, Parish Records (1948-1968).

The transcription of the parish records identifies 900 baptisms of children of Polish and mixed descent in Huddersfield in the sixty years following the formation of the local Polish community in 1948. Its analysis, as Figure 4 suggests, raises several issues. The baptisms include children of second-, third- and possibly fourth- generations as well as those born to post-Accession 8 migrants since 2004. It was, nevertheless, possible to make a reasonable estimate of the second-generation children, likely to have been born in the period between 1948 and 1968 (and possibly up to the early 1970s). This reveals that the second-generation in the Huddersfield area was about 670 strong, making an average of two children per family. This number is likely to be higher if individuals baptised in other churches in the area or those non-baptised at all were considered. Interesting is also a relatively high number of mixed marriages, almost 40 percent of the total or a small number of illegitimate children.

This blend of macro and micro data has provided a useful framework for the study of the first-generation immigrants from Poland and Ukraine and, to a smaller extent, of their second-generation descendants. At the same time, it has raised more questions than it gave the answers. While it was possible, with great difficulties, to establish an approximate figure of the second-generation population at a specific place and learn a little bit about the composition of this group, other qualitative issues have become obscured. What is like to be a second-generation female and male individual of Polish or Ukrainian descent? How has the cultural heritage of their parents' generation affected their own life choices and their world view? What is the relationship of second-generation individuals towards their country of birth and the country of their ancestors? How has the participation or non-participation during childhood in organised associational life affected second-generations' role within the UK's diaspora over time? In which ways is the cultural legacy of first-generation migrants carried forward by their children now?

Official and unofficial quantitative evidence cannot provide answers to these questions. Therefore, it is necessary to employ a mixed-methods approach which both quantitative and qualitative aspects. The next section will, therefore, demonstrate how the use of oral history in conjunction with other textual sources such as newspaper archives, photographs, and biographies, will complement the quantitative sources in researching the formation and development of second-generation identities in the North of England.

Oral History Methodology and Biographies

Oral history has gone through many theoretical and methodological developments since its inception as a distinct research practice in the post-war United States. It is often understood both as 'the process of conducting and recording interviews with people in order to elicit information from them about the past' as well as 'the product of that interview, the narrative account of past events.'¹⁵³ Today, it is a widely used qualitative method which is 'increasingly acknowledged as a key tool for anyone studying the history of recent past.'¹⁵⁴ One of the pioneers of oral history, Alessandro Portelli, advocates its use even more strongly when claiming that any historical research deliberately avoiding 'oral sources (when available) is incomplete by definition'.¹⁵⁵

The use of this method in researching second-generation identities is manifold. First, it is not only a way of exploring new research areas and studying groups completely absent from historical discourse or misrepresented by official sources but also 'a means of discovering new material whether diaries and letters or photographs and material culture'.¹⁵⁶ Where there is evidence available in the public domain, it is often transmitted through the voice of first-generation migrants while the second-generation is silenced. Secondly, oral history has allowed me to capture the diverse experiences of second-generation individuals, men and women, through their own voice.¹⁵⁷ More precisely, oral history interview is the result of a 'conversation in real time between the interviewer and the narrator and then

¹⁵³ Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (Oxon, Routledge: 2010), p. 2.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Alessandro Portelli, 'What makes oral history different?', in Robert Perks & Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader, Second Edition* (Oxon, Routledge: 2006), p. 40.

¹⁵⁶ Alessandro Portelli, 'What makes oral history different', p. 34; Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, pp. 3, 6.

¹⁵⁷ Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack, 'Learning to listen: Interview techniques and analyses', in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 157.

between the narrator and what we might call the external discourses or culture.’¹⁵⁸ Therefore, as opposed to written sources which are static and often fragmented, oral history is a joint effort and can be actively shaped by all parties involved in the process. While the historian is responsible for the overall discourse through selecting people to be interviewed, asking targeted questions and interpreting the content of the interview; the narrator actively shapes the content of the interview and can represent themselves and their life experiences in a more inclusive way than any other primary source.¹⁵⁹ Similarly, oral history enables the researcher to approach ethnic communities and other associational groups from inside, through their own voice, rather than through the voice of outsiders.¹⁶⁰

More importantly, however, the ‘different credibility’ of oral history, according to Portelli and others such as Frisch and Passerini, is not in its adherence to the facts but in the departure from them.¹⁶¹ Compared to written sources, the oral history recording reveals emotions, pauses and non-lexical utterances, all of which provide an additional insight into our understanding of an individual’s past. But ‘the subjectivity of memory [provides] clues not only about the meanings of historical experience but also about the relationship between past and present, between memory and personal identity, and between individual and collective memory.’¹⁶²

Although the transpennine corridor has been productive with regards to the recording and archiving of oral history collections since the pioneering work of Bill Williams in the 1970s, followed by the Bradford Heritage Recording Unit in the 1980s and Holocaust Survivors

¹⁵⁸ Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p. 19.

¹⁵⁹ Alessandro Portelli, ‘What makes oral history different, pp. 39-40.

¹⁶⁰ Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, p. 8.

¹⁶¹ Alessandro Portelli, ‘What makes oral history different, p. 37.

¹⁶² Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, pp, 1-13.

Friendship Association in the 2000s, as with so much of the data collated its focus was upon the first and not the second generation.¹⁶³ This is unsurprising given the gathering of oral history collections sought to capture voices of the first generation missing from organisation archives at that time. It quickly became apparent that conducting oral history was required to provide a more substantive base upon which to gauge the views of the second generation to discern qualitative insights from quantitative data mentioned above.

To collect interviews for this thesis, I chose to rely on the word-of-mouth recommendations rather than seeking media publicity for the project. This approach aimed to circumvent the challenges observed in earlier oral history projects focused on migrant generations, where narrators were often identified through community gatekeepers. This method often resulted in a limited pool of candidates who seldom deviated from the collective narrative.¹⁶⁴ Drawing on my previous research on the history of Central and Eastern European migrant communities in Huddersfield, as well as leveraging my personal and professional networks, I successfully identified a diverse group of narrators for this project.¹⁶⁵

As Yow has asserted, the actions preceding the interview can significantly shape the relationship between the interviewer and the narrator.¹⁶⁶ Consequently, great care was taken

¹⁶³ Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry*; Perks, 'Everyone has a story to tell: The Bradford Heritage Recording Unit and the value of oral history', pp. 18-27; Holocaust Centre North, 'Our Story'; Available [online] at: <<https://hcn.org.uk/about/our-story/>> [Accessed 10 September 2023].

¹⁶⁴ Kirklees Sound Archive, *Polish Community in Kirklees* (Huddersfield: Kirklees Metropolitan Council, 1988).

¹⁶⁵ Before commencing my Ph.D. studies, I conducted the following research projects: Frantisek Grombir, *Huddersfield Polonia, 1948-1968: Workers, Political Émigrés and Devoted Worshippers* (Unpublished BA Thesis, University of Huddersfield, 2010); Frank Grombir, *A Brief Guide around Polish Heritage Places in Huddersfield* (Huddersfield: Huddersfield Local Studies Library, 2010); Frank Grombir, 'The Voices of Huddersfield Ukrainians', 2011, Available [online] at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sMveyY5pyXA&t=191s&ab_channel=Czechmeout> [Accessed 6 September 2023]; Frank Grombir, 'Brief Encounters: Baltic Hospital Workers in and around Huddersfield, 1946-1951, *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal*, 23 (2012), pp. 51-58.

¹⁶⁶ Valerie Yow, 'Interviewing Techniques and Strategies', in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader, Third Edition* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 153.

to establish strong rapport with all project participants. In some cases, I had prior acquaintance with the narrators, having known them as colleagues or through my previous interactions within ethnic communities in the town. For instance, during the early stages of my interviews, a member of the Huddersfield Ukrainian community kindly invited me to join them on a bus trip to Leicester, where we attended the Taras Shevchenko Bicentenary Jubilee Concert at De Montfort Hall.¹⁶⁷ Interestingly, this event occurred just one week before Crimea's referendum to secede from Ukraine on 16th March 2014, following the Russian-sponsored occupation of the peninsula earlier that year.¹⁶⁸ This excursion allowed me to establish initial contacts within the local Ukrainian community and approach individuals willing to be participate in interviews, thereby enriching the collection of oral histories.

It has been demonstrated that cultivating a professional and trusting relationship significantly influences the outcomes of the interview process, and I dedicated meticulous care to establish such relationships.¹⁶⁹ Prior to each interview, I initiated a series of email communications that included an information sheet outlining the project's scope, along with an oral history consent form.¹⁷⁰ The emergence of mutual trust became evident through the willingness of the majority of narrators to have their names included in the thesis. However, two narrators preferred to maintain anonymity and have been labelled as 'Anonymous 1' and 'Anonymous 2' within the text. It is worth noting that their desire for anonymity was not

¹⁶⁷ During the concert, the speaker highlighted Shevchenko's role in fostering Ukrainian national consciousness and his universal message to resist oppression and strive for freedom. The concluding speech also extended an invitation to participate in the Ukrainian diaspora's march to the Russian embassy to protest the illegitimate referendum on Crimean independence. Transcription and video recording of the speech in author's possession.

¹⁶⁸ BBC News, "Crimea Referendum: Voters 'back Russia union'", *BBC News*; Available [online] at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26606097>> [Accessed 5 September 2023].

¹⁶⁹ Miroslav Vaněk and Pavel Mücke, *Třetí strana trojúhelníku: Teorie a praxe orální historie* (Praha: Karolinum, 2015), p. 150.

¹⁷⁰ See the Appendices 2 and 3.

primarily rooted in the concerns of trust but rather a reluctance to be identified in their local community, as their testimonies encompassed memories that remained emotionally challenging.

The setting for the interview is also crucial, whether considering sound quality, interview content, or the overall atmosphere.¹⁷¹ Consequently, as agreed upon by most practitioners, a suitable location should provide 'seclusion, comfort and familiarity'.¹⁷² Therefore, my interviewees took place at various locations, depending on whether I received invitations to the interviewees' homes or not. These locations included quiet meeting rooms at Huddersfield University (6), the narrator's own homes (6), public cafeterias (6), Ukrainian community centres (4), and the narrator's personal office space (1).¹⁷³

To capture the perspectives of the second generation, comprising people born between 1944 and 1971, a total of 23 interviews with 24 individuals were conducted by the author. These included an equal number of interviews with members of the Polish and Ukrainian communities of Northern Britain. To overcome a spatial focus on the Manchester to Leeds corridor that dominated oral history in Northern Britain, interviews were also included in Hull – featuring one person born in the North East and one born and raised in Hull. As the box folder with the oral history transcripts confirms (see the link in the Appendix 1), these often-entailed multiple interviews with the same person over several hours or days, whilst others were recorded during a single visit. All interviews were conducted face to face to enable the

¹⁷¹ Yow, 'Interviewing Techniques and Strategies', p. 154.

¹⁷² Hugo Slim and Paul Thomson, with Olivia Bennett and Nigel Cross, 'Ways of listening', in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 116.

¹⁷³ The interview transcript includes details about each interview location. Please refer to the Appendix 1 for further information.

participants to relax. They were conducted between 2014 and 2018 and transcribed to ensure the fullest use of the data could be achieved.

The interviews were conducted using the snowball method, sometimes also called chain referral sampling, which does not necessarily imply that 'once it is started it somehow magically proceeds on its own; [...] rather, the researcher must actively and deliberately develop and control the sample's initiation, progress and termination.'¹⁷⁴ This qualitative method, formulated and long used by anthropologists and sociologists is now increasingly used by oral historians and is aimed at researching hidden populations which might also be small, geographically dispersed and difficult for outsiders to penetrate.¹⁷⁵

As Alistair Thompson observed when conducted interviews with Anzac troops of the First World War, interviewing non-rank participants ensured bottom-up views of everyday life in the communities was documented.¹⁷⁶ This was vital to overcome the positive bias detailed in official reports and associational culture held in archives. The latter often provide a romanticised, uncritical, views of communities at grassroots level. Yet ultimately, the interviews also contained bias as the participants all narrated their own perceptions that could not always be corroborated by other sources. The number of male and female participants was relatively equal (14 male to 10 female) to ensure that female perspectives, especially absent in the archive of Ukrainian and Polish communal archives, were noted. All the interviews were conducted with the ethical approval of the University of Hull.

¹⁷⁴ Biernacki, Patrick and Waldorf, Dan, 'Snowball Sampling: Problems and Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling', *Sociological Methods & Research*, 10:2, 1981, 141-163

¹⁷⁵ Sudman, Seymour and Kalton, Graham, 'New Developments in the Sampling of Special Populations', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 1986, 12, pp. 401-429

¹⁷⁶ Alistair Thomson, *Anzac memories: living with the legend* (Clayton, Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2013).

While historians have employed biography less frequently than oral history, it shares similar methodological concerns, particularly in relation to issues of accuracy, representation, and interpretation of source material. However, in alignment with Williams' total history approach, this study integrated oral narratives with other forms of evidence, aiming to provide a more comprehensive and nuanced account of the past.¹⁷⁷ Therefore, historical research does not have to be solely dedicated to the pursuit of the truth or verification of the facts, as Munslow argues. Historians also play role in rendering the past 'useful in the present by devising and experimenting with different rhetorical models by which we can narrate what we think is its meaning'.¹⁷⁸ Although a memory industry has developed around Polish émigré recollections, the biographies used in this study were specifically chosen because they challenged, in some way, the dominant narratives within the diaspora.¹⁷⁹

Conclusion

Through combining official published data, parish and associational records, and a substantial number of oral history interviews, it has been possible to gain a representative sample of second generation Ukrainian and Polish voices in Northern Britain. Usefully, especially for the Huddersfield communities, it has been possible to obtain a series of corroborating data that

¹⁷⁷ Avram Taylor, 'Remembering Spring through Gorbals Voices': Autobiography and the Memory of a Community', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 28:1 (2010), p. 4.

¹⁷⁸ Alun Munslow, 'History and Biography: An Editorial Comment', *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice*, 7:1 (2003), p. 7.

¹⁷⁹ For instance, the biography of Iwan Prytulak edited and translated by his son Jaroslav, offers insights into lesser-known episodes of Ukrainian diaspora's history, while the autobiography by Beryl Kozak, an English woman who married a Pole, provides a distinct narrative perspective on the life of a mixed-marriage diaspora family. Jaroslav Prytulak, *Father Did We Know You? Autobiography by Ivan Prytulak Translated by his son Jaroslav* (Independently published: Kindle E-book, 2018); Beryl Kozak, *The Middle Years: The Story of an English-Polish Marriage in Huddersfield* (Huddersfield, Barden Print, 2001).

adds a degree of reliability to ideas presented. Yet at no stage did either community represent a dominant profile in their towns and cities. Instead, this study follows earlier research into places where migrant communities were less statistically significant. This mirrors Lee Shai Weissbach's study of small-town Jewish communities in America to avoid the pitfall of 'scholars [that] have long focused their attention almost exclusively on America's larger urban centers'.¹⁸⁰ Yet moving beyond the study of northern Britain's Jewish communities, it reveals hitherto neglected data on northern Britain.

¹⁸⁰ Lee Shai Weissbach, 'Religion and Secularism in America's Small-Town Jewish Communities', *Revue Française d'études Américaines*, 141 (2014), pp. 95-106.

Chapter 1 The role of the family in the formation of second-generation Polish and Ukrainian identities

1.1 Introduction

The role and function assigned to family and its members varies across different cultures, regions of the world and historical periods.¹⁸¹ Within modern Polish and Ukrainian history where nationhood and religion have been closely linked, family was claimed both by the Church and the state. In one of his apostolic exhortations to the Polish diaspora, John Paul II, for instance, claimed that family was in effect a small church when he referred to it as *kościół domowy* [Domestic Church].¹⁸² Being Polish and Catholic in much of the 20th century, therefore, was seemingly one and the same thing, especially during the pre-Solidarity era when the Polish Catholic Church was seen as the only credible opposition to the Communist rule.¹⁸³ The Polish and Ukrainian family was perceived as the building block of the nation and its biological, cultural, and symbolical reproduction.¹⁸⁴ This in extension was applied to the respective diasporas beyond the national borders.

While all these institutions have been largely male, they at the same time assigned the key role to the mother, *Matka Polka* [Polish Mother] and *Zhinka Maty* [Ukrainian Mother] in the reproduction of the nation. Clearly, therefore, family has been not only highly gendered but also politicised in different ways in the public discourse. Yet, as Gabaccia noted, it is

¹⁸¹ Göran Therborn, *Between Sex and Power: Family in the World 1900-2000* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 6.

¹⁸² Roman Dzwonkowski (ed.), *Papież Jan Paweł II*, p. 153; see also: Joseph C. Atkinson, *Biblical and Theological Foundation of the Family: The Domestic Church* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2014).

¹⁸³ Tony Kushner and Katharine Knox, *Refugees in an Age of Genocide: Global, National and Local Perspectives during the Twentieth Century* (London: Frank Cass, 1999), pp. 238-239.

¹⁸⁴ Nira Yuval-Davis, 'Women and the Biological Reproduction of "the Nation"', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19:1/2 (1996), pp. 17-24.

surprising that the analysis of gender relations within family, the smallest national unit, has been largely ignored by most theorists of nationalism.¹⁸⁵ Challenging the earlier contributions, the pioneering work of Nira Yuval-Davis has shown the way in which women's bodies have been at the centre of various nationalist discourses and state policies, all of which determined women's reproductive roles.¹⁸⁶

Right up to the early 1990s, the English histories of the Polish and Ukrainian diasporas, written mostly by men, have largely focused on the publicly visible themes traditionally associated with male agency including military-related histories, diaspora politics, organisational life and employment.¹⁸⁷ Scholars of Polish and Ukrainian diasporas in Britain up to that time including Zubrzycki, Patterson and Sword have said very little about the role of women as the bearers of the national language and culture within the home and wider diasporic community.¹⁸⁸ Similar trends have been perpetuated in scholarly literature studying other national groups.¹⁸⁹ This originated not only from the highly unbalanced demographic picture of both groups but also from the way in which they represented themselves to the outside world, and from other official representations of them. To address this imbalance, this study has made a thorough use of an oral history method which is better suited to capture a more intimate insight into diasporic life.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ See also: Loretta Baldassar & Donna R. Gabaccia, 'Home, Family, and the Italian Nation in a Mobile World: The Domestic and the National among Italy's Migrants', in: Loretta Baldassar & Donna R. Gabaccia (eds.), *Intimacy and Italian Migration: Gender and Domestic Lives in a Mobile World* (Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press, 2010), p. 3.

¹⁸⁶ Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation* (London: Sage Publications, 1997).

¹⁸⁷ Burrell has recently highlighted the soldier, wife, worker tropes in the historiography of Polish migration into the UK. See: Burrell, 'Framing Polish Migration to the UK', pp. 273-275.

¹⁸⁸ See: Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain*; Sheila Patterson, 'The Polish Exile Community in Britain'; Keith Sword et al., *The Formation of the Polish Community in Great Britain: 1939-1950*.

¹⁸⁹ As Baldassar and Gabaccia have pointed out, it is not surprising that such studies 'have highlighted the nationalization of men and the activities of men in creating the nation'. See: Loretta Baldassar & Donna Gabaccia, 'Home, Family, and the Italian Nation in a Mobile World', p. 1.

¹⁹⁰ Alistair Thomson, 'Moving Stories: Oral History and Migration Studies', *Oral History*, 27:1 (1999), p. 24.

For instance, as opposed to Italy's migrants who heavily promoted the notion of Italianness 'as a national culture defined more by intimacies than by its public expressions of nationalism', both the Poles and the Ukrainians settling in the West after the Second World War painted themselves essentially as deserving political refugees from Communism with the Poles also describing themselves as 'Soldier Emigration' a notion often reproduced in the literature.¹⁹¹ The British government, on the other hand, depicted all post-war Eastern European migrants as unskilled labour in order to dispel any potential public criticism and to justify their utility for the economy.¹⁹² And while many European Volunteer Workers were indeed women, as they were young and single, they were 'constructed [...] as workers rather than as dependants or as putative mothers'.¹⁹³ As Bogusia Temple has argued, this binary representation, however, did not bear much acknowledgement of women's contribution to the war effort or their unpaid domestic and community work within the diaspora neither did it analyse the peculiarities of masculinity and the contestation over gender roles.¹⁹⁴ This is all very surprising because motherhood was close to being the subject of reverence by both the Poles and the Ukrainians as is obvious from the multitude of diaspora texts.¹⁹⁵ This very much reflects the continuing lack of agency attributed to women at that time and the persistence of the Victorian model of separate spheres which accorded men the visibility of their public roles whilst reducing femininity to unassuming, invisible, taken-for-granted domestic

¹⁹¹ Loretta Baldassar & Donna Gabaccia, 'Home, Family, and the Italian Nation in a Mobile World', p. 21.

¹⁹² Linda McDowell, 'Narratives of Family, Community and Waged Work: Latvian European Volunteer Worker Women in post-war Britain', *Women's History Review*, 13:1 (2004), p. 25; Kathy Burrell, 'Framing Polish Migration to the UK', pp. 272-274.

¹⁹³ McDowell, 'Narratives of Family', p. 27.

¹⁹⁴ Bogusia Temple, "'Gatherers of Pig-Swill' and 'Thinkers': gender and community amongst British Poles", *Journal of Gender Studies*, 4:1 (1995), pp. 63-72.

¹⁹⁵ Recent Ukrainian studies of the Ukrainian Hetmanate have shown the advancement of the early modern Ukrainian society in terms of women's rights as opposed to Orthodox Muscovy and indeed many Western states of the time. See: Tatiana Tairova, 'Elite women in the Ukrainian Hetmanate', *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 60, 1-2 (2018), pp. 26-43.

existence. By venerating motherhood and women's domestic roles the diaspora maintained separate gender roles within the home and in the wider society. In absence of any viable alternative, the migrant women rarely chose to take up the untrodden path and readily accepted their role as a way of following the 'tradition'.

The Polish and Ukrainian studies published after the conclusion of the Cold War did not capitalise on the opportunity to progress the scholarship either. Rather than introducing new analytical perspectives, they were merely filling the gaps within the existing corpus, thus reinforcing the male-dominated narratives. It was not until the 1990s that the sociologist Bogusia Temple introduced new methodological approaches concerned with the previously neglected private/intimate spheres of migrant and second-generation Polish lives. Using oral history accounts, Temple, together with Linda McDowell, Wendy Webster, Louise Ryan and Kathy Burrell, all studying post-war Eastern-European diasporas in the UK, have shifted the focus away from the high-brow, heavily masculine histories to the study of everyday expressions of femininity and masculinity within the diaspora. They have all demonstrated that ethno-national identities have been not only socially constructed and politicised but also heavily gendered.¹⁹⁶

These existing studies, however, have not sufficiently focused on how second-generation identities became gendered within the diaspora context nor have they considered how the second-generation was shaped by the changing gender relations in post-war Britain. While it is important to see family as essentially gendered, it is also key not to neglect many

¹⁹⁶ Bogusia Temple, "'Gatherers of Pig-Swill' and 'Thinkers'"; Louise Ryan and Wendy Webster (eds.), *Gendering Migration, Masculinity, Femininity and Ethnicity in Post-War Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Kathy Burrell, 'Male and Female Polishness in Post-war Leicester: Gender and its Intersections in a Refugee Community', in Louise Ryan & Wendy Webster (eds.), *Gendering Migration, Masculinity, Femininity and Ethnicity in Post-War Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 71-88; Linda McDowell, *Hard Labour: Forgotten Voices of Latvian Migrant 'Volunteer' Workers* (London: Routledge, 2005).

other functions attributed to it, including social, cultural and educational ones. Burrell, for instance, has set the scene by describing migrant family within the prism of the 'couple-oriented' migrant community focusing especially on its social control function.¹⁹⁷ The childhood perspective has also been largely absent from migration studies until relatively recently which has obscured the role and agency of the second-generation.¹⁹⁸ Thus, building on Burrell's and Temple's work, this account portrays diaspora family more widely, with a particular emphasis on the second-generation agency within it.¹⁹⁹

In doing so, it is asking the following questions: How did migration and the circumstances of arrival affect the establishment of new families in the diaspora? What was the role of mother within migrant and mixed families in shaping ethno-national identity of the second-generation children? How did families where at least one parent was Polish or Ukrainian respond to the changing ethnic makeup and socio-economic context of the 1960s and 1970s Britain? In which ways did the parenting strategies change between the first-generation migrants and the British-born second-generation? Using both the material published by the diaspora in conjunction with second-generation oral accounts, this study depicts family as an agent encouraging both a strong sense of national identity and as a generational bridge between the 'old country' and the host society.

¹⁹⁷ Kathy Burrell, *Moving Lives*, p. 173.

¹⁹⁸ See: Alexandra Delliou, 'Remembering Mum and Dad: Family History Making by Children of Eastern European Refugees', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 36:2 (2018), pp. 105-124.

¹⁹⁹ Kathy Burrell, *Moving Lives*, pp. 159, 164.

1.2 Establishing Family Life in Post-War Britain

The totality of the Second World War significantly disturbed earlier family ties and other established relationships. Fuelled by renewed hope in the aftermath of the conflict, millions of displaced people, including the prisoners of war and former military personnel, attempted to return to normal life. The scale of population movements in Europe during the war and post-1945 was without precedent in modern European history and required quick and unorthodox solutions.²⁰⁰ In response to this crisis and to address the dire labour shortages, the British government relaxed the stringent immigration policy based on the 1919 Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act. This policy relaxation, described scholars as ‘a minor revolution’, allowed the arrival of hundreds of thousands of individuals from the Continent.²⁰¹ The still prevalent colonial mindset of the time was evident within the British policy, which did not necessarily see immigration as ‘a desirable means of keeping the population at a replacement level as it would [...] reduce the proportion of home-bred stock in the population’.²⁰²

Around 77,000 European Volunteer Workers (hereafter EVWs) were recruited from displaced persons camps (DP) in Germany and Austria for specific job roles. When they

²⁰⁰ Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 89-117; Silvia Salvatici, ‘Help the People to Help Themselves’: UNRRA Relief Workers and European Displaced Persons’, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 25:3 (2012), pp. 428-451; Jessica Reinisch, ‘Old Wine in New Bottles? UNRRA and the Mid-Century World of Refugees’, in Matthew Frank & Jessica Reinisch (eds.), *Refugees in Europe, 1919-1959* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 147-175.

²⁰¹ Diana Kay & Robert Miles, *Refugees or Migrant Workers*, p. 1; Linda McDowell, ‘Workers, migrants, aliens or citizens? State constructions and discourses of identity among post-war European labour migrants in Britain’, *Political Geography*, 22:8 (2003), pp. 863-886; Wendy Webster, ‘Britain and the Refugees of Europe 1939-50’, in: Louise Ryan & Wendy Webster (eds.), *Gendering Migration: Masculinity, Femininity and Ethnicity in Post-War Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 35-51.

²⁰² British Parliamentary Papers (BPP), ‘The Royal Commission on Population in Britain (1949 report)’ (London: HMSO, 1949); Nira Yuval-Davis, ‘Women and the Biological Reproduction of “the Nation”’, pp. 19-20.

arrived, they faced numerous restrictions under temporary employment schemes.²⁰³ The first scheme called Balt Cygnet, was launched in October 1946 and extended in January 1947. It was limited to single women under 40 from the Baltic states, who were recruited for domestic work in tuberculosis sanatoria and general hospitals.²⁰⁴ In contrast to Balt Cygnet, the subsequent scheme known as Westward-Ho recruited individuals of various European nationalities, both men and women. This included approximately 20,000 Ukrainians and 14,000 Poles, who were assigned to a range of unskilled jobs in Britain's essential industries.²⁰⁵ The reunification of families, however, was not the purpose of these schemes. Though the entry of dependants under the Westward-Ho was initially allowed, it was soon discontinued, and priority was given to single individuals of working age, all demonstrating the underlying economic considerations rather than humanitarian concerns.²⁰⁶ Despite these setbacks, the women EVWs have shown extraordinary resilience and built new families through which, together with community involvement, they reconstructed a sense of national identity in the diaspora.

As opposed to most Ukrainians who arrived as EVWs, members of the Polish Resettlement Corps (PRC) [*Polski Korpus Przysposobienia i Rozmieszczenia*] had a more

²⁰³ An age limit of 50 was imposed at the beginning of the scheme but was soon raised to 60 and later even to 64. See: J. A. Tannahill, *European Volunteer Workers in Britain*, p. 38.

²⁰⁴ There were other schemes set up by the government between 1945 and 1951, in addition to those recruiting DPs. These schemes included the Blue Danube and North Sea programmes, which were aimed to recruit Austrian and German women for textiles, nursing, and domestic work. Another scheme recruited Italian women unskilled factory and domestic jobs. However, the official statistics for EVWs do not include over 8,000 Ukrainian members of the Waffen-SS Galicia Division who were previously stationed in Italy as POWs and brought to Britain in March 1947 as part of this scheme. Diana Kay & Robert Miles, *Refugees or Migrant Workers* Kay & Miles, pp. 38-43.

²⁰⁵ J. A. Tannahill, *European Volunteer Workers in Britain*, p. 30; Diana Kay & Robert Miles, *Refugees or Migrant Workers* Kay & Miles, p. 43.

²⁰⁶ Linda McDowell has shown how the early EVWs were victimised and sexualised. Arriving in Britain as young, single and educated white Baltic women, they were seen as suitable addition to the British stock. See: Linda McDowell, 'On the Significance of Being White: European Migrant Workers in the British Economy in the 1940s and 2000s', in Claire Dwyer & Caroline Bressey (eds.), *New Geographies of Race and Racism* (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 56-57.

privileged position, partly originating from their Allied role in the Second World War.²⁰⁷ Having more employment opportunities and receiving some financial support from the British Government, they could also be unconditionally reunited with their refugee families scattered around the world. Although the Polish group was demographically more diverse, the number of older members was still quite low.²⁰⁸ As shown by Keith Sword, the largest group in 1951 consisted of largely young single males between 20 and 30 years of age, the so-called “Soldiers’ Generation” who formed a visible ‘blip’ in the UK Census.²⁰⁹

Contrary to the seemingly humanitarian motivations of the British state, and in spite of the different conditions of entry and settlement, the Poles and Ukrainians were viewed as a necessary burden, all officially constructed as workers and therefore, the objects of economic interest and cogs in the wheel of the economic production. Compared with the Commonwealth citizens who before the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigration Act 1962 enjoyed equal citizenship rights, the European arrivals were treated as second-class citizens. Unless they became naturalised British citizens, they were still subject to stringent immigration regulations which included an obligation to report to the police any change of personal circumstances.²¹⁰ On the other hand, as they were white, Eastern European migrants were higher up than other Commonwealth migrants in hierarchies of ‘race’. Whilst this prevented any potential racial prejudice in public, it could also make them less aware of their difference and provide a false sense of cultural similarity.

²⁰⁷ As most Ukrainians hailing from interwar Eastern Poland were classed as Polish citizens, they were around six thousand who joined the Second Polish Corps because of which they could join the PRC. Marta Jenkala, ‘Ukrainians in the United Kingdom and Ireland’, p. 296.

²⁰⁸ Kirklees Local Studies Library, Edgerton Cemetery Records on microfilm (1950-1997), Lockwood Cemetery Records on microfilm (1950-2002).

²⁰⁹ Keith Sword, *Identity in Flux*, pp. 73-86.

²¹⁰ Most Poles, unlike most Ukrainians, naturalised, however they resisted the assimilationist drive mainly through the force of the diaspora church and ethnic associations.

Following their arrival in Britain, family reunification or the creation of new family units, most Poles and Ukrainians settled in one of three regions. Out of the total of 151,736 Poles enumerated in England and Wales in 1951, around one quarter (36,568) lived in the North of England, especially the industrial towns and cities, while one third of Ukrainians did (approximately 10-12,000).²¹¹ The other popular areas for Polish and Ukrainian migration were the Midlands and the Greater London area. Many initially occupied substandard housing in central areas of towns and cities and in outlying suburbs within easy reach of employment opportunities. Given the housing shortages, quite a few of them initially lived in makeshift housing – typically Nissen huts in former military camps, workers' hostels provided by employers and private lodgings. Despite difficult housing conditions, the stay in isolated rural camps enabled the migrants to recreate their national life and consolidate diasporic identity.²¹² Therefore, the children born in the later 1940s and 1950s living in the family camps did not experience much social integration compared with their younger counterparts growing up in urban areas in the 1960s and 1970s Britain. With exotic Eastern European names, they were still relative oddities before the mass arrival of migrants from the Caribbean and South Asia in the 1960s.

The settlement into the British life had also important class implications. Whatever their pre-migration status, most Poles and Ukrainians initially became unskilled labourers and with no savings and property ownership ended up at the bottom of the economic ladder.²¹³

²¹¹ BPP, '1951 UK Census' (London: HMSO, 1955). We can only estimate the number of Ukrainians as they were enumerated, together with other nations occupied by the USSR after the Second World War, as Poles, Russians and Without Birthplace.

²¹² Zosia Biegus & Jurek Biegus, *Polish Resettlement Camps in England and Wales 1946-1969* (Rochford: PB Software, 2013); Jolanta Chwastyk-Kowalczyk, 'Problems of the Polish Resettlement Corps in Great Britain as Presented by the Daily Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza in 1946-1960', *Rocznik Historii Prasy Polskiej*, Tom XI, Zeszyt 1-2 (21-22), (2008), pp. 77-133.

²¹³ Even the members of the diaspora elite could not avoid this fate including General Maczek who became a porter in a hotel in Edinburgh. See: Evan McGilvray, *Man of Steel and Honour: General Stanisław Maczek: Soldier*

They were, however, keen to make up for the lost time and paid employment became one of the few available ways of doing it. While the employers generally valued their workforce from the Continent, they were held in scorn by some English co-workers and trade unions who regarded their overtime work and reluctance to join trade unions as undercutting the value of work.²¹⁴ While both men and women initially worked, women often left following marriage and pregnancy in order to assume their roles as mothers and bearers of the national tradition.²¹⁵ In absence of the state support for child care, couples had to rely on themselves, or their friendship, family and community networks.²¹⁶

Besides that, it was not uncommon early on for the Poles and Ukrainians to receive ill-treatment in many areas of public life, including housing, employment, and access to public services.²¹⁷ The British state, therefore, either sought to quickly assimilate them through dispersal in employment or/and it segregated them in isolated rural resettlement camps akin to ethnic ghettos. The popular construction of Polish migrants as most visible representatives of the nationalities from the emerging Eastern Bloc was far from singular or positive. It was often highly gendered, politicised, and racialized, with the view of constructing these groups as foreign and a threat to the British society. The male chauvinists within the British society labelled them as Casanovas for their perceived attraction to the British women,

of Poland, Commander of the 1st Polish Armoured Division in the North-West Europe 1944-45 (Solihull: Helion and Company, 2012); Peter Stachura, 'General Stanisław Maczek: A Biographical Profile', in Peter Stachura, *Poland in the Twentieth Century* (London: Macmillan Press, 1999), pp. 83-96.

²¹⁴ Dennis Marsden, 'In the Mill', in Brian Jackson, *Working Class Community: Some General Notions Raised by a Series of Studies in Northern England* (London: Routledge, 1968), pp. 86-88.

²¹⁵ In fact, this was still a common practice in various British professions.

²¹⁶ The first ethnic nurseries were established in the later 1940s.

²¹⁷ Beryl, an English woman who married a Pole experienced discrimination when giving birth in the early 1950s. She claimed that very few Polish women were allowed into the maternity hospital and were at the bottom of the heap. See: Beryl Kozak, *The Middle Years: The Story of an English-Polish Marriage in Huddersfield* (Huddersfield, Barden Print, 2001), p. 16.

while the far left and nationalist elements branded them as Fascists and Papists for their lax attitude to trade union membership, vehement anti-Communist stance and Catholic belief.²¹⁸

The response of Polish and Ukrainian migrants was twofold and not necessarily mutually exclusive. Some wanted to fit in or even eschew their difficult past whilst others clung even more strongly to their own national identity whether from patriotic pride or to get the sense of familiarity and security in defiance of the host society's assimilationist attempts. Their choice, as described in the key diaspora texts, was influenced by a great many things including difficult financial situations, limited employment and education opportunities, and geographic, linguistic, religious, cultural and demographic considerations. All these affected the decisions the migrant generation had to make on arrival in Britain and importantly shaped the second-generation identities. One of the key decisions for the migrant generation was the choice of a future partner and the cementing of their bond in the church marriage.

However, it became clear from the very beginning that the national culture, language and traditions within the migrant family, could not just be simply reproduced on the same model. The prospective Polish/Ukrainian mother whose gendered role included the reproduction of the nationhood, was not available to most migrant men. They married local British women, often Protestant, or looked for partners from other White migrant groups, some of whom, such as the Italians and Irish, shared their faith. It is, therefore, important to investigate not only how the roles within the migrant or mixed families were gendered but also consider how such unions challenged the ideal notion of Polishness and Ukrainian-ness within the context of the shifting geopolitical map of the world and changing socio-cultural

²¹⁸ Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (London: Macmillan Education, 1988), p. 250.

milieu of post-war Britain. Rather than portraying the Poles and Ukrainians primarily as migrant workers, valiant soldiers and deserving refugees, this chapter will consider their role as mothers, fathers, and children.

1.3 Constructing Motherhood in the Diaspora

The gender roles within the British family in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War remained largely unchanged; the men re-claimed their position as breadwinners while women continued to be the so-called homemakers.²¹⁹ At the same time, many married women saw a dramatic expansion of paid work, especially in Northern English textile towns, but their position was still inferior to men whether it concerned the number of working hours, the rate of pay or equal employment opportunities.²²⁰ This was also applicable to migrant families. Following the initial period of work in the textile mills of Yorkshire and Lancashire, many Polish and Ukrainian women left employment and became full-time mothers and housewives. Equally, despite self-declared gender equality, the USSR was an irredeemably patriarchal society reinforcing the model of 'the tractor-driving heroine of socialist labour and the fertile mother'.²²¹

As most second-generation accounts have confirmed, it was the mother with whom they spent most of their time at home as the father was more often at work: 'I would say that

²¹⁹ Penny Summerfield, 'Women in Britain since 1945: companionate marriage and the double burden', in: P. Catterall & J. Obelkevich (eds.), *Understanding post-war British Society* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 59.

²²⁰ Wendy Webster, *Imagining home: Gender, 'race' and national identity, 1945-64* (London: UCL Press, 1998), p. 129.

²²¹ Rosalind Marsh, *Women in Russia and Ukraine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 1; Marian J. Rubchak, 'Christian virgin or pagan goddess: feminism versus the eternally feminine in Ukraine', in Rosalind Marsh (ed.), *Women in Russia and Ukraine* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 1996), p. 323.

discipline and bringing up the children was actually the mother. She was the matriarch. And then it was up to the man to bring the money in and to look after the family'.²²² The inability of women to actively control economic resources thus shaped all the spheres of their lives. Their limited language skills also impeded their social life which was often reduced to family and ethnic community. The migrant women, therefore, benefited very little from the changing attitudes to leisure, sexuality and heterosexual relationships within Britain which had gradually shifted from the 'Victorian' model of 'separate-spheres' to a more egalitarian 'companionate marriage'.²²³

Though the traditional role of women within rural Polish and Ukrainian societies since the 18th century was far from submissive, their biological functions still largely determined their gendered roles.²²⁴ In the interwar Poland, the role of women was strongly influenced by the Catholic Church which promoted the ideas of chastity, virginity, motherhood, and sexual submission to husbands. As most people hailed from rural areas where the grip of the church was the strongest, the gender differences became even more marked. The ideals of Polish and Ukrainian womanhood were inspired by the figure of the Virgin Mary. As Porter has shown, the cult of Mary, gaining renewed appeal in Poland and around Europe from the late 19th century, served as the ideal of femininity and was strongly connected with nationhood in both countries.²²⁵ Mary was venerated as Protectress of the Nation, and Mother of God, in the same way the Polish and Ukrainian women were protectresses and principal procreators

²²² Author interview with Michael Drapan, 3rd June 2014.

²²³ Simon Szreter & Kate Fisher, *Sex Before the Sexual Revolution: Intimate Life in England 1918-1963* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

²²⁴ Rubchak, for instance, talks about an ancient matriarchal Ukrainian culture which was eroded in eastern Ukraine following the patriarchal culture introduced here since the late 17th century and spreading to the remainder of Ukraine during the Soviet era. See: Marian J. Rubchak, 'Christian virgin or pagan goddess', pp. 315-316.

²²⁵ Brian Porter, 'Hetmanka and Mother: Representing the Virgin Mary in Modern Poland', *Contemporary European History*, 14:2 (2005), pp. 151-170.

of diasporic families. Within this tradition, emphasis was placed upon chastity and moral integrity of a woman and her selfless attitude in the upbringing up of the children and in marriage: 'A Polish woman [...] is a faithful wife in good and bad times, a dedicated mother, a religious woman, brave and strongly attached to her own Country'.²²⁶

The diaspora message was reaffirmed by the Church teaching, including Pope Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae Vitae* published in 1968 in which he taught 'that the pill was, in fact a form of prohibited birth control' and which shaped the way in which Catholics thought about sex and reproduction.²²⁷ These ideas directly clashed with the women's liberation movement and the second wave of feminism during the 1960s which shunned patriarchy and emphasised individual agency, sexual freedom and the choice of women over biological reproduction.²²⁸ For the migrant generations, whose opinions on these issues had by this time long been formed and who had fulfilled their procreative roles, this was just another reason to defy what they perceived as deviations within the British society and to maintain separate social norms.

This traditional maternal role was further reinforced by the diaspora press and associations.²²⁹ Both diasporas were organised into a wide range of organisations that catered to various human experiences and attributes, including political orientation, social and

²²⁶ Zjednoczenie Polek na Emigracji, *Służymy sprawie polskiej: sprawozdanie ze zjazdu Polek w Wielkiej Brytanii i z działalności komisji porozumiewawczej polskich niepodległościowych organizacji kobiecych* (Londyn: Zjazd Polek w Wielkiej Brytanii, 1970), p. 9.

²²⁷ Charles J. Chaput, 'Humanae vitae, Fifty Years Later (1968-2018)', in Theresa Notare (ed.), *Humanae Vitae, 50 Years Later: Embracing God's Vision for Marriage, Love, and Life; A Compendium* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2019), p. xvi; Paul VI, 'Humanae Vitae', EWTN, *Global Catholic Television Network*, 25th July 1968; Available [online] at: <<https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/humanae-vitae-21076>> [Accessed 21st September 2022].

²²⁸ Harold L. Smith, 'The Women's Movement, Politics and Citizenship, 1960s-2000', in: Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 278-284.

²²⁹ The organisational drive of the Poles (and surely the Ukrainians too) was perhaps best expressed by Brendan Bracken, the British Minister of Information between 1941-1945 as quoted by Zbyszewski: 'If two Poles meet in the desert, their first action will be to start a newspaper'. Karol Zbyszewski, *Polacy w Anglii* (London: Biblioteka Polska w W. Brytanii, 1947), pp. 25-26.

educational status, military background, regional identity, age, and gender. While most organisations were primarily male or mixed-sex, there were also some specifically aimed at women, such as the *Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Zhinok* [Association of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain] (OUZ), founded in 1949, or *Zjednoczenie Polek na Emigracji* [The Federation of Polish Women in Exile] (ZPE), founded in 1946.²³⁰ Like men, who actively fought for the nation on the battlefield, the Ukrainian *Zhinka Maty* was symbolically accorded a similar role, that of its defender though her battlefield was largely the family home.²³¹ However, as Yuval-Davis has argued, women are not just passive victims within the sex-gender systems in their societies.²³² Some, in particular those with the leading role in their organisations, 'are given the role of cultural reproducers of the nation and are empowered to exert control over other women who may be constructed as "deviants"'.²³³ It has become evident too, that within the Polish and Ukrainian context, women's roles were not defined and controlled purely by male-dominated organisations but also by women themselves.

While the Ukrainian diaspora organisations argued that 'in the Ukrainian family the woman always enjoyed a position of equality with her husband', they were reticent about the extent of her sexual, reproductive, and economic freedoms.²³⁴ It is clear from the quote, however, that a woman's equality was only applicable to the domestic arena. The paid employment was seen almost as anti-patriotic, and women were advised not to work if they

²³⁰ Roman Krawec, 'Association of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain', *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom Online encyclopaedia*; Available [online] at: <<https://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/03/ouz-e.htm>> [Accessed 21 June 2023]; Magdalena Grzymkowska, '70 lat Zjednoczenia Polek', *Tydzień Polski*, 9 December 2016, Available [online] at: <<http://www.tydzien.co.uk/artykuly/2016/12/09/39269/>> [Accessed 21 June 2023].

²³¹ While the ZPE was largely complicit in projecting the woman's domestic role, they also acknowledged women's involvement in the war effort both in Poland and abroad. See: *Zjednoczenie Polek na Emigracji, Służymy sprawie*, p. 16.

²³² Nira Yuval-Davis, 'Women and the Biological Reproduction of "The Nation"', p. 23.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ Povrozhnyk, *Ukrainian Woman in the Modern Age* (London: Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, 1963), p. 31.

could avoid it: 'An absent mother does not create a positive atmosphere within the family. An exhausted mum [...] coming home late does not have a desire to give her child the national upbringing or to answer their curious questions'.²³⁵ The mother's domestic role was duly justified by her ever-increasing workload emanating from the diaspora context.

Being quite vague on women's actual rights, the diaspora accounts were much clearer on their responsibilities. Not only did Ukrainian women have to 'resist the forces of Russification' and 'educate the new generation in the [national] spirit' like their counterparts behind the Iron Curtain where the materialist Communist regime twisted education to suit its ideological purposes.²³⁶ They also had to resist the forces of denationalisation brought about by the influences of the host society which were perceived in very negative terms. Both Ukrainians and Poles were alarmed by the great many dangers to ethnic upbringing arising from what they perceived was a society without restraints and rules where 'the hierarchy of values is reversed'.²³⁷ The sweeping social changes in the 1960s and 1970s were frequently criticised: 'No street, no cinema, no TV, no comic can bring up children! The child needs maternal care, maternal good word and sometimes a reprimand, a good example all within the native home'.²³⁸ This was contrasted with what some diaspora representatives perceived as 'a declining British family which put material future and the level of income before spiritual values, family relationships and community ties'.²³⁹

²³⁵ Hanna Ses & Nina Martschenko (eds.), *Revival in Exile, Work of the Association of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain for 15 Years of its Activity 1948-1963* (London: Association of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain, 1967), p. 235.

²³⁶ Hanna Ses & Nina Martschenko, *Revival in Exile*, p. 225; *Zjednoczenie Polek na Emigracji, Służymy sprawie polskiej*, p. 9.

²³⁷ *Zjednoczenie Polek na Emigracji, Służymy sprawie polskiej*, p. 62.

²³⁸ Hanna Ses & Nina Martschenko, *Revival in Exile*, p. 256.

²³⁹ *Zjednoczenie Polek na Emigracji, Służymy sprawie polskiej*, p. 62.

The non-migrant mothers, however, did not fit easily into either category although their proportion within the diaspora was not negligible. First, they were those who actively sought to become part of their husband's cultural milieu which included things such as the learning of the language, culinary skills and joining diaspora associations.²⁴⁰ Second, there were others who respected their husbands' heritage but did not actively seek to embrace it or get heavily involved. Within the third category, the husbands usually tended to speak English to their children and kept the expressions of their culture mostly to themselves as their wives showed ignorance or even antipathy of their migrant heritage.

Whatever their nationality, women's role within the diaspora has been complex and hotly contested. Contrary to its negative portrayals by many diaspora institutions, recent studies have shown that 'marriage [in Britain] became virtually universal' during the 1960s with a relatively low rate of divorces, single parenthood and illegitimate births.²⁴¹ It was not until the 1980s, when most second-generation individuals had entered adulthood, that the male breadwinner model was gradually replaced by that of the dual-earner model, thus affecting relatively little the gendered economic roles within Polish and Ukrainian families in the diaspora.²⁴² Therefore, unlike the fathers who as the principal money earners assumed the role of a worker or/and a community leader, both outside the family home, the mothers played the key role in exerting influence upon their children's national identity whether through indirect interventions such as by speaking to them in a particular language and

²⁴⁰ English-born Beryl who married a Pole showed recalled, 'fitting in was not always easy as she was made to feel as an outsider by the women from the Polish community who showed blatant racist attitudes towards her'. Beryl Kozak, *The Middle Years*, p. 45.

²⁴¹ Jane Lewis, 'Marriage', in Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 72; Susan Cohen, *1960s Britain* (London: Shire Publications, 2014), p. 22.

²⁴² Jane Lewis, 'Marriage', p. 78.

serving 'traditional', food, or more directly by teaching them about the 'homeland' culture and celebrating ethnic traditions with them.²⁴³

1.4 The Home as a place for language learning

As Temple has shown, scholars investigating the Polish diaspora have largely built on Thomas and Znaniecki's model concerned with the social dimension of migration which saw language mainly as a tool of social integration.²⁴⁴ In doing so they failed to investigate the key role of the language in the formation of personal and ethnonational identity as suggested by much cross-disciplinary research.²⁴⁵ The concern here is with the often-quoted 'mother-tongue' through which the nation could be reproduced in the domain of the migrant home. Instrumental to this process were migrant women who largely accepted their gendered domestic roles and fostered linguistic skills in their second-generation children. On the one hand, language became a distinct boundary-making tool linking the second-generation with migrant culture and ancestral land. On the other hand, as mixed marriages were a distinctive feature of both diasporas, language(s) spoken at home could also serve as an agent of the colonisation (anglicisation) of the 'homeland' culture or could lead to hybrid identities.

The nationality of parents and the way in which they used language at home was an important consideration. Historically, the English language did not have any utility or cultural significance to the largely rural populations of Eastern Europe before the Second World War

²⁴³ According to Smojkis, this was even the case in cross-cultural marriages. Maureen Smojkis, *Out of the Shadows: Exploring the Lives of the Birmingham Polish* (An Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2013), p. 166.

²⁴⁴ Bogusia Temple, 'Feeling special: Language in the lives of Polish people', *The Sociological Review*, 58:2 (2010), p. 288.

²⁴⁵ Bogusia Temple, 'Representation across languages: Biographical sociology meets translation and interpretation studies', *Qualitative Sociology Review*, 2:1 (2006), p. 7.

though the middle-class urban elites were probably more familiar with it. However, given the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional milieu of Eastern European societies before 1939, together with their refugee experiences following the start of the Second World War, the Polish and Ukrainian arrivals in the UK could often competently use multiple European languages, especially German, Russian and Italian.²⁴⁶ They, nevertheless, had limited use in the UK given the hegemonic role of English and generally low appetite of the British population for the learning of other languages.

Compared with Polish women and Ukrainian migrants in general, Polish men on the whole had a better command of English as some had served in the Polish Exile Army in Britain since 1939 while others had joined the Polish Resettlement Corps in 1946 and enjoyed the benefit of various educational courses before they were demobbed.²⁴⁷ Keith Sword argues that those Poles who economically prospered included those who spent a considerable part of the war period of war in Britain, and had a knowledge of English and contacts. It was also the young who found it easier to adapt and learn English, those with a little capital to start a business and others with initiative and perseverance to start building for the future.²⁴⁸ While the language skills of most individuals had improved over time, especially men who married a British spouse, there were many others whose English continued to be very basic and sometimes non-existent.

This was particularly the case of migrant women who stayed at home with children and only socialised within their own community. Even the men who went out to work often

²⁴⁶ In her biographical account, Beryl Kozak states that her husband could speak seven languages which was quite rare. Beryl Kozak, *The Middle Years*, p. 3. Many second-generation interviews also mention their parents' multiple linguistic skills.

²⁴⁷ Keith Sword, *The Formation of the Polish Community in Great Britain*, pp. 277-279.

²⁴⁸ Keith Sword, *The Formation of the Polish Community in Great Britain*, p. 388.

did not always learn a great deal of English. As Denis Marsden in his observation of mill workers in Huddersfield noticed, the different nationalities mixed only occasionally at break times with most socialising in separate national groups.²⁴⁹ Equally, the improvement of language skills proved challenging at a noisy textile factory where people used mostly body language to communicate. The second-generation children thus often became the interpreters for their migrant parents, negotiating between the ethnic migrant world of their parents and the British society. Reversely, failing to learn their migrant parents' first language, the second-generation children could themselves become the subjects of interpretation in accessing their ethnic heritage or diaspora activity.

Where both the father and the mother were of one nationality, only the language of their country was primarily used as a means of communication between the parents and the children. It was not, therefore, uncommon for the second-generation, especially first-born children, to start school without knowing a word of English.²⁵⁰ Though as Maria suggested there were some children who answered in English, most parents insisted on their children using their language at home.²⁵¹ This was not the case with mixed families where the language development was more complex. The couples of dual nationalities either used pidgin English to communicate with each other or they knew their partner's language and could switch between more languages.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ Dennis Marsden, 'In the Mill'. However, according to Zweig, even after acquiring good language skills, many Polish workers received as much as a smile and a head shake from their English co-workers who did not seem to want to extend the hand of friendship to their migrant counterparts. Ferdynand Zweig, 'Robotnik Polski w Anglii', *Kultura*, 3:77 (1954), p. 105; Simon Phillips, Michele Abendstern & C. Hallett, "'They More or Less Blended in with Society': Changing Attitudes to European Migrant Workers in Post-war Lancashire", *Immigrants & Minorities*, 25:1 (2007), pp. 54-5.

²⁵⁰ Author interview with Jack Czauderna, 21st August 2014.

²⁵¹ Author interview with Maria Kopczyk, 27th May 2014.

²⁵² Author interviews with Anonymous 2, 28th January 2015; and John Kybaluk, 19th April 2014.

Children in such homes could understand two foreign languages before they started school. Alternatively, as Barbara pointed out, they ‘learned English incorrectly and didn't learn their mother-tongue’, making it difficult not only to navigate the world of the diaspora but also to communicate with extended family behind the Iron Curtain.²⁵³ Pamela, whose English mother had very little education and whose Polish father taught English himself, admitted she did not always say things correctly but despite this was able to get to grammar school: ‘I sometimes got my words muddled up [...] You’d be saying things that weren’t English. So, we were taught like cheese was cheza. [...] It was difficult because you had a mixture of broken English and poor English [laughing].’²⁵⁴ This initial period, however, was quickly traversed following long-term exposure to the English language at school and in employment later, all causing the corrosion of the vernacular (that’s if it was learned in the first place).

The households where a child was least likely to learn their migrant parents’ language were those with a British mother and a Polish or Ukrainian father. As migrant fathers tended to spend limited time with their children, they often failed to teach them their own language. This was Stefan’s case whose mother was English and his Ukrainian father who ‘had an allotment and was working weekends’ never encouraged him to attend Saturday school or join a Ukrainian youth organisation: ‘I think the mother’s tongue is probably where that phrase comes from in a way [...] So, yeah, English is my only language’.²⁵⁵

There were salient exceptions within Polish-British or Ukrainian-British families where the children could speak both English and the father’s language. This could be either because the father held an important position within the migrant community which put greater

²⁵³ Author interview with Barbara Morawska, 27th November 2014.

²⁵⁴ Author interview with Pamela Popek, 2nd April 2014.

²⁵⁵ Author interview with Stefan Gec, 19th June 2014.

pressure on the child to attend diaspora schooling and activities, or/and the British mother did not resist the migrant heritage and encouraged her children to embrace it. Though these were not typical, there were numerous British women who tried to learn her husband's language as well as parts of the heritage including ethnic cuisine. This was slightly more common in the case of non-British migrant women. Julian Kowzan recalled: "My father taught me to speak Polish before I could speak English."²⁵⁶ It is clear, nevertheless, that both parents' role was important in teaching their child a language and fostering a sense of belonging. In most cases, the inability to speak the migrant parents' language impeded the child's relationship with the diaspora, the sending country and extended family.

Whether their parents were both migrant or not, the oral history accounts have shown that most Polish and Ukrainian second-generation children used English to communicate with their siblings and peers from the diaspora, especially when they had started school. As Stanisław Sagan recalled, it was often the first 'pioneer' child who introduced the English language in migrant house and taught it to their younger sibling(s) whose Polish/Ukrainian may have suffered as a result. He further commented: "I didn't speak English until I went to school and then I spoke English to my brother. [...] His Polish isn't quite as good as mine."²⁵⁷ The preference to use the language of their country of birth rather than that of their migrant parent(s) signified a major generational shift and demonstrated the second-generation's embeddedness within the host society.

The migrant home had an important role to play in fostering a sense of ethnic identity through language. The multiple scenarios of language use have suggested that the use of

²⁵⁶ Author interview with Julian Kowzan, 2nd April 2014.

²⁵⁷ Author interview with Stanisław Sagan, 5th March 2014.

language in migrant homes was not only gendered but also multi-dimensional and situational.²⁵⁸ The home was often the only place where the vernacular could be practically used. Indeed, Polish and Ukrainian was rarely used as a means of communication between the second-generation individuals except for the odd 'ethnic moment' exhibited in the use of culturally specific terms, including people's names, 'traditional' food, or ethnonational and religious fetes. In comparison to the advantages of English, which granted access to specific economic resources, employment opportunities, social welfare, and socio-cultural networks within the second-generation's birth-country, the knowledge of the vernacular had a more limited scope. While it continued to be a salient marker of national identity in the diaspora, its main function within the second-generation was its ability to bridge the gap between the old country and the adopted homeland.²⁵⁹

1.5 Imagining the Nation through home food rituals

Like the language which in the second-generation underwent significant changes in terms of the frequency and location of use, depth of knowledge and relevance to diasporic identity, food has been an important marker of generational continuity and change within the family home. No diaspora festivity, including Christmas and Easter, could be properly celebrated without 'traditional' food and drink.²⁶⁰ Homemade food was central to everyday life of migrant families in the diaspora and symbolised a potent cultural force yet again embodied

²⁵⁸ Bogusia Temple, 'Feeling special: Language in the lives of Polish people', *The Sociological Review*, 58:2 (2010), pp. 286-304.

²⁵⁹ Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, p. 174. This expression also used in Chapter 2.

²⁶⁰ For a study of Polish Christmas in the diaspora see for instance: Kathy Burrell, 'The Objects of Christmas: The Politics of Festive Materiality in the Lives of Polish Immigrants', in Maruska Svasek, *Moving Subjects, Moving Objects: Transnationalism, Cultural Production and Emotions* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), pp. 55-74.

in the figure of a mother.²⁶¹ Given the memory of the *Holodomor*, the artificial famine in Eastern Ukraine in the 1930s orchestrated by the Soviet Politburo, together with the experiences of hardship during the war, food also intrinsically symbolised the survival, hope and freedom.²⁶²

The same can be said about Poles and Ukrainians originating from interwar Poland. In 1918, approximately two-thirds of the population made their living through agriculture.²⁶³ However, the land reform introduced in 1920 proved largely unsuccessful and unequal, primarily benefiting Poles while disadvantaging ethnic minorities. This disparity was exacerbated by rampant rural poverty, extreme overpopulation, and the lingering impact of the world economic crisis of 1929, all of which had a particularly acute effect on the Kresy region, which was the birthplace of at least half of the Polish migrants to Britain and the majority of Ukrainians.²⁶⁴ As if these challenges were not enough, many Polish families endured the inhumane conditions of the Siberian sojourn between 1939-1941, a period

²⁶¹ This idea contrasts with Oscar Forero & Graham Smith, 'The reproduction of 'cultural taste'', pp. 84-85.

²⁶² The issue of Holodomor has recently attracted ample interest. See: Andrij Makuch & Frank E. Sysyn (eds.), *Contextualizing the Holodomor: The Impact of Thirty Years of Ukraine Famine Studies* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2015); Serge Cipko, *Starving Ukraine: The Holodomor and Canada's Response* (Saskatchewan, University of Regina Press, 2017); Anne Applebaum, *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine* (London: Penguin Books, 2018); Ray Gamache, *Gareth Jones: Eyewitness to the Holodomor, Second Edition* (Cardiff: Ashley Drake Publishing, 2018).

²⁶³ Marta Błąd, 'Land Reform in the Second Polish Republic', *Rural History*, 31 (2020), p. 97.

²⁶⁴ Wiktor Marzec, 'Landed Nation: Land Reform and Interwar Polish Parliament', *Nationalities Papers* (2022), pp. 1-21; Marta Błąd, 'Land Reform in the Second Polish Republic', pp. 97-110.

deeply ingrained in the memory of the Polish diaspora.²⁶⁵ The maintenance of ‘traditional’ foodways was thus an integral part of the nation-building project in both diasporas.²⁶⁶

Though as Hobsbawm has argued, tradition can be a very feeble conception as it is often neither recent nor is it authentic, its changeability and elusiveness can be actually very telling about people’s identity.²⁶⁷ Indeed, as Panayi has shown the external influences including the ethnicisation of food as well as the wider social and economic changes in Britain post-1945 akin to ‘a culinary revolution’ all transformed the taste of the inhabitants of the British Isles.²⁶⁸ Forero and Smith, have further demonstrated how these changes were played out between the different generations within the Ukrainian diaspora in Bradford with the second-generation ‘reinterpreting and relocating their food experiences’.²⁶⁹ Nevertheless, despite these recent efforts, the historical analysis of food in Britain in relation to national culture and ethnicity has rarely been undertaken despite its pertinence to the study of global

²⁶⁵ In addition to being the theme of numerous oral history projects and autobiographies, the memories of the deportations of Poles to Siberia have received substantial scholarly treatment. The theme is touched upon in most studies of Polish migration to Britain but seldom as a single subject. See: Richard Spyrka, *Surviving Siberia: The Diary of a Polish Girl, 1939-42* (Ilfracombe: Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd, 2012); Jan V. Derych, *My Twentieth Century: A Survivor’s Story* (Castleford: Self-published, 2001). Burrell, ‘Personal, Inherited, Collective’, pp. 144-163; Thomas Lane, *Victims of Stalin and Hitler: The Exodus of Poles and Balts to Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004); Michelle Winslow, ‘Polish Migration to Britain: War Exile and Mental Health’, *Oral History*, 27:1 (1999), pp. 57-64; Bogusia J. Wojciechowska (ed.), *Waiting to Be Heard: The Polish Christian Experience Under Nazi and Stalinist Oppression, 1939-1955* (Bloomington: IN: AuthorHouse, 2009); Bogusia Temple, ‘Telling Tales: Accounts and Selves in the Journeys of British Poles’, *Oral History*, 23:2 (1995), pp. 60-64; Sav Kyriacou & Polish Reminiscence Group, *Passport to exile: the Polish way to London*; Keith Sword, *Deportation and Exile: Poles in the Soviet Union, 1939-48* (London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 1994).

²⁶⁶ According to Panayi the term foodways was first used by Linda Keller Brown & Kay Mussell (eds.), *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: the performance of group identity*. Later, Diner used it to demonstrate ‘how migrants adapted to the availability of food in their land of settlement’. Panikos Panayi, ‘The Anglicisation of East European Jewish Food in Britain’, *Immigrants & Minorities*, 30:2/3 (2012), p. 295.

²⁶⁷ Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger (eds.), *The invention of tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 1.

²⁶⁸ Panikos Panayi, *Spicing up Britain: The multicultural history of British food* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), p. 9.

²⁶⁹ Oscar Forero & Graham Smith, ‘The reproduction of “cultural taste” amongst the Ukrainian diaspora’, pp. 84-85.

diasporas.²⁷⁰ Building on Panayi's seminal work that has stressed the complexity of connections between food, nationality and ethnicity, the aim here is to briefly compare the Polish and Ukrainian diaspora foodways across two generations with a special intention to the role of women in their maintenance.²⁷¹

The comparison between Polish and Ukrainian foodways show striking similarities despite each group's claim to their 'traditional' dish. While there were important regional and local differences both groups shared a great deal in common as well as borrowing from other groups to the East and West of Poland and Ukraine. For instance, the so-called 'ethnic' Ukrainian Christmas dishes such as *varenyky* (filled dumplings made by wrapping unleavened dough around a savoury or sweet filling), *borsht* (beetroot soup), *holubtsi* (stuffed cabbage leaves) and *oseledets* (pickled herrings), were *pierogi*, *barszcz*, *gołabki*, *śledzie*, in the Polish 'tradition'. These dishes seen by both diasporic groups as symbolical of their ethnonational identity varied only slightly in terms of added ingredients with the main difference being linguistic. The making of the 'traditional' food relied on specific ingredients which were initially limited due to post-war rationing but improved with the rise of continental food shops and bakeries.²⁷² Unlike many Jews and Muslims who were restricted to buying food from approved kosher and halal stores and followed a strict code in preparing their dishes, the attitude of Poles and Ukrainian was less orthodox. They were willing to substitute or buy similar products which reminded them of their 'traditional' products including sausages and

²⁷⁰ For research into foodways of post-A8 Polish migrants, see for instance: Marta Rabikowska and Kathy Burrell, 'The Material Worlds of Recent Polish Migrants: Transnationalism, Food, Shops and Home', in Kathy Burrell (ed.), *Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 211-232.

²⁷¹ Panikos Panayi, *Spicing up Britain*, p. 37.

²⁷² Ukrainian Kolos bakery in Bradford which was set up in 1961 and maintained by the second-generation sons until 2019 when it closed. Stefan Jajecnyk, *Kyiv Post*, 12 June 2019; Available [online] at: <<https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/%D1%81ustomers-mourn-loss-of-british-ukrainian-bakery.html>> [Accessed 20 July 2020]

cured meat products in German delis or rye bread in the Jewish bakeries, suggesting a certain elasticity of ethnic food 'tradition'.²⁷³

However, there was not necessarily any competition between the two groups within the diaspora concerning authenticity of their dishes. Instead, food became an important component of diasporic identity maintenance at home, 'a powerful means of reproducing and reinforcing difference individually and culturally' [...] and 'a potent means of doing gender'.²⁷⁴ The food is a neutral concept which becomes ethnicised only when confronted with the difference. For instance, Regina, talking about the open-door policy of the 1960s, showed how the visits from the next-door neighbours made her more aware of being Polish: 'England was our home and behind closed doors we kept our culture and our food [...] [The neighbours] would come round to borrow sugar, or tea and say: "Oh what are you cooking? Let's have a taste!" And then they'd say: "Oh, what's that? We've never seen any food like that before!"'²⁷⁵ However, within a decade following the influx of post-war Central and Eastern European migrants, Continental cuisine made significant inroads into numerous northern towns and cities. Czaykowski and Sulik recorded the presence of over 20 Polish shops in Bradford during the early 1960s, along with a Polish bakery that consistently produced approximately 6,000 loaves of bread. This culinary transformation closely mirrored the population of Eastern-Bloc migrants within the city.²⁷⁶

²⁷³ Author interview with Janina Holubecki, 20th November 2014; Author interview with Maria Jakubczyk, 15th December 2014.

²⁷⁴ According to Parsons: 'everyday foodways are a powerful means of drawing boundaries between social groups, distinguishing the 'self' from the 'other', defining who we are and where we belong.' Source: Julie M. Parsons, *Gender, Class and Food: Families, Bodies and Health* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke: 2015), p. 4.

²⁷⁵ Author interview with Regina Maliszewska, 11th May 2015.

²⁷⁶ Bogdan Czaykowski & Bolesław Sulik, *Polaci w Wielkiej Brytanii*, p. 209.

In addition, Janina's account revealed that food could also serve to reinforce a difference within families and even suggest cultural superiority: 'dad was quite rude about our English cuisine. Even though mum was involved in catering, he didn't think very much of English food and said so'.²⁷⁷ These attitudes were also present within the second-generation for whom the food made by their mothers at home continued to symbolise authenticity of 'ethnic' cuisine: 'Everything in English food is so plastic in a way. My mother even used to do pasta herself. She used to do eggs and flour. I remember mixing it on the table, rolling it out, letting it dry and cutting it up'.²⁷⁸

As well as being ethnicised, the foodways in the diaspora were highly gendered. Yet again, it was largely the mothers through whose agency the imagined nation could be negotiated and to whom Skeggs refers to as 'sign-bearing' carriers of taste.²⁷⁹ The mother's nationality and employment status, but also the father's and children's own preferences importantly shaped second-generation's 'cultural taste'. Richard, for instance, claimed that his Polish father who would 'even burn the breakfast' encouraged his English wife to cook Polish food: 'my mum was cooking beetroot soup and *bigos* and *gotabki* and various other things which I was always happy to try, my brother not so happy to try'.²⁸⁰ As John has revealed, some migrant wives such as his Italian mum even became experts in the culinary skills of their husband's country: '[she] can cook Ukrainian better than some Ukrainians'.²⁸¹

The most likely scenario in mixed-nationality households which maintained their links with the local community was the combination of both traditions. In one Anglo-Polish family,

²⁷⁷ Author interview with Janina Holubecki, 20th November 2014.

²⁷⁸ Author interview with Maria Jakubczyk, 15th December 2014.

²⁷⁹ Beverley Skeggs quoted in Julie M. Parsons, *Gender, Class and Food*, p. 5.

²⁸⁰ Author interview with Richard Gorski, 25th February 2015.

²⁸¹ Author interview with John Kybaluk, 19th April 2014.

for instance, the Easter Sunday was celebrated in the Polish fashion with painted, hard-boiled eggs and a slice of special bread, called *babka*, while Easter Monday the family would visit the fair and have ham and egg tea followed by a brandy snap.²⁸² In mixed families, the food traditions were often combined and emerged into new traditions unique to each household. For instance, in Janina's family Father Christmas had vodka with his mince pie instead of whiskey.²⁸³ In another Anglo-Ukrainian family not associated with the local ethnic community, the English mother's influence became dominant to the extent of the near disappearance of any Ukrainian elements: 'we were sort of roast on Sundays, fish fingers, sausage and chips type family. I knew from school how German and French people celebrated Christmas but I didn't know how Ukrainian people did.'²⁸⁴

Therefore, the 'traditional' taste clearly went through many changes following the settlement of migrant families in Britain since the late 1940s whether as the result of food rationing, limited access to Eastern European food in Britain and the exposure to new influences both from within and outside the British Isles. This transformation of foodways within one family over time was clearly illustrated by Anonymous 2.

'Mum was Italian so she would cook Italian food basically. My [Ukrainian] dad wasn't too keen on the pasta so gradually she introduced more kind of gravies, stews, meat and roasts [...] I'd call that more English - meat and veg basically [...]

When we got to the eighties, nineties, she started making chilli con carne and she

²⁸² Beryl Kozak, *The Middle Years: The Story of an English-Polish Marriage in Huddersfield*, p. 80.

²⁸³ Author interview with Janina Holubecki, 20th November 2014.

²⁸⁴ Author interview with Joy Fieldsend, 31st March 2014.

made very good curry because a very close Italian friend was married to a Pakistani and she taught her how to make curries. That was fantastic.’²⁸⁵

The increasing ‘anglicisation’ of second-generation’s food preferences since the 1960s raised concern among the members of the OUZ who commented: ‘Some Ukrainian children like fish and chips better than borsht or *varenyky*. This is a reality, and we should not close our eyes to it’.²⁸⁶ Unable to take any action to reverse this trend, however, it was becoming increasingly clear that food traditions, like identities, in the diaspora could quickly hybridise and change when exposed to new influences from outside the home.

In terms of their ‘traditional’ culinary skills, the interviews have revealed a significant gender disparity which tended to mirror, with some exceptions, the first-generation model. The second-generation men were generally unable to make ‘traditional’ dishes and relied on their migrant mothers or female relatives and friends to prepare them. Also, as Michael demonstrated, the experience of eating ethnic food by the second-generation had increasingly shifted from endo-cuisine of the nuclear home consumed daily to exo-cuisine prepared collectively on special occasions within extended family and local community: ‘But at home, on the 6th January, it will be either at my house or my sister in-law’s [...] We still make borscht, the girls still do *varenyky*, Vera knows how to do *holubtsi*, she did *kurcza* last year, we did the fish. We try and keep it going’.²⁸⁷ So while several second-generation women continued to be the bearers of ‘ethno-national’ food ‘traditions’, Anonymous 1 has shown it

²⁸⁵ Author interview with Anonymous 2, 28th January 2015.

²⁸⁶ Hanna Ses & Nina Martschenko, *Revival in Exile*, p. 242.

²⁸⁷ Michael Drapan; for the discussion regarding endo- and exo-cuisine, the terms coined by Lévi Strauss (1965), see: Oscar Forero & Graham Smith, ‘The reproduction of ‘cultural taste’ amongst the Ukrainian diaspora’, p. 83.

was no longer the same ‘tradition’ as performed by their migrant mothers: ‘I do cabbage like my mum used to do, occasionally I do pierogi but less and less so. But most Polish cooking takes forever, especially Christmas Eve time I think!’²⁸⁸ Therefore, the difficulty and duration of the process, the changing family structure within the second-generation diaspora, together with Britain’s post-war ‘culinary revolution’, all affected the way in which ‘traditional’ food was gendered and imagined as a symbol of the nation.

It has become obvious that over time, except for the diaspora stalwarts, ‘traditional’ cuisine has ceased to be part of the everyday imagining of the nation. Though largely phased-out of the second-generation homes, ‘traditional’ food continues to be a symbol of collective diasporic identity despite the hybrid nature of the ‘ethnic’ cuisine.²⁸⁹ Together with cultural objects and vernacular sounds, cultural taste and smell continue to evoke deep emotions and remind the second-generation of their ‘ethnic’ heritage. Whilst the proliferation of Eastern European food following the A8 migration to the UK after 2004 including ready-made and frozen products, made access to ‘traditional’ food easier and cut the preparation time, it did not significantly alter the already diverse eating habits of the second-generation.²⁹⁰

1.6 Contact with families in Poland and Ukraine through family visits, objects, and voices

It has already been shown how the Iron Curtain served as a real barrier to family life. The fresh memory of wartime Soviet atrocities and continuing Stalinist terror in the late 1940s and early

²⁸⁸ Author interview with Anonymous 1, 9th April 2014; Author Interview with Halina Figon, 27th November 2014.

²⁸⁹ Oscar Forero & Graham Smith, ‘The reproduction of ‘cultural taste’ amongst the Ukrainian diaspora’, pp. 92-3.

²⁹⁰ As one second-generation individual from Huddersfield admitted, though not as good as homemade, the *varenyky* served at recent annual Ukrainian community Christmas feasts are in fact Polish imports bought frozen. Stefan Ptycia (on Facebook, Huddersfield Ukrainians Closed Group), 13th October 2019.

1950s meant that the communication between the migrants residing in Western Europe and their families in the countries behind the Iron Curtain was limited as people were unaware how such communication may affect both the addressee and the sender. Following the Khrushchev's Thaw in 1956, with the help of various agencies such as the Red Cross many more attempts were made by Britain-based refugees from Communism to re-establish contact with their family in the Soviet Bloc.²⁹¹ The number of companies specialising in sending parcels from the UK to Communist Poland which advertised their services in the vernacular press grew. Those who were prepared to overcome the lengthy application procedure could for the first-time welcome visitors from Poland and vice versa.²⁹²

This was not always a happy time, however, whether due to the news of deaths of family members or the fact that the passage of time had created an unsurmountable abyss between couples who became estranged or found themselves another partner while the children grew into adults with the life of their own.²⁹³ In addition, the complexities of outward migration to the West, forced population movement in Eastern Poland following the Operation Vistula in 1947 and other Soviet-sponsored 'schemes', as well as various political and personal reasons of both the migrants themselves or their families behind the Iron Curtain, made the attempts to reconnect futile. The post-war border changes and population transfers also meant that not only was it difficult to locate family members but the experience of 'going home' was not the same. Many Poles and most Ukrainians based in Britain came from what was then Eastern Poland (present-day Western Ukraine) which, following the Yalta

²⁹¹ The connection sometimes took much longer to establish. One mother from Katowice sent a letter to the Huddersfield Library in 1977 requesting help with the finding of her son Emanuel with whom she lost contact after 1952. Kirklees Local Studies Library, Past Enquiries Files, Polish Immigrants, 1977-1978.

²⁹² See: Dariusz Stola, *Kraj bez wyjścia? Migracje z Polski 1949-1989* (Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej & Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, 2012), pp. 80-100.

²⁹³ *Huddersfield Examiner*, 16th March 1957.

Conference in February 1945, and became part of the USSR. Any visits there were difficult to arrange and especially for the Ukrainians unthinkable for fear of intimidation and persecution by the Soviet state.

So how did, within these challenging circumstances, the second-generation children experience such hampered contact with their ancestral land? It was not until the 1960s when first Polish families with children started to visit their relatives in Poland and experience the land of their forefathers for the first time. The children from mixed marriages often compared the visit to Communist Poland to that of another Western European country and became quickly aware of the economic underdevelopment caused by central planning. Halina described her first visit to Poland as ‘a shock’ and ‘a big disillusionment’ which became even more acute when her favourite teddy bear and First Holy Communion dress made in Italy were sent in parcels to Poland together with other (luxury) items.²⁹⁴ At the same time, she admitted that the experience provided her with the first-hand insight into the life under Communism: ‘I understood when I returned why my parents would send regular parcels to Poland...’²⁹⁵.

Whether for political reasons, discomfort or simply due to the lack of time and a substantial cost of the journey, travel to the Eastern Bloc was not an option for most people. The second-generation’s contact with the ancestral land, therefore, was primarily mediated through stories, smells, sounds and objects mostly produced from within the diaspora but sometimes sent from Poland or Ukraine. Though largely symbolic, such objects became rare reminders of absent relatives and the only physical connection with ancestral land, especially

²⁹⁴ Author interview with Halina Figon, 17th March 2015.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

for those cut off from the life of the organised diaspora. Janina, who never met her paternal grandmother and could not read her letters written in Polish had kept the few possessions including a hand-knitted puppet toy, a Polish children's book, and a recording with Polish Christmas carols into her adulthood.²⁹⁶

The only two-way communication until the 1980s was made by the postal service, thus enabling families to maintain emotional bonds and negotiate 'the impact of distance and time of separation on family relations'.²⁹⁷ In some families, the writing and reading of letters often became a regularly occurring family ritual.²⁹⁸ Though many second-generation individuals lacked the necessary vernacular skills to write the letters, their contents were often conveyed to them.²⁹⁹ Misko's testimony suggests that as well as symbolically bridging the Cold-War divide, the letters enabled the second-generation to regain the sense of belonging to the wider social networks in Ukraine and in extension the nation itself: "I like getting letters from Ukraine and my mum would read them and I'd see pictures and she'd say: 'Oh, so and so passed away.' And I'd say: 'who's that?' And she'd say: 'Oh, it was the friend your dad used to work with', or you know, their son... people you don't know but you get the stories."³⁰⁰

At the same time, a letter travelling through the Iron Curtain was a tool in the hands of the Soviet regime to exert power and control and a continuation of the geopolitical struggle.

²⁹⁶ Author interview with Janina Holubecki, 20th November 2014.

²⁹⁷ Marcelo J. Borges & Sonia Cancian, 'Reconsidering the migrant letter: from the experience of migrants to the language of migrants', *The History of the Family*, 21:3 (2016), p. 286.

²⁹⁸ Author interview with John Kybaluk, 19th April 2014.

²⁹⁹ Based on the oral history interviews conducted by the author it is evident that those who went through the entire course of diaspora education and among them especially individuals with both parents from the same country, generally tended to have better vernacular literacy skills than others born to parents from mixed marriages and those who dropped out of Saturday school early or never attended it.

³⁰⁰ Author interview with Misko Czerkas, 18th March 2014.

As Halina demonstrated, postal censorship was the norm and communication with family in the West was always treated with suspicion by the Communist regime:

‘All our letters were opened. My father had to be very careful what he wrote because his younger brother was a pilot in the Polish Air Force, so having family abroad had to be kept quiet. So, he could never write to his brother. All the news was through my grandmother or aunt and all out letters were censored. Everything! When they received our letters, they told us parts were blackened out. When we received them, the envelope had been opened and certain items had also been crossed out’.³⁰¹

While women also wrote letters, the evidence suggests that within the Polish and Ukrainian diasporas it was a predominantly male activity. Why was this when it clearly fell into the domestic sphere constructed as the corner stone of a married woman’s gendered role in the diaspora? As well as being the result of the often-quoted demographic asymmetry, interwar patriarchal norms which prioritised the education of men, the gendered positioning of men within the public sphere made them more adept to handle the politically controlled exchange of information between the East and the West. Barbara’s testimony further shows how pervasive were the gender stereotypes which traditionally associated the masculine agency with reason: ‘My father was a great thinker. He wrote letters. He and my uncle, they were

³⁰¹ Author interviews with Misko Czerkas, 18th March 2014; Anna Drapan, 10th June 2014; Halina Figon, 17th March 2015.

forever writing reams of pages probably saying everything that was happening and perhaps talking about how things used to be back in their day'.³⁰²

1.7 Growing up during the 'Sexual Revolution': Gendering the second-generation's relationships, attitudes to sexuality and career prospects

The family and ethnic community norms pertaining to relationships, sexual behaviour, domestic duties, and physical appearance, were all gendered and significantly shaped the lives of the second-generation individuals. The oral history interviews reveal that alongside great demands, 'a lot of hope was put on the primogenitor children'.³⁰³ Based on her own experience, first-born Marya observed that parents were very strict with the eldest children and attempted to exert influence upon many spheres of their life including her career choice: 'My sister went on to do secretarial work. [My dad] wouldn't let me do that. He wanted me to be a teacher'.³⁰⁴ Anonymous 1 felt that because she was 'the first one of the next generation' and a female she was not allowed to go out with English boys and friends unlike her cousin who was just one year younger.³⁰⁵

The parents' protective attitude which greatly restricted the second-generation's social life, was not applied to male children in equal measure. Halina, who was second-born, felt that her brother had the best of everything, including more freedom: 'When I came along and of course being the girl, maybe I was cushioned more. I was protected more than the boys [...] He could go out with his friends to play football; he could go swimming with his

³⁰² Author interview with Barbara Morawska, 27th November 2014.

³⁰³ Author interview with Halina Figon, 17th March 2015.

³⁰⁴ Author interview with Marya Kopczyk, 27th May 2014.

³⁰⁵ Author interview with Anonymous 1, 9th April 2014.

friends and yet I always had to follow my parents'.³⁰⁶ This double standard applied to the upbringing of male children was also reiterated by Bohdan who revealed that his sister could not let her hair down or wear makeup before she was eighteen.³⁰⁷

One area, however, where the gender of second-generation children did not make such a marked difference was education. Unlike their Polish- and Ukrainian-born mothers, especially those from rural areas where the woman's place was restricted to the domestic sphere, second-generation Polish and Ukrainian girls born in Britain were not just allowed but often encouraged to pursue education by both parents. Aware of their limited opportunities in pre-1939 Eastern Europe which often depended on the economic, ethno-national and gender background, and equally limited employment opportunities following their migration to Britain, the migrant generation saw education as a principal means of achieving economic security and a good social standing.³⁰⁸ As Marya explained: 'There was none of this, you know, eighteen, sixteen, seventeen, you're getting married. They wanted a good education for all of us'.³⁰⁹

An increased concern with gender equality and improved education provision following the roll out of universal, free secondary education introduced by the Butler Act of 1944, was an important contributing factor. Though she felt her male counterparts still received preferential treatment within the educational sphere, Halina was also aware of the changing attitudes in British society. She revealed, 'I was in that era of 'women's liberation' - the start of 'women's liberation' [...] there was a lot of emphasis on studying to get a good

³⁰⁶ Author interview with Halina Figon, 17th March 2015.

³⁰⁷ Author interview with Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014.

³⁰⁸ It was not uncommon for migrant Ukrainian woman to have attended only several years of primary school meaning they could barely read and write. Author interview with Anna Drapan, 10th June 2014.

³⁰⁹ Author interview with Marya Kopczyk, 27th May 2014.

position later because you had to be equal with the men'.³¹⁰ Therefore, on the one hand, education helped second-generation women to challenge the traditional roles ascribed to most Eastern European women before them, that of a child bearer, home-educator and housewife. On the other hand, research has shown that during the 1970s and 1980s when the second-generation were entering the job market both education and work was still heavily gendered with women having comparatively fewer career opportunities and less pay than men.³¹¹

The topics related to issues including sex, nudity and sexual relationships remained a great taboo between children and parents in the 1950s and 1960s.³¹² When it came to discussing sex, it was very often in a negative context. Stanisław, for instance explained that he and his brother were not allowed to look at kissing on the television: 'We would just turn over and we were told to cover our eyes up. And of course we don't and of course they're getting more, more horrified by... things like dancing girls on a Sunday night at the Palladium'.³¹³ The silences within oral history interviews on the subject of sex and sexual relationships are more telling than their actual content which is not very rich.³¹⁴ Stanisław's admittance that the subject was avoided within the family sums up the general attitudes of the time: 'Anything to do with sex, my mum told me to ask my dad about. And I never got round to asking my dad, 'cos we sometimes argued, or I thought, that's not a good one! I don't know. Just didn't bother, you know'?³¹⁵ Though 'public discourse on sexual culture was

³¹⁰ Author interview with Halina Figon, 17th March 2015.

³¹¹ See: Deirdre McCloskey, 'Paid Work', in Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 174-176.

³¹² Simon Szreter & Kate Fisher, *Sex Before the Sexual Revolution: Intimate Life in England 1918-1963* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 384.

³¹³ Author interview with Stanisław Sagan, 5th March 2014.

³¹⁴ The word sex was mentioned only by 4 interviewees out of 23, altogether 9 times.

³¹⁵ Author interview Stanisław Sagan, 5th March 2014.

slowly changing' during this time, the change was not as dramatic especially in migrant families influenced predominantly by the moral code laid down by the Catholic Church.³¹⁶ Things such as pre-marital sex were still less common and the benefits of the contraceptive pill introduced in 1963 were slow and uneven throughout the decade.³¹⁷

The behaviour of both sexes came under scrutiny within the diaspora environment, evoking more interwar Eastern Europe than the 1960s and 1970s Britain. According to several interviewees, it was common for parents to require prospective male partners of their female children to confirm their serious intention to them and subsequently let the couple be chaperoned by another family member.³¹⁸ The way in which the migrant generations watched their offspring was well described by Bohdan who organised discos at the Ukrainian Club in Rochdale: 'we'd switched the lights off and these lights would be flashing away and everybody would be dancing and you'd get guys [parents] going in there saying it's a brothel in there. And they'd come in and switch the main lights on and say don't turn in off again. That was a sort of thing that they were careful about'.³¹⁹ Clearly, within such a confined environment any opportunities for intimate physical acts became extremely limited though this did not mean that individuals did not have sex before marriage as one male interviewee admitted.³²⁰

There were plentiful opportunities for intergroup mixing as was obvious from the full annual programme of activities for young people in both diasporas.³²¹ This was aided by the fact that most associations, including Harcerstwo, SUM, Plast, and numerous other music and

³¹⁶ Simon Szreter & Kate Fisher, *Sex Before Sexual Revolution*, p. 43.

³¹⁷ Susan Cohen, *1960s Britain*, pp. 20-36.

³¹⁸ Author interview with Regina Maliszewska, 11th May 2015, Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014.

³¹⁹ Author interview with Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

³²¹ Paraszczak's study of the Ukrainian Community in Rochdale confirms this reverse trend. See: R. Paraszczak, *Ukrainians in Rochdale: A Study of an Immigrant Community* (Manchester: Manchester College of Education, 1969), p. 50.

dance groups were mostly mixed-sex ones. For this reason, Bohdan felt that 'it was like a closed shop'. Anna did not feel as though she was forced into doing anything but observed that the likelihood of linking up with a Ukrainian person was greater under such circumstances.³²² Thus, as the interview sample has indicated, individuals from single-nation families were much more likely to couple with a partner of the same background. For instance, Mike, as well as his siblings married a partner from Northern English Ukrainian diaspora: 'my brother married a Ukrainian girl from Leeds, my sister married a Ukrainian lad from Derby, I've married a Ukrainian girl from Huddersfield, so, all of us have gone down the Ukrainian line'.³²³

Oral evidence suggests that the migrant generation negatively perceived the liberalisation of British society since the 1960s and often saw English partners of their second-generation offspring as unwanted elements which could tarnish the reputation of their diaspora offspring. Some went as far as to make assumptions about a girl's sexual morals based on her Englishness. For instance, Stanisław's Polish aunt suggested that English girls were not suitable partners and only wanted sex: 'What are you going out with English girls for? They're only after one thing!'³²⁴ Even in their early adulthood, some individuals, in order not to disappoint or confront their parents, avoided bringing home their English partners. In Bohdan's case, this seeming lack of heterosexual relationships led to his parents believing at one point that he was gay.³²⁵

³²² Author interview with Anna Drapan, 10th June 2014.

³²³ Author interview with Michael Drapan, 3rd June 2014.

³²⁴ Author interview with Stanisław Sagan, 5th March 2014.

³²⁵ Author interview with Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014.

Nor did the parental generation respond positively to the changing attitudes towards homosexuality since the 1960s. Though the Sexual Offences Act of 1967 decriminalised sex between two men over 21 years of age in England and Wales, the migrant generation was more influenced by the conservative church teaching which largely regarded homosexuality as a problem at this time. However, there is very little oral history evidence to illustrate this which is not surprising given the fact that even heterosexual sexual relations were also a taboo subject. Janina openly admitted she did not get on with her father because she did not conform to his own gendered expectations: 'dad wanted us to be feminine and ladylike and I wasn't'.³²⁶ After telling her mother about being gay, she begged her not to tell the father so as not to upset him which meant that he never had to confront the question directly. Nevertheless, Janina believed this attitude had to do more with his father's religion than his national identity though as she admitted: 'the Catholic thing and the Polish thing are very intrinsically linked'.³²⁷

Apart from this perceived lack of morals and the dilution of traditional values within British society, the greatest motivation on the parents' side was clearly to ensure the continuity of the "nation". As Bohdan has shown, this was not just a secret wish but in some cases a clearly articulated demand: 'I'll be honest with you, in terms of courting or going with girls, the emphasis was placed on the fact that she really should be Ukrainian'.³²⁸ The determination of some parents to find the right match could have serious repercussions. Anonymous 1's faced antagonism from her parents even after two years of going out with her English boyfriend: 'they wanted me to meet and marry someone Polish and just carry on in

³²⁶ Author interview with Janina Holubecki, 20th November 2014.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

the way that they were brought up in Poland, well would have been, if the war hadn't happened'.³²⁹ Her father's refusal to support her through university (the only way for her to get away from home) if she continued to go out with an English man had exactly reverse effect: 'We just run away from home before I took my final A-Levels. Lived in London, got a job down there, even got married down there as the law had just changed where you could get married without your parents' consent if you were eighteen'.³³⁰

Despite their parents' great efforts to combat denationalisation and encourage inter-diasporic unions, the second-generation could only slow down rather than prevent diasporic population decline without a more substantial new migration from Poland and Ukraine. Those individuals who were active in ethnic associations and simply accepted their situation comprised only one section of the second-generation diaspora. Many others were less active or did not grow up at all within an ethnic community which greatly reduced their chance of meeting someone of the same background. The second-generation women benefited from the changing gender attitudes since the 1960s less than their male counterparts as the old stereotypes amplified by the traditional mores of the migrant generation and the diaspora church were slow to disappear. The ability of the second-generation to biologically reproduce within the diaspora was, therefore, impeded by many variables, including the free choice of a partner, changing attitudes to marriage and sex life, shifting gender roles and growing multiculturalism.

³²⁹ Author interview with Anonymous 1, 9th April 2014.

³³⁰ Author interview with Anonymous 1, 9th April 2014; The Family Law Reform Act 1987 revised the Marriage Act 1949, which had the effect of reducing the age of marriage without parental consent to 18. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1987/42> [Accessed 1 January 2014].

1.8 Assuming the parenting role

In absence of any official records, it is difficult to ascertain what the second-generation's marriage status and other structural features of their families and partnerships were. However, the interview sample suggests that these patterns were very different from the migrant generation in many aspects and very much mirroring the demographic change with the British society. Only ten out of twenty-one interviewees lived in a marriage while four were cohabiting couples with another four single and four divorced.

Given the level of racial stereotyping within pre-war societies and a relatively low rate of immigration to Britain from the Commonwealth countries in the late 1940s and 1950s when many Poles and Ukrainians were marrying, it is safe to assume that mixed-race unions would have been extremely rare. It is also apparent that despite the growing ethnic diversity in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s, the second-generation tended to enter more frequently into partnership with White British-born individuals. As Figure 5 shows, only two partners were Black (one of them British-born) while the same number of partners came from abroad. It is also interesting to observe that half of the partners from this sample were either second-generation Polish or Ukrainian or could trace their background to a migrant ancestor within several generations.³³¹

³³¹ This does not necessarily represent the second-generation in general. However, it may suggest an inclination of diaspora-attached individuals to seek partners with migrant heritage.

Figure 5: Ethnic Background of Second-Generation Partners

White-British	15	English (6), Second-Generation Polish or Ukrainian (6), Irish Catholic descent (3)
Black-British	1	Jamaican (1)
White-European	1	Not stated
Black African	1	Not stated
Total	18	

Source: Oral history interviews conducted by the author, 2014-2018.

In which ways did the second-generation parents of Polish and Ukrainian background, therefore, ensure that the diasporic heritage would be passed on to their children? Considering the increased geographic dispersal of the second-generation, their significantly looser attachment to the organised community, or even a complete absence of it, and the lack of any incentive to preserve ethnic heritage following the collapse of bipolar Cold-War international relations in 1991, it became evident that accomplishing such a task would pose a significant challenge. In addition, the gradual decline of diaspora education and growing focus upon the welfare of the ageing migrant generation within the diaspora in the 1990s and

2000s, further underlined the importance of the family support network in passing on ethnic identity to further generations.³³²

Though they valued their ethnic heritage, many second-generation interviewees recognised that they had little choice in taking an alternative path which was sometimes recollected in very negative terms.³³³ This is why many interviewees stressed that they wanted to diverge from the model advocated by their parents and give their third-generation children more freedom. John, who has a mixed Ukrainian-Italian heritage felt that the next generation was in a difficult situation. Like many other second-generation parents, he believed that the preservation of ethnic heritage in the same form was not feasible: 'I don't believe in trying to force something on them [...] you can only feed them small bits of culture and they'll either take it or they won't'.³³⁴ However, when it came to discussing whether the acquisition of ethnic heritage during childhood should be voluntary, it transpired that this strategy was unlikely to produce a more self-conscious third-generation diaspora: 'trouble is you give people too much choice and they're gonna take the easy option, aren't they?'³³⁵ The attitudes of the second-generation to ethnonational upbringing of their children, therefore, fluctuated between minimal efforts which were confined to teaching some awareness of migrant roots, to more intense efforts which to a large degree followed 'the institutional framework' of Saturday school attendance, ethnic associations' membership and involvement in the life of the local community.

³³² Kathy Burrell, *Moving Lives*, p. 159.

³³³ Author interview with Anonymous 1, 9th April 2014.

³³⁴ Author interview with John Kybaluk, 19th April 2014.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*

The minimal approach was articulated in different ways. Many parents felt the responsibility if not an obligation to make their children aware of their migrant roots. Several interviewees, therefore, took their offspring to Poland or Ukraine for a holiday. For John it was important to show his children their grandfather's birthplace: 'I want to pass that on to them. If they're not interested in the culture, that's fine, I can't force that on them. But at least they should see where their grandad came from.'³³⁶ In other cases, the awareness of migrant roots was reduced to a brief family history narrative, very often reduced to a simulacrum of the past. Joy, whose father came from Eastern Ukraine but was not associated with the organised diasporic community, described how her children remembered their grandad: 'they know he had a hard time during the war and didn't have enough to eat and they know he came over to this country and worked hard [...] they know he had a funny accent [...] it's kind of a family joke doing grandad George'.³³⁷

However big an ambition the second-generation held for their children, it would be difficult to find many examples of those who followed the same path as their parents originally expected to become the torch bearers for their respective nations shackled by the Communist rule. As the diaspora youth structures were beginning to crumble towards the late eighties the role of the nuclear family as a site of the acquisition of ethnic knowledge became more important than ever. In terms of the heritage language, this was challenging, as even couples with the same heritage and equipped with the knowledge of the vernacular mostly spoke with their children in English, therefore, taking away a critical tool through which the cultural and ethnic identity could be channelled.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*

³³⁷ Author interview with Joy Fieldsend, 31st March 2014.

Apart from the remaining Saturday schools which the third-generation attended with some even passing the GCSE exam, the main language link was the migrant grandparent, who could substitute the role of the working parents. As Michael, whose daughter could speak Ukrainian 'reasonably well' explained, 'the person who should take the greatest credit would be baba Pankiw, grandma. Because she took care of her till she was five years old when we were at work [...] she spoke to her in Ukrainian all the time'.³³⁸ Whilst as Jack showed the interactions between his mother and children in Polish 'sometimes didn't work very well', many grandparents actually spoke good English, therefore, removing the motivation to use another language as a medium of communication.³³⁹

The agenda of the second-generation parents was clearly different to their migrant counterparts. The maintenance of Polishness and Ukrainianness became an increasingly difficult task given the increasingly diverse heritage backgrounds of the third-generation children. Unlike the second-generation parents whose identity may have been boosted by humanitarian and political concerns for the ancestral land before 1989/91, their 'millennial' offspring had very little incentive to carry on in the same vein. The crumbling diaspora institutions and greater dispersal of families made it more difficult for any organised efforts to flourish. In this sense the family became the most important place where aspects of migrant heritage could be learned and maintained. However, apart from a few individuals who acquired some competency in the heritage language (ironically mostly taught by the second-generation parents but by grandparents or Saturday school teachers), the Polishness and Ukrainianness within second-generation households was relegated to the celebration of Christmas and Easter, the odd festivity at the church or community club, or in many other

³³⁸ Author interview with Michael Drapan, 3rd June 2014.

³³⁹ Author interviews with Jack Czauderna, 21st August 2014; Anonymous 1, 9th April 2014.

cases, to family history reminiscence. The only obvious sign had now been the surname (if not changed) inherited by their migrant grandparent or the vernacular first name chosen by the second-generation as a reminder of the fading past.

1.9 Conclusion

Unlike many earlier studies of Polish and Ukrainian diasporas which tended to over-emphasise diaspora politics, and the role of ethnic institutions and employment at the expense of everyday aspects of diaspora lives as pioneered by Temple and Burrell, this study has provided a comprehensive analysis of the migrant family home. Rather than just considering it within the context of the migrant community, a more integral approach has been adopted here looking at Polish and Ukrainian families in the diaspora as highly gendered, multi-functional and multi-generational spaces organically linked with the fast-changing post-war British society.

While not necessarily attempting to downplay the agency of men in rearing their children, given their gendered domestic roles, women within heterosexual migrant and mixed marriages were the ones who clearly dominated the family sphere in Britain before the 1970s. The mothers as primary carers of the second-generation children born during the post-war baby boom of the 1950s and 1960s, significantly shaped many aspects of their ethno-national identity. This included the everyday language spoken at home and the celebration of traditions, as well as the 'traditional' taste and smell contained in the food they prepared. This chapter has shown the formative interplay between generations. The diverse personal

circumstances of family units, however, created a mosaic. This, as the chapter has explored produced multiple identities in the next generation.

It has become evident that the Polish/Ukrainian family in the diaspora was not a uniform national unit but comprised many diverse components, all of which has challenged the earlier one-sided mono-national Catholic ideal family type as constructed by the diaspora elites and the British press. Clearly, the family played an important educational, social, cultural, and gendered role in the development of second-generation identities. Very often, however, the value system of some migrant generation drawing on cultural exceptionalism, rigid religious views and hard-line political ideology clashed directly with the increasingly pluralist, multicultural, and secular British society to which the second-generation was being exposed. Nonetheless, the boundary-making between the migrant/diaspora world and the British society was complex and far from linear.

The second-generation oral accounts have demonstrated two important developments. First, many individuals did not completely eschew the value world of the migrant generation, retaining to a smaller or lesser degree features of a distinctive collective identity within the family life. This was nevertheless very situational, resurrected at particular days of the year, thus signifying shifting ethnic boundaries. Second, the attitudes of many changed dramatically, especially in regard to marriage, sexuality and child rearing. Thus, in dealing with tensions and contradictions of their various identities, this study has demonstrated what Pieterse has described as 'tricky boundaries' with meanings which are 'by no means constant'.³⁴⁰ Rather than implying assimilation and integration as previous

³⁴⁰ Jan Nederveen Pieterse, 'Hybridity, So What? The Anti-hybridity Backlash and the Riddles of Recognition', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 18:2-3 (2001), p. 237.

sociologists of migration have done, this study has explored the hybridisation of identities in the second-generation of Polish and Ukrainian descent during the Cold War and post-Communist periods within the family home.

Though rather slippery and greatly contested, hybridity seems to be the only concept able to capture multiple identities as evidenced within the second-generation diaspora.³⁴¹ In order to advance the empirical understanding of hybridity which has so far been limited, it is important to explore the process of identity formation in the diaspora in its entirety.³⁴² Indeed, the proximity to diasporic community which possessed extra influencing power, including extra-curricular education, vernacular church services, youth societies and an annual calendar of cultural events, all importantly determined the ways in which second-generation identities hybridised. Therefore, building on the analysis of the family home, the next chapter will consider the role of diaspora supplementary schools in delineating the second-generation's ethnonational boundaries.

³⁴¹ For debates on the contestation of hybridity, see: Halyna Mokrushyna, 'Is the classic diaspora transnational and hybrid? The case of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress', *Nations and Nationalism*, 19:4 (2013), pp. 799-818; Virinder S. Kalra, Raminder Kaur & John Hutnyk, *Diaspora & Hybridity* (London: SAGE Publication, 2005); Claire Alexander, 'Diaspora and Hybridity', in Patricia Hill Collins & John Solomos (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Race and Ethnic Studies* (London: SAGE Publications, 2010), pp. 487-507.

³⁴² Anna Cieslik & Maykel Verkuyten, 'National, Ethnic and Religious Identities: Hybridity and the case of Polish Tatars', *National Identities*, 8:2 (2006), p. 77.

2.1 Introduction

Education was highly valued among Poles and Ukrainians arriving in the UK after 1945. The old empire states ruling Central and Eastern Europe before 1914 largely discouraged expressions of national identity and provided highly unequal access to educational and professional opportunities to ethnic minorities. These events, along with further educational damage caused by the two world wars, had been engraved on both groups' collective memory.³⁴³ Understandably, therefore, vernacular educational efforts aimed at the next generation became part and parcel of migrants' settlement strategies from early on. Polish supplementary schools, *szkoły przedmiotów ojczystych* [schools teaching fatherland subjects] and Ukrainian supplementary schools, *shkoly ukrainoznavstva* [schools of Ukrainian knowledge, became integral to the rebuilding of an imagined national community away from the direct political influence of the Soviet Union, and to maintaining ethnonational links beyond the migrant generation.

As opposed to the migrant family where identity was transmitted in a more casual way, supplementary schools provided a range of formal instructional guidance to the children of migrants including educational, ethnonational, and social. The schools pursued three key aims, all fitting in to Cohen's common features of diasporas.³⁴⁴ First, to develop a network of diaspora schools providing future generations with the knowledge of the ancestral country

³⁴³ The effect of these events on both personal and collective memory has been highlighted by multiple scholars, especially by the trio of Burrell, Winslow and Temple.

³⁴⁴ Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 2nd edition (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 17.

and its language. Second, to open opportunities for social interaction within the same group to ensure the continuity of ethnic associational life beyond the migrant generation. Third, to maintain ancestral culture and produce future diaspora leaders.

Organised by migrant associations, both at central and local levels, supplementary schools played a major role in shaping the bonds between disparate Poles and Ukrainians and exerted a powerful influence on the construction, negotiation, and application of ethnonational identity in the diaspora during the Cold War. Despite this pivotal role, the widespread provision of ethnic supplementary education to the children of Eastern European migrants in post-war Britain is yet to be addressed by the Anglophone scholarship.

The scant existing literature has instead largely focused on how the children of migrants fitted into the formal education systems of respective host societies.³⁴⁵ Schools organised by migrants themselves for their children and youth have received even less attention even though their histories have long been part of Britain's educational landscape. The Jews first set up schools soon after being readmitted to this country in the mid-1600s with the Irish, Russian, and Chinese migrants following suit during the 19th century.³⁴⁶ The post-1945 migrant educational efforts accelerated this historical trend with the provision varying from pre-school to secondary levels which included both day schools and boarding schools.

As part of the larger category of what Gholami calls 'diaspora education', post-war supplementary schools occupy a special place due to their sheer number and widespread

³⁴⁵ Kevin Myers, 'Immigrants and ethnic minorities in the history of education', *Paedagogica Historica*, 45:6 (2009), p. 803; Roy Lowe, *Schooling and Social Change, 1964–1990* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 113–114.

³⁴⁶ Helena Miller, 'Supplementary Jewish education in Britain: Facts and issues of the cheder system', *International Journal of Jewish Educational Research*, 1 (2010), p. 96.

influence upon the British-born diasporian children.³⁴⁷ Within the diaspora context, the term ‘supplementary school’ has generally been used to refer to institutions providing evening and weekend classes teaching content absent from the host country’s curricula and integral to each group’s heritage. Driven by parent’s high expectations for their children’s future, these schools promoted a positive sense of hybrid identity through socialisation within the familiar diaspora environment. This latter point has been well elucidated in recent studies of Britain’s Black schools set up in the 1970s and 1980s with the aim to challenge large-scale discrimination of pupils of African Caribbean heritage within mainstream education.³⁴⁸

The available studies have so far considered these educational efforts within the context of three key themes: the preservation of identities, assimilation/integration, and resistance to state educational projects. Whilst showing how supplementary schools interacted with the host society, this exogenous perspective has revealed little about the internal dynamics or transnational links with the ‘homeland’. As Myers and Grosvenor have noted, rather than researching the simple existence of supplementary schools, attention should be paid to the process of learning so that justice can be done ‘to the diversity, context or imaginative efforts of the activists who were involved with them’.³⁴⁹

Thus, there is still a noticeable lacuna in the scholarship of British diaspora studies in relation to supplementary education. This pertains particularly to European migrants such as the Poles and Ukrainians who shared very few links with the British Isles before 1939 unlike their Black, Asian, Jewish and Irish counterparts linked with the UK through its colonial past,

³⁴⁷ Reza Gholami, “Beyond myths of Muslim education: a case study of two Iranian ‘supplementary’ schools in London”, *Oxford Review of Education*, 43:5 (2017), p. 568. Other terms widely used to describe these schools include: ‘complementary’, ‘additional’, ‘alternative’, ‘out-of-hours’, ‘part-time’ and ‘extended’.

³⁴⁸ Kevin Myers & Ian Grosvenor, ‘Exploring supplementary education: margins and methods’, *History of Education*, 40:4 (2011), pp. 812-814.

³⁴⁹ Kevin Myers & Ian Grosvenor, ‘Exploring supplementary education’, p. 51.

and experiences of historical persecution perpetrated by Britain. In the post-1945 period both Poles and Ukrainians established an extensive network of supplementary schools across the country with their large concentration in the industrial parts of Northern Britain and the Midlands. Their histories have so far been researched only very sporadically.³⁵⁰

Whilst the Polish supplementary schooling received some scant attention in general studies of UK's Polish diaspora, the Ukrainian counterpart slipped under the radar of the Anglophone scholarship completely. As far as research in the vernacular is concerned, equally little output has been generated by scholars in modern day Ukraine.³⁵¹ This situation has been partially remedied by Polish scholars, especially Tadeusz Radzik whose pioneering works provided a comprehensive account of this phenomenon.³⁵² In addition to these general surveys and short studies of supplementary schooling, Polish scholarship has focused on three other aspects of supplementary schooling in Britain. This consisted of the histories of diaspora

³⁵⁰ The recent studies in English do not at all focus on supplementary schooling but rather on the efforts set up by the British government between the 1940s and mid-1950s to assist the migrant generation. See: Agata Błaszczuk, 'The Future Settlement and Education of Poles in Great Britain after the Second World War. The Origins of the Interim Treasury Committee for the "Polish Questions" and its Educational Branch', *Przegląd Polsko-Polonijny*, 5-6 (2013), pp. 225-236; Brian McCook, 'Education in War and Exile: The Polish Experience in Britain, 1940 – 1954', in Anna Mazurkiewicz (ed.), *East Central Europe in Exile, Volume 1: Transatlantic Migrations* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2013), pp. 291-310.

³⁵¹ Khrystyna Skrypka, 'Development of Ukrainian Schools in the UK (the Second half of the XX – Early XXI Century)', *Naukovi zapysky Natsional'noho universytetu Ostroz'ka akademiya (Seriya Istorychni nauky)*, 23 (2015), pp. 140-145.

³⁵² Tadeusz Radzik, *Szkolnictwo polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii po drugiej wojnie światowej 1945 – 1990* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1991); Tadeusz Radzik, *Polska Macierz Szkolna Zagranicą, 1953 – 1993* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii-Curie Skłodowskiej, 1995); Tadeusz Radzik, *Historia Zrzeszenia Nauczycielstwa Polskiego za Granicą, 1941-1991* (London: Association of Polish Teachers Abroad, 1999); Other less in-depth studies: Krystyna, Ludzińska, 'Szkolnictwo polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii', *Studia Polonijne*, 1983, pp. 127-150; Albin Koprukowniak, 'Oświata i szkolnictwo polonijne', in Barbara Szydłowska-Ceglowska (ed.), *Polonia w Europie* (Poznań: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1992); Dorota Praszałowicz (ed.), 'Polskie szkolnictwo w Wielkiej Brytanii: tradycja i nowoczesność' (Kraków: Polish Academy of Arts and the Jagellonian University, 2012), pp. 1-159.

educational institutions;³⁵³ biographies of individual educators and supporters of schools;³⁵⁴ and specialist issues investigating the use of language or the role of textbooks and youth magazines in bringing up of a new generation of patriotic second-generation individuals.³⁵⁵ These seminal studies, however, have revealed a largely London-centric and institutional view with no attention paid to lived experiences and attitudes of individuals who populated these spaces.

This chapter makes a new contribution to the established discourse in several ways. As well as extending existing knowledge of post-war diaspora supplementary provision through the comparison between Polish and Ukrainian diaspora education, it mitigates the shortcomings of earlier studies by concentrating upon the voices of both teachers and pupils. The use of oral history accounts complemented by documentary material provides a bottom-up perspective which sheds light on previously understudied issues including generational dynamics, individual pupil and teacher experiences, the institutional role of supplementary

³⁵³ See: Władysław Miodunka, 'Jubileusz 40-lecia polskiej macierzy szkolnej zagranicą', 1953-1993, *Przegląd polonijny*, XX:4(74), (1994), pp. 91-94; Aleksandra Podhorecka, *W służbie oświaty: 50 lat polskiej macierzy szkolnej* (London: Polska Macierz Szkolna, 2003); Zjednoczenie Polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii, *Jubileusz 40-lecia Polskiej Macierzy Szkolnej Zagranicą 1953-1993* (London: ZPWB, 1993).

³⁵⁴ Ewa Adamiak-Pawelec, *Leksykon nauczycieli polskich szkół przedmiotów ojczystych w Londynie w latach 1950-2010* (Lublin: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Marii Curii-Skłodowskiej w Lublinie, 2012); Magdalena Górka, 'Moralne wychowanie w duchu polskości poza Polską – Życie i działalność Aleksandry Podhoreckiej', *Przegląd Polsko-Polonijny*, 5-6 (2013), pp. 439-445; Joanna Pyłat, 'General Anders. Patron of Education and Culture in Exile 1941 – 1970', in Joanna Pyłat, Jan Ciechanowski & Andrzej Suchcitz (eds.), *General Władysław Anders: Soldier and Leader of the Free Poles in Exile* (London: Polish University Abroad, 2008); Olga Zamecka-Zalas, 'Pedagodzy – zasłużeni dla zachowania tożsamości narodowej Polaków na uchodźstwie po II wojnie światowej (na przykładzie organizacji Polska Macierz Szkolna)'; Available [online] at: <http://www.repozytorium.uni.wroc.pl/Content/89191/16_Zamecka_Zalas_Olga_Pedagodzy_zas%C5%82u%C5%BCeni_dla_zachowania_tozsamosci_narodowej_Polakow_na_uchodzstwie_po_II_wojnie_swiatowej.pdf> [Accessed 3 April 2018]; Olga Zamecka-Zalas, 'Aleksandra Podhorecka – zasłużona dla zachowania tożsamości narodowej młodego pokolenia polaków na obczyźnie', *Слов'янськ*, 5:1 (2017), pp. 15-25.

³⁵⁵ Martyna Tomiczek, 'Podręczniki Szkolne Polskiej Macierzy Zagranicą a Edukacja i Wychowanie Dzieci Polskich na Obczyźnie', *Ogrody Nauk i Sztuk*, 1 (2011), pp. 143-155; Jolanta Chwastyk-Kowalczyk, 'Polskie czasopisma emigracyjne wspierające edukację w Wielkiej Brytanii w latach 1946-2017', *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy*, 1-2 (2017), pp. 133-153; Jadwiga Otwinowska, *Wpływ języka angielskiego na system fleksyjny rzeczownika w języku dzieci polskich w Londynie* (London: PUNO, 1966).

schools in the production of ethnonational identities, and the relationship between the imagined 'homeland', host country and diaspora.

Therefore, this chapter seeks to answer the following key questions. How was diaspora education organised and funded and how did it respond to the changing socio-cultural landscape of post-war Britain and individual needs of the second-generation? What type of national identity did supplementary schools reproduce? What do the second-generation voices reveal about these institutions? In which ways did the isolation from the original homeland affect the teaching of individual subjects? How did the minority status of the second-generation children affect their experiences of the mainstream British educational system? In answering the above, this chapter charts the history of Polish and Ukrainian supplementary learning in Britain from its inception at the height of the Cold War in the 1950s to its heyday during the 1960s and early 1970s including the period of change and decline since the 1980s.

2.2 The foundation and consolidation of Polish and Ukrainian Saturday Education in Britain, 1950s-1970s

The earliest Polish supplementary schools [thereafter Polish schools] emerged in Britain's industrial towns and cities in the late 1940s.³⁵⁶ Their first Ukrainian counterparts [thereafter Ukrainian schools] appeared in quick succession, in Bradford in 1953 and in Manchester in 1955 with 39 sites opened by 1961.³⁵⁷ The conditions for children who would have been born

³⁵⁶ Tadeusz Radzik, 'Troska o polskość dzieci i młodzieży', in Leonidas Kliszewicz (ed.), *Mobilizacja Uchodźstwa do Walki Politycznej, 1945 – 1990* (Londyn: Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe Na Obczyźnie, 1995), pp. 396-397.

³⁵⁷ Soyuz ukrayintsev v Velykiy Brytaniyi, *Shkola ukraïnoznavstva im. T. Shevchenka pry Viddilu SUB Bradford v desyaty-lyttya shkoli* (Bradford: Shkola ukraïnoznavstva im. T. Shevchenka, 1963); Evheniya Mandziy, *Shkola*

overseas were very basic. The teaching took place at people's houses, or else in hired rooms at local schools and other available premises.³⁵⁸

In other areas, school classrooms formed part of first community centres provided in towns and cities still recovering from the effects of the war. In Huddersfield for instance, the Poles acquired a building-society loan on a large ten-roomed end of terrace house which served as a Polish presbytery and included the priests' accommodation, a small chapel, library and rooms for the Saturday school established in 1949.³⁵⁹ Supplementary schooling was also provided to children residing in Polish resettlement camps in the remote British countryside. On weekdays they were bussed to the nearest English schools and on Saturdays attended classes in inhospitable Nissen huts and former army barracks. This "temporary" situation often lasted until the early 1960s when the camps were finally closed, and their residents dispersed.³⁶⁰

Like the demographic situation within the diaspora, the number of pupils greatly fluctuated. This was especially observable in smaller locations such as Blackburn. In 1954, the town's Polish school had only one class of 11 pupils divided into two streams and taught by one teacher. However, by 1966, the school's remit and size had greatly expanded. In just a little over a decade, it had grown to include four elementary classes, one secondary class, an O-Level preparation course, one class for children from mixed-marriages and even a course for several English women married to Poles.³⁶¹

ukraïnoznavstva v Manchesteri im. Tarasa Shevchenka (Manchester: Shkola ukraïnoznavstva v Manchesteri, 1995).

³⁵⁸ In Rochdale, Poles initially taught their children in a hall hired from St. John's Ambulance. Bogdan Czaykowski & Bolesław Sulik, *Polaci w Wielkiej Brytanii*, p. 217.

³⁵⁹ *Huddersfield Weekly Examiner*, 13 May 1961, p. 4.

³⁶⁰ More information about the Polish resettlement camps and camp schools available [online] at: <<http://www.polishresettlementcampsintheuk.co.uk/>> [Accessed 4 May 2018].

³⁶¹ Franciszek Szymczak, *25-lecie Polskiej Szkoły S.P.K. w Blackburn*, p. 19.

Significant regional differences existed between the two groups in terms of the numerical distribution of supplementary schools as Figure 6 reveals. The survey of Ukrainian schools taken in 1970 (by which point the school activity had culminated) revealed the importance of the North of England (see Figure 7). It accounted for 1,089 children out of 2,159, roughly half of the total. Eight out of 14 largest schools with over 50 pupils were in the North with the top two being Bradford (217 children) and Manchester (169 children), showing the prominence of this region to Britain's Ukrainian diaspora. The Polish schools were more dispersed around England and were dominated by London.³⁶² This was because historically London attracted more Polish migrants than the Ukrainian ones as well as becoming the seat of most Polish diaspora organisations in the West replacing Paris after it was occupied by the Nazis in 1940 and retaining the status after the war.

³⁶² Between 1969 and 1973 the school held 450 pupils and 26 teachers. Source: *Polska Szkoła Przedmiotów Ojczystych im. św. Stanisława Kostki, 1949 – 2009* (Manchester: Polish Saturday School in Manchester, 2009), p. 5.

Figure 6 The Regional Distribution of Ukrainian Saturday Schools in 1970 and Polish

Saturday Schools in 1985³⁶³

Region	Ukr. Schools	Polish Schools	Ukr. Children	Polish Children	Ukr. Teachers	Polish Teachers
1. London	1	12	124	1,026	9	126
2. South, South East	4	8	156	463	23	42
3. East of England	4	0	110	0	15	0
4. East Midlands	5	12	347	438	31	60
5. West Midlands	6	14	231	318	26	43
6. Yorkshire, North East	7	8	477	292	39	44
7. North West	10	12	612	287	47	54
8. Scotland	1	3	59	77	8	10
TOTAL	38	69	2,116	2,901	198	379

Sources: *Ukrainska Dumka*, 20 August 1970; Tadeusz Radzik, *Szkolnictwo Polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii po drugiej wojnie światowej 1945 – 1990*, pp. 205-6.

³⁶³ Though the comparison is 15 years apart, it demonstrates well the differences in regional distribution between the two diasporas.

Though supplementary schools were making great savings on staffing as the teaching role was generally unpaid and voluntary, there were many costs involved in the running of these institutions. This included things such as textbooks, exercise books, end of year reports, and in some cases the rent.³⁶⁴ The major source of income comprised 'attendance fees' paid by each child in different intervals.³⁶⁵ The estimated running cost of all Polish Saturday Schools in the UK in the 1960s was around £25,000 out of which four fifths was covered by parents' contributions while the remaining amount consisted of subventions given to schools by other organisations and money from community fundraising events.³⁶⁶

The amount and frequency of fee payment varied from place to place. Radzik, for instance, observed that the average weekly fee at Polish schools in the 1950s was between 1-2 shillings per week (around £1.50-£3.00 in 2017 according to the NA currency converter) with a 25 percent discount applied to the following children within a family.³⁶⁷ The amount, therefore was not extortionate and did not seem pose a barrier to migrant families in accessing this extracurricular learning support.³⁶⁸ As well as benefiting from the wills left by the deceased migrant members, the finances of schools were also bolstered thanks to the system of covenants increasingly used since the 1970s, which allowed individuals to donate their tax returns to selected charitable causes.³⁶⁹ Other sources of income comprised

³⁶⁴ *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 13 December 1968.

³⁶⁵ The fees at schools affiliated with the PMS were determined by each local PMS branch in consultation with the respective parents' committee. Source: Tadeusz Radzik, *Polska Macierz Szkolna Zagranicą*, p. 48.

³⁶⁶ Tadeusz Radzik, *Polska Macierz Szkolna Zagranicą*, p. 80.

³⁶⁷ Tadeusz Radzik, *Polska Macierz Szkolna Zagranicą*, p. 48; For the National Archives Currency Converter, see: <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/> [Accessed 12 April 2021].

³⁶⁸ When factoring in inflation, other locations also charged similar amounts later. For instance, the Ukrainian school in Coventry charged roughly 18 pence per week in 1961. In 1973, the weekly attendance fee at Willesden Green Polish Saturday school was 30 pence. Source: *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 15 December 1961, p. 10; Anon., *20-lecie Polskiej Szkoły im. Marii Konopnickiej, 1953-1973*, p. 7.

³⁶⁹ Tadeusz Radzik, *Polska Macierz Szkolna Zagranicą*, p. 80.

individual community fundraisers and subventions from patron organisations such as the SPK and PMS.³⁷⁰

The financial self-sufficiency and political autonomy of both groups from the local and national government has been a prominent theme running through oral history narratives. For instance, a first-generation man from Huddersfield recalled a meeting at which it was decided that the local Polish community would not approach the council for help with the setting up of the Saturday school: 'the majority was against it, they said, "we don't want interference if we have a school, it will be our own, we'll pay for it", so we didn't get anything'.³⁷¹

While the primary role of the diaspora in organising, funding, and staffing supplementary schools is indisputable, a closer look at documentary sources has revealed that this self-sufficiency claim did not apply universally and changed over time. In 1961, for instance, the Polish Saturday school in Blackburn was receiving £50 from the local Council (a sum which rose to £100 in 1963) which covered the teachers' personal and travel expenses.³⁷² Very rarely, the financing of supplementary education came entirely from an external source. This was the case of the Polish school in Nottingham which in 1972 was experiencing financial hardship when the local Council intervened and pledged long-term funding to secure the site's future.³⁷³ On the whole, however, national, or local government rarely provided support

³⁷⁰ Komitet szkolny w Leeds, *Jednodniówka*, p. 9.

³⁷¹ Kirklees Sound Archive, Interview with first-generation Polish male (b. 1924) conducted by Maria Cybulska on 18th August 1986, Accession Number: 202 PL.

³⁷² Franciszek Szymczak, 25-lecie Polskiej Szkoły S.P.K. w Blackburn, pp. 28-29.

³⁷³ Polska Szkoła Przedmiotów Ojczystych im. Św. Kazimierza w Nottingham, 'Historia Polskiej Szkoły Przedmiotów Ojczystych im. Św. Kazimierza w Nottingham', Available [online] at: <<http://www.polishschoolnottingham.co.uk/historia-szkoly.html>> [Accessed 10 May 2018]; Information on individual schools also available in: Aleksandra Podhorecka, *W służbie oświacie: 50 lat polskiej macierzy szkolnej* (London: Polska Macierz Szkolna, 2003), pp. 250-253.

let alone funding to supplementary schools run by Eastern European migrants during the 1950s and 1960s.

Moreover, the learning was organised into a ten-year programme aimed at pupils roughly between the ages of five and sixteen. This was further broken down into three basic stages (pre-school, primary and secondary) based on age and ability and was concluded with an optional O-Level and later GCSE from the heritage language.³⁷⁴ First O-Levels were introduced in the late 1950s, a milestone achieved thanks to the efforts of the Polish Educational Society and the Ukrainian Teachers' Association.³⁷⁵ The Poles additionally organised A-Level preparation classes, otherwise known as *klasy licealne* concluded by an exam sat at the University of London.³⁷⁶ According to Radzik, however, only most sizeable Polish schools based in large cities such as Manchester, Bradford and London catered for all age levels.³⁷⁷ The remainder were small to mid-size schools of 15 to 40 pupils in total which lacked the capacity to teach more advanced classes.³⁷⁸ At the end of each school year, pupils received *świadectwo szkolne/rične svidotstvo*, end of year report which provided grades on the scale from 5 (best mark) to 1 (worst mark) for each subject taken at the school.³⁷⁹

So far, the voice of pupils very rarely featured in accounts of diaspora supplementary schooling. A rare insight into pupil satisfaction was provided by Jadwiga Otwinowska in her 1960s study investigating language acquisition at one Polish supplementary school in

³⁷⁴ Jadwiga Otwinowska, *Wpływ języka angielskiego na system fleksyjny rzeczownika w języku dzieci polskich w Londynie* (London: PUNO, 1966), p. 10.

³⁷⁵ Władysław Miodunka, *Masters, Teachers and Pupils*, p. 11; Władysław Miodunka, 'Jubileusz 40-lecia polskiej macierzy szkolnej zagranicą, 1953-1993', *Przegląd polonijny*, XX:4(74), (1994), p. 93; Oksana Kravchenko, 'Shkoly ukrayinoznawstva u svitli diyal'nosti ukrayins'kykh hromads'kykh orhanizatsiy Velykobrytaniyi', Available [online] at: <<http://archive.ndiuv.org.ua/fulltext.html?id=1845>> [Accessed 3 April 2018].

³⁷⁶ Władysław Miodunka, *Masters, Teachers and Pupils*, p. 11.

³⁷⁷ Tadeusz Radzik, *Polska Macierz Szkolna Zagranicą*, p. 87.

³⁷⁸ Tadeusz Radzik, *Szkolnictwo polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii po drugiej wojnie światowej 1945 – 1990*, pp. 215-216.

³⁷⁹ Manchester Archives and Local Studies, Box M789/1-6.

London.³⁸⁰ Otwinowska's survey given to 83 pupils found that following a stage of genuine enjoyment, motivation went down between the ages of nine and thirteen, a period of the preparation for the 11-plus exam, transition into secondary school and onset of puberty.³⁸¹ This was when it became really hard 'for Polish parents abroad to explain to a little Stasiu why he has to go to Saturday school when John and Bill can play football'.³⁸²

Though the number of children in class became much reduced following the primary school stage, Otwinowska found that pupils between the ages of thirteen to sixteen manifested a growing appreciation of their heritage and renewed desire to learn.³⁸³ According to Radzik this was almost entirely driven by the opportunity to gain an O-Level and to formally complete supplementary school learning.³⁸⁴ However, the overall number of those who obtained the O-Level/GSCE and/or A-Level (in Polish) was relatively low. Those like Bohdan, with two parents from the same country, were much more likely to successfully complete the exam as they were linguistically better equipped for it. He estimated that possibly only ten percent of his peers were up to the same standard: 'I came fully equipped to Ukrainian school being able to speak Ukrainian and still can do whilst children of mixed marriages didn't sort of have the same benefit.'³⁸⁵

Other people like Barbara whose mother was Italian were not entered for the exam as the teacher felt she would not be able to do it.³⁸⁶ In addition, many smaller locations did not offer O-Level preparation courses for their pupils (Ukrainian community). This meant that

³⁸⁰ Jadwiga Otwinowska, *Wpływ języka angielskiego na system fleksyjny rzeczownika w języku dzieci polskich w Londynie* (London: PUNO, 1966).

³⁸¹ Jadwiga Otwinowska, *Wpływ języka angielskiego*, pp. 13-14.

³⁸² Anon., *20-lecie Polskiej Szkoły im. Marii Konopnickiej*, p. 22.

³⁸³ Jadwiga Otwinowska, *Wpływ języka angielskiego*, p. 10.

³⁸⁴ Tadeusz Radik, *Szkolnictwo Polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii po drugiej wojnie światowej*, p. 214.

³⁸⁵ Author interview with Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014.

³⁸⁶ Author Interview with Barbara Morawska, 27th November 2014.

when they did not give up completely, they had to take private tuition or/and travel to larger cities in the vicinity. According to Michael, those who chose to do the exam tended to be by grammar school students with higher education prospects. He further explained that he had to undertake a semi-private correspondence course in London paid for by his dad:

‘So, this Dr Fostun would send me extracts to translate from English into Ukrainian and vice versa [...] [or] he’d ask me to write an essay. I would send that back to him, he would mark it with lots of red ink and send it back to me and I did that for one year. [...] The O-Level paper arrived from London [London University Examination Board] and I remember doing it at the school hall when the other children had done their French, their German and their Latin, I remember doing my Ukrainian.’³⁸⁷

The oral history testimonies have also suggested that the exam level was pitched very high even for the most gifted students. Having both parents from Ukraine and speaking the language at home, Maria from Rochdale struggled with her correspondence course: ‘Many a time they’d send it [course work] back to me and there would be a lot of pen marks and my dad would say: “You’re speaking Ukrainian! What’s wrong with ya?!” It was heavy, very heavy stuff, very heavy stuff. I didn’t even understand it’. As Anna explained, pupils whose parents were active members of diaspora associations often had little choice but to complete the

³⁸⁷ Author interview with Michael Drapan, 21st March 2018.

whole course of supplementary education: 'It was just a thing that we did and had to do [...]. It was expected and I just went along and did the whole ten years.'³⁸⁸

So, while many second-generation pupils dropped out of supplementary school before completing the whole ten-year course of education, even fewer passed the ultimate test of national identity in the diaspora, the national exam from the heritage language. The language learning was further undermined by the lack of practice as most second-generation individuals spoke English amongst themselves.³⁸⁹ With sufficient hindsight, however, and perhaps with some reservations, most interviews viewed their early childhood Saturday school experiences as valuable. John, for instance, expressed a real sense of achievement and admiration for his young self: 'It was quite an intense youth. You did your English school, Ukrainian school, Italian school, there was a lot going on. I mean, kids complain nowadays but we did it, you know.'³⁹⁰

Therefore, as demonstrated, the foundation of supplementary schools was far from straightforward. Despite initial existential and material insecurity, both diasporas rose to the challenge and set up an extensive network of weekend schools within a decade following their arrival. Despite little financial support from outside, the school network grew rapidly thanks to the overwhelming grassroots and associational support. All of this was happening against the backdrop of accelerating socioeconomic and cultural shifts within the British society and changing circumstances of individual migrant families. However, the drop out of pupils following the 11+ stage including the changing use of the heritage language which resulted in

³⁸⁸ Author interview with Anna Drapan, 10th June 2014.

³⁸⁹ Author interviews with Julian Kowzan, 2nd April 2014.

³⁹⁰ Author interview with John Kybaluk, 19th April 2014.

difficulties in completing the school leaving exam from Polish or Ukrainian, heralded further challenges ahead.

2.3 Migrant teachers: Heroes or untrained amateurs?

Though the teaching role has received more prominence within the existing literature, it is important that they are included for comparative purposes. Despite relatively high rates of illiteracy across many parts of interwar Eastern Poland from where at least half of the Poles and most Ukrainians originated, there were always some well-educated individuals ready to assume the teaching role.³⁹¹ Consisting of clergymen and nuns, physicians, lawyers, business people, former members of military and paramilitary units, musicians, and sometimes trained teachers themselves, this group formed the backbone of supplementary school networks and was key in the upholding of good educational standards.³⁹² Actively involved with supplementary schooling for at least three decades following their arrival in Britain, the migrant generation had a major influence on the transmission of ethnic identity to the British-born second-generation.

³⁹¹ In Huddersfield the intelligentsia comprised of numerous individuals though not all were involved in teaching. They included individuals such as Dr Michael Kruszynski, Lecturer of Music at Huddersfield Polytechnic, and the founder of the pedagogical course for Saturday school teachers in 1959; Raymond Paluch, music teacher at Greenhead College; Captain Z.A. Rubach-Polubinski, owner of a private law firm; Dr Z. Grebecki, a local G.P.; Stefan Osuchowski, Polish supplementary schools' inspector for the North of England; and Jozef Gabanski, Scout leader. Source: Huddersfield Daily Examiner, various dates.

³⁹² For publications exploring the diverse educational and professional background of Saturday school teachers, see: A. Lukyanenko (ed.), *Nashi 70-litni siyachi na osvityniy nyvi* (Rochdale: Ukrainian Information Service, 1962), pp. 1-32; Olga Zamecka-Zalas, 'Pedagodzy – zasłużeni dla zachowania tożsamości narodowej Polaków na uchodźstwie po II wojnie światowej (na przykładzie organizacji Polska Macierz Szkolna)'; Available [online] at: http://www.repozytorium.uni.wroc.pl/Content/89191/16_Zamecka_Zalas_Olga_Pedagodzy_zas%C5%82u%C5%BCeni_dla_zachowania_tozsamosci_narodowej_Polakow_na_uchodzstwie_po_II_wojnie_swiatowej.pdf [Accessed 3 April 2018]; Adamiak-Pawelec, *Leksykon nauczycieli polskich szkół przedmiotów ojczystych w Londynie w latach 1950-2010* (Lublin: Norbertinum, 2012).

The organisational structure of Polish and Ukrainian supplementary schools was similar with *kierownik* (Polish) or *upravytel'* (Ukrainian) [Director/Head] in charge of the institution assisted by voluntary teaching staff. Their work was supported by the parents committee, translated as *koło rodzicielske* or *komitet rodzicielski* in Polish and *batkivskyy komitet* in Ukrainian. This group provided a vital link between the school and the wider community, and it also held an important fundraising role. All these efforts were coordinated by the school committee, an executive supervisory organ comprising of the representatives of the parents, teachers, local ethnic community organisations and local diaspora clergy. As demonstrated by the rapid development of the Leeds Polish school committee which by the end of the 1950s had reached the membership of twenty with Chairman, Deputy-Chair, Secretary and Treasurer, a great deal of work was put into the development of supplementary school governance.³⁹³

Placed in the low-wage economy following their arrival in Britain and with little prospect of career growth, educated Poles and Ukrainians sought to use their skills and talents within their local ethnic circle. Teaching helped the post holders to earn respect among their compatriots and compensated for the loss of social status within the host country. Being a teacher at weekends and manual labourer during the week was common.³⁹⁴ Michael, whose dad studied agronomy at Lviv Polytechnic until his education was interrupted by the Nazi invasion of the city in 1941, vividly illustrated this dual role performed by diaspora teachers:

³⁹³ Komitet szkolny w Leeds, *Jednodniówka: Dziesięciolecie Szkoły Polskiej w Leeds 1951-1961* (Leeds: Komitet szkolny, 1961), pp. 19-20.

³⁹⁴ *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 15 December 1961, p. 10.

‘The earliest teachers like my dad, they deserved medals. [...] they went to work in the mills to do overtime, cos, you know how hard it was in those days. So, they went to work at something like seven in the morning [...] and they worked till lunchtime, and I remember my dad came rushing home, gobbled his dinner down, and that’s it “I’m off to shkola” and he had to go rushing down to the club to teach on a voluntary basis because he was so keen on making sure that every child in Huddersfield learned the language and continued the heritage.’³⁹⁵

Though the teachers’ candid fervour to pass on national identities is indisputable, inconsistent training, lack of lesson preparation and a generational gap between the migrant generation and their British-born pupils often impeded the style and quality of the lesson delivery. According to Bohdan, an inappropriate teaching style also accelerated the dropout rate: ‘their approach to teaching was almost of a bullying nature, you know, you will do it etcetera, rather than getting the best out them. And I think the casualty of that is that a lot of the kids actually left...’.³⁹⁶

The personality of the teacher and their methods had a decisive effect on pupil’s experiences and memories of the classroom. Details of unpleasant episodes during which migrant teachers used threats and punishment was a frequent feature of second-generation narratives. Maria from the Rochdale Ukrainian Community admitted: ‘I hated coming on the Saturday ‘cos [...] some of the teachers were quite strict, you know, they’d shout at you’.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁵ According to Michael Drapan, teachers at the Ukrainian school in Huddersfield were receiving a small amount of £5 for three hours. Author interview with Michael Drapan, 21st March 2018.

³⁹⁶ Author interview with Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014.

³⁹⁷ Author interview with Maria Kopczyk, 27th May 2014.

Interrupted by Mr X. as she recited a poem in Ukrainian, she had lost her confidence and became unable to recall the remainder of the text. Her reticence, however, was only met with a threatening response and moved Maria to tears.³⁹⁸ Bożena Krawczyk in her ethnographic study of one supplementary school in Scotland came to a similar conclusion claiming that Polish schools were stuck in the past instead of catering for the young generation.³⁹⁹

As multiple sources have highlighted, the gap between the patriotic generation of teachers of the interwar generation and their British-born pupils seemed relatively wide. It demonstrated itself in various forms, one of which was the language. The migrant generation's command of English was often limited resulting in the lack of respect shown by the pupils and low motivation.⁴⁰⁰ It also inhibited the communication between teachers and pupils, especially in the case of those from mixed families with poor Polish or Ukrainian who would have benefited from a bilingual approach.

Efforts to centrally coordinate supplementary education, improve the quality of teaching and develop professional networks were, nevertheless, present from the very beginning. Professional support to Polish diaspora teachers was provided by *Zrzeszenie Nauczycielstwa Polskiego* (ZNP) [The Association of Polish Teachers], an organisation originally founded in 1941 in Scotland and serving evacuated Polish Army personnel.⁴⁰¹ Following ZNP's relocation to London after the war, its branches quickly grew from four in 1946 to twenty in 1955.⁴⁰² ZNP, along with the Polish Ex-Servicemen's Association played a

³⁹⁸ Author interview with Maria Kopczyk, 27th May 2014.

³⁹⁹ Bożena Krawczyk, *Polska Szkoła – An Ethnographic Study of a Polish Saturday School* (Unpublished MEd Thesis, University of Stirling, 1988), p. 95.

⁴⁰⁰ Krystyna Ludzińska, 'Szkolnictwo polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii', *Studia Polonijne*, 1983, p. 141.

⁴⁰¹ The organisation's original name was *Zrzeszenie Nauczycielstwa Polskiego za Granicą* [The Association of Polish Teachers Abroad]. Other branches quickly emerged around the world copying the movement of Polish wartime refugees and army personnel. These included Africa, Lebanon, New Zealand and Mexico. Tadeusz Radzik, *Historia Zrzeszenia Nauczycielstwa Polskiego za Granicą*, pp. 5-43.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 5-43.

pivotal part in supporting the early development of supplementary schooling. The latter organisation was responsible for half the total number of Saturday school pupils in 1952 (1224) with the former providing help to 123 children.⁴⁰³ This supports model only existed until 1953 when *Polska Macierz Szkolna w Wielkiej Brytanii* (PMS) [Polish Educational Society in Great Britain], a politically neutral educational body with the tradition going to pre-independence Poland was re-established in London.⁴⁰⁴ Other smaller organisations included Towarzystwo Pomocy Polakom (60 children), Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Dzieci i Młodzieży (25 children), and Związek Harcerstwa Polskiego (25 children).⁴⁰⁵

After a few initial hurdles, PMS reached an agreement with the SPK in 1954 which stipulated mutual support and co-financing of diaspora education by both organisations and the formation of a supervisory body aimed at overseeing affiliated Polish schools with a system of paid regional school inspectors.⁴⁰⁶ By the end of the 1950s, PMS assumed the leading role with a decisive influence over supplementary school curriculum, publication and distribution of textbooks, teacher training and provision of financial support both in Britain and many parts of the Western Europe and beyond.⁴⁰⁷

With no significant presence in Britain during the war as the Poles and following a different migration pattern, the Ukrainians were slightly delayed in the development of their professional teaching network in Britain. The nuclei of many future Ukrainian organisations, however, had already emerged in post-war DP camps in the non-Soviet zones of Germany. The work of the majority of Ukrainian schools was overseen by *Spilka Ukrayins'kykh Vchyteliv*

⁴⁰³ Tadeusz Radzik, *Polska Macierz Szkolna Zagranicą*, p. 28.

⁴⁰⁴ Tadeusz Radzik, *Polska Macierz Szkolna Zagranicą*, pp. 7-23; 4; Tadeusz Radzik, *Z dziejów społeczności polskiej w Wielkiej Brytanii po drugiej wojnie światowej, 1945-1990*, p. 65.

⁴⁰⁵ Tadeusz Radzik, *Polska Macierz Szkolna Zagranicą*, p. 28.

⁴⁰⁶ Aleksandra Podhorecka, *W służbie oświaty: 50 lat polskiej macierzy szkolnej*, pp. 267-271.

⁴⁰⁷ Tadeusz Radzik, *Polska Macierz Szkolna Zagranicą*, p. 75.

u Velykiy Brytaniyi [The Association of Ukrainian Teachers in Great Britain] founded in 1955 under the auspices of the AUGB.⁴⁰⁸ Though like among the Poles, many political differences existed among Britain's Ukrainians at the beginning, the overwhelming dominance of the AUGB ensured that this organisation backed by the controversial OUN-B took control of the majority of Ukrainian schools.⁴⁰⁹ Only a few schools were run by other bodies such as the FUGB or the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.⁴¹⁰

Having identified the lack of pedagogical training and professional qualifications among many volunteer teachers, both associations put a lot of effort into improving the teaching standards. Following the organisational consolidation during the first decade of settlement, new training opportunities for teaching staff began to appear. The first long-term pedagogical course set up by Poles that provided foundations in teaching methodology and practice was run in 1959 in Huddersfield with other short courses provided in London.⁴¹¹ It was not until 1975, however, when the first teaching qualification accredited by British authorities was launched by the PUNO.⁴¹² By this time, however, most of the second-generation had come of age so the effects of these advancements skipped a generation.

⁴⁰⁸ A. Lukyanenko (ed.), *Nashi 70-litni siyachi na osvitniy nyvi*, p. 29; Anon., 'Ukrayins'ka shkola na emihratsiyi', *Pedahohichno metodychnyy zhurnal*, 1:1 (1947), pp. 1-16.

⁴⁰⁹ OUN-B (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Banderite branch) was a radical nationalist Ukrainian organisation with the objective of achieving Ukrainian independence by any necessary means. Alongside its anti-Communist stance, it harboured sentiments of anti-Semitism and Polonophobia within its membership and policies. Several historians with John-Paul Himka at the helm have shown how the OUN along with its military wing, UPA, partook in acts of brutality against civilians and were linked to the Holocaust. See: John-Paul Himka, *Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust: OUN and UPA's Participation in the Destruction of Ukrainian Jewry, 1941-1944* (Stuttgart: ibidem Press, 2021); Ivan Katchanovski, 'Terorists or national heroes? Politics and perceptions of the OUN and the UPA in Ukraine', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 48 (2015), pp. 217-228.

⁴¹⁰ Khrystyna Skrypka, 'Development of Ukrainian Schools in the UK', pp. 140-145.

⁴¹¹ Radzik, *Historia Zrzeszenia Nauczycielstwa Polskiego za Granicą*, pp. 89-90; More information about development courses for Ukrainian Saturday school teachers in A. Lukyanenko (ed.), *Nashi 70-litni siyachi na osvitniy nyvi* (Rochdale: Ukrainian Information Service, 1962), pp. 1-32.

⁴¹² A Lukyanenko (ed.), *Nashi 70-litni siyachi na osvitniy nyvi*, p. 14.

In the delivering the lessons, planning curriculum, and devising training and professional support, the migrant generation decided to take the road more often travelled, largely replicating the institutional networks, and learning content devised within interwar Eastern Europe. The herculean task of setting up of a new educational network in the diaspora from scratch and undertaking new training required many sacrifices and proved to be a steep learning curve. Far from being amateurs, many rose to the challenge and made lots of professional progress. However, as the second-generation narratives have clearly suggested, the teachers failed to look into the future and tailor the learning to the specific British context and the needs of the new generation separated from the 'homeland' and lacking the shared trauma of Soviet and Nazi persecution, displacement and migration. This in turn affected both the pupils' experiences of classroom and the transmission of national identity.

2.4 Learning Polishness and Ukrainianness in the Diaspora

As oral history accounts have shown, the older second-generation cohort which started school before the early 1960s was more likely to complete the whole course of Saturday school education as well as showing a generally stronger ethnonational identification and command of the heritage language.⁴¹³ This could be explained by considerations including fewer mixed-marriage backgrounds, greater feeling of difference before the mass arrival of Commonwealth migrants and the fear of a global conflict between the West and the USSR in the run up to the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 (and greater likelihood of return).⁴¹⁴ Their

⁴¹³ Komitet szkolny w Leeds, *Jednodniówka*, p. 7.

⁴¹⁴ The possibility of the outbreak of another world war was still strongly considered before Stalin's death in 1953. See: Andrzej Zaćmiński, *Emigracja polska w Wielkiej Brytanii wobec możliwości wybuchu III wojny światowej, 1945 – 1954* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawn. Akademii Bydgoskiej, 2003); Jonathan Walker, *Operation Unthinkable: Churchill's plan for World War Three*, Podcast, Available [online] at:

‘otherness’ was further affirmed through local press reports which continued to refer to the second-generation children as nationals of their parents’ respective birth country. For instance, in a report about the local Ukrainian community, *Huddersfield Examiner* referred to the British-born offspring as ‘the youngest Ukrainians who are learning their native tongue [...] ever hopeful that, one day, they will be able to go home’.⁴¹⁵

In contrast, the younger second-generation cohort, less affected by post-war economic and geopolitical anxieties, grew up influenced by the wave of enthusiasm conveyed by Harold Wilson’s ‘white heat of technology’ speech in 1963 and the cultural revolution during the following decade.⁴¹⁶ By the early 1970s both diaspora families and other ethnic organisations found themselves in a much-improved economic position with a stronger local voice. Though the Cold War politics continued to be complex, the relationship between the two blocs became much more normalised with more mutual cultural, business and diplomatic exchanges. This in turn affected the East-West communication and travel as was evident from ample correspondence and increasing family visits on both sides of the Iron Curtain.⁴¹⁷

With peak attendance, systematisation of school inspections, availability of resources and improved teacher training, diaspora supplementary schooling had reached its heyday during this period. These developments were also a clear indicator of the fact that the idea of returning to Poland or Ukraine had been redundant for some time. As Jerzy Loj, chairman of the Stafford branch of Polish Ex-Combatants pointed out in 1968: ‘There is no idea at all of teaching our children against the day they might return to Poland for ever. We regard

<<https://media.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.php/operation-unthinkable-churchills-plan-world-war-three/>> [Accessed 30 September 2022].

⁴¹⁵ *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 6 July 1962.

⁴¹⁶ Jane Martin, ‘Education Policy’, in Andrew S. Crines & Kevin Hickson (eds.), *Harold Wilson: The Unprincipled Prime Minister?* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2016), pp. 131-148.

⁴¹⁷ Dariusz Stola, *Kraj bez wyjścia?*, pp. 97-103.

ourselves as a fully integrated community and many of us who left Poland a quarter of a century ago are now British citizens'.⁴¹⁸

Despite numerous naturalisations and an unlikely prospect of return migration, the reproduction of cultural identities still took place within many Polish and Ukrainian households. These efforts were further advanced by diaspora organisations in a more formal way through supplementary education. The teaching of four core subjects of religion, geography, history, and national language was designed to equip the second- and following generations with the much-needed sociocultural capital on which the future diaspora activity was to be developed.

Though unlike some of their Jewish and Islamic counterparts in the UK, Polish and Ukrainian supplementary schools were not strictly denominational, they displayed a strong religious ethos. At many sites, the school day started and finished with a prayer.⁴¹⁹ Many diaspora commentators, however, warned early on about the risk posed to these values through the exposure to life in protestant and rapidly secularising post-war Britain. Reverend Czorny from Leeds, for instance, found the conditions for the religious upbringing of Polish children 'unfavourable' and appealed to his parishioners to exercise caution.⁴²⁰ Thus, apart from the expressions of faith at home and in church, RE classes taught at supplementary schools by the parish priest, nuns or catechists provided additional opportunities for the cultivation of national religion.

⁴¹⁸ *Birmingham Post*, 22 March 1968; compare this with *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 15 April 1971.

⁴¹⁹ Polska Szkoła im. T. Kościuszki w Londynie na Ealingu, *Jakie korzyści daje polska szkoła twojemu dziecku?* (London: Polska Szkoła Ealing, 1979), p. 7.

⁴²⁰ Komitet szkolny w Leeds, p. 8.

The relationship between a supplementary school and ethnic parish within each locality was important and mutually reinforcing. The churches, alongside other larger organisations actively sponsored the work of supplementary schools both materially and spiritually. The pulpit was a natural forum from which to launch the campaign in support of supplementary schooling. Reverend Michałowski, the Polish priest from Blackburn, did not hesitate to promise 'a heavenly reward' to parents for bringing up their offspring 'in the spirit of Catholicism and the love of the Fatherland'.⁴²¹ The parish, on the other hand, provided school children with opportunities to take part in its regular cultural programme and church liturgy with the ultimate hope of attracting future members of the congregation.⁴²² However, as chapter 4 will explore, this goal remained unfulfilled as the second-generation didn't just simply replicate the old behaviour patterns and followed their own path.

Language was arguably the most important subject which was clearly stated in the PMS's definition of a 'Polish child' as someone who 'speaks, reads, writes and thinks in Polish'.⁴²³ The ability to study one's ethnic language was not taken for granted especially by older members of the migrant generation who remembered going to school during the time of the imperial rule in Central and Eastern Europe before 1918. For them, it was 'the most alive, the most versatile and lasting element that connects the past, present and future generations into one large, historically alive whole'.⁴²⁴ Language, therefore, had a symbolic

⁴²¹ Tadeusz Radzik, *Polska Macierz Szkolna Zagranicą*, p. 8.

⁴²² Jan Wojczyński, Kazimiera Winterbottom, Barbara Stysz, Eugenia Kosior, *Obchód 25-Lecia Szkoły Przedmiotów Ojczystych w Oldham* (Oldham: Polska Szkoła Nauczania Przedmiotów Ojczystych, 1979), p. 7.

⁴²³ Tadeusz Radzik, *Polska Macierz Szkolna Zagranicą*.

⁴²⁴ This was a quote by Konstantin Ushinsky, 19th century Ukrainian pioneer of pedagogy. Shkola ukrayinoznavstva im. T. Shevchenka v Manchesteri, 'Istoriya Shkoly'; Available [online] at: <<https://www.manchesterukrschool.com/ua/history/>> Accessed [09 May 2018].

meaning and served not only as a means of communication between the teacher and the pupil but was a tool for the reproduction of the nation in the diaspora.⁴²⁵

The publication of new resources such as children's magazines and newspaper supplements, therefore, became an important part of the diaspora efforts in developing the younger generations' cultural knowledge and ability to read. Consisting of short stories, illustrations, crosswords and puzzles, they provided a more digestible alternative to school textbooks. The monthly issues included Polish *Dziatwa* [The Kids] published by the PMS and Ukrainian *Yuni Druzi* [Young Friends] published by the AUGB.⁴²⁶ The shorter newspaper supplements were perhaps more likely to end up in the hands of children as many parents were keen subscribers. The Polish one titled *Dziecom* [To Children] appeared monthly since 1950 in *Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza* [Polish and Soldier's Daily], and weekly since 1959. The Ukrainian Youth Association's *Holos Molodi* [Voice of the Youth] was founded a year earlier and from 1953 was issued in *Ukrainska Dumka* [Ukrainian Thought].⁴²⁷

Given the phonetic nature of both Polish and Ukrainian, any progress was difficult without proper understanding of the basics. For this reason, the first two years of supplementary schooling were heavily focused on laying the foundations, especially in reading and writing.⁴²⁸ An omnipresent guide through this journey was an elementary reading

⁴²⁵ Franciszek Szymczak, *25-lecie Polskiej Szkoły S.P.K. w Blackburn, 1950-1975* (Blackburn: SPK, 1975), p. 8; Also see Komitet szkolny, *Jednodniówka*, p. 9.

⁴²⁶ Rafał Habielski, 'Prasa Polska w Wielkiej Brytanii 1945-1970 Przegląd Informacyjno-Bibliograficzny', *Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej*, XXIV: 3 (1985-6), pp. 53- 67; Jolanta Chwastyk-Kowalczyk, 'Polskie czasopisma emigracyjne wspierające edukację w Wielkiej Brytanii w latach 1946 – 2017', *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy*, 1-2 (2017), pp. 133-153.

⁴²⁷ Tomiczek, 'Podręczniki Szkolne', pp. 134-5; Ukrainian Youth Association, 'Holos Molodi Celebrates 50 Years!', Available [online] at: <<http://archive.cym.org/archives/holosmolodi50.asp?ChangeLanguage=eng>> [Accessed 2 May 2018].

⁴²⁸ Tadeusz Radzik, *Szkolnictwo Polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii po Drugiej Wojnie Światowej*, p. 218.

textbook titled *Elementarz* in Polish and *Bukvar* in Ukrainian.⁴²⁹ Initially, schools had to use old unappealing editions published before the Second World War until new diaspora editions came out, *Elementarz* in 1954 and *Bukvar* in 1964.

These developments were closely watched from behind the Iron Curtain where any opportunity to undermine diaspora efforts was taken advantage of. To this end, a Communist organisation with a deceptive name *Towarzystwo Łączności z Wychodźstwem 'Polonia'* [Association for the Cooperation with Polish Emigration Polonia] was founded in Poland in 1956.⁴³⁰ It produced appealing textbooks in all relevant subject often freely given to under-resourced Polish Saturday schools.⁴³¹ Though demonstrating 'anti-religious tendencies, falsifying historical facts and twisting the biographies of great Poles', many underfinanced diaspora schools used them so as to save money.⁴³²

Unsuitable topics contained in the learning material presented another barrier to language learning. The disparity between the visual landscape of rustic romanticism conveyed in textbooks and the environment of industrial Britain was noticed by a *Guardian* reporter in 1957. Describing a sketch of a Ukrainian cottage by a 9-year-old pupil from Manchester Saturday school, they commented:

⁴²⁹ M. Matviychuk, *Bukvar* (London: Soiuz Ukraintsiv u Velykii Brytanii, 1964), Available [online] at: <<https://diasporiana.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/books/20833/file.pdf>> [Accessed 13 May 2021].

⁴³⁰ For more information about this organisation, see: Jan Lencznarowicz, 'The Communist 'Polonia' Society and Polish Communities in the West', in S. J. Kirschbaum (ed.), *Historical Reflections on Central Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), pp. 100-115; Sławomir Cenckiewicz, 'Geneza Towarzystwa Łączności z Polonią Zagraniczną "Polonia"', *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość*, 1 (2002), pp. 161-168; Bernadetta Nitschke, 'Działalność Towarzystwa Łączności z Polonią Zagraniczną "Polonia" wobec polskiej emigracji w latach 1955-1970', *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska Lublin-Polonia*, XIX:1 (2012), pp. 159-185.

⁴³¹ Tadeusz Radzik, *Polska Macierz Szkolna Zagranicą*, p. 65.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

‘In a city where men wear dark-grey trousers to match the grey of the atmosphere, and water is pumped nearly a hundred miles into the taps, there is something wildly remote about the artist’s conception of a peasant in red leather boots and a long pump tilted jauntily over a well in the garden.’⁴³³

Even after the publication of updated resources the content didn’t match the interests of second-generation pupils. In 1973 an A-Level class member at a Polish school in London complained that *Elementarz* covered irrelevant topics such as the life in the mountains, village economy, beehives, and village wells. She added: ‘We live in towns and cities so it is important to learn the vocabulary we can identify with [...] Why can’t we have textbooks showing the life of Poles in England in the first instance and then about life in contemporary Poland’?⁴³⁴ While the quality and volume of diaspora textbooks kept improving, the changes desired by the second-generation arrived too late.⁴³⁵ The benefits of the new curriculum for Polish diaspora schools published in 1989 and devoid of any anachronisms were minimal given the rapid demographic decline in later generations.⁴³⁶

Like the national language, learning about the past and landscape of both nations was crucial in conveying a strong sense of national identity upon the second-generation and in contextualising their parent’s migration story. Given the victim nature of both diasporas and long history of foreign oppression, it is not surprising that supplementary schools tended to

⁴³³ *The Manchester Guardian*, 12 October 1957, p.10.

⁴³⁴ Anon., *20-lecie polskiej szkoły im Marii Konopnickiej*, pp. 22-23.

⁴³⁵ Martyna Tomiczek, ‘Podręczniki Szkolne’, p. 153.

⁴³⁶ Tadeusz Radzik, *Z dziejów społeczności polskiej w Wielkiej Brytanii po drugiej wojnie światowej*, p. 66.

glamorise their history syllabus. This came across in Julian's narrative which highlighted Poland's historical role and expressed regret at the loss of its former international standing:

'I used to know every single king of Poland's name [...] I knew [...] the history of Poland and the wars Poland had and the Wielkopolska when Poland was a great leader [...] Now it's been squashed from either side, so it has diminished, but it's nice to know that it was Wielko-Polska, which means Great Poland.'⁴³⁷

Similarly, Ukrainian schools emphasised the biographies of key national figure heads such as St. Volodymyr and St. Olga, heroism of Cossack fighters in stepping up against Polish and Russian dominance, and Romantic literary movement of the 19th century during which the idea of modern Ukrainian nationhood was conceived. As Misko simply put it, it was 'the history of poets and princes'.⁴³⁸

'We knew a lot from the very early age. We knew all about the Cossacks and the hetmany and all the kniazy, we were educated in that sense. They fascinated us, you know, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Ivan Mazepa [...] To us it was colourful, exciting, spectacular, so you wanted to learn a little more.'⁴³⁹

⁴³⁷ Author interview with Julian Kowzan, 2nd April 2014.

⁴³⁸ Author interview with Misko Czerkas, 18th March 2014.

⁴³⁹ Author interview with Michael Drapan, 3rd June 2014.

While the teaching of history at Polish and Ukrainian supplementary schools in Britain did not get censored and purposefully twisted for ideological reasons like within state schools behind the Iron Curtain, it hardly provided a balanced picture of each country's past. As well as focusing on national myths and grand narratives, diaspora history classes provided a vivid account of historical traumas and examples of the suppression of national identity inscribed in both countries' collective memory. This included episodes such as 19th century partitions of Poland, unsuccessful campaigns for Ukrainian statehood between 1917-1921 and in 1941 and myriad crimes perpetrated by Nazi and Soviet regimes. As Misko's comment suggests, this was to encourage the second-generation to actively protest against Soviet human rights abuses and to promote national independence:

'There was a lot of understanding early on that Ukraine wasn't a free country. That it was part of the Soviet empire [...] run from Moscow. And then, understanding of what the Soviet system was. We knew straight away, it was almost like, ok, our country's occupied [...] by Russians [...].'⁴⁴⁰

Relying heavily on diaspora sources before the 1980s, the second-generation often reproduced the biases and silences introduced into the historical record by their migrant parents. This was later acknowledged by some interviewees like Stanisław:

⁴⁴⁰ Author interview with Misko Czerkas, 18th March 2014.

‘I remember being taught religion... Polish Catholic religion from the particular point of view of Polackses as the only sufferers in the world... um... history, Polish history again. Again, from that point of view almost interchangeable with the Polish religion and teaching’.⁴⁴¹

Prior to the 1980s, there were scarcely any monographs available in Britain written with a general audience in mind that could elucidate the intricate histories of Poland and Ukraine in their full complexity. This lack of comprehensive resources can be attributed to the limited interest in Eastern European affairs before the emergence of the Solidarity Movement in 1980 and the gradual disintegration of the Eastern Bloc during the same decade. Additionally, there was shortage of Eastern European scholarship that remained unaffected by Communist ideology. This trend was reversed by emerging scholars based in the West, including Norman Davies and Robert Magocsi.⁴⁴² Others followed in their footsteps, continuing to challenge both triumphalist and victim perspectives within historiography.⁴⁴³ However, even after the final collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, quite a few academics from post-Socialist countries continued to apply nationalist and geopolitical agendas to their research. Their interpretations of difficult moments of the first half of the 20th century, such as the

⁴⁴¹ Author interview with Stanisław Sagan, 5th March 2014.

⁴⁴² Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

⁴⁴³ Brian Porter-Szűcs, *Poland in the Modern World: Beyond Martyrdom* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014); David R. Marples, *Heroes and Villains*; Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (London: Vintage Books, 2011).

Holodomor and the massacres in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia, to name just a few examples, continue to receive highly diverse interpretations.⁴⁴⁴

The oral accounts, therefore, have revealed generational differences in imagining national identity. The ones promoted by the migrant generation in supplementary schools were closer to the 19th century version advanced by Romantic literary figures such as Taras Shevchenko and Cyprian Norwid than to the realities of life in post-war Britain.⁴⁴⁵ By looking at the national landscape and the past through rose-tinted glasses, the educational content promoted a black and white historical vision and encouraged a simplistic, if not false, sense of nationhood.⁴⁴⁶

2.5 Experiencing Otherness and Hostility in Compulsory fulltime education

As well as imparting knowledge of ethnic heritage, diaspora schooling also highlighted nuances in ethnonational belonging among pupils and differences from their parents' generation. But how did these experiences juxtapose with those of compulsory (state) education in an English-speaking environment where second-generation individuals spent

⁴⁴⁴ See: Andreas Kappeler, 'Ukraine and Russia: Legacies of the imperial past and competing memories', *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 5 (2014), pp. 107-115; Taras Kuzio, 'Nation building, history writing and competition over the legacy of kyiv rus in Ukraine', *Nationalities Papers*, 33:1 (2005), pp. 29-58; Serhii Plokhy, 'The Ghost of Pereyaslav: Russo-Ukrainian Historical Debates in the Post-Soviet Era', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 53:3 (2001), pp. 489-505; Taras Kuzio, 'Historiography and National Identity among the Eastern Slavs: Towards a New Framework', *National Identities*, 3:2 (2001), pp. 109-132; Stephen Velychenko, *Shaping Identity in Eastern Europe and Russia: Soviet-Russian and Polish Accounts of Ukrainian History, 1914-1991* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

⁴⁴⁵ Cyprian Norwid defined 'Fatherland' as a 'a great collective duty'. Cyprian Kamil Norwid, *Czarne i Białe Kwiaty* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo J. Morkowicza, 1922), p. 136.

⁴⁴⁶ Martyna Tomiczek, 'Podręczniki Szkolne', pp. 152-3. Likewise, Ruczaj argues that Polish national exceptionalism was based upon two popular myths born in the Modern era. The first myth is of Poland as the bastion of the Western civilization (Christendom), and the second myth is of Poland as the epitome of the idea of freedom, often associated with romantic messianism. Maciej Ruczaj, 'Pánbíčkáři: Odkud se vzal Polák-katolík?', in Maciej Ruczaj & Lukáš Skraba (eds.), *Pánbíčkáři: Odkud se vzal polský katolicismus?* (Brno: Centrum pro stadium demokracie a kultury, 2016), pp. 8-9.

considerably longer? What can be learned from the comparison between children of white immigrants educated between the 1950s and late 1970s and their counterparts from black and Asian ethnic backgrounds?

Irrespective of their skin colour, culture or language, most migrant parents arriving in Britain since the 1940s believed that education would enhance the social and economic mobility of their offspring.⁴⁴⁷ Thus, whether they received extracurricular ethnic tuition or not, all children of migrants (including those with one migrant parent – a silent majority) had to go through compulsory full-time education. However, their experiences, and/or educational attainment and future opportunities were largely conditioned by their background. While ample research has focused on children of Asian and African Caribbean background, little has been said about their white counterparts of Polish and Ukrainian heritage.⁴⁴⁸

Compared with the familiar environment of Saturday schools where Polishness and Ukrainianness were widely shared, compulsory fulltime education in postwar England clearly offered a completely different experience. This was especially true for the 1950s cohort, who started school before the large-scale influx of African Caribbean and Asian children and were often the only person who had a migrant parent (or parents) and a ‘foreign’ name and/or surname. This raises an important question as to how the traditional discourses of racism relate to experiences of white children of migrant background in an educational setting and

⁴⁴⁷ Similar attitudes have been identified amongst African Caribbean parents, see for instance Kehinde Andrews, *Resisting Racism: Race, Inequality, and the Black Supplementary School Movement* (London: IOE Press, 2013), pp. 3-4.

⁴⁴⁸ See: Barbara Bush, ‘Gendered perspectives on West Indian migration, welfare policies and cultural racism in post-Second World War Britain’, in Jennifer Craig-Norton, Christhard Hoffmann and Tony Kushner (eds.), *Migrant Britain: Histories and Historiographies: Essays in Honour of Colin Holmes* (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 168-9; Joe Hopkinson, ‘Dispersal bussing in Huddersfield during the 1960s and 1970s: solving ‘the problem’ of immigrant children’, *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal*, 29 (2018/2019).

whether England's education system discriminated only based on skin colour or other less visible yet identifiable differences too.

As scholars affiliated with the Sheffield School with Colin Holmes at the helm, the history of hostility towards migrants and refugees predates the arrival of the Empire Windrush at East Tilbury docks in June 1948.⁴⁴⁹ They all helped to dispel the myth of Britain's tradition of tolerance and challenged the conception of race and anti-migrant antagonism as reduced purely to colonial context.⁴⁵⁰ Most recently, for instance, Wendy Webster has demonstrated how the arrival of refugees, exiles, troops and war workers changed British soundscapes during the Second World War by making Britain increasingly multilingual.⁴⁵¹ She argued that even 'when physical markers of difference such as skin colour were absent, it was language and speech that marked people out as different, and as foreigners'.⁴⁵²

Within the Polish context, Zubrzycki showed early on how hostility against Poles and other EVWs (including Ukrainians) after 1945 took many forms including political, economic, cultural or/and gender.⁴⁵³ Nocon was first to contextualise these experiences within the framework of racism but he did little to explain how Polonophobia compared with other expressions of racism in Britain.⁴⁵⁴ Given historical associations with colonialism, most leading migration historians have been reluctant to apply the concept of racism to other expressions of hostility against white migrants and their descendants, choosing to use a more neutral term

⁴⁴⁹ This includes Panikos Panayi, Tony Kushner but also other scholars outside the 'Sheffield School', including Paul Ward and Wendy Webster.

⁴⁵⁰ Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society 1876-1939* (London: Routledge, 2016); Wendy Ugolini, "'Spaghetti Lengths in a Bowl?' Recovering Narratives of Not 'Belonging' Amongst the Italian Scots", *Immigrants & Minorities*, 31:2 (2013), pp. 214-234.

⁴⁵¹ Wendy Webster, *Mixing It: Diversity in World War Two Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 17.

⁴⁵² Wendy Webster, *Mixing It*, p. 17.

⁴⁵³ Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain*, p.82; His findings were popularised and brought into mainstream historiography by Holmes in later in his pioneering study: Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1988), pp. 248-251.

⁴⁵⁴ Andrew Nocon, 'A Reluctant Welcome? Poles in Britain in the 1940s', *Oral History*, 24:1 (1996), pp. 79-87.

of 'xenophobia, or fear of strangers' instead.⁴⁵⁵ Whilst this approach might have been logical, separating the two concepts has perhaps unintentionally contributed to further playing down of anti-white xenophobia therefore feeding into the myth of unproblematic and easy assimilation of the second-generation.

Multiple oral history narratives conducted for this study have revealed that otherness in an educational setting was experienced in many complex ways by second-generation individuals of Polish and Ukrainian descent. Clearly, they were less visible than the African Caribbean and Asian children who stood out for their skin colour and/or dress code and accent. The only discernible feature of second-generation Poles and Ukrainians was their first name or/and surname. The fact that there were other subtler markers of difference has been overlooked by earlier scholarship overwhelmingly concerned with the issue of visibility. This in turn further reinforced the colour paradigm which has relied on a "presumed dichotomy between whites and 'Others'".⁴⁵⁶

The importance of personal names and surnames is, therefore, paramount in understanding how these differences were played out. In the history of migration and nationalism, names were often used to determine otherness while also serving as an indicator (not always correct) of assimilation, ethnonational identity, and gender. The issue of naming has been a precarious subject for the children of white migrants born in Britain. This did not as much involve children whose parents had anglicised their name following marriage and/or naturalisation.⁴⁵⁷ There were others whose surnames did not sound particularly foreign and

⁴⁵⁵ Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism Since 1800* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 204-205.

⁴⁵⁶ Sylvia Ang, "The 'new Chinatown': the racialization of newly arrived Chinese migrants in Singapore", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44:7 (2018), p. 1177.

⁴⁵⁷ Author interview with Julian Kowzan, 2nd April 2014.

so could pass for English ones.⁴⁵⁸ However, many other second-generation individuals, especially those with suffixes including –ski, -ska, -yk, -icz, -yj, uk and a mixture of letter cees, ars, esses and zeds, did not escape being questioned about their nationality at various points in life.⁴⁵⁹

As in other cultures, names and surnames in Poland and Ukraine always carried symbolic meaning, situating an individual within the context of place, common ancestry and ethnonational/regional history.⁴⁶⁰ It is no surprise, therefore, that a name day celebrated in some Christian cultural contexts including Polish and Ukrainian ones (and marking the feast of a patron saint) was given greater importance than a birthday. Stanisław, though he was embarrassed by being Polish at English schools as a child and loosened his connections with the diaspora as an adolescent, showed how strongly Polishness manifested itself through his name:

‘My name is Stanisław in Polish and Staszek, Stach, Stachu, Stasz and all the other diminutives, but in English I was called Stanley and I hated Stanley from an early age ‘cos it weren’t my name. It wasn’t until I went to college that I was brave enough to say: actually, it’s Stan, short of Stanisław. Stanley as a first name only comes from the Victorian times in honour of Stanley and Livingstone, before that it was a surname and a place name only. Mine goes back a thousand years!’⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁸ Author interview with Michael Drapan, 3rd June 2014. His name in English was pronounced as “drei puhn”.

⁴⁵⁹ Author interviews with Misko Czerkas, 18th March 2014.

⁴⁶⁰ Sarah Louise Wheeler, “‘Enwau Prydeinig gwyn?’ Problematizing the idea of “White British” names and naming practices from a Welsh perspective’, *AlterNative*, 14:3 (2018), pp. 251-259.

⁴⁶¹ See: Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine*; Paul Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*.

Depending on the national composition of the family, location and time period, some parents named their children after prominent personalities in Polish and Ukrainian history, including the rulers, saints, writers and warriors whilst others went for more neutral or typically English first names. The most common male first names in the Ukrainian diaspora, for instance, included Wolodymyr, Bohdan, Ivan, and Taras. The closer their birth to the date of their parents' arrival in Britain, the more likely individuals were to carry traditional names and surnames, especially within non-mixed families.

Though as Maria from Hull disclosed, open hostility akin to racism towards the second-generation white individuals did exist, it seemed to be reduced to a few isolated occurrences.⁴⁶² In contrast, having their name misspelled, mispronounced, anglicised, ridiculed and even changed was a common experience shared by a large number of the second-generation.⁴⁶³ These incidents described by interviewees mostly as 'teasing' have been designated by Wykes as 'micro-aggressions'.⁴⁶⁴ She has argued that while not necessarily fitting into the legal definition of racism, these incidents could be equally damaging in the long-term.⁴⁶⁵ Joy Lysenko, for instance, revealed the diversity of surnames by which she was addressed including 'Licentious', 'Syncline', 'Baftebring' and 'Zenko's sister'. She lamented: 'I think it would have been quite nice to be called sort of Jones or Robinson'.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶² Author interview with Maria Jakubczyk, 15th December 2014.

⁴⁶³ Author interview with Misko Czerkas, 18th March 2014; Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014; Stefan Gec, 19th June 2014; Stephen Tymruk, 16th October 2014; Janina Holubecki, 20th November 2014.

⁴⁶⁴ Emily Wykes, 'Invisible Names and Visible Privileges: The Racialisation of Names', *Discover Society*, 1 March 2015; Available [online] at: <[Invisible names and visible privileges: the racialisation of names | Discover Society](#)> [Accessed 6 January 2020].

⁴⁶⁵ Emily Wykes, 'Invisible Names and Visible Privileges'.

⁴⁶⁶ Author interview with Joy Fieldsend, 31st March 2014.

Whilst some did not attach great significance to it, on closer inspection it was clear that having a different name produced situations of embarrassment, shame and could lead to low self-esteem and feeling of non-belonging. Growing up in an Anglo-Polish family in Brighouse in the 1950s which was then largely a non-migrant white working-class area, Pamela experienced verbal abuse from her peers for having a different background (being called a 'pancho peapod kid' and a 'Polack').⁴⁶⁷ Following on from this, Pamela became resolute to show to her peers that being a migrant's child did not necessarily imply academic underachievement:

'I thought: "I'm gonna prove to people that I am just as good as they are." And at that time, it was Brighouse Girls' Grammar School only took 300 girls and the rest of them were English. There were no West Indians, Asians, Italians or anything. I was a strange person with the strange name [...] Up to fourteen, fifteen, I thought: "Can't I have a different surname?" I didn't like my surname. Why can't it be Smith?'⁴⁶⁸

Janina, who inherited the first name from her Polish grandmother and the middle name Margaret from her English grandmother remembered being the only child with a foreign name at junior school. Her father's employment as an engineer in Nuneaton ruled out any possibility of living in proximity to an organised diasporic community. Like Pamela, Janina had

⁴⁶⁷ The first nickname was inspired by her father who enjoyed being out on his allotment and was nicknamed pancho peapod man. Author interview with Pamela Popek, 2nd April 2014.

⁴⁶⁸ Author interview with Pamela Popek, 2nd April 2014.

to find a way of dealing with being the other: 'I suffered as a child [...] I had a foreign name, I wore glasses, and I was a bit weedy [...] I'm sure it was very character-forming. I wouldn't say that it made me into a very nice child either, because it was kill or be killed really'.⁴⁶⁹

Others who lived in areas with established diasporic communities felt less isolated as there was a greater likelihood of more second-generation individuals attending the same class. Still, this did not rule out occasions of 'name violations' both from English peers and teachers.⁴⁷⁰ For instance, Anna, who did not remember being discriminated against for being of Ukrainian heritage, admitted that she never felt at ease with her name, an attitude common to many second-generation individuals at some point in their lives. All these incidents were occurring at the backdrop of the 1960s official efforts first to curb migration (The Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962) and later to address inequality (The Race Relations Act, 1968).⁴⁷¹ As the terms, clearly suggested, this legislation had little to do with European migrants and their children. According to Wendy Webster, these responses were the product of a (mis)understanding of 'the term immigration [as] closely connected to the idea of a 'colour problem'''.⁴⁷²

Therefore, if the Asian and black children suffered as a result of their ethnocultural visibility, their Polish and Ukrainian counterparts did so for exactly the opposite reason, their obscurity. The media played a significant part in this process too. Though groundbreaking because it gave platform to marginalised groups through their own voice, it still took five years for the BBC2 Open Door programme to include a feature on an Eastern European group in

⁴⁶⁹ Author interview with Janina Holubecki, 20th November 2014.

⁴⁷⁰ Author interviews with Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014; Julian Kowzan, 2nd April 2014.

⁴⁷¹ Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire 1939-1965* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 149-150.

⁴⁷² Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire*, pp. 149-150.

Britain.⁴⁷³ The opening scene from the 1978 episode titled *Ukrainians: The People Who Couldn't Go Home* featuring a brief discussion among four young people expressed the second-generation's shared frustration from their ethnonational obscurity when in contact with the English world:

'Person 1: I would like you to meet Bohdan Martynenko.

Person 2: Sorry, what was your name?

Person 3: Bohdan Martynenko.

Person 2: What sort of name is that?

Person 3: It's Ukrainian.

Person 4: It's Russian, isn't it?

Person 3: No, it's Ukrainian.

Person 2: Ukrainian? What's that? Where is that?'⁴⁷⁴

Unsurprisingly, many second-generation individuals, especially those from outside the social bubble of the diaspora environment wanted to avoid these questions and feel like everyone else.⁴⁷⁵

These second-generation experiences, therefore, point out to a clear historical failure on the side of the British government, media and educational system to properly inform the

⁴⁷³ David Hendy, 'One of us? Opening Doors', *BBC.com*, Available [online] at: <<https://www.bbc.com/historyofthebbc/100-voices/people-nation-empire/opening-doors>> [Accessed 1st November 2022].

⁴⁷⁴ BBC2, 'Ukrainians the People who couldn't Go Home in 1978', Available [online] at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uciiJyYUj3U&t=1315s> [Accessed 12 January 2021].

⁴⁷⁵ Author interviews with Stefan Gec, 19th June 2014 and Pamela Popek, 2nd April 2014.

wider public about the origin and cultural differences among various post-war white European minorities. Whether it has been the secondary legacy of the Empire that affected the way in which migrants in Britain were historically perceived, or the result of an ethnocentric (isolationist) diaspora upbringing (or a combination of both), it left some second-generation individuals feeling at best unenthusiastic about their Britishness. Maria, for instance, felt that her Ukrainian surname meant that she could never feel properly British: 'I've always classed myself as a Ukrainian. I might be British, I might be born over here, but I'm Ukrainian.' Despite this, supplementary schooling underwent vast changes which signalled an ever-closer adaptation to the British context.

2.6 Changing supplementary schools, 1980s-2000s

The decline of the interwar teaching pool, recruitment of young second-generation teachers and enrolment of third-generation pupils since the late 1970s heralded fundamental changes to supplementary schooling. For instance, in Bradford, the headship of the school was passed to the younger generation already in 1979.⁴⁷⁶ As the Poles in Newcastle admitted in 1982, it became clear that their 'children, grand-children, and great-grandchildren', lost most knowledge of the old country, especially the language.⁴⁷⁷ In Bradford, Albert Hunt reported in 1986 that many Saturday school children didn't speak Ukrainian and if they did, there was 'no phrase for nuclear reactors', suggesting language fossilisation and distancing from the

⁴⁷⁶ Mariya Danyl'chuk, Yaroslav Vasylyuk, Mariya Lyiy, Orysa Fletcher, *Shkola ukrayinoznavstva im. T.H. Shevchenka Bradford, 1953-2013* (Bradford: Shkola ukrayinoznavstva im. T.H. Shevchenka, 2013), p. 8.

⁴⁷⁷ *The Journal*, 4 September 1982, p. 7.

ancestral land.⁴⁷⁸ Indeed, this language shift challenged the very term ‘mother-tongue teaching’ used within the context of supplementary schooling.

In the eyes of some, these developments put schools on a slippery slope which ended up in their eventual closure. For the likes of the second-generation Regina from Newcastle, however, it provided new opportunities. Having secured funding, Regina facilitated the reopening of local Polish supplementary school in 1981 which reflected the changing makeup of the Polish diaspora:

‘I think we had about 22 children, all of them whose only one parent was Polish. And it was very interesting because there were no barriers... ‘Oh, my dad’s Polish.’ [It was rather] ‘Oh, my dad’s English,’ or ‘my mum’s from Thailand,’ or she’s from Philippines.’ And it was great!’.⁴⁷⁹

Thus, rather than bringing up Polish nationalists fluent in the heritage language, what mattered the most was the values associated with the migrant generation such as family orientation, ability to share and good work ethic.⁴⁸⁰ This new generation supplementary school thereby not only advocated an awareness of pupil’s cultural heritage but also situated the learning within the context of increasingly multicultural British society.

Nonetheless, the availability of external funding for supplementary schools and greater recognition of ‘mother tongue teaching’ in the 1980s was not a routine occurrence.

⁴⁷⁸ Albert Hunt, ‘Bitter in Yorkshire’, *New Society*, 21 November 1986, p. 16.

⁴⁷⁹ Author interview with Regina Maliszewska, 11th May 2015.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

Instead, it was informed by earlier failings within Britain's education system to address underachievement and institutional racism towards minority ethnic pupils.⁴⁸¹ It was not until the publication of the *Swann Report* in 1985, however, that the issue was addressed in a more holistic manner. Unlike the earlier measures of support which centred especially on the children of Commonwealth migrants, Swann's 'Education for All' agenda widened its scope and included European groups such as the Ukrainians, Italians, and Cypriots; other Asian groups such as Chinese and Vietnamese, and even Travellers.⁴⁸² Identifying the linguistic diversity in Britain as a 'positive asset', the Swann Commission recommended to enhance the existing local authority support for community-based provision. This included the 'making of school premises available free of charge', provision of grants 'for the purchase of books and the development of teaching materials', and the offer of ad-hoc training to supplementary schoolteachers.⁴⁸³

At first glance, the recognition of complex needs of supplementary schools signified a break with the lukewarm policy approach of the past. Looking up the small print though, it was not ambitious enough. According to the *National Council for Mother Tongue Teaching*, the report was 'far behind that of current research and educational trends'.⁴⁸⁴ Others picked up on the cultural biases manifested in the Commission's overall emphasis on the learning of

⁴⁸¹ This was supported by numerous policy documents including: Alan Bullock, *The Bullock Report: A language for life* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975), Available [online] at:

<<http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/bullock/bullock1975.html>> [Accessed 20 June 2018]; The Council of the European Communities, *The Council Directive on the education of the children of migrant workers (77/486/EEC)*, 25 July 1977, Available [online] at:

<<https://www.legislation.gov.uk/eudr/1977/486/2020-01-31>> [Accessed 29 June 2018]; Anthony Rampton, *The Rampton Report: West Indian Children in our Schools* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1981).

⁴⁸² Michael Swann, *Education for All: Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1985); Available [online] at:

<<http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/swann/swann1985.html>> [Accessed 24 July 2018]

⁴⁸³ Michael Swann, *Education for All*, pp. 408-409.

⁴⁸⁴ National Council for Mother Tongue Teaching, 'The Swann Report: Education for All?', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 6:6 (1985), p. 497.

English whilst the *Guardian* regarded the ignorance of pupils' multilingual skills in mainstream education as the perpetuation of racism.⁴⁸⁵

In terms of the Report's benefits to the Polish and Ukrainian diasporas in the UK, regional evidence has revealed a measure of progress. Between 1989 and 1991, for instance, Labour-led Kirklees Council supported 30 supplementary schools, including local Polish and Ukrainian ones, through small grants of up to £500.⁴⁸⁶ This was too little too late for smaller Polish and Ukrainian supplementary schools unable to put a stop to diaspora demographic decline. In consequence, the number of individuals who were entered for GCSE Ukrainian and A-Level Polish had plummeted, resulting in the announcement of their scrapping by the Northern Examinations and Assessment Board in 1994.⁴⁸⁷ Though Polish GCSE was eventually retained, the whole episode only reaffirmed the process of linguistic and generational change which had long been under way.⁴⁸⁸

Though renewed migration from Poland and Ukraine in the 1990s and early 2000s provided some additions (whether teachers or pupils) for supplementary schools, this was not enough to stem the continuing sharp demographic decline. This situation was turned on its head in 2004 when Poland along with other A8 countries joined the EU. This resulted in the lifting of earlier UK immigration restrictions which attracted almost half a million new

⁴⁸⁵ Michael W. Stubbs, *The Other Languages of England: Linguistic Minorities Project* (London: Routledge, 1985); *The Guardian*, 1 October 1985, p. 13.

⁴⁸⁶ *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 24 January 1991, p. 14. Michael further revealed that the Ukrainian community received a small grant of around £500 to buy IT equipment from Kirklees Council. Interview with Michael Drapan by the author on 21st March 2018.

⁴⁸⁷ *The Guardian*, 9 May 1995, p. G9.

⁴⁸⁸ *The Times*, 'Diplomatic row over GCSE results', 20 March 1994; also Leonie Gaiser & Philippa Hughes, *Language Provisions in Manchester's Supplementary Schools* (Manchester: The University of Manchester, 2015), Available [online] at: <<http://mlm.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Language-provisions-in-Manchester-supplementary-schools.pdf>> [Accessed 17 October 2018]; Władysław Miodunka, 'Jubileusz 40-lecia polskiej macierzy szkolnej zagranicą', 1953-1993, *Przegląd polonijny*, XX:4(74) (1994), p. 93.

arrivals from Poland by 2010 and triggered rapid growth of previously struggling Polish supplementary schools.⁴⁸⁹

Ukraine, on the other hand, found itself outside the EU after the Orange Revolution in 2004 which prevented the re-building of the Saturday school network on a similar scale to Poles in the UK. By this time UK's Ukrainian diaspora had catered less for the children of British-born descendants of post-war migrants and more for recent arrival from independent Ukraine. Some schools like the one in Rochdale continued to beat the odds and provided education to even a handful of pupils of different backgrounds and language levels. This was thanks to the second-generation school head Maria who, though not a qualified teacher, felt passionate about Ukrainian heritage and wanted to make a difference. Because she hated going to school as a child, she decided to be flexible in her approach whether it meant switching between English and Ukrainian or using project-based learning:

'You can't teach today's children the way we were taught... A lot of it was sort of... they'd recite something in a parrot fashion and it'd be drummed into your head [...] and I can't remember half of what I was taught. You've got to make it fun for the kids. So, I used to pick up ideas when I used to go and pick my daughter up at school.'⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁹ The Polish population in the UK increased from 75,000 to 532,000 between 2004 and 2010. This number further increased to 900,000 by 2016. Office for National Statistics, 'Polish People in the UK – Half a million Polish Residents', 25 August 2011; Available [online] at: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160108060956/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171780_229910.pdf [Accessed 28 September 2018].

⁴⁹⁰ Author interview with Maria Kopczyk, 27th May 2014.

However, Maria also admitted that in nearby Manchester the staff from Ukraine insisted on the sole use of Ukrainian in class even though the children could not always understand them. This alienated some parents who in turn removed their children from this school, suggesting that not all institutions shared same methods and approaches.

Therefore, as demonstrated, supplementary schooling underwent significant changes since the 1980s, whether in terms of pupil numbers, curriculum content, school funding, staff training, general attitudes towards mother-tongue teaching, or the relationship with the ancestral country. It could be tempting to describe the history of Polish and Ukrainian diaspora supplementary schooling as that of decline and to predict its collapse. Instead, this study has shown that both diasporas shown resilience and ability to adapt to constantly changing circumstances. Based on this pretext, it is clear that 'mother-tongue teaching' will stay around but is likely to undergo yet another transformation in the future with more concentration around larger centres of activity and accelerated online offer.

Figure 7 Polish and Ukrainian Saturday Schools in Great Britain, 1950 - 2011⁴⁹¹

Year	Background	Schools	Pupils	Teachers
1955	Pol	128	3,930	140
	Ukr	20	320	-
1961	Pol	150	5,000	-
	Ukr	39	1,650	123
1971	Pol	110	6,992	-
	Ukr	39	2,050	200
1981	Pol	68	4,260	383
	Ukr	24	600	85
1991	Pol	56	2,600	280
	Ukr	13	480	81
2011	Pol	-	-	-
	Ukr	9	220	49

Sources: Tadeusz Radzik, *Szkolnictwo Polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii po drugiej wojnie światowej*; Khrystyna Skrypka, 'Development of Ukrainian Schools in the UK'; *Naukovi zapysky Natsional'noho universytetu Ostroz'ka akademiya*; *Ukrainska Dumka*

⁴⁹¹ Tadeusz Radzik, *Szkolnictwo Polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii po drugiej wojnie światowej*, p. 204; Khrystyna Skrypka, 'Development of Ukrainian Schools in the UK', pp. 140-145; *Naukovi zapysky Natsional'noho universytetu Ostroz'ka akademiya*, 2015, pp. 140-145; *Ukrainska Dumka* 2011- Annual Report.

2.7 Conclusion

The significance of supplementary schooling, therefore, lies in the fact that it has been the only diaspora-wide intra-generational project to have survived to this day. Though its influence was less universal than that of the family, oral history accounts have suggested that individuals who went through diaspora supplementary schooling were more likely to be better connected with other second-generation peers and to show greater knowledge of the respective ancestral country's language and culture. Those who didn't undertake any supplementary learning whether distance or in person usually lacked the cultural capital of their diaspora counterparts. As Stanisław, who attended from the age of five to fifteen and 'hated' Saturday school, admitted: 'I'm surprised how well it is actually ingrained!'⁴⁹²

Though without a doubt the migrant generation profoundly influenced their pupil's early perceptions of ancestral history and culture, generational differences were at the heart of major changes within diaspora education. As oral history accounts have revealed, the experience of the migrant generation informed by wartime educational deprivation and imperial legacies of Russification and Germanisation sharply contrasted with those of the second-generation growing up in Britain within the context of 1960s and 1970s cultural and sexual revolution, decolonisation, and accelerated secularisation. However, it became clear that the longer the settlement in the host country the greater the relaxation of ethnocentric orientation of schools and the narrowing of the gap between diaspora and British contexts whether in terms of the language use, curriculum and financial support, or the teaching style.

⁴⁹² Author interview with Stanisław Sagan, 5th March 2014.

Most changes were carried out by the second-generation who were gradually taking the reins of school leadership and by the 1990s formed much of the teaching pool.⁴⁹³

The comparison between the two groups has revealed that the size of an ethnic group does not always correlate with the volume and intensity of activity. The four times smaller UK's Ukrainian diaspora developed an equally robust educational provision for their children in the 1950s and 1960s despite their slightly slower start and less favourable status than that of the Allied Poles. Through effective lobbying, the Ukrainians also managed to attract attention of both national media and educational policy makers as their inclusion in the 1985 Swann's report attested.

Furthermore, the Cold War and post-Soviet geopolitical developments within the respective homelands also affected supplementary schooling. Though both groups shared a common enemy in Soviet imperialism, oral history accounts have indicated that the Ukrainians, heavily influenced by the radical OUN and with their homeland under a much tighter grip of Moscow, felt a greater existential threat to their identity than their Polish counterparts. The geopolitical situation in Eastern Europe following the collapse of the USSR in 1991, however, set both diasporas on different paths. Whereas Ukraine continued to be gripped by Russia, Poland integrated closely with the West which culminated in the country's accession to the EU, renewed mass migration to the UK and consequent revival of supplementary schooling.

It has become clear that over the years, transformation and change became the only two permanent features in the development of supplementary schooling. Given the reduced

⁴⁹³ Out of 72 teachers at Ukrainian schools in 1990, 57 were second-generation Ukrainians, the majority of whom had professional teaching qualifications. See: Ann Lenczyk Pawliczko, *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World*, p. 299.

size of active diaspora membership, the fracturing of traditional links between the family, church and diaspora associations, the role of supplementary schools remains uncertain. While some continue to display the common features of diasporas coined by Cohen, there have been signs of their erosion with the danger of supplementary schools becoming mere language schools in the future. Therefore, the maintenance of a diasporic identity is a complex process not reduced to a few hours of learning on Saturdays: 'The Polish Saturday School is merely the beginning of a long and arduous path to Polishness', argued an anniversary booklet of one Polish supplementary school.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁴ Anon., *20-lecie Polskiej Szkoły im. Marii Konopnickiej*, p. 27.

3.1 Introduction and Historiography

Having established the pivotal role of Saturday schools in maintaining Polish and Ukrainian diasporic identities, this chapter considers the cultural influence outside the classroom. Though associational life of the first-generation has been well documented, little is known about the influence of diaspora organisations upon the second-generation, their membership and later leadership of them. Given the shifting use of the diaspora language as outlined in previous chapter, it is evident that second-generation associations were noticeably different. Marta Jenkala has found that ‘approximately half [second-generation Ukrainians] have never spoken Ukrainian at home or have learned only a few basic phrases; of the remaining half, most use the language only when communicating with members of the older generation’.⁴⁹⁵ Further, the dominance of first-generation culture, as suggested by Winslow, impeded the second-generation’s sense of belonging to the homeland.⁴⁹⁶ British-born Poles and Ukrainians instead formed their own cultural organisations that reflected a hybridity including diasporic and British culture. Both changes evidence the second-generation’s agency when navigating often competing ideological frameworks established by their parents, juggling often complex relationships between the diaspora, the imagined homeland, and their country of birth.

⁴⁹⁵ Marta Jenkala, ‘Ukrainians in the United Kingdom and Ireland’, in Ann Lenczyk Pawliczko, *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World: A Demographic and Sociological Guide to the Homeland and Its Diaspora* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 300.

⁴⁹⁶ Michelle Winslow, *War, resettlement, rooting and ageing: An oral history study of Polish émigrés in Britain* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Sheffield, 2001), p. 219.

However, the analysis of second-generation ethnicity within the literature has until relatively recently been preoccupied with non-white minorities while other Christian groups were wrongly assumed to have assimilated into the host society, especially for British-born children of European migrants.⁴⁹⁷ With the exception of general diasporic school texts in English and scattered local newspaper reports both providing only superficial coverage of diaspora associational life, the topic is a significant lacuna within the scholarship of Britain's migrant past. The available literature consists of celebratory histories in the vernacular including illustrated accounts of summer camps, personal memoirs, and general guidebooks.⁴⁹⁸

A hitherto neglected resource are the myriad of children and youth magazines illustrating concern for the upbringing of the second-generation.⁴⁹⁹ Given that even the Scout movement, 'one of the world's most enduring and widespread voluntary organisations remains understudied by scholars', it is not surprising that the Polish and Ukrainian equivalents functioning within the diaspora have received scant treatment by English speaking scholars.⁵⁰⁰ Except for Orest Subtelny's recent volume on the history of Ukrainian Plast, the majority of the latest research on diaspora scouting originated from Poland.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁷ Bogusia Temple, 'Polish Families: A Narrative Approach', *Journal of Family Issues*, 22 (2001), pp. 386-399.

⁴⁹⁸ The examples of anniversary titles mostly published by the organisations themselves include: Juliusz L. Englert & Jerzy Witting, *W Harcerskiej Służbie ZHP na Obczyźnie, 1946-1996* (London: Naczelnictwo Związku Harcerstwa Polskiego Poza Granicami Kraju, 1997); I. Fedchyniak, & Ya. Deremenda (eds.), *Spilka Ukraïns'koi Molodi na Chuzhyni: Fotoal'bom* (London: Tsentral'nyi Komitet CYM, 1954); Polska YMCA Londyn, *Souvenir publications on holiday camps arranged by the Polish YMCA in Britain* (London: Polska YMCA in Great Britain, 1969-76); Oksana Parashchak, *50-littia Plastu u Velykii Brytanii* (Lviv: Kalvariia, 1999).

⁴⁹⁹ Polish and Ukrainian youth magazines and journals consulted for this study include the following titles: *Bgdz Gotow*; *Holos Molodi*; *Krylati*; *Na Tropie*; *Ogniwa*; *Yuni Druzi*; *Znicz*. Regular youth content was also published in some of the main diaspora newspapers such as *Dziennik Polski* i *Dziennik Żołnierza* and *Ukrainska Dumka*.

⁵⁰⁰ Tammy M. Proctor, 'Building an Empire of Youth: Scout and Guide History in Perspective', in R. Nelson Block & Tammy M. Proctor (eds.), *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishin, 2009), p. xxviii.

⁵⁰¹ Adam, F. Baran, *Z tymi co zostali... Harcerskie relacje Warszawa-Londyn, 1945-1990* (Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2016); Karol Leszczyński, 'Harcerskie obchody tysiąclecia. Udział Związku Harcerstwa Polskiego działającego poza granicami kraju w emigracyjnych uroczystościach millenijnych

The associational life of British-born members of the Polish and Ukrainian diaspora thereby reveals important insights into the changes within the diaspora during the Cold War and pre-Accession eras. This invites several questions this chapter is seeking to answer. What type of associations do they organise? What did the existence of competing youth organisations reveal about diaspora politics and how did these rub off on the identities of second-generation individuals? How did individual youth organisations respond to Cold War events and how did the breakup of the Eastern Bloc affect their activity? Why did some diaspora organisations never outlive the migrant generation while others continued to function, and how did those ensure their future existence? Combining official sources whether they are British or diaspora media and publications in tandem with oral testimonies provides a more balanced insight into how diasporic identities hybridised in the wake of wider social and geopolitical changes.

3.2 The origins of first-generation Polish and Ukrainian associational life in Britain

The history of second-generation associations can be hardly understood without outlining the intentions and motivations of their migrant founders and understanding their own organisational network first. Compared with economic migrants who did not face political or religious persecution, many Eastern European groups settling in Britain during or immediately

1966 roku', in Rafał Łatka & Jana Żaryna, *Obchody Millenium na Uchodźstwie w 50. Rocznicę* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UKSW, 2016), pp. 255-273; Wiesław Kukla & Marian Miszczuk, *Dzieje harcerstwa na obczyźnie 1912-2006: Zarys problematyki* (Warszawa: Tomiko, 2006); Krzysztof Wasilewski, 'Z działalności Związku Harcerstwa Polskiego poza granicami kraju (1946-2006)', in Marek Szczurbiński & Krzysztof Wasilewski (eds.), *Polski misjonarz na ziemi argentyńskiej: studia historyczne i politologiczne* (Gorzów Wielkopolski: Stowarzyszenie Naukowe Polska w Świecie, 2011), pp. 387-401; Marek Wierzbicki, 'Związek Harcerstwa Polskiego działający poza granicami kraju jako przedmiot badań naukowych', in Sławomir Łukasiewicz (ed.), *Emigracyjne miscellanea: Studia z dziejów polskiej emigracji politycznej 1939-1990* (Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2017), pp. 255-273.

after the Second World War had demonstrated an ability to organise themselves very quickly. Often re-establishing organisations founded earlier, they all followed a similar pattern. Old and newly founded organisations reflected the demographic composition and specific ideological concerns and needs of the migrant population. The Polish and Ukrainian diaspora organisations went through different stages of development. While the traditional centre of Polish diaspora leadership had moved from Paris to London following the fall in France in 1940 where it remained after 1945, the organisational network of the Ukrainian diaspora was more scattered with the main centre of power in North America.⁵⁰²

Nonetheless, the 35,000 Ukrainians in Britain were no less active after the war and established countless organisations in German DP camps including political and quasi-militaristic, professional and educational, religious and sociocultural; simply, it was difficult to find an area of life not represented within the mix.⁵⁰³ These networks were to some extent transplanted to the respective countries of settlement whether it was in Britain and other European countries, or the Americas and Australasia.⁵⁰⁴ The organisational diversity was articulated not only through the number of societies but also through their ideological direction. The fierce internal competition, which was not unique to Ukrainians but occurred within the Polish and other diasporas, produced different conceptions of nationhood including national heroes.⁵⁰⁵ Still, everyone was united in the goal of preserving the organisations established earlier and now banned or/and persecuted by the respective

⁵⁰² See: Vic Satzewich, *The Ukrainian Diaspora*.

⁵⁰³ See: Jan-Hinnerk Antons, 'Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany: Parallel Societies in a Hostile Environment', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 49:1 (2014), pp. 92-114; Wsevolod W. Isajiw & Michael Palij, 'Refugees and the DP Problem in Postwar Europe', in Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Yury Boshyk & Roman Senkus (eds.), *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992), pp. xv-xxiv; Lubomyr R. Wynar, 'Ukrainian Scholarship in Exile: The DP Period, 1945-1952', *Ethnic Forum*, 1:8 (1988), pp. 40-72.

⁵⁰⁴ Ann Lencyk Pawliczko (ed.), *Ukraine and Ukrainians Throughout the World*

⁵⁰⁵ Author Interview with Bohdan Matwijchuk, 16th November 2018.

Communist regimes behind the Iron Curtain. In conforming to what Cohen defined as victim diasporas, they collectively worked towards the broad goal of defeating the Soviet colonisation of their homelands and achieving national independence.⁵⁰⁶

Though they shared a similar future goal, many organisations, having different histories and ideological approaches, disagreed on the methods, style of leadership and/or the person in charge. However, instances of organisational conflicts and problematic past are scarcely documented in official celebratory histories, migrant-generation testimonies and even in studies conducted by second-generation diaspora academics.⁵⁰⁷ Some notable exceptions do exist, such as the work of John-Paul Himka and several others, who have brought to light the antisemitism of the OUN and the involvement of the UPA in the Holocaust and in other wartime atrocities.⁵⁰⁸ Despite the considerable passage of time, these issues continue to cast a shadow over the history of the Ukrainian diaspora, sparking intense debates within both Eastern European and Jewish scholarly circles.⁵⁰⁹

Together with the drive to continue the church tradition in diaspora, an equal determination was applied to the setting up of myriad non-denominational organisations.⁵¹⁰ One of the earliest Ukrainian ones was the AUGB [*SUB - Soiuz Ukraintsiv u Velykii Brtytanii*]

⁵⁰⁶ Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, p. 18.

⁵⁰⁷ John-Paul Himka, 'Ukrainian Memories of the Holocaust: The Destruction of Jews as Reflected in Memoirs Collected in 1947', *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 54:3-4 (2012), pp. 427-442.

⁵⁰⁸ Himka, *Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust*; Ivan Katchanovski, 'Terorists or national heroes? Politics and perceptions of the OUN and the UPA in Ukraine', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 48 (2015), pp. 217-228. Marco Carynnyk, 'Foes of our rebirth: Ukrainian nationalist discussions about Jews, 1929-1947', *Nationalities Papers*, 39:3 (2011), pp. 315-352.

⁵⁰⁸ Khrystyna Skrypka, 'Development of Ukrainian Schools in the UK', pp. 140-145

⁵⁰⁹ Recent studies have begun to approach Jewish-Ukrainian history with a more comprehensive and long-term perspective. See: Paul Robert Magocsi and Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, *Jews and Ukrainians: A Millennium of Co-Existence* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

⁵¹⁰ National religion and faith, however, was an integral part of life and belief system of most of the diaspora organisations. Therefore, it is more appropriate to use the word non-denominational rather than secular, alluding to the intricate interplay between nation and religion in diaspora life.

established in 1946 by a group of Ukrainian members of the Polish Armed Forces.⁵¹¹ However, an ideological conflict soon broke out within this group, principally between the supporters of two different political factions of the OUN, the largest and best-organised Ukrainian nationalist organisation in the West', both with their headquarters based outside Britain.⁵¹² The more numerous group within the AUGB supported Stepan Bandera's hard-line faction of the organisation, OUN-B.⁵¹³ The smaller group sided with Ivan Melnyk's faction, OUN-M. The Melnykites broke away from the AUGB in 1949 and created the Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain.⁵¹⁴ Further divisions within the OUN-B took place in the 1950s following the disagreements between Bandera and his party counterparts Lev Rebet and Zinoviy Matla, leading to the formation of another splinter group, OUN (z), also popularly titled *Dvikari*.⁵¹⁵

The OUN factions and their competing visions of Ukraine's liberation had a decisive impact on the Ukrainian diaspora.⁵¹⁶ First-hand accounts have shown the divisions between

⁵¹¹ An equivalent non-political umbrella body coordinating the work of over eighty Polish diaspora organisations in Britain was *Zjednoczenie Polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii* (Federation of Poles in Great Britain) founded in 1946 and inspired by its American, German, and Belgian counterparts. For the history of the organisation, see: Tadeusz Radzik, *Zjednoczenie Polskie w Wielkiej Brytanii 1947-1997* (London: ZPWB, 1997), p. 52.

⁵¹² Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 'The Man with the Poison Gun: Q&A with Serhii Plokhii', 7 February 2017; Available [online] at: <<https://www.huri.harvard.edu/news/news-from-huri/292-the-man-with-the-poison-gun-q-a.html>> [Accessed 8 January 2018].

⁵¹³ The perception of the organization's leader, Stepan Bandera, remains highly polarized, varying significantly often influenced by the researcher's country of origin and relationship with the Ukrainian diaspora. David R. Marples, 'Stepan Bandera: The Resurrection of a Ukrainian National Hero', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 58:4 (2006), pp. 555-566; Eleonora Narvselius, 'The "Bandera Debate": The Contentious Legacy of World War II and Liberalization of Collective Memory in Western Ukraine', *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, LIV:3-4 (2012), pp. 469-490; Andre Liebich and Oksana Myshlovska, 'Bandera: memorialization and commemoration', *Nationalities Papers*, 42:5 (2014), pp. 750-770; Vjatrovyč, *Ukrajinské 20. století*, pp. 508-525; Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, *Stepan Bandera: The Life and Afterlife of a Ukrainian Nationalist. Fascism, Genocide, and Cult* (Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2014); Committee for Defence of Ukrainian Political Prisoners in USSR, *Murder by Order* (London: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 1984). Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., *Murdered by Moscow: Petlura-Konovalts-Bandera: Three leaders of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement assassinated at the orders of Stalin and Khrushchov* (Lonon: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 1962).

⁵¹⁴ Roman Krawec, 'Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain', available at: <<http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/03/fugb-e.htm>> [Accessed 28 November 2018].

⁵¹⁵ Jaroslaw Prytulak, *Father, Did We Know You?*, Amazon Kindle Locations 3068 – 3069.

⁵¹⁶ Myroslav Yurkevich, 'Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists', *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*; Available [online] at:

members of different organisations ran very deep. In his biography, Ivan Prytulak, the first-generation founding member of the AUGB in Bury revealed how he got marginalised within the organisation when he started diverging from the official party line.⁵¹⁷ This became even more pronounced once he resigned from the Bandera-led OUN-B and joined *Dvikari*. Following this change, Prytulak did not just become a persona non-grata within his former organisation but many of its members boycotted the produce of his newly-founded *Kolos* Bakery in Bradford and he had to rely more on Polish and Jewish customers.⁵¹⁸ As admitted by a second-generation AUGB member from Rochdale, the split between groups was such that some of their members never knew or talked to each other due to their political differences and the resulting organisational separation. It was not until relatively recently that attempts were made to put the past differences behind through various cultural activities.⁵¹⁹

While in Britain the OUN-B sympathisers held a significant majority and thus the resulting political split was not as pronounced, ‘the rivalry among the OUN factions divided and sapped the strength of émigré umbrella organisations’ elsewhere.⁵²⁰ For instance, it affected the New York-based World Congress of Free Ukrainians founded in 1967 by the supporters of the OUN-M. They had to sacrifice the organisations’ original participatory principles to accommodate the OUN-B which eventually took over the leadership in 1980.⁵²¹ Nonetheless, quoting ‘assimilatory pressures, ideological incompatibility with the Western

<<http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CO%5CR%5COrganizationofUkrainianNationalists.htm>> [Accessed 23 January 2019].

⁵¹⁷ Jaroslaw Prytulak, *Father, Did We Know You?* Amazon Kindle Locations 3045, 3065.

⁵¹⁸ Jaroslaw Prytulak, *Father, Did We Know You?*, Amazon Kindle Location 3972.

⁵¹⁹ Author interview with Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014.

⁵²⁰ Myroslav Yurkevich, ‘Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists’.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*

liberal-democratic ethos, and the increasing tendency of political groups in Ukraine', Yurkevich has argued that OUN factions have gradually declined.⁵²²

Apart from this inter-diasporic rivalry, the historical and ideological disputes between some groups, particularly the Poles and the Ukrainians, ran so deep that they prevented cooperation between them despite the common enemy and similar goals. While Soviet Communism presented the primary challenge to Ukrainian nationalist aspirations during the interwar period, the Polish state was no lesser enemy to them. It implemented a policy of open discrimination in the eastern regions where most Ukrainians resided, impacting crucial areas like education, socio-economic resources, and political governance.⁵²³ In contrast, the diaspora Poles abhorred OUN leadership's earlier sympathies for Italian fascism, the participation of Ukrainians in Nazi-controlled Auxiliary Police Units and the Waffen-SS Galicia Division, and especially the killings of the Polish people in Western Ukraine by the UPA.⁵²⁴ These, alongside the continuing territorial claim for the Eastern Kresy region, were the main historical reasons why the Poles boycotted official cooperation with Ukrainian diaspora organisations.⁵²⁵

⁵²² *Ibid.*

⁵²³ The OUN reacted to this official discrimination in an equally aggressive fashion, including the assassinations of Polish politicians. This in turn prompted Polish reprisals against Ukrainian nationalist, including the establishment of a detention camp in Bereza Kartuska. David Svoboda, *Jablko z oceli: Zrod, vývoj a činnosť ukrajinského radikálneho nacionalizmu v letech 1920-1939* (Praha: Academia, 2021), p. 934. Also see: Tomáš Řepa, *Banderovci, Politické souvislosti, následky zneužití tématu komunistickou propagandou, návaznost na hybridní konflikt v současnosti* (Praha: Academia, 2019), pp. 12-15 & 54-56.

⁵²⁴ Marples, *Heroes and Villains*, pp. 203-237.

⁵²⁵ On Polish-Ukrainian Relations, see: David R. Marples, 'The Ukrainian-Polish Conflict', in David R. Marples, *National history in Contemporary Ukraine* (Central European University Press, Budapest: 2007), pp. 203-237; Christoph Mick, 'Incompatible Experiences: Poles, Ukrainians and Jews in Lviv under Soviet and German Occupation, 1939-44', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 46:2 (2011), pp. 336-363.

The chief example of this historical contention can be seen in the decision of the Poles to refrain from joining the Munich-based Anti-Bolshevik League of Nations (ABN).⁵²⁶ The primary goal of the ABN was to create a cohesive front against Communism and bring together political organisations in the diaspora from nations under Soviet influence.⁵²⁷ However, the stumbling block for the Polish was the ABN's direct affiliation with the OUN-B. What is more, the ABN was led by Yaroslav Stetsko, a Ukrainian politician who attracted criticism for his fascist leanings and openly antisemitic views.⁵²⁸ These Polish-Ukrainian tensions were also reflected at the local level.⁵²⁹

Therefore, while individual friendships between individual members of both nationalities did exist, the official first-generation Polish-Ukrainian diaspora relations were marred by bitterness and contempt despite many commonalities of language, shared culture, and history. Although they did not share the same negative sentiment towards each other as their parents, the lack of cooperation between both diasporas prevented the opportunities for second-generation members from both groups to come closer together.

⁵²⁶ In Bradford, the Poles also withdrew from the like-minded Captive Nations Committee due to the territorial claims of both groups over the region of Eastern *Kresy*/Western Ukraine. *The Guardian*, 31 May 1971, p. 11.

⁵²⁷ For more information about the ABN, see: V. Markus, 'Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations', *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*; Available [online] at:

<<http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CA%5CN%5CAnti6BolshevikBlocofNations.htm>> [Accessed 6 March 2019].

⁵²⁸ John-Paul Himka, 'The Lviv Pogrom of 1941: The Germans, Ukrainian Nationalists, and the Carnival Crowd', *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 53:2-4 (2011), p. 222-223; Karel C. Berkhoff and Marco Carynnyk, 'The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Its Attitude toward German and Jews: Jaroslav Stets'ko's 1941 *Zhyttiepys*', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 23:3/4 (1999), pp. 149-184.

⁵²⁹ For instance, a plaque that was unveiled at Bradford Cathedral in 1983 to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the ABN and the 20th anniversary of the Captive Nations Committee in Bradford includes flags of Byelorussia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, and Ukraine, but omits the Polish flag. This continues to generate controversy. The Cathedral's website has clearly acknowledged Stetsko's antisemitism while calling the monument 'a product of its time, and of complicated issues and horrific events in mid-20th century Europe'. *Forward*, an online Jewish magazine, has been even more outspoken, placing the plaque on the list of 'Nazi collaborator monuments in the United Kingdom'. Bradford Cathedral, 'Freedom of nations plaque', bradfordcathedral.org.uk; Available [online] at: <<https://bradfordcathedral.org.uk/2023/01/11/freedom-of-nations-plaque/>> [Accessed 22 August 2023]. Lev Golinkin, 'Nazi collaborator monuments in the United Kingdom', 27 January 2022, *forward.com*; Available [online] at: <<https://forward.com/news/481609/nazi-collaborator-monuments-in-the-united-kingdom/>> [Accessed 22 August 2023].

As opposed to the Ukrainians, the Poles, thanks to their role as an important ally of Western powers in defeating Hitler's Germany during the Second World War, garnered more influential organisational power.⁵³⁰ As well as having a separate Catholic church mission in England and Wales and Scotland, and central headquarters of Polish welfare and socio-cultural organisations abroad, the centre of post-war diaspora politics, the Polish Government in Exile, was also situated in this country. Nevertheless, the Polish diaspora both in Britain and in the United States also faced major political splits based on leadership after 1945.⁵³¹

It broke out in 1954 after August Zaleski, the Exile president refused to leave office after the end of his seven-year term in office.⁵³² To oppose his move, a self-proclaimed committee of opposition known as *Rada Trzech* [The Council of Three] emerged, consisting of the former leader of the Polish Second Corps, General Władysław Anders, and two other exile politicians, Tomasz Arciszewski and Edward Bernard Raczyński who effectively became the principal executive body representing the Polish diaspora.⁵³³ It was not until 1972 when Zaleski died that Council of Three was dissolved and a new president elected, that this damaging political impasse came to an end.

Given the fact that the majority of the Polish and at least one quarter of the Ukrainian diaspora comprised former military personnel, the respective combatant associations proved very popular and influential. Being a wealthy organisation with many properties around Britain, the *Stowarzyszenie Polskich Kombatantów* [Polish Ex-Combatants Association]

⁵³⁰ See: Keith Sword, *The Formation of the Polish Community in Great Britain*.

⁵³¹ Martin Nekola, "'For the freedom of captive European nations': East European exiles in the Cold War", *Historical Research*, 87:238 (2014), pp. 723-741.

⁵³² Paweł Ziętara, *Anders, Korboński, Sieniewicz... Szkice z dziejów Drugiej Wielkiej Emigracji* (Łomianki: Wydawnictwo LTW, 2016), pp. 304-320.

⁵³³ Bogusław Polak, 'General Anders: Leader of the Free Poles in Exile', in Joanna Pyłat, Jan Ciechanowski & Andrzej Suchcitz (eds.), *General Władysław Anders: Soldier and Leader of the Free Poles in Exile* (London: Polish University Abroad, 2008), pp. 238-239; Maria Pestkowska, *Doczekaliśmy Niepodległej: Z dziejów powojennej emigracji polskiej* (Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza RYTM, 2005), pp. 211-218.

(hereafter SPK) lent their support to many diaspora initiatives from education to culture and sports. The SPK also cooperated with the Royal British Legion and took part in annual Armistice Day marches in November. Both national organisations were very mindful of the situation behind the Iron Curtain and did not waste the opportunity to organise protests, manifestations, and lectures to highlight the violation of human rights by the respective Communist regimes.⁵³⁴ The SPK also had its youth wing, but this never proved as popular as Polish scouting.

In addition, the Ukrainian *Obiednannia buvshykh voiakiv ukraintsiv* [Ukrainian Former Combatants] (hereafter OBVU), also played a key role within the Ukrainian diaspora though its wealth and influence did not match its Polish counterpart. Given their controversial wartime history, they did not assume such a public role as the Polish SPK for fear of being exposed and misunderstood. Celebrated as freedom fighters within their communities for their role in fighting for independence against Ukraine's enemies, the extent of their involvement in war-related atrocities has never been clear. However, having to wage war on many fronts, their position has been more complex than those of the Allied soldiers of the Polish Anders Army.

Moreover, the second-generation individuals came to learn very little about their former combatant fathers' wartime past as it was hidden under the veil of secrecy. While attempts to resurrect the issue and bring potential perpetrators to justice arose periodically, only a handful of individuals were prosecuted. With most of the old generation dead, very little corroborating evidence available and the second-generation involved in celebratory

⁵³⁴ See: Tadeusz Kondracki, *Historia Stowarzyszenia Polskich Kombatantów w Wielkiej Brytanii 1946-1996* (Londyn: Zarząd Główny SPK w Wielkiej Brytanii, 1996).

reminiscence rather than an unbiased reflection of their parents' past, there is very little hope that a complete historical account will ever come to light. Losing the bulk of their membership and having very little to offer to British-born generations, both ex-combatant organisation ran their course by the early 2010s.

3.3 Overview and early history of Polish and Ukrainian Youth Movements

There were several key organisations aimed at the youth of Polish and Ukrainian descent in Britain. These can be divided into two categories according to the time of their foundation and ideological/confessional background. Most, including *Harcerstwo*, *Plast* and Polish YMCA emerged within the competing climate of multi-ethnic and multi-confessional Eastern Europe in the first two decades of the 20th century, while others, like SUM came into existence after the Second World War.⁵³⁵ Unlike in several other Slavonic countries where the primacy was assumed by secular *Sokol* followed by its Catholic equivalent *Orel*, the Polish and Ukrainian Catholic establishments had embraced scouting.⁵³⁶

Historically, the two national organisations, Polish *Harcerstwo* and Ukrainian *Plast* both founded in Galicia in 1910 and 1911, experienced very different development. Following Poland's independence in 1918, Polish *Harcerstwo* became one of the largest national Scout organisations. In contrast, *Plast* became to struggle due to the dispersal of the Ukrainian population into four different countries, most of which did not welcome any expressions of

⁵³⁵ Roman Krawec, 'Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain', *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom Online encyclopaedia*; Available [online] at: <<http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/03/uva-e.htm>> [Accessed 28 January 2019].

⁵³⁶ For instance, as the Scouting movement in Croatia and Slovenia associated itself with secular *Sokol*, the respective Catholic authorities supported exclusively Catholic *Orel*. See: S. Lubieniecka-Pistivskowa, 'Organizacje młodzieżowe w Jugosławii', *Na Tropie*, X:3 (1957), p. 5.

Ukrainian national feeling.⁵³⁷ The activity of both movements was further disrupted by the Second World War. *Harcerstwo* in the meantime regrouped in various countries around the world and set up their operational centre in London. In the aftermath of the war, Ukrainian *Plast* was renewed in DP camps in non-Soviet occupation zones of post-war Germany and Austria.⁵³⁸

Associational patterns constituted during the interwar period were not always replicated in the post-1945 diasporic Britain. Though scouting continued to enjoy widespread popularity among the overwhelmingly Polish Catholic population in Britain, it was marginalised within the Ukrainian diaspora as it chose neutrality and decided to concentrate above all on the self-education of the youth.⁵³⁹ By doing so it fell out of favour with OUN-B backed by the bulk of Britain's Ukrainians who endorsed the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM).⁵⁴⁰

Additional challenges also came from the World Association of the International Scout Movement (hereafter World Movement), the international scouting headquarters. Though supporting refugee scouts, its attitude changed with the start of the Cold War. The Scouting Resolution passed in 1947 had a long-lasting negative impact on the relationship between

⁵³⁷ The Soviet Union abolished the movement in 1922 followed by Poland in 1928-30 where it operated only covertly under a different name. Czechoslovakia was the only country where *Plast* could freely operate. See: Piet J. Kroonenberg, *The Undaunted, Keeping the Scouting Spirit Alive: The Survival and Revival of Scouting in Central and Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia* (No Place, Integral Internet Edition, 2011), pp. 499-500, Available [online] at: <<http://www.kelpin.nl/fred/download/piet/geschiedenis/undaunted.pdf>> [Accessed 20 May 2019].

⁵³⁸ Orest Subtelny (ed.), *Plast Ukrainian Scouting, a Unique Story* (Toronto: Plast Publishing Inc., 2016), pp. 117-147.

⁵³⁹ Paul Michael Migus, *Ukrainian Canadian Youth: A History of Organizational Life in Canada 1907-1953* (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1975), p.200; also: Teodor Danyliv, *Kudy yde nashi hromada u Velykobrytanii*, p. 22.

⁵⁴⁰ However, unlike this uneven conflict between SUM and *Plast*, other diaspora centres like Canada faced a much more intense competition between different youth groups due to the longer history of migration and the larger size of the diaspora. See: Paul Michael Migus, *Ukrainian Canadian Youth: A History of Organizational Life in Canada 1907-1953* (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1975).

exile scouts and the World Movement as it compelled DP scouts to either join existing local groups or to relinquish their membership.⁵⁴¹

It led to the withdrawal of recognition to national scout groups formed abroad apart from DP scouts operating in Germany, many of whom had been re-emigrating to other Western countries. The World Movement recognised Poland-based Communist scouting instead of the free exile scouting organisation re-established in 1946 under the name of *Zjednoczenie Harcerstwa Polskiego poza granicami Kraju* (ZHP pgK) [the Association of Polish Scouts Abroad] founded in 1946.⁵⁴² Similarly, re-established in 1947 with the headquarters in Munich, *Soyuz Ukrainskykh Plastunyv* (SUP) [Ukrainian Plast Association] could only lead unofficial existence.⁵⁴³

The only two options offered to exile scouts included the joining of the established national organisation within the new country of residence or relinquishing membership in the organisation altogether.⁵⁴⁴ This was simply unacceptable to Poles, Ukrainians, and other Eastern European groups resident in the West as it meant not only the betrayal of their Scout promise and patriotic pride but also the yielding to Communist propaganda machinery. Rather than submitting to the resolution, the Polish and Ukrainian boy and girl scouts continued to rebuild their respective organisations, thus maintaining the homeland tradition, and helping to preserve the nation in exile.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴¹ World Scout Bureau, *World Scout Conference Resolutions 1920-2021* (Kuala Lumpur: World Scout Bureau, 2021), p. 22.

⁵⁴² On the relationship between ZHP pgK and Communist Poland see: Adam F. Baran, *Z tymi co zostali*.

⁵⁴³ Frank Jaroslaw Fursenko, *Ukrainian Scouting: Plast Postal Issues & Badges* (Norwood: Peacock Publications, 2012), p. 24; Oleksandr Sych, *Plast, Ukrainskyi skavtyng, 2 zmienene dopovnene* (Ivano-Frankivsk: Lileia HB, 2012), p. 149.

⁵⁴⁴ Piet J. Kroonenberg, *The Undaunted*, pp. 74-5.

⁵⁴⁵ Marek Wierzbicki, 'Związek Harcerstwa Polskiego działający poza granicami kraju jako przedmiot badań naukowych', in Sławomir Łukasiewicz (ed.), *Emigracyjne miscellanea: Studia z dziejów polskiej emigracji politycznej 1939-1990* (Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2017), p. 255.

3.4 Claiming legitimacy and continuity: Polish and Ukrainian Scout Organisations in Britain

Both ZHP pgK and Plast were diaspora organisations which complemented and extended the work of the Saturday school movement. Plast, with only a few small branches in areas with large Ukrainian population and membership of less than one hundred, faced hardship in the beginning. To generate income, the organisation even ran a grocery store in Leeds between 1956 and 1960.⁵⁴⁶ On the other hand, ZHP pgK with central headquarters in London and membership base thirty times larger than its rival wielded far greater influence.⁵⁴⁷ Over time, both organisations managed to acquire property, principally for their headquarters, summer camps and jamborees. The bulk of their operations was financed through community fundraising and individual donations with vital role played by the respective friends of groups, Koło Przyjaciół Harcerstwa/Plast-priyat. The largest diaspora organisations such as the SPK and AUGB usually freely hired their premises for local scout meetings.

While patriotism was part and parcel of every scouting movement, diaspora scouts differed from other nation-based scouting movements in the degree of immersion in the national language, religion, and culture. This was affirmed by E. Andrzejowska, the leader of Polish Girl Scouts: 'We generally put much greater emphasis on the knowledge of Poland than we otherwise would if we could live there'.⁵⁴⁸ As part of the struggle for their national independence, the Polish and Ukrainian scouts both attempted to recreate the old country environment in many ways.

⁵⁴⁶ Oksana Parashchak, *50-littia Plastu u Velykii Brytanii*, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁴⁷ Bogdan Szwagrzak, *Polskie Emigracyjne Organizacje Młodzieżowe w W. Brytanii (Wybrane) Jako czynnik w formowaniu postawy społeczno-obywatelskiej, 1950-2005* (Londyn: Veritas Foundation Publication Centre, 2007), p. 262.

⁵⁴⁸ Krysia Mykowa (ed.), *Jednodniówka Hufca Harcerok Bałtyk – Londyn XXX lat, 1943-1973* (Londyn: Hufiec Bałtyk, 1973), p. 2.

For instance, the Polish organisation renamed all its regional districts, *hufce*, after different parts of Poland while the local troops carried the names of Polish national heroes. By doing so the memory of the free nation continued to live despite being erased and reinvented by Communist propaganda in the Eastern Bloc. In 1965, there were five girl scout districts: Bałtyk (London), Pomorze (south of England), Mazowsze (West Midlands), Wawel (East Midlands), Kaszuby (North of England – Yorkshire and Lancashire). The Boy Scouts formed seven districts: Warszawa (London), Szczecin (South of England), Białowieża (West Midlands), Wrocław (East Midlands), Gdynia (Lancashire and Cheshire), Wilno (Yorkshire), Lwów (Scotland), Łódź (East of England).⁵⁴⁹

However, while names such as Szczecin and Wrocław indicated the organisation's acceptance of the post-war border along the Oder-Neisse line, others including Wilno and Lwów reflected the movement's continuing concern for the loss of the Eastern *Kresy* area which had become part of the Soviet Union in 1945.⁵⁵⁰ Images of the map of the territorially larger interwar Poland with articles referring to the history of the area from which hailed some of the most important icons of Polish national life such as Kosciuszko, Mickiewicz and Piłsudski, also frequently featured in diaspora scouting magazines.⁵⁵¹ Nevertheless, this relationship with the homeland was not just symbolical. With Scouting organisation banned in Poland between 1950 and 1956, the ZHP abroad represented an uninterrupted legal link to pre-war Poland.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁹ Wiesław Kukla & Marian Miszczuk, *Dzieje harcerstwa na obczyźnie 1912-2006: Zarys problematyki* (Tomiko, Warszawa: 2006), p. 88.

⁵⁵⁰ Krzysztof Wasilewski, 'Z działalności Związku Harcerstwa Polskiego poza granicami Kraju', p. 394.

⁵⁵¹ See: I.P., 'Ziemie zabrane przez Rosję', *Na Tropie*, XII;6 (1959), p. 18; Anon., 'Wileńskim szlakiem', *Ogniwa*, V:3(42) (1953), pp. 11-13.

⁵⁵² Bogdan Szwagrzak, *Polskie Emigracyjne Organizacje Młodzieżowe w W. Brytanii (Wybrane) Jako czynnik w formowaniu postawy społeczno-obywatelskiej, 1950-2005* (Londyn: Veritas Foundation Publication Centre, 2007), p. 259; Adam F. Baran, *Z tymi co zostali... Harcerskie relacje Warszawa-Londyn, 1945-1990* (Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2016), p. 47; Jacek Bernaśński, 'Harcerstwo Polskie Poza

Most importantly, the struggle for recognition could hardly be continued without an awareness of one's roots and language. Therefore, education of new generations of Poles and Ukrainians born in Britain became the key mission of both organisations.⁵⁵³ As compared with Saturday school teaching, scouting used fewer formal methods to achieve its objectives. For instance, the members' development was encouraged through the system of badges. These were awarded for achievements in various areas including orienteering, sports, camping or the knowledge of the history and culture of the old country, all encouraging healthy competition, leadership skills and personal discipline.⁵⁵⁴

One of the prerequisites of the membership within each national scouting organisation was the ability to speak the national language. This requirement in effect disqualified those second-generation members whose language capability was limited. Ukrainian Plast even organised extra language tuition for their members.⁵⁵⁵ *Ogniwa*, the magazine for Polish girl scouts could not reiterate this message more strongly when it noted: 'language is a treasure which must not be squandered, lost or corrupted [...] and a great effort is required to protect it from any foreign influence'.⁵⁵⁶ It even asked the girls to examine their conscience every night and to write down several times the right version of the word they used incorrectly.⁵⁵⁷

Granicami Kraju', in Leonidas Kliszewicz (ed.), *Mobilizacja Uchodźstwa do Walki Politycznej, 1945 – 1990* (Londyn: Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe Na Obczyźnie, 1995), p. 179.

⁵⁵³ Jacek Bernasinski, 'Harcerstwo Polskie Poza Granicami Kraju', in Leonidas Kliszewicz (ed.), *Mobilizacja Uchodźstwa Do Walki Politycznej 1945-1990* (London: Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe Na Obczyźnie, 1995), p. 181.

⁵⁵⁴ For instance, alongside awards such as a poetess and ecologist, the Polish Girl Scouts also awarded four levels of *Miłośniczka Ziemi Ojczystej* [Fatherland Lover] which required different degrees of knowledge of Poland. The Scout equivalent was *Znawca Ziemi Ojczystej* [Fatherland Expert]. See: Juliusz L. Englert & Jerzy Witting, *W Harcerskiej Służbie ZHP na Obczyźnie*, pp. 338-341.

⁵⁵⁵ Frank Jarosław Fursenko, *Ukrainian Scouting*, p. 23.

⁵⁵⁶ Anon., 'Mowa polska-skarb Twój', *Ogniwa*, V:11(50) (1953), pp. 17-18.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

The internal activity of the organisation revolved around regular meetings and outings of local troops where they learned outdoor skills, improved physical fitness, and exercised cultural heritage. The organisation was broken down into either mixed-sex or single sex groups according to age, 3-5, 6-11, 12-17, 18-34, 35-year-olds and over.⁵⁵⁸ The local troops also got together as part of their district or, less regularly, the country-wide organisation, which grouped all the diaspora scouts in Britain. The highlight of each scout's annual calendar were summer camps. Opened in 1966, the Ukrainian campsite *Verkhovyna* in an isolated rural spot in North Wales (Colwyn Bay) was transformed every summer into a Ukrainian village for several weeks.⁵⁵⁹ It offered its participants to spend good quality time with people of the same background without the distractions of English life.

Community service was another important part of scouting activity which was largely linked with the life of the diaspora church. According to *Bądź Gotów*, a Polish diaspora Scout magazine: 'A Harcerz [Scout] is a young man yearning to: love God, serve Poland, willing to help his neighbour'.⁵⁶⁰ However, this was not unusual as religion was at the core of Baden Powell's founding principles.⁵⁶¹ But while he encouraged the Scouts to attend Sunday services 'without fail', he made clear that the organisation stood for much more than just passive

⁵⁵⁸ See: Roman Krawec, 'Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organisation in Great Britain', *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom Online encyclopaedia*, Updated 30 September 2021, Available [online] at: <<https://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/03/plast-e.htm>> [Accessed 13 November 2022].

⁵⁵⁹ Between 1950 and 1965 annual Plast camps took place at one of these locations: Chiddingfold in Southern England, Garrenden Hall near Loughborough, and Tymair in North Wales. Source: Author interview with John Kulyk, 12th September 2018.

⁵⁶⁰ Anon., 'Co każdy harcerz powinien wiedzieć o swojej organizacji', *Badź Gotów*, IX:4 (1956), p. 20. Similarly, the Ukrainians used their motto: God and Ukraine. Huddersfield Ukrainian Club, Private Collection of Photos, 1950-2010.

⁵⁶¹ 'No man is much good unless he believes in God and obeys His laws. So, every Scout should have a religion'. Source: Lord Baden-Powell of Gilwell, *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship Through Woodcraft*, p. 187; Available [online] at: <<http://www.thedump.scoutscan.com/s4b.html>> [Accessed 30 December 2022].

churchgoing. It was to be based on the actual application of Christian principles in everyday life and all Scouting activity.⁵⁶²

Therefore, there was no important event which would take place without the scouts being present, all of which underlined the organisation's elite role.⁵⁶³ As well as carrying scout standards in religious processions, their duties entailed Polish-specific tasks such as the standing of guard of honour by the Lord's Tomb on Easter Saturday, visiting graves at All Hallows Day, distributing the light from the Holy Land and carol singing at Christmas.⁵⁶⁴ Indeed, the interrelationship between the scouts and the church was very close.⁵⁶⁵ One of the manifestations of this was the Scout promise of the Yorkshire company Wilno taken in 1958 by 17 girls and 14 boys as part of the Leeds diocese pilgrimage to Ilkley.⁵⁶⁶ The fact that one of the first structures erected at the *Verkhovyna* Plast camp was a small chapel showed similar attitudes within the Ukrainian Plast movement.

Like other organisations, both scouting movements used every opportunity to raise awareness of their own struggle for national independencies through public events aimed at showing patriotism of the diaspora organisations to Britain. Participation in St. George's Day parades, royal visits, and other displays of civic pride, all helped to raise awareness of their unfree homeland.⁵⁶⁷ The Poles as the largest scouting organisation of all the countries from

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁶³ Polish Parish of the Divine Mercy, *Polska Parafia i Kościół Miłosierdzia Bożego w Manchester 1947-1987* (Manchester: Self-Published, 1987), p. 51.

⁵⁶⁴ Anna Mańkowska quoted in: *Polski Kościół Rzymsko-Katolicki Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej Królowej Polski w Huddersfield, 1962-1987*, p. 34. For articles related to the celebration of All Hallows Day see: *Ogniwa*, VII:1(64) (1955), p. 20; Barbara Kobus, 'Zaduszki', *Na Tropie*, XI:12 (1958), pp. 14-15; Author interviews with John Kulyk and Danylo Wilczynski, 12th September 2018.

⁵⁶⁵ This was the case of Józef Dryżałowski from Huddersfield, personal chaplain of Yorkshire company Wilno. Source: K. Szybbo, 'Pielgrzymka do Ilkley i przyrzeczenie hufca Wilno', *Na Tropie*, XI:7 (1958), pp. 22-3.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁷ See: *Lancashire Evening Post*, 26 April 1954, p. 7; *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 25 May 1962, p. 25; *Birmingham Post*, 4 July 1960, p. 7. The presence of Polish Scouts at St. George's Day Parade, however, should not be seen as an integration attempt since St. George is also patron saint of world-wide Scouting.

behind the Iron Curtain, took on the leadership in the anti-Communist struggle. For instance, to support their Hungarian counterparts emigrating to Britain following the events of 1956, the scouts from the troop Bałtyk carried their banner in the pro-Hungarian manifestation and made Christmas card in their support.⁵⁶⁸ In comparison, whether it was due to its proclaimed neutrality or negligible size, Ukrainian Plast kept low key in these matters with the very active role played by its more radical and ideologically oriented SUM.⁵⁶⁹

In addition, the Jamborees and World Camps, four-yearly assemblies of Scout and Guide groups from around the world resembling little Olympic Games, provided additional opportunities for representation.⁵⁷⁰ Though they were not always invited to them, the exile scouts often managed to attract significant attention reaching beyond the Scout and Guide Movement.⁵⁷¹ For instance, the 35-strong Ukrainian troop attending the 11th World Jamboree in Greece, in 1963, managed to alienate the Soviet Embassy in Athens by hoisting of the Ukrainian flag in the camp (two members from Bradford and two from Manchester).⁵⁷² It was also carried by the scouts from Liechtenstein in the final parade in front of Greek Royalty, as the Ukrainian scouts were only allowed to march under a German one as Germany was the only country that acknowledged the existence of exiled Ukrainian Plast movement.⁵⁷³

These activities, however, did little to reverse the failed attempts to find a compromise between the World Movement and exile scouts, highlighting the importance of

⁵⁶⁸ K. Medeksza, 'Z Kroniki Hufca Bałtyk', *Na Tropie*, X:1 (1957), p. 11.

⁵⁶⁹ Author interview with John Kulyk, 12th September 2018.

⁵⁷⁰ With 45,000 Scouts attending, the Sutton Park Jamboree in 1957 was the largest of its time. The Poles sent a 100-strong delegation composed of the exile scouts from Britain, France, Belgium and Germany. Source: *Na Tropie*, 11:1 (1957), pp. 12-18; *Znicz*, 10:3 (1957), p. 16.

⁵⁷¹ The dance performed by the Polish Girl Scouts at the 1957 World Camp in Windsor Park was shortlisted for filming by the BBC and selected as one of only eight to be included in the camp grand final. Source: Elżbieta Milewicz, 'Jamboree skautek', *Na Tropie*, X, 9-10 (1957), pp. 22-24; Juliusz L. Englert & Jerzy Witting, *W Harcerskiej Służbie ZHP na Obczyźnie*, p. 272.

⁵⁷² Author interview with John Kulyk, 12th September 2018.

⁵⁷³ *Ukrainian Weekly*, 7 September 1963, pp. 2, 4; *Ukrainian Weekly*, 17 August 1963, p. 1.

wider geopolitical considerations which influenced even a seemingly unpolitical organisation. Rather than accepting 'associate membership' offered to them at the Lisbon Conference in 1961, the exiles chose to go their separate ways.⁵⁷⁴ To coordinate their own efforts, all exile scout groups eventually came together in one umbrella body, the Associated International Scout and Guide Organisations founded in 1976.⁵⁷⁵ It is important to add however, that individual English & Welsh scout troops remained on friendly terms with the exile scouts. Ukrainian Plast was for instance invited to participate in Peak 74 Jamboree held in Peak District in July 1974 attended by 6,000 scouts from 40 countries.⁵⁷⁶

Following the peak period of activity between the early 1960s and late 1970s, the membership plummeted in the 1980s.⁵⁷⁷ This also correlated with the decline of Saturday school and church attendance. Though the numbers were on the rise again in the 1990s as the third-generation entered the stage, this was not enough to compensate for the ageing membership. In fact, much of the leadership of the 1994 diaspora-wide Jamboree in Clumber Park in 1994 still consisted of the migrant generation.⁵⁷⁸ Further decline would have been inevitable had it not been for renewed migration post-2004 which reinvigorated Polish and to a smaller extent Ukrainian organisations.

Ironically, the greatest threat to scouting was not posed by the World Movement or Soviet Communism but came from within the diaspora itself. The requirement which both

⁵⁷⁴ Marek Wierzbicki, 'Związek Harcerstwa Polskiego działający poza granicami kraju jako przedmiot badań naukowych', p. 261.

⁵⁷⁵ Piet J. Kroonenberg, *The Undaunted*, p. 102.

⁵⁷⁶ Frank Jaroslaw Fursenko, *Ukrainian Scouting*, p. 297; John Kulyk also maintained that Welsh scouts were great supporters of Plast from the very beginning. Author interview with John Kulyk, 12th September 2018.

⁵⁷⁷ Leonidas Kliszewicz, 'Z Dziejów Harcerstwa w Wielkiej Brytanii w Latach 1940-1965', in Szczerbiński, Marek (ed.), *Dzieje harcerstwa na obczyźnie w latach 1912-1992* (Gorzów: Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe Kultury Fizycznej, 1992), p. 238.

⁵⁷⁸ Związek Harcerstwa Polskiego, *Pamiętnik V światowego zlotu ZHP "Dziedzictwo": Clumber Park światowy zlot ZHP, 1994* (London: ZHP, 1996).

ensured the continuing existence and informal acceptance of diaspora scouting but also caused its downfall was the language issue.⁵⁷⁹ Without the knowledge of the language, diaspora scouts could hardly call themselves Polish or Ukrainian. As John suggested, the problem became closely linked with diaspora education: 'Up until twenty years ago, we had Ukrainian schools that did this to a great degree, but they all shut down [...] Over the last few years we have been double-langued, we've had to.'⁵⁸⁰

3.5 No compromise with Moscow: Ukrainian Youth Association's struggle for free Ukraine

While both scouting movements were strongly patriotic and supported non-violent struggle for political independencies of their ancestral lands, they largely maintained political neutrality. Unlike within Britain's Polish diaspora where *Harcerstwo* was the strongest youth organisation, it was SUM, not Plast, which assumed the dominant role.⁵⁸¹ SUM was anything but neutral. Its members were brought up to uphold the ideological beliefs and to honour the historical legacy of its patron organisation, OUN-B, therefore, being heavily shaped by the agenda of the migrant generation. Nevertheless, the operations of SUM were multifarious and besides its ideological-educational work included other aspects such as music orchestras, dance troupes and sports teams. The intention here is to highlight the former as SUM, being the most radical and ideologically explicit youth organisation, provides the best example-rich lenses through which to analyse the relationship between second-generation diaspora and Soviet Communism.

⁵⁷⁹ Piet J. Kroonenberg, *The Undaunted*, p. 312.

⁵⁸⁰ Author interview with John Kulyk, 12th September 2018. Some authors even suggested that diaspora Plast will wind up in 10-20 years-time. See: Oleksandr Sych, *Plast, Ukrainskyi skavtyng*, p. 154.

⁵⁸¹ Given the organisation's numerical strength and the fact that most smaller communities in the industrial North of England did not have a Plast troop, most participants in this research study were SUM members.

In describing how SUM operated, many interviewees often used parallels with scouting. Like Plast, SUM also had uniforms, its own patron saint (St. Michael), laws and symbols, as well as similar age tiers with the system of progression through badges.⁵⁸² It also organised regular national rallies and held annual summer camps.⁵⁸³ SUM portrayed itself as the only patriotic youth movement while it regarded Plast as an internationalist, non-patriotic organisation.⁵⁸⁴ Plast, on the other hand, saw SUM as militant and politicised. This is how Danny with hindsight justified his choice of Plast: ‘the Scouts were doing the Scouting things rather than going round shooting and protesting and this sort of thing’.⁵⁸⁵

Although Plast in Britain did not present a real threat due to its small size, SUM did not shy away from using questionable methods including intimidation and blackmail to boost their membership. Danny, a lifetime member of Plast exposed the tactics of SUM in the 1950s: ‘They were recruiting hard. They were offering half a crown to my parents if I signed up for SUM’.⁵⁸⁶ He also claimed that those Saturday school teachers who were in SUM routinely penalised their Plast pupils.⁵⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the relationship between Plast and SUM is rarely analysed in official histories. In fact, alongside oral history accounts, the only available piece of documentary evidence is a self-published book by Teodor Danyliv in which he devoted a section to analysing ‘the catastrophe on the youth front’, referring to the earlier contention between the two youth organisations.⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸² Ukrainian Youth Association, *SUM na chuzhyni* (SUM, London: 1954).

⁵⁸³ SUM bought a plot of land in Derbyshire in 1964 which they renamed Tarasivka, a name given to many villages in Ukraine carrying the legacy of the famous poet Taras Shevchenko. See: Tarasivka, Ukrainian Youth Centre; Available at: < <https://www.tarasivka.co.uk/> > [Accessed 29 December 2022].

⁵⁸⁴ Teodor Danyliv, *Kudy yde nashi hromada u Velykobrytanii* (Munich: Self-published, 1970), pp. 30-32.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁶ Author interview with Danylo Wilczynski, 12th September 2018.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁸ Teodor Danyliv, *Kudy yde nashi hromada u Velykobrytanii*, pp.18-32.

Though this behaviour towards Plast was clearly unjustifiable, it is important to understand SUM's ethos as well as that of its patron, OUN-B, within the context of the ever-present fear of Moscow's infiltration. Given hindsight, these suspicions did not prove as completely unfounded as the assassinations by the KGB of Ukrainian exiled nationalist leaders, Lev Rebet and Stepan Bandera in Munich in 1957 and 1959 demonstrated.⁵⁸⁹ Being the most vocal critic of Russian Communism, SUM also posed the greatest threat to the Soviet interest in Britain out of all diaspora youth organisations for which it became targeted by Moscow.

As well as adhering to the principle of faith and patriotism (God and Ukraine) like Plast, SUM was not content with quiet unassuming preservation of traditions without putting up a fight on behalf of their shackled nation. The organisation's programme adopted at the organisation's First Congress in Augsburg in 1947 spelled out clearly that its ideal member should be: 'a young man who would always be convinced of the victory of his truth [...] for whom a betrayal of the nation would be equivalent to death.'⁵⁹⁰ The top item of the organisation listed in the *sumivets* calendar from 1950 was self-explanatory: 'to fight against Moscow's occupation of Ukraine by all means necessary until it gains freedom'.⁵⁹¹ The ultimate aim, therefore was to 'educate honest citizens for the future [of] free and independent Ukraine' rather to strive for integration or assimilation although 'the respect for the laws and culture of the foreign countries where the members [were] living' was also imperative.⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁹ Ukrainian Information Service, *Murder By Order* (London: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 1984).

⁵⁹⁰ Tsentralnyi Komitet Spilki Ukrainskoi Molodi, *Kalendarets Sumivtsia na 1950 rik* (Germany: Avantgard, 1950), p. 35.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹² Ukrainian Youth Association, *SUM na chuzhyni*, p. 235.

The organisation's anti-Communist campaign became a prominent aspect of its activities and a fundamental part of each member's identity. For both Poles and Ukrainians, this identity was deeply rooted in narratives of suffering and oppression at the hands of Bolshevik Russia and Nazi Germany. While second-generation members grew more critical of their parents' viewpoints and attitudes, this narrative continued to exert a significant influence on their identity, resonating with the themes explored in Burrell's research on postmemory of the Polish community in Leicester.⁵⁹³ As John explained: 'I think what they [migrant generation] suffered was passed on. That I think is why the Ukrainians are passionate about... I don't get this from the Italian side. All my passion really is from the Ukrainian side'.⁵⁹⁴ Therefore, as well as demonstrating the way in which trauma can be passed on from one generation to the next, like in the case of second-generation Holocaust survivors, John's testimony also revealed how the narratives of victimhood can encourage the strengthening of one national identity over another.⁵⁹⁵ Also, like in the case of the Holocaust memories, there's a reluctance among the second-generation to properly challenge their forebears' memory out of respect towards them.⁵⁹⁶

SUM was at the forefront of all anti-Soviet activity in the UK. These were not just haphazard events but mirrored the British-Soviet Cold War relations as well as reflecting the long catalogue of Soviet human rights abuses in Communist Ukraine.⁵⁹⁷ As Michael suggested,

⁵⁹³ Burrell, 'Personal, Inherited, Collective'.

⁵⁹⁴ Author interview with John Kybaluk, 19th April 2014.

⁵⁹⁵ There is a growing corpus of literature about post-Holocaust trauma and second-generation memory. See: Samuel Juni, 'Identity Disorders of Second-Generation Holocaust Survivors', *Journal of Loss and Trauma*, 21:3 (2016), pp. 203-212; Marianne Hirsch, 'Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory', *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 14:1 (2001), pp. 5-37; Esther Faye, 'Missing the "Real" Trace of Trauma: How the Second Generation Remember The Holocaust', *American Imago*, 58:2 (2001), pp. 525-544.

⁵⁹⁶ Mark Roseman, 'Surviving Memory: Truth and inaccuracy in Holocaust testimony', in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader*, Third Edition (Routledge: London, 2016), pp. 320-332.

⁵⁹⁷ The most significant protest put up by the migrant generation was against Khrushchev's and Bulganin's UK state visit in April 1956. See: Wilson Center Digital Archive, *Visit to the United Kingdom of Bulganin and*

the protests were a regular occurrence: 'We were constantly outside the Russian Embassy... we tried to make as much noise and try to get on the news'.⁵⁹⁸ On a number of occasions, the actions of SUM members most of whom came from the industrial North of England ended up in court prosecutions.⁵⁹⁹ Nonetheless, the number of articles in local and national newspapers suggests that their strategy was successful.

Each official Soviet visit to the UK was accompanied by large-scale protests staged not only by the Ukrainians but many groups from behind the Iron Curtain. For instance, the announced visit of the former KGB chief and Soviet trade union boss Alexander Shelepin in April 1975 triggered a quick and sharp reaction of SUM GB Secretary who warned that 'the Ukrainians in Great Britain, especially the youth [would] strongly demonstrate [their] feeling against the involvement of this democratic country with that of a state governed by a murderous clique'.⁶⁰⁰

Though clearly no single demonstration was likely to achieve any real changes of Soviet Communist policy, they all collectively exerted continual pressure on the Soviet state as well as indicating the diaspora vigilance and awareness of conditions in the Eastern Bloc countries. In this respect, Shelepin's visit was an exception to this rule. Not only was it 'embarrassing and humiliating and not helpful to Soviet foreign policy', but it also contributed

Khrushchev, 19-27 April 1956; Available [online] at:

<<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/123798>> [Accessed 17 November 2022]; Natalia Kapitonova, 'Visit of Soviet leaders Nikita Khrushchev and Nicholas Bulganin to Britain in April 1956', *Cold War History*, 14:1 (2014), pp. 127-152.

⁵⁹⁸ Author interview with Michael Drapan, 3rd June 2014.

⁵⁹⁹ These were generally minor offences including the breaking of embassy windows, insulting and threatening behaviour and assault on police, for which individuals either acquitted or received fines and suspended sentences. See *The Times*, 'Windows broken in Russian Embassy', 8 August 1968, p.1; *The Guardian*, 'Shelepin protest fines', 4 April 1975; and *The Guardian*, 'Judge frees demonstrators', 8 May 1975, p. 7.

⁶⁰⁰ *The Times*, 10 March 1975, p. 13.

to Shelepin's resignation from the Politburo two weeks later.⁶⁰¹ However, anti-Soviet protests by Eastern-European diasporas also drew criticism. Commenting on the protest organised by the Polish Association and the Captive Nations Committee against the Soviet choir concert in 1972 in Huddersfield, appalled Mrs Shirley Garnett maintained that 'patrons of concerts [these] are not politically motivated in their pursuance of culture'.⁶⁰²

Very often, Moscow did not take long to react as has been demonstrated before. Indeed, it was the Soviet regime that pursued the Eastern European diasporas by all the means possible including assassinations, intimidation, distribution of communist literature, and fake news.⁶⁰³ In 1980 the Soviets vilified Ukrainian youth in the UK in its mouthpiece *Sovietskaya Rossia*. The newspaper alleged that SUM was running two bases in the North of England funded by the CIA, one in Weston upon Trent and one in Oldham with the aim to infiltrate the Moscow Olympics in 1980.⁶⁰⁴ Whether it was for wrong or right reasons, the publicity was an important way of giving a voice for free Ukraine. Above all, these events carried a different type of merit. As well as providing psychological connection with the ancestral land, the demonstrations served as an important bonding experience which enhanced inter-diasporic consciousness and became forever inscribed within the diaspora collective memory.

Nonetheless, as well as considering the wider historical context, it is important to ask what did the experience of these events mean to second-generation participants? Quite a

⁶⁰¹ *The Times*, 'Mr Shelepin Gets the Sack', 17 April 1975, p. 17; *The Times*, 'Motive behind Shelepin downfall', 23 April 1975, p. 1.

⁶⁰² *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 22 November 1972, p. 4; Also see: *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 20th April 1956, p. 10.

⁶⁰³ Michael Drapan, for instance, remembered that his dad received a communist magazine every month delivered to his home address even though he never subscribed to it. Author interview with Michael Drapan, 3rd June 2014.

⁶⁰⁴ *The Times*, 'West Training Olympic Saboteurs, Russia says', 14 July 1980, p. 1

few interviewees admitted that they went to protest for many reasons other than political ones. Many treated it as a day out or to have a 'bit of fun'.⁶⁰⁵ For Maria, being at a demonstration and witnessing her boyfriend being arrested was quite a frightening experience. She also admitted: 'I don't think we fully understood what it were all about. A lot did. I think, I didn't always understand. I went because my dad was going'.⁶⁰⁶ However, it was clear that many second-generation people were passionate about their cause and knew what they were protesting about whether it was the visits of Moscow's officials to the West, historical crimes of the Soviet regime, imprisonment of Ukrainian intelligentsia and even cultural events brought to Britain by groups from behind the Iron Curtain.⁶⁰⁷

The explanation of the SUM casual radicalism cannot be solely attributed to migrant generation indoctrination either. Indeed, these events need to be clearly understood within the context of Western governments' general blindness to the cause of anti-Communist diasporas, economic and cultural cooperation with the USSR post-1956s and the lack of concerted international action against Soviet repression within its satellite states whether it was in Hungary in 1956, Germany in 1953 and 1961, Czechoslovakia in 1968, Poland in 1981. However, while the demonstrations were the most frequent expressions of SUM's anti-Communism, the organisation made numerous other efforts to put Ukraine on the map. One of the most prominent examples was the BBC 2 Programme produced by several SUM members, *Ukrainians: The People Who Couldn't Go Home*, shown in 1978.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁵ Author interview with John Kybaluk, 19th April 2014, Misko Czerkas, 18th March 2014, and Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014.

⁶⁰⁶ Author interview with Maria Kopczyk, 27th May 2014.

⁶⁰⁷ *Huddersfield Weekly Examiner*, 7 October 1950, p. 7; *Halifax Observer*, 14 April 1956, unknown page; *Bradford Telegraph & Argus*, 16 April 1956, unknown page; *Yorkshire Observer*, 23 April 1956, unknown page; *Huddersfield Weekly Examiner*, 22 September 1962, p. 4; *Yorkshire Post*, 20 November 1972, p. 18.

⁶⁰⁸ BBC2, 'Ukrainians the People who couldn't Go Home in 1978', 23 April 1978; Available [online] at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ucijYUj3U&t=1315s> [Accessed 12 January 2021].

3.6 Towards an independent second-generation diaspora associational life

The influence of the migrant generation upon their British-born children during their childhood and teens was apparent. However, oral history accounts have clearly demonstrated a departure from the concerns of their parents and attempts to go their own way. In other words, while having to accept the established organisation rules, they found ways of bending them or using them to their own benefit. This is how Bohdan felt about having to learn at summer camps: 'I never attended the lectures [laughing]. I actually skived off and like joined work parties. Um, I was... I was very much a rebel. I mean, I resented the idea of spending three of my weeks learning thingy'.⁶⁰⁹

The denser the network of local communities, the greater the opportunity to mix together, make a friend or meet a future life partner. Though the amount of active time spent outside the home and community took up a greater part of the week, the free-time activities within the English environment were often non-existent for many second-generation diaspora young people. Whether it was regular activities such as CYM and catechism classes on Friday evenings, diaspora schooling on Saturdays and church services, together with orchestra practice on Sundays, not to mention other additional events including national and cultural celebrations, summer camps, competitions and conventions, the diaspora calendar simply did not provide much room for alternatives.⁶¹⁰ The national or confessional background was not a primary consideration for many as opposed to their parents but the confined environment of the diaspora naturally led to many romances as part of the process of entering adulthood, some of which produced long-term partnerships.⁶¹¹ At the same time,

⁶⁰⁹ Author interview with Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014.

⁶¹⁰ Author interview with John Kybaluk, 19th April 2014, and Michael Drapan, 3rd June 2014.

⁶¹¹ Author interview with John Kybaluk, 19th April 2014.

there were other individuals like Jack whose additional activities (in his case it was weekend violin classes) prevented them from taking part in diaspora activity.⁶¹²

The time was a crucial consideration in all of this and the longer the diaspora was able to keep their young members interested in its activities, the more likelihood for partnerships from within the same ethnonational group and the continuation of migrant traditions. Generally, the significant change arrived between the ages of 15-18 when the time-intense children's activities were being concluded while activities catering specifically for young adults such as discos were less regular, or not as appealing to the changing tastes of the second-generation. Within smaller communities, this turning point came even earlier as the infrastructure to facilitate organisational life was more limited. By this time the motivation to lead diasporic life had dropped as many individuals were drawn to exploring alternative ideas and experiencing new things outside their ethnic community. As John explained: 'I think once we got to about nineteen, twenty, we started breaking away and sort of saying we'd had enough of this'.⁶¹³ Still others, like Bohdan, went on to pursue their educational and professional career: 'I didn't go beyond those two elements [church and community centre] until I started going to college, to university and therefore, I became more under the influence of being English, or part English. But I've always found myself a hundred percent Ukrainian'.⁶¹⁴ Nonetheless, very few individuals at this life stage took up roles within the structures set by the migrant generation whether it was as Saturday school teachers or leaders of youth and cultural organisations.

⁶¹² Author interview with Jack Czauderna, 21st August 2014.

⁶¹³ Author interview with John Kybaluk, 19th April 2014.

⁶¹⁴ Author interview with Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014.

The inter-generational sociocultural organisations founded after the war especially in large cities such as the dance group Orlyk in Manchester or Mazury in London also continued to have its appeal to some second-generation individuals. Some attempts were also made to establish new groups without any historical baggage attached to them based mostly around the ancestral culture and heritage such as the folk-rock and punk band the Ukrainians founded in 1988 and still in existence today. One of the founding members, Peter Solowka, admitted: 'the Ukrainian language lessons had no positive effect, but the music that surrounded all our activities stayed with me'.⁶¹⁵

The festivities such as the Polish and Ukrainian Christmas at local clubs have for instance remained a popular of second-generation associational life. In trying to ensure its future, the local branches had to open to the outside world and offer the membership to non-Ukrainians and hire its premises for other social purposes. Those places which did not adjust to the changing conditions of diasporic life such as Carlisle in 2016 became unable to carry on and had to close.⁶¹⁶

3.7 Conclusion

Having analysed second-generation Polish and Ukrainian associational life, two broad stages of organisational development can be discerned. The first, compulsory stage revolved around youth associations aimed at second-generation individuals between the ages of 4 and 20. Founded by the migrant generation they were initially designed to maintain the national

⁶¹⁵ Peter Solowka, The Ukrainians Home Page, Available [online] at: <<https://www.the-ukrainians.com/>> [Accessed 30 March 2019].

⁶¹⁶ Ukrainian Club Carlisle, 18 January 2016, Facebook post about the club's closure. (Screenshot in author's private collection).

culture and identity in preparedness for the return 'home' after the defeat of Soviet Communism by Western democracies. However, as soon as 1956 it became clear that the expected period of temporary exile would become a permanent one. The activity of youth organisations was very much driven by the agenda of the migrant generation and revolved around the diaspora cultural calendar as well as the Cold-War geopolitical developments with limited space for individual agency. The factors including heritage language skills, proximity of local ethnic community, the use of free time, peer pressure, parents' background, and position within the diaspora, all conditioned the participation of individuals in youth associations.

Clearly, therefore, while many never joined them and some dropped out in their teens, others collected all their Scout badges before reaching maturity. Despite the gradual crumbling of Soviet Communism from the late 1970s onwards which helped to revive the interest in Eastern European affairs, their impact on associational life was not as pronounced as most of this generation had now become adults and became concerned with other issues including education, career, relationships, and family life. Following the breakup of the USSR in 1991, many organisations had to shift their focus away from its anti-Communist pro-independence agenda. Those organisations which adapted to the new geopolitical landscape and changing diaspora demography ensured continuing existence while others with a narrow orientation and limited appeal came to a quick end.

The second, voluntary stage of associational life was markedly different. Indeed, there were those who gradually took over the leadership of local and national branches of the umbrella diaspora bodies such as the AUGB as the first-generation was leaving the stage. While maintaining some aspects of the migrant generation's legacy including the continued

advocacy of the Holodomor, celebration of key cultural fetes and memorialisation of the diaspora history, their activities have lost the previously strong national and religious emphasis, shifting towards a more secularised global consumer culture.⁶¹⁷ The second-generation diaspora post-1991 underwent significant changes. The growing dispersal of the cultural capital within the second-generation diaspora since the late 1980s affected the previously rich life of individual local communities which was becoming more centralised. Especially the organisations in smaller towns had (with some exceptions) suffered and became more dependent on the larger regional centres for the distribution of the diaspora culture.

On the other hand, as the last final chapter demonstrates, the dilution of the dominant 'monopolising' culture paved way for the myriad of individual expressions of second-generation identities beyond the frameworks of the family, school, church, and formal associations. National scouting organisations and their equivalents which were often seen as the 'second Saturday school'.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁷ Ukrainian communities, wielding influence within their respective localities, have actively lobbied their councils to acknowledge the Holodomor as an act of genocide. Rochdale was the pioneering council to recognise it as such in 2008, setting a precedent that was subsequently followed by Keigley, Bolton, Edinburgh, Bradford, and Kirklees. Rochdale Online, 'Rochdale commemoration of 89th anniversary of the Holodomor', *rochdaleonline.co.uk*, Available [online] at: <<https://www.rochdaleonline.co.uk/news-features/2/news-headlines/149320/rochdale-commemoration-of-89th-anniversary-of-the-holodomor>> [Accessed 10 September 2023]; Human Rights in Ukraine, 'Kirklees Council recognises Holodomor as genocide', *khpg.org*, Available [online] at: <<https://khpg.org/en/1261124750>> [Accessed 10 September 2023].

⁶¹⁸ Franciszek Szymczak, *25-lecie Polskiej Szkoły S.P.K. w Blackburn*, pp. 38-39.

Chapter 4 – The role of religion in diaspora and second-generation religiosity

4.1 Introduction

As Burrell has recently elucidated, much of the historiography of post-war Polish migration to Britain (which could also be applied to the Ukrainians) has primarily focused on the three-pronged narrative of the valiant soldier-wife-worker.⁶¹⁹ The fixation upon these three themes, has only undermined an attempt to understand the histories of both diasporas in their full complexity, including the study of diaspora religiosity. This has been unfortunate given the strong association between national culture and religion within the histories of both nations and the centrality of the parish as the most extensive local diaspora associational network.

Yet this largely secular focus is far from surprising given the changing attitudes to institutional religion in Western Europe since the late 1800s and the application of a conscious scientific approach by mainstream historians, which led to the marginalisation of the religious studies in this area.⁶²⁰ The evident decline of most Christian churches in Britain after 1945 gave further credence to the adherents of the secularisation thesis reducing the analysis of religion to niche historical fields or to other academic disciplines such as sociology and anthropology.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁹ Kathy Burrell, 'Framing Polish migration to the UK', in Jennifer Craig-Norton, Christhard Hoffmann & Tony Kushner (eds.), *Migrant Britain, Histories and Historiographies: Essays in Honour of Colin Holmes* (London: Routledge, 2018), p. 278.

⁶²⁰ James C. Kennedy, 'Religion, Nation and European Representation of the Past', in Stefan Berger & Chris Lorenz (eds.), *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 114-115.

⁶²¹ Chris Lorenz, 'Representations of Identity: Ethnicity, Race, Class, Gender and Religion. An Introduction to Conceptual History', in Stefan Berger & Chris Lorenz (eds.), *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 52.

Most scholarly research of UK diasporas has largely mirrored this trend, investigating secular aspects of the church life as part of the wider interest in community building and assimilation, thus ignoring their spiritual function.⁶²² Nor has any attempt has been made to understand the effects of secularisation upon the Polish and Ukrainian ecclesiastical structures so painstakingly organised by the migrant generation. This study, therefore, aims to build on MacRaild's blended approach applied to Britain's Irish diaspora which has emphasised the mutually reinforcing relationship between the spiritual and social functions of the Church whilst also investigating the wider societal forces at play.⁶²³

The available primary sources including local newspapers, photographs and ethnic community brochures have made it difficult to provide a more nuanced understanding of diaspora church networks. Instead, they have amplified the already established dominance of the largest confessional groups, projecting the unambiguous image of community unity and traditional piety.⁶²⁴ Mostly staged and internally scrutinised, these depictions demonstrated a highly selective and arbitrary image of the parish activity as opposed to the myriad expressions of ethnic religion. Other ordinary or more ambivalent scenes, including individual and family piety, internal conflict between different sections of the parish, relationship between the priest and his flock, contrasting generational attitudes, and the

⁶²² Donald MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939, Second Edition* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 72.

⁶²³ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁶²⁴ See: 80 photographs of Ukrainian life in Manchester and Britain taken by Mr and Mrs Lytwyn and deposited with Manchester Archives. Rather than ordinary everyday life, most images depict social and religious gatherings, community venues, marches and rallies, music, and dramatic performances. Manchester Archives+, 'Photographs of Ukrainian life in Manchester and Britain taken by Mr. and Mrs. Lytwyn, c.1940s-1980s.', *Flickr.com*; Available [online] at: <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/manchesterarchiveplus/albums/72157625763119948>> [Accessed 29 April 2020]. Also compare with a similar collection showing the Polish community in Huddersfield. Kirklees Image Archive, 'Polish Community in Huddersfield'; Available [online] at: <<https://kirkleesimages.org.uk/index.php>> [Accessed 28 April 2020].

impact of diaspora church teaching upon everyday life of its members living in a secular country, have gone largely unnoticed.⁶²⁵

The human and financial resources, together with the political influence of both Catholic groups in the diaspora, therefore, by far outweighed that of other denominations whose voice did not get heard as much.⁶²⁶ First pioneering studies revealing the full scale of activity of Ukrainian churches appeared on the eve of the celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine in 1988.⁶²⁷ Following the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, Polish scholars produced an array of small scale studies with the focus on non-Catholic denominations in the Western diasporas.⁶²⁸ Out of these, most notable has been Jarosław Kłaczek's 2013 monograph looking at Polish Lutheran migrants in the 20th century.⁶²⁹ Though providing additional pieces to the complex mosaic of diaspora religiosity, written overwhelmingly in the vernacular, the majority of these studies have remained inaccessible to the English-speaking audiences.

Remaining academic studies have explored the issue of Polish and Ukrainian Christianity in the longer established diasporas, especially in Northern America, France, and

⁶²⁵ An exception the recent photographic book by Czesław Siegieta, *Polska Britannica* (Bristol: RRB Photobooks, 2020). Also see: Ivan Kuzio, *Ukrainian Community in Halifax: Volume 1, 1949-1989* (Halifax: Lulu Publications, 2009); Ivan Kuzio, *Ukrainian Community in Halifax: Volume 2, 1980-2008* (Halifax: Lulu Publications, 2009).

⁶²⁶ There is newspaper evidence in the local papers of other denominations, but it is very sporadic.

⁶²⁷ Sviatomir M. Fostun (ed.), *Narys istorii Ukrainiskoi Avtokefalnoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy u Velykii Brytanii 1947-1987* (London: Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in Great Britain, 1988), Dmytro Blazejowskyj, *Schematism of the Ukrainian Catholic Church: A Survey of the Church in Diaspora* (Rome: Synod of Ukrainian Catholic Bishops, 1988). The Millennium provided a fertile ground for an ideologically heated debate between the diaspora and the Soviet Union. See: Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky, *Was It Really Russia that was Christianised in 988?, Second Edition* (London: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 1986).

⁶²⁸ Bohdan Wendorff, 'Kościoł prawosławny', in Leonidas Kliszewicz (ed.), *Mobilizacja Uchodźstwa Do Walki Politycznej 1945-1990* (London: Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe Na Obczyźnie, 1995), pp. 171-175; Alfred Bieta & Adam Gaś, 'Kościoły Protestanckie', in Leonidas Kliszewicz (ed.), *Mobilizacja Uchodźstwa Do Walki Politycznej 1945-1990* (London: Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe Na Obczyźnie, 1995), pp. 162-170.

⁶²⁹ Jarosław Kłaczek, *Na emigracji: losy polskiego wychodźstwa ewangelickiego w XX wieku* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2013); also Jarosław Kłaczek, 'Polska emigracja protestancka w krajach anglosaskich w XIX i XX w.', *Dzieje najnowsze*, 39:4 (2007), pp. 149-163.

Germany.⁶³⁰ Those with some relevance to the UK have only considered the formative years of migrant congregations or fell into the category of church history, investigating the role of the clergy, diaspora church jurisdiction and parish organisation, leaving out individual voices of those at the receiving end during the period of diaspora consolidation since the mid-1960s.⁶³¹

⁶³⁰ On Polish Christians in Northern America, see: John Radziłowski *The Eagle & the Cross: A History of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, 1873-2000* (New York: East European Monographs, 2003); John Radziłowski, 'A Social History of Polish-American Catholicism', *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 27: 3 (2009), pp. 21-43; John Radziłowski, 'Miracle: American Polonia, Karol Wojtyła and the Election of Pope John Paul II', *Polish American Studies*, 63:1 (2006), pp. 79-90; Brian McCook, 'Divided Hearts, Divided Faith: Poles and the Catholic Church', in Brian McCook, *Borders of Integration: Polish Migration in Germany and the United States, 1870-1924* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2011), pp. 101-120; Gabriela Pawlus Kasprzak, 'Patriotic Priests and Religious Consuls: Religion and Nationalism in the Polish Diaspora, 1918-1939', *Polish American Studies*, 68:2 (2011), pp. 13-42; Thomas I. Monzell, 'The Catholic Church and the Americanization of the Polish Immigrant', *Polish American Studies*, XXVI:1 (1969), pp. 1-15; Piotr Taras, 'Problemy duszpasterstwa polonijnego na przykładzie sytuacji w USA', *Studia Polonijne*, 2 (1978), pp. 181-205. On Ukrainian Christians in Northern America, see: Bohdan P. Procko, *Ukrainian Catholics in America: A History* (New York: UPA, 1982); Frances Swyripa, *Stories Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010). On Polish Christians in Western Europe, see: Roman Dzwonkowski, 'Przemiany polskiej parafii w północnej Francji (1922-1972): Studium historyczno-socjologiczne parafii w Oignies', *Studia Polonijne*, 1 (1976), pp. 27-83; Roman Dzwonkowski, 'Młodzież polonijna we Francji wobec polskich tradycji narodowych z zagadnień integracji społecznej', *Studia Polonijne*, 2 (1977), pp. 208-278; Roman Dzwonkowski, 'Specyfika religijna polskich parafii na północy Francji', *Studia Polonijne*, 3 (1979), pp. 331-338; On Ukrainian Christians in Western Europe, see: Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, 'The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in West Germany, 1945-50', in Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Yury Boshyk, Roman Senkus, *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992), pp. 158-181.

⁶³¹ On Poles see: Keith Sword, 'Problemy adaptacji i duszpasterstwa Polaków w Wielkiej Brytanii 1945-1950', *Studia Polonijne*, 10 (1986), pp. 261-285; Sword, 'The Cardinal and the Commissars'; Bernard Kołodziej, 'Duszpasterstwo i życie religijne Polonii', in Barbara Szydłowska-Ceglowska (ed.), *Polonia w Europie* (Poznań: PAN, 1992), pp. 117-146; Bernard Kołodziej, 'Stan i perspektywy badań nad rolą duszpasterstwa polskiego w procesach integracji skupisk polonijnych ze społeczeństwem miejscowym', in Grzegorz Babiński & Henryk Chałupczak (eds.), *Diaspora polska w procesach globalizacji: Stan i perspektywy badań* (Kraków: Grell, 2006), pp. 302-311; Adam Romejko, *Duszpasterstwo polonijne w Wielkiej Brytanii* (Tuchów: Mała Poligrafia Redemptorystów, 2001); Józef Bakalarz, 'Arcybiskup Józef Gawlina jako duchowy opiekun Polonii', *Studia Polonijne*, 5 (1982), pp. 103-125; Józef Bakalarz, 'Podstawowe dokumenty kościoła w sprawie opieki duszpasterskiej nad migrantami', *Studia Polonijne*, 4 (1981), pp. 5-14; Józef Gula, *The Roman Catholic Church in the History of the Polish Exiled Community in Great Britain, 1939-1950* (London: University of London, SSEES, 1993); Alina Siomkajto, *Arcybiskup Józef Gawlina: biskup połowy wojska polskiego* (London: TEST Bernard Nowak, 2015); Szczepan Wesoły, 'Podwójna jurysdykcja dla Polaków w Anglii', *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 100:473 (1992), pp. 42-59; Szczepan Wesoły, *Fifty Years of the Church in the Polish Diaspora, 1945-95: A Lecture in English and Polish* (London: SSEES, 1996); Szczepan Wesoły, *Niektóre problemy Kościoła w Polsce w kraju i na emigracji* (Katowice: Księgarnia św. Jacka, 2010). On Ukrainians, see: Jaroslav Pelikan, *Confessor between East and West: A Portrait of Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slipyj* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990); Walter Dushnyck, 'Archbishop Buchko – Arch-Shepherd of Refugees', *Ukrainian Quarterly*, XXXI: 1 (1975), pp. 32-43; Myroslav Marusyn, *Arkipastyr skytal'tsiv arkhiepyskop Ivan Buchko* (Lviv: Opillia, 2008); Alexander Baran, 'The Ukrainian Catholic Church', in Isajiw, Wsevolod, W., Boshyk, Yury & Senkus, Roman (eds.), *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced persons after World War II* (Edmonton: Publisher needed, 1992).

In reaction to these developments, a more nuanced approach increasingly drawing on oral histories has been implemented by researchers since the 1980s. It has recognised ethnic religion as both a source of collective identity and continuity as well as an agent of change and potential exclusion.⁶³² In the first systematic sociological UK study of second-generation Poles, Żebrowska, has drawn attention to different generational approaches to religion. Whilst acknowledging the continuing cultural influence of the Polish church on the identity of the second-generation, she also observed their gradual shift towards English Catholicism and a ‘tendency to express a rather secular view of things in general’.⁶³³

Similarly, Marzec, writing two years later, had become alarmed that the definition of the Polish Community in the UK had so far left out the second-generation, a significant minority that ‘[would] determine the future nature of Polish Catholicism’ in the diaspora.⁶³⁴ Thus, given the challenges posed by the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe at the turn of the 1990s, and a steep decline of the second-generation church attendance (bearing comparisons with the wave of secularisation in the 1960s Britain), it is imperative and timely to investigate the extent to which this group ‘have disappeared into the religious melting pot represented by the Catholic Church in Britain’ or abandoned faith altogether.⁶³⁵ And if so, how did it influence their ethnonational identification?

As Levitt, has proclaimed, ‘it is time we put religion front and center in our attempts to understand how identity and belonging are redefined in this increasingly global world’.⁶³⁶

⁶³² See: Kathy Burrell, *Moving Lives*, p. 87

⁶³³ Żebrowska, *Integration or Assimilation*, p. 150; Adam Romejko, *Duszpasterstwo polonijne w Wielkiej Brytanii*, p. 260; Rafał Habielski, *Życie społeczne i kulturalne emigracji*, p. 114.

⁶³⁴ Joanna Marzec, *The Role of the Polish Roman Catholic Church in the Polish Community of the U.K.*, 1988, p. 34.

⁶³⁵ Keith Sword, *Identity in Flux*, p. 204.

⁶³⁶ Peggy Levitt, “You Know, Abraham Was Really the First Immigrant”, p. 870.

The weaker attachment to institutional religion, therefore, should not be a reason for avoiding the analysis of this understudied phenomenon. On the contrary, historians need to take a more concerted effort to understand the impact of secularisation on diasporic communities.

The following questions need to be brought to the fore to provide a more complex understanding of the role of ethnic religion in delineating the boundaries of diaspora belonging.⁶³⁷ How did ethnic religiosity of the migrant generation contrast with that of their British-born offspring? What role did the diaspora agents including family, the priest and the wider church community play in retaining for or repudiating from the second-generation diaspora ecclesiastical networks? What can we learn from comparing the histories of different Polish and Ukrainian Christian denominations in the diaspora? How did other structural factors, including mixed families, increased geographical and social mobility impact second-generation religiosity? Chiefly, how did the most pronounced period of change to institutional religion and marked socioeconomic transformation of British society affect the second-generation born and/or growing up at that time? Finally, to what extent does the diaspora church continue to be relevant to ethnonational consciousness of the second-generation? Drawing on the established scholarship as well as previously unused diaspora sources, together with oral histories, this chapter implements a holistic approach in investigating the continuity and change in diaspora religiosity.

⁶³⁷ Louise Ryan's study of Irish Catholic women employed as nurses in post-war Britain has investigated the sociological concept of boundaries within the context of migrant's religion. She has asserted that Catholicism was experienced both as a form of continuity with the homeland as well as a site of difference within the context of migration. See: Louise Ryan, 'Exploring Religion as a bright and blurry boundary: Irish migrants negotiating religious identity in Britain', in D. A. J. MacPherson & M.J. Hickman, *Women and Irish diaspora identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), p. 5.

4.2 The formation of ethnic religious networks in the secularising environment of post-war Britain

As previous chapters have shown, the settlement of European migrants in Britain after the Second World War was accompanied by the revival of associational culture. Amongst the myriad ethnic organisations, diaspora churches assumed the leading role.⁶³⁸ This was both due to the strong historical influence of churches in Poland and Ukraine but also the key role of religion in the preservation and development of national identities.⁶³⁹ Apart from their spiritual function, however, churches were also centres of political, socio-cultural, and educational activity, all very much recreating what Thomas and Znaniecki have termed as 'the old primary community'.⁶⁴⁰ The starting position of each ethnic church depended on a number of factors including the size, denomination, earlier presence in Britain, relationship with local hierarchy, legal status and political situation in the country of origin.

For instance, Polish Catholics arriving in Britain since the late 1840s had firmly established their presence in London by 1894 following the opening of the Polish-Lithuanian RC Mission and St. Casimir's Church in Manchester in 1904.⁶⁴¹ As Sword has shown, English Catholic hierarchy and intellectuals had a long-standing interest in Poland at least since the

⁶³⁸ Szczepan Wesoly, *Fifty Years of the Church in the Polish Diaspora*, p. 16; Rafał Habielski, *Życie społeczne i kulturalne emigracji*, p. 113; Tadeusz Radzik, *Z dziejów społeczności polskiej w Wielkiej Brytanii po drugiej wojnie światowej*, pp. 51-55.

⁶³⁹ Philip B. Barker, *Religious Nationalism in Modern Europe: If God be for us* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 75-78. Compare with Frances Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), p. 10; Řepa, *Banderovci*, p. 43.

⁶⁴⁰ William I. Thomas & Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America: Monograph of an Immigrant Group, Volume 5: Organization and Disorganization in America* (Boston, MA: The Gorham Press, 1920), p. 41. Similar conclusions have also been reached by: Rafał Habielski, *Życie społeczne i kulturalne emigracji*, p. 113; Keith R. Sword, *Ethnic Identity and Association among Polish Emigres in a British Town* (Unpublished D. Phil. Thesis, University of Sussex, 1982), p. 157; Tadeusz Radzik, 'Polska Diaspora w Wielkiej Brytanii', in Adam Walaszek, *Diaspora Polska* (Kraków, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2001), p.158.

⁶⁴¹ Paweł Sawicki, *Polska Misja Katolicka w Londynie 1894-1944* (London: Polska Misja Katolicka, 1945); Gula, Józef, *The Roman Catholic Church in the History of the Polish Exiled Community in Great Britain, 1939-1950* (London: University of London, 1993).

early 1900s, including Hilaire Beloc and G. K. Chesterton who perpetuated the centuries old myth of Poland as 'the bastion of Christianity in the East'.⁶⁴² The Catholic Church hierarchy's support of their Eastern European brethren during and after the Second World War further demonstrated this special relationship.⁶⁴³

Apart from around 500 Ukrainian Catholics who had settled in Manchester en route to America before 1914, the other religious groups made little mark in Britain before 1945.⁶⁴⁴ Many British churches played an important role in supporting their migrant coreligionists in the post-war period. Given the general organisation of Orthodox Christians in national churches, it was only natural for the members of the UAOC to seek support from the Church of England as the country's established church. In addition to myriad Catholic initiatives including the Catholic Council for Polish Welfare, comparable efforts were made by Protestants, most notably by the Foreign Workers' Committee of the British Council of Churches.⁶⁴⁵ Clearly, therefore, the influx of several hundred thousand of European migrants between 1945 and 1951 (including the Irish) altered the religious map of Britain.⁶⁴⁶ However, the previously unknown denominations including different ethnic Orthodox and Lutheran

⁶⁴² Sword, 'The Cardinal and the Commissars', pp. 49-59.

⁶⁴³ This included the condemnation of 'the crimes committed against the Christians in Russia and Poland' by Cardinal Hinsley or the formation of the Sword of the Spirit movement in 1940 aiming to fight against totalitarian systems. See: Polish Catholic Mission in London, *Cardinal Hinsley: Friend of Poland* (London: Polska Misja Katolicka, 1944), p. 14; Adam Romejko, *Duszpasterstwo polonijne w Wielkiej Brytanii* (Tuchów: Mała Poligrafia Redemptorystów, 2001); pp. 146-147; Sword, 'The Cardinal and the Commissars', pp. 49-51.

⁶⁴⁴ Roman Krawec, 'Ukrainians in Manchester before the Second World War', *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom Online Encyclopaedia*; Available [online] at: <<http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/01/manchester-e.htm>> [Accessed 2 February 2020].

⁶⁴⁵ Elizabeth Stadulis, 'The Resettlement of Displaced Persons in the United Kingdom', *Population Studies*, 5:3 (1952), pp. 231-233; Inge Weber-Newth & Johannes-Dieter Steinert, *German Migrants in Post-war Britain: An enemy embrace* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 108; J. A. Tannahill, *European Volunteer Workers in Britain*, p. 69; Keith Sword, 'Duszpasterstwo Polaków w Wielkiej Brytanii', p. 278.

⁶⁴⁶ The foreign-born population in Britain had increased by 1.6 per cent (795,000) between 1931-1951. Source: Migration Watch UK, 'The History of Immigration to the UK', 23 April 2020; Available [online] at: <<https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/key-topics/history-of-immigration>> [Accessed 17 November 2022].

churches provided only a temporary boost to their English counterparts.⁶⁴⁷ Their ultimate aim was to mobilise around devotional congregations based along ethno-national lines, thus hardly preventing the general decline of British Christianity strongly evident since the 1960s.⁶⁴⁸

Whatever their size, all newly forming migrant congregations had faced great new challenges following their arrival in Britain whether pastoral, jurisdictional, financial, or political.⁶⁴⁹ The greatest challenge especially for those groups formerly dominant in their country or region, was the transition from the privileged majority status to that of a religious minority in a historically Anglican and increasingly secular state. Whilst others such as the Polish Lutherans remained in the minority, the process of migration for all the groups resulted in a 'de-territorialisation from a social, cultural and political context' and in becoming the 'religious other'.⁶⁵⁰ This was especially so during the 1950s and early 1960s when the number of Eastern European migrants still outweighed that of those from South Asia and the Caribbean. At the same time, the dispersed members of religious faith also went through the process of re-spatialisation as new identities and networks were being recreated away from home.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁷ Almost one third of all EVWs and 2,500 Poles, together with 25,000 German ex-PoWs belonged to the Lutheran Church. See: Elizabeth Stadulis, 'The Resettlement of Displaced Persons in the United Kingdom', pp. 232-3.

⁶⁴⁸ Whilst the period between 1945-1958 is seen by Brown as 'return to piety', most academics agree that 'the long 1960s' marked a watershed in British people's attitudes to organised religion. See: Callum R. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding secularisation, 1800-2000, Second Edition* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 170-192; Hugh McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Chris Lorenz, *Representations of Identity*, p.58.

⁶⁴⁹ See: Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, 'The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in West Germany, 1945-50', in Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Yury Boshyk & Roman Senkus (eds.), *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992) p. 167; Keith Sword, 'Problemy adaptacji i duszpasterstwa Polaków w Wielkiej Brytanii 1945-1950', *Studia Polonijne*, 10 (1986), p. 274.

⁶⁵⁰ Maria Hämmerli & Jean-François Mayer (eds.), *Orthodox Identities in Western Europe: Migration, Settlement and Innovation* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 9.

⁶⁵¹ Vertovec quoted in: Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, p. 154

Being relocated from their rural context (especially most Ukrainians and Poles from the *Kresy* area) they had to adjust their daily routine to the reality of urban life in Britain which required 'a more secular way of organising time'.⁶⁵² This was especially an issue for both Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox migrants whose celebrations, including Christmas and Easter followed the Julian calendar.⁶⁵³ Therefore, as well as many continuities, ethnic religiosity went through 'modification and change' in the diaspora context and the constant renegotiation of 'sacred and secular space'.⁶⁵⁴ The churches, along financial and institutional issues, now had to address new concerns including intermarriage, the religious education of children and the preservation of a single identity within a pluralist and secularising society.⁶⁵⁵

On the other hand, they could all freely worship without the fear of the state-sponsored persecution unlike their coreligionists behind the Iron Curtain where religion became the principal enemy of the Communist regime. Though in Poland the Catholic Church did not completely escape state oppression, it was tolerated to some degree by the Communist regime. This is in line with Alvis' recent conclusion that 'Communist rulers learned to treat lightly around the church'.⁶⁵⁶ In contrast, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Orthodox Churches in the Soviet Union were banned and brutally suppressed.⁶⁵⁷ As 'catacomb churches' completely cut off from their homeland, the preservation of their rites and

⁶⁵² Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, p. 10.

⁶⁵³ Amidst the ongoing conflict with Russia and to clearly signal its alignment with Western Europe, President Zelensky signed into law a parliamentary bill that aimed at discontinuing the use of the Julian calendar and adopt the tradition of celebrating Christmas in December, thereby aligning Ukraine with the rest of Western Europe. BBC News, 'Ukraine moves Christmas Day in snub to Russia', *BBC News*, Available [online] at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-66341617>> [Accessed 10 September 2023].

⁶⁵⁴ Keith Sword, 'Ethnic Identity and Association among Polish Émigrés in a British Town', p. 180; Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, p. 154.

⁶⁵⁵ Maria Hämmerli & Jean-François Mayer (eds.), *Orthodox Identities in Western Europe*, p. 12.

⁶⁵⁶ Robert E. Alvis, *White Eagle, Black Madonna: One Thousand Years of the Polish Catholic Tradition* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), p. x.

⁶⁵⁷ See: Lev V. Mydlovsky, 'Bolshevik Persecution of Religion and Church in Ukraine 1917-1957', *The Ukrainian Review*, 4:4 (1957), pp. 12-33; Kathryn David, 'Galician Catholics into Soviet Orthodox: religion and postwar Ukraine', *Nationalities Papers*, 46:2 (2018), pp. 290-300.

traditions was not only a matter of need but became a matter of national survival.⁶⁵⁸ This demonstrated itself, amongst other things, in the speed of acquiring new presbyteries, churches and other cultural centres between the late 1940s and 1970s but also in the pressure exerted on the second-generation children to go to church and retain their ethnic heritage.⁶⁵⁹

Lacking independent ethnic church structures and with unclear jurisdiction, they all experienced substantial upheaval in pursuing legitimacy and acknowledgement. This often led to various anomalies and discord at different levels of the church organisation. For instance, the Polish Catholics in Britain with over 100 priest found themselves in an extraordinary situation of being under two different jurisdictions.⁶⁶⁰ The first was that of the Archbishop of Westminster who, following talks with the Polish Primate, appointed the General Vicar of the Polish Catholic Mission in England and Wales with direct responsibility over the greatest bulk of Polish clergy and faithful.⁶⁶¹ The second jurisdiction was directly accountable to the Holy See which appointed a military chaplain with pastoral responsibilities over Polish families in resettlement camps, an arrangement which lasted until the closure of the last camp in the late 1960s.⁶⁶²

To alleviate the situation of millions of refugees displaced by the war, the Vatican published the apostolic constitution *Exsul Familia Nazarethana* [Exiled Family of Nazareth] in

⁶⁵⁸ See: W. Luzhansky, 'Conference of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe', *The Ukrainian Review*, 4:1 (1957), p. 75.

⁶⁵⁹ Maria Topolska has pointed out that around 75 per cent of Polish Catholic centres was founded in the 1960s and 1970s. Maria Barbara Topolska, 'Społeczne funkcje...', p. 2.

⁶⁶⁰ Ukrainian Catholics in comparison had only 13 priests serving to the population of 25,000. See: *The Tablet*, 'A Church in Dispersion', 25 August 1953, p. 20.

⁶⁶¹ The Polish Catholic Mission in England and Wales and one in Scotland, were both founded in 1948. Source: Józef Gula, *The Roman Catholic Church in the History of the Polish Exiled Community in Great Britain, 1939-1950* (London: University of London, SSEES, 1993).

⁶⁶² Szczepan Wesoły, 'Podwójna jurysdykcja dla Polaków w Anglii', *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 100:473 (1992), pp. 42 – 59; Zosia Biegus & Jurek Biegus, *Polish Resettlement Camps in England and Wales 1946-1969* (Rochford: PB Software, 2013).

1952 in which it laid out specific rules regarding pastoral care to Catholic migrant families and stipulated for the first time in its history not only spiritual but also sociocultural and economic support.⁶⁶³ Recognising their specific spiritual and cultural heritage, the constitution enabled priests to form independent personal parishes subject to the authority of a local bishop and serving other compatriots and their direct descendants.⁶⁶⁴ This rule which did not envisage the existence of ethnic parishes beyond the second-generation was, however, challenged by the Apostolic Visitor to the Poles abroad, Archbishop Gawlina. Thanks to his intervention, the rule was not applied too strictly, thus allowing the long-term existence of ethnic Catholic parishes.⁶⁶⁵

With different leadership structures (more devolved), the Orthodox and Lutheran Churches were usually governed by a bishop, church synod/council and church consistory that administered each ecclesiastical regional unit. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Great Britain (UAOC-GB) founded in 1948 with 12 permanent priests, became part of the Western European diocese of the UAOC in the Diaspora with a resident bishop outside the country.⁶⁶⁶ However, its re-establishment was initially tainted by disagreements over the form of leadership. The rejection by Metropolitan Polikarp Sikorsky of earlier church reforms including the primacy of the church council as the highest authority over the episcopate

⁶⁶³ Józef Bakalarz, 'Podstawowe dokumenty kościoła w sprawie opieki duszpasterskiej nad migrantami', *Studia Polonijne*, 4 (1981), pp. 5-14; E. Padilla & P. Phan (eds.), *Theology of Migration in the Abrahamic Religions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 89-91; Papal Encyclicals Online, *Exsul Familia Nazarethana Apostolic Constitution*; Available online at: <<https://www.papalencyclicals.net/pius12/p12exsul.htm>> [Accessed 4 December 2019].

⁶⁶⁴ Władysław Rubin, 'Życie religijne Polaków na emigracji', p. 151; Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain*, p. 124.

⁶⁶⁵ Józef Bakalarz, 'Arcybiskup Józef Gawlina jako duchowy opiekun Polonii', *Studia Polonijne*, 5 (1982), pp. 118-119.

⁶⁶⁶ Roman Krawec, 'Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Great Britain', *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom Online Encyclopaedia*; Available [online] at: <<http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/03/uaoc-e.htm>> [Accessed 25 January 2020]; W. Luzhansky, 'Conference of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe', p. 75.

resulted in the so called 'Aschaffenburg schism' of 1947 and the formation of Ukrainian Autocephalous Church (Conciliar).⁶⁶⁷ This spilled over to other parts of the diaspora including Britain resulting in further fragmentation of the Ukrainian population in the West. Like in North America, the conciliarists in Britain 'remained on the periphery of Ukrainian Orthodox life'.⁶⁶⁸

The Polish Lutherans with eight permanent priests in the territory of Western Germany and Britain avoided initial legitimacy problems. This was thanks to the existence of the office of the Polish President in Exile who issued a decree in 1952 officially enacting the establishment of an independent *Polski Kościół Ewangelicko-Augsburski na Obczyźnie* (PKEANO) [Polish Lutheran Church Abroad] for the duration of the extraordinary circumstances caused by the Second World War and the subsequent Cold War.⁶⁶⁹

Having established their ecclesiastical structures in the diaspora, each denomination set out on an ambitious path of developing them according to their inherited tradition so that they served migrants' linguistic, spiritual, emotional, educational, and sociocultural needs. The annual church calendar facilitated an easy framework to follow and provided an intergenerational meeting place, thereby reproducing and re-inventing national identities in the diaspora.⁶⁷⁰ The decline of various Anglican and Non-Conformist churches in Britain after the war ironically provided an ideal opportunity for migrants to obtain ready-made structures

⁶⁶⁷ Arkadii Zhukovsky, 'Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (Conciliar)', in Danylo Husar Struk (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ukraine, Volume 5* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 353.

⁶⁶⁸ Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, 'The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in West Germany', p. 165.

⁶⁶⁹ Alfred Bieta & Adam Gaś, 'Kościoły Protestanckie', in Leonidas Kliszewicz (ed.), *Mobilizacja Uchodźstwa Do Walki Politycznej 1945-1990* (London: Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe Na Obczyźnie, 1995), p. 164; Jarosław Kłaczek, *Na emigracji: losy polskiego wychodźstwa ewangelickiego w XX wieku* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2013), pp. 109-114.

⁶⁷⁰ Tadeusz Radzik, *Z dziejów społeczności Polskiej w Wielkiej Brytanii po drugiej wojnie światowej* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curii-Skłodowskiej, 1991), pp. 56-57.

and adapt them to their own needs. This did not only maintain the building's original purpose but also helped to protect local built heritage. For instance, the only purpose-built Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Britain was erected in 1988 in Wolverhampton though other churches were adapted to suit styles of each denomination.⁶⁷¹

The naming and renaming of the church buildings based on the most revered patron saints and symbols of nationhood and diasporic identity including Our Lady of Czestochowa, Our Lady of Ostrobrama, St. Volodymyr, Holy Family in Exile, all provided a powerful symbol of identity and spiritual, psychological and historical link with the shackled homelands.⁶⁷² Thus, given the lasting impasse between the East and West and the early desire of many migrants to reproduce their heritage in the diaspora, the idea of going back quickly proved to be a myth rather than being a real possibility.

Moreover, the process of boundary-making went both ways. As well as being singled out as the other, or perhaps because of it, both groups started to define themselves against the outside world by emphasising their 'unique' ethnonational features. Therefore, as opposed to their respective home countries where different regional and local identities were commonplace, they promoted a single narrative of nationhood in the diaspora context. Under the conditions of this 'cultural siege' the ethnic parish played the role of the main 'repository of national-religious tradition'.⁶⁷³ It was thought that homeland identities in the diaspora could be maintained only by marrying together two seemingly indivisible conceptions,

⁶⁷¹ Roman Krawec, 'Ukrainian Catholic Church in Great Britain', *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom Online encyclopaedia*, Available [online] at: <<https://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/03/ucc-e.htm>> [Accessed 17 November 2022].

⁶⁷² See: J. Tworek, *Informator duszpasterstwa Polskiego w Wielkiej Brytanii* (London: Polska Misja Katolicka, 1983). Fourteen Polish chapels and churches have been consecrated as Our Lady of Czestochowa and ten as Our Lady of Ostrobrama, symbols of Polish ethnonational devotion.

⁶⁷³ Keith Sword, *Ethnic Identity and Association*, p. 179; Also compare with Kathy Burrell, *Moving Lives*, p. 69.

culture, and religion. Thus, according to some individuals, the ideal of Polish and Ukrainian identity ruled out any outside influences, including mixing with other groups. Feeling threatened by growing naturalisations, a Pole from Swindon commented: 'being Polish and Catholic is one and the same thing whilst being English is conterminous with paganism'.⁶⁷⁴ Other versions of Catholicism had not been spared criticism either which is clear from an observation in the Polish Catholic journal which likened Irish religious observance to 'superficial parochialism'.⁶⁷⁵

Nonetheless, it was clear early on that a change would become an inevitable feature of diaspora religion in the future. The only question remained whether such change would be embraced or eschewed. The undeniable achievements in the building of diaspora church networks during the times of relative prosperity, positive biological reproduction and numerical strength was also accompanied by doubts about the sustainability and legacy of the migrant generation's ambitious project. Observing the rapid changes of the younger migrant generation's religious practice, Mr Kozubowski, chairman of the Polish club in Manchester in 1960, went as far as to suggest that the [Polish] church would become 'an affair of one generation'.⁶⁷⁶ Analysing the same question in the *Polish Priest Abroad* in 1966, the commentators had talked about moral catastrophe, crisis of family, lack of trust in authority and respect for the older people, the source of which they found in mass consumer culture and the proliferation of various 'isms' during the same period.⁶⁷⁷ In fact, diaspora

⁶⁷⁴ Bogdan Czaykowski & Bolesław Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii*, pp. 236-7.

⁶⁷⁵ R. J. (Anon.), 'Młodzież Polska w Anglii (Kartki z notatnika)', *Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą*, 17:1 (1966), p. 29.

⁶⁷⁶ Bogdan Czaykowski & Bolesław Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii*, p. 164.

⁶⁷⁷ Stanisław Kluz, 'Rozwiążmy ten rebus – młodzież współczesna', *Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą*, 17:1 (1966), pp. 15-27; Wiktor Maria Mendrella, 'Apostolstwo parafialne wśród młodych rodzin na emigracji', *Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą*, 17:1 (1966), pp. 6-9; Józef Bakalarz, 'Kościół wobec młodzieży emigracyjnej', *Studia Polonijne* (1990), p. 7.

Catholic organisations such as IPAK warned of the dangers of capitalist materialism to religion from the early stage of settlement.⁶⁷⁸

In addition to these external influences, some internal critics found the root cause in the intergenerational dynamics, laying the major blame not on the 'younger generation' but on the migrants, who had 'passed the test from warfare and economic welfare but failed from religion, morality and parenting'.⁶⁷⁹ Unable to find common language with the young, exalting pseudo-ideals, involved in constant politicking and with the mindset set back in 1939, the diaspora founders were clearly struggling to adjust to new realities of the globalising pluralist Western world.⁶⁸⁰ Having analysed the context within which diaspora parishes were formed and challenges they faced, it is now important to consider how these developments were perceived by the second-generation through their own voices.

4.3 'Thou Shalt, Thou Shalt Not'! The Second-Generation's Early Experiences of Diaspora Church Life⁶⁸¹

As most British Christian communities had been dwindling in the aftermath of the Second World War, Polish, Ukrainian and other migrant congregations begun to flourish. During the twenty-five years following their arrival, Polish and Ukrainian migrants in Britain formed solid ecclesiastical structures based on their pre-war ethnonational tradition. Coinciding with the childhood and teenage years of the second-generation, this period

⁶⁷⁸ Rafał Habielski refers to IPAK's VI Congress in 1953 in London where such concerns were voiced. Source: Rafał Habielski, *Życie społeczne i kulturalne emigracji*, p. 115.

⁶⁷⁹ Stanisław Kluz, 'Rozwiążmy ten rebus – młodzież współczesna', pp. 5-6.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸¹ Author interview with Stanisław Sagan, 5th March 2014.

witnessed new church openings, bustling services and parish life. Whilst this provided a unique opportunity for the migrant generation to influence their British-born children and build a pool of future followers and church leaders, there were other external forces emerging since the 1960s that went beyond their parents' control.

The nuclear family played a determining role in their children's churchgoing patterns and attitudes to institutional religion. As well as regular church attendance on Sundays, one of the very early experiences of the so called 'domestic church' was a prayer before bedtime. As Misko recalled, 'Every night you'd do your prayers. I can remember, you'd do one with your parents but after a while they'd leave you to it and you would do it'.⁶⁸² Stanisław, who prayed the Rosary with his parents 'until [he] rebelled', showed that this type of religious ritual did not necessarily strengthen his faith. However, the fact that he remembered the prayer and occasionally said it later despite being a lapsed Catholic, demonstrates how ethnic religion can resurface in different situation at various points in time through memory and old ritual practices.

Most community-based second-generation individuals, including Bohdan, have confirmed that churches were at the centre of diaspora activity during their childhood:

'My entire life has actually been spent with two very loving, caring parents. And their lives actually revolved around two elements. One being the church, 'cos they were Ukrainian Greek Catholic as opposed to Orthodox [...], and this Community

⁶⁸² Author interview with Misko Czerkas, 18th March 2014.

Centre. So, essentially, all my formative years, possibly up until the age of 13 or 14, my life revolved round those two places.’⁶⁸³

The weekly Sunday services which the children had to go to with their parents formed an indispensable part of the diaspora life and family routine.⁶⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the church liturgy in Latin or Church Slavonic or the long sermons aimed at adult audience were not a great attraction to children.⁶⁸⁵ It is not surprise, therefore, that Stanisław described his experience as: ‘going to a surreal opera that’s repeating every Sunday in different ways with different variations’.⁶⁸⁶ The introduction of Masses in national languages following the conclusion of Vatican II in the mid-1960s, did not necessarily improve the second-generation’s understanding of the services. According to Anonymous 1 who attended Polish Catholic masses in Huddersfield, ‘the priests used old-fashioned language and long words that you don’t use in everyday language talking to your parents’.⁶⁸⁷

This already negative experience was amplified by the strict behavioural code the children had to adhere to which if they broke resulted in physical punishment. As Maria who went to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Rochdale elucidated: ‘the church was always full and you went and you stood there and didn’t dare turn around ‘cos if you [did], you’d get a twisted

⁶⁸³ Author interviews with Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014; Anonymous 1, 9th April 2014, and Misko Czerkas, 18th March 2014.

⁶⁸⁴ Keith Sword, ‘Ethnic Identity and Association among Polish Émigrés in a British Town’, p. 160; Lisa Blenkinsop, *Writing histories*, p. 247.

⁶⁸⁵ These experiences are not unique just to second-generation individuals of Polish and Ukrainian descent. Similar narratives have emerged in the testimonies of Greek second-generation in the UK. See: Gina Kallis, Richard Yarwood & Naomi Tyrell, ‘Translocal space across migrant generations: The case of a Greek Orthodox Church in the United Kingdom’, *Population, Space and Place*, 25:5, 2019, pp. 1-11.

⁶⁸⁶ Author interview with Stanisław Sagan, 5th March 2014. Also see Adam Romejko, *Duszpasterstwo polonijne*, p. 258.

⁶⁸⁷ Author interviews with Anonymous 1, 9th April 2014, and Julian Kowzan, 2nd April 2014.

ear. You know, quite strict. It was important to the parents'.⁶⁸⁸ Based on similar experiences, Stefan still associates religion with 'a strict disciplinarian side of life.'⁶⁸⁹ Thus, whilst diaspora churches during this time were full, the services, delivered by ageing migrant priests, some with imperfect English and very different attitudes, left many second-generation individuals feeling excluded. This was even though most priests were aware of the importance of retaining the youth in securing the future of the diaspora church.

In addition to the primary spiritual function of the Mass, its secondary function was clearly also cultural and social. It provided an opportunity to reconnect with the national heritage and create a sense of community through the meeting of other compatriots. As Marzec has found the emphasis on the enjoyment of activities and companionship is what distinguished the second-generation from their parents who quoted the national duty as the main motivation for organisational participation.⁶⁹⁰ However, Julian negated this when revealing that his father who went to the Polish Catholic Church in Huddersfield was not particularly interested in God: 'It was the community. Meeting every Sunday, 'cos we didn't yet have a Polish church.'⁶⁹¹ Equally, the highlight for many children was the opportunity to bond with their peers after the Mass: 'After church, we'd all go to the old Polish Club on Fitzwilliam Street, and we'd have dinner up there. Then, the kids would always go outside to volleyball court and play a bit of volleyball.'⁶⁹² Whilst the opportunity to meet family and friends was a pleasant one for many, Anonymous 1 complained that spending the whole weekend within her ethnic circle prevented her from contact with other English peers: 'I

⁶⁸⁸ Author interview with Maria Kopczyk, 27th May 2014.

⁶⁸⁹ Author interview with Stephen Tymruk, 16th October 2014.

⁶⁹⁰ Joanna Marzec, *The role of the Polish Roman Catholic Church*, p. 45.

⁶⁹¹ Author interview with Julian Kowzan, 2nd April 2014.

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*; also see Lisa Blenkinsop, *Writing histories*, p. 247.

wanted to be like my English friends because they were the ones I saw most of the time, but wasn't allowed'.⁶⁹³

There were also numerous other ways in which the children could participate and enjoy aspects of the local parish life especially during various Church feast and saint days. One of the highlights in the church calendar alongside Christmas and Easter celebrated in December was St. Nicholas Day, venerating the life of one of the most popular patrons in both the Western and Eastern Church traditions.⁶⁹⁴ Other events in which children could actively participate were Corpus Christi processions celebrated on the Feast of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. The emerging second-generation played an important role in such processions, especially those who had recently received the First Communion. Making remarks about Polish children dressed in 'gaily-coloured' national costumes' and other members of the community who added 'a brilliant splash of colour' to the ceremony, the local press instantly noticed the distinctly looking new arrivals from East-Central Europe.⁶⁹⁵

Whilst they were still regarded as the 'exotic other' due to their different appearance and behaviour, through the contestation of the largely Protestant and increasingly secular public space, the Poles and Ukrainians demonstrated their belonging to and difference from the local society.⁶⁹⁶ The Whit walks, popular with the Ukrainian communities in the

⁶⁹³ Author interview with Anonymous 1, 9th April 2014.

⁶⁹⁴ The Roman Catholics marks St. Nicholas' Day on 6 December whereas the Eastern-rite churches celebrate it on 19 December, according to the Julian calendar. Source: M. Mushynka, 'St. Nicholas', *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*; Available [online] at:

<<http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5C%5CA%5CSaintNicholas.htm>> [Accessed 19 January 2020].

⁶⁹⁵ *Huddersfield Weekly Examiner*, 25 June 1949, p. 3; *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 28 May 1951, p. 3;

Huddersfield Weekly Examiner, 20 June 1962, p. 10; and *Huddersfield Weekly Examiner*, 12 June 1970, p. 8.

⁶⁹⁶ Paul O'Leary, 'Processions, power and public space: Corpus Christi at Cardiff 1872-1914', *The Welsh History Review*, 24:1 (2008), pp. 79-83; Margaret H. Turnham, *Catholic Faith and Practice in England 1779-1992: The Role of Revivalism and Renewal* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 118-119; Peggy Levitt, "'You Know, Abraham Was Really the First Immigrant': Religion and Transnational Migration', *The International Migration Review*, 37:3 (2003), p. 869.

Manchester area including Bolton and Oldham carried the same function.⁶⁹⁷ Compared with the early 1950s when Corpus Christi processions in Huddersfield were attended by over 2,000 Catholics, they attracted less than half that number in the early 1970s.⁶⁹⁸ As the media reporting of religion grew 'less deferential and more irreverent' in post-war Britain, the reports on Corpus Christi processions completely disappeared in the 1970s.⁶⁹⁹ This decline of religious processions which went parallel with the growing secularisation of mainstream popular culture since the 1960s was labelled by Callum Brown as the 'discourse revolution'.⁷⁰⁰

The church teaching was imparted to the children through RE lessons either at regular Catholic/CofE schools or at weekends within the ethnic community, all of which culminated in the celebration of different rites of passage, including the Sacraments of First Communion, Confession, and Confirmation. Usually received between the ages of 7-9 and 11-13, they played a pivotal role in the retention of families within the Church. The reception of the First Communion provided new opportunities for involvement in the liturgy through the role of altar servers, some of whom retained the position until reaching maturity.⁷⁰¹ Though this often required individuals to attend church services more regularly, the role brought various other benefits including, elite status within the community, small financial and material rewards and peer bonding.⁷⁰² Misko, of Ukrainian parentage, who stopped going to church

⁶⁹⁷ Celebrated by Anglicans on a Monday and by Catholics on a Friday following Whit Sunday, they seemed to be more prevalent on the western side of the Pennines. Source: Dorothy Entwistle, 'The Whit Walks of Hyde: Glorious Spectacle, Religious Witness, and Celebration of a Custom', *Journal of Religious History*, 36: 2 (2012), pp. 204-233. For visual examples of the Ukrainian participation in Whit Walks in the Manchester area, see: Manchester Archives, Ukrainian Whit Walk, M793 Whit Walk 2; Available [online] at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/manchesterarchiveplus/5683249675/> [Accessed 16 January 2020].

⁶⁹⁸ *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 28 May 1951, p. 3; and *Huddersfield Weekly Examiner*, 13 June 1970, p. 8.

⁶⁹⁹ Kim Knott & Jolyon Mitchell, 'The changing face of media and religion', in Linda Woodhead & Rebecca Catto (eds.), *Religion and Change in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 243-264.

⁷⁰⁰ Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding secularisation, 1800-2000, Second Edition* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 175-192.

⁷⁰¹ Author interview with John Kybaluk, 19th April 2014.

⁷⁰² Author interviews with Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014, and John Kybaluk, 19th April 2014.

regularly in his late teens but claimed not to be disinterested in religion, demonstrated how being an altar boy could be a source of great entertainment for second-generation boys:

‘We weren’t very reverential. We’d be stood there, two on each side, and there was the priest in the middle. And you’d be holding a candle, for example, and you’d just try to make your mate across there laugh. And occasionally, we just couldn’t stop laughing and afterwards you got clipped round the ear from your parents for being so disrespectful. But we just thought it was a lot of fun dressing up in all these robes and holding candles and stuff. We thought we’d get extra wine, but we didn’t. And we weren’t gonna steal it, because at that time we all thought we would get struck down by God.’⁷⁰³

Nonetheless, the participation of both sexes in church liturgy was clearly gendered with the girls being excluded from altar serving. Whilst Vatican II was instrumental in encouraging a greater role of laity in the life of the church, including the role of lectors (reading from the Holy Scriptures) and cantors (singing psalms and other church music), it was not until 1983 when the 1983 Code of Canon Law stopped distinguishing between male and female in taking up these functions by which time most of the second-generation had reached adulthood.⁷⁰⁴ It was as late as 1994 when the girls were allowed to become altar servers, a change not

⁷⁰³ Author interview with Misko Czerkas, 18th March 2014.

⁷⁰⁴ Holy See, Code of Canon Law: The Obligations and Rights of the Lay Christian Faithful (Cann. 224-231), Available [online] at: <http://www.vatican.va/archive/cod-iuris-canonici/eng/documents/cic_lib2-cann208-329_en.html#TITLE_II.> [Accessed 19 January 2020].

implemented by the Orthodox Church and resisted by many individual Catholic parishes.⁷⁰⁵ One church group the young girls could enter was the Legion of Mary which did not carry the same peer prominence as altar serving. [fewer actual tasks during liturgy as compared with altar servers who were perceived as direct lay assistants of the priest].⁷⁰⁶ Whilst there is no sufficient oral evidence to determine how exactly this continuing gender differentiation played out in the lives of the second-generation women, there is ample research to suggest that Christian femininity, which continued to promote female piety and domesticity, sharply collided with the marked change in the perceptions of femininity since the 1960s.⁷⁰⁷

Despite this highly controlled environment which put off many individuals from participating in church activities, the youth associations and informal church groupings, including secular ones such as the scouts, were instrumental in retaining for the church the second-generation children beyond primary school age. Writing in *Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą*, bimonthly journal aimed at diaspora clergy in 1966, its editor bishop Rubin, described Polish Catholics in England as a success story.⁷⁰⁸ In his opinion, the fact that the church attendance reflected the cross-section of the society was the result of the cooperation between families and youth organisations, thus not limiting the priest's role to being just a mere administrator of spiritual needs to the older generation.⁷⁰⁹ However, as will become evident, regular religious attendance did not necessarily translate into a life-long loyalty to

⁷⁰⁵ Catholic Culture, 'Vatican Communication on Female Altar Servers, 15 March 1994; Available [online] at: <<https://www.catholicculture.org/culture/library/view.cfm?recnum=5212>> [Accessed 16 January 2020].

⁷⁰⁶ Though no female interviewee mentioned being part of the Legion, there is ample photographic evidence demonstrating the ways in which young girls participated in ethnic church liturgy. See: Tony Sosna, *Założenie Polskiej parafii i Ośrodka Parafialnego w Huddersfield* (Huddersfield: Self-Published, 2007).

⁷⁰⁷ Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, pp. 177-179.

⁷⁰⁸ Władysław Rubin, 'Życie religijne Polaków na Emigracji', *Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą*, 17:2(67) (1966), p. 152. Rubin also held the post of Apostolic Visitor to Poles in the diaspora based in Rome.

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

the ethnic community nor was it necessarily a reliable measure of the future second-generation diaspora activity.

As opposed to practising Christians of the same denomination who followed the known pattern of prayer, extra RE lessons, and church attendance, very little has been said about mixed families whose experiences differed. Though there were many migrant and non-migrant spouses married to Poles and Ukrainians who were of the same denomination (usually Catholic) and attended either local English or vernacular services (or a combination of both), there was a significant number of others who were Protestant or Orthodox as Figure 8 demonstrates.⁷¹⁰ The interfaith (Christian) dialogue had already been under way in the post-war period as evidenced by the activity of the World Council of Churches founded in 1948 and Catholic Church's turn to ecumenism after Vatican II.⁷¹¹ However, mixed marriages were strongly discouraged by all denominations. An instruction issued by the Vatican's Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in 1966 stated that: '[the Church] strives in every way so that Catholics do not enter into marriage with non-Catholics'.⁷¹²

⁷¹⁰ For instance, within the Huddersfield Polish Catholic parish, the number of Protestant mothers stood at around 15 per cent. However, the number was likely to be even higher as the table does not include those families attending other Catholic churches in the area. Our Lady of Częstochowa Church, Huddersfield, Parish Records 1947-1968.

⁷¹¹ David M. Thompson, 'Ecumenism', in Hugh McLeod (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Volume 9: World Christianities c.1914-c.2000 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.67-70.

⁷¹² Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Instruction on Mixed Marriages*; Available [online] at: <http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_19660318_istr-matrimoni-misti_en.html> [Accessed 19 January 2020].

Figure 8: Mother's religion as stated in Huddersfield Polish baptismal records, 1947-1968

Denomination	Number per Denomination	Percentage of Total
Roman or Greek Catholic	230	82.7%
Eastern Orthodox	4	1.4%
Nonconformist Protestant	19	6.8%
Church of England and Scotland	25	8.9%
All faiths	278	100%

Source: Our Lady of Częstochowa Church, Huddersfield, Baptisms, 1947-1968.

Mixed unions brought many complications and came with additional requirements including special dispensations and pledges about children's future religious upbringing and family worship.⁷¹³ After being turned down by the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Bohdan's Catholic mother and Orthodox father had to marry civilly. Later on, they took vows at the Orthodox Church which required the wife to follow her husband's religion in line with the church's patrimonial tradition.⁷¹⁴ Likewise, as Janina suggested, the unions between Catholics and Protestants were also frowned upon which was reflected in the wedding ceremony itself:

⁷¹³ See: Flavia Gasperetti, *Italian Women Migrants in Post-War Britain: The case of textile workers, 1949-61* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2012), pp. 175-197.

⁷¹⁴ Author interview with Bohdan Matwijchuk, 16th November 2018.

'my mum wasn't allowed to wear [...] it wasn't allowed to be a white wedding with the flamboyant nice sort of wedding dress. It almost looked like a civil ceremony'.⁷¹⁵ All of these considerations had an important impact on the faith and ethnic identification of the second-generation children.

Whilst some non-migrant Protestant spouses accepted the terms of a mixed union more easily, others resisted it. The mothers staying at home had a greater chance at shaping their children's opinions than the migrant fathers in full-time employment. Janina, whose dad was a devout Catholic, felt she was more influenced by her Anglican mother's critical attitude to Catholicism, including going to confession: 'I don't think I ever really did think, even as a small child, I wasn't taken in by this idea that you were talking to God. You were talking to this, the old bloke behind the curtain'.⁷¹⁶ Despite losing interest in religion quite early on, Janina continued to go to church until she left home and went to art school so as not to upset her father. In contrast, the stigma of marrying a non-Catholic influenced Richard's father to such an extent that 'he didn't feel as though he could go to confession or go to Mass' and therefore took his children to church only once a year on Christmas Eve.⁷¹⁷

Having to negotiate between different attitudes to religious observance by parents following different Christian denomination, the second-generation children from mixed marriages, therefore, were more likely to eschew institutional religion on reaching adulthood.⁷¹⁸ However, as Stanisław has shown, even some of those raised by churchgoing parents, moulded by Catholic education, ethnic schooling and associations did not retain their

⁷¹⁵ Author interview with Janina Holubecki, 20th November 2014. Similar cases of Catholic priest refusing to marry a couple where one party was protestant have been reported in the literature. See for instance, Bodgan Sulik & Bolesław Czaykowski, p. 215.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁷ Author interview with Richard Gorski, 25th February 2015.

⁷¹⁸ Thomas Lane, *Victims of Stalin and Hitler*, p. 219.

place within ethnic churches: ‘So, about 14 or 15, I started filtering out the bits I believed and the bits I didn’t... ‘cos nobody ever discussed religion. It was just: ‘this is what you believe and it’s there to help you through life.’ How? Just following the rules blindly’?⁷¹⁹ As the second-generation attitudes towards religion had been shifting since the childhood it remains to be explored how they developed in adulthood and what it implied for the entirety of the diaspora. To what extent did the period of the ‘long-sixties’ affect religiosity of the second-generation ethnic identity as compared with internal influence of home, diaspora church and associations?⁷²⁰ Did the established connection between religion and Polish/Ukrainian nationhood continue to hold sway with the second-generation in their adulthood?

4.4 The 1960s effects? Changing attitudes to church-going and religiosity

It has become clear that though many children attended diaspora churches during childhood, they started to be more critical of religion as they grew older with many changing their attendance patterns and re-examining their beliefs in adulthood. It would be too simplistic, however, to suggest a linear narrative of inevitable secularisation and forecast the demise of diaspora religion based purely on attendance figures. Though attendance can be a strong indicator of individual commitment to a particular congregation or to religious practice, oral history interviews have revealed additional qualitative insights into the changing patterns of religiosity amongst the second-generation that indicate a more complex perspective.

⁷¹⁹ Author interview with Stanisław Sagan, 5th March 2014.

⁷²⁰ Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, c.1958—1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 7.

Following a temporary resurgence of the church life in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, Britain entered an irreversible religious decline marked by what McLeod has termed the 'long sixties', a period between 1958 and 1975.⁷²¹ Undoubtedly, whether focusing on its starting point and duration, its definition and causes, secularisation has been a hotly debated subject within academia.⁷²² Most researchers have agreed, however, that the attitudes of people in the West towards institutional religion have radically changed since the end of the Second World War, as have the church institutions themselves. Ironically, as the most pronounced turn to secularisation was under way during the 1960s, so was the Second Vatican Council (1963-1965), a revolutionary, 'structure-shattering' religious event that reverberated well beyond the Catholic Church.⁷²³

Moreover, there were important regional, confessional, and cultural differences to Britain's religious landscape, not necessarily reflected in the mainstream British research which has largely focused on the Church of England and other Nonconformist denominations. In addition, as Clive Field's study of the 2011 UK Census has shown, the measuring of religiosity has serious methodological implications with the data not always being comparable.⁷²⁴ Going against this general trend, the Polish and Ukrainian diaspora churches experienced a steady growth right up to the late 1980s after which they exhibited signs of instantaneous decline.

⁷²¹ Arthur Marwick quoted in Hugh McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960*, p. 1.

⁷²² Chris Lorenz, 'Representations of Identity: Ethnicity, Race, Class, Gender and Religion. An Introduction to Conceptual History', in Stefan Berger & Chris Lorenz (eds.), *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 52.

⁷²³ James Sweeney, 'How Should We Remember Vatican II?', *New Blackfriars*, 90:1026, 2009, p. 256; Andrew Greeley, *New Wine, Old Wineskins, and the Second Vatican Council* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004). See also: Myroslaw Tataryn, 'The Eastern Catholic Churches and the paradox of Vatican II', *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, 13:2 (2013), p. 83.

⁷²⁴ Clive D. Field, 'Measuring religious affiliation in Great Britain: the 2011 census in historical and methodological context', *Religion*, 44:3 (2014), pp. 357-382.

As numerous accounts have shown, the so-called swinging sixties had shaken earlier socioeconomic and cultural conventions, embracing gender equality, minority rights and attitudes to sex and family life as well demonstrating an increased concern for human rights and wider geopolitical issues.⁷²⁵ In a similar vein, the second-generation interviewees did not remain immune to these changes with many demonstrating greater openness to difference than their migrant parents.⁷²⁶ This is how Stanisław, entering into his teens in the early 1970s, reflected on the period:

‘[...] there’s always a moment of breaking out and expressing something different
[...] I was interested in CND, the hippies and beatniks as soon as I became aware
of them at the age of fourteen or fifteen... and it seemed like a joy. A possibility of
not having to do this... wanting to run away and be different’.⁷²⁷

Stanisław who often re-examined his attitude to religiosity, found the general cultural additions, like the expectation placed on women to wear scarfs after getting married, superfluous: ‘Get away all the cultural questions. [...] It’s just the same crap. It’s quaint and it’s traditional but it ain’t religion, and it’s not treating people right! I’m more interested in the Holy Ghost aspect, the spirit that moves us. That’s probably the basis of my faith’.⁷²⁸ However, when attempting to prove to his parents that being different did not necessarily mean abandoning

⁷²⁵ See: Dominic Sandbrook, *White heat: a history of Britain in the swinging sixties* (London: Abacus, 2007); Callum G. Brown, *Religion and the Demographic Revolution: Women and Secularisation in Canada, Ireland, UK and USA since the 1960s* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012).

⁷²⁶ Author interview with Halina Figon, 17th March 2015.

⁷²⁷ Author interview with Stanisław Sagan, 5th March 2014.

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*

Christianity as 'Jesus was a hippie, had a beard, long hair and sandals', he was told to stop being argumentative.⁷²⁹ Stanisław's attitude, therefore, was not necessarily a manifest against religion itself but demonstrated generational tensions between the old value world of the migrant generation and their offspring shaped more intensely by the British society.

Along with the new sociocultural developments occurring since the 1960s, demographic changes also impinged upon people's religiosity. Investigating the secularisation debate in Britain and the USA, Bruce has observed that 'two parents of the same religion have a one-in-two chance of retaining their children in the faith and any degree of marrying out halves that reproduction rate'.⁷³⁰ Thus, given the changing demographic trends in urban Britain, including mixed marriages, geographical and social mobility, and lower fertility rates enabled by new contraceptive methods which only accelerated in the second-generation, they all forecasted a dramatic effect upon religiosity.⁷³¹

As opposed to their migrant parents, many of whom initially worked as manual labourers and tended to settle within the same area of settlement once they established their acquired long-term employment and established families, their British-born children could take advantage of much wider range of educational, professional, leisure and socio-economic opportunities. In Halifax, for instance, the idea of the Ukrainian community became paradoxically threatened as soon as the church, 'the most solid symbol of the Ukrainian community [had] been completed' in the late 1970s.⁷³² As White has observed, there was no choir, Ukrainian Saturday school was struggling and 'mixed marriages have dispersed the

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁰ Steve Bruce, 'Secularisation in the UK and the USA', in Callum G. Brown & Michael Snape (eds.), *Secularisation in the Christian World* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 210.

⁷³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 209-210.

⁷³² David White, 'The Ukes of Halifax', *New Society*, 12 June 1980, p. 202.

younger generation, to Leicester, Bedford and London'.⁷³³ Having moved to different parts of Britain, the second-generation often lost access to their ethnic churches. As a result of this, they either switched to other available churches of parallel denomination in their locality or stopped to worship completely.⁷³⁴ Thus, as Sword has shown, conflicting loyalties were increasingly the norm amongst the second-generation as opposed to their parents.⁷³⁵

Even within one family, two siblings could make completely contradictory choices with regards to churchgoing. Thus, unlike Stanisław, who had left the church in his teens, his brother went to the Polish minor seminary in Paris. However, despite his longer-term exposure to Polish Catholicism, he did not become a priest and in adulthood gave preference to his local English church. In his case however, the switching of allegiance was less about eschewing the ethnic aspect of religion and more about wanting to avoid tight social control of the diaspora church environment:

'They know him in the same timeline. They don't know about the other bit of him, let alone what he's thinking or what's in his heart. And they don't always understand when you say: 'I don't go to the Polish church, 'cos I find it a bit cloying, and too much like a small village, thank you.'⁷³⁶

⁷³³ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁴ Author interview with Barbara Morawska, 27th November 2014.

⁷³⁵ Keith Sword, *Identity in Flux: The Polish Community in Britain* (London: SSEES, 1996), pp. 200-201.

⁷³⁶ Author interview with Stanisław Sagan, 5th March 2014.

There were also others who, following a period of increased mobility linked to further study, professional development and/or the setting up of families, had settled in the area of their upbringing and continued to take part in ethnic community life.⁷³⁷ For instance, Maria, who stayed in Rochdale, continued to be under the pressure from her Ukrainian father: ‘Even when I got married my dad used to say: “Are you coming to church on Sunday?’ Sometimes you’d think: ‘Oh God, it’s raining out there, I don’t wanna go’, but we just went”.⁷³⁸

Balancing religious commitments with family, leisure and professional life further impeded church attendance or led to a complete alienation from institutional religiosity. For instance, faced with the pressures of his employment in the emergency service which required him to do late shifts and occasional weekends, John felt he wanted to use his precious spare time differently.⁷³⁹ In contrast, Michael, a member of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, resumed regular church attendance following his retirement as a headteacher:

‘I’ve suddenly gone back and now I’m leading the singing in the church on a Sunday every month, when the priest goes to bless the graves, I go with him [...] but that’s because I have got time on my hands and the pressure’s off. So, churches come back to our lives.’⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁷ A study conducted in 1985 on second-generation Ukrainians revealed a noteworthy level of mobility among young Ukrainians. Within the sample of 47 individuals, 49 per cent relocated within the UK, while 51 per cent chose to stay in their home towns. Serge Cipko and Oleh Leszczyszyn, ‘Survey of Second-Generation Ukrainians in Britain’, *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 11:2 (1985), pp. 41-46.

⁷³⁸ Author interview with Maria Kopczyk, 27th May 2014.

⁷³⁹ Author interview with John Kybaluk, 19th April 2014.

⁷⁴⁰ Author interview with Michael Drapan, 3rd June 2014.

Nonetheless, Michael's situation, helped by the fact that his wife is also Ukrainian Catholic, seemed to be an exception rather than the rule. This suggests, therefore, that whilst some second-generation individuals did make a comeback to diaspora churches, their number could hardly compensate for that of their peers who had defected, nor could they replace the departed migrant generation.⁷⁴¹

Furthermore, whilst the literature has duly acknowledged the priests' positive contribution to diaspora associational life, their less positive impact upon the second-generation attendance, evident in oral history accounts, has gone largely unnoticed. In Bohdan's opinion, some priests showed little willingness to abandon their Eastern European village mentality: 'We had the misfortune to have two or three priests who considered themselves up and above [...] At one stage the Association here [Rochdale] took the priest to court over the matter of his house'.⁷⁴²

Unable to navigate the pluralist and secular conditions of post-war Britain which no longer automatically afforded them a privileged societal status, economic security, unchallenged position of power, and a large following, the priests often became engulfed in

⁷⁴¹ Steve Bruce, 'Secularisation in the UK and the USA', in Callum G. Brown & Michael Snape (eds.), *Secularisation in the Christian World* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 209.

⁷⁴² Author interview with Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014. The position of priests within the diaspora was extremely challenging. They faced the difficult task of maintaining neutrality amidst the disagreements among various factions of the local diaspora. The experiences of the clergy in interwar Poland and Soviet Ukraine varied greatly, depending on their denomination, geographical area, and social background. Among both Polish and Ukrainian clergy, there were radical nationalists who, despite their education, often displayed antisemitic tendencies. On the other hand, there were others who held moderate or neutral stances. In all cases, the parish priest were 'the church's footsoldiers' and wielded a decisive influence on their flock and beyond. Konrad Sadkowski, 'The Roman Catholic Clergy, the Byzantine Slavonic Rite and Polish Identity: The Case of Grabowiec, 1931-34', *Religion, State and Society*, 28:2 (2000), pp. 180-181; Józef Gula, *The Roman Catholic Church in the History of the Polish Exiled Community in Great Britain*, p. 160; For examples of antisemitism in within the Catholic Church in interwar Poland and opposition against it, see: Brian Porter-Szücs, *Faith and Fatherland: Catholicism, Modernity, and Poland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 272-327; Neal Pease, *Rome's Most Faithful Daughter: The Catholic Church and Independent Poland, 1914-1939* (Athens: OH: Ohio University Press, 2009), pp. 137-138.

their ethnic social bubble.⁷⁴³ This, together with direct criticism of the changing British society put them into direct conflict with the second-generation largely moulded by it.⁷⁴⁴ As Sword has also shown, this led many individuals to switch allegiance to English Catholic churches with ‘the more relaxed, open, democratic and more sincere atmosphere’.⁷⁴⁵

This was demonstrated by Regina, who remembered going to Sunday Mass at Bradford Polish Church straight after a twelve-hour night shift in her nursing uniform and being told off by the priest for not wearing her Sunday’s best.⁷⁴⁶ Following this experience, she started going to mass at local St. Patrick’s church instead which made her realise the differences in applying the Catholic Church teaching between by various groups: ‘In the Polish Catholic Church you were told you are a sinner. In an English Church you were told God loves you, we are a child of God. It’s the same faith, but it’s the way it’s interpreted’.⁷⁴⁷ Thus, despite the seemingly golden times experienced by diaspora churches between the 1960s and 1980s which correlated with the permanent decline of religion in England and Wales, there was several objective indicators to suggest that this trend was not to last.

4.5 The diaspora church decline and challenges of succession

The need for both young priests and high-calibre lay leaders, together with new pastoral approaches targeting young families was highlighted in the *Polish Priest Abroad* already in 1966.⁷⁴⁸ Whilst the seminaries training men for the priesthood had been set up in the West,

⁷⁴³ Maria Hämmerli & Jean-François Mayer (eds.), *Orthodox Identities in Western Europe*, pp. 5, 11.

⁷⁴⁴ See Joanna Marzec, *The Role of the Polish Roman Catholic Church in the Polish Community of the U.K.*, p. 36.

⁷⁴⁵ Keith Sword, ‘Problemy adaptacji i duszpasterstwa Polaków’, p. 280.

⁷⁴⁶ Author interview with Regina Maliszewska, 11th May 2015.

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; similarly, one interviewee in Burrell’s *Moving Lives* talks about the old generation’s focus on outward appearances. See: Kathy Burrell, *Moving Lives*, p. 170.

⁷⁴⁸ R.J. (Anon.), ‘Młodzież Polska w Anglii’, *Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą*, 17:1 (1966), p. 29.

they were located in other countries, including France, Rome and the United States.⁷⁴⁹ Despite this, religious vocations were generally in short supply in the diaspora and it was not until the late 1970s when the new generation of diaspora priests was ordained.⁷⁵⁰ An exception to the rule has been the UCC-GB which produced around 13 priests since the late 1970s with four coming from Rochdale alone. This was just enough to maintain the falling number of followers.⁷⁵¹ The other churches, including the largest Polish Catholic church did not fare as well which led Romejko to the conclusion that the shortage of priests further exacerbated diaspora alienation from ethnic roots.⁷⁵²

As Ukrainian churches only operated underground in Ukraine until the late 1980s, the congregations in Britain could only rely on priests from larger diaspora communities, especially in Northern America. However, as Bohdan Matwijchuk, one of only two second-generation UAOC priests has explained, Ukrainian Orthodox priest from the US or Canada were reluctant to accept a placement in Britain: 'He's got a car, own parish. For the demographic situation here, not many would [come here]. They have a better quality of life over there'.⁷⁵³

Though some Catholic priests from Communist Poland were after 1956 allowed to replenish the pool of Polish priests in the diaspora, they were not always welcomed by the ardent opponents of the Communist regime amongst the migrant generation who believed it

⁷⁴⁹ Szczepan Wesoły, *Niektóre problemy Kościoła w Polsce w kraju i na emigracji*, p. 169.

⁷⁵⁰ *Guardian Journal*, 'Making history in Ukrainian church: Volodymyr is Symbol of New Generation', 26 January 1973, unknown page.

⁷⁵¹ Roman Krawec, 'Ukrainian Catholic Church in Great Britain', *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom Online Encyclopaedia*; Available [online] at: <<http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/03/ucc-e.htm>> [Accessed 6 March 2020].

⁷⁵² Adam Romejko, *Duszpasterstwo polonijne*, p. 265.

⁷⁵³ Author interview with Bohdan Matwijchuk, 16th November 2018.

could undermine their long-standing freedom struggle.⁷⁵⁴ According to Szczepan Wesoły, the Polish RC bishop overseeing pastoral care to the diaspora, 'the priest was often judged not on the effectiveness of their pastoral care, commitment to youth or even the quality of sermons but on their anti-Communist stance'.⁷⁵⁵ This fear of the Communist influence within the diaspora was not completely unfounded given the circulation of Soviet propaganda material in the West, blackmail of relatives living in the Eastern Bloc, assassinations of diaspora leaders and even the unexplained disappearance of Bradford's Polish priest Father Boryński in 1953.⁷⁵⁶

In comparison, the UCC-GB became embroiled in an even deeper ideological crisis for most of the 1970s and 1980s. Ever since his release from the Soviet prison and becoming Major Archbishop in 1963, Josyf Slipyj, the Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych and the de facto head of the UCC, called upon the Holy See to raise the UCC to the Patriarchal dignity.⁷⁵⁷ Whilst to Slipyj, the title provided him with jurisdiction over Ukraine and the diaspora, the consecutive Popes repudiated such an interpretation. Instead, as part of its détente politics and post-Vatican II ecumenical dialogue, the Holy See trod carefully in its relations with Moscow and the Russian Orthodox Church.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁴ Bernard Kołodziej, 'Stan i perspektywy badań nad rolą duszpasterstwa polskiego w procesach integracji skupisk polonijnych ze społeczeństwem miejscowym', in Grzegorz Babiński & Henryk Chałupczak, (eds.), *Diaspora polska w procesach globalizacji: Stan i perspektywy badań* (Kraków: Grell, 2006), pp. 302-311.

⁷⁵⁵ Szczepan Wesoły, *Fifty Years of the Church in the Polish Diaspora*, p. 14; Adam Romejko, *Duszpasterstwo polonijne*, pp. 256-258.

⁷⁵⁶ *Telegraph & Argus*, 'Did Bradford's Polish priest fall victim to Soviet agents?', 29 March 2020; Available [online] at: <<https://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/news/18341048.bradfords-polish-priest-fall-victim-soviet-agents/>> [Accessed 20 May 2020].

⁷⁵⁷ This was premised on the Vatican II decree *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* which acknowledged the unique traditions of Eastern Churches. See: Myroslaw Tataryn, 'The Eastern Catholic Churches and the paradox of Vatican II', p. 86; Josyf Slipyj, 'Pastoral Letter of His Beatitude Patriarch Joseph on Occasion of His 90th Birthday', *Ukrainian Review*, 30:1 (1982), p.33.

⁷⁵⁸ I. Dmytriw (ed.), *Documents & Comments related to the Struggle for the Patriarchal Rights of the Ukrainian Catholic Church* (London: Central Committee For A Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate, 1976), pp. 59-60.

This attitude was unacceptable to most diaspora Ukrainians who had earlier suffered under the Soviet terror and for whom the Russian Orthodox Church was effectively an extended arm of the KGB. Therefore, united behind their revered national hero who had assumed the title of Patriarch in his pastoral letters, the bulk of the Ukrainian Catholics abroad joined the patriarchal movement with the aim to 'free [their] Church from curial control [...] and to assert the territorial jurisdiction of the major archbishop throughout the diaspora'.⁷⁵⁹

The movement, with its Patriarchal Lay Organisation founded in the mid-1970s, 'was particularly militant in Great Britain'.⁷⁶⁰ However, the UCC-GB leader, Exarch Augustine Hornyak, opposed these efforts. In combatting the dissenters whom he labelled in the British press as politically motivated radicals, Hornyak, used punitive measures, including the closure of churches, denial of Christian burial and communion and threat of disciplinary sanctions against non-conforming priests.⁷⁶¹ Following the disruption of services and open protests against Hornyak's pastoral visits, two parishes, namely Nottingham and Halifax, broke out. Anonymous 2 who was part of the movement thought that it was wrong that Hornyak forbade people to campaign and organise themselves: 'In some parishes, the priests [...] said it was a matter of conscience for each individual parishioner if [they] want[ed] to pray [for the Patriarchate]. In Bradford the priest took the Bishop's line'.⁷⁶² The services for the dissenters

⁷⁵⁹ Andrew Sorokowski, 'A future after 50? The first half-century of the Ukrainian patriarchal movement', *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 8 January 2015; Accessed [online] at: <<http://www.ukrweekly.com/uwwp/a-future-after-50-the-first-half-century-of-the-ukrainian-catholic-patriarchal-movement1/>> [Accessed 18 March 2020].

⁷⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶¹ I. Dmytriw, *Documents & Comments*, p. 62; *The Times*, 'Crowd beats back bishop from church', 19 December 1977, p. 2; *The Times*, 3 August 1976, p. 14; *The Times*, 26 January 1977, p. 16; V. Gotsky, Great Britain News, *Patriyarkhat*, 11(143), 1982; Available [online] at: <http://www.patriyarkhat.org.ua/statti-zhurnalu/novyny-z-velykoji-britaniji/> [Accessed 30 November 2018].

⁷⁶² Author interview with Anonymous 2, 28th January 2015.

were, therefore, celebrated by so called 'patriarchal priests' sent by Slipyj from Rome and were held in Ukrainian clubs and some CofE churches.⁷⁶³

Even Slipyj's death in 1984 did not prevent his followers from pursuing the goal of the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate.⁷⁶⁴ Hornyak eventually succumbed to the pressure three years later, on the eve of the celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine.⁷⁶⁵ The most important achievement of the Patriarchal Movement was that it 'heightened consciousness among the laity of their Byzantine identity and of their mission as a bridge between the Orthodox East and the Catholic West'.⁷⁶⁶ Still, the crisis came with a heavy toll for the congregation of 20,000 which was served only by 3 permanent and 4 temporary priests.⁷⁶⁷ Not only did the conflict cast a shadow over the Ukrainian diaspora in Britain, it also affected the frequency of religious services and the teaching of religious education to younger generations.⁷⁶⁸ However, Anonymous 2 argued that the church was not just a building but the people, noticed that most Ukrainians in Bradford carried on worshipping.⁷⁶⁹ He further observed that most of his second-generation peers had recently 'gone off religion altogether' not because of the 'patriarchal crisis' but due to 'the influence of modern day living or ideas'.⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶³ *The Times*, 'Crowd beats back bishop from church', 19 December 1977, p. 2; *The Times*, 'Priests asks police to protect church from disorder', 31 December 1977, p. 2.

⁷⁶⁴ *The Times*, 'Obituary of Cardinal Josyf Slipyi: Spiritual leader of Ukrainian Catholics', 8 September 1984, p. unknown.

⁷⁶⁵ *The Times*, 'Obituary of Bishop Augustine Hornyak', 4 December 2003, p. 41.

⁷⁶⁶ Andrew Sorokowski, 'A future After 50?'

⁷⁶⁷ V. Gotsky, Great Britain News, *Patriyarkhat*, 11(143) (1982); available [online] at: <<http://www.patriyarkhat.org.ua/statti-zhurnalu/novyny-z-velykoji-britaniji/>> [Accessed 30 November 2018].

⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid.*; 'Even before the events around the local UCC Church in Great Britain' *Patriyarkhat*, 4(82) (1978); Available [online] at: <<http://www.patriyarkhat.org.ua/statti-zhurnalu/sche-do-podij-navkolo-pomisnoji-uktserkvy-u-velykij-britaniji/>> [Accessed 30 November 2018].

⁷⁶⁹ Author interview with Anonymous 2, 28th January 2015.

⁷⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Figure 9 Catholic Population and Number of Priests in England & Wales and in Ukrainian Diaspora in Britain, 1960s-2010s⁷⁷¹

	1962	1970	1980	1990	2000	2012
England and Wales						
Members	3.66	4.12	4.27	4.28	4.12	4.03
Priests	7,887	7,523	6,995	6,210	6,194	5,264
Catholics per Priest	464	547	610	689	665	816
UCC-GB						
Members	18, 250	22,000	25,000	27,000	15,000	10,130
Priests	14	17	12	16	14	14
Catholics per Priest	1,304	1,294	2,083	1,687	1,071	723

Sources: Dmytro Blazejovskij, *Byzantine Kyivan Rite Metropolitanates, Eparchies, and Exarchates, Nomenclature and Statistics*; D.M. Cheney, 'Eparchy of Holy Family of London'; Faith Survey, *Catholics in England and Wales*.

⁷⁷¹ Dmytro Blazejovskij, *Byzantine Kyivan Rite Metropolitanates, Eparchies, and Exarchates, Nomenclature and Statistics* (Ukrainian Catholic University, Rome: 1980), pp. 60-89; D.M. Cheney, 'Eparchy of Holy Family of London', Available [online] at: <<http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dlouk.html>> [Accessed 8 November 2019]; Faith Survey, *Catholics in England and Wales: Measuring the Catholic Population (1912-2014)*; Available [online] at: <<https://faithsurvey.co.uk/catholics-england-and-wales.html>> [Accessed 1 March 2020].

The pressure upon diaspora clergy has been evident from the church statistics. For instance, as Figure 9 suggests, the number of priests per Catholic population in the Ukrainian Catholic Church was until the 1990s between two to three times smaller than in its sister church in England and Wales.⁷⁷² In addition, the number of UCC members which was highest in the early 1990s, does not necessarily reflect the functional strength of the UCC-GB at that time, nor is it a reliable sign of future activity. This could be deduced better from weekly attendance figures as opposed to attendance at high church feast and more importantly from the frequency of the rites of passage such as baptisms, First Communion, Confirmation, or church marriages.

Thus, a brief look at church baptisms in a well-established Polish church, Our Lady of Częstochowa in Huddersfield (Figure 10), provides a completely different perspective that is representative of other mill towns in the North of England. Taking into account new entrants to the church rather than the overall membership, the numbers do not show any rising tendency or a period of peak but rather a constant decline, accelerated in the 1970s (suggesting the generational gap) and even more between the late 1980s and early 2000s.⁷⁷³ Thus, though the irreversible religious decline observable in Britain since the 1960s did not seem to initially materialise within the Polish and Ukrainian diaspora in Britain, its effects became more rapid since the 1990s.⁷⁷⁴ With the regained independencies of Poland and Ukraine, both diasporas have lost their political *raison d'être* of defeating Soviet Communism

⁷⁷² According to Sword, this compared with on average 1 priest per 1,000 Polish Catholics. Source: Keith Sword, *Problemy adaptacji*, p. 271.

⁷⁷³ It is assumed that most of baptised individuals were small children as is customary in the Catholic tradition.

⁷⁷⁴ Such a trend could be observed in other countries with sizeable Polish and Ukrainian diasporas. Grabowska's ethnographic study, for instance, briefly notes that church attendance of second-generation Poles in Montevideo was 'quite low by Polish standards, showing that formal religious ritual [was] not much practiced' by them. Caroline Grabowska, *The Ethnicity of Second Generation Polish Immigrants in Montevideo* (Warsaw: Center for Latin American Studies Warsaw University, 1998), pp. 122-123.

to which many second-generation individuals had long attached much less significance anyway.

Figure 10 Baptisms of Polish Catholic Children in Huddersfield, 1948-2004⁷⁷⁵

Dates	Number of Baptised Children
1948-1957	414
1958-1967	242
1968-1977	90
1978-1987	66
1989-1997	32
1998-2004	25

Sources: Our Lady of Częstochowa Church, Huddersfield. Baptisms 1962-2008; Kirklees Local Studies Library, St. Patrick's Church Records on Microfiche, Baptisms 1948-1968.

This crisis had been experienced most profoundly by the smallest diaspora churches with membership of under 5,000. The shrinking number of Polish Lutherans was best articulated by its leader, Bishop Władysław Fierla, who lamented in the church's monthly magazine, *Poseł*

⁷⁷⁵ The numerical increase between 1998 and 2008 reflects the post-2004 A8 migration wave. This is evidenced by the fact that 30 out of 55 baptisms took place since 2004. Baptisms 1962-2008.

Ewangelicki in 1988: 'The greatest bulk of our membership can be found not in churches but in cemeteries'.⁷⁷⁶ Eventually, the maintenance of a strictly Polish outlook became untenable to integrated and increasingly mixed congregations.⁷⁷⁷ Whilst the church organisational structure began to crumble from the late 1970s, the actual disintegration was set in motion in 1988 when the Leeds-Bradford parishes voted to join the Lutheran Church in Great Britain [LCGB] whilst.⁷⁷⁸

The parish priest, Walter Jagucki, who had at the same time been appointed Dean (and de facto leader) of the LCGB criticised the inward looking, past-oriented Polish diaspora Lutheranism. He saw the only chance of survival in the opening of the church to others: 'Our task is to serve our neighbour whatever race, nationality, colour or language they are. [...] I am for the maintenance of our Polish tradition but not at any cost'.⁷⁷⁹ Thus, as the formal existence of the PKEANO, instituted through the Presidential Decree of 1952, was conditioned upon the continuing absence of pluralist democracy in Poland, the collapse of Communism in 1989 effectively annulled it, plunging the church into an organisational, generational, and ideological crisis. It reached the peak in the mid-1990s when PKEANO split up into four different sections.⁷⁸⁰ By 2005 when the last issue of the church bulletin, *Posel Ewangelicki* came out, most parishes apart from Birmingham had left PKEANO and joined LCGB.⁷⁸¹ Though

⁷⁷⁶ *Posel Ewangelicki*, 5 (1988), p. 4, quoted in Jarosław Kłaczek, *Na emigracji*, p. 133.

⁷⁷⁷ Jarosław Kłaczek, *Na emigracji*, p. 133.

⁷⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 125-133; Alfred Bieta, '45-lecie Polskiej Parafii Ewangelickiej A. W. Cambridge', *Na Przełomie*, 6, 1994, pp. 45-6; available [online] at: <<http://old.luteranie.pl/www/biblioteka/dkosciol/obczyzna/historia-abieta.htm>> [Accessed 28 March 2020].

⁷⁷⁹ Jarosław Kłaczek, *Na emigracji*, p. 139.

⁷⁸⁰ Whilst some parishes remained within the PKEANO (London, Edinburgh) others joined the LCGB (Bradford, Leeds, Manchester), their sister church in Poland (Cambridge) or became independent (Birmingham). Jarosław Kłaczek, *Na emigracji*, pp. 140-2.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 156.

most continued to celebrate services in Polish, their allegiance was no longer with Poland but their adopted country with the second-generation members far and few.⁷⁸²

Similarly, reduced from twenty parishes and five smaller church communities in 1987 to five parishes and two small church communities in 2016, the UAOC-GB had also been severely hit.⁷⁸³ As it produced only two second-generation priests in the late 1990s, the church became dependent on temporary placements from independent Ukraine.⁷⁸⁴ Bohdan Matwijchuk, since 2008 the Head of the Diocesan Consistory responsible for the administration of the church in Britain, has revealed that the institution has been held together literally by several committed families: 'There was never thousands of youngsters my age. The disparity was quite major. 86 per cent [UCC-GB] to 14 percent [UAOC]. The numbers weren't there. Not everybody was interested in the church. Assimilation, English life, mixed marriages...'⁷⁸⁵ Whilst four out of five parishes in 2016 were still to be found in the North of England (Bradford, Manchester, Oldham and Rochdale), their combined church attendance of 150 faithful on a typical Sunday was the same as in London, thereby signalling

⁷⁸² Vera Erdmann-Sudol, 'History of the Polish Lutheran Parish, London', *The Forum: Newsletter of The Lutheran Church in Great Britain*, 5 (2010), p. 2; Available [online] at: <<https://lutheranchurch.co.uk/userfiles/file/Forum%20Issue%205%20A4.pdf>> [Accessed 28 March 2020]; Jarosław Kłaczek, *Na emigracji*, pp. 11, 156.

⁷⁸³ Recognised as a canonical church since 1995 when the newly consecrated bishop of the diocese of Great Britain was received into the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch. Since the UAOC became a diocese in 1981, the Ukrainian orthodox churches in the West went through numerous restructures. The UAOC-GB is currently under the leadership of Bishop Daniel Zelinski, in 2016 appointed bishop of Great Britain and of Western Europe (while remaining bishop of the Western Diocese of the UAOC-USA). Roman Krawiec, 'Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Great Britain', *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom Online Encyclopaedia*; Available [online] at: < <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/03/uaoc-e.htm>> [Accessed 30 December 2022].

⁷⁸⁴ Author interview with Bohdan Matwijchuk, 16th November 2018.

⁷⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

a significant second-generation exodus away from this former UAOC-GB northern stronghold.⁷⁸⁶

At the same time, Bohdan warned that the church could hardly rely on the so-called *novi prybuli* [newcomers] mostly present in London as community-building was not their main concern: 'They're not interested 'cos they're economic. They want their children christening and they thank you, get the paper and off into the sunset'.⁷⁸⁷ Whilst Bohdan tried to mitigate the problems by putting together a succession plan, he predicted a very uncertain future for the UAOC in Britain and the wider diaspora: 'I'm sure my generation will do as much as they can to preserve it. But where does it go from here? [...] I think the diaspora in the end might have to cut its losses... just fade away, really'.⁷⁸⁸

4.6 Conclusion: Keeping or losing religion?

The diaspora parish was for a long time an associational network that had rallied the widest following. More than any other organised body, it had the ability to transcend individual ideological biases and generational differences. Still, it was open to erosion from the very beginning. This fact became obliterated by the narratives of community strength and success promoted, perhaps understandably, by the migrant generation.⁷⁸⁹ The history of the diaspora, however, included not only those who found themselves within the boundaries delineated by active diaspora members but also others situated outside of them.

⁷⁸⁶ Roman Krawec, 'Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Great Britain', *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom Online Encyclopaedia*; Available [online] at: < <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/03/uaoc-e.htm> > [Accessed 30 December 2022].

⁷⁸⁷ Author interview with Bohdan Matwijchuk, 16th November 2018.

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸⁹ Kathy Burrell, 'Framing Polish Migration to the UK', p. 273.

Not all who suffered the trauma of the war and/or the challenges of migration and settlement in a new country, necessarily sought consolation in faith. For a whole host of reasons explored in this chapter (occupational, demographic, ideological, geographical, mental health, among others), some individuals became estranged or drifted away from the church following their settlement in Britain. As a result, they prevented the possibility of ethnic identity being passed down through diaspora religiosity to their second-generation offspring as well as limiting access to communal diaspora environment where ethnic language, culture and traditions were exercised.⁷⁹⁰

Nevertheless, as the bulk of migrants arriving from Eastern Europe came from rural areas where religious attendance was considerable and churches played a central role in communal life, the majority sought to reproduce their homeland patterns and to 'mobilise around devotional congregations' in the diaspora.⁷⁹¹ The ethnonational relevance of religious rituals further cemented migrants' determination to build their own ecclesiastical networks. This was taking place during the period of intense secularisation since the late 1950s which Brown has identified as a 'remarkably sudden and culturally violent event'.⁷⁹² He went as far as to suggest that 'the generation that grew up in the sixties was more dissimilar to the generation of its parents than in any previous century' as it faced new ethical concerns that dominated moral culture with which Christianity seemed 'wholly unconcerned and unconnected'.⁷⁹³

⁷⁹⁰ Their number has been difficult to establish as they often disassociated themselves from any ethnic network.

⁷⁹¹ Vertovec, quoted in Robin Cohen, p. 154.

⁷⁹² Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, p. 176.

⁷⁹³ These issues included environmentalism, gender and racial equality, nuclear weapons and power, vegetarianism, the well-being of body and mind. Source: Callum G. Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*, p. 190.

This generational shift was also evident within both diasporas. At first glance, it seemed that this 1960s 'cultural revolution' had little effect on the pews of the newly built, heaving diaspora churches. However, oral history accounts have suggested otherwise. It has emerged that whilst the migrant generation largely continued to uphold what Wesolý termed as 'patriotic religion', their children were beginning to assume attitudes increasingly rooted within the pluralist secularising environment of the British society. Indeed, second-generation members often criticised their parents' attitude to religion which they perceived as sanctimonious, rigid and with too much emphasis on appearances.⁷⁹⁴

Whilst recognising the need for faith or spirituality, many have shown their disillusionment with institutional aspects of Christianity. This ambiguous position was clearly expressed by Regina: 'You need faith to flourish. With faith, you can move mountains. All major faiths have the same mantra of love and mutual respect. It's a shame the faiths are so close, but the preachers are so far apart'.⁷⁹⁵ Thus, whilst acknowledging that religion could be a force for good, oral accounts have also identified it as a source of conflict in the world, especially if misused for political ends.⁷⁹⁶ The questions of religious dogma, outdated attitudes to gender and sexuality, and the institutional abuse of power and wealth by the clergy in particular, have attracted greatest criticism.⁷⁹⁷ Anonymous 1, for instance, following a period of intermittent Mass attendance left the church completely when the news of child abuse came out in the 2000s:

⁷⁹⁴ Author interviews with Stephen Tymruk, 16th October 2014; Stanisław Sagan, 5 March 2014.

⁷⁹⁵ Author interview with Regina Maliszewska, 11th May 2015.

⁷⁹⁶ Author interviews with Misko Czerkas, 18th March 2014; Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014; Halina Figon, 17th March 2015.

⁷⁹⁷ Author interviews with Jack Czauderna 21st August 2014; Bohdan Lisnyj, 6th May 2014.

‘We were brought up to believe that the clergy, the hierarchy, they are like gods themselves, you’re supposed to just listen and do exactly as you’re told. Of course, they’re not. They’re just human like everybody else. All these cover up scandals, we’re sort of going along with that because we’re part of the institution as the congregation. That I suppose was the final straw, really.’⁷⁹⁸

For others like John who used to attend Catholic services in Ukrainian and Italian traditions as well as Ukrainian Orthodox ones, denominational and ethnic differences became irrelevant in later life.⁷⁹⁹ Whether influenced by the Protestant tradition or pluralism and individualism of the post-colonial British society, many perceived religious identity as a private affair rather the epitome of community life and part and parcel of ethnonational culture as was generally the case of the migrant generation.⁸⁰⁰ This clearly suggests the diverging generational attitudes within both diasporas. It has underlined the second-generation’s shift away from politicised and ethno-centric religiosity towards more inclusive and ecumenical attitude to Christianity and religion in general. Therefore, while ethnic churches were pivotal to the transmission of Polish and Ukrainian identities on to the second-generation as they grew up, their role diminished during the transition into adulthood.

Although the events such as the visits of leading church representatives to Britain (Cardinal Slipyj in 1970 and Pope John Paul II in 1982), or world-wide celebrations of Poland’s and Ukraine’s Millennia of Christianity in 1966 and 1988 have temporarily brought increased

⁷⁹⁸ Author interview with Anonymous 1, 9th April 2014.

⁷⁹⁹ Author interview with John Kybaluk, 19th April 2014.

⁸⁰⁰ Author interview with Stephen Tymruk, 16th October 2014.

attention to diaspora churches and enlivened the links between the diaspora and the old country, they hardly prevented growing secularisation amongst the second-generation.⁸⁰¹ Following the independencies of Poland and Ukraine in 1989 and 1991, ethnic churches in the diaspora effectively lost their role as the guardians of untainted ethnic religiosity which had largely substantiated their existence. This, together with other causes, only accelerated the loosening of the ties between the diaspora and the old country. These processes were especially observable in smaller ethnic denominations, increasingly occupied with consolidating the links with wider diaspora ecclesiastical structures (UAOC-GB) or fostering the relationship with parallel local church networks (Polish Lutherans).

It has become clear that it was not just secularisation or ambivalent attitudes to institutional religion per se but many other factors, not all necessarily restricted to the 1960s, which negatively affected diaspora religious networks. A very significant impact upon the church pews should be attributed to the unusual demographic composition of the diaspora and ethno-centrism of migrant churches. Eberstadt, for instance has also shown that ‘family decline and religion have gone hand in hand in the Western world’ with each variable ‘dependent on the strength of the other for successful reproduction’, an assertion also backed up in the current chapter.⁸⁰² Other trends such as socio-economic mobility intervened too, all of which is attesting to growing recent scholarly consensus that ‘the timing and causes of de-Christianisation are now widely seen as far from straightforward’.⁸⁰³

⁸⁰¹ See: Michal Mlynarz, *Totus Tuus Polonia: The Commemoration of Pope John Paul II in the Construction of Polish Identity and Collective Memory* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 2007).

Alternatively, mention the diaspora efforts such as the erection of the statue of St. Volodymyr in London etc.

⁸⁰² Mary Eberstadt, *How the West Really Lost God*, p. 6.

⁸⁰³ Callum G. Brown & Michael Snape (eds.), *Secularisation in the Christian World*, quoted in abstract (no page number).

Evidently, therefore, the institutional aspect of diaspora church life has greatly diminished. From being community assets during the Cold War, diaspora churches had become liabilities to many smaller diasporic communities by the turn of the century as the demographic crisis and second-generation secularisation had accelerated. Though the arrival of migrants from Accession 8 countries since 2004 provided at least a temporary boost to many Polish churches in the diaspora and some Ukrainian churches in large cities, this geopolitical change had little effect upon second-generation diaspora church attendance.⁸⁰⁴

Having compared different Christian denominations in both diasporas, it has emerged that an ethnic parish, or any larger diaspora church unit for that matter, cannot successfully function without three essential components: religious and lay leaders, committed membership and regular financial support. All these components started to be in a very short supply by the turn of the century, especially within smaller diaspora congregations. Additional factors, including the size and demographic composition, relationship with other diaspora institutions (whether religious or secular) and those within the host country, geographic location, and geopolitical situation, have all shaped the existence and future of diaspora churches in the UK since the late 1940s and the attitude of the second-generation.

Therefore, in an unlikely case of the second-generation resumption of regular churchgoing, only two strategies identified here seemed to have ensured some form of continual existence of formal church institutions. First, the renewed migration from the sending countries is likely to improve numbers of church goers although the permanence of such a change is inconclusive. The mixing, however, produces its own challenges revolving

⁸⁰⁴ *The Telegraph*, 23 December 2007; Available [online] at: <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1573452/Britain-has-become-a-Catholic-country.html>> [Accessed 18 November 2022].

around the issues of belonging, identity and language, as the history of parallel developments within older Polish and Ukrainian diasporas in Northern America have demonstrated.⁸⁰⁵ Second, though an isolated example, the merger of the Leeds-Bradford Polish Lutheran parish with the local Lutheran church has manifested that the shift from religious ethnonational bubble to a more open transnational model 'may achieve new relevance in the post-national phases of modernity'.⁸⁰⁶

The oral history accounts have revealed that many narrators who had earlier regularly gone to church no longer did at the time of the interview. As Maria's words have indicated, in Rochdale UC church, for instance, the focus has been less on strategies for future survival than on prolonging the status quo: 'It's harder now than it was then so we try and keep it going for the few older ones that are here'.⁸⁰⁷ Father Matwijchuk, serving the Ukrainian Orthodox parishes in the north of England, has been even more sceptical about his generation's ability to maintain and pass on the spiritual legacy of their migrant parents: 'I've always studied, or had an interest in what made them who they are, where they came from and the talents and the wisdom which they had. But my generation? It's assimilation. A change of the world. The greater the light, the greater the shadow'.⁸⁰⁸

Nevertheless, the strong emphasis in the general literature on religious decline promoted by the supporters of classical secularisation theories, has drawn attention away from other equally important developments. Whilst numerical decline of diaspora church membership has been apparent, 'a narrative of dynamic change and innovation' has also

⁸⁰⁵ See: Vic Satzewich, *The Ukrainian Diaspora*, pp. 196-198

⁸⁰⁶ David Martin, *On Secularization: Towards a Revised General Theory* (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁸⁰⁷ Author interview with Maria Kopczyk, 27th May 2014.

⁸⁰⁸ Author interview with Bohdan Matwijchuk, 16th November 2018.

featured, like in other recent research of religiosity in Britain.⁸⁰⁹ Davie's concept 'vicarious religion', or 'believing without belonging' seems to reflect attitudes of the second-generation most accurately. It characterises not only the ambivalent feeling towards institutional religion among the majority of Western Europeans but also their continuing association with aspects of Christian heritage rites of passage, national identity, religious patrimony [and] certain collective values'.⁸¹⁰

Thus, whilst the second-generation members were largely reluctant to mirror the regular attendance pattern of their parents, many went on to recognise the cultural value of diaspora churches. This has been evident especially during important Christian festivals such as Christmas and Easter, and other events such as St. Nicholas Day or All Souls Day, all of which carried an emotional attachment to the legacy of their parents and the heritage of the old country. In doing so, the second-generation have exercised 'ethnic choice' which demonstrated the situational nature of their ethnic identity.⁸¹¹ The small frequency in exercising ethnic choice in relation to institutional religion thus implies that a great bulk of the recent second-generation organised activity has shifted to the secular sphere.

⁸⁰⁹ John Wolffe, 'Church decline and growth in London: taking the long view', in David Goodhew & Anthony-Paul and Cooper (eds.), *The Desecularisation of the City: London's Churches, 1980 to the Present 2019* (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 341.

⁸¹⁰ Grace Davie, 'Vicarious Religion: A Response', *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 25:2 (2010), p. 262.

⁸¹¹ Gina Kalis, Richard Yarwood, & Naomi Tyrrell, 'Translocal space across migrant generations: The case of a Greek Orthodox Church in the United Kingdom', *Popal Space Place*, 25 (2019), pp. 1-11.

Conclusion

Following the reform of border controls in 2004 large-scale Polish migration to Britain became a cause for serious popular and scholarly concern. Alarmist newspaper columns and media reports portrayed Britain as being invaded by a wave of Polish and other Accession 8 migrants. Aside from the diverse maritime metaphors that were used to describe both the scale and character of Eastern and Central European migration to Britain, workers from other member states within the European Union were identified by alarmist language including 'immigrant', 'alien', 'criminal' and 'deviant'. Xenophobic language fuelled fears where the Polish, Latvian and Lithuanian workers lived. It was not the first time in UK history that white migrants were the scourge of the right-wing media and anti-migrant sentiment. As much of the Sheffield School have detailed through their voluminous writings, anti-German, anti-Jewish and anti-refugee agitation has more than once disputed what Colin Holmes described as the 'myth of toleration' towards migrants. What was new in the wake of 2004, as Burrell and others have detailed, was that the Poles were singled out for being the outsider. Every migrant was portrayed as being Polish, as if the Poles were singularly guilty of any of the accusations against them. The accusations labelled against the Poles were especially surprising given the wartime loyalty of Poland during the Second World War. A further paradox in the singling out of Poles was that it was not the first time in British history that migrants or refugees from 'Poland' had settled in the UK. The successful integration and assimilation of earlier waves of Polish migrants showed how, according to some right-wing groups, successful they were. They were, as detailed earlier, invisible immigrants – as if this was a badge of honour, something to aspire to.

The largest of the wave of Polish migrants to the UK occurred in the aftermath of the Second World War as Burrell, Temple, Sword, Patterson, and Zubrzycki have shown. This study too has highlighted not just that Poles came, but those other Eastern and Central European migrants joined them. Relevant here was the wave of Ukrainian migrants who, alongside their Polish counterparts, settled and successfully integrated. Yet whilst other scholars have detailed their integration and assimilation, this study has revealed the scale and character of that post-Second World War settlement in the north of England. Post-industrial Britain became a home from home for tens of thousands of Polish and Ukrainian migrants as the methods chapter revealed. The dispersal of both diasporas across a large expanse of Northern England perhaps explains why they have evaded serious scholarly attention before now.

Yet it is not the arrival and settlement that was the focus of this study. Instead, as well as moving beyond the metropolitan bias of earlier migrant history, it is the story of the second-generation Poles and Ukrainians that has been recovered here. These British-Poles and British-Ukrainians were all born in the UK. Given their racial profile mirrored that of the monocultural nature of the host society, they largely avoided much of the prejudice directed towards their counterparts in the same part of the UK as the popularity of the National Front grew during the 1970s and 1980s. But how assimilated were the British born members of the Polish and Ukrainian diaspora? And did they behave differently in the privacy of their homes as opposed to their educational, working, or religious lives in public? These are just some of the questions the study has sought to reveal. Rather than assuming attitudes through potentially biased media or secondary accounts, this study asked members of both groups their often-changing attitudes to such migrant heritage through two dozen oral history interviews.

As discussed in chapter 1, the security and safety of the family home was the harbinger of diasporic identity. During high holy days, dates of homeland national importance, or in celebratory meals, ideas of Polish or conversely Ukrainian identity were inculcated to the second generation. Whilst so much scholarly attention has been directed towards the official UK government policy of multiculturalism since the mid-1960s, both the Poles and Ukrainians saw the home as the place where the next generation were to be fuelled by the cultural traditions of the ancestral homelands. Mothers and other female figures, perceived at the time as “home makers” were instrumental in this cascading of knowledge and practices. Whilst they may not have been able to work freely, the matriarchal nature of diasporas ensured that females were highly regarded and loved because they maintained the traditions of the homeland. Crucially, even those British wives who married migrant husbands learned the traditions of their spouses’ homelands and helped educate their British born children about the “correct” ways of marking key dates in the familial calendar.

Assisting the first-generation parents, whether mixed marriages or those within the same ethnic group, was a network of Saturday schools. Discussed in Chapter 2, they were located across the whole country but especially active in the north of England. Males too played a key role in preserving the history, customs and linguistic traditions associated with Poland or Ukraine. After a week at work this was “their” time to maintain knowledge of two countries that had lost their independence after the end of the Second World War and Soviet occupation during the Cold War. Unlike their non-migratory counterparts, they ensured the next generation received as much as their continental counterparts would in terms of supplementary learning not available in UK schools. So sophisticated were the supplementary schools that they produced uniform resources to be shared across the UK that could help standardise the direction of cultural training.

Despite being widely dispersed, as discussed in Chapter 3, the network of cross-country associational culture organisations enabled smaller and larger communities to meet regularly in different spaces that had either a sizeable Polish or Ukrainian community. Summer camps, cultural centres, and other forms of gatherings all mirrored their non-diasporic counterparts of the time. Like the Scouts and Girl Guide movements across the UK, they sought to bring groups of children together. Their role was not always, as seen by the supplementary schools, of inculcating the homeland on the young people. Instead, the groups did practical training, often outdoors. But rather than being absorbed into the larger non-diasporic equivalent, the two groups sought to establish a Polish or Ukrainian equivalent group – assuming that broader cultural traditions could be reinforced alongside other activities. Indeed, the greatest threat was not absorption, but the demise of the first generation who were motivated to organise such meetings. Lacking their parents' motivations, the second generation struggled to maintain associational cultural life by the beginning of large-scale Polish migration after 2004.

Throughout, alongside culture and history the continual importance of religion to both groups was essential. As discussed in Chapter 4, the remoteness of the British based flocks did not stop religious practices in the ancestral homeland from shaping their religious lives. Overcoming the barriers of the Cold War, clerics from both Ukraine and Poland maintained the conservatism of religious practice in the UK. For the Catholic Poles and Ukrainians this challenged the idea that all Catholics were absorbed into the same Catholic family – as had happened when large-scale Irish Catholic migration had occurred. For Ukrainian Orthodox parishioners the Patriarch of their homeland remained the key religious figure in shaping their Christian traditions. Therefore, religious belief, religious spaces and practices were all maintained in diaspora despite the Cold War. This chapter demonstrated not just the strength

of diasporic ties but also how links between diasporic communities and their homeland churches were maintained throughout the Cold War.

The second-generation's journeys to their respective ancestral lands, often described as heritage tourism, were characterised by sporadic visits. For some individuals, there remained little to explore beyond the headstones of relatively unknown ancestors. In other cases, they encountered strange faces of distant relatives speaking an unfamiliar language. Some embarked on quests to uncover stories that only emerged after their parents' passing, such as the discovery of another half-sibling or an entirely different version of wartime events. However, very few among them viewed Poland and Ukraine as potential retirement destinations; instead, these lands were predominantly seen as holiday destinations, places for conducting business, reminiscing, and occasionally visiting any remaining distant relatives.

While many second-generation individuals of Polish and Ukrainian descent shared similar experiences, including supplementary schooling, participation in diaspora church worship, and engagement in diaspora associations, the two groups differed in one important respect. Poles could relatively easily visit Communist Poland (with exceptions during the pre-1956 period and the Martial Law of 1982-1983), whereas accessing Soviet Ukraine was virtually impossible without continuous surveillance by the secret police and the fear of not being able to return. Consequently, very few Ukrainian families visited their homeland prior to Ukraine's declaration of independence in 1991.

The historical denial of statehood to Ukraine over the long term fostered radicalism among diaspora Ukrainians, which influenced the second-generation. Unlike their Polish counterparts, young second-generation Ukrainians from across the UK regularly travelled to London to protest against Russian imperialism, often occupying the space outside the Soviet

Embassy. This tradition of anti-Russian protest remains alive today, as demonstrated by the responses of the UK's Ukrainian diaspora to the recent Russian military invasion of Ukraine. Yet there were also other second-generation individuals included in this study who existed on the periphery or outside diaspora networks and faced distinct challenges in their engagement with their ethnic heritage.

New comparative studies should continue to investigate the interplay between diasporic heritage and majority society, and the relationship between different diasporas over time. How do the experiences of British-born individuals of Polish and Ukrainian descent compare with those of their counterparts from Western Europe and the Americas? How do second-generation identities evolve in relation to each country's approach to cultural diversity and minority politics? Also, more microstudies are needed to enhance second-generation studies in Britain, especially outside London. Other smaller second-generation groups hailing from post-socialist countries, including Czechs, Hungarians, Serbs, Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians, have all received little attention and would benefit from further comparative research.

Having analysed the relationship between the second-generation and their migrant parents, future studies of second-generation diaspora may want to explore the generational dynamic between these two groups and subsequent generations. Given new geopolitical developments since 2004, including accelerating migration from the former Eastern Bloc to Western Europe, continuing Russian imperialist practices in Ukraine such as the occupation of Crimea in 2014 and full-scale invasion of the country in 2022, and the growing anti-immigration and nationalist sentiment across Europe culminating in Britain's exit from the EU

in 2019, all have in one way or another affected the life of both diasporas and the construction of second-generation identities.

Ample opportunities also exist to explore issues such as gender, language, and class in greater depth and from different analytical perspectives. To enhance the study of second-generation identities, scholars need to work across the national and disciplinary divide and intensify efforts in using vernacular sources and local archives. While it is impossible to study individuals who have completely eschewed their heritage and lived in anonymity, creative methodologies should be deployed to capture the experiences of other second-generation people other than those in the mainstream.

Throughout this study has sought to expand the research of oral history with migrant communities by conducting a sizeable study of second-generation migrants. Rather than privileging one group over another it has sought to explore them in comparative perspective. Neighbours in continental Europe became neighbours in their new homeland of Britain. Whilst many in the second generation married out, or eschewed their diasporic heritage, for others it remained a source of great pride. Once the Iron Curtain dividing Europe had ended, they embraced the opportunities of pan European travel to engage with their homelands once more. Yet now the communal infrastructure across northern England had fallen into abeyance they ensured the memories of these once vibrant communities were preserved through the careful archiving of this story, a story this study has finally recovered.

Appendix 1

Transcripts of all 25 oral history interviews are accessible through the following cloud store -

<https://universityofhull.box.com/s/ngsuk41b2n66wm91jrp6q15hba4gmr2h> .



INFORMATION SHEET

Second-Generation Polish and Ukrainian Identities in the North of England since 1948

I am sending you this information sheet because I would like to invite you to take part in my research study. However, before you decide whether to participate I would like to outline why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information and ask me any further questions you may have or if anything is unclear.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study aims to fill a gap in current knowledge about the legacy of post-war Eastern European immigration to Britain beyond the first-generation. While the experiences of primary immigrants and their respective communities have received some attention, the discussion about the ways in which subsequent generations carried on the legacy of the migrant generation and expressed their own identities is largely absent from academic literature.

To produce new documentary evidence, I will collate between 20 and 30 oral history interviews with individuals of Polish and Ukrainian descent as well as those of mixed parentage living in the North of England, all evenly distributed by gender. By putting these narratives into a comparative perspective, this study will render a more nuanced understanding of the complexity of post-immigration experiences both within and outside the boundaries of ethnic associational life. Drawing on mixed methods approach, this study will offer a fresh perspective on the changing nature of diasporic identities in Britain before and after the collapse of the Eastern Bloc in 1991.

Who is organising the research?

This research is being conducted by Frank Grombir as part of his doctoral study in History at the University of Hull. The research supervisors are Dr Nicholas Evans, Lecturer in Diaspora History and Dr Catherine Baker, Lecturer in 20th Century History, both based at the University of Hull.

Do I have to take part?

It is not compulsory for you to take part – however, I believe that you have something important to contribute to this study, and to further researchers who want to record the voices of people with multiple heritage roots and their role within and outside the diaspora in Britain. I hope that you will therefore contribute. If you agree to take part, you will be asked to sign a consent form. But please note that you will still be free to withdraw at any time and I will not ask you to give any reasons if you choose to do so.

What does taking part mean?

If you agree to take part, I will arrange an interview with you and will audio record the interview. I would prefer to interview you in your own home but if you would rather have the interview at your place of work or somewhere else convenient to you, that too could be arranged. The interview will last between one and two hours.

What happens to the interviews?

The interviews will be transcribed and stored digitally. The transcriptions and the recordings will be held at the University of Hull's library. Unless you state in the Participant Consent Form that you wish to restrict your contribution for a certain period, the material will immediately be made available to other researchers. The Participant Consent Form with your personal details will be stored separately and will remain confidential.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

All those who take part in interviews will be offered copies of the interview transcripts. The research findings will in the first instance be used in the forthcoming doctoral thesis (expected completion 2018/19) and are also likely to be published in working papers for the funding body, academic journal articles and books in the future. Please let the researcher know if you wish to be notified when your contribution, or part of it, appears in an official publication.

Contact for Further Information:

Email: [REDACTED]

Twitter: [REDACTED]

Mobile: [REDACTED]

Or write to

Frank Grombir, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

You can view my professional profile at: [REDACTED]

Updated September 2018

Appendix 3



WISE
University of Hull
Oriel Chambers
27 High Street
Hull
HU1 1NE

ORAL HISTORY PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Please complete this form after you have read the attached (separate) Information Sheet.

This Agreement is made between the researcher, **Frank Grombir at the University of Hull** and you (the Interviewee)

Your name:

Your address:

In regard to the recorded interview which took place on:

Date:

Declaration: I, the Interviewee confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media to the researcher, Frank Grombir at the University of Hull. I also give my permission for the recorded interview and transcript to be deposited in a publicly accessible archive. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Design and Patents Act 1988.

The potential uses of the content of the recorded interview may include publications (books, pamphlets, audio and video productions, internet, CD ROM); teaching and public history talks; museums exhibitions and public displays; radio and television broadcast or internet.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the researcher, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state the conditions here. Also state if you wish to be identified by your full name or if you prefer to be quoted by use of pseudonym.

.....
.....
.....

This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Agreement.

Name of participant

Signature: Date:

Name of researcher

Signature: Date:

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Fieldsend, Joy, 31st March 2014, Kirklees

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Gec, Stefan, 19th June 2014, Kirklees

Gorski, Richard, 25th February 2015, Hull

Holubecki, Janina, 20th November 2014, Calderdale

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