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Superdiversity, Diaspora and Chronotopic Analysis in the Online-offline Nexus

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This study provides an in-depth ethnographic analysis of online and offline data collected in Polish diaspora communities in Belgium and the Netherlands. The study is empirical and descriptive in nature. It generates interesting findings on social structure and interaction within Polish diaspora communities in the Low Countries and it does so by means of developing and using the new theoretical and methodological framework of chronotopic analysis.

The study examines communicative practices in social interaction and is structured in line with the methodological framework that is developed around the notion of chronotope, substantiated by the notions of frame, format and script. These concepts are interdependent and together organize social life in an orderly fashion. The study shows that chronotopic analysis is an innovative and productive framework for the investigation of online-offline contexts in superdiverse communities. As such, it offers a new dimension to the sociolinguistics of globalization for analyzing the complexities of social action in mobility and superdiversity.

Chronotopic analysis provides the tools necessary to grasp the ever-changing nature of social environments and online and offline practices by means of providing a more in-depth and sophisticated view of the notion of context. It enables researchers to detect the most intricate and refined practices within contextual universes operating in social interaction in often unpredictable and unstable environments. It also contains an invitation to methodological and theoretical reflection, as the study encourages the rethinking of existing theories and methodologies in research on diaspora communities and socio-cultural diversity.

Malgorzata Szabla is a linguistic anthropologist. She conducted her PhD research at the Department of Culture Studies at Tilburg University, the Netherlands.

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SUPERDIVERSITY, DIASPORA AND CHRONOTOPIC ANALYSIS IN THE ONLINE-OFFLINE NEXUS

Malgorzata Szabla

SUPERDIVERSITY, DIASPORA AND CHRONOTOPIC ANALYSIS IN THE ONLINE-OFFLINE NEXUS

A case study on the Polish diaspora in the Low Countries

MALGORZATA SZABLA

Superdiversity, Diaspora and Chronotopic Analysis in the Online-offline Nexus

A case study on the Polish diaspora in the Low Countries

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A case study on the Polish diaspora in the Low Countries

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In memory of my supervisor Jan Blommaert and my grandmother Teresa

To my parents and my siblings

We acquire strength from the people we love

Preface

This PhD thesis is the end of a trajectory that I never planned. I am not sure if anyone ever plans to obtain a PhD, but in my case, the desire to continue my research and academic development can be traced back to a very specific moment in my life that I remember very clearly.

I was a Master student at Tilburg University when I decided to follow a course on Sociolinguistics of Globalization. This is when I met one of the smartest, most inspiring and charismatic persons in my entire life, someone who was a natural motivator, someone who managed to engage the most uninterested students in the most complex topics and someone who made inaccessible knowledge so simple to comprehend. But not only that, the knowledge was made fun and useful too. This was something entirely new for me, something that I never witnessed before: a teacher that actually knew how to make a profound impact on each of his students, making them work so hard, while promising that they will not notice, all under the motto: never underestimate your students, but challenge them.

This person was my supervisor, the late Jan Blommaert. It is obvious that this thesis would not have been here today without him, both directly by supervising me, supporting me, guiding me and challenging me throughout my PhD journey, but also indirectly for inspiring me and believing in me. Jan Blommaert was one of those people who always had the right answer and advice, and I am honored that I was able to work so closely with him for the last few years. He was and he will always remain my greatest source of inspiration, both academically and personally.

I also want to acknowledge the emotional and intellectual support of my other supervisors, Odile Heynders and Herman Beck, who guided me right from the start through the process of my PhD and always motivated me to approach the topic from a different perspective. I want to thank you for your support, encouragement and all the valuable insights and knowledge that you shared with me throughout the years. You have been indispensable for the development of my thesis.

A major thank you goes to Sjaak Kroon, who has always invested his greatest efforts to support and inspire the PhD students in our department, even when he was not their supervisor. He has always been a real support for me not only in the development process of writing this thesis, giving the most valued feedback (with his red pen that is simply priceless), but also in dealing with all the organizational matters that came up, ensuring that the newbies always were informed and felt at ease in our department. However, even more importantly, I want to thank Sjaak for stepping in as my supervisor at the most difficult, and at the same time most crucial stage of my thesis trajectory as his contribution was vital for my success. Thank you for pushing me, motivating me, encouraging me and supporting me during good and bad days, ensuring that this thesis got completed. I am really grateful for

everything you did for me, as without your support I would most likely still have difficulties finishing it.

A special thanks goes to Ad Backus who is one of the kindest and the most helpful people in our department. Thank you for your moral support and for being a continuous source of motivation and inspiration during cheesecake gatherings and peers meetings. Most of all thank you for your assistance and advice during the period of my teaching at the Department of Culture Studies. Furthermore, I am grateful to Jan Jans for his help, advice, support, openness and friendly banter, but also to Jos Swanenberg, Ico Maly and Piia Varis for their inspiration and encouragement.

I also want to thank Pika Colpaert, for being there for me every step of the way, as her involvement was essential for my success. Thank you for organizing bootcamps, for your moral support and companionship. Having my family far away, you are the one person that provided me with a sense of family, and a feeling of home. Thank you for that, it is invaluable to have friends that actually in many ways become your family.

A special gratitude also goes to an extraordinary colleague of mine that I have shared my office with for the last five years; someone who became an indispensable part of my life, both academic and personal, by offering me the precious value of an unconditional friendship and unlimited constructive feedback. Ying Lu – thank you for reasons so manifold that they would require a separate chapter to attend to them in detail. At the same time, I want to acknowledge all the moral and intellectual support of everyone in the Department of Culture Studies, with a special dedication to Kunming Li (Leo), Hua Nie (Ted), Sandra Wagemakers, İrem Bezcioğlu-Göktolga, Caixia Du, Xuefei Tang and Mingyi Hou.

Karin Berkhout is another indispensable person in our department that deserves a particular mention, as her contribution for each thesis in our department is simply incalculable. Her creativity, skill and professionality to deal with the things invisible to others, is what adds true value to our work. Dear Karin, thank you for attending to things, so easily overlooked by others, and thank you for being such a kind and accessible person.

Another group of people deserves special attention here, namely all of my anonymous research participants thanks to whom this thesis was made possible in the first place. I also want to mention a few, extraordinary people who ensured that my fieldwork in Antwerp was an exceptionally pleasant experience, namely Grażyna Mac, Marcin Mac, Patrycja Misiukiewicz, Monika Morawska, Paulina Szopa, Ilona Fara and Rafał Filipek.

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Udenhout, January 2022

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Speaking about the effects of new globalization processes of diaspora neighborhoods more than two decades ago, Arjun Appadurai (1996: 195) made the following observation:

> These new forms of electronically mediated communication are beginning to create *virtual neighborhoods*, no longer bounded by territory, passports, taxes, elections, and other conventional political diacritics, but by access to both the software and hardware that are required to connect to these large international computer networks. Thus far, access to these virtual (electronic) neighborhoods tends to be confined to members of the transnational intelligentsia, who, through their access to computer technologies at universities, labs, and libraries, can base social and political projects on technologies constructed to solve information-flow problems. Information and opinion flow concurrently through these circuits, and while the social morphology of these electronic neighborhoods is hard to classify and their longevity difficult to predict, clearly they are communities of some sort, trading information and building links that affect many areas of life, from philanthropy to marriage.

Appadurai pointed towards the increasing differentiation of the concept of diaspora due to facts of economic, political and cultural globalization and, particularly, the new modes of human activity and mobility enabled by the emerging internet. And, remarkably, he did that before the web 2.0, smartphones, and apps became available. In the years since he made this observation, the emerging internet has become a consolidated one, profoundly integrated in the organization of societies around the world. This has prompted scholars to state that we live in a post digital age (Cramer, 2014), meaning that digital dimensions and infrastructures have become intrinsically part of the fabric of societies. Others talk about the fact that contemporary social lives are lived in the online-offline nexus (Blommaert, 2018a) in which only non-substantive distinctions can be made between what is online and what is offline in examining contemporary societies and social practices. As for the notion of diaspora, Appadurai's premonition led scholars such as Vertovec (2007) to talk about superdiversity, in which specifically the dynamic between online and offline aspects of social life contribute to increased diversification and complexity at the level of social groups, social cohesion, identity work and inter- and intra-group relations.

In a very concrete way, these developments in scholarship issue a warning to contemporary researchers on diaspora and other forms of socio-cultural diversity. The increasing importance of technological infrastructures as mediators in global processes has been extensively documented (e.g. Arnaut et al., 2017; Tall, 2004; Varis, 2017). There is a growing awareness that complexity is an inevitable perspective on social action, and that linear models (for instance connecting intentions and motives to migration outcomes) are overly reductionist. The warning, however, also touches upon issues of the very nature of groups

and communities and the methodologies by means of which it is possible to take into account complex social action as an inroad towards understanding such groups and communities. It is on this latter aspect that my study will be focused. Widely used categorical labels to describe and interpret socio-cultural diversity – think of nationality, ethnicity, and religion – appear to be very poor descriptors when examining the realities of contemporary diversity, and therefore may require far more precise sets of analytical instruments.

In this study, I will explore the analytical purchase of a number of such instruments. I capture them synthetically under the term 'chronotopic analysis' and I shall do so by reporting on five years of research on the Polish diaspora in the Low Countries – Belgium, more specifically Flanders, and the Netherlands. This research involved traditional offline ethnographies, observing and interviewing research participants, and documenting and instantiating important facets of the history and lived reality of this particular diaspora. It also involved an extensive inquiry into the online resources and platforms used within this diaspora as fora for discussion, information sharing, mutual support and contemporary community building.

I will in the remainder of this opening chapter, provide two essential sets of introductory remarks. Both will be returned to and further elaborated in later chapters. The first set is a brief chronicle of the research trajectory that led to the present result. The specific trajectory, we shall see, led to emerging themes, research tactics, orientations and questions. There was of course an early research plan, but the ethnographic encounters with actual subjects in actual social situations and a concrete research relationship with these subjects caused continuous revisions of that plan. The second set is an introduction to the particular conceptual framework I shall use. This framework, like the research trajectory, also emerged in the course of the work I did and the intense interaction I maintained with my supervisors. It is idiosyncratic and exploratory, and therefore open to revision and adjustment. Thus, while the general orientation of my study is empirical and descriptive – I intend to describe aspects of social structure within the Polish diaspora in the Low Countries online as well as offline – it also contains an invitation to methodological and theoretical reflection. In other words, one of the objectives of my empirical study is to encourage reflection on and rethinking of the theories and methodologies in research on diaspora and socio-cultural diversity.

1.1 A Chronicle of My Research

The complexity of migrant communities can only be approached by means of qualitative research, and therefore for the purpose of this study multiple qualitative research methods have been used to gather the data, specifically online and offline ethnography consisting of participant observation and fieldwork, linguistic landscaping, and open interviews. This section will briefly introduce the chronicle of my research to pave the way for the discussion and analysis of the empirical cases.

1.1.1 Berchem, A District of Antwerp: 'Am I in the Right Place?'

My ethnographic inquiry started in 2014. I remember the first day of my fieldwork exceptionally well. I was anxious and curious, but at the same time determined and motivated to investigate the topic, for it mattered to me personally. As a Polish expatriate myself, I saw this research as an opportunity to give voice to Polish migrants. This was my aim then, and it is still important for me today.

It was 8 September 2014 when I met with my supervisor Jan Blommaert at 10.00 in Berchem – an inner-city neighborhood of Antwerp, Belgium – in order for him to introduce me to the neighborhood. He had been living there with his family since 1995 and had done extensive sociolinguistic and anthropological research in and on this superdiverse area (see Blommaert, 2013). I arrived early and decided to look around. I remember wondering if I actually was in the right place. Looking back at my own fieldnotes, I quote:

> First thought that came to my mind: Am I in the right place? This is not what I imagined Berchem to be. It was beautiful, quiet, peaceful, you could see people going about their everyday activities, but you could never say you were in the slums... That's not what I had in mind… [when I first thought of Berchem] it really undermined my expectations. But, there I was, in the middle of Antwerp's ghetto…[1]

I am not exactly sure what I expected from a densely populated, culturally mixed inner-city district of Antwerp, but definitely not what I actually encountered. Looking back, I realize that my views were influenced by people around me who expressed their concerns about 'a young, Polish girl doing her fieldwork in such an unsafe place'. I was biased as I imagined the neighborhood through the stigma that people attach to places like Berchem. This was a real eye-opener for me as a young researcher, and I have never made the same mistake again. I realized that an ethnically mixed neighborhood did not automatically imply that it is an unsafe, overpopulated, lower class or unorganized place. On the contrary, I soon discovered that it was many things, except what I initially imagined it to be.

1.1.2 The Genesis of My Research Questions

As I am a Polish migrant living in the Netherlands, I can claim that the beginning of my informal ethnographic research started in 2009, when I moved to study in the Netherlands. However, the actual beginning of structured fieldwork can be traced back to 2014, when I performed research on Polish migration in Belgium in view of my Master's degree. After completing the degree, I continued my fieldwork on the Polish diaspora in the Low Countries and in 2015, I formally began my PhD on the same subject. My ethnographic journey is therefore quite extensive and my knowledge and experience on the topic are based on years of previous research. The ethnographic research in this dissertation draws upon a five-year offline fieldwork period in Berchem, Belgium and a five-year online ethnography on Facebook. Offline data, specifically open interviews, were conducted from September to

[1] As a part of my ethnographic strategy, I have kept a diary, where I recorded the most important observations and my personal experiences. This quote is taken out of my fieldnotes from 8 September 2014.

November 2014 and from August 2015 until April 2016. The online data consisting of observations of daily, online-activities and digital communicative practices were collected from August 2015 until December 2018 on multiple Facebook forums for Polish people in Belgium[2] and the Netherlands.[3]

This study is among other things based on 38 hours of recorded face-to-face interviews in two subsequent periods of my fieldwork in Antwerp. The first ethnographic study consists of 12 hours of recorded interviews and 8 interviews of approximately one hour each with participants who did not want the conversations to be recorded.[4] These interviews are not counted as a part of the recorded materials. The data from these unrecorded interviews have been gathered in the form of written fieldnotes. The second ethnographic period of interviews generated 26 hours of recorded interviews. It is important to note that during the second round of interviews, the majority of the meetings took place at participants' homes, which means that after the official part of the interview ended, it often informally continued during dinner and friendly informal conversations.[5] Many of these interviews extended beyond the traditional relationship of a researcher and participant, and many of them continue in form of a friendship today. All the interviews are supplemented with ethnographic notes about contextual information and observations. I have also collected 2 e-mail interviews and 12 Facebook messenger chats with my participants. I have accepted different forms of communication in order to accommodate my participants.

In addition to those data, I have collected 12 hours of recorded interviews with Polish diaspora members in Tilburg, the Netherlands between April 2016 and December 2017. The initial framework of the proposal was to compare the findings from both countries; I quickly realized, however, that the interviews in the Netherlands generated similar findings when compared with the data from Belgium. This made me realize that in fact, a comparative study was not realistic, as I would not be comparing A with B, but rather A with A. What I mean is that while every migrant's life history is unique, the general features and experiences of Polish migrants are in fact widely shared. This process in my data collection can therefore be seen as a stage of data saturation during which no new insights were brought to my data analysis and an indication that I have generated a sufficient and adequate corpus

[2] The research in Belgium was conducted on the following Facebook pages:
1) https://www.facebook.com/groups/plantwerpia/
2) https://www.facebook.com/groups/antwerpenpl/
3) https://www.facebook.com/groups/polacywantwerpii1
4) https://www.facebook.com/groups/460506957382813/

[3] The research in the Netherlands was conducted on the following Facebook pages:
1) https://www.facebook.com/groups/polacy.w.holandii
2) https://www.facebook.com/groups/812634748867566
3) https://www.facebook.com/groups/PolacyWHolandiiPolenInNederland
4) https://www.facebook.com/groups/polacywtilburgu

[4] The interviews often covered very sensitive and personal aspects of participants' lives. Some participants engaged in the informal labor market and feared possible legal consequences. Therefore, personal and sensitive materials were anonymized in such a way that the identity of the respondent would not be traceable nor recognizable. The material that could expose my respondents and bring possible legal consequences was not used in this dissertation.

[5] On multiple occasions, I have been invited to stay for dinner after the interview was completed. Many of the interviewees wanted to socialize and continue our conversations in an informal setting. These parts often generated interesting findings and participants did not mind me taking notes of these informal conversations. They often felt more at ease when conversations were no longer recorded.

of data (Faulkner & Trotter, 2017; Guest et al., 2006, 2020). Following Guest et al. (2020: 2), I have reached "the point in data collection and analysis when new incoming data produces little or no new information to address the research question."

An in-depth offline ethnographic study is based on an extensive corpus of observations and linguistic landscaping recorded in the form of fieldnotes and pictures in a five-year period of my fieldwork in Antwerp. This period is supplemented by my own experiences as a Polish expat in the Netherlands for the last twelve years in Tilburg, the Netherlands.

Furthermore, this study builds on data generated through online-ethnography of Facebook forums for the Polish diaspora, both in Belgium and the Netherlands.[6] The observations of virtual environments were conducted by means of lurking, i.e. invisible and untraceable participant observation (Varis, 2016). This type of digital ethnography cannot be compared to traditional fieldwork, as it is mediated by computer screens (Varis, 2016), but lurking is a widespread form of everyday online participation and a widely practiced type of participants' activity; it is, in other words, a 'normal' online activity. This form of virtual ethnography persisted throughout the period of five years and was aimed at familiarization with the different groups, their meaning-making practices and online activities. Interesting or striking data would be recorded. The online fieldwork consisted of observation of activities and interactions of participants in both countries and recording of relevant data in the period between August 2015 and December 2018. In total, I have collected 287 instances of Facebook online interactions among Polish diaspora members, and 2500 screenshots of conversations, comments and pictures posted online.

I could start from the safe assumption that the Polish diaspora is a clearly identifiable feature of diversity within the Low Countries and beyond. It is so recognizable that in 2012, Geert Wilders (the founder of the right-wing political party PVV in the Netherlands) launched a website where Dutch nationals could file complaints about people from Central and Eastern Europe residing in the Netherlands. The main focus was on Polish 'illegal' migrants, and therefore the website was often referred to as the Polish hotline. Being a Polish immigrant in the Netherlands myself, I had no reason to doubt about the salience of the label 'Polish' for referring to myself or to people with similar backgrounds.

The notion of Polishness, by contrast, did not seem to matter much to people that I have met during my fieldwork in Antwerp. Regardless of the fact that I also originate from Poland, that Polish is my native language and that I can relate to the cultural, social, political and religious backgrounds of Polish people, I was not immediately accepted within the community. My access to the field was much more difficult than initially anticipated. Many individuals I encountered throughout my fieldwork were very suspicious and hesitant to engage in conversation with me and would become even more reluctant to communicate with me after hearing about the direction of my research. It was clear that they were not sure whether my intentions were sincere, and some feared possible legal consequences. As I have later found out, this was caused by the fragmentation of the Polish community and their fear of losing their position in Belgian society. This was a major obstacle on my way to find people willing to participate in the study, but also the discovery that changed the way in which I viewed and understood the Polish community. After several visits in Antwerp, and with no volunteers to participate in the study, I was forced to find an alternative approach.

[6] In order to ensure the anonymity of participants, the links to concrete online conversations, internet pages and websites from which the data was retrieved are not included in this dissertation.

This is when I decided to go online and joined multiple forums for Polish people in Belgium. After being accepted as a member, I posted an information about myself and my research and I asked if there were any volunteers to take part in my research. This was the turning point in my fieldwork because many individuals agreed to meet with me for an interview. My post received a lot of interest, reflected by the high number of likes and comments. Notwithstanding the resistance noted above, many individuals were very enthusiastic about the study and offered their help in the process.

When I began my fieldwork however, I very soon discovered that the popular assumptions of homogeneity imposed on Polish migrants by and in host societies were immediately disqualified by my participants. But not only that – even when I tried to introduce more specific sub-categorizations, such as generation, professional status, or gender, I failed to capture the actual complexity and do justice to the observed diversity within the Polish diaspora. This point became extremely clear when I turned to the online platforms used by Polish diaspora members. I quickly realized that social behavior and accounts of events differed significantly when I inquired in offline contexts, compared to in online contexts. While major themes appeared to be shared – notably the central importance of *work* as a frame to talk about almost any other topic – the actual ways in which people behaved and approached each other were significantly different. The online Polish subject is different from the offline one, which will be discussed in detail in the empirical chapters.

1.2 An Action Perspective: Chronotopic Analysis

The quest to fully comprehend and explain the diversity within the Polish diaspora inevitably required a profound investigation of its context and contextualization that set the conditions for an understanding of any meaningful social phenomena (Blommaert, 2005). These concepts however quickly revealed shortcomings, as they lacked specificity and analytical strength required to explain concrete and highly specific ways in which people make meaning and understand each other in interaction, and to observe the effects they have on society or a group. This does not undermine the essential salience of the notion, as social context is vital for an understanding of the conditions for production and uptake in any communicative action (Blommaert, 2005), but the widespread distinction between 'micro' and 'macro' contexts seemed to create methodological obstacles.

This micro-macro distinction, however insightful at times, complicates the way in which social action should be viewed, because it disregards the fact that several layers of context can be present simultaneously, can interact with each other and jointly affect an interaction (Blommaert, 2015a). This complication of the local and translocal dimensions of context is best explained by the fact that every locally produced meaning inevitably needs to be situated in a broader historical frame in order to be understood (Blommaert, 2005, 2015a; Blommaert et al., 2018). The interpretation and understanding in an interaction are achieved through indexicality, i.e. "language-ideologically loaded semiotic features" (Blommaert, 2015a: 107, following Silverstein, 1992). These implicit meanings render local events as valuable enactments against a translocal, historical background. Blommaert et al. (2018: 5) following Goffman (1967, 1974) explained that "even if all instances of human interaction are unique, they display general characteristics and patterns sufficient to lift them from 'micro' to 'macro' relevance."

This process, according to Blommaert (2005) can be compared to the Bakhtinian notion of intertextuality – the idea that meaning is evaluative, and that such attributed value in semiotic interaction is recycled and derives from the history of its previous usage. This value and history is encompassed in the notion of chronotope that was initially developed by Bakhtin (1937/1981: 84) in the 1930s and literally stands for timespace constellation that emphasizes "the inseparability of space and time" in any social action. Blommaert (2015a: 110) suggests to view chronotopes as ""invokable histories," elaborate frames in which time, space, and patterns of agency coincide, create meaning and value, and can be set off against other chronotopes." This reconceptualization of Bakhtin's chronotope is required to address and fully understand the complexity of language and culture in society; it forms, therefore, a conceptual cornerstone for the understanding of the dynamics of the Polish communities I studied.

What I have become aware of, halfway through my research, was that assumptions about the a priori relevance of identity categories were empirically unreliable. I could see identities evolving though, but as a result or effect of rather than as a precondition for social action. This took me to an exploration of a variety of interaction-centered theories within the ethnographic tradition (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972). My first port of call was Bruno Latour's (2005) Action-Network theory, which functioned as a guideline on how to look at the relations and interactions between actors and network, i.e. not to focus on communities as a whole but rather look at actions and connections between actors in a network. An important insight I got from Latour's work is this one:

> It is always by comparison with other competing ties that any tie is emphasized. So for every group to be defined, a list of anti-groups is set up as well. This is quite convenient for observers because it means that actors are always engaged in the business of mapping the 'social context' in which they are placed, thus offering the analyst a full-blooded theory of what sort of sociology they should be treated with. (Latour, 2005: 32)

I quickly encountered the limitations of Latour's framework, however. Especially the concept of a network is somewhat problematic and remains underspecified. I decided for the purpose of this study to view it as a moral network, inspired by the interactionist and ethnomethodological tradition involving scholars such as George Herbert Mead, Herbert Blumer, Erving Goffman, Anselm Strauss and Harold Garfinkel. Latour's Action-Network theory, it is useful to point out, is deeply influenced by (aspects of) Garfinkel's ethnomethodology.

Using these bodies of theories, a clear and applicable framework for another type of analysis of the Polish diaspora is beginning to form. The focus of this – what I shall call chronotopic analysis – is firmly on what people do, thereby considering what they are in relation to each other as evolving from their doings. This means that the focus of the analysis shifts from national diacritics and from who and what Polish migrants are, to what they do, i.e. the actions they perform.

The central question guiding the study is this: *How can chronotopic analysis provide a more in-depth and realistic range of insights on the Polish diaspora in the Low Countries?* More specifically, how can chronotopic analysis contribute to an understanding of my major initial fieldwork observation, i.e. the overwhelming *absence* of nationality-based social cohesion within the Polish communities I observed online and offline in Belgium and the

Netherlands. The ambition of this research is therefore twofold, on the one hand, it aims to provide insights into the Polish diaspora, and on the other hand, it is theoretically and methodologically oriented towards the exploration of the analytical purchase of chronotopic analysis. In other words, the goal is to explore the Polish diaspora and, i.e. by, developing and using a new methodology.

Formulating the research question in this way does not mean that I see the Polish diaspora as a mere testcase for a particular analytical model. On the contrary, the approach I use in this study is motivated by the ambition to say something about the Polish diaspora that would be easily disregarded or dismissed, or scarcely observed in many other research approaches, by means of analytical instruments that are:

> enhancing sensitivities to what otherwise might be overlooked; (..) raises astute questions about action that might not be raised; and (..) can minimize becoming captive to overly simple explanatory models, or doctrines, that are claimed as interpreting or explaining human life and behavior. (Strauss, 1993: 49)

My study is obviously an instance of what Blumer called 'explorative research', i.e., research in which one can "test and revise one's images" (Blumer, 1969: 37). The images I shall test are those I held myself about the Polish diaspora for long periods of my life, the more since I saw them reiterated frequently in literature and public discourse about Polish diaspora. My second aim therefore is to explore the validity of chronotopic analysis as an alternative approach to unravel the complexities of Polish diasporas in the Low Countries.

Let me now briefly sketch some essential assumptions of chronotopic analysis. As I said, chronotopic analysis is grounded in the interactional and ethnomethodological tradition. This family resemblance is detailed in what follows.

1. The first and most fundamental assumption is that social action is not an outcome or effect of existing formations often qualified as social structure, society in general, or even individual and group identities, but is the actual building block of all that. To quote Blumer (1969: 6; emphasis in original) "fundamentally human groups or society *exists in action* and must be seen in terms of action." Blumer (1969: 7) continues: "the life of any human society consists necessarily of an ongoing process of fitting together the activities of its members."
2. Such actions are not uniform or unidirectional, but are distributed over a tremendous multitude of social environments. To go by the words of Strauss (1993: 41): "few of us belong to just one or two social worlds; we are likely either in the course of a lifetime or at any one time to belong to several." This insight is shared throughout the interactional tradition and is often traced back to Georg Simmel (1950: 9) who wrote that society is often perceived in terms of consistent and permanent structures and relationships within it, like state, social classes or family

   > but in addition to these, there exists an immeasurable number of less conspicuous forms of relationships and kinds of interaction. Taken singly, they may appear negligible. But since in actuality they are inserted into the comprehensive and, as it were, official social formations, they alone produce society as we know it.

3. Social action is always situated, i.e. it is deeply sensitive to context and adjusted to it. The 'situation', as Goffman (1964) emphasized needs to be attended to in full detail, as the locus, as well as the conditioning context for concrete social action. Blumer (1969: 88) too warned us that "people (…) do not act toward culture, social structure or the like; they act toward situations." The big things of society in other words, can be detected in the small and situated moments of action. Cicourel (1974: 46), in turn, summarizes it as follows:

   > the problem of meaning for the anthropologist-sociologists can be stated as how members of a society or culture acquire a sense of social structure to enable them to negotiate everyday activities.

4. Social order is situationally produced, as it is produced, as Garfinkel (1967: 9) emphasized, by the production of "commonplace activities of everyday life recognizable as familiar, commonplace activities," recognized "for 'another first time'." In Blumer's (1969: 17) terms "a joint action always has to undergo a process of formation; even though it may be a well-established and repetitive form of social action, each instance of it has to be formed anew."
5. Social action is collective action, i.e., action in which the perspectives of the various actors congregate and jointly determine the outcome. In that sense, "actions are in effect *interactions* between and among group members, *not* simply an individual's actions or acts" (Strauss, 1993: 21). This means that the outcome of action – the social order experienced by participants – cannot be reduced to individual factors. In fact, one of the well-known slogans within the interactionist tradition, voiced by almost all of its members, was "actors, not factors." More explicitly, "the coherence of practices resided not in the intentions of the actors but in the coherent production of mutually oriented action appropriate to the situation" (Rawls, 2006: 27).
6. It is from such situated, collective and recognizable action that 'society' emerges as an observable, empirical object. Communities, groups, relationships and identities are its outcomes. This is why Rawls (2002: 46) speaks about "situations that provide for the appearances of individuals." And in the more general sense, this is what Blumer (1969: 19) argues: "it is the social process in group life that creates and upholds the rules, not the rules that create and uphold group life."

The assumptions 2 and 3 above point to the importance of contexts in the exploration of various social phenomena. In current scholarship, there are some handicapping constraints concerning the application of 'context' as a descriptive and analytical tool. First, the popular micro-macro distinction totally obscures the fact that "each local (micro) act of contextualization operates using locally (in)validated invocations of translocal (macro) meanings" (Blommaert, 2015a: 107) – the micro and the macro live in and construe one another. This implies that in order to have a thorough understanding of micro or local communicative events, it is necessary to view them in reference to a broader socio-cultural, contextual knowledge, which would be unattainable under the frame of artificial segregation of micro and macro context. Second, in communication, context and semantics of semiotic signs are not the only important elements. The socio-culturally grounded meaning of signs often escapes the attention of researchers. Such meanings are sets of implicit values of "relational identity and power that, considered as an invokable structure, go by the name of 'culture'"

(Silverstein, 1992: 57). A dimension of norm and value is needed for a well-rounded description, analysis and understanding of subject matters in socio-cultural research. The two constrains of context motivate the use of chronotope in my approach. Following Bakhtin (1975/1981), chronotopes are normative timespace configurations that are governed by moral behavioral norms and scripts. Their formal features point to socially and culturally recognized communication formats and frames that are deployed whenever social interaction is conducted. In turn, the assumptions 4 and 5 underlie the necessity of the concepts such as frame, format, and script. Assumption 6 forces us to locate all of this in actual, concrete social situations.

The logic of the approach can be summarized as follows: Social life is organized through chronotopes, i.e., recognizable, but locally produced social situations, in which frames provide the interpretive dimensions of order, and formats – realized through scripts – provide the behavioral dimensions of order. Schematically, this approach can be represented as follows:

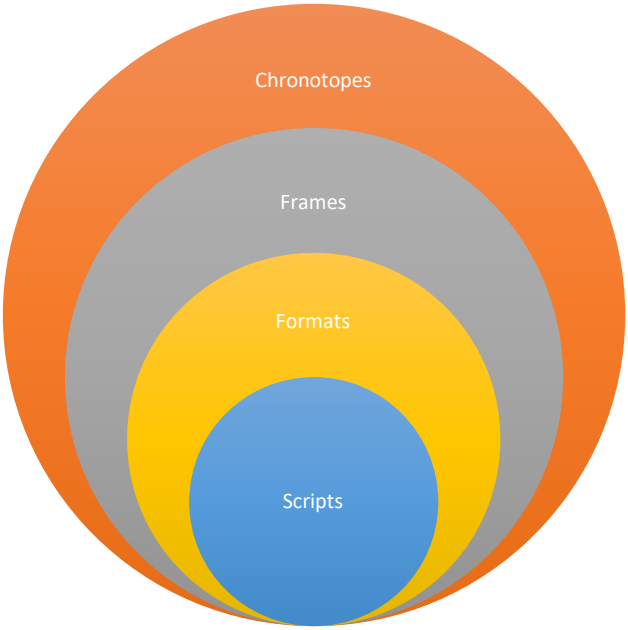


Figure 1.1: Social situation as a chronotope

This action perspective, I believe, enables us to look at densely contextualized social action unburdened by assumptions about social structure, categories or forms of social order that should be 'typical' of diaspora subjects. Consequently, this perspective enables us to distinguish socio-cultural phenomena that are particular and exclusive to types of social situations rather than to types of people. In other words, it takes us further and deeper in the quest for understanding societies that are perpetually in motion, driven by processes of diversification.

In real social life, people continuously find themselves in sequences of concrete social situations, which, given what I outlined above, will be called chronotopes in this study.

These *chronotopes are timespace constellations governed with moralized behavioral scripts and they impose specific modes of orderly conduct onto those who participate in them in order to ensure understandability in social interaction*. These modes of highly moralized orderly conduct are frames, and here the term 'frame' literally stands for what Goffman (1974) called the organization of experience. Within such frames more specific features can be distinguished – it is clear how specific formats of social behavior are performed in particular frames, and how such formats in turn can be described as empirically observable behavioral scripts, inevitably infused with a heavy and unspoken moral load derived from the frames to which they are affiliated. Chronotopes, frames, formats and scripts belong together – they construe, organize, realize and reconstruct one another. In other words, chronotopes lead to the emergence of scripts at the level of empirical observation. When observing social action, the first thing one is able to witness are specific scripts, and this is why they are positioned in front of Figure 1.1.

The chronotopic framework, which is going to be developed and used in this thesis, gives shape to and structures the dissertation. The dimensions relevant for chronotopic analysis as presented in Figure 1.1 will be reflected in the chapters of my dissertation, in such a way that it will be clear how inside a chronotope, frames, formats and scripts operate. Note that the size of the circles and their emplacement in Figure 1.1 does not suggest any hierarchy between the concepts but refers to the fact that they are interdependent and cannot exist in isolation. The concepts are guides and tools for approaching communicative actions in social interaction.

1.3 Outline of the Study

Chapter 2 will delineate the social background against which this study is conducted, including the heuristic concept of the field of this research as an online-offline nexus, the ontological perspective of the society and culture under study as an object of superdiversity, the Polish migration flows to the Low Countries, and a detailed overview of the affordances of infrastructures in Berchem.

The next four chapters will all be organized around the central concepts. Chapter 3 will address *chronotopes* by illustrating the chronotopic nature of identity work through the lens of a case study in a Polish community in Antwerp. It will offer a more detailed explanation of the notion of chronotope than what I sketched in general terms above; and it will show how, within a chronotope, moralized behavioral scripts operate and how individuals adapt their identity work in accordance with specific timespace configurations.

Chapter 4 puts forward the concept of *frames* and it will illustrate the complexity and the mutual inclusiveness of frames through which chronotopes are organized. It will explain how 'work' enters as a primary frame in social interactions and how it guides and structures different topics of conversations.

Chapter 5 highlights the role of *formats* and it will provide an increasingly clear picture of the complexity of frames by scrutinizing the working of formats through a case study of online solidarity. The solidarity format is very interesting because it is a clear social genre of collectively achieved social order.

Chapter 6 turns towards *behavioral scripts*, i.e. small sets of very specific rules that guide every aspect of social action and behavior. It shows how formats can consist of various

scripts through a case study of an online discussion that followed an appeal of a young, pregnant Polish woman complaining about the behavior of other Polish women.

Chapter 7 will integrate all of the previously discussed concepts, namely chronotopes, formats, frames and scripts in an action-centered analysis of a dense and complex online interaction on Facebook. In this chapter, I shall also return to the question as to how chronotopic analysis can improve and render our view of context and contextualization far more precise, by engaging with the notion of 'context collapse', widely used in the contemporary study of online communication.

I have opted in view of the structure of this study to offer my methodological discussions at the outset of every thematic chapter. There are two main reasons for that approach. The first one is a desire to avoid inflated and self-contained theoretical discussions in a study that has an outspoken empirical character. Therefore, as one ambition of this research is explorative in nature – to explore the theoretical and methodological affordances of chronotopic analysis – the concepts and perspectives employed in each empirical chapter need to be explained and specified with reference to the case to be analyzed therein. The second reason, connected to the first one, is the desire not to separate theory from analysis, and to make the point that the validity of a conceptual framework depends on its practical applicability in empirical research.

In the next chapter, I am going to discuss the notion of superdiversity in the online-offline nexus and show its relevance and inseparability in my research on the Polish diaspora in an inner-city neighborhood of Antwerp and beyond. I will specifically offer an overview of the infrastructures for superdiversity, which are a cornerstone for understanding contemporary diasporic communities.

CHAPTER 2

Background

This chapter will specify the background of the study, specifically it will explain the overarching framework of the research that serves as a heuristic lens – that of superdiversity in an online-offline nexus – and it will clarify the research approach in an online context. Furthermore, it will offer a survey of Polish migration to the Low Countries and a discussion of aspects of superdiversity in Berchem, the inner-city neighborhood of Antwerp that served as my main fieldwork site.

2.1 Superdiversity Online and Offline

Almost three decades ago, globalization processes initiated the most significant change to the nature of migration, and at the same time to the structure of societies, by increasing their social, cultural and linguistic diversity through cross-border trade, flow of people and information at an unprecedented speed, scale and intensity (Arnaut et al., 2016; Blommaert & Rampton, 2016). The process has been further supported by two major developments in the 1990s. First, the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Iron Curtain that enabled new forms of human mobility and consequently increased migration flows. Second, the emergence of the Internet and mobile communication technologies, which enabled "simultaneous social interaction at a distance" (Castells et al., 2007: 171), or in other words, connectivity, mobile communicability and access to the networks of knowledge (Blommaert, 2013; Blommaert & Rampton, 2016), which facilitate the migration process and enable maintenance of close connection with migrants' home societies (Arnaut et al., 2016; Varis & Wang, 2016). All these processes ensured the continuous increase in the quantity of migrants and the number of emigration and immigration areas, which led to a drastic diversification of neighborhoods, not only in terms of nationality, but also of religious, cultural, linguistic and educational background (Arnaut et al., 2016). This phenomenon is what is understood by 'superdiversity' (Vertovec, 2007) and it reflects all kinds of profound diversification effects in the influx of migration flows. Superdiversity, therefore, can be understood as simultaneously a characteristic of a neighborhood, its inhabitants and the social, cultural and sociolinguistic conditions they live in.

The crucial role of information and communication technologies in society is manifested through its profound impact on the way in which societies function nowadays. The 'pervasiveness' of the digital infrastructures is one of the ways that define post-digital global society (Knox, 2019). This perspective implies that post-digital society fully incorporates the affordances of digital technologies into the lives of individuals and becomes a part of social structure – the generic invisible forces underlying social interaction – at the same time

transforming online infrastructures into the structures of society, reorganizing daily practices and creating an entirely different research context for sociological and cultural research (Blommaert, 2020a). The new background, or more specifically the new social fact, is that of an online-offline nexus:

> Since the beginning of the 21st century, we live our social, cultural, political and economic lives in an online-offline nexus, in which both 'zones' – the online and the offline – can no longer be separated and must be seen as fused into a bewildering range of new online-offline practices of social interaction, knowledge exchange, learning, community formation and identity work. (Blommaert, 2020a: 391)

This means that the impact of technologies is immense and cannot be overlooked in migration studies. Migration can no longer be perceived as a strictly offline activity because it is often strongly informed by online resources, which facilitate the migration process and diaspora building. This means that migration, similar to the majority of activities in contemporary society, operates within the online-offline nexus where new forms of migration practices are constantly emerging and morphing. It is therefore essential to view diaspora in accordance to these emerging migration trends in the context of superdiversity and the online-offline nexus. Following Gamlen (2019: 7), a contemporary conceptualization of diaspora should no longer reflect a misconception of groups maintaining "an intact identity," but it should rather be viewed "as an expression of identity in flux."

To get comprehensive knowledge about migration groups in the post-digital era entails accounting for the new ways of communication and meaning making enabled by digital infrastructures that form, shape and re-define communities nowadays (Blommaert, 2018a, 2020a). The observation of communication patterns enables to account for social relationships and identities, which are an outcome of interaction practices that are in turn at the very core of groupness (Blommaert, 2018a). Therefore, it is necessary to look closely at what migrants do, i.e. to investigate their communicative actions, which make people social and "shape specific forms of groups" (Blommaert, 2018a: 67). This action-centered approach, which has been discussed in the previous chapter, lays at the core of traditional ethnography that aims to provide a detailed descriptions of social action and its context in order to unravel cultural dynamics (Blommaert & Dong, 2020). This study approaches the topic of superdiverse migration from the perspective of an online-offline nexus, i.e. in its traditional sense and as shaped by digital technologies.

According to Varis and Hou (2020: 230), the focus of digital ethnography should be on "the ways in which people use language, interact with each other, employ discourses, and construct communities, collectives, knowledge and identities, through and influenced by digital technologies" situated at the intersection of both online and offline dimensions. A caveat in digital ethnography is to view "digital communication as shaped by digital technologies with both online and offline dimensions, without prioritising one or the other a priori" (Varis & Hou, 2020: 235). In other words, 'digital' does not mean that offline data are not considered, but it emphasizes the interrelation of both dimensions that are often highly dynamic and unpredictable. As already mentioned in Chapter 1, it is important to realize that a distinction between the two 'worlds' is not clear-cut and the role of digital technologies as mediators of social processes is a fabric of today's society.

There are therefore a few important implications when it comes to digital communication. First, interactions between actors in an online context are always mediated by digital infrastructures and the role of algorithms in digital communication should be accounted for (Blommaert, 2020a). Algorithms disseminate messages in unexpected ways and therefore also reach unintended niche audiences, i.e. go viral without the initial intention of the author (Blommaert, 2020a). In addition to that, online activity is always a participatory activity. Even when it comes to lurking, you are always an actor, but the role that you fulfil is very specific (Varis, 2016). Therefore, actor roles in an online environment are extraordinarily complex, and a shift in roles is exceptionally easy to make. It only takes a glimpse to shift from the role of a reader to a writer or from a hearer to a listener, and oftentimes you can simultaneously fulfil both roles thanks to the affordances of online platforms. Actions and roles in an online environment change, they are dynamic and not linear, which leads to layered, intricate and often chaotic contexts. Second, online information is increasingly mobile and liquid, it travels at an unprecedented speed, and the way in which it is reused in the form of entextualizations and intertextuality often involves a change in meaning when compared to the original context in which it was used. Furthermore, online data is archived and therefore searchable and accessible at different times of its 'existence'. Last but not least, the communication in online environments is predominantly a scripted interaction, which is non-synchronic, i.e. extends beyond the initial time span of the interaction (Blommaert, 2020a). A research of digital environments should take these implications into consideration in order to deal with possible limitations and difficulties in online spaces.

The approach discussed above emphasizes the interrelation of online and offline dimension in any aspect of life, including that of diasporas. This is also why diasporas should be investigated through the lens of their online and offline actions, and the interconnections of both dimensions. Diasporas are communities in which immense amounts of knowledge circulate. It means that the process of knowledge sharing, both online and offline, is an important facet for the members of every diaspora group. Gamlen's (2019) investigation into the role of formal diaspora institutions as a means to manage migrants' and diasporas' engagement, is very telling of the impact and importance of such structures. Following his perspective, but through the lens of informal institutions, it is possible to speak of web resources, such as Facebook groups as diaspora institutions facilitating and orchestrating new forms of diaspora. In other words, superdiversity and diasporic communities exist in and are affected by the online-offline nexus. This perspective to view the Polish diaspora helps to attend to the complex and intertwined dynamic of migrant groups, by means of a combination of traditional and digital ethnography.

2.2 Polish Migration to the Low Countries: Facts and Figures

Throughout the history of Poland, emigration flows and their socio-economic impact have been remarkably ample. These processes are attributed to the country's complex history, and consequently to its political and economic situation during particular historical periods (Pacyga, 2005). Permanent emigration from Poland during the Polish People's Republic (1952-1989) exceeded two million Polish citizens, while the number of emigrants in the period between 1989 and 2004 is estimated to 243 thousand people (Mazurkiewicz, 2011). Mazurkiwicz (2011) claims that an approximate number of contemporary Polish diaspora

members counts about 12 million individuals. Pacyga (2005) states that 20 million individuals worldwide indicate their Polish ancestry:

> By the beginning of the twenty-first century some 20 million people living in more than 90 countries claimed Polish ancestry. This number is equal to about half of the current population of Poland. These Polonia communities have existed both within and outside of Europe since the end of the eighteenth century. (Pacyga, 2005: 254)

The emigration tradition, without a significant influx of new immigrants, has led the Polish diaspora to become one of the largest, but at the same time one of the most mobile in the world (Ziobrowska, 2015). The process of globalization, political changes and digital and technological infrastructures re-defined the structure of migration and created difficulties for the accurate estimation of the current scale of Polish migration, which implies that currently available data are merely an approximation of the current migration flows and tendencies (Mazurkiewicz, 2011; Ziobrowska, 2015).

Migration research tends to divide Polish migration into two subsequent migration periods, both focusing on a specific period of migration in order to limit its scope (e.g. Kaczmarczyk, 2018; Levrau et al., 2014). The first period focuses on the migration prior 2004, and the second period encompasses the migration structure after the EU membership of Poland in 2004. This chapter, however, will focus on the migration period commencing at the end of the Cold War, as it is the period marking the beginnings of superdiversity.

2.2.1 Migration Types

The majority of statistical information with regard to the structure and composition of migrants in a particular country, but also many research designs (e.g. Poston & Zhang, 2008), distinguish between two migration types. These migration types refer to temporary (short-term or seasonal) and permanent (long-term or relocation) migration movements. Bell and Ward (2000) explain that permanent migration is characterized by the absence of an intention to return to a home country, while temporary migration, i.e. temporary mobility, is leaving this possibility open. Furthermore, the differences can be described on the basis of duration, frequency and seasonality (ibid). While the duration of permanent migration is seen as a lasting relocation and is not dependent on seasonal patterns, the duration of temporary migration is of varied time and displays reoccurring patterns that are strongly influenced by seasonal demands (ibid). It is important to note here that temporary migration can turn into permanent migration, and that permanent migration only refers to officially registered migrants, and therefore tends to overlook the migrants that would be residing in a country unofficially. Similarly, the size of temporary migrations is difficult to trace, as the differences between travel and seasonal work are not easily depicted, and individuals can work in an informal labor sector during their temporary relocation. The migration patterns, both temporary and permanent are therefore at best an approximation of the actual number of Polish people, which in fact is very difficult to trace, and migration research needs to take the above-mentioned shortcomings into account.

2.2.2 Political Agreements

Political and economic transformations from the end of the 20th century initiated by the fall of Communism in Poland in 1989, created entirely new migration possibilities for Polish nationals. On the one hand, Polish people could no longer apply for the status of a political refugee and lost their right to apply for a legal permit to stay in Western European countries, such as Belgium and the Netherlands (Kuźma, 2004; Pool, 2003). But on the other hand, the free movement of Polish nationals just became possible after the fall of the Iron Curtain.

In the beginning of the 1990s however, Poland signed a multilateral agreement with eight member states of the Schengen Area in the form of a visa waiver program. Belgium and the Netherlands were two of the eight countries that loosened the visa policies for Poles in 1991, which significantly influenced the flow of Polish people to these regions (Kuźma, 2004; Pool, 2003; Ziobrowska, 2015). From then on, Polish people could legally travel to Belgium and the Netherlands and rightfully stay in these countries for a period that was not longer than 90 days. Individuals who extended their stay beyond the period of three months and did not obtain a visa were deported if caught. One of the conditions of the agreement was that Poland should readmit deported nationals without unnecessary formalities. Polish nationals, however, did not have the right to perform any labor during their stay in a receiving country and would require a working permit from a Belgian or Dutch embassy obtained before their departure in order to undertake any work activities (Kuźma, 2004; Pool, 2003). This meant that visits that extended beyond the period of three months led to the status of an illegal immigrant, and similarly unofficial employment would result in a deportation from a Schengen country to the country of origin (Kuźma, 2004). The labor permits or tourist visas for a period longer than 90 days could have been granted by a Belgian or Dutch embassy (Kuźma, 2004; Ziobrowska, 2015). In reality, however, the deportations were sanction free, and individuals were free to re-enter the country that they were recently deported from (Kuźma, 2004; Pool, 2003).

High unemployment rates in Poland, continuously increasing in the 1990s from 6.5% in 1990 to 16.4% in 1993, prompted many Polish nationals to migrate temporarily (Ziobrowska, 2015). Economic inactivity reached 20% of the population in 2002, and unemployment rates among young professionals were skyrocketing during this period, affecting 40% of the younger population (Kaczmarczyk, 2014). The primary migration motive at the time was therefore closely connected to the economic situation of Polish nationals who simply wanted to earn their living abroad. This meant that Polish migrants often entered the informal labor market and resided illegally in their host country, which implied that their presence was difficult to trace and many migrants simply did not appear in the statistics (Lavrau et al., 2014; Pool, 2003).

The official numbers show that between 1990 and 2004 approximately 330,000 Polish nationals migrated; these numbers are relatively low, because Polish migration policy only treats individuals as migrants when they indicate their willingness to relocate to another country and terminate their permanent residence in Poland (Ziobrowska, 2015). More realistic indications can be drawn based on the general census of 1998 which estimated that 900,000 Polish people were residing outside of Poland during this period, and the census of 2002 which indicated that 786,100 people officially registered in Poland, were actually stay-

ing abroad (Ziobrowska, 2015). The number of female migrants increased drastically as indicated by the reports of the general census, from 213,000 in 1988 to 423,000 in 2002 (Ziobrowska, 2015). Levrau et al. (2014: 308) claim that "between 30,000 and 50,000 Polish workers were living in Belgium by the late 1990s." The number of officially registered Polish immigrants in Belgium in 1999 is estimated to 6,319 (Wets & Pauwels, 2011), while other sources suggest that the number is slightly higher, namely 7,406, and if Poles who got Belgian nationality were counted as well, the number rises to 14,024 (Hertogen, 2013). In the Netherlands the number of migrants with a Polish background is estimated to 28,483 (CBS, 2020).[7]

However, based on the data collected after the implementation of the Aliens Act (*Vreemdelingenwet*) in the Netherlands in 2000 and on datasets from quantitative studies conducted between 1997 and 2000, the number of illegal or undocumented Polish immigrants apprehended by the Dutch police is estimated to 4,781 persons on an annual basis out of a total number of 13,721 individuals from East-European countries, while the data from the Dutch labor inspection shows that Polish people make up 22% of the illegally employed migrants in the Netherlands (Engbersen et al., 2002). As explained by Visser and Zevenbergen (2000) in their report on illegal employment in the Netherlands based on data from 1999, Dutch Employment Services (*Arbeidsvoorziening*) confirm that there are no conclusive data estimates regarding visa-exempted temporary labor migrants and estimates that 5,000 to 10,000 Poles comes to work in the Netherlands annually. Dutch Labor Inspection (*Arbeidsinspectie*) on the other hand reckon that the number is much higher and suggests an approximate number of 20,000 Poles working in the Netherlands on an annual basis (Visser & Zevenbergen, 2000). It is therefore clear that the estimation of the number of Polish migrants in the Netherlands and Belgium is very difficult, and that different approaches in quantitative studies generate very different results.

As previously mentioned, in 2000 the Netherlands sharpened their migration regulations by introducing the legislation of the Aliens Act, aimed at border protection and the regulation of the situation of immigrants. These regulations focused primarily on asylum seekers and family migration (Nicolaas et al., 2011; Wijkhuijs et al., 2011) and therefore did not have much impact on the situation of Poles. This period however has been marked as the beginning of a more negative image of immigrants within the Netherlands (Wijkhuijs et al., 2011). At the same time, the Belgian government was concerned with the situation of the undocumented immigrants in their country and initiated an action of legalization of their stay (Kuźma, 2004). This general pardon was directed towards individuals residing in Belgium illegally for a period that was longer than five years, and who were able to document their stay (Kuźma, 2004). This opportunity was not favorably perceived among Poles who were rather skeptical about the good intentions of the Belgian government. In the end, the permit was granted to a relatively small number of Poles, namely 2,176 people (Kuźma, 2004).

The bilateral agreements of Poland with Belgium and the Netherlands lost their significance when Poland joined the EU in 2004. One of the fundamental rights of the European Community is the free movement of people and goods as specified by the Maastricht Treaty from 1992. The EU legislation initially enabled Polish citizens to freely travel to countries in

[7] Retrieved from https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/37325/table?ts=1605142145169

the EU, and later also to work without additional working permits and other migration documentation. The opening of the labor market for Poles came into force in 2007 in the Netherlands and in 2009 in Belgium. Joining the structures of the EU, gave all the Polish citizens the right to an equal treatment in professional and social matters within EU member states.[8]

2.2.3 European Union Membership of Poland[9]

European Union membership in 2004 has brought about many changes for Polish migrants. First of all, the emigrants who were willing to stay in Belgium for a period that was longer than three months did not need a visa anymore. Nevertheless, they were still required to register in Belgium within seven days after their arrival and to request a permit to stay. Due to the difficult financial situation of migrants and the fact that the Belgian labor market has not been opened yet, the permits were unattainable in most of the cases. The border stamps however have been withdrawn, which facilitated the ease of staying. This implies that the only people who could be deported to Poland (this time at their own expense) were individuals caught performing illegal labor. The financial fines had to be covered by the employer, who would need to pay a 15,000 euro fine, or spend between eight months to one year in prison. However, in reality fines were substantially lower. They would never exceed 4,000 euro per illegal immigrant. This shows that the Belgian government was aware of the profound involvement of substantial numbers of members of the Polish community in illegal work. This awareness was rather ambivalent: on the one hand the authorities tried to prevent it, and on the other they were tolerating it for the sake of economic development in Belgium (Kuźma, 2004).

Belgium did not immediately grant the free labor market to EU citizens. The successive governments wanted to control the migration patterns and therefore implemented a five-year transition period (Levrau et al., 2014). This meant that many of the migrants still had no other choice than to engage in illegal labor, especially considering the fact that labor cards were almost exclusively granted to highly skilled employers, as illustrated by Levrau et al. (2014: 309):

> New immigrants were only allowed to work legally if they obtained a permit ('labor cards'). A 'B-card' gave them the opportunity to do one particular job for one employer for a period of 12 months, which could be extended. After four years, they could obtain an 'A-card', which gave them the right to work without any restrictions. Initially, labor cards were issued to only highly skilled employees, specialized technicians, researchers and those who could work in sectors that were experiencing difficulties filling vacancies. As a consequence, many Polish migrants (and others) continued to work illegally.

The situation in the Netherlands was very similar to that in Belgium after Poland joined the structures of the EU. Polish individuals were free to travel to the Netherlands, but they were not allowed to work without a necessary labor permit. The labor permits were difficult to obtain, which also here prompted Polish migrants to work in the informal labor sector (Wolf,

[8] Retrieved from the European Commission website on 18 October 2020 from https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=25

[9] This paragraph is based on my earlier MA work (Szabla, 2014).

2015). Employers who wanted to employ nationals from new EU member states had to apply for a permit for them from the Center of Work and Income (*Centrum voor Werk en Inkomen, CIW*). In 2005, the Center of Work and Income granted 26,076 labor permits for Polish nationals applying for work in the sector of agriculture and horticulture, out of a total of 26,114 working permits granted this year (ANP, 2006). The permits were given on the condition that there were no other candidates available within the Netherlands and full-fledged EU member states to fulfill the position (Waard & Westerink, 2007). This rule was not viewed favorably by either employers and employees, and in order to overcome these legal limitations, many Polish nationals started a one-person company (*eenmanszaak* or *zelfstandige zonder personeel, ZZP*) (Waard & Westerink, 2007). This made the independent workers even more interesting for Dutch employers, as they could be employed under the minimum wage and constituted therefore a cheap working force with 2,300 Poles setting up their company in 2005 (Waard & Westerink, 2007).

2.2.4 The Opening of the Labor Market

In order to tackle the problem of labor shortages and an illegal labor market within the country, Belgium implemented a new legislation in 2006 that aimed at dealing with the problem of 'bottleneck professions' (*knelpuntberoepen*). This system granted work permits to people in more than 112 different professions, such as construction, horticulture, transport and nursing. However, this legislation has only been successful in the fields where illegal or semi-illegal work has not been possible. It did not bring much of the change in other work sectors (Levrau et al., 2014).

The final, very important change for Polish emigrants took place in 2009, when Belgium opened up the labor market to Polish people. This brought several essential changes. First of all, Polish people no longer needed to obtain work permits. Secondly, Polish migrants could make use of the 'service vouchers system' that has been operating in Belgium since 2004. This system "allowed private individuals to hire registered domestic workers at very competitive prices" (Levrau et al., 2014: 309), but most of all it improved working conditions, and gave Polish migrants access to holiday money and social security insurances. This change has influenced the self-employed immigrants to a great extent, but it had the strongest impact on Polish female immigrants. Many Polish women became officially employed in the domestic sector, but also many of them joined their families in Belgium after these work opportunities had been created. Last but not least, the opening of the labor market encouraged many Polish people to register in Belgium as a rightful resident of the country (Levrau et al., 2014).

The Netherlands opened its labor market for Polish citizens in 2007. This change offering much easier access to legal employment is regarded to be a primary reason for Polish people to settle down in the Netherlands (Lewandowska, 2008). Polish nationals are more interested in the stabilization of their position in the host country, granting easier access to legal employment and therefore also to housing, which gives additional opportunities for family reunion in the Netherlands (Lewandowska, 2008).

The largest discrepancy between the structure of migration in Belgium and the Netherlands refers to the notion of migrants' agency. While in Belgium, the process of migration is rather closely connected to individual efforts and social networking, in the Netherlands this

process is often facilitated by employment agencies. While these employment agencies are also present in Belgium, they are not operating on such a large scale as the ones in the Netherlands. This form of organized labor migration of Poles in the Netherlands is often already initiated by organizations established in their home country that offer "all-inclusive migration arrangements" (Engbersen et al., 2011: 10). These arrangements often offer their own transportation, housing in the Netherlands and temporary employment. I have also observed similar tendencies during my interviews – while all my Polish respondents in Belgium relied on their own networks to migrate, Polish respondent in the Netherlands, all made use of these organizations, either already in their home country or upon their arrival in the Netherlands.

2.2.5 Migration Structures: Statistics

Table 2.1 illustrates the size of Polish permanent migration between 1973 and 2018 to Belgium and the Netherlands.[10] It depicts the emigration (Polish people emigrating from Poland) and the immigration (Polish people immigrating back to Poland, i.e. remigration). The data comes from the Polish Central Statistical Office (GUS, 2019).[11] The numbers are strikingly low and show the problematic nature of accurate statistical estimations of the number of migrants. The individuals counted in the statistics had to officially de-register from permanent residence status in Poland due to their intended migration to Belgium or the Netherlands. Consequently, individuals immigrating back to their home country had to ask for permanent residence in Poland and indicate the country from which they returned.

In the case of the Netherlands, there has been a systematic increase in the size of Polish migration for a permanent residence since 1991 (see Figure 2.1). The first significant increase in emigration with a relatively low rate of returns to the home country occurred in 2006. This increase can be attributed to the changes initiated by Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004. Population flows remained on relatively high levels in the years that followed, with a noticeable reduction during the crisis of the banking sector in the beginning of the 21st century, and it reached its peak in 2013. However, the numbers of individuals returning to the home country remained relatively high, with a significant increase in 2016, which resulted in a comparable migration balance to the years before Poland's accession to the EU.

Polish migration to Belgium displays similar patterns as the migration to the Netherlands, but on a much smaller scale (see Figure 2.2 for specifics). A systematic increase in migration flows is observable up until 2007. Then it stabilizes and remains on a relatively high level for the next eight years to reach its historic peak in 2013. After that, a decrease in immigration is visible, but in 2016 a steady and more prominent rise in emigration occurs.

[10] The data illustrate the permanent migration patterns based on the instances of documented migrants. This implies that emigrants included in these statistics have officially de-registered as permanent residents of Poland due to international migration and immigrants officially registered for permanent residence in Poland as a consequence of their return from a foreign country.

[11] Retrieved from: https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/migracje-zagraniczne-ludnosci/glowne-kierunki-emigracji-i-imigracji-na-pobyt-staly-w-latach-1966-2018,4,2.html

Table 2.1: Polish permanent migration patterns: Emigration and immigration to and from the Netherlands and Belgium between 1973 and 2018. Source: GUS, „Główne kierunki emigracji i imigracji na pobyt stały w latach 1966-2018"

	Belgium				The Netherlands		
Year	Emigration	Immigration	Balance	Year	Emigration	Immigration	Balance
1973	102	10	*-92*	1973	96	3	*-93*
1974	119	17	*-102*	1974	68	3	*-65*
1975	96	10	*-86*	1975	81	7	*-74*
1976	66	8	*-58*	1976	56	4	*-52*
1977	67	15	*-52*	1977	90	5	*-85*
1978	83	17	*-66*	1978	105	6	*-99*
1979	56	14	*-42*	1979	116	7	*-109*
1980	87	12	*-75*	1980	98	4	*-94*
1981	64	16	*-48*	1981	140	6	*-134*
1982	136	12	*-124*	1982	230	9	*-221*
1983	137	6	*-131*	1983	248	1	*-247*
1984	84	11	*-73*	1984	158	3	*-155*
1985	177	10	*-167*	1985	238	8	*-230*
1986	211	21	*-190*	1986	335	8	*-327*
1987	187	12	*-175*	1987	337	8	*-329*
1988	79	8	*-71*	1988	216	21	*-195*
1989	75	15	*-60*	1989	127	18	*-109*
1990	67	20	*-47*	1990	103	27	*-76*
1991	64	39	*-25*	1991	102	32	*-70*
1992	68	36	*-32*	1992	155	54	*-101*
1993	86	38	*-48*	1993	152	59	*-93*
1994	91	34	*-57*	1994	189	72	*-117*
1995	109	45	*-64*	1995	181	88	*-93*
1996	67	60	*-7*	1996	190	113	*-77*
1997	80	66	*-14*	1997	139	96	*-43*
1998	77	87	*10*	1998	166	102	*-64*
1999	99	78	*-21*	1999	218	62	*-156*
2000	99	58	*-41*	2000	239	60	*-179*
2001	103	72	*-31*	2001	265	86	*-179*
2002	119	61	*-58*	2002	290	83	*-207*
2003	138	64	*-74*	2003	275	72	*-203*
2004	130	70	*-60*	2004	363	138	*-225*
2005	149	89	*-60*	2005	393	164	*-229*
2006	307	106	*-201*	2006	925	236	*-689*
2007	402	127	*-275*	2007	1098	285	*-813*
2008	325	151	*-174*	2008	1004	360	*-644*
2009	281	166	*-115*	2009	691	518	*-173*
2010	296	172	*-124*	2010	680	393	*-287*
2011	330	183	*-147*	2011	899	395	*-504*
2012	397	197	*-200*	2012	982	412	*-570*
2013	589	215	*-374*	2013	1440	407	*-1033*
2014	539	231	*-308*	2014	1356	376	*-980*
2015*				2015*			
2016	200	273	*73*	2016	786	497	*-289*
2017	251	262	*11*	2017	758	492	*-266*
2018	187	313	*126*	2018	787	525	*-262*

* no data available

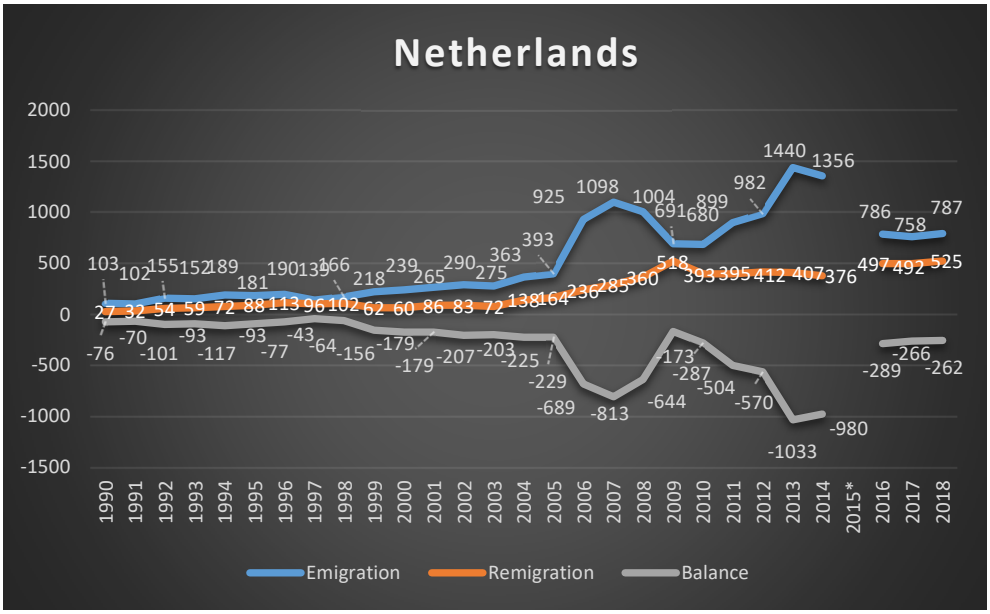


Figure 2.1: Migration flows from Poland to the Netherlands between 1990 and 2018[12]

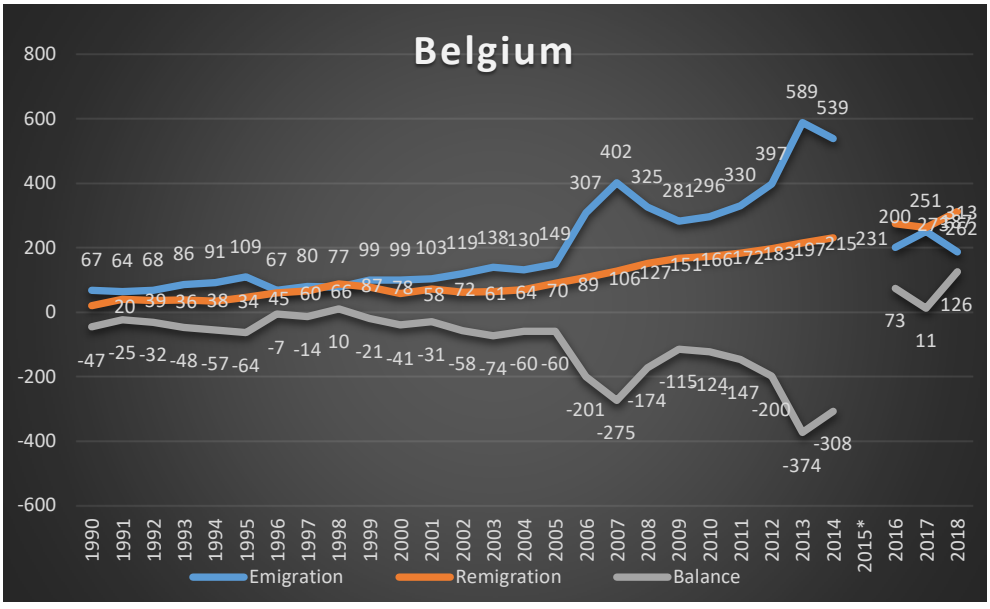


Figure 2.2: Migration flows from Poland to Belgium between 1990 and 2018[13]

[12] The graph is based on the data retrieved from GUS (2019).
[13] The graph is based on the data retrieved from GUS (2019).

2.2.6 Temporary Migration to Belgium and The Netherlands

Temporary migration became particularly interesting after Poland's EU accession in 2004, as the limitations regarding free travel were lifted (see Figure 2.3 for specifics). Polish migrants became an important and sizable group of the population both in Belgium and the Netherlands. At the end of 2019, the number of officially registered Polish people with a migration background living in the Netherlands reached 195,000, which makes up for 1.1% of the total population of the country (CBS, 2019).[14] The number of Poles who were not registered in the Netherlands but were officially employed in the country in 2017 adds another 90,000 people (Gijsberts et al., 2018). Recent Polish migrants are primarily located in the regions of Noord-Brabant, Limburg, Flevoland and Noord-Holland (CBS, 2019). In 2017 in Belgium, officially registered Polish migrants made up 0.8% of the total population of the country and counted 95,801 people (MYRIA, 2018).[15] In the Flemish region, Poles made up the third largest migration group and constituted 43,311 people in 2020 (Statistiek Vlaanderen, 2020).[16] Based on the data from 2015, one third of the Poles living in the Flemish region settled in or around Antwerp (MYRIA, 2016).[17]

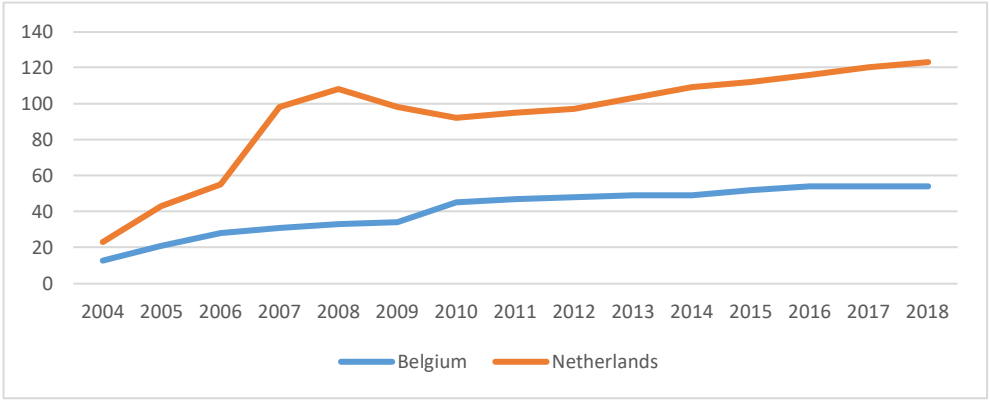


Figure 2.3: Temporary migration patterns in the years 2004-2018 in Belgium and the Netherlands[18]

The numbers of Poles in the Netherlands and Belgium are therefore even harder to trace in times of free movement within the EU. In the Netherlands, Polish nationals do not need to register at the administration of the municipality (*Gemeentelijke Basisadministratie, GBA*)

[14] Retrieved from https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/achtergrond/2019/44/poolse-en-syrische-immigranten-per-gemeente
[15] MYRIA: Federaal Migratiecentrum; retrieved from https://www.myria.be/files/MIGRA2018_NL_H2.pdf
[16] Retrieved from https://www.statistiekvlaanderen.be/nl/bevolking-naar-nationaliteit
[17] Retrieved from https://www.myria.be/files/Myriatics3-NL-160316-def.pdf
[18] The numbers are in thousands and concern people who temporarily reside abroad. In the years 2004-2005 for a period longer than two months and for years 2010-2018 for a period longer than three months. The graph is estimated on the basis of the statistics retrieved from GUS (2019; 2012), *'Informacja o rozmiarach i kierunkach czasowej emigracji z Polski w latach 2004-2018' and 'Informacja o rozmiarach i kierunkach emigracji z Polski w latach 2004–2011', retrieved from https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/migracje-zagraniczne-ludnosci/informacja-o-rozmiarach-i-kierunkach-czasowej-emigracji-z-polski-w-latach-2004-2018,2,12.html*

in which they are currently residing if they are not planning to stay for a period that is longer than four months (Kolodziejak, 2018). The individuals that are officially employed in the Netherlands need to obtain a social-fiscal number (*SOFI-nummer*), but they can apply for it without an intention to work as well. Employed Polish migrants in the Netherlands are however registered by their employers in an Employee Register (*werknemerbestand, WNB*), regardless of the form of their migration (Kolodziejak, 2018).

In the Netherlands, the increase in the number of Polish migrants was very rapid and substantial; within a four-year period succeeding the EU membership, the number of migrants increased five times (see Figure 2.3). The economic crisis that started in 2007 initially caused an increase in the number of migrants, reaching its peak in 2008. In 2010 a considerable decline in the migration numbers is visible, which stabilizes in the consequent years, but still shows a clear upward trend. In Belgium, on the other hand, the number of migrants after the EU membership of Poland rose steadily over the period given (see Figure 2.3). The impact of the economic crisis however caused a slight decrease in the number of migrants in the years between 2007 and 2009, which could be caused by an increased number of remigration to Poland rather than a lower inflow of Polish migrants to Belgium.

2.2.7 Gender Structure

The gender structure of Polish immigrants in the Netherlands between 1996 and 2019 displays interesting patterns (see Figure 2.4). Up until 2004, i.e. before Poland's integration into the structures of the European Union, female migration was dominant. The number of female immigrants was almost three times higher than that of male immigrants in the Netherlands. The increase in the migration flows after 2004, brought about some fundamental changes with regard to the gender structure of migrants. Accompanied by a consistent rise in the influx of migrants, the gender gap has decreased, however the number of Polish female immigrants is still more prominent. According to Pool (2003), the difference can be attributed to unequal social expectations and economical possibilities for men and women, and might generate different advantages with regard to finding work, living place and possibly marriage.

Figure 2.5 shows that up until 2010, males were a dominant migration group in Belgium. After 2010, Belgium starts to show similar gender patterns of Polish migrants as the Netherlands. There is a clear dominance of female migrants (MYRIA, 2016),[19] which in the case of Belgium can be explained by a high demand for domestic workers, often in the informal labor sector (Kuźma, 2004). Another explanation can be attributed to the fact that the economic situation in Poland was particularly difficult for Polish females, as they constituted the largest group of the unemployed population without access to social benefits in their home country and had an advantage over men in finding a job – e.g. as cleaning ladies – in Belgium (MYRIA, 2016).

[19] Retrieved from https://www.myria.be/files/Myriatics3-NL-160316-def.pdf

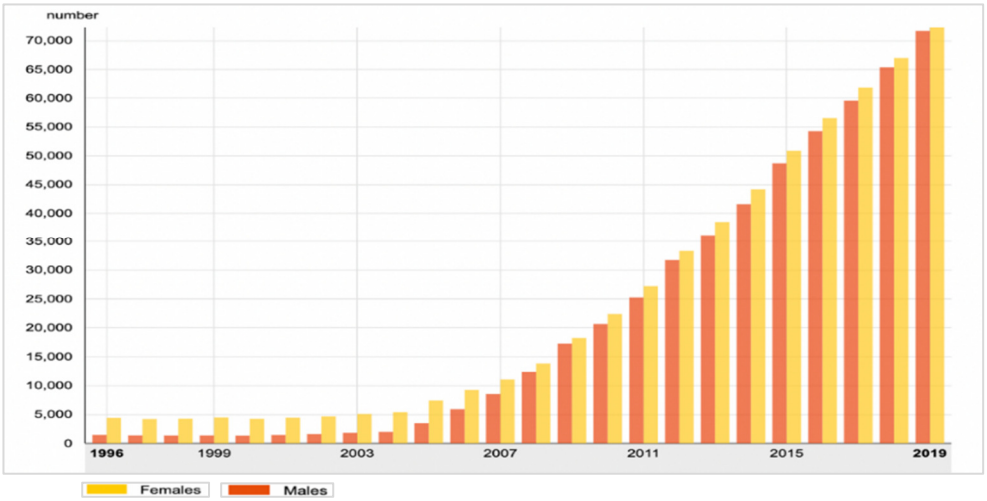


Figure 2.4: Gender structure of Polish migrants in the Netherlands[20]

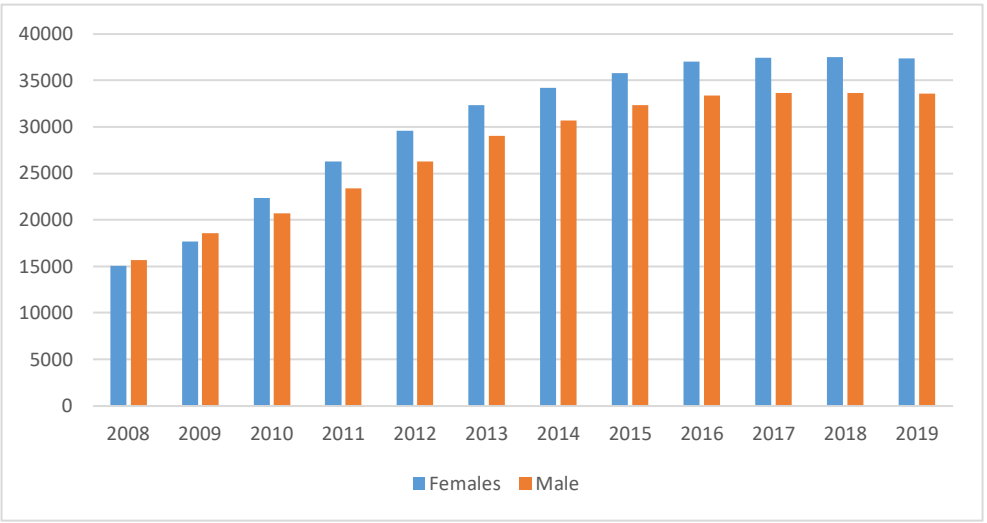


Figure 2.5: Gender structure of Polish migrants in Belgium[21]

[20] See CBS (2020); retrieved from https://opendata.cbs.nl/#/CBS/en/dataset/03743eng/barv?dl=4183C

[21] EUROSTAT: https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?query=BOOKMARK_DS-075924_QID_56E61815_UID_-3F171EB0&layout=TIME,C,X,0;GEO,L,Y,0;CITIZEN,L,Z,0;AGE,L,Z,1;SEX,L,Z,2;UNIT,L,Z,3;INDICATORS,C,Z,4;&zSelection=DS-075924UNIT,NR;DS-075924INDICATORS,OBS_FLAG;DS-075924CITIZEN,PL;DS-075924AGE,TOTAL;DS-075924SEX,M; &rankName1=UNIT_1_2_-1_2&rankName2=AGE_1_2_-1_2&rankName3=CITIZEN_1_2_-1_2&rankName4=INDICATORS_1_2_-1_2&rankName5=SEX_1_2_-1_2&rankName6=TIME_1_0_0_0&rankName7 =GEO_1_2_0_1&sortC=ASC_1_FIRST&rStp =&cStp=&rDCh=&cDCh=&rDM=true&cDM=true&footnes=false&emp ty=false&wai=false&time_mode= NONE&time_most_recent=false&lang=EN&cfo=%23%23%23%2C%23%23%23.%23%23%23

2.2.8 From Figures to Superdiversity

The previously discussed figures and graphs, based on broad and universal categories characterizing migrant groups residing in the Netherlands and Belgium sketch an image of the composition of the Polish diaspora in these countries. These big categories, however, no matter how accurate they would be, do not tell us much about the nature of these communities, about their structures and the ways in which they operate. They also do not tell us much about Polish migrants and their "life worlds" (Kvale, 1996: 5). Therefore, the common views held with regard to particular diasporic groups, which are based on these widely available materials and statistics, are at its best limited, because they do not allow for more precise statements about these communities.

Blommaert's (2018a) theories of identity and social groups suggest that identity ascription can be conducted along generally accepted quantitative models that aim at generalizations and descriptions of migration patterns, such as the ones described in this section. Descriptive statistics tend to focus on a limited number of categories, that following Blommaert (2018a) can be referred to as 'descriptions of thick identities/ communities', such as nationality, gender, age, ethnicity and social class to name a few. However, this kind of focus faces the problem of superficiality, as numbers often simplify or overlook quite complicating matters, such as context. This is also the case in migration studies. An adequate description of migrants or migrant communities needs therefore to account for the 'light forms of identity' as well, and this can only be achieved by means of a qualitative research approach that provides "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973: 10) of the matter under study – ethnographies in other words. Such approach attends with an upmost specificity to details and contexts that can influence complex phenomena and aims to describe them with an upmost specificity. This does not mean that broad categorizations are not relevant, on the contrary, they are the starting point for any inquiry into migration research, but they do not tell us much about who people actually are and what they actually do. While the aim to look beyond social categories can benefit from a philosophical doubt, I believe that this concern is inevitably embedded in every research involving identity, as every identity claim can be questioned from a philosophical perspective. Blommaert (2018a: 63) explains that "'thick' diacritics of identity are not out, but that they are in need of a more delicate balancing with a wide range of other, 'light' forms of identity." This issue of complexity and multiplicity of contexts leads us to the issue of superdiversity.

2.3 Infrastructures for Superdiversity in Berchem

Infrastructures are important aspects of superdiversity as they have the potential to "both enable and constrain" people, especially in an era of globalization and digitalization (Arnaut et al., 2017: 15). They are therefore fundamentally normative, as they set the conditions that can limit or empower social action and are by essence the fundament of social structure (ibid). Arnaut et al. (2017) refer to this process as a 'poiesis-infrastructures nexus', which needs to be contextualized in a particular timespace (i.e. a chronotope) in order to be properly understood. This approach to superdiversity helps to enrich cultural analysis by means of attending to the complexity of the infrastructuration process that is constantly in motion – shaped, re-shaped and conditioned by superdiversity (ibid):

> It is perhaps analytically troublesome that apart from the enumerated forms of cultural, linguistic or social infrastructures (as temporary outcomes of ongoing 'infrastructuration') infrastructures can be as concrete as legal arrangements, cultural conventions, financial systems and myriad forms of organization and institutionalization and as tangible as streets, classrooms, housing blocks, internet platforms and public parks. Infrastructures – as much as 'poiesis' – can be anything, it is only in combination with the other, co-constructing term, that the nexus 'comes alive'. (Arnaut et al., 2017: 16-17)

Berchem is known as an immigrant district of Antwerp's municipality. It is located in the south-eastern part of Antwerp and while it used to be a rather non-significant, working-class neighborhood, it transformed into a very popular migration destination starting from 1970, when large waves of Turkish labor migrants relocated to Berchem (Blommaert, 2013). From the early 1990s onwards, the neighborhood started attracting immigrants from all over the world and today it is a home to many European and non-European immigrants (Blommaert, 2013). According to Blommaert (2014a) the neighborhood is heavily stratified, and its population can be segmented into four historical layers (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: The stratification of Berchem[22]

Layer	Migration type	Origin
4	Transient, short-term resident or newly arrived communities	Chinese, Latin American, Eastern European
3	Relatively stable new immigrants	Polish construction workers, African and Asian shopkeepers
2	Long-term residential communities	Turkish immigrants: 1st, 2nd, 3rd generation
1	Native population and native newcomers	Old working class and young middle class

The first segment or layer of the population refers to the indigenous population, namely elderly, working-class Belgians originating from the neighborhood, and a younger Belgian population that moved to the neighborhood because the market value of the houses was very attractive (Blommaert, 2014a). The second layer consists of long-term residential communities consisting of at least three generations of Turkish immigrants, currently constituting the largest minority group in the area (ibid). The third and fourth layer include all other nationalities that migrated to the neighborhood in the post-1990s period, but it distinguishes between groups of relatively stable immigrants, like Polish construction workers or Asian shopkeepers and more temporary and transient communities, such as Latin American or Chinese newcomers (ibid). This has stratifying effects with regard to the legitimate use of common spaces, their ownership and entitlements, and the distribution of power (Blommaert, 2014a, 2014b).

[22] This table is designed on the basis of Blommaert (2014a) and Blommaert (2013); it summarizes Blommaert's findings with regard to the stratification of the neighborhood based on extensive fieldwork and linguistic landscaping analysis, which are in line with my own fieldwork in Berchem.

2.3.1 A Superdiverse Neighborhood

The overwhelming inflow of new immigrants drastically changed the nature of the neighborhood and continuously diversifies its social environment. The presence of different nationalities, diverse social backgrounds, cultures and religions is visible throughout the neighborhood on, among others, the diversity of shops, the products they sell, and religious activities. Blommaert (2013) explains that a neighborhood such as Berchem needs to be viewed as a complex and dynamic, superdiverse social environment, which is characterized by a layering of public space, adequate 'infrastructures for superdiversity', polycentricity and high levels of social cohesion. Polycentricity encompasses the complexity of a neighborhood such as Berchem and its superdiverse character, because it emphasizes that different groups and communities have different norms, which are simultaneously present in an interaction with others:

> Polycentricity stands for the fact that in every environment for social action, multiple sets of norms will be simultaneously present, although they might not be of the same order- they are scaled, stratified, and in that sense never ideologically neutral. (Blommaert, 2018a: 46)

The presence of a multitude of norms does not imply however that these norms are equally known or followed by everyone involved in a particular social action; on the contrary, they might never become accessible to some individuals, which results in social inequality.

The complexity of Berchem is quickly depicted through the observation of the composition of its inhabitants. The neighborhood is populated by various nationalities, such as Belgian, Turkish, Chinese, Ethiopian, Polish and Bulgarian to name a few, and every one of those people speaks one or more different languages that circulate around the neighborhood, either in their spoken form or through multimodal signs displayed in the neighborhood. The cultures co-exist within the same space, often occupying the same corner of a street. The changes and transformations in the neighborhood are most clearly visible when observing the organization of the shops catering for particular groups of residents. These shops are continuously appearing, disappearing and re-locating. The process of transformation is continuous and unfinished, because it aims to cater to the needs of the inhabitants in the neighborhood and is adjusted whenever the population changes (Blommaert, 2014a). These dynamic changes in the composition of the neighborhood, reflect the infrastructures that are available in Berchem:

> The neighborhood in its totality can be seen as a complex of infrastructures for superdiversity, and all sorts of delicate interactions and relationships are constructed in and through these infrastructures. This infrastructural dimension, in fact, is probably the 'order' in the 'chaos' of the neighborhood. (Blommaert, 2014a: 16)

The infrastructures cater to the needs of different segments of the population, as different communities simply have different needs. This implies that the neighborhood is replete with culture specific cafes, betting shops, hairdressers, restaurants, churches and shops. And even though some of them are only catering to the needs of a specific group, such as internet shops being directed towards new immigrants, others, such as Turkish restaurants, shops or bakeries would be used by people from different segments of the population.

Berchem displays features of a polycentric neighborhood, where different infrastructures attract and serve different segments of the population. And even though these 'centers', such as churches or cafes are often accessible for everyone, they are very specific in the audiences they target. Other centers, such as shops and hairdresser saloons are less restrictive with regard to their 'members' or 'users', but would often also be ethnically specialized (Blommaert, 2013). The restrictions with regard to the audiences are never explicit, but at the same time it is always clear which audiences are addressed:

> Streets, shops, public health centers, schools, and bars all function as 'centers' in the neighborhood, but each one of them allows for or invites different interactional regimes, including perceptions of what counts as an acceptable set of (enacted) language resources from its users. (Blommaert et al., 2005: 205)

Inevitably this connects to the processes of social categorization through the inclusion and exclusion by means of language resources. Membership of a particular group can be obtained, but is not guaranteed, by means of specific linguistic competences, while their lack in most cases renders an individual as a non-member of a particular group.

Berchem's popularity as a migration destination is influenced by the infrastructures in the neighborhood. It has an advantageous geographical location that is easily accessible by means of public and private transportation, due to the facilities such as a major Belgian train station and a nearby highway and ring road. In addition to that, newcomers entering the neighborhood are facilitated by other resident groups, such as Turkish-origin people who temporarily rent out cheap rooms or studios. This enables people without employment contracts or a stable income to find a place to stay, and while this is often temporary and happens often at rip-off rents, it is a safety net that is important for newly arrived migrants.

Picture 2.1: A newcomers' district (2020)

These newcomers are also supported in their search for jobs, which enables them to instantly start working, even without any Dutch language competences. Men can quickly start working in construction, while women can easily find work in the domestic sector. The neighborhood offers all the necessary means to facilitate the migration process. Many shops, especially ones situated in close proximity to the railway station, but visible throughout the neighborhood, sell migrants' essentials, such as bedding, cutlery, tableware, cheap clothing, second-hand items, such as phones and other things necessary to settle in for a relatively low price, bearing in mind that new migrants often enter the neighborhood without any significant financial means. The neighborhood also offers other essential facilities for newcomers, such as internet and telephone shops, moneygram services, and self-service laundry rooms. All these infrastructures aim to ease and support the transition of the newcomers. It is very common to spot individuals and families entering the neighborhood with large shopping bags, full of clothes and other items. Oftentimes, it seems like these people carry their entire lives with them and come to this neighborhood with everything they have (see Picture 2.1).

This dynamic character of the neighborhood does not affect the levels of social cohesion in the neighborhood. The most striking and perhaps surprising feature of superdiverse neighborhoods such as Berchem is that of conviviality. Blommaert (2013: 89) illustrates its relevance in the following quote, focusing on phatic activities:

> I would suggest we see them [phatic activities; MS] as *very* relevant, as a really important *structure* of social life through which people manage to agree and get on with each other in spite of deep inequalities and bewildering diversity. Conviviality is the attitude that enables people to accept different trajectories of life and different ways of going about things within the same space, and creates a level of sharedness that can generate solidarity and sympathy with others. It is not a detail, therefore, and not trivial and meaningless, but a highly meaningful mode of conduct.

These 'phatic activities', although often unnoticed and regarded as insignificant, are therefore a fundament on which social cohesion in the neighborhood is built. They enable culturally and ethnically different groups to live and co-exist within the same space. This general form of friendliness was visible throughout my fieldwork in the neighborhood. I remember that during my first visit to Berchem, I struggled to find a way to pay for parking. I came with a car, and I assumed that I would be able to pay with my bankcard. I was not familiar with the Belgian parking system that either offered the possibility to pay through an app or with coins. I did not have any coins on me and must have seemed to be in quite a distress. A Belgian man living nearby came out to me, offered his help by exchanging money for me and enabled me to use his internet connection to download the application (at that time, I still did not have mobile internet).

These simple acts of friendliness happened on a daily basis during my fieldwork. People in the neighborhood were open-minded, eager to help and friendly. On countless occasions, I have witnessed these acts of solidarity, both directed towards me or other people in the neighborhood. I was invited to join events in the neighborhood, offered a piece of cake by a proud owner of a bakery who wanted me to taste Turkish specialties, and I was also brought to my destination when I could not find my way around. However, these were not the only acts of friendliness. Shops would sell Polish and Belgian beer even though selling alcohol ran against the religious beliefs of the owner. Asian-owned vegetable shops would

also cater to the needs of Polish people in the neighborhood, by selling the vegetables that they are looking for, such as tiny cucumbers (*korniszony*) for Polish people to pickle, and some fish shops will sell traditional Polish carp before Christmas, even though it is not frequently eaten by other nationalities in the neighborhood (see Picture 2.2).

Picture 2.2: Polish and Belgian beers in the Indian grocery (2014)

Similarly, the Polish language can be perceived as a resource in the neighborhood. On multiple occasions, I have been addressed in Polish by people of different nationalities, and similar patterns are observable when it comes to other ethnic groups. People in the neighborhood use all the means that they have at their disposal to make themselves understood, and sometimes that would mean that they try to speak Polish with you because they cannot communicate in either English or Dutch, while other times they would do it in order to show off or initiate a friendly conversation.

This particular form of solidarity and friendly co-existence is also illustrated through art, as it depicts the convivial character of a superdiverse neighborhood. The graffiti in Picture 2.3 is located in the middle of the main shopping street in Berchem and is part of a culture project in the neighborhood named '*Buurderij*' – the neighbors' farm (see Pictures 2.3 and 2.4). This image is very telling of what the neighborhood is like, but at the same time illustrates the essence of superdiversity. It shows people from different cultures and backgrounds, living together in the same neighborhood in an atmosphere of conviviality. This is why I selected this piece of street art for the cover of my dissertation. It signals the complexity of the neighborhood that co-exists in the same space, but also points to unity and solidarity.

Conviviality is a natural human reaction that comes with no strings attached nor any afterthoughts. It does not cost anything and makes life easier and more pleasant. However, one should be aware that it is not directly related to assets and therefore the notion should not be romanticized. A professional relationship between inhabitants can still be that of exploitation. A person can be convivial and at the same time take an advantage of somebody.

Picture 2.3: Buurderij: Neighbours' farm[23] (2020)

Picture 2.4: Info panel at Buurderij (2020)

The Polish communities in Berchem are not as conspicuous and ostentatious as some of the other ethnic groups in the neighborhood. Their presence, however, can be made visible throughout the neighborhood by means of ethnographic linguistic landscaping analysis (Blommaert & Maly, 2016, 2019). Polish language circulates on signs and advertisements that are visible in shops' displays. Oftentimes, you can overhear people speaking Polish when walking down the main street in Berchem. It will come as no surprise that already in

[23] The name originates from a Dutch word '*buur*' meaning neighbor and '*boerderij*' meaning farm. In this expression the word '*boer*' (farmer) is replaced by '*buur*'. This playful use of words creates novel discourse that is intertextual and could be regarded as an optimal innovation following Giora et al. (2004).

2014, their presence prompted the arrival of the two Polish delicatessen shops located on the main street, situated directly next to one another. The competition was high, as they offered a very similar range of products, with some differences regarding regional specialties, but both shops existed alongside each other for a few years. They attracted Polish customers from the neighborhood, but also people from outside the district (see Picture 2.5).

Picture 2.5: Polish shops in 2014

Picture 2.6: Biedronka supermarket in 2020

These developments were quickly spotted by other people in the neighborhood, and it did not take too long for both shops to run out of business, when a larger supermarket chain offering a wide range of Polish products opened an outlet. Anything the heart could desire when it comes to Polish food products could be found in the new shop. In fact, it is very similar to any supermarket that you would encounter in Poland, even the name of the shop

'Biedronka' is borrowed from a chain of quite successful, but very affordable supermarkets in Poland (see Picture 2.6).

The first two Polish shops, however, did not stay empty for long, they soon became different infrastructures for superdiversity in the neighborhood. The inhabitants of Berchem are used to the rapid changes and instability, and they are able to adjust to them very quickly. Thus, the two Polish shops that were there in 2014 became Indian and Asian shops after Biedronka had competed them out of business (see Pictures 2.7 and 2.8).

Picture 2.7: A former Polish shop: new infrastructure for superdiversity in 2020

Picture 2.8: A former Polish shop: new infrastructure for superdiversity in 2020

But these are not the only infrastructures for the Polish diaspora in Antwerp. There are also other institutions and organizations in the neighborhood that directly depict the presence of Polish communities. One of these organizations is the Polish catholic mission ran by Capucin monks operating from the Sint Francis monastery located at Ossenmarkt 14 in Antwerp. In addition to that, Polish masses are held in the Belgian church of St. Theresa situated

at the Grote Steenweg in Berchem. Both churches attract different audiences, but they revitalized the religious practices of the Catholic Church. The church of the Capucin monks is perceived as a bit more progressive compared to the traditional Catholic approach at St. Theresa's. This might have to do with the fact that the Polish Capucins are younger priests compared to the Polish priest in the church of St. Theresa. Both churches offer traditional parochial religious education and follow Catholic celebrations in the same way that it would be done in Poland.

Furthermore, there is a Polish school in the neighborhood offering national education to Polish children living in Belgium. The school provides Polish children with knowledge about Poland, such as Polish language, history, geography, politics and poetry. It aims at educating young Polish nationals about their home country and culture. The schooling is voluntary, financed by the Polish government and supplementary for a regular (Belgian) schooling system. In Antwerp, there are also other facilities, such as Polish restaurants, hairdressers, pubs or discos, but also more formal institutions where one can find Polish doctors, dentists and midwifes, and other organizations, such as employment agencies, tax services and translation offices.

All these infrastructures point into a particular direction: they suggest a strong connection of Polish people with their home country and customs. It is obvious that Polish people make use of these facilities and that many of them also look for things that are Polish. Polish individuals congregate together, especially in and around organizations that are specifically designed for their use. The notion of 'Polishness' seems to be very relevant, when Polish flags are spotted in the windows, e.g. during European football championships. Polish music is played in the Polish shops, discos and pubs and Catholic services are held in Polish. All of this creates the impression that the Polish community is quite well integrated and unified and that this community with all of the infrastructures in Berchem is a reproduction of the social environment in Poland – recreated in order to feel at home in Belgium. This is the idea of a 'Chinatown model' in which members of a national or ethnic group cluster together in a neighborhood and form a tight community, where many important features and products from their home country are sought and made available in the host country. The idea of a careful micro-reproduction of Poland in Belgium.

However, the image of the neighborhood is not as simple as that of a Chinatown model. There are also images that complicate that perception of a simple replication of Poland by the members of the Polish community, such as in Picture 2.9. The image immediately depicts a completely different relationship between Poland and Belgium: one that is not a reproduction of Polishness, but an action placing itself in the middle position between the two countries. 'Antwerpse Algemene Dakwerken' (Antwerp General Roofing Works) is a local, Belgian company operating in the province of Antwerp, inevitably connected to Poland through its license plate. The locality is depicted through the language and place in which the company operates, while the number plate points to translocality (Blommaert & Maly, 2019). This undermines the idea that the Polish diaspora is a micro-reproduction of a homeland, which perfectly fits this complex, superdiverse neighborhood.

Another example complicating the image of a Chinatown model could be described by an incident that I have encountered in Antwerp during my fieldwork. I saw a van with a Belgian number plate and a Dutch inscription 'RAFIX renovaties: Algemene renovaties & Afwerkings projecten' (RAFIX renovations: General renovations & Finishing projects), nothing spectacular at first sight, but the name of the company sounded a lot like it could be

Polish. I was not surprised when I overheard people in the bus speaking Polish. I was curious, so I decided to check this incident, and I was right: the owner of the company was Polish and worked together with other Polish people, but he lived in the neighborhood. His website helped me trace back his bus (see Picture 2.10).

Picture 2.9 (left): Antwerpse Algemene Dakwerken (Antwerp General Roofing Works; ©Jan Blommaert in Blommaert & Maly, 2019)[24]

Picture 2.10 (right): RAFIX Renovaties (RAFIX renovations; Rafix website: https://www.rafix.be/over-ons.html)

This picture shows that even companies that seem to be completely local, can in fact operate translocally, for example by recruiting people in Poland or purchasing building materials in another country. The complexity of such superdiverse neighborhoods is very difficult to trace, and often requires careful ethnographic sociolinguistic analysis to attend to such instances. By going beyond an offline social action through a reference to a website indicated on a bus, I was able to unravel the translocal connections of the company.

The Chinatown model does no longer apply in superdiverse environments. Previously, migrants would look for their own people and their own population centers in order to migrate, whereas nowadays they are members of different groups and no longer have the need to look for people sharing a similar social background.

But these were not the only instances that motivated me to also infer online contexts. I saw the inseparability of online and offline dimensions already far before I was able to conduct my interviews. While fieldwork is a rather noninvasive practice, interviewing actually requires a degree of close involvement with other people. This is the moment when I discovered that even though I was Polish myself and people in the neighborhood were quite friendly, they were not very keen on helping me out with the interviews. For weeks I was

[24] Unless indicated otherwise all pictures presented in this thesis were taken by me.

trying to get respondents but without any success. As I have later found out, this was because social cohesion existed in the neighborhood, but not necessarily within the Polish community. Polish people were very distant towards one another and often very hesitant to engage in a serious conversation with other Polish people. The situation I was in, compelled me to go online, and helped me realize that the various Polish communities in Berchem, while not overly forthcoming offline, were very active and explicit online. I also noticed that their behavior online differed and in no time, I was able to find enough respondents to interview online.

2.3.2 Online Resources

Social media play a very important role for the members of the Polish diaspora. Facebook groups operate as knowledge communities that facilitate migration processes already in the home country. Many individuals join the groups for Polish people on Facebook, such as *Polacy w Belgii*, *Polacy w Holandii*, *Polska Antwerpia*, *Polacy w Antwerpii*, *Życie w Antwerpii*[25] in order to find resources and the necessary information to migrate. These fora are specifically designed to facilitate knowledge exchange among migrants in a host country and to offer assistance and guidance, but they are also used to sell products and services.

It is important to note here that the Facebook groups investigated as a part of my digital ethnographic fieldwork are in fact closed groups for which a membership is required. The process for requesting group membership is, however, not restricted nor very demanding, and everyone who wants to join is admitted to the group. Even though I did not officially reside in Belgium, I was immediately admitted to the groups. The easy access and openness of these groups entail that the materials made available therein are created for a general public. However, as already indicated, for privacy and security reasons all the data retrieved are anonymized in order to protect the identity of the group members. Therefore, I do not provide links to online conversations, internet pages and websites that could expose the identity of the group members.

2.3.3 Identity in Superdiversity: 'Not Everything that Shines Is Gold'[26]

"Not everything that shines is gold," were the very first words I heard when starting my fieldwork in the Polish community in Berchem in 2014. The warning to watch out for Polish people – because that was what she meant – came from a middle-aged woman whom I met in one of the Polish delicatessen shops in Berchem. She had already lived in Belgium for a

[25] The research was conducted on the following Facebook pages:
1) https://www.facebook.com/groups/polacy.w.holandii
2) https://www.facebook.com/groups/812634748867566
3) https://www.facebook.com/groups/PolacyWHolandiiPolenInNederland
4) https://www.facebook.com/groups/polacywtilburgu
5) https://www.facebook.com/groups/plantwerpia/
6) https://www.facebook.com/groups/antwerpenpl/
7) https://www.facebook.com/groups/polacywantwerpii1
8) https://www.facebook.com/groups/460506957382813/

[26] An earlier version of this section was published as Szabla (2020).

very long time and was referred to as an 'old generation Polish immigrant' by the Polish lady who ran the shop. I did not know what to think of her statement at first, but I quickly realized that it was not just an isolated incident, but a structural issue reflecting upon Polish identity.

Further fieldwork only strengthened my conjectures, because most Polish people whom I met in Berchem were rather suspicious of my activities and reluctant to help me in any way. Some Poles would avoid any possible contact; others would pretend not to be Polish after overhearing me speaking Polish with someone else. Polish people did not really seem to stick together and they did not display much desire to engage in contact with their fellow countrymen. It became clear to me that the 'Chinatown model', which has already been discussed in Section 2.3.1, did not apply here. The Poles in Berchem did not display the need to form one cohesive Polish community, nor did they display much effort towards that goal. The drastically different reactions to my interview requests online and offline, as well as the interviews themselves led to the same conclusion: the 'Polish community' is heavily diversified and one community in fact hides multiple communities.

As a consequence of all of these observations, a very important identity diacritic – nationality – proved to be rather useless in Berchem for the purpose of analysis. It was clear that there was not one, solid, robust and homogeneous Polish community in the neighborhood, but several different and perhaps even competing ones. I knew from that moment on that the object of my study had changed from an assumed singular Polish community tied together by strong bonds of national identity, to multiple communities organized in very different ways. The struggle to understand what happened, however, did not end there, leaving me wondering how it was possible that such an important identity diacritic seemed so conflicted in the Polish diaspora. After all, there is no shortage of conspicuous signs suggesting Polish national identity and a unified, internally integrated Polish community in the neighborhood, for instance Polish flags hanging from windows and attached to cars, especially during the European Football Championships. The findings required a deeper investigation of the issue at hand in order to understand identity in superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007), which has to be done through careful and precise description of communicational actions in highly situated contexts where specific practices are expected – i.e. in chronotopes.

The remainder of the study will engage with more specific identity issues and in the next chapter I will attend to the notion of identity and chronotopes in more detail.

CHAPTER 3

Chronotopes – The Moral Economy of Chronotopic Identities

This chapter will address the chronotope, the central concept of this research, as illustrated in Figure 1.1. In the next three chapters, I will then go through Figure 1.1 and elaborate on the different dimensions of a chronotope, namely frames, formats and scripts.

Questions of identity will guide me throughout this research. Identity has been a topic of unfading interest in socio-cultural research. This chapter will be devoted to issues of identity in the Polish diaspora through the lens of a case study in a Polish community in Antwerp. It will show the importance of contextualization in superdiverse environments, by means of an investigation of identity work of my Polish participant in the case study. Identity is dependent on context and can be seen as an outcome of a situation in which it is produced with reference to a particular purpose and occasion (Blommaert, 2005). The aim of this chapter is to show that presumed and stable identity categories are not entirely reliable, and that is because "identities are constructed in practices that produce, enact, or perform identity – identity is identification, an outcome of socially conditioned semiotic work" (Blommaert, 2005: 205).

In what follows, I will provide an overview of the essential concepts in view of this study. First, the notion of chronotope, as realized through moralized behavioural scripts and the moral nature of identity work, will be explained. In the second part of this chapter, I will then turn to my case study and show how identities are performed in concrete social situations, guided by conventionalized moral behavioral scripts of chronotopes. But before I turn to chronotopes proper, I must situate them in the larger theoretical issue of identity in superdiversity.

3.1 The Problematic Nature of Identity in the Context of Superdiversity

For the last four decades the concept of identity received a lot of attention, to the extent that it became of crucial importance for research in many social-scientific disciplines (Bendle, 2002; Blommaert, 2005; Gee, 2000; Madsen, 2015). Despite its common use as a means to understand culture and society (Blommaert, 2005; Gee, 2000), concepts of identity also received a lot of criticism in recent years (e.g. Bendle, 2002; Hall, 2000).

According to Hall (2000: 15-16), though identity is one of the concepts "under erasure," which are "no longer serviceable – 'good to think with' – in their originary and unreconstructed form," identity is at the same time an idea that cannot be substituted with any other concept and "without which certain key questions cannot be thought at all." Hall

(2000) stresses the indispensability of the concept of identity which undoubtedly requires adequate conceptualization in research.

Gee (2000) suggests that the approach to identity is often using too general terms and that the notion of identity is often interpreted according to any researcher's needs, which implies that it is often under-theorized and taken for granted as a highly generic and broad concept. Bendle (2002), on the other hand, refers to the problems of identity as an identity crisis, which reflects both the crises of society and of theory. He believes that in present, modern societies, the notion of identity has become very problematic and as such requires more adequate reconceptualization. This is not a new suggestion for contemporary sociology, however, many studies in this field still produce only vague accounts on identity, which fail to explain the situation at hand, because "their accounts of identity vary widely and are often radically under-theorized and incapable of bearing the analytical load that the contemporary situation requires" (Bendle, 2002: 1).

As "identity continues to be a relevant category of practice" (Madsen, 2015: 22), scholars have been exploring remedies to address the above-mentioned issues. According to Madsen (2015), analysis in interactional and sociolinguistic research suffers from imprecision due to the use of various tools and frames of analysis, which cover all kinds of different social processes on all kinds of different social levels, but are still inscribed into the same category of identity. This broad interpretation of the notion of identity, without the distinction of different social processes, levels and roles, e.g. the activity type, such as a job interview or inoffensive banter among friends etc., leads to very imprecise findings (ibid.). To resolve this problem Madsen (2015: 22) suggests using "various sub-concepts to separate the level of analysis" and at the same time make the analysis more adequate and specific. In her work she further elaborates on this idea and adopts this approach by incorporating different analytical perspectives with regard to contexts for identity practices. More specifically, Madsen (2015) distinguishes between four different kinds of contexts in relation to language use and semiotic practices, namely *sequential context*, *situational context*, *relational context* and *socio-cultural context*, all of which are complementary and exist alongside each other simultaneously. According to Madsen (2015: 23) "incorporating such different analytical perspectives is a way of grasping the multiscalar layering of social interaction."

Another interesting perspective to view identity in modernity is offered by Gee (2000) who distinguishes between four different identities which are, according to him integral and interdependent. Each of these ways to view identity aims to illustrate the process of identity formation and identity sustainability. Gee (2000) discerns between the *nature-identity*, *institution-identity*, *discourse-identity* and *affinity-identity*. First, *the nature state of identity* illustrates that a specific part of identity develops from power forces of nature. It occurs beyond individual or societal control, which implies that it is a state a person occupies rather than something that can be accomplished. An example would be being an identical twin, it defines your identity, but it is determined by a biological power force of genes and occurs outside of individual or societal control. The main point that Gee wants to make here is well explained by Weber and Horner (2012: 84): "we are what we are primarily because of our 'natures'." Second, *institution-identity* is a position determined by the authorities of the institution. It is not determined by natural forces, neither solely by one's abilities. It cannot be achieved by an individual without institutional authorization. The position is granted by institutional authorities that base their decisions on norms, rules and expectations relevant to the occupied position, such as granting a person the title and position of a professor at

the university, or an imposition, such as imprisonment. In other words, "we are what we are primarily because of the positions we occupy in society" (Weber & Horner, 2012: 84). Third, *discourse-identity* refers to a person's individual traits, such as being charismatic. This implies that it is not determined by forces of nature, nor by institutional authorities. However, this identity is not solely a matter of one's individuality, but it can only be ascribed to a person by others, through discourse and interaction. It is a so-called process of trait recognition – "we are what we are primarily because of our individual accomplishments as they are interactionally recognized by others" (Weber & Horner, 2012: 84). Last, the *affinity-identity* is accomplished through one's participation in specific practices regarded as distinctive experiences by affinity group members. Affinity group members share their passion, for instance for Star Trek, by engaging in characteristic practices, unique for this affinity group. "We are what we are primarily because of experiences we have had within affinity groups" (Weber & Horner, 2012: 84). Gee's (2000) approach to identity shows that the combination of context and a specific kind of interaction play an important role in the process of identification:

> The "kind of person" one is recognized as "being," at a given time and place, can change from moment to moment in the interaction, can change from context to context, and, of course, can be ambiguous or unstable. Being recognized as a certain "kind of person," in a given context, is what I mean here by "identity." In this sense of the term, all people have multiple identities connected not to their "internal states" but to their performances in society. This is not to deny that each of us has what we might call a "core identity" that holds more uniformly, for ourselves and others, across contexts. (Gee, 2000: 99)

Gee (2000) demonstrates that context indeed plays a very important role when it comes to identity, because individuals can be 'different people' at different times and in different spaces, which means that they can display various identities dependent on a situation which they are in. This view is in line with Madsen's (2015) suggestion to work with different levels of context when investigating the notion of identity.

Weber and Horner (2012) further elaborate on the idea of Gee (2000) and illustrate, using his work, how it is possible that different conceptualizations of identity exist, by comparing them to a peach and an onion. This metaphor might seem quite banal and trivial at first, but it actually makes a very important point. The way in which researchers view and conceptualize identity determines the perspective they later adopt in their research. Specifically, if one views identity as a peach with its central, 'real' self in the core, they place upmost value to the 'nature identity', see identity as fixed and continuous, and will have a tendency to adopt essentialist approaches in their work. Nevertheless, if one rather sees an identity as an onion, they "believe in the possibility of having multiple and changing selves" (Weber & Horner, 2012: 84), because an onion has many layers, all prone to change, some of which are more central than others, but without an actual core. This perspective of viewing identity can be compared to a social constructivist approach, which "looks upon people as actively constructing (or co-constructing) their identity in society" (Weber & Horner, 2012: 84). In other words, while following a social constructivist approach, identity is seen as a process of continuous negotiation and construction not only within oneself but also among others.

This metaphor has already been used by many scholars, but it is a very helpful way for illustrating how differently one can view identity. An important addition to this illustration, however, is the perspective that can be developed from peeling an onion. A researcher should be able to see and investigate each layer at the time, but only an ethnographical perspective allows a researcher to 'slice it' and see all layers and their connections at the same time. In short, identity differs per layer, but the layers and therefore the identities are still connected (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007).

Identities are performed through and in communicative actions, for which language is one of the primary resources. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 14) view "linguistic behavior as a series of *acts of identity* in which people reveal both their personal identity and their search for social roles." In other words, specific linguistic behaviors help individuals identify themselves with concrete groups, at the same time distinguishing themselves from other groups (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985).

As helpful and insightful all of the previously discussed theories have been, it is not sufficient to focus solely on language, while trying to grasp the difficult nature of identity. Contemporary identity work needs to be viewed through the lens of superdiversity that is a direct effect of the process of globalization (Kroon & Swanenberg, 2020). The conditions under which a contemporary language operates are shaped by

> the intensified flows of capital, goods, people, images and discourses around the globe, driven by technological innovations mainly in the field of media and information and communication technology, and resulting in new patterns of global activity, community organization and culture. (Blommaert, 2010: 13)

Due to the process of globalization, the semiotic world has changed drastically (Blommaert, 2010). Discourse these days is increasingly multimodal and should be viewed as language in action, because only then it is possible to attend to all aspects of meaningful semiotic activity that together constitute a communicative practice (Blommaert, 2005). This goes in line with the perspective of Kress (2015) who emphasizes that in today's world it is of vital importance to also consider other multimodal semiotic means than just language that play a crucial role in the processes of meaning making and shaping identity. According to (Kress, 2015: 49), communication shifted "away from its certain location in 'language'" and it is today also concerned with "a wide domain of social and semiotic means, resources and practices."

As explained by Kress (2015) this challenge of acknowledging meaning in all of its manifestations is known as multimodality, which in its most general terms aims at explaining and making people aware of the importance of all of the existing (extra-linguistic) modes and features in research practices, and helps direct the application of theory. However, as multimodality is a new research domain, its accounts and theorizing are far from being complete or finished, but rather they can be seen as under constant development (Kress, 2015: 54). As such, this approach leaves room for the application of various theoretical models. Multimodality is viewed by Kress (2015) through the theoretical lens of a social semiotic approach, in which "all the modes, together with these non-material semiotic categories, constitute one integrated domain of cultural/semiotic resources of a community" (Kress, 2015: 55). The development of multimodality as a research domain is based on three theoretical assumptions, which Kress (2015: 55) explains as follows:

> One would be: 'language' alone – whether as speech or as writing – is no longer sufficient as the route – 'only', 'central', or 'major' – for access to critical questions of a discipline. A second assumption might be: all 'modes' together constitute an integrated resource, each mode being endowed with the distinctive and significant characteristics of its affordances. A third: if several modes are drawn into an account, whatever the theory, all modes need to be integrated theoretically, at some level of generality.

These three theoretical assumptions imply that language cannot be a sole determinant while trying to answer important questions in a specific discipline; instead, it is necessary to take into account all the aspects of an interaction and incorporate them into theory. Following Blommaert (2005: 2), it is advantageous to treat discourse "as a general mode of semiosis, i.e. meaningful symbolic behavior. Discourse is language-in-action, and investigating it requires attention both to language and to action."

Blommaert (2010) argues that the effects of globalization did not leave the field of sociolinguistics untouched and that this field should be seen as "something intrinsically connected to processes of globalization" (p. 2). Nevertheless, language is often seen as a stable notion, which does not change, even under the influence of globalization – often merely seen as a different, novel context. In contrast to this assumption, sociolinguistics cannot only revolve around the traditional linguistics in isolation, but it needs to be more precise and focus on "changing language in changing society" (p. 2). This implies that phenomena in modern sociolinguistics necessarily need to be set in various contexts: "the social, cultural, political and historical context of which they are a part" (p. 3), to look at various (multimodal) semiotic resources of language not in isolation, but as placed in society and at the intersection of an online-offline nexus.

Language is one of the primary determinants of one's identity, as every act of communication is an act of information sharing with others, which gives insight into what we believe and who we are in specific contexts. Communication is a fundamental act of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985).

As "identity is semiotic through and through, and every act of semiosis is an act of identity in which we 'give off' information about ourselves" (Blommaert, 2005: 203-204), the notion of identity, similarly to the notion of language needs to be contextualized in order to be properly understood, otherwise it is not really useful. The notion of chronotope makes it possible to attend to all those layers of context in an interaction and therefore helps to make more precise statements about the process of identification.

3.2 The Chronotope

For the sake of clarity, I need to return to the fundamental assumptions of my approach, already sketched briefly in Chapter 1. Communications are always conducted in situated contexts with their own norms – conventionalized sets of metapragmatically attributive meanings (Goffman, 1964; see also Blommaert, 2015a). In the discussion above, I referred to arguments in favor of a more diversified notion of context that however seem to overlook some of its basics: the fact that 'situated' includes nonrandom connections between interaction and the real world in which they occur. Concretely: particular situations are time-space constellations characterized by particular sets of communicative norms. In other

words, and this is of crucial importance for what follows, it is necessary to realize that norms are chronotope specific. Communications in specific chronotopes are recognized through frames and they unfold in formats, which represent collectively achieved local order, concretely embodied in scripts or micro-hegemonies, i.e. the small rules for small chunks of behavior.

When I outlined the principles of the interactionist tradition, in which I situate my research, one of the principles was that social action is always situated, i.e. it is deeply sensitive to context and adjusted to it. The 'situation', as Goffman (1964) emphasized needs to be attended to in full detail, as the locus, as well as the conditioning context for concrete social action. Blumer (1969: 88) too stipulated that "people (..) do not act toward culture, social structure or the like; they act toward situations." The big things of society in other words, can be detected in the small and situated moments of action. Cicourel (1974: 46), in turn, summarizes it as follows: "the problem of meaning for the anthropologist-sociologist can be stated as how members of a society or culture acquire a sense of social structure to enable them to negotiate everyday activities." Social order is situationally produced.

Social action, as understood in this study, is always and fundamentally situated, i.e. embedded in a concrete situation, to which it contributes constitutive features to which it is profoundly adjusted. 'Situation' may sound like a straightforward term, and it has indeed an intuitive ring of clarity to it, but this was exactly what Goffman warned us against when he wrote about 'The Neglected Situation':

> A student interested in the properties of speech may find himself having to look at the physical setting in which the speaker performs his gestures, simply because you cannot describe a gesture fully without reference to the extra-bodily environment in which it occurs. And someone interested in the linguistic correlates of social structure may find that he must attend to the social occasion when someone of given social attributes makes his appearance before others. Both kinds of students must therefore look at what we vaguely call the social situation. And that is what has been neglected. (Goffman, 1964: 134)

Goffman distinguishes between the 'physical setting' and the 'social occasion' (cf. Blommaert, 2020b) and this is where we see chronotopes emerge: at the intersection of 'material' infrastructures and social patterns of normative behavior, both to be seen as profoundly intertwined in moments of interactional engagement. 'Physical setting' refers to the timespace constellation, while 'social occasion' refers to "the rules of participation and communicative behavior that provide 'scripts'" (Blommaert, 2020b: 18). In other words, chronotopes, i.e. timespaces require and contain moral behavioral scripts. The interaction of both factors (setting and social conventions) leads, for Goffman (1964: 135), to a definition of the social situation "as an environment of mutual monitoring possibilities, anywhere within which an individual will find himself accessible to the naked senses of all others who are "present" and similarly find them accessible to him." (Goffman 1964: 135)

Goffman's 'mutual monitoring possibilities' refer to a central interactionist assumption: "we see ourselves through the way in which others see or define us" (Blumer, 1969: 13). To be more precise "the activities of others enter as positive factors in the formation of their own conduct" (Blumer, 1969: 6). And they do so through an interpretative process (to which I shall return in Chapter 4) which is based on the recognizability of social action. The latter immediately invokes normativity: recognizability proceeds on the basis of shared norms of

specific social actions typical for some kind of situation. Much of Goffman's work was devoted to the precise description of this phenomenon (Blommaert, 2020b: 18; Blommaert & De Fina, 2017: 5-6): concrete situations, such as the poker game, would come with strictly observed, and mutually assumed sets of rules (the rules of the poker game), as well as those of playing it appropriately in the company of others; it would also come with conditions on participation, dependent on the sharedness and observation of these rules. Consequently, not anyone can just join a poker game (Goffman, 1961).

It is this connection between concrete setting, norms and ratified participants that takes us to the notion of chronotope. The notion of chronotope was initially introduced by Bakhtin in the 1930s as 'literary artistic chronotope', which he applied in his analysis on novels in the field of literary studies. The notion literally means timespace and originates from the Russian word '*хронотоп*', which comes from Greek '*χρόνος - khronos*' meaning time and '*τόπος - topos*' meaning space. In Bakhtin's (1975/1981) view chronotopes in novels operate as important means of structuring the story, because specific timespace constellations (e.g. the middle ages) come with specific sets of norms for expected and appropriate conduct, and with specific sets of characters. Bakhtin (1937/1981: 250) argued that "the meaning that shapes narrative" is determined by chronotopes as they function as "the organizing centers for the fundamental narrative events of the novel." They are in fact "an optic for reading texts as x-rays of the forces at work in the culture system from which they spring" (Bakhtin, 1981: 425). This approach enabled Bakhtin to identify and investigate different events and phenomena described in novels that occurred simultaneously at different periods of time and in different spaces as they frequently complicated the understanding of literary works and their historical origins. He saw chronotopes as a mean to comprehend and explain literary heteroglossia, as each chronotope imposed different values and initiated different effects. While Bakhtin work was mainly concerned with the literary aspects of chronotopes in the analysis of texts, he acknowledged that the scope of chronotope was much broader and could be applied in other areas of everyday, cultural analysis (Bakhtin, 1937/1981).

Chronotopes force us to be far more specific with respect to what is usually seen as 'context' and in fact require us to attend in detail to the 'situation' as defined by Goffman. Indeed, the chronotope can be seen as the empirical correlate of Goffman's 'definition of situation' (Goffman, 1974: 10-11; see also Blommaert, 2015a; Blommaert et al., 2018). It is as soon as participants identify social situation as a particular chronotope (in the sense above) that situation can be said to be defined.

As a concept that has proven to be highly productive in addressing "the complexities of identity issues in superdiverse social environments" (Blommaert & De Fina, 2017: 2), chronotope will be the main heuristic frame in this research to direct the exploration of identity work in the online-offline nexus to avoid simplified, dichotomous conceptualizations of identity, such as local and global or individual and social. Identity in superdiversity should be viewed through the lens of a chronotope, because actual identity work is organized in and developed around specific timespace constellations and, in other words, it is about interactions in particular contexts (cf. Blommaert & De Fina, 2017). And here, by identity work, I mean the things that people really articulate in their everyday practice. People do not possess an abstract identity, but rather a very concrete identity repertoire, which they deploy in talking and acting on themselves as well as others. Put differently, in an interaction

people are trying to make sense of themselves as social subjects in an environment with other social subjects.

Identity work practices also require specific timespace configurations, which is caused by the fact that changes in timespace conditions can cause drastic shifts in roles, dress, discourse and criteria for judgment of adequate behavior (Blommaert & De Fina, 2017), which entails that chronotopes have fundamental influence on the type of identities performed therein. The other way around is also true: the performance of specific identity requires specific chronotopes. For instance, a person behaves differently during his or her working hours than during an employee outing. The owner of the company might be a competent person at work, which will not necessarily be the case during a social event. Similarly, the dress code and the type of discourse may profoundly differ in both situations (Blommaert & De Fina, 2017).

3.3 Moralized Behavioral Scripts[27]

I must now turn to my topic and field of inquiry. The vignette in Chapter 2.3 ('Not all that shines is gold') illustrates the complexity of identity in contemporary diaspora contexts, and the need for a research strategy to address it. The Polish diaspora in Berchem can be seen as a layered and non-homogeneous community, which makes it difficult to look at it in its totality, or in other words to look at it as a demographic community in a traditional sociological sense. This is because the community is not unified, and consequently, neither are the social norms governing its social behavior, which is why I prefer to talk about Polish 'communities' – plural – rather than a singular 'community' in Berchem. The Polish communities, as well as the social environment in which they live, are extremely polycentric, and consequently also profoundly polynomic, as they are not governed by one set of norms or rules, but rather by multiple sets of norms that can be operating simultaneously (Blommaert, 2018a). As a consequence, individuals can easily violate particular sets of rules at play in the interaction with others, as every activity or interaction in a specific time and space, operates in its own nomic system (Blommaert, 2018a), and can leave these individuals with a perpetual feeling of anomie (Durkheim, 2005). In practice, these nomic systems consist of a variety of different socially constructed formats, which can be called moralized behavioral scripts, played out by acting upon them and hence shaping people's identities (Blommaert, 2015b). In other words, individuals who are not familiar with the situation in a specific chronotopic or timespace dimension will most likely not fit all the required norms and as a consequence the identity of a legitimate group member will not be ascribed to them by others. What they often do not realize at that time is that they most likely fit in yet another set of norms in a different timespace constellation, which might cause the general feeling of being left out and rejected by the rest of the 'community'. This in turn can inevitably lead to tensions and misunderstandings among the members of the Polish community, which explains the animosities within the community and warnings, such as the one discussed in the vignette.

[27] An earlier version of what follows was published as Szabla (2020).

In order to understand the identity work of the members of the Polish diaspora in a superdiverse neighborhood like Berchem, it is essential to view it through the lens of a complex, polycentric community or aggregate of different communities, whose structure reflects the identity work performed by its members. Identity is not simply 'who and what you are' but identity is 'many things', because it depends "on context, occasion, and purpose, and it almost invariably involves a semiotic process of representation" (Blommaert, 2005: 203). Identity should therefore not be seen as something that can be owned or possessed by someone, but rather as a process of construction in which identities are "produced, enacted and performed" (Blommaert, 2005: 205). This implies that identity is an active and non-fixed category. It is in fact a repertoire. The process of identification requires various semiotic and contextual resources for successful identity performance in one's identity repertoire and as such, inevitably connects to the issue of inequality, because not everyone has equal access to either semiotic or contextual resources (Blommaert, 2005: 207).

Identity is a process of identification, which is under constant construction. This means that different identities co-exist, shift and change frequently, and cannot be properly defined without a clear reference to their chronotopic order. Therefore, following Blommaert (2018a: 57), I choose to see identities as performed through "chronotopically organized moral behavioral scripts," as this description will be helpful in trying to explain how chronotopes impose, in actual practice, detailed moralized behavioral scripts on actual social conduct.

Before turning to the actual case study, let me first explain in greater detail what moral behavioral scripts actually are in connection with chronotopes and identity work. One of the first definitions conceptualizing the term explains behavioral scripts as follows:

> *Imaginable situations in marked (i.e. nonrandom) spacetime, provoking enregistered (and therefore normative, expected and presupposed) modes of behavior* (…) To unpack the definition somewhat: the behavioral scripts assume the form of actual real-life situations which we can somehow imagine (…), and onto which we project normative patterns of behavior and – thence – templates of character and identity (…). Note that I mentioned (…) spatial and temporal frame in which these behaviors are suggested to occur, or are preferred to occur: they are, in that sense, fundamentally *chronotopic.* (Blommaert, 2015b; emphasis in original)[28]

The behavioral scripts are therefore "ordered sets of interactionally ratified behavioral details" which are fundamentally normative and govern every aspect of social interactions (Blommaert, 2018a: 47). The norms itself and conformance to these norms of conduct are morally evaluated by interlocutors. Successful and unsuccessful attempts to conform to social norms weigh heavily on one's identity, because

> (…) the ratification of failed behavioural script is a judgement of the entire person, and the judgement is moral in tone and character: the candidate is dismissed because her sociolinguistic features were judged to be 'untrue', not authentic, not honest. We see that, in actual practice, the social norms of Durkheimian world are *moralized behavioural scripts.* (Blommaert, 2018a: 49; emphasis in original)

[28] This is an online publication without page numbers. Retrieved on 16 October 2020 from https://alternative-democracy-research.org/2015/06/04/comments-on-transnationalizing-chineseness/

Identity work consists of passing moral judgments about behavior, about appearances and other relevant categories in specific contexts (cf. Garfinkel, 2002; Goodwin, 2007). Chronotopes impose specific moralized behavioral scripts, which are socially recognizable in concrete social situations. Moral behavioral scripts therefore are highly moralized, normative patterns of expected behavior for a specific, imaginable situation. It is expected of people to behave in a certain way in specific situations in order to fit the norm of a particular chronotopic identity. In these terms, also places can be perceived as good or bad; they can be places of happiness or places of misery. Therefore, morality refers to things that belong to what counts as acceptable in a given society or group. It is something recognized as belonging to the common repertoire of things that are done, thought and accepted as a norm in such society or group. Morality here, following Foucault (2003) revolves around the 'normal versus abnormal' axis, which people deploy within a specific chronotope. It explains why there are different moral standards and why different standards apply to different people in specific timespace dimensions. This 'normal versus abnormal' distinction is the most powerful notion of morality within any social environment. It, however, is at the same time problematic, because normality can suddenly turn into abnormality if important scripts are broken. It is not a clear-cut and fixed dimension, but it is exposed to continuous change and every chronotopic change demands adjustment of norms i.e. "a polynomic complex of moralized behavioral scripts" (Blommaert, 2018a: 51).

In summary, it can be said that the notion of moralized behavioral scripts is strongly connected to norms and normativity, and that norms are there to make sure that people agree on certain things and act in a particular way. This implies that there is nothing objective about norms, because people who follow them are seen as morally good, and people who refuse to abide them are morally disqualified. So, in order to highlight the actual content of norms, one could conclude that they are indispensably connected to, or even 'made out of' morality-in-practice.

3.4 The Moral Economy of Chronotopic Identity

The moral boundary of what people accept and what they do not accept is the boundary of identity. This is the point in time where they need to present themselves 'against' the other. It is, for instance, a choice of joining a community that shares the same moral script or rejecting it. However, identity is always two-sided. It is about how a person wants to be perceived, but also about how a person is actually perceived by others. In these terms a person needs to not only 'subscribe' to a specific identity, but also needs to be 'ascribed' to it, which can only succeed if enough identity characteristics are displayed by an individual for others to be recognized.

The actually performed identity is chronotope specific. Different chronotopes trigger different identity enactments, because they demand the activation of and the access to different moral behavioral scripts. It is however possible that a specific chronotope consists of multiple moral behavioral scripts and consequently a particular moral behavioral script can be active in various chronotopes. For instance, a person can perform the identity of a student and a friend while at school (one chronotope, two moral behavioral scripts), but in an outside school setting the same person can still be a friend of their classmate. Hence, in the latter case, the chronotope changes but the moral behavioral script remains the same in

both chronotopes. It is a complex process, because identity is subject to habituation, moralization and normatization.

Before illustrating the usefulness of chronotopes in the particular case study below, let me first go back to the fieldwork vignette in Section 2.3 and explain it from the same perspective, namely that of the chronotopic nature of identity work. In a way, the warning I received from the lady in a Polish delicatessen shop could be compared to a narrative of her life events. Often unstructured forms of storytelling emphasize the complex structure of identity. It is not monolithic, nor idiosyncratic or fixed. Identity is never a clear-cut phenomenon, but rather an assemblage (Latour, 2005) of identity diacritics, both large ones and micro-hegemonies at different but connected levels at the same time. Therefore, people never refer to large diacritics, such as nationality or religion alone, because they never occur in isolation. People can say that they are Polish, or that they believe in God, but even then, these notions are moralized and never occur alone. By observing the actual, detailed and precise way in which they occur, it becomes clear that moralization processes are inevitable, because people make moral judgments all the time.

Even from a simple description of a person, it is quite easy to notice whether or not this person is liked by the narrator of the story. The process of moralization is a very powerful one and these descriptions are never neutral, because people constantly make moral judgments. These judgments are the identity diacritics or boundaries, because if people claim to like somebody, or a particular form of behavior, they immediately inscribe themselves into it. This means that one's expression of approval or preference with regard to particular behaviors immediately inscribes them to a category of people who do a certain thing, simply because if one approves others' behavior, it means that one would be able to do it as well. When people disapprove of something, they also make an identity statement, in the sense that this is not what they stand for, this is not who they are, or that they would simply not do that, because they would not want to be associated with people who do it.

However, the process of moralization in itself is rather flexible and relatively sanction-free, because people's identity work or their orientation can change when they shift to different timespaces. This implies that poor students might become 'bad' landlords in the future, even if at present they would disagree with the negative practices of landlords. This does not mean however that this attitude change will fit in a moral behavioral script of groups that they have been a member of during their studies, and therefore they run the risk of not being perceived as legitimate members of those groups. Similarly, a person can hold two different and even opposing identities. A person can be an environmentally active member of a green party and at the same time drive a car with a V8 engine. Or parents might be in favor of ethnically mixed schools and still send their kids to a white school, simply because for quality reasons it feels like the best thing to do for their kids (Blommaert & Varis, 2015).

I suggest that the process of moralization is the key to the identity distinction between the good and the bad Poles, as expressed by the lady I met in the Polish delicatessen shop. Of course, ascribed identities do not always reflect reality and might not necessarily be relevant for the Poles themselves, but they are essential in order to understand how Polish people are perceived by others (in this case other Poles) in order to make larger statements about identity and their community.

3.5 Chronotopes in Paulina's story

In the following, I will demonstrate on the basis of the life history of Paulina, a participant in my case study, how she connects moral orientations to concrete forms of behavior, located in a specific chronotope.[29] The reason for choosing the interview with this particular participant is the fact that it really stood out from all the other interviews. While a majority of the interviewees told relatively simple stories, and focused on very limited aspects of their life, such as categories of work and home, Paulina's story is very dynamic and rich. It is reconstructed on the basis of an eight-hour interview plus a few shorter follow-up interviews. Paulina was the main narrator of her life history, however at specific times during the interviews other family members were also present and contributed to the interview as well.

In order to give a better overview of this highly complex and dynamic case, the timeline of Paulina's life events with regard to her working activities and living places has been sketched in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 shows how Paulina's work and living places change in different periods of time. She moved to Antwerp post the EU membership of Poland in 2004 and is part of a new wave of Polish migration to Belgium. Migration during that period was quite easy, because Polish migrants could freely enter the country and were allowed to stay in Belgium for an unlimited time if they received a permit to stay. The socio-economic conditions of migrants however made it often very difficult for them to achieve the necessary documents to legalize their stay, which in turn made it impossible to apply for the permit to work legally. This meant that even after EU accession of Poland many Polish migrants were residing in Belgium illegally, and since the opening of the labor market for Polish migrants took place in 2009, most of their working activities during this period were unofficial as well (see Chapter 2).

The interview with Paulina, at first sight, seems like a very messy case with many contradictions and difficulties that in a way question the reliability of the case. At times, her story even seems to be incoherent and her life seems to be quite conflicting. Table 3.1 already minimizes these effects, because it is structured and organized with regard to time and space. However, how can the contradictions and incoherencies in her storyline be explained? First and foremost, life events are not necessarily coherent in the experiences of individuals. They are, on the contrary very often disrupted. Secondly, people's lives are complex and tangled rather than linear, clear-cut and without any difficulties. Individuals often need to change direction during their life journey. They might need to turn around, speed up or slow down in order to avoid, or to deal with obstacles on their way. Living one's life does not directly lead to the destination and that is why the stories that people tell about themselves are not structured and linear, but reflect reality as it is. Therefore, the inconsistencies in such stories should not be seen as contradictions, but as actual identity work that needs to be done, because of the changes in the social environment in which people live. This is how superdiversity operates in practice, because the understanding of the flexibility of people to adjust and re-adjust to perpetual changes around them is how superdiversity

[29] Paulina is the pseudonym of the interviewee. The first interview with her and her family took place at their house in Belgium on 10 February 2016. The follow up interviews were conducted in the next two months of 2016 in the same place.

should be understood (Vertovec, 2007). In other words, identity work reflects the superdiverse ensemble of chronotopes in which actual life happens. And this is the first step to understanding identity in superdiversity. It is not about large categories and diacritics, but about being mobile by means of reassessment of all sorts of little things. A person can reorder things and attach another value to them at different points in time and for various reasons. Issues, which were very important at first, can become irrelevant, while unimportant and sometimes even trivial things can become essential in the course of time and space. Thus, people who live in superdiverse contexts also have to make meaning and create identities in that context. Therefore, superdiversity is part of a specific timespace to which people react in a moralizing way and engage with in normatively ordered forms of behavior.

Table 3.1: Paulina's timeline

Year	Occupation and Activities	Residence
2004	Paulina goes to Belgium to work during her school holidays. She goes together with her sister Eline who is moving to Belgium in order to re-unite with her husband.	Paulina is living with her sister and her sister's husband in a small studio in Antwerp. Piotr is living in a small studio arranged for him by his aunt who lives in Belgium since 1990.
	– Housekeeper at a Jewish home. – Paulina meets her husband Piotr and moves in with him. – Illegal work, no permit for permanent stay in Belgium.	Living in the center of Antwerp in a small studio in a tenement house.
2005	– Cleaning lady at Belgian houses. – Paulina marries Piotr in Poland.	
2006	– Cleaning lady at Belgian houses. – Piotr finds a legal job and acquires official permit to stay in Belgium together with Paulina.	
2007	Cleaning lady at Belgian houses.	Living together with friends in a nice house in the center of Antwerp.
2008	Pregnancy break.	Without any notice, Paulina's friends move out of the house two months after the birth of Sylwester. Urgently in need for a cheaper accommodation due to financial difficulties. Renting a small apartment in the O Street in the center of Antwerp (Moroccan district).
2009	– Cleaning lady at the public hospital. – Piotr opens his own building company. – Paulina starts working officially.	
2010-2011	Cleaning lady at the Beauty Salon.	Renting a little house in W. Possibility of good schooling for their son.
	Receptionist at the Beauty Salon.	
2012	Paulina opens her own company that is importing windows from Poland in order to support the growing number of projects of her husband.	
2013-2014		Renting a nice, big house in R.
2015	Pregnancy break.	

The visualization of the chronotopes in Paulina's life is presented in Figure 3.1.

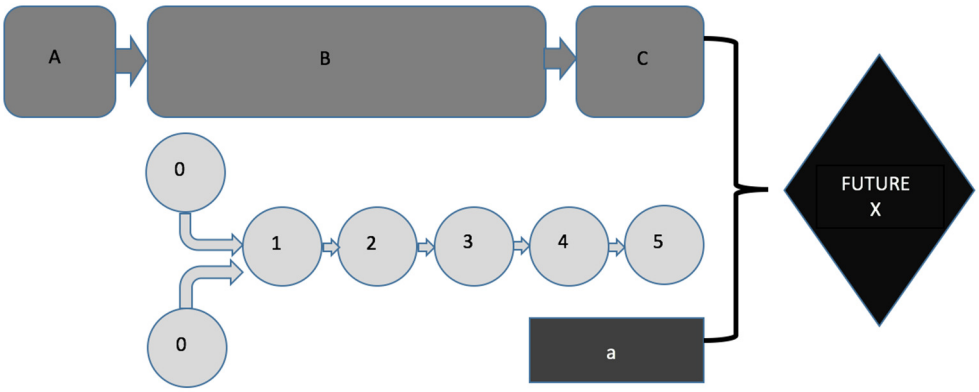


Figure 3.1: Visualization of changing chronotopes and chronotopes' co-occurrences in Paulina's life

The boxes A, B and C represent Paulina's family life. From the moment she was born in Poland, Paulina was in a family, where her family life develops. At this point in time, her entire family resides in Poland (phase A). However, when Paulina decides to move to Belgium with her sister Eline, her family life is re-chronotopicalized. It is no longer the same and therefore enters the chronotopic stage B. Another shift in the chronotope occurs when the entire family of Paulina finally moves to Belgium to reunite with her (stage C). Her family life begins a new episode again and new stages may follow. This change in chronotope has both advantages and disadvantages. Advantages, because the family is finally together and all important issues can be addressed face to face on a daily basis. In addition, the frequency of contact is much higher and the family can actually spend time together. On the other hand, it also has disadvantages, because different space and time dimensions of this chronotope do not guarantee the same relations as in the initial stage A. It is not possible to re-create a chronotope, because the timespace dimension has changed and consequently social norms within the family change as well. In addition, if anything would change in the family situation again (e.g. someone would get into a fight or return to Poland), the family would again enter a phase of re-chronotopicalization, bringing with itself new challenges, benefits and constrains. As Paulina states during the interview (see Figure 3.2), she always dreamt about having her family all together in Belgium.

Paulina: *Bo moim w ogóle zamiarem od samego początku przyjazdu do Belgii było ściągniecie całej mojej rodziny (…). Wszystkich ściągnęliśmy. Wszyscy zaczęli jakoś swoje życie.*	**Paulina**: Already from the very beginning, my intention was to bring all my family over to Belgium (…). We managed to get everyone over. Everyone somehow started their lives.

Figure 3.2: Excerpt from the interview with Paulina from 10 February 2016

The circles numbered 0 to 5 in Figure 3.1 illustrate the neighborhoods in which Paulina has lived. It is an outstanding example of a changing chronotope, because Paulina and her husband Piotr are moving through Europe, and later through the region of Antwerp throughout their life history. Both of them first separately move from Poland to Belgium and Antwerp

and start by living in very small apartments (circles 0). After they meet, they move together into a small studio in a tenement house (1), but later they rent a small house with friends in the center of Antwerp (2). Due to financial difficulties, they are forced to move to one of the cheapest districts of Antwerp (3). Finally, their financial situation gets a bit better and they manage to afford to move to another neighborhood (4) in order to provide their son Sylwester with a good education. A few years later, they start their own companies, and as they prosper, they can afford a big house in an even better neighborhood (5).

Even though the family decides to move to another house and village (5), where another piece of the history and another chronotope start, the old chronotope of the child is maintained (a-box). The parents' decision to keep Sylwester in the same school while they move to another village (5) is driven by the well-being of their child. The parents do not want to draw him away from everything he has known for the last couple of years. Paulina believes that it would be uprooting for their son, because he would lose not only his friends, but he would also lose everything that he has built in a way of his identity within that school. The decision to bring him to an inner city-school could have a negative impact on their son, because they believe that he is not tough enough to manage in a new school, especially if it would be situated in a bad neighborhood. Paulina and Piotr are concerned with the future of their son and they do not want him to go through a hard time. They are trying to be good parents and that is also why it is clear that the choice of their living and educational places is not incidental. The family decides to move to another living place, because it offers more comfort for them and their child, but their son stays in a particular chronotope nonetheless, because it is the best for him. This leads to the overlapping of the chronotopes. While some of them change into other chronotopes, specific ones, such as the one of Sylwester's schooling, are maintained. The moral orientation of Paulina, and her willingness to be a good mother and offer her child the best schooling directs her behavior in a specific timespace dimension, as shown in Figure 3.3.

Paulina: *Już mieszkania szukaliśmy gdzieś na obrzeżach. Nie chcieliśmy już w centrum absolutnie, bo mieliśmy Sylwestra w takim wieku, gdzie on już zaczął. Szukaliśmy szkoły i chcieliśmy żeby miał dobrą szkołę. Więc znaleźliśmy mieszkanie w W, to jest takie, to jest taka wioska, znaczy większa niż tu, bo tutaj to jest w ogóle, to jest dupa, psy dupami szczekają, no ale dobra mniejsza o to. Tam była taka większa troszeczkę wioska i tam znalazłam dobrą szkołę i tam się przeprowadziliśmy.*	**Paulina**: So, we looked for an apartment at the outskirts of the city. We absolutely did not want to live in the center, because we had Sylwester at such an age that he already started [*school*; MS]. We were looking for a school [*for Sylwester*; MS], and we wanted him to have a good school. So, we found an apartment in W, it is like, it is a village, bigger than here, because here, by and large, it is an arse,[30] dogs bark with their asses,[31] but it is irrelevant. There the village was slightly bigger, and there I found a good school and there we moved.

Figure 3.3: Excerpt from the interview with Paulina from 10 February 2016

[30] The meaning conveyed by "here it is an arse" can be compared to the idiom 'arse end of nowhere', or simply very backward place with nothing to offer.

[31] Paulina uses a vulgar expression to describe the place she currently lives in as a deep backcountry where '*psy dupami szczekają'* that literally translates to 'dogs bark with their asses'.

Consequently, the most powerful chronotope is the future – a projected or imagined chronotope (diamond shape X). Even though it is not yet in place, it is a very important and relevant concept. For example, a large part of Polish migrants come to Belgium to work, while they are at the same time building their house in Poland. Their projected chronotope implies that when they have earned enough money, and managed to finish building their house in Poland, they will finally return to their home country. And then, they will become an important, wealthy and respected person in their village.

The projected chronotope of Paulina is very powerful as well, after her maternal leave she said she would go back to school in order to be able to find a job in a public hospital as a nurse. This, again, is a concrete form of behavior, which could be explained by the social expectations towards Paulina. In Belgium it is very common to return to work after maternal leave, and the chances of being successful increase depending on the level of education. It illustrates that specific moral scripts are projected onto specific forms of behavior. It is not likely that Paulina would be perceived as having made a career if she never came back to work after her maternity leave. In the specific chronotope she is in, she can follow the moral behavioral scripts of being a good mother, but as long as she will not find a job or improve her work qualifications she will not be perceived as successful by others. Paulina is aware of this, and because she is ambitious, and wants to have a 'successful' identity, she plans to follow the script to achieve it.

3.6 Dealing with Contradiction: O Street

In a specific episode of her life, Paulina together with her husband and Polish friends used to live in the center of Antwerp in a nice little house (circle 2 in Figure 3.1). However, at a certain point everything goes wrong. Their friends leave them with all the unpaid bills and Paulina's family ends up in financial difficulties. They are left with no other choice than to move to a cheaper place (see Figure 3.4).

Paulina: *Zostawili nas ze wszystkimi opłatami, gdzie ja nie pracowałam. Piotr wciąż miał tą marną pensję. Żyliśmy na tych okruchach, co sobie tam odłożyliśmy podczas tej pracy, jeszcze jak ja pracowałam na czarno, prawda. Nas tak zostawili, w całym, ogromnym domu, z ogromnymi rachunkami, ze wszystkimi rachunkami. Ja urodziłam, oni się wyprowadzili.*	**Paulina**: They left us with all the bills, while I wasn't working. Piotr still had his meager salary. We had to live off the crumbs that we had saved from the time when I was still working illegally, you know. They just left us like that, in this entire, huge house with huge bills, with all the bills. I gave birth and they moved out.

Figure 3.4: Excerpt from the interview with Paulina from 10 February 2016

They move to the O Street in a neighborhood of Antwerp where a large Moroccan-origin population resides (circle 3 in Figure 3.1). The Moroccans who live there create the environment in which Paulina and Piotr can survive, even though they are in a bad financial situation. The place itself is not perceived positively by Paulina; it is not a good neighborhood. Her family does not move to the neighborhood because of the demographic quality of the neighborhood, but because it offers affordable accommodation. If given a choice, Paulina would never choose to live there (see Figure 3.5).

Paulina: *A tak, przeprowadziliśmy się, jakoś nam się udało do takiej, to było centrum w ogóle Antwerpii i to było koło takiej znanej ulicy O. To jest znana ulica dla Polaków, bo są bardzo tanie rzeczy, po 2 euro, po 5 euro. Marokańcy sprzedają. Wiec my tam mieszkaliśmy. Mieszkanie było super ale ta okolica to była tragedia.*	**Paulina**: And so we moved, we somehow managed to the, to the center of Antwerp, next to the well-known street, O Street. It is a well-known street for Poles, because you can buy there very cheap things for 2 euro, for 5 euro. Moroccans are selling them. So, that's where we lived. The apartment was great, but the neighborhood was a disaster.

Figure 3.5: Excerpt from the interview with Paulina from 10 February 2016

The neighborhood has a specific type of infrastructure. The supplies are very cheap, and accommodation is nice and reasonably priced, which attracts people with all kinds of backgrounds. Paulina and Piotr settle for a 'bad neighborhood', because it offers good things. It is a moralized place. Piotr and Paulina live in a 'bad' place, and they are there, because they have to and not because they want to be there. It is the only place in which they can manage in this situation. If they will do a bit better financially, they will not stay there, but move out immediately to a 'better neighborhood'. Paulina follows the moral behavioral scripts of this projected chronotope, because she wants to change her current situation in the future in order to be perceived as more successful by herself and others. This imagined chronotope is actually brought into reality by Paulina, as she manages to move to a better neighborhood (circle 4 in Figure 3.1) after having lived for two years in a very bad one (circle 3 in Figure 3.1). From that moment on, the chronotope is no longer projected, but it turns into an active chronotope.

Before moving to this neighborhood, Paulina had rather negative ideas of the place, as it is a cheap neighborhood with a poor reputation. Quite a number of Polish females living in the neighborhood reside there with their Moroccan partners. These ladies do not have the best reputation in the Polish community-at-large and they are often rejected and condemned. Some of my participants, who are in the situation of being married to Turkish or Moroccan-origin men, explained their situation as follows:

1	**Asia**: *Poznałam Turka i to był mój, no nie mąż prawda, ale byłam z nim tutaj dwanaście lat. Teraz z nim nie jestem, ale byłam z nim dwanaście lat. No i on tam mieszkał i myśmy tam się osiedlili. I tam poznałam też bardzo dużo Polaków, znaczy dużo, no dziewczyn prawda. I też tam była taka, taka grupa tam zamknięta, ale no nie, nie, nie dobrze to było widziane z tego względu że no ja z Turkiem to nie, nie. Wyłączyli mnie, że tak powiem, z tej grupy, z tego grona i tak po jakimś czasie się te koleżanki powykreślały. I nie było żadnej koleżanki już po kilku latach i nie miałam w ogóle kontaktu z Polakami, żadnymi, w ogóle. Gdzieś tam, jakaś tam koleżanka, która też była z Turkiem ewentualnie albo z jakimś innym obcokrajowcem, to tak, to tak, ale*	**Asia**: I met a Turk, and he was, well, not my husband, you know, but I was with him here for twelve years. Now, I am no longer with him, but I was with him for twelve years. He was living there [*North of Antwerp*; MS], and we settled there. And there I also met a lot of Poles, well, a lot, well, girls, right? And there also was such a, such a closed group, but it was not, not, not well perceived because of the fact that I was with a Turk then no, no. They excluded me, let's say, from this group, from this cluster, and so, after some time these girlfriends opted out. And there were no girlfriends already after a few years, and I did not have any contact with Poles, not any, at all. Somewhere some girlfriend eventually that also was with a Turk, or with another

	Polacy całkiem wyłączyli mnie z grupy Polskiej, no i to jest tak do dzisiaj, jest to trudno, trudno się z powrotem wkupić, nie?	foreigner, then yes, then yes, but Polish people managed to completely exclude me from the Polish group, and, well, it is like that until today, it is hard, hard to buy your way back in, right?
2	**Sara**: *U mnie sytuacji ponad norme. Sytuacji w których pokazano mi, ze nie jestem od nich. Nie raz i nie dwa bylam odrzucana i odpychana wręcz od innych polskich ludzi. Były to przeróżne sytuacje, mniej lub bardziej drastyczne, zawsze przykre i pokazujące wyraźnie – tak my polacy, jesteśmy wielkimi rasistami. Nie jestem polka wśród polakow, bo wyszłam za nie polaka. To mnie dyskwalifikuje. Kazda sytuacja jest taka sama.* [*the use of Polish characters follows the original text*; MS]	**Sara**: There are many situations. Situations in which they showed me that I am not one of them. It has not been once or twice that I have been rejected and pushed away by other Polish people. There were various situations, more or less drastic, always hurtful, which made it very clear that we Polish people are huge racists. I am not Polish among Poles, because I did not marry a Pole. It disqualifies me. And every situation [*interaction with Polish people;* MS] is the same.

Figure 3.6: Excerpts from the interview with Asia from 8 November 2015 (number 1), and from the e-mail interview with Sara from 12 October 2015 (number 2)

When Paulina moved to the Moroccan neighborhood, she needed to learn the moral economy of the place, the new chronotope. The easiest way to achieve this was through Polish ladies who had already acquired an insider's perspective in how the neighborhood functions but could still speak the Polish language – women who live with Moroccan-origin men, in short. Despite the negative perceptions that are circulating within the Polish communities with regard to these ladies, when entering this particular chronotope, for Paulina their insider knowledge becomes essential. A person who in another chronotope is perceived as 'bad', can become a very important resource person and teacher. Their knowledge, which at first was seen as the key to their marginality, now becomes very important for Paulina's integration in this chronotope. In other words, from the perspective of Paulina's earlier chronotope, in which only Paulina and her family were present, Polish ladies who marry Moroccan-origin men would be seen in a negative way. In the current chronotope, however, where Paulina's family and Polish ladies married to Moroccan-origin men cohabit, the 'bad' Polish lady would be perceived in a positive way. In the Moroccan neighborhood a mixed marriage is common and 'normal'; Paulina has to acquire this normative code and finds it normal and profitable for better adjusting to her new environment.

So, what has actually happened? Is Paulina inconsistent? I would rather say she had to – and did – change her moral economy in order to survive. Paulina's situation changes, the chronotope shifts, and so her identity work adapts to her new surroundings with different chronotopic behavioral norms.

This apparent contradiction in Paulina's behavior illustrates the complexity of identity work in the sense that people suddenly change moral and identity positions. They can speak differently, react very differently and even act very differently compared to the past. Suddenly what used to be a deviation becomes normalized. Chronotopes change along with the identity or the other way around, which implies that people who were first seen as bad can now be seen as useful, interesting, helpful and cooperative. This change however is not

necessarily permanent and depends on specific moralized behavioral scripts that operate within particular chronotopes.

3.7 Chronotopes as Highly Specific Contexts

The above analysis shows how people's unspecific contextual worlds operate as moral agents to provide them with concrete sets of norms in specific chronotopes. From this perspective a moral agent constitutes an identity. When a person speaks about their life, they never speak in a purely factual way. People speak about themselves and others in a moral construction which points out the scripts of the chronotope and identity. Similarly, the analysis of Paulina's life history illustrates how moral dimensions are continuously placed onto specific behaviors in different chronotopes.

Therefore, in order to understand identity in superdiversity, it is crucial to understand the ways in which people function in densely diversified social environments and social contexts. It is essential to realize that an individual's identity repertoire consists of multiple identities, each relevant within a specific social sphere, a specific chronotope. And in that sense a person needs to perform a different identity at work and at home. It is not that individuals are necessarily fragmented or conflicted, or that their multiple identities do not fit into a sort of general personhood. On the contrary, an individual needs to be integrated in all sorts of social spheres. And of course, they cannot be the same individuals with their employers as with their spouses or mothers. Those are three different identities and if a person will confuse them, none of them will be successful. This is the fine fiber of identity.

The notion of chronotope is a way of rephrasing the notion of context that can be seen as broad and under-defined and that is often used in a very generic way. Everyone knows what context is, but not everybody knows what is exactly meant by it. In order to check its validity, it is necessary to investigate its usefulness with help of other analytic vocabulary, such as 'chronotope' (Blommaert, 2020b). By referring to context through chronotope, it is possible to make context much more specific, because it automatically involves the notions of space and time, agency, identity, behavior, norms, the nature of the communities, and rules as to who can enter the chronotope and who cannot. The context viewed through the prism of chronotope allows for far more specificity and hence generates much more precise findings. The use of general notions forces a person to generalize, while there is no room for generalizations in a superdiverse world, because it is hard to understand diversity and complexity without utmost care and precision. This does not mean that the notion of context is not useful, on the contrary, the notion of context is essential and therefore requires unsurpassed specificity, when referring to it. The concept of chronotope may just offer exactly that meticulous precision, shaping context into the chronotopic contexts that generate conditions to better understand the dynamics of the social actions in the superdiverse world (Blommaert, 2020b).

This chapter illustrated the chronotopic nature of identity work in an era of superdiversity through a case study of a Polish diaspora member in Berchem. It showed how chronotopes in reality impose very concrete and socially recognizable moral behavioral scripts, which in turn define the identity work of the people who follow them. The next chapter will

focus on another concept, one that identifies the moral-interpretive dimension of a chronotope: frame. It will illustrate how frames influence a wide range of phenomena, by means of sketching a moral-interpretive framework in which they operate.

CHAPTER 4

Frames

The previous chapter discussed the chronotope as the central concept of my study and made the point that chronotopes are timespace configurations that are filled with specifically applicable norms and types of ratified identity. In the next three chapters, I shall address different aspects of this normative order that characterizes chronotopes. In brief, and repeating what was mentioned in Chapter 1, my starting point is that *social life is organized through chronotopes, i.e., recognizable, but locally produced social situations, in which frames provide the interpretive dimensions of order, and formats – realized through scripts – provide the behavioral dimensions of order.* This chapter will address the moral-interpretative aspect of chronotopes, and in doing so, it will draw on another one of Goffman's (1974) well-known concepts – frames – through presenting a case study of the 'work' frame in the Polish diaspora.

4.1 The Concept of Frame

Goffman (1974) explains that the function of a frame is that of guiding the understanding of a specific situation. Every individual engaging in a social event, which is not limited to a face-to-face interaction, needs to make sense of the situation which they are in. Thus, in order to conceptualize what a frame is, it is essential to view it as a "basic framework of understanding available in our society for making sense out of events" (Goffman, 1974: 10). This meaning making process however is not entirely flexible as it needs to comply with the conventionalized sets of moral and normative dimensions attached to a particular event. Goffman explains this process as follows:

> I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify. That is my definition of frame. (Goffman, 1974: 10-11)

Every social action or behavior can be recognized as operating in a particular frame (or combinations of frames), which defines a situation that a person engages in and guides his or her responses and reactions to that event. The reasons why individuals follow the structure of frameworks are rooted in the idea of self-presentation – they are subjected to 'standards' and 'social appraisals' (Goffman, 1974). Individuals want to be perceived by others in a particular way and want their actions to be interpreted along the same lines, and in order to achieve that, it is necessary to follow the moral-normative guidelines within a frame (Blommaert, 2018b).

Blommaert (2019a) engages with frames in a very practical way, and his approach is therefore useful to fully grasp the practical applicability of the concept. He explains that notions like frames and framing often evoke negative associations in practice. One could think of words, such as 'fooled', 'cheated' or 'naïve' when a notion of 'being framed' is mentioned. There is however "nothing negative about framing" (p. 15), it is the art of persuasion achieved through an informed use of communicative resources. "You say what we think" [*U zegt wat wij denken*] is the phrase that Blommaert (2019a) used to explain the process of framing.[32] Once a person believes that a particular standpoint is "exactly what he thought himself" (p. 12), the individual is persuaded, and the standpoint is shaped or replaced by that of the other person. By means of specific forms of language use, framing occurs, and can be more or less convincing in the interaction with others. Indeed, frames play a crucial role in any conversation or debate; they are the tools employed in every communicative act and by everyone who is even remotely involved. The point of departure of any communicative action is that of frames, i.e. typical and commonly used "social and cultural interpretive schemes" (p. 16) applied to any form of meaningful activity, such as writing, reading, talking and listening. Frames serve as cultural-ideological yardsticks for apprehension of personal experiences, communicative events and society at large. This implies that any form of meaning making happens through frames, and similarly that "frameless semiosis does not exist" (p. 16).

Blommaert (2019a) compares the way in which framing works to the process of creating a mind map that consists of a variety of ordered and structured associations to which a moral value is attached. The aim of framing is to organize the knowledge about a certain topic and provide logic to the interpretation of a specific message, which makes it understandable to others at the same time. In this sense, a frame is an advanced version of a mind map, characterized by a specific element at the core, and its connectedness with other elements. Those connected elements can encompass anything that can be associated with for instance a specific word, as long as it is characterizing or describing the core element. In its totality a frame is a series of ordered associations, which are not neutral because every word carries a certain positive or negative emotional load, i.e. a moral evaluation or indexical vector, creating a very intricate and morally loaded network. This network however is not a random creation, it is profoundly ordered and shifts from words to values, actions and identities.

An example par excellence of a frame is 'work', the ideological and evaluative precipitations of which are extensively analyzed in Blommaert (2019a). Blommaert illustrates how the transformation from words to values happens in practice through the evaluative process of the word 'work' (pp. 19-21) (see Figure 4.1).

This process always starts from a moral load or judgement, characterizing the distinction of good versus bad. Blommaert distinguishes between three levels in which the framing process occurs: starting from morally loaded associations, extending to associated actions, and finally projecting onto identities. The first stage of the evaluation refers to the moral distinction, i.e. the conventional emotive load that the word carries, such as categorization between good and bad, in the sense that any act involving 'work' is generally perceived as good, but 'workless', on the other hand, is not (p. 20) (as illustrated in the 'Moral Direction' block in Figure 4.1). Consequently, all the words and terms even remotely connected to

[32] Blommaert (2019a) is a Dutch publication, and the quotes used here are my own translations of the text.

'having work', such as income or productivity, are by definition good (as shown in the 'Associations' block in Figure 4.1), while unemployment or idling are negative and such moral distinctions extend to more and more abstract connections. These connections refer to all kinds of associations, both abstract and concrete ones that are evoked during framing when a specific word is mentioned and can be further associated with other things.

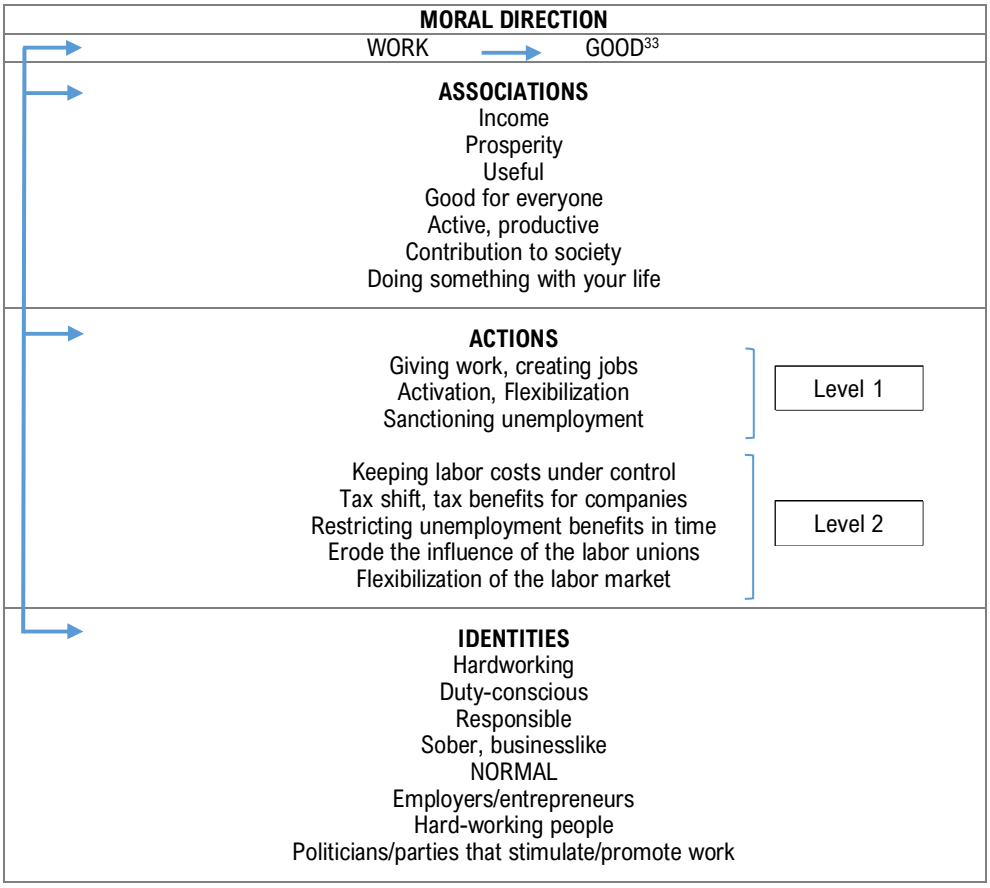


Figure 4.1: The frame of work[34]

For instance, in the case of the word 'work', the associations can extend to things such as wellbeing, productivity or contribution to society (see Figure 4.1.), whereas for the word 'workless' the exact opposite is true, and it would reflect connections such as uselessness, unproductiveness or procrastination. This first step is essential in the framing process, because it can help to influence or persuade a person during communication to see the positive or negative connections to a specific word, but it is especially important because it is a

[33] Moral direction of work can also be negative, for example 'workless' is perceived as bad.

[34] This is my translation from Blommaert (2019a: 25); the translation was authorized by the author.

departure point for the entire mind map. The moral judgements sedimented on words associated with 'work' eventually lead to the framing of actions connected to work, and this is yet another step in the moral mind mapping during framing.

The next stage of framing is therefore that of actions, which are connected to work and evaluated in the same fashion, on the basis of moral categorizations, such as employing people, or firing them, granting tax benefits or unemployment benefits (see the 'Actions' block in Figure 4.1). All the actions seen as embracing or stimulating the initially good moral value attached to the word 'work' are seen as positive, while the ones that can be attached to the word 'workless' are seen as negative (p. 21). There are two levels of actions distinguished in Figure 4.1 based on their degree of concreteness – the first level includes examples of general actions promoting the initially good moral direction of work, and the second level more concrete measures that can be taken to benefit, stimulate or promote 'work'. The final stage revolves around identity. As exhibited in Figure 4.1, the moral value connected to these words and actions extends onto individuals and projects certain identities onto them (see the 'Identities' block in Figure 4.1). This process is in accordance with the broader ideas of what is perceived as normal and acceptable within a particular society, and as such people who are working would be regarded as good, and people who are unemployed would be viewed negatively.

To summarize, the fully developed positive frame of 'work' as has been presented in Figure 4.1 illustrates how moral direction is initially sketched, as the word work is hegemonic and generally accepted to be perceived as a good thing, and how associations, actions and identities are a result of the initial moral direction, as indicated by the arrows in Figure 4.1. The process of framing "creates a logic where every part can be explained and motivated by means of other parts that are all 'good'" (p. 22). All the steps in the process of framing are therefore interconnected. This means that a hardworking person (identity) is morally perceived as a good, productive and active person who contributes to society (associations) and can also give or create jobs for others (actions). If an individual is associated with any of the steps in the process of framing, such as having income (associations), giving jobs (actions) or being responsible (identity) that person is always perceived as good and therefore regarded as a normal individual in society. Every step in the mind map of moral framing, and every association within it receives the same moral evaluation, and of course the same counts for the opposite thereof, everything associated with 'workless' gets a negative connotation.

The process of framing is however far from simple, as it is not always equally easy to determine the moral direction of a specific term. While there is a widespread understanding that work is generally a good thing, it is possible that some people would see it as a bad thing, something constraining, exhausting and limiting one's freedom. On top of that, there are terms that are generally perceived as neutral or did not yet acquire a certain moral value. This is often the theme of public debates, in which a certain way of framing, by means of euphemisms or dysphemisms plays an immense role in how the message is perceived and how it influences audiences. In other words, the way in which individuals choose to talk about specific topics, can stress or diminish the initial positive or negative value of the term in order to persuade others to accept a particular standpoint. Consequently, this can lead to a 'battle' or a 'clash of frames' (p. 59), when the same word evokes positive moral value with one group of people, but negative moral value with the other. Blommaert (2019a: 59) calls this process 'debate polarization', as it implies that there are both good and bad moral

evaluations held among different groups in society with regard to the same topics, such as for example climate policies. This means that even though the moral value of specific frames is often shared and widespread, frames can also be subjective and individual, as everyone has the right to their own moral truth.

Blommaert's (2019a) analysis points out that frames are never neutral, because they are always connected to the historicity of use of particular words or themes and consequently, they always index particular meanings that can also be attributed to particular identities. Frame is a complex mind map that renders actions meaningful through the process of "morally-normative ordering" (p. 73). However, this form of ordering should not be perceived as an objective truth, but rather as an individual meaning making process originating from generally accepted norms and moral values in a particular society. Frames are used to motivate and to confirm a particular social situation, but they are also the tools applied to persuade others to replace or change theirs (Blommaert, 2019a). Consequently, frames can be general and generally accepted or understood, or very specific and can therefore be challenged or contrasted by other overarching frames simultaneously involved in a single interaction. There is an individual dimension to all that, as the repertoire of frames can differ among individuals, but frames themselves need to be socio-culturally shared before they can be meaningful. This implies, that some frames in fact can fundamentally clash with those of others or that individuals can have a repertoire consisting of conflicting frames.

It is important to point out that Blommaert's (2019a) framing process as presented in Figure 4.1, is based on Goffman's (1974) frame analysis, but at the same time goes a step further in explaining the processes that are not explicit in Goffman's work, by illustrating how frames actually operate in practice – something that is actually missing in Goffman's work.

3.2 Work as a Primary Frame

As emphasized by Blommaert (2019a) 'work' can be regarded as one of the most important frames in society. This section will illustrate how 'work' enters as the primary frame in the interactions that I observed during my fieldwork, and how it dominates all the other topics of a conversation. Primary frames operate on different organizational levels: some take the form of a system of rules, while the majority of others assume no tangible shape, but provide perspectives, references, and ways of understanding (Goffman, 1974). Those different organizational levels of frames are also visible in my data, as the 'work' frame is specific, but at the same time very general, as it describes the life trajectories of Polish migrants. In these terms, work is the most important, overarching moral vector overruling every other aspect of life for this group. This implies that solidarity is also dependent on work, because when the work ethos appears to be violated (see the example of Raf in Section 4.2.4), it affects other aspects of life, such as social contacts, and even relationships.

Goffman (1974: 21) describes a 'primary framework' as follows:

> When the individual in our Western society recognizes a particular event, he tends, whatever else he does, to imply in this response (and in effect employ) one or more frameworks or schemata of interpretation of a kind that can be called primary. I say primary because application of such framework or perspective is seen by those who apply it as not depending on or harking back to

> some prior or "original" interpretation; indeed a primary framework is one that is seen as rendering what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful.

The important point here is the aspect of meaningfulness: particular bits of social experience are brought into an order that makes them meaningful as instances of a larger set of phenomena. Goffman makes a distinction in his discussion of the primary frameworks between 'natural frameworks' (which are not of direct concern here), and 'social frameworks'. Of the latter, he says:

> Social frameworks, on the other hand, provide background understanding for events that incorporate the will, aim, and controlling effort of an intelligence, a live agency, the chief one being the human being. Such an agency is anything but implacable; it can be coaxed, flattered, affronted, and threatened. What it does can be described as "guided doings." These doings subject the doer to "standards," to social appraisal of his action based on its honesty, efficiency, economy, safety, elegance, tactfulness, good taste, and so forth. (Goffman, 1974: 22)

Looking back at the explanation of the concept of frame given earlier, it can be seen how the various components I sketched are contained in these fragments from Goffman. The fragments illustrate the very strong moral – evaluative, i.e. moralized – dimension of frames, and also show how that dimension is spread over a wide range of related phenomena (including, importantly, identities) in such a way that the entire field is swept up in the same moral-evaluative force. Goffman's use of 'primary' in relation to frameworks points towards frames that empirically prove to be more pervasive and dominant than others.

In the same line of thought, a 'primary' frame can be seen as a moral vector structuring social events in different contexts. The recognition of a specific behavior and the moral code attached to it is achieved through a primary frame. It is pervasive and dominant. Recognizable social actions are filled with evaluative social criteria that regulate and refine the norms of conduct and at the same time guide and structure individual and collective behavior (Blommaert, 2018b). Individuals therefore often unconsciously correct, adjust and organize their behavior according to frames in order to fit the normative system of a format. In other words, the interpretive dimension of frames and their moral evolutions enable the shift to more concrete behavioral norms of conduct, i.e. formats. Following Blommaert et al. (2018: 6),

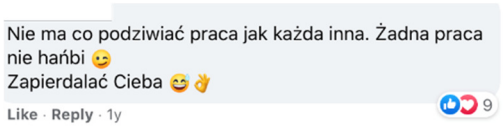
> a lot of what we do in the work of contextualization is moving from recognition through framing to formatting. We do so dialogically in congregational work with others, and we do so by drawing upon socioculturally marked – indexicalized – resources that acquire a general direction in such activities.

This means that within chronotopes, formats are necessary to make frames 'real', as frames constitute the moral-interpretive dimension of order and formats constitute the behavioral dimension of order within a chronotope. This means that the relation between chronotopes, which implies that they "are mutually inclusive, they co-exist, they may be interwoven with, replace or oppose one another, contradict one another or find themselves in ever more complex interrelationships" (Bakhtin, 1937/1981: 252), also applies to frames and formats. Frame is therefore a way to attend to a situation, as defined by Goffman, as it is an

interpretive scheme applied to social situations that renders these situations meaningful and recognizable. Different frames however co-exist, they can operate alongside one-another, include one-another or even oppose each other, resulting in the clash of frames.

4.2.1 The Work Frame in Action

Throughout online interactions in my data,[35] it becomes clear that migrants' life is largely 'defined' in terms of work. Polish migrants are in another country in order to work – period. This is continuously reiterated in a majority of their posts and comments. Excuses are not taken lightly, because a clear rule is that everyone who wants to work will be able to find work. This is when 'working' emerges as a big moral vector within Polish communities. The perspective is illustrated by means of the examples in Figure 4.2.[36]

1		**M**: A question for breakfast [*it is the name of a Polish morning tv program that is called 'Pytanie na Sniadanie'*; MS] What is the meaning of our life? Do we only live in order to work, eat and love, or is it about the extension of the species? Or maybe there is a higher aim but we do not know it yet. I am curious about your opinions.[37]
2		**M**: There is nothing to admire, it's work like any other. No job is beneath you. You need to fucking work.[38]
3		**F**: I myself came here over a dozen years ago and it was not easy, but I searched for a job and not for victims whose belongings I could steal from their house and this is a colossal difference.[39]

[35] In the translations of online transcripts, I try to follow as much as possible the original text. I only add punctation marks when it is necessary to properly understand a message. There is a lot of vulgar and colloquial language present in the data. It would, however, require further investigation to determine the indexical value of this form of language use that seems to be common to many online communication contexts.

[36] The respondents in the translations are referred to as M (male) or F (female); the translations are all mine. The emojis are not analyzed, but they are helpful in understanding the meaning and the emotive load of a message.

[37] This is a main entry posted on a Facebook group for Polish people in the Netherlands on 6 February 2018.

[38] This is the comment to an entry from 30 June 2019 posted on a Facebook group for Polish people in the Netherlands. The initial post was from a female that expressed her admiration for people who work as dishwashers or kitchen porters, as she worked in this profession before and knows how hard it can be.

[39] This comment was a reaction under a post from 31 August 2015 on a Polish Facebook group in the Netherlands. A male member of a Polish diaspora posted an appeal, as one of the Polish roommates robbed the house in which

4	Nie powinniście tu dostawać pracy i tyle ,na brak pracy tu nie można narzekać ,ale wiadomo rok czasu to już dużo ,z 500e zasiłku to w Polsce jak królowa będziesz żyła ,atu za najniższą stawka pracowałaś , Like · Reply · 2y	**M**: You should not be getting jobs here and that's about it, you cannot complain here for the shortage of jobs, but of course a year is a long time, from 500 euro unemployment benefit you will live like a queen in Poland, and here you worked for the lowest wage.[40]
5	Ok ale pracy jest tyle że praktycznie można ją mieć w bardzo szybkim czasie a nie pracować rok żeby dostać zasiłek ,dla mnie śmieszne ,ja żeby odpocząć mam urlop jak każdy pracujący , Like · Reply · 2y	**M**: Ok but there is so much work that you can have it in no time, and not work for a year to get a benefit, it is ridiculous for me, when I want to rest I take holidays like every other working person.[41]

Figure 4.2: Examples of work-related comments

Throughout my research on the Polish diaspora in the Low Countries, I kept bumping into one motif that recurred continually in conversations, interviews and online interactions on almost any imaginable topic, and it provided the general moral orientations in all of this. That motif was work. My research participants, almost without exception defined and rationalized their presence in the Low Countries as motivated by work. Polish people are abroad to work, and work is the key to a better future. See Figure 4.3 and look how a 32-year-old lady from the center of Antwerp, whom I shall call Sara, explained her presence in Antwerp to me in a written interview held in 2015.

Sara explains her presence in Belgium in terms that I encountered over and over again in my interactions with Polish people. She was a hard-working person in Poland, where the level of salaries however did not suffice to keep her out of poverty. Moving to Belgium happened on a premise of superior income, but on the condition of "hard, exhausting" work. Presence in Belgium as a hard-working Polish immigrant, is future-oriented and includes her children's lives, and Sara uses the term "happiness" to describe that future. The 'biographical projection' is visible here, in the sense of Anselm Strauss: "what the actor perceives will happen to his or its identity" (Strauss, 1993: 58). Strauss connects this kind of projection to specific modes of organizing practices, as a way of designing patterns in life. Hard work in Belgium will provide Sara with sufficient income to generate happiness in life. This is why she does "not feel bad about what [she; MS] is doing." In spite of being very low on the social ladder in the diaspora ("nobody will be friends with the cleaning lady") there is the promise of a better life, achievable through hard work.

many Polish people live and they were hoping that someone might have seen him or knows him and would be able to help to trace him.

[40] This is a reply to a post from 7 July 2018 where a female has posed a question on a group for Polish People in the Netherlands. She wanted to know how to arrange a social benefit in Holland, but with a transfer to Poland, and if anyone had any experiences with it, they were welcome to comment as well. She also asked for an advice and a contact to a good accountant.

[41] On 7 July 2018 a female has posed a question on a group for Polish People in the Netherlands. She wanted to know how to arrange a social benefit in Holland, but with a transfer to Poland, and if anyone had any experiences with it they were welcome to comment as well. She also asked for an advice and a contact to a good accountant.

Sara: *Belgia dala mi prace. Ciezka, wykanczajaca, ale dajaca godziwie zyc. Za to jestem jej wdzieczna. Ciesze się na to jakie zycie mogę oferować swoim dzieciom, ze one nie wiedza co to glod, ze możemy cieszyc się życiem. Nie oszukujmy się pieniądze szczęście daja. Bo szczęściem jest moc isc do kina, kupic wymarzona zabawke dziecku i zobaczyć jego radość, szczęściem jest korzystać z zycia z jakimiś tam dobrami materialnymi. W Polsce siadałam za biurkiem, jednak nie stać mnie było na kupno ladnej bluzeczki by się za tym biurkiem prezentować. Nie stać było mnie by zjeść. Tutaj pracuje i nie jest mi zle z tym co robie. Mimo podzialow społecznych, których nie da się nie zauwazyc. Nikt nie zaprzyjaźni się ze sprzataczka, niewiadomo jak by ja polubil, chyba ze stoi na tej samej polce.* [*The use of Polish characters follows the original text*; MS]	**Sara:** Belgium gave me work. Hard, exhausting, but enabling a good life. I am grateful for it. I am happy with the life I can offer to my children, that they do not know what hunger is, that we can enjoy our life. Let's not cheat ourselves, money gives happiness. Because happiness is being able to go to cinema, to buy a dream toy for your child and see its joy, happiness is to enjoy life with some of the material goods. In Poland, I sat behind the desk, but I could not afford to buy a nice blouse, so that I could be representative behind that desk. I did not have money to eat. I work here and I do not feel bad about what I am doing. Despite the social divisions, which you cannot not notice. Nobody will be friends with a cleaning lady, regardless of how much they would like her, unless they stand on the same shelf.

Figure 4.3: Excerpt from the e-mail interview with Sara from 18 October 2015

As we can see, work is the single most important motive for being a diaspora member. It is through hard work that Polish migrants will achieve a better life. So work is not just a motive in a narrative, it defines an ethos filling the chronotope of diaspora. Work overrules, as an ethos, every other aspect of life and personality, and work is constantly used as a moral benchmark for talking about life in the diaspora.

The following, randomly chosen, but meaningful examples illustrate all of this. They show that people who work are perceived as good people, while those who do not are perceived very negatively. This is how the moral vector of a particular frame extends over to identities. Through the examples visible in Figure 4.4, it becomes clear that the purpose of diaspora members to which strong moral judgements are attached, is that of work:

1	Z 5 odpowiedzi widzę, a tak zawsze z 500 komentarzy, że "nie poszedłbym za taką stawkę", "ktoś jeszcze za tyle pracuje". Powiem krótko: nie zesrajcie się w tym śnie. Like · Reply · 17w 19 a jakich odpowiedzi się spodziewasz o 11 rano? wszyscy, co zarabiają dobre pieniądze siedzą teraz w pracy, tylko nieroby siedzą o tej porze na fejsiku bądź ludzie ZZP Like · Reply · 17w 1	**M**: I can see 5 answers, but as always 500 comments that "I would not go to work for that money," "anybody still works for that money?" I will comment shortly: Don't shit yourselves in this dream. **F:** what kind of answers are you expecting at 11 in the morning? Everyone, who earns good money is at work at the moment, only an idler is at this hour on Facebook or self-employed people [*ZZP*: *one-person company*; MS].[42]

[42] This post has appeared on the Facebook forum for Polish people in the Netherlands on 25 July 2019. The entry came from a male who asked where he could earn more than 12 Euro netto, while not being self-employed.

2	Słowem w sedno Kuba 🙂 zgadzam się z Tobą, a szacunek należy się temu, kto na niego zasłuży bez względu na rodzaj wykonywanej pracy 🙂 Like · Reply · 1y 3 Cała prawda szacunek dla tych ludzi którzy ciężko pracują. Like · Reply · 1y	**M:** To the point Kuba, I agree with you, and respect is due to those who earned it, no matter what kind of work they are performing **F:** The whole truth respect to those people who work hard.[43]
3	To co chcesz załatwić jest tak proste że jest mi ciebie żal ,można to na spokojnie ogarnac samemu ,i nie wylewam żali tylko szlak mnie trafia jak widzę takie posty nierobów Like · Reply · 1y	**M:** The thing that you want to arrange is so easy that I feel sorry for you, you can easily arrange it for yourself, I am not moaning, only it drives me nuts when I see posts of such idlers.[44]
4	Wiesz, co mysle? Ze grubo przesadziles. Bo tu nie chodzi o wysmiewanie sie z ludzi, ktorzy ciezko pracuja, bo nikt nie otrzymuje pieniedzy za lezenie i zbijanie bakow. Post, zostal dodany dla zabawy. Przypuszczam, ze wiekszosc z nas ciezko zapierdziela, zeby sie tutaj utrzymac. Oceniles kobiete, po wygladzie jej paznokci i perfumach, ktorych uzywa. Ale, jesli kiedykolwiek ogladales programy typu,,Rolnik szuka zony, to powinienes widziec i wiedziec, ze czesto ludzie, ktorzy biora udzial w tych programach , sami tworza taki wizerunek, bo chcieliby Bog wie czego, a sami sa smiechu warci i pewnie zapracowali sobie na to, ze maja, to co maja. Ja pracuje w housekeepping , w hotelu. Sprzatam, i nie wstydze sie tego. Mam mieszkanie, ktore utrzymuje, place rachunki i nie daje du,,,,,py za pieniadze, a paznokcie lamia mi sie kazdego dnia ale staram sie jakos utrzymac je w formie. Wiec, nie mow mi, ze nie szanuje ludzi pracy. Wyluzuj troche i zacznij oddzielac wirtualny swiat, od realnego zycia. Milego wieczoru zycze Like · Reply · 1y 2	**F:** You know what I think? That you exaggerated so much! Because here it is not about ridiculing people who work hard, because nobody gets money for laying down and being lazy. The post was added for fun. I suppose that most of us work really hard to make a living here. You judged a woman based on the appearance of her nails and the perfumes that she uses. But if you ever watched programs such as 'Farmer is looking for a wife' [*Polish dating reality show*; MS] then you should see and know that often the people who participate in such programs, create this image for themselves, because they want God knows what, but they are ridiculous themselves, and probably they have earned what they have. I work in housekeeping, in a hotel. I clean and I am not ashamed of it. I have a flat that I maintain, I pay my bills and I do not f**ck for money, and my nails break every day, but I try to keep them in shape. So do not tell me that I do not respect working people. Chill out a bit and start distinguishing the real life from the virtual one. I wish you a pleasant evening.[45]

[43] These comments were a reply to a post with a video in which an individual, called Kuba expresses his attitudes and perceptions on the value of work and the appropriateness of pay for particular kinds of jobs. This entry appeared on 2 November 2018 on a Facebook group for Polish people in the Netherlands. Original video: https://www.facebook.com/mgrJakubCzarodziej/videos/2200767570164017/

[44] On 7 July 2018 a female has posed a question on a group for Polish people in the Netherlands. She wanted to know how to arrange a social benefit in Holland, but with a transfer to Poland, and if anyone had any experiences with it they were welcome to comment as well. She also asked for an advice and a contact to a good accountant.

[45] A male has posted an entry on a group for Polish people in the Netherlands on 4 October 2018 with an information regarding the final episode of a Polish edition of a dating series 'Farmer is looking for a wife'.

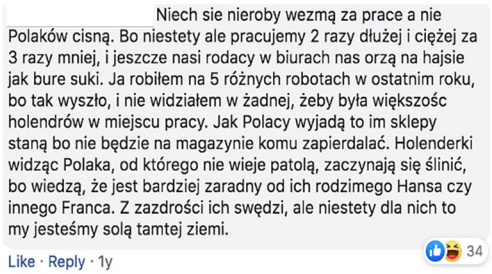
5		**M**: Idlers should start working and stop harassing the Poles. Because unfortunately we work here 2 times longer and heavier for 3 times less, and even our compatriots in work agencies rob us of money like twats. I have changed my job 5 times this year, because it worked out that way, but in none of them I saw the majority of workers being Dutch. If Polish people would leave, then their shops would close cause there would be no-one to work their asses off in the warehouses. The Dutch ladies who see a Pole, from whom you do not smell pathology [*Polish expression, which points to dysfunctional behaviors such as excessive drinking, smoking; domestic abuse, or even one who idles*; MS], start to salivate, because they know that he is more resourceful than their native Hans or Frans. They start to itch from jealousy, but unfortunately for them we are the salt of that earth.[46]

Figure 4.4: The examples of work frame extending over to identities

The examples in Figure 4.4 show the extraordinary strength of work as a moralized and heavily policed complex of actions, i.e. enforcing the existing rules and norms of interaction. It should be emphasized that 'work' is narrowly defined here, as a series of dedicated activities, not necessarily connected to indirect benefits, such as welfare, health insurance and unemployment benefit. On the contrary, relying on such benefits is explicitly stigmatized. This stage of framing is that of actions, and actions operating under the moral code of the work frame can be seen as enabling or withholding and by extension identity related.

In Figure 4.5, the examples 1 and 2 illustrate very strong moral and at the same time evaluative perceptions that consequently point out the formats that operate in particular frames. The statements reflect the generally accepted moral values that originate from frames and specify the norms valid in a particular society or group, but at the same time they are individualized and contested by other actors involved in the interaction. The function of such statements is twofold. On the one hand they reflect the moral values and norms that operate in a particular frame, while on the other, they can shape, replace, or even change the perceptions of others. Framing is an active process and a never finished one. It

[46] This comment comes from an entry on a Facebook forum for Polish people in the Netherlands from 10 January 2018. The initial entry was just an article that was shared online "*Waar blijven de Polen na werktijd? Ook voor bedrijven is dat steeds grotere zorg*" [What are Poles doing after their working hours? Even for companies it becomes a growing concern; MS]. The article expressed the concern that during the seasonal peaks many Polish migrants (among others) are hired in the Netherlands and their housing is often unknown. Many of them might be staying with too many individuals in a rental home, sleep in cars or reside somewhere illegally. See the original article at: https://www.bd.nl/waalwijk/waar-blijven-de-polen-na-werktijd-ook-voor-bedrijven-is-dat-een-steeds-grotere-zorg~a81fc377/?fbclid=IwAR3wOE4DLgT4tC3ypTNiZJ1qcoysKcf04C-S2KopJUaJFWDLqAz7MsXQPsc&referrer=http%3A%2F%2Fm.facebook.com

is the process of persuasion in which one moral standpoint becomes dominant and constitutes the primary frame. Blommaert (2018b: 20; my translation) explains this process as follows:

> Frames constantly evolve: as our social experiences expand, renew or disappear, we replace them with the new ones, or we adjust the old ones. After all, we want to stay normal [sensu Foucault; MS], adjusted to and integrated into social environment in which we live.

In order to adjust to social situations, individuals make use of the repertoire of frames that provide the logic for interactions with others. It means that frames are necessary to know how to react in social interaction, but also that they result from social experiences.

1	Kolejny powód do siedzenia na dupach niedługo katar uznany zostanie za chorobę cywilazycyjna...Tylko chyba nam Polakom to nie grozi my nauczeni jesteśmy pracy i sie jej nie boimy.Ciekawe co by było gdyby tak lekarzowi w Pl oznajmić iż sie ma "burn out"😎Umarł by w butach! Wydaje mi sie ze zwyczajnie lewusy i nieroby korzystają z takowego wyjścia...No ale to tylko moje zdanie!Pozdrawiam klasę uczciwie pracująca 😉 Like · Reply · 3y 1	**F:** Another reason to sit still on your ass. Soon a runny nose will be considered a disease of civilization. Only this is probably not a threat to us Poles, we know what it means to work and we are not afraid of it. I wonder what it would be like if you would tell a doctor in PL that you have a "burn out." He would die on the spot! I think that only nimrods and loafers make use of it… But this is only my opinion. Greetings to the honest working class.[47]
2	Socjal powinien byc zniesiony prawie calkowicie.. Tylko dla osob chorych i inwalidow powinien zostac.. Reszta won do roboty albo zdychac z glodu. Like · Reply · 3y 3	**M:** Welfare should be abolished almost completely.. Only for the sick and disabled it should stay.. The rest out to work or starve to death.

Figure 4.5: Commentators' perspectives on welfare – from frame and the moral values to formats and norms

4.2.2 Work is a Life Trajectory

Narratives of work dominated several of my long biographical interviews with Polish participants in my study. I will illustrate this with the migration history of two participants. A male participant from the Netherlands, whom I will refer to as Gustaw and a female participant, from Belgium nicknamed Gloria.

Gustaw migrated to the Netherlands in 2008 pressured by his wife who saw this as an opportunity to improve their economic situation. The primary reason for this decision was a perspective of a better income compared to what he earned in Poland (see Figure 4.6).

[47] This is a comment to a meme posted on a Facebook forum for Polish people in Antwerp on 1 December 2016 by one of its members. The post asked: How is it with you dear ladies? And under it there was a meme that showed a hard-working lady on a first day of work, and one year later she was being lazy and did not care about getting fired. The comment was a reply to another comment under the post that said that Belgium officially accepted burn out as an illness.

Gustaw: *Myśl o wyjeździe zaczęła się od mojej żony i kuzyna, oczywiście mojej żony. Namową było to, że praca w Holandii przynosi dwa razy większe zyski aniżeli w Polsce. I tak po 3 miesiącach namowy wyjechałem i zacząłem pracę na północy Holandii w Dronten.*	**Gustaw:** The idea to migrate originated from my wife and cousin, of course my wife's cousin. Her argument was that work in Holland brings twice as much profit compared to Poland. And so, after 3 months of persuasion I started working in the north of Holland in Dronten.

Figure 4.6: Excerpt from the interview with Gustaw from 3 October 2017

Even though Gustaw was not particularly optimistic about this idea at first, his wife persuaded him to migrate to the Netherlands to work for the same company as her cousin already did. Gustaw's migration implied that he would need to leave his wife and two children in Poland, while he would relocate alone to the Netherlands in order to work. The places that he lived in were always selected with reference to his working place. He simply lived as close to work as possible. And so, when he worked in Dronten, he lived in the close proximity of his company. He was employed as a mechanic for 2.5 years until things got a bit complicated and he started to think about another job. The job itself was very demanding and did not leave him much time to himself (see Figure 4.7). It structured his life completely, because he simply did not have any time left to do anything else. Gustaw's life revolved around his work, and even though the work was what he came to the Netherlands for in the first place, it was often very exploitative.

Gustaw: *Opowiem Pani jak wygląda życie imigranta w Holandii. Pracę, którą zacząłem w 2008, moja praca była od godziny 8 rano do godziny 21 wieczór. Z tym, że w ciągu dnia była tylko godzinna przerwa, 4 przerwy, 2 po 15, 1 pół godzinna na obiad o 17 i do 20 praca, później, po pracy powrót, kąpiel, spanie i tak moje 2,5 roku pierwsze zleciało. Nawet nie wiem kiedy. W soboty praca była troszkę krótsza, do godziny 15, 17. Weekend był na odespanie, na zresetowanie się po całym tygodniu pracy i od poniedziałku powtórka z poprzedniego tygodnia. Po 2.5 roku jak zmieniłem pracę.*	**Gustaw:** I will tell you how the life of an immigrant in Holland looks like. The work that I started in 2008, my work started at 8 in the morning until 21 in the evening. During the day, you only had an hour break, 4 breaks, 2 for 15 minutes and one half an hour break for dinner at 17.00 and work until 20.00, later, returning home, shower, sleeping and this is how the first 2.5 years flew by. The weekend was to sleep off, to reset after a full working week and on Monday it would start all over again. After 2.5 years I changed my job.

Figure 4.7: Excerpt from the interview with Gustaw from 3 October 2017

Through an employment agency, Gustaw found work in Tilburg, and immediately moved to the south of the Netherlands. Work was the only thing that had kept him in the north of the country in the first place. Gustaw worked through a Polish-Dutch employment agency for 1.5 years at a window manufacturing company. After this time, things became very difficult for him. Due to serious health problems that he was experiencing for a couple of months, he was no longer able to continue his work. This complicated many things for him, he did not have any income, the employment agency wanted to make sure he returned to Poland, so that they would not need to pay his sick leave. Gustaw was terrified that without a job he would not be able to provide for his family and would not be able to cover his living costs

in the Netherlands. He was however aware, that the conditions in which he worked could have had an impact on his health condition (see Figure 4.8).

Gustaw: *Rok po przepracowaniu w następnej pracy, nieszczęśliwie zachorowałem. Być może, że było to spowodowane przesileniem, bo też pracowałam od godziny 7-21, w soboty do godziny 13. Być może, to był powód mojego zachorowania. Do końca nie jestem pewny, być może.*	**Gustaw:** After one year of working in my next job, I unfortunately got ill. It could have been a result of exhaustion, because I have been working from 7-21, on Saturdays until 13. This could have been the reason for me getting sick. I am not quite sure, but it could have been.

Figure 4.8: Excerpt from the interview with Gustaw from 3 October 2017

The nature, organization and structure of his work reflect the ways through which the majority of Polish migrants enter the labor market in the Netherlands. Different types of work create particular circumstances of life. Working for employment agencies implied that Gustaw was one of the many Poles in the Netherlands who are completely dependent on their employers in terms of housing and jobs. The structure of the employment system for migrants in Netherlands makes the move to migrate very easy, by offering this 'all-inclusive' migration package, but at the same time, it 'helps' completely unprepared migrants to enter the host country.

The illness in Gustaw's case was the moment during which he had time to reflect upon his work and alter his perspective. Gustaw decided that he was not going to work for these kinds of agencies anymore. He is still willing to work hard but he does not want to feel exploited. After two years of sickness, he entered a work integration project that helped him find another job. Gustaw works now for a Dutch employer, and while he does not earn more, he works with other Dutch people, has contact with customers and feels that he is appreciated within his company. He is no longer one of the many Poles whose lives revolve around work and nothing beside it. His new job created entirely new possibilities for him, but also posed new challenges. Gustaw had to find an apartment and learn some Dutch in order to integrate within the neighborhood. This is when he realized that the life of a migrant changes completely when you have some agency. In his situation it was possible, because he was forced by his illness to reflect on the way in which the work he was doing impacted his life. Many migrants, though, do not get this opportunity and are still stuck in a vicious circle in which their life is fully organized by the work they perform.

4.2.3 The Moral Value of Work

Gloria[48] moved to Belgium in 1995, because of a difficult financial situation in Poland. Her restaurant in Poland went bankrupt and she was left with debts that she had to repay. Her husband moved to Belgium first and managed to find some renovation works in the Jewish community. Due to the fact that he worked in an informal labor sector, his earnings were unstable. Therefore, Gloria was forced to join him in order to make ends meet, and to leave

[48] Gloria was the very first respondent that I interviewed in Belgium in 2014, but also someone whose life trajectory is the most well-known to me as we stayed in a close contact throughout the years. This part is based on a several interviews conducted throughout my research, but also on several Messenger conversations.

their two children in Poland with her family. The pressure to regulate her debts in Poland was very high and she was coerced to move to Belgium before her husband actually managed to find a job for her. The beginnings were difficult, but she started to search for a job from within a Jewish district in Antwerp, which was known for offering informal employment to Polish people. Gloria quickly found a job as a seamstress in a Jewish tailor shop, as this was her actual profession, and she proved to be very good at it.

The nature of the Jewish community was frequently expressed in a one-liner that was reiterated in many of the interviews that I conducted: "The Jew is going to give you a job but he is not going to pay a lot." Gloria believed that the advantage of Jews was their ability to speak Polish (see Figure 4.9).

Gloria: *Tylko u Żydów można było łatwiej o prace, a też i dlatego bo bardzo dużo Żydów mówi po Polsku, wiec i z komunikacją problemu nie było.* [*The use of Polish characters follows the original text*; MS]	**Gloria:** It was easier to find a job with Jews, also because a lot of Jews speak Polish, so there were no problems with communication.

Figure 4.9: Excerpt from the e-mail interview with Gloria from 4 November 2014

Jobs in the Jewish community had the lowest 'social status' – if a person started there, it was because there was no better option available. The jobs in the Jewish community were also much easier to find than the ones in the Belgian community.

Gloria: *U Żydów można było dużo łatwiej pracę znaleźć, nie? Było więcej tej pracy niż u Belgów.*	**Gloria:** It was much easier to find a job with Jews, there was much more work than at Belgians.

Figure 4.10: Excerpt from the interview with Gloria from 17 October 2015

The Jewish community was a very important starting point for many new immigrants, especially for Polish women. It was a first port of call and a safety net, through which unexperienced, new immigrants managed to make their living. Even though Gloria started from work in this Jewish district, like so many others, she was relatively well-paid, because she possessed specialized skills that many other Polish women did not have. She was able to earn a relatively good salary by means of her day job as a seamstress, but in order to pay off her debts she had to complement her work in a tailor shop with cleaning in a Jewish restaurant at night, and occasionally in Jewish houses as well, especially during Jewish festive periods such as Pesach. This implied that working activities completely filled her life, but also affected her marriage and eventually led to the separation with her husband.

Gloria: *Nie było czasu na znajomych i rozrywkę. Zero życia prywatnego. Dzięki temu kupiłam mieszkanie w Polsce. Byłam sama, samodzielna. Życie w samotności.*	**Gloria:** There was no time for friends or entertainment. Zero private life. Thanks to this I bought an apartment in Poland. I was alone, independent. A life of solitude.

Figure 4.11: Excerpt from the interview with Gloria from 3 October 2014

Work from within a Jewish district offered very particular opportunities to often helpless Polish people entering Belgium without sufficient means and in need of immediate income and accommodation. Work in the Jewish community was easy to find, but it tended to have an exploitative character – work was underpaid, for long hours and often in precarious conditions. Nonetheless, Gloria worked from within the Jewish community for eleven years, up until the point when the tailor shop closed because the owner went into retirement.

Gloria: *To było tak, że początki jak ktoś nie znał języka powiedzmy, no, bo większość ludzi wtedy bez języka przyjeżdżała w tamtych latach. Pierw startował u Żydów i albo szedł do szkoły na język, albo się sam uczył i jak już się potrafił dogadać, czy po angielsku, czy po niderlandzku, czy po niemiecku, czy po francusku, to wtedy się szukało pracy u Belgów. I tak albo koleżanka koleżankę, tam via-via, albo do tego klubu polskiego.*	**Gloria:** It was like that, in the beginning if someone did not know the language, let's say, because the majority of people arrived without language at that time. First, you needed to start at Jews and or you went to school to learn the language, or you learned on your own and when you were able to communicate in English, or Dutch, or German or French, then you could look for a job at Belgians. And then friend helped a friend, indirectly, or you went to this Polish club.

Figure 4.13: Excerpt from the interview with Gloria from 17 October 2015

After that, Gloria started looking for a job in Belgian tailoring shops, but there was not a lot of work for her, and she could not make ends meet. This meant that she had to turn to the most popular working segment for Polish females: the cleaning industry.

Gloria: *Obcokrajowcy podzieleni są na grupy. Polacy dobrze pracują. Mężczyźni na budowie, a kobiety dobrze sprzątają. Są zaszufladkowane.*	**Gloria:** Foreigners are divided into groups. Polish people work well. Men at the construction site and females clean well. They are filed.

Figure 4.12: Excerpt from the interview with Gloria from 3 October 2014

Gloria first started cleaning at Jewish homes, but later managed to get a job at a Belgian household. Work at Belgian households was perceived as more prestigious than the jobs offered in the Jewish community, and even Gloria who was quite lucky with her job at a Jewish tailor shop acknowledges that.

Gloria: *Jak miały od początku pracę u Belgów, no to miały szczęście, nie, a ja zaczęłam u Żydów, no bo ja z tym szyciem, nie i ja, ja nie narzekałam, ja dobrze zarabiałam.*	**Gloria:** If they worked at Belgians from the beginning then they were lucky, you know, but I started at Jews, because I was a seamstress, and I, I did not complain, I earned well.

Figure 4.13: Excerpt from the interview with Gloria from 17 October 2015

In 2009 Gloria started to work legally. It became possible for her after the labor market in Belgium opened for Polish nationals. But already in 2004 during the legislation of the bottleneck professions, and the introduction of Service Vouchers (*dienstencheques*) which aimed at enabling lower educated people to exit unemployment and illegal laborers to engage in formal labor, many Polish cleaning ladies started to work legally. The official work offered social benefits and generally had a much higher status.

Gloria: *Praca legalna… no… była dobrze postrzegana, z jednej strony bo masz, jesteś ubezpieczona, no dodatki, dodatki to tam nieduże były. No niby te wakacyjne, ale to było na tej zasadzie, że jak dostawałaś to wakacyjne to był zwykły kontakt pracowniczy – arbeider, nie? To jak masz wakacje, to masz tylko jedne pieniądze, nie? Czyli… tak jakbyś nic nie traciła, nie? No. Bo jak masz… inny kontrakt, ten taki umysłowy, jak to się nazywa bo ja zapomniałam. No to masz, na przykład bierzesz wakacyjne pieniądze i oprócz tego masz pensje normalną, nie?*	**Gloria:** Legal work was… well… well perceived from one side, because you have, you are insured, and benefits, benefits were very small. Well, actually you had the holiday money, but it was like that, that if you got this holiday money on a regular working contract – arbeider, right? [*'arbeider' is a basic Belgian employment contract for workers performing manual labor*; MS]. So when you are on a holiday, you only have one money, right? So.. it was as if you did not lose anything, right? Because if you have a different contract, the mind one, how do you call it, because I forgot. [*Gloria meant the contracts for white collar workers, referenced in Belgium as 'hoofdarbeid', i.e mental labor*; MS] Then you have, for example, you take holiday money and on top of that you get a regular salary, right?

Figure 4.13: Excerpt from the interview with Gloria from 17 October 2015

The example of Gloria illustrates that some jobs are seen as more enabling and therefore are more sought after than others. The moral value attached to the associations with regard to different kinds of work, structures the actions of individuals involved. It is clear that Gloria organizes her story – the experiences and perceptions of her life trajectory as a migrant – in line with the frame of 'work'. This frame is also what enables and guides social actions in accordance with a moral vector. Work in fact tells a lot about a person's identity, and it is not different in the case of Gloria. In essence she is a migrant, an economic migrant who came to Belgium to work, and work became a primary frame guiding and structuring her interactions with others and defining her identity. She was a hard-working migrant and this was what she was supposed to do.

4.2.4 Conflicting Frames

As we can see from the previously discussed examples, the notion of work can assume a number of specific shapes, i.e. particular types of work are seen as more enabling and more in line with a general ethos of work in the Polish diaspora than others. It is not enough to just gain an income from a set of activities; work needs to be organized, continuous and disciplined. The importance of this perspective is best illustrated through the case of one of

my participants, Raf, whom I interviewed in Berchem in 2015, and have occasionally corresponded with via Facebook throughout the last four years. During the one-hour interview I soon discovered that Raf was in a very difficult period of his life, as his girlfriend had recently left him. His explanation of the way in which it occurred, and why, is a very clear example of the significance that work plays in Raf's life.

In the part of the interview dealt with below, Raf's and his girlfriend's attitudes towards work are made very explicit. His girlfriend's perception of work differs from the one he holds, which poses a threat to their relationship. The lack of correspondence between the views they hold about work is the primary cause of their separation. Both individuals attach very strong moral values to the frame of work. Raf's view diverges from the one that his girlfriend holds, which is in line with the primary frame of work within Polish communities. In fact, both Raf and his girlfriend hold quite opposing views, which are so dominant that they cannot be replaced with that of the other person, and as a result of that spill over to other aspects of life as well.

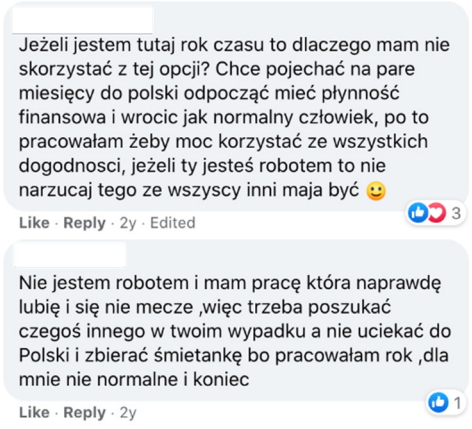
Raf	*I ona, wiesz, z dnia na dzień zostawiła mnie. Powiedziała, że do koleżanki. Ja się wtedy dowiedziałem.*	And you know, she left me overnight. She said she was going to her friend. That's when I found out.
MS	*A wiesz jaki był powód?*	Do you know what was the reason?
Raf	*Powód był taki, że ja nie pracowałem, nie, znaczy nie pracowałem, no pracowałem wiesz dorywczo na czarno, ale to nie było tak, że nigdy nie było… zawsze było wszystko opłacone, zawsze coś było, tylko ją to wkurzało, że ja taki wolny jestem trochę, że ja nic nie robię, nie?* *Ja tak dorywczo sobie pracowałem, trochę tydzień, później mi się nie chciało to sobie siedziałem, nie?*	The reason was that I was not working, no, I mean not working, well, I worked, you know, from time to time in black [*the expression working in black means having an informal job, which is illegal*; MS], but it wasn't like that, that we never had anything… Everything was always paid for, we always had something, but she was irritated that I was so free, that I do not do anything, you know? I worked occasionally, for a week, then I did not feel like it anymore, so I sat at home, right?
MS	*A ona pracowała?*	And did she work?
Raf	*Ona pracowała. Na początku jak przyjechała, nie pracowała. Przez pierwsze 3 miesiące nie. I taka Polka zjechała do Polski i wszystkie godziny jej oddała. I ona do tej pory ma te godziny, na twardo, naprawdę, bo ma ciężką pracę, Wszystkie kobieta jej godziny oddała i zjechała do Polski. Ona miała 39 godzin, ona miała full-etat, naprawdę na farcie, wycwaniła się. I to było tak, ona 3 miesiące nie pracowała, ja pracowałem i później, ja jakoś właśnie już nie pracowałem, ja pracowałem na czarno, ale jak, patrz, ja ciągle bylem na dopie, nie? Dostawałem od państwa, miałem 800 euro i jeszcze na czarno, to miałem około 2 tysięcy. Wiesz o co chodzi. Także, było wiesz, wszystko było. Ona nie pracowała. Później*	She worked. In the beginning when she arrived here, she did not. For the first 3 months not. And then one Polish lady returned to Poland and gave her all the hours. And until this day she has these hours, hard, really, because she has a heavy job. The woman gave her all the hours and returned to Poland. She had 39 hours, she had a full-time job, it was a real luck. She turned into a real smart ass. So it was like that, she did not work for 3 months, and I worked, and later I somehow did not work anymore, I worked in black but how, look, I have always been on benefits, right? I was getting from the state, I had 800 euro and also in black, so I had

ja nie pracowałem i ona zaczęła tą pracę. I ona tym, no i przyznaje, tez czasami popalałem sobie trawkę czy cokolwiek, spotykałem się z kolegami. No nie wiem. W ogóle ona wiedziała o tym, także dużo rzeczy mi tam wypominała. Nie wiem, w ogóle to są takie błahostki, to nic poważnego takiego Ci powiem, nie?	around two thousand. You know what I mean. So you know we had, we had everything. She did not work. Then I did not work and she started working. And she with that, well I admit, that sometimes I smoked some weed or something, I was meeting up with friends. Well, I do not know. By the way she knew it, but she reproached me for a lot of things. I do not know, in general these are trifles, it is nothing serious, I can tell you, right?

Figure 4.14: Excerpt from the interview with Raf from 13 October 2015

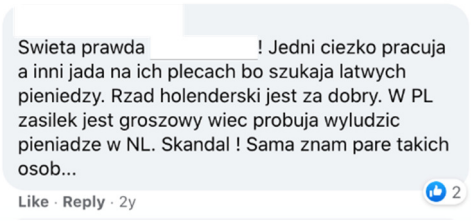
Raf strongly believes that his girlfriend dumped him because he was "not working." However, he himself has an equally strong idea that he was doing enough, because he was able to pay the bills and he was never short of anything. Raf's perception is in conflict with the traditional image of a Polish immigrant, who is expected to work hard after migrating to Belgium. Raf himself is a laid-back person, who wants to enjoy life, "meet up with friends," and as long as he makes the ends meet, he does not see the necessity to work more, because in his perception they "had everything."

This clash of attitudes and perspectives towards work is frequently encountered in the online interactions that I observed as well. There are people who, like Raf, believe that if they have a right to get a benefit, they should make use of it. One of those examples can be illustrated by means of a post from 7 July 2018, retrieved from a Facebook group for Polish people in the Netherlands. The post is a request by a woman for assistance and advice with regard to obtaining a social allowance in the Netherlands, and the possibility of a transfer to Poland while on welfare. Her entry initiated a long discussion on the topic of work, in which both groups – pro and against getting the benefit – made their voices explicit. See the example in Figure 4.15.



F1: If I am here already for a year, why wouldn't I make use of that option? I want to go for a few months to Poland and rest and maintain the financial liquidity and come back like a normal human being, that's why I worked, so that I could make use of all the benefits, if you are a robot then don't impose it on all others.

M: I am not a robot and I have a job which I really like and is not making me tired, so in your case you should look for something else instead of running off to Poland collecting the cream of the crop [*benefits*; MS] because you worked for a year, for me it is not normal and that's about it.



F2: You are so right (M)! Some people work hard and others ride on their coattails, because they are looking for easy money. The Dutch government is too good. In PL [*Poland*; MS] the benefit is so low, so they are trying to extort the money in the NL [*the Netherlands*; MS]. Outrage! I know a few people like that myself…

Figure 4.15: Discussions about work – pro and against the unemployment benefit

The examples above show that in practice work can have a variety of concrete shapes, but that not all of these shapes are equally valued. The primary frame of work appears to dictate a specific organization of work-related activities, the organization of life around such work-related activities and an ethos of relentless effort, or to use Sara's words quoted earlier: "hard and exhausting" work. The primary frame of work is a dominant framework within Polish communities, but it is not the only one and can be contested in superdiverse environments. This very specific understanding of work is what defines a kind of core Polish identity. In what follows, I will focus more specifically on this kind of Polishness.

4.3 The Frame of Polishness

In the previous parts of this chapter, I have explained how the work frame enters as a primary frame in the interactions among Polish people. The frame of work is therefore a powerful dimension indexing particular identities. It is an evaluative identifier of Polishness but it is probably not unique – Chinese, Japanese or Spanish migrant workers may have the same primary frame. The frame of work however does (also) characterize the Polishness encountered in my research. The aim of this section is to show how individuals explicitly connect identities to the moral vector within a primary frame of work.

Figure 4.16 shows how Max defined the Polish people in Antwerp in the interview with me that took place in 2015.[49]

Max: *Są dwie kategorie Polaków: Polak i Polus. Polak to człowiek z normalnym podejściem do życia, pracy. Człowiek ze zdrowym światopoglądem, niekoniecznie wykształcony. Polus to Polak drugiej kategorii ze względu na poglądy, świadomość i podejście do życia. Na przykład, Polus potrafi podejść, ukraść rower i go sprzedać. Idzie do pracy, napije się w pracy i robi chałę. Jest źle postrzegany.*	**Max:** There are two categories of Polish people: *Polak* and *Polus*. Polak is a person with a normal approach to life and work. A person with a healthy world view, not necessarily educated. Polus is a Polish person of a second category [*lower category*; MS], because of his views, awareness and attitude towards life. For example, Polus dares to come up to you, steal your bike and sell it further. He goes to work, drinks at work, embarrassing everybody. He is perceived negatively.

Figure 4.16: Excerpt from the interview with Max from 23 August 2015

[49] I had five interviews with Max. This statement originates from the third interview.

The quote in Figure 4.16 points back to the issues that were already discussed in previous parts of this study. The Polish diaspora is not homogeneous and in fact consists of various (niche) communities. This also implies that 'Polish' is not a universal identity, because there are different kinds of Polish people and different versions of Polishness. The difference between the two kinds, as illustrated by Max, is fundamentally moral: good Polish people versus bad Polish people. Max offered me this statement without any direct prompt from my side, and the statement can serve as an indication of the frequency and intensity with which Polishness comes up as a topic of debate within the Polish diaspora. As seen from Max's statement, good Polish people work hard and they work in the right way. So the primary frame of work pervades the frame of Polishness and operates like a dominant moral vector in the field of Polishness as well.

The above analysis illustrates that the moral aspect of a frame is a very powerful vector, guiding every aspect and domain of social life. This dynamic of normality versus abnormality in any recognizable social situation is how frames operate in practice. A frame is a moral-interpretive dimension of a chronotope. It provides an interpretive scheme and moral orientations that can be enacted through various formats. Every social action initially needs to be recognized through frames, as moral orientations form the basis for the normative systems operating within a behavioral dimension of chronotopes, i.e. formats and scripts. In other words, formats make frames 'real', by the structuring of behavioral conduct by means of moral orientations. This is going to be the topic of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

Formats

The previous chapter illustrated how different frames enter social reality through moral orientations and how multiple frames can be simultaneously present in a 'single' interaction.

After having shown that frames represent the moral-interpretive dimension of chronotopes, i.e. moralized behavioral scripts, let us now turn to the behavioral norms of conduct specific to chronotopes. Two levels can be distinguished here: the first relates to the general and collective ordered practices, which can be captured, following Garfinkel (2002), under the term 'formats'. This will be the topic of this chapter. In Chapter 6, I shall turn to the second level, i.e. sets of small norms governing particular forms of concrete behavior, called 'scripts'. The relation between formats and scripts is one of inclusion: a format can include numerous concrete scripts. It is important to mention here that formats and scripts can only be properly understood if they are seen as moralized. So, whenever the notion of a format or script is mentioned, it inevitably implies the involvement of a particular frame that overarches the interaction.

The aim of this chapter is to provide a theoretical background to the notion of format and to illustrate how formats structure specific activities in online interactions. The cases examined here illustrate how interactions (initially) unfold in a format of solidarity, which consequently structures the response through concrete behavioral scripts.

5.1 The Concept of Format

Garfinkel's (2002) perspective of 'formatted action' is rooted in a broader sociological tradition, namely that of symbolic interactionism, where an action perspective is absolutely central in the investigation of social phenomena. This is because meaning is constructed in the process of interaction with others in very specific contexts (Franzese & Seigler, 2020), or to be more accurate, in specific chronotopes. Thus, the focus shifts from that of individuals and groups towards a situated action (Blommaert, 2019c). Only by focusing on situated actions it is possible to explore and understand the logic and social structure underlying meaning making and the achievement of mutual understanding. Groups emerge from interactions, and their involvement in those actions is based on

> (...) the recognizability of actions and their properties of order. Social actions occur as formats, the characteristic features of which are recognizable to others and, thus, intelligible as action x, y or z. (Blommaert, 2019c: 4)

While frames help to interpret and understand a social action as an instance of a particular type, the recognizability of social events is jointly achieved through frames and formats. In other words, it is possible to recognize situated behavior (scripts) because they fit into particular formats and frames. Formats bring order to those events, by structuring the behavior of the participants involved: meaning is the effect here and ordered micro-practices, i.e. scripts are the ingredients to achieve such effect (Blommaert, 2019c). Therefore, formatted behavior produces meaning through the recognition of social order from actual, situated conduct.

Norms are present in every interaction, but they are established by people interactionally, so they need to be seen as resulting from action. Regardless of the fact that social structures are inherent in every social action, they are actively constructed in the interaction with others. There is no abstract form of a format. "Social order [is; MS] a locally accomplished social fact" (Blommaert, 2019c: 4). What is known in Durkheimian sociology as 'social fact' according to Rawls (2002) actually stands for recognizable, interactionally established action:

> Social "facts" are rather sounds and movements, witnessable actions on the part of participants in social gatherings, that must be recognizable to others as actions of a very particular sort, in order for social processes to have any coherence, or intelligibility, for participants. (Rawls, 2002: 21)

Through observations of situated interactions, i.e. social life, a researcher is able to attend to a larger and broader picture, because local enactments of social order are pointing to the features of social structures of society (Blommaert, 2019c). These principles are rooted in the heart of the Garfinkelian ethnomethodological approach, which in essence is all about the formatting of an action.

> If one assumes, as Garfinkel does, that the meaningful, patterned, and orderly character of everyday life is something that people must work to achieve, then one must also assume that they have some methods for doing so. (Rawls, 2002: 5)

These methods are the ways in which people create social order in the interactions with each other in highly specific contexts (Rawls, 2002) and they can be instantiated by "congregational work of producing social facts" (Garfinkel, 2002: 190). The congregational work is a collaborative "work of producing accountable ordinary things" in the interaction with other people (Garfinkel, 2002: 245). Formats can be defined as "the coherence of practices resided not in the intentions of the actors but in the coherent production of mutually oriented action appropriate to the situation" (Rawls, 2006: 27), what Rawls elsewhere also qualifies as "orders of practice" (Rawls, 2004: 4). Formats, in that sense, are necessarily co-constructed and recognized orders of practice.

The most important features of formatted social actions are reflexivity and recognizability of the properties of order operating within a specific social action (Blommaert, 2019c; Rawls, 2002). Reflexivity refers to the fact that individuals who are involved in an interaction are themselves responsible for the formatting of action and establishing the order and behavioral rules of conduct, but it is a collective process, because "no social action is "individ-

ual" in any sense of the term" (Blommaert, 2019c: 4). Interaction is a process of order implementation that becomes recognizable only after it has actually been executed, which means that formats are produced in the interaction through congregational work and that they need to be learned by individuals in order for them to be recognized.

Blommaert (2019c) explains that situated social action and the formats in which it unfolds, i.e. the recognizable features of action with normative patterns attached to it, should however not be seen as constraining an individual, but should rather be taken as a given, because "people rather "enter into" the orderliness of situated social action, as soon as such order is recognizable, and attribute intelligibility to their own actions in that way" (p. 4). This means that people convey meaning to others by acting upon widely accepted modes of conduct, recognizable as specific formats. The recognition of interaction order is therefore a means for meaning making and being understood by others but also carries very specific moral and normative expectations with regard to the modes of conduct.

In other words, through the lens of situated communicative actions, it is possible to observe social orders and structures (Blommaert, 2019b), and therefore, in this research, interaction will be the basic unit in analyzing the 'social' in sociolinguistics, replacing the long tradition of using existing socio-cultural groups as basic units. The reason for adopting this approach in this chapter lays at the very core of the online interactions' character, because very little can be assumed with regard to groups and identities in an online context and "we usually only have the actions as hard evidence" (p. 489). The communicative resources consisting of individual language repertoires and online discursive means deployed by individuals in their interactions with others should be seen as methods for congregational work that unfolds in generally recognizable formats (Blommaert, 2019b).

Formatted behavior sits next to a number of related concepts in the existing literature, such as genre (Blommaert, 2008) or choreography of assembly (Gerbaudo, 2012). All of these notions are useful, as they revolve around strict formatting of actual behavior. These notions can be seen as specific examples of formats. Following Blommaert (2008) genre, similar to formats, helps to recognize a communicative act as belonging to a particular social or cultural category through its ordered organization of details.

The process of formatting can also be described as a "symbolic construction of public space" (Gerbaudo, 2012: 5). Gerbaudo's work, focusing on the role of social media for political activism, illustrates that formats are just as relevant online as they are offline. In his view, the role of social media and the way in which people make use of its affordances is crucial for understanding contemporary political activism. This form of behavior is an example of formatted behavior as well:

> Social media have been chiefly responsible for the construction of a *choreography of assembly* as a process of symbolic construction of public space which facilitates and guides the physical *assembling* of a highly dispersed and individualised constituency. (Gerbaudo, 2012: 5)

While the notion of genre is particularly helpful when it comes to understanding communication, and the notion of choreography of assembly for making sense of political activism, the concept of format is not limited to language nor to other particular forms of behavior. It is useful for recognizing actions as belonging to a particular category and structuring the norms of conduct. And here, Garfinkel's (2002) example of a queue is a good illustration. It is recognized through congregational work (forming a queue), and even though the modes

of conduct are not made explicit, the norms are immediately recognizable and followed. Thus, a format is a collective conduct, an ordered social practice defining scripts through which it is realized. It is the action that leads to the emergence of specific groups. Consequently, individual actions are always evaluated against the wider social background in a particular chronotope and they form a reference on the basis of which a particular identity category is ascribed to a person by others. We know who people are because of their actions, through a close observation of formatted interactions. It is clear that groups need to follow formats – recognizable and meaningful normative systems, which ensure mutual understanding in society (Blommaert, 2019c).

The remaining part of this chapter aims to focus on participants' actions and interactions and see how formats direct congregational work and how individuals construct formats and structure their behavior in accordance with them.

5.2 Online Solidarity with a Bum

Ana, a member of the Polish Facebook group directed towards the Poles living in Anterp, Życie w Antwerpii, posted the following message (see Figure 5.1) on 7 March 2018. The message was very poorly written, but surprisingly did not cause any rebuke as the motive of the message seemed to play a more important role than its content in this case.[50] In a few days' time, the message generated 96 responses, 86 likes and was shared 39 times.

It was an unusual sight for this forum as this Facebook group is not the most popular group among Poles in Antwerp, counting only 9,247 members. In general, this public group generates very few responses to its posts. It functions more as a marketplace, rather than a place to debate or discuss interesting issues. One of the more popular groups, with more members, is Polacy w Antwerpii, which counts 24,082 members, and generates much more activity on the board, and hence many more responses. It is very interesting that despite the fact that the public group has different functionality on a daily basis, the post generated a large amount of interest and responses.

The original message shows how relevant frames and consequently formats actually emerge in practice. The author of the post, Ana, describes a specific problem. She met a boy, Patryk, who was asking for food in front of a supermarket. The way in which Patryk is described is based on Ana's moral evaluation. The fact that Patryk was not asking for money but food is emphasized, because it implies that he must have actually been hungry and desperate. Ana ascribes a specific identity to Patryk based on her initial observations. She states that the conversation was initiated in English, which indexes a particular level of education and intelligence. In addition to that, Patryk is described by the author of the post as "a nice and sympathetic Pole." This description does not go in line with the characteristics of a homeless person who does not want to work. From the perspective of a work frame and the general moral vector attached to it, the behavior of a homeless person who is not working would not be viewed positively, and begging in particular is negatively marked behavior,

[50] The data used in Chapter 7 show evidence to the contrary. Language competence was raised in many discussions that I have observed online. The linguistic errors of others were often identified and corrected by others in a form of what can be called online censorship. The format of Polish language competences often triggered others to point out the expected scripts to other commentators.

as we have seen in Chapter 4. It would be regarded as abnormal and would not elicit a positive behavioral response.

However, the way in which Ana describes Patryk to the members of the forum places him in a different light: it evokes different moral vectors attached to particular domains in social life. Patryk does not fit the regular frame of a bum and is excused by circumstances from a negative moral evaluation within a frame of work.

Ana: today I have met next to lidl a young boy who asked in English for an apple or a banana or something else to eat because he is hungry, as it turned out he is a nice, sympathetic Pole who is in Belgium for a month and has no job, luckily he has some place to sleep, he looks for any job: cleaning, painting, plastering, work in the garden etc., while buying him food in a bar I promised to do something to help him that is why I am writing this post because it is a pleasure if you can help someone selflessly that is why I am turning to you group members for help if any of you can help please directly call the number 04xxxxx Patryk [surname]. Let's not be indifferent to someone's faith I am asking for help for this boy, thank you for attention and I will also call after my friends tonight

F1: (Marta): I talked to Patryk (very nice, mannerly boy)…

F2: He is in a shelter where …

Figure 5.1: Original message posted on a Facebook group for Polish people in Antwerp

There are a few aspects that are important here. First of all, Ana explains that Patryk is in Antwerp for only a month, which implies that he is a newcomer who might not know his way around Antwerp. His newness as a migrant justifies why he did not find a job yet. This behavior is irresponsible regardless, but Patryk is exempt, because he represents a particular social status. This means that he could have simply been unlucky and everyone makes mistakes in their life. Life as a migrant is hard and some people just need a bit of help to stand on their feet. The fact that Patryk is young is also important here. He is not an experienced migrant and therefore qualifies for reduced 'treatment'. Secondly, the author of the post makes it explicit that Patryk is actively looking for any kind of job in order to change his situation. His attitude evokes positive moral evaluation within a work frame. Patryk wants to work, and he is not picky with regard to working activities, which shows that he has good intentions. He knows what is right and his willingness to work is in line with that of a working frame and receives a positive moral evaluation. It is clear that Ana's description of Patryk

with its strong moralizations lifts Patryk out of a frame of a bum without a job, and gives him an opportunity to prove that he has simply been unlucky and is willing to grasp the opportunity once it arises. Regardless of the initial appearances, Ana frames Patryk in a relatively positive and favorable way, and her message is a persuasive form of framing. She manages to persuade others to follow her standpoint, and in fact she says what others think (following the 'you say what we think' logic of Blommaert, 2019a) and her standpoint becomes a leading and a dominant one in the Facebook interaction. Form that moment on, Ana's moralization structured what others say, think and act, which illustrates the power and impact of framing. In Figure 5.2 Ana's moral mind map is sketched on the basis of her description of Patryk (in orange boxes), and consists of associations (blue boxes), evaluations and possible justifications (green boxes).

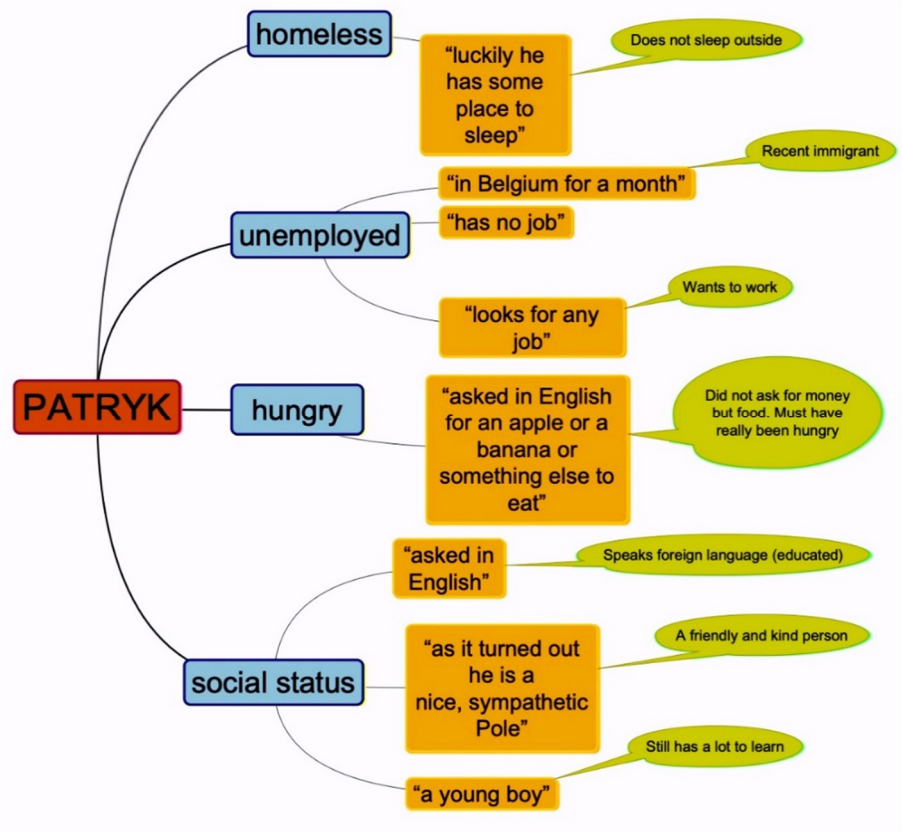
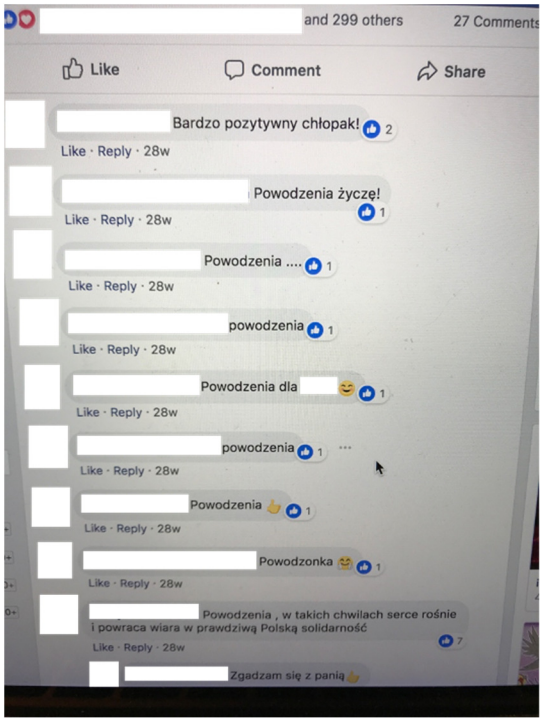


Figure 5.2: Ana's moral mind map of Patryk

The above-described moral vectors attached to the image of Patryk animate a format; they structure the activities that unfold as a particular format, the format of solidarity. Patryk, being an outcast is lucky enough to be viewed in a positive way by other members of the group thanks to the moral evaluation provided by Ana, regardless of his current situation.

However, this is not the only interesting aspect of this interaction. As was already illustrated in previous chapters, Polish diaspora members tend to be very hesitant and suspicious in their contacts with others and often even reluctant to help their fellow countrymen, something I experienced myself during my fieldwork in Antwerp. However, online spaces have different affordances and can in fact lead to very different outcomes compared to the offline ones.

The message of Ana started to circulate quite quickly among different online groups for Polish people in Antwerp and generated an incredible amount of positive responses on various portals, which shows how soft forms of leadership emerge. People take charge and responsibility on online mediums and actually invest time and energy in order to make voices heard and possibly initiate change or actually make a difference (Gerbaudo, 2012). The response was so extensive that the original post was removed by its author only a few days after it was posted.



M: Very positive guy!

F1: I wish you good luck!

F2: Good luck....

F3: Good luck

F4: Good luck for Patryk

F5: Good luck

F6: Good luck

F7: Good luck

F8: Good luck. In these moments the heart grows and the faith in the true Polish solidarity returns.

F6: I agree with you

Figure 5.3: The responses to Ana's original message

The comments visible in Figure 5.3 originate from a more popular Facebook platform in Antwerp, namely Polacy w Antwerpii. Through sharing, commenting and liking of the message, people became involved in the action; they encapsulated their emotions and attitudes and made them visible in online public spaces (Gerbaudo, 2012). This is a form of self-expression, i.e. identity performance, that creates a form of affinity or togetherness, i.e. community formation in a post-digital era (Gerbaudo, 2012; see also Blommaert, 2020a). Even

though the communities tend to be unstable and ephemeral, they can still be mobilized and form actual groups (Blommaert, 2020a). It was not different in the case of Patryk, as many individuals who were concerned about his situation got involved. The moral support expressed by the group members was heavily formatted. The responses were quite uniform, and hardly any diversion from the format was visible throughout the interaction. The solidarity format initially consisted of moral support and dissemination of the message that aimed at reaching wider audiences, in order to find individuals that were actually able to help Patryk in a more practical or material way.

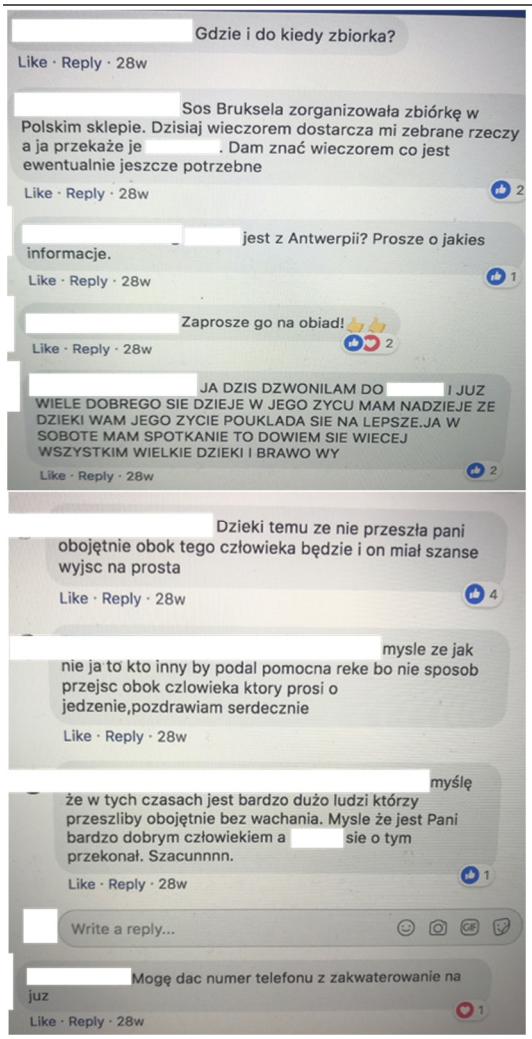
This response has already been in a strong contrast to the offline interactions of Polish diaspora members that I observed during my fieldwork in Antwerp, because Polish communities were rather inconspicuous and the interactions tended to be restricted to that of close friends and family members.

5.2.1 The Case in Progress: Format of Solidarity

The example above illustrates how a specific form of interaction triggers a particular format, in this case a format of solidarity, which structures and defines the behavior of individuals involved in a specific social practice, but also regards these individuals as belonging to a particular identity category and group. And as norms in this format are very specific, there is very little diversion towards other topics of conversations under the post. The actions define the format, but they are also structured by it and unfold following highly specific norms. It is a double-sided process, because even though behavioral norms are present in every social action, they are a result of the action that unfolds. It is a dialectic process, as both input and output need to go into the action and need to be confirmed (or challenged) through that action. They are in fact continuously co-constructed by the individuals involved in the interaction, and while they are present and recognizable during the interaction, they are only explicitly visible after the action was completed.

The solidarity format that unfolds in this interaction does not operate solely within an online interaction frame but moves beyond to the offline world. In fact, what can be observed here (see Figure 5.4) is how a very specific format of solidarity, constructed online but initiated in the offline world, moves again outside of the online dimension and results in offline actions of solidarity as well. The online and offline dimensions are intertwined and clearly show how social actions are formatted in the online-offline nexus. Following Gerbaudo (2012), this process of formatting can be referred to as a choreography of assembly. What can be observed is that an online action goes viral on the fora for Polish people in Antwerp and actually results in a physical assembly in which people take offline actions in order to help Patryk. Figure 5.4 illustrates how the format of solidarity structures individual and collective actions, both online and offline. The *SOS Bruksela* (a charitable non-profit organization led by Belgian Polonia providing help to Poles in Belgium in crisis situations) organizes a fundraiser for Patryk in a Polish store, and many Polish nationals join the initiative. The ways in which actions unfold show that there is a strong tendency to follow the same format in a uniform way. Individuals collectively engage in congregational work that is based on, and also results in a recognizable format of solidarity. Their actions all together confirm the norms that are collectively accepted, followed and enacted making an action

recognizable as an instance of online solidarity. As a result of these online-offline interactions different groups are formed, groups that aim to help Patryk.[51] There are people collecting clothes and food for him, a person that stores it and individuals who actively search for an apartment and a job for Patryk. The format of solidarity that is evoked, structures the activities around it in a very precise way, but the frame with attached moralizations is what renders this action meaningful.



F1: Where and until when the collection takes place?

F2 (Marta): Sos Bruksela organized collection in the Polish store. Tonight they will deliver the collected things to me and I will give them to Patryk. I will let you know tonight what eventually will still be needed.

F3: Is Patryk from Antwerp? Please give me some information.

F4: I will invite him for dinner!

F5 (Ana): I called Patryk today and many good things are happening in his life I hope thanks to you his life will change into a better one. I have a meeting on Saturday so I will know more about everything. Big thanks and congratulations to you!

F1: Thanks to the fact that you did not pass next to this man with indifference, he will even have a chance to get out straight.

F5 (Ana): I think that if it wasn't me someone else would give him a helping hand, as it is impossible to pass a man asking for food, best regards.

F6: I think in these times there are a lot of people who would pass with indifference without hesitation. I think you are a very good person, and Patryk had a chance to experience that. Respect.

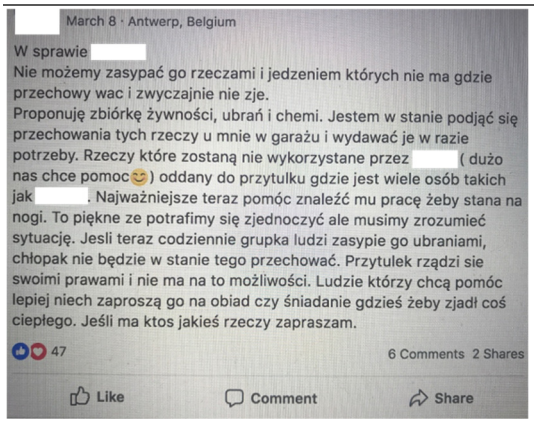
F7: I can give a phone number, for an immediate accommodation

Figure 5.4: Actions taken to help Patryk: Online and offline solidarity

[51] It is interesting to note that the Facebook people address Patryk in a sort of affectionate, diminutive way in their interactions. It is however not uncommon to use a diminutive version of a name in Polish in a friendly conversation.

5.2.2 Overwhelming Solidarity

Within a day's time, the response becomes so extensive and the help so generous that the support received by Patryk becomes too overwhelming for him (see Figure 5.5).



F (Marta):

With regard to Patryk

We need to stop showering him with things and food, which he cannot store anywhere and simply won't eat.

I suggest to collect food, clothes and cosmetics. I am even willing to store it and give it to him when necessary. The things that will not be used by Patryk (so many of us want to help) will be donated to the shelters, because there are many people like Patryk. The most important now is to help him find a job, so he can finally stand on his own feet. It is beautiful that we can unite, but we also need to understand the situation. If now, every day, groups of people will shower him with clothes, he will not be able to store it. Shelters have their own rules and it is not possible there. People who want to help can better invite him somewhere for dinner or breakfast, so that he can eat something warm. If anybody still has some things to give, you are welcome to.

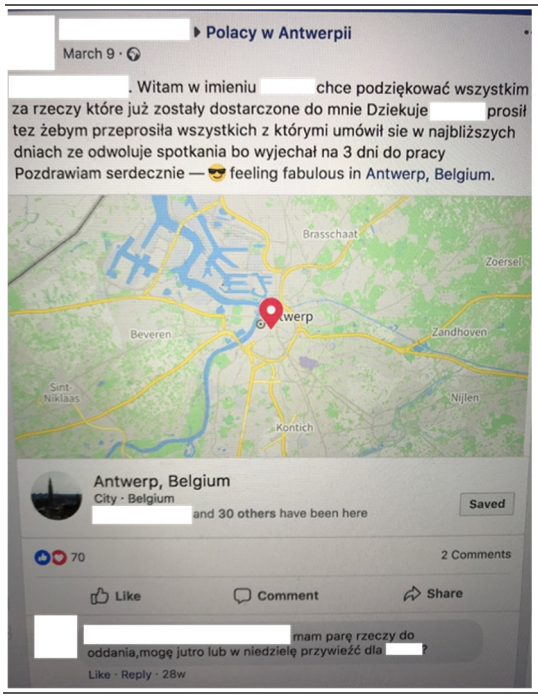
Figure 5.5: Update on Patryk – overwhelming solidarity

Patryk is still sleeping in a shelter and is unable to store the goods that he is receiving. Other individuals decide to actively join the action and offer Patryk help in storing goods and mediating the processes of interaction. Namely two females stand out in this interaction that I will refer to as Marta and Tosia. It is clear that many people are involved in this interaction and that Patryk is not left without necessary support from his diaspora members. It becomes even more clear how solidarity with an 'outcast' operates in the interaction and starts to be supported in a heavily formatted way in yet different formats coexisting alongside the format of solidarity, namely a format of online charity and a format of fundraising. It is important to note here that formats are mutually inclusive – more general formats include more specific scripts, which can co-exist, even if they would consist of conflicting or opposing norms. The behavioral norms within a particular format are consequently enacted through very specific behavioral scripts. For instance, in the format of 'charitable organization' different people are given the responsibility for different practices. The interaction is structured and ordered, the tasks are shared – some people focus on food or clothing collection, others collect money, yet another group focuses on accommodation or looks for a

job for Patryk. On top of that, some individuals, such as Marta and Tosia, coordinate all the actions and keep track of what is arranged and what is still needed. It is also possible to view these actions from the perspective of a broader format, such as 'charity' or 'solidarity' operating at a higher level. In what follows, I will engage with the specifics of yet another format, i.e. the format of gratitude.

5.2.3 Format of Gratitude

The support of individuals involved in the interaction is quickly noticed by others. Patryk acknowledges the help he was offered and is very grateful for everything that he received. His response can be rendered into a format of gratitude in which he acknowledges the support of other diaspora members. In order to do so, he is asking his mediators for help, namely Marta and Tosia who transmit the message to other members on the forum for Polish diaspora in Antwerp. The message however reveals another interesting aspect (see Figure 5.6). Patryk does not keep to the agreements that he has made and cancels all the appointments with fellow diaspora members. Patryk has a good excuse though, he is going to work for a few days, so this minor violation is not alerting. On the contrary, it is rather quickly disregarded and does not bring him any negative consequences.



F (Tosia):

Patryk [surname]. Welcome in the name of Patryk. I would like to thank everyone for things that were delivered to me. Thank you. Patryk also asked me to apologize to all the people that he made appointments with in the coming days, but he cancels the meetings because he went for 3 days to work. Best regards.

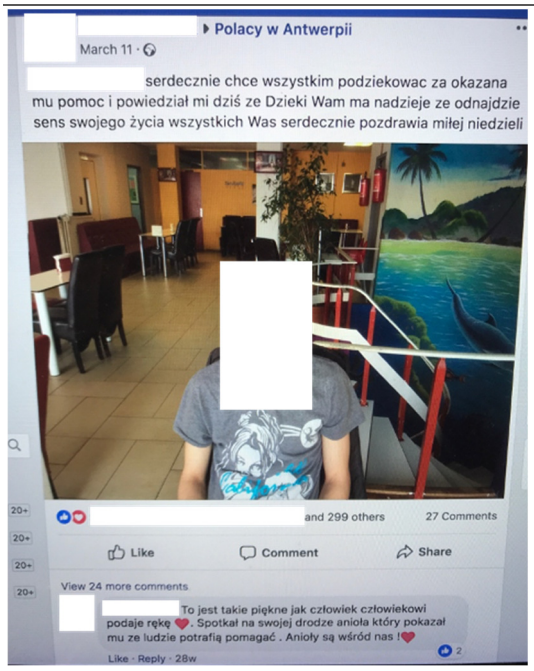
Comment:

F: Tosia, I still have some things to donate, can I bring them tomorrow or Sunday for Patryk?

Figure 5.6: Update of Patryk, written by Tosia – format of gratitude 1

Two days later, on 11 March 2018, a similar message appears (Figure 5.7). Tosia, once again, states that Patryk is very grateful for all the help, however this time she ascribes a particular

identity to people who were involved. She explicitly states that Patryk hopes to find a reason to live thanks to everyone involved in the help action.



F (Tosia):

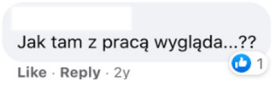
Patryk wants to sincerely thank everyone for their help and he told me today that Thanks to YOU he hopes he will find back the reason to live, he sends his best regards to everyone. Have a nice Sunday

Comment:

F: This is so beautiful when a human reaches out to another human. He met an angel on his path who showed him that people are able to help. Angels are among us!

Figure 5.7: Update of Patryk, written by Tosia – format of gratitude 2

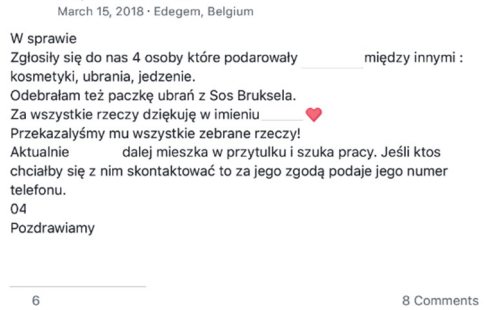
The post visible in Figure 5.7 is made available only two days after the post in Figure 5.6. Tosia mentions that she either talked to or met with Patryk today, as indicated by "he told me today." Her previous post, however, indicated that Patryk was going to work for three days, so in fact Patryk should still be working on the 11th of March. This information is not unnoticed and some commentators attend to the matter (see Figure 5.8), however without a direct reply from Tosia. Note, though, how 'work' remains the 'primary frame': ultimately, Patryk must find a job and work hard for a living.



M: How is the work situation…??

Figure 5.8: Comment to the post in Figure 5.7

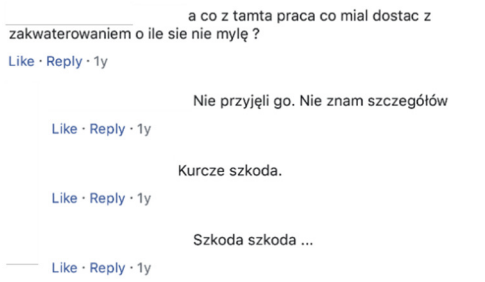
A couple of days later, Marta posts an update with information about the help status. She mentions how many things were collected, and that Patryk already received everything. Marta also explains that despite all the efforts Patryk is still in need of support with finding an apartment and a job (see Figure 5.9). This entry also shows that Marta and Tosia united their efforts to help Patryk, and from now on they work together to support him, as both their names are present at the bottom of an update.



F (Marta):
With regard to Patryk [surname]
4 people contacted us [*Marta and Tosia*, MS] and donated for Patryk among others:
personal hygiene items, clothes and food.
I also picked up a package of clothes from Sos Brussels.
For all things, thank you on behalf of Patryk.
We handed over all the collected things to him!
Currently, Patryk still lives in a shelter and is looking for work. If anyone would like to contact him, with his consent I am sharing his phone number.
04xxxxxx
Greetings

Figure 5.9: Update on the help status

The situation of Patryk is unfortunate because he still did not find a job. Members of the diaspora begin to wonder what happened to all the job offers that he has been receiving. The comments in Figure 5.10 are examples of such questions that were posted under the entry from Figure 5.7 and revolve around the question why Patryk is still not working if so many people are helping him with job suggestions. The examples show that the commentators return to the original primary frame of work, where everyone capable is expected to work for a living. However, the reactions to the post in Figure 5.7 are not negative reactions to Patryk (yet) but mainly to the fact that he doesn't get work.



F1: Marta and what about the job with accommodation that he was supposed to get?

F (Marta): They did not hire him. I do not know the details.

F1: Crap, it's a shame.

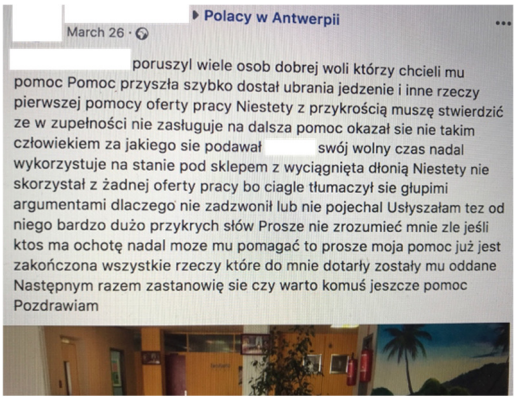
F (Marta): A pity, a pity…

Figure 5.10: Comments about work

5.3 Contesting the Solidarity Format

The behavior of Patryk, however, is quickly recognized as not following the expected norms of conduct. The help offered by the members of the Polish communities aimed at getting him on his feet and offer him a new start. It was supposed to give him the opportunity to manage on his own, and specifically to undertake work activities.

Tosia's update from 26 March 2018 (see Figure 5.11), illustrates that Patryk did not follow these expected behavioral norms by refusing to undertake work activities offered by others and rather preferred to spend his free time begging in front of a shop. This quickly resulted in a shift of moral vector. Negative attitudes towards his *persona* from Tosia and Marta were quickly followed by other members of the forum. It is clear that the members of the group, were once again persuaded by this new standpoint and from that time on Patryk was no longer perceived by others in the same way. Patryk was ascribed an identity of an idler who deceived the people who were willing to help him. Patryk was not only unwilling to look for work, but on top of that he was also wasting the time of people who actually tried to help him. From that moment on, the behavioral structure of the format has changed, based on the moralizations from within the primary frame of work. People no longer perceived Patryk as deserving their help, and the expected behaviors in the newly unfolding situation differed greatly from the ones within the format of solidarity.



F (Tosia): Patryk [surname] moved many people of good will who wanted to help him. Help came quickly he got clothes food and other first aid things the job offers. Unfortunately sadly I need to conclude that he totally did not deserve further help he turned out to be someone else than he claimed to be Patryk still spends his free time in front of the shop with extended hand unfortunately he did not make use of any job offers as he continuously excused himself with stupid arguments as to why he did not go there or did not call I also heard a lot of bad words from him Please do not understand me wrong if anybody still wants to help him you can still do so, please my help is done all the things I collected were given to him next time I will think twice if it is worth helping anybody else. Greetings

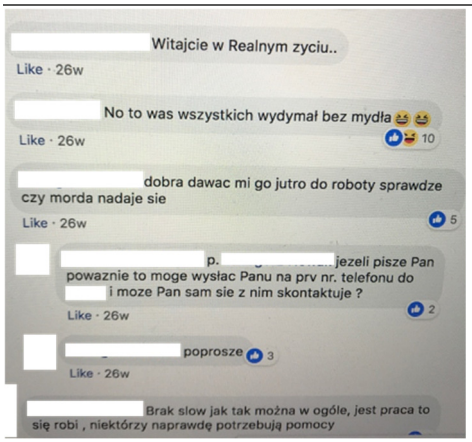
Figure 5.11: Update on Patryk – contesting the solidarity format

5.4 Return to the Old Format

The shift in the way in which Patryk was viewed and perceived by others resulted in a change of the moral vector within the frame of work, which quickly led to a change of the format. Patryk was no longer viewed positively, because he refused the jobs he was offered and was no longer seen as someone who deserved the help and support from others (see Figure 5.12). The format returned to the old format of untrustworthiness among Polish migrants (see Figure 5.13).

The newly emergent format in this interaction was a result of the same moralizations that initially granted Patryk an excuse to comply with the 'requirements' to be worthy of help. The powerful dynamic of the moral vector is what overarches any social situation. As

a result of Patryk's actions, his ascribed identity changes and consequently the format that his actions demanded – all of this needs to be in line with a new moral standpoint taken towards him. The moral vector remains the same throughout the different stages of the interaction (see Figure 5.13), but different moralizations become salient at different points in the interaction, depending on the standpoint specified within the frame of work. The primary frame of work clearly shows how important moralizations are in shaping and demanding particular formats of action.



F1: Welcome to real life..

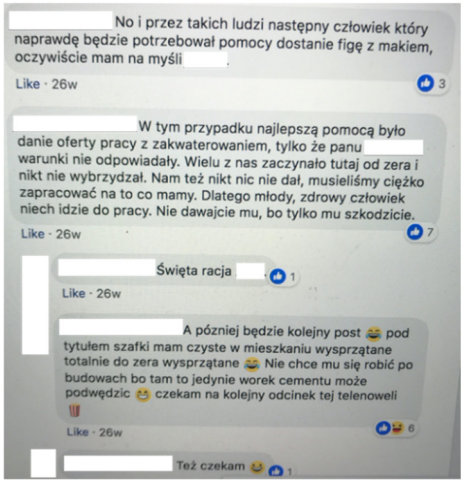
F2: So he fucked every one of you over

M1: Good give him to me for a job tomorrow I will see if he is of any use.

> **F3:** if you are serious I can send you a private message with the phone number to Patryk and then you can contact him yourself?
>
> **M1:** Yes, please

M2: I have no words, how can someone even be like that, if there is work then you need to work, some people really need help.

Figure 5.12: Commentators' perspectives – return to the old format



F1: Because of people like that, next person who will really need help will get nothing, of course I am talking about Patryk.
F2: In this case, the best help was to give a job offer with an accommodation, but Mr. Patryk did not like the conditions. Many of us started here from zero and nobody was picky. We also did not get anything from anyone, we had to work hard for what we have. That's why young, healthy men should go to work. Do not give him anything, cause you only make it worse for him.

> **F1**: Holy truth F2.
>
> **F3**: And later there will be another post, entitled: All the cabinets in my house are cleaned, cleaned out completely to zero. He does not want to work on a building site because he could only steal a bag of cement there. I am waiting for another episode of this soap opera.
>
> **F2**: I am also waiting

Figure 5.13: Commentators' reflections on the solidarity format

The discussion under the post did not end quickly and remained a topic of unfading interest for a couple of days. Individuals started reflecting on the behavior of Patryk from within the frame of work almost instantly. Starting with Tosia who said in her message in Figure 5.11 that

> Patryk still spends his free time in front of the shop with extended hand unfortunately he did not make use of any job offer as he continuously excused himself with stupid arguments why he did not go there or why he did not call.

Marta, who was also intensively involved, confirmed Tosia's view. She stated that:

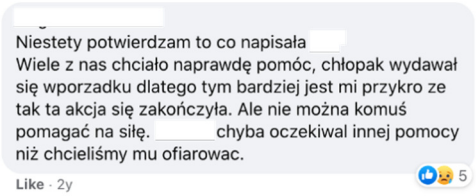
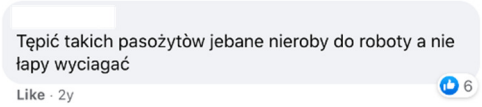
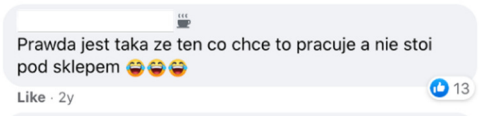
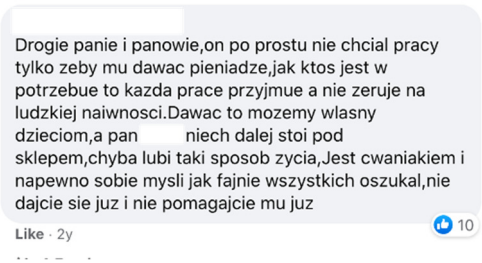
	**Marta:** Unfortunately I confirm what Tosia wrote. Many of us really wanted to help, the boy seemed fine, so I am even more sorry that this action ended like that. But you cannot help someone by force. Patryk was probably expecting other kind of help than we wanted to offer him.

Figure 5.14: Reflection on Patryk's behavior and the appropriateness of frames and formats

Other people also expressed their strong opinions about Patryk from within the frame of work, as shown in Figure 5.15.

1		**M:** We need to fight these kinds of parasites fucking deadbeats start working and no begging
2		**F:** The truth is that if someone wants he works and not stands in front of a shop
3		**M:** Fucking bum, just a fucking slob
4		**F**: Dear Ladies and Gentlemen, he simply did not want a job, but to receive money, if someone is in need, they accept every job and they do not pray on human naivety. Gifting we can do for our own children, and Mr. Patryk can continue standing in front of a shop, he seems to enjoy such a way of life, He is a dodger and certainly thinks how nicely he tricked everyone, don't be fooled again and do not help him anymore.

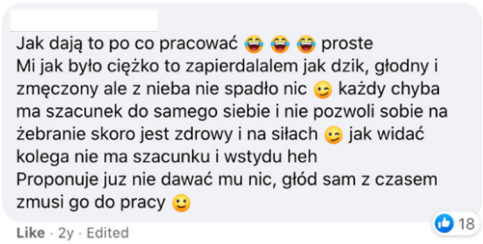
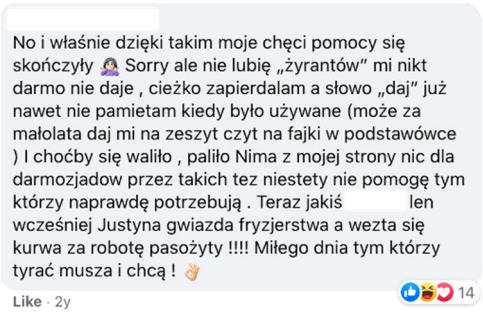
5		**M:** Why would you work if they are giving simple. When times were difficult, I was fucking working like a horse, hungry and tired, but nothing fell from the sky. Probably everyone has respect for themselves and will not afford to beg if they are healthy and strong. As you can see our friend has no respect and shame heh I suggest not to give him anything, hunger will force him to work over time
6		**F:** Well, thanks to this kind of people my willingness to help has ended. Sorry but I do not like "sureties,"[52] nobody gives me anything for free, I work fucking hard and I do not even remember when the word "give" was used (maybe when I was a teenager, give me money for a notebook or for smokes in a primary school). Come hell or high water, there is nothing for parasites from my side, because of people like that unfortunately I will not help those who really need it. Now some Patryk idler, earlier Justina the hairdressing star, start to fucking work parasites!!! A nice day for those who have to and want to slave! [*as in working really hard*; MS]

Figure 5.15: Opinions about Patryk from within the original frame of work

The above, heavily moralized descriptions from within a frame of work describe specific modes of normative behaviors expected in a format of work. This is the identity work of members of the Polish diaspora in Antwerp; they describe highly moralized modes of behavior structuring particular actions, which are telling of a person's identity. A morally good person is immediately connected to a hard-working person and an idler is seen as morally bad.

5.5 Formatted Polishness

The above data show that the Polish community online is not homogeneous and constitutes multiple (niche) groups, but can in fact effectively congregate together and interactionally structure their normative behavior in a particular format. Different spaces (online and offline) require the use of different methods of congregational work, and therefore give rise

[52] The commentator used the word '*żyrantów*' that literally means 'sureties', however in the context of the message, it is possible that she wanted to make a noun out of the verb '*żerować*', which does not have a noun equivalent in Polish and means 'to pray on'.

to slightly different formats. This explains the interactional differences among Polish community members in online and offline contexts.

The Polish community is superdiverse, but not dysfunctional, because it effectively makes use of affordances of online platforms and is able to assemble together in particular formatted modes of collective social action, such as shown in the format of solidarity. Even though these formats are often only of a temporary nature, they still have the power to mobilize people in order to act upon the normative expectations, set within a particular format. These formats result in the creation of highly diverse, often transient groups that may not be enduring but still able to assemble in both online and offline environments.

The Polish community is a polynomic community that holds different often conflicting norms among different (niche) groups – it's about different communities constituting the Polish community – these communities not necessarily being niched. The norms are not necessarily equivalent but often hierarchical, with 'work' dominating other norms in the diaspora. That is because there is not a single Polish community, but there are Polish 'communities', all to an extent subscribing to the primary position of 'work', but taking very different 'nomic' orientations in other domains of life (cf. Section 2.3.3). Patryk is an excellent example, he does not want to work, which is not in line with the ideas and normative systems that are held by the majority of the group members. The ideas of Patryk are not in agreement with the overarching moral vector of the primary frame of work, and his behavior is considered abnormal by the majority of individuals involved in the interaction. However, even though it turns out that Patryk does not personally follow the frame and the format of work, he is familiar with the moral vector and the normative system that they stand for, because he knows very well how to initially persuade or 'fool' others into believing that he is in fact a 'good Pole' by means of a primary frame of 'work' (see Figure 5.2 for specifics).

Interactionally established social order itself is polynomic. It shifts from one format to another when a moral vector of a particular frame changes. While not working is generally perceived as bad, there can be exceptions to the rules or moments where the rules are temporarily suspended, as shown in the example of Patryk. His situation was initially seen to be a result of bad luck – Patryk was unable to find work, but willing to take any job available. However, when his fellow countrymen realized that Patryk was only willing to accept material goods donated by other Polish people, and continuously refused the offers of work, he was no longer perceived as unlucky, but rather as a lazy bum. This shift in perception resulted in a shift of the moral vector within the primary frame of work and consequently caused the shift of the format. The format always needs to be in line with the moral vector of the overarching frame, and if this is the case, it enables the behavioral scripts of a friendly response, but when it is not the response will be unfriendly as well.

The present chapter illustrated the general behavioral and fundamentally normative side of chronotopes always operating alongside and within moral frames and containing an infinite number of small scripts. In the next chapter, I will specifically show how formats can be broken down into those microstructures of activities, called scripts.

CHAPTER 6

Scripts

Chapter 5 illustrated how specific moralizations within frames demand particular formats of action and how these formats unfold as a result of collective efforts. This means that formats are interactionally established, but at the same time recognizable templates structuring social actions. Frames reflect the moral dimension of a chronotope, while formats make up the behavioral aspect of it and render frames meaningful in social life. Scripts in turn are the concrete outcome of moralized and behavioral dimensions of a chronotope. They are the observable result and carrier of the moralizations in frames and the orderliness in formats, representing the microstructures of activities, i.e. the concrete and observable ways in which formats and frames are jointly enacted – the actual observable reality of chronotopes.

6.1 The Concept of Scripts

As indicated in the previous chapter, formats consist of and are realized through a multitude of actual, behavioral scripts: small sets of concrete rules governing specific forms of social conduct. These rules of conduct have an indexical nature. The way in which concrete behavioral scripts are interpreted by others produces not only referential meanings with regard to a format, but also social or indexical meanings of highly moralized frames (Blommaert, 2005). Therefore, normative systems structuring social action through scripts cannot be seen as conveying denotational meanings only, which are taken for granted and universal, but additionally as evaluative interpretations of an individual's actions that are judged by others and rendered meaningful or valuable (Blommaert, 2018a).

In a script, specific features need to be brought together into a sort of alignment in order for them to make sense. For instance, if a person attends a job interview, they need to follow a specific script. This implies, among other things, that a person needs to dress accordingly and not show up wearing slippers and shorts. The words and actions need to carry the socio-cultural value of collective representations that fits into the institutional setting of a job interview. If all these little features are 'in place', they can be recognized as specific scripts, i.e. the sequence of instructions or rules that a person follows in order to fit into societal norms and expectations – formats in other words. This process is the essence of identity work in which meaning, groupness and identity arise as a result of interactional encounters (Blommaert, 2018a). It is however important to remember that, regardless of the fact that individuals possess a repertoire of various scripts, which they actively deploy in the interaction with others, this process has a fundamentally collective and social char-

acter. It is from within formats that scripts make sense and formats are collectively constructed normative-behavioral frameworks. Blommaert (2018a: 27) explains that individuals frequently and willingly participate in formats – they "(...) surrender their individual choice and freedom to joint patterns of regulation and policing," which saves them from being "stuck talking to just themselves (...)."

Communicative actions performed according to behavioral scripts in formats produce meanings, which are "a dialogical practice in which the uptake of one's semiotic acts may be as consequential as the structure of the semiotic acts themselves" (Blommaert, 2005: 205). In other words, scripted behavior, which is carefully adjusted and prepared for a specific uptake, is a meaning-making practice in interactions or communications, and is always intersubjective and dialogical, i.e. produced by all the people involved in the interaction. According to Blommaert (2018a), communicative behavior is guided by indexicalities ordered in their hierarchies of value and "regulated by the fact that it is organized together with others" (p. 25, following Grice, 1975). This means that cooperation is at the core of social relations and communications often display an altruistic character – the meaning is created through the prism of others, because we want to be understood by interlocutors. In other words, not only an actor and his actions are important in communication, but rather everyone involved in the uptake as well. Communicative actions therefore display a tentative and concrete rather than an abstract character.

Similar to formats, scripts are collectively achieved and interactionally established microstructures of activities that define the interactional event. They are "ordered sets of interactionally ratified behavioral details" (Blommaert, 2018a: 47) empowering individuals to include and exclude members on the basis of these highly specific norms of conduct. The rules of interactional conduct are concrete, but they are not uniform, because every social action is simultaneously exposed to multiple contexts and consequently to various scripts and therefore displays a polynomic character (Blommaert, 2018a). The recognition of different moral evaluations within a frame and format that results from those evaluations needs to be shared by individuals involved in the interaction in order for scripts to be regarded as appropriate to the situation. An individual needs to follow 'enough' behavioral scripts in order to be perceived as an authentic member of a particular identity category (Blommaert & Varis, 2015).

Scripts are best explained by the notion of microhegemonies, i.e. specific forms of behavior or practice that index particular identities, which was initially developed by Blommaert and Varis (2015) in order to address identity in superdiversity. Their approach explained that in contemporary society an individual's identity work is conducted in accordance with multiple microhegemonies (i.e. scripts), which constitute very specific norms governing peoples' actual behavior and their preferences towards certain actions in different segments of their life. Therefore, an individual's micro-hegemonic repertoire that makes up one's identity is very complex and dynamic, and can sometimes even be composed of, at a first sight, 'conflicting' scripts. Blommaert (2018a: 50) defined microhegemonies as follows:

> Whenever we interact with others we find ourselves in a *polynomic* social arena. We respond not just to one set of norms but to multiple sets of finely defined norms governing aspects of the specific interactional events and its context. We can call such sets of highly specific norms microhegemonies (...).

Following Blommaert and Varis (2015) and Blommaert (2018a), the above implies that every interaction is subjected to multiple scripts (or microhegemonies), which need to be brought into an alignment for someone to be recognized as a valid and authentic member of a specific interactional conduct. This means that identity is highly normative and at the same time dependent on the interactional context, because specific identity enactments are required in different chronotopes, and every change in a chronotope leads to shifts in identities (Blommaert, 2005, 2018a; Blommaert & De Fina, 2017). Careful selection of microhegemonies is essential for successful identity performance, because it establishes and emplaces particular orientations and behaviors and also makes them recognizable for others. In these terms, each individual possesses a repertoire of microhegemonies, which are deployed in various social situations and to a degree in accordance with one's orientations towards a particular behavior (Blommaert & Varis, 2015). An individual, by means of specific behavioral scripts, might want to index identities to specific degrees, such as having a distinctly liberal political identity, but only somewhat being a Greenpeace supporter. A repertoire can seem conflicting at times, as an individual can follow opposing scripts in different social situations or chronotopes. This does not mean however that the identity work is problematic, as "one can be perfectly oneself while articulating sharply different orientations in different domains of life or on different issues" (Blommaert & Varis, 2013: 146).

An important feature of identity is that of authenticity, which is determined through 'enoughness' (Blommaert & Varis, 2013) – enough perceptible semiotic features – on the basis of which individuals are categorized by others in the process of othering (Blommaert, 2005), because semiotic features need to be sufficiently perceptible for others to ascribe a particular identity category to someone (Blommaert & Varis, 2013). It is worth mentioning that there is no universal standard for 'enoughness', as it is an unfixed norm that is constantly shifting and changing over time. This is exactly why there is no shortage of prescriptions explaining how to be an authentic member of a specific identity category, e.g. hipster, on social media (see Maly & Varis, 2016). The dynamic character of this identity criterium can cause concerns or arguments with regard to adequacy of a specific set of identity features. In a nutshell, "[e]noughness is by its very nature a field of contestation and debate" (Blommaert & Varis, 2013: 149).

As individuals do not possess equal command of microhegemonies, there are different degrees of authentic membership in social conduct. There might be conflicts with other members who are following a particular format, because various people might consider different degrees of particular features, i.e. microhegemonies, to be 'enough' for a person to be perceived as a legitimate and ratified member of a particular interaction, script, group or identity (Blommaert & Varis, 2015). The importance of scripts and microhegemonies is best explained on the following example, which I quote at length from Blommaert (2018a: 50):

> Communicative actions will always be subject to various simultaneously operating sets of norms, since they will always demand attendance to the rules of actual interactional conduct, those of the topic of the interaction, its purpose or function, the social and cultural conventions governing conduct within specific participant frameworks, particular spaces or times, specific types of encounters, and so forth. A Facebook update, for instance, demands attendance to the (highly dynamic) norms of literacy and linguistic codes, the genre and register norms of an 'update' (not too

long, preferably multimodal, etc.), the tacit norms of one's community of 'friends' regarding certain topics and ways to discuss them (think of prevalent political orientations in one's Facebook community), the Facebook rules of conduct (proscribing certain forms of obscenity, for instance), and the rules of the algorithmic system behind Facebook that render certain updates more visible than others. And whether or not one is aware of these rules doesn't really matter: every update will generate effects related to all these different but simultaneously operating sets of norms.

The multitude of scripts can be clearly illustrated on the example of an online communicative action on a platform, such as Facebook. The affordances of such a platform set clear norms of conduct (i.e. scripts) to its members, to be policed by co-respondents, but also administrators. The same is true for the Facebook example that will be discussed in Section 6.2. In one of the very last comments visible in Figure 6.1, posted under the original update (see Figure 6.3), the explicit involvement of the administrator of the forum for the Polish people in Antwerp, *Polacy w Antwerpii* can be observed, as he reminds the members about the rules set by the forum and Facebook itself after muting the conversation. The divergence from the rules of the forum will result in expulsion, exclusion or a ban for its members, for instance if someone uses vulgar language or is disrespectful to others and consequently indexes particular identities, such as trolls.

M: Enough, enough, dear compatriots, I am muting the topic. In a couple of days when I will find some free time I will try to look through this (subsequent) shit-storm and I will remove whoever necessary. Thank you, good night.

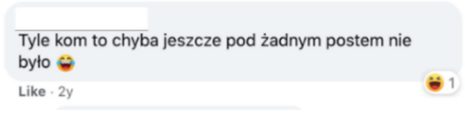
Figure 6.1: Facebook administrator's post – the rules of the Facebook forum

6.2 Clashing Frames, Multiple Scripts

In what follows, I will take a closer look at a long Facebook interaction among a number of members of the Polish community in Antwerp, and we shall see the multitude of simultaneously operating scripts that are heavily moralized and consequently index very concrete identities.

The post discussed here has been posted on 16 March 2018 on the Facebook forum for Polish people in Antwerp, *Polacy w Antwerpii*. It is about an appeal of a young, pregnant Polish woman residing in Antwerp, whom I shall call Mora. This particular post triggered the largest debate I have been able to witness on that forum during several years of observations. This has also been acknowledged by individuals involved in the conversation (see Figure 6.2).

1



F: I do not think there were so many comments under any post before.

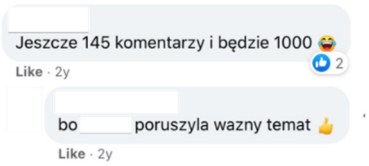
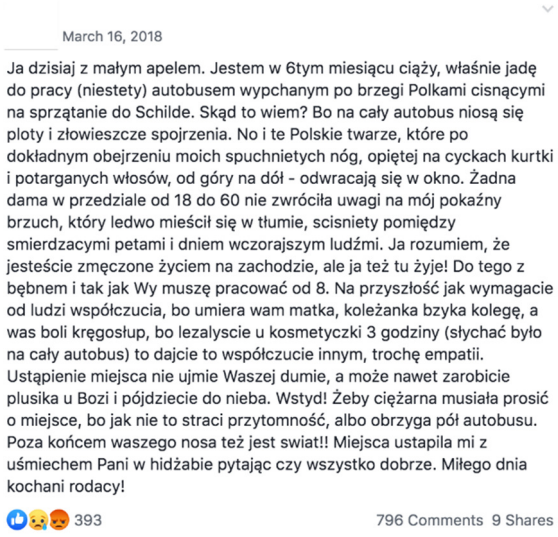
2		**M**: Only 145 more comments and there will be a 1000. **F**: Because Mora touched upon an important topic.

Figure 6.2: Comments identifying the entry as the largest debate on the forum for Polish people in Antwerp

As we shall see, the debate initiated by Mora and reproduced in Figure 6.3, is replete with scripts.



March 16, 2018

Ja dzisiaj z małym apelem. Jestem w 6tym miesiącu ciąży, właśnie jadę do pracy (niestety) autobusem wypchanym po brzegi Polkami cisnącymi na sprzątanie do Schilde. Skąd to wiem? Bo na cały autobus niosą się ploty i złowieszcze spojrzenia. No i te Polskie twarze, które po dokładnym obejrzeniu moich spuchnietych nóg, opiętej na cyckach kurtki i potarganych włosów, od góry na dół - odwracają się w okno. Żadna dama w przedziale od 18 do 60 nie zwróciła uwagi na mój pokaźny brzuch, który ledwo mieścił się w tłumie, scisniety pomiędzy smierdzacymi petami i dniem wczorajszym ludźmi. Ja rozumiem, że jesteście zmęczone życiem na zachodzie, ale ja też tu żyje! Do tego z bębnem i tak jak Wy muszę pracować od 8. Na przyszłość jak wymagacie od ludzi współczucia, bo umiera wam matka, koleżanka bzyka kolegę, a was boli kręgosłup, bo lezalyscie u kosmetyczki 3 godziny (słychać było na cały autobus) to dajcie to współczucie innym, trochę empatii. Ustąpienie miejsca nie ujmie Waszej dumie, a może nawet zarobicie plusika u Bozi i pójdziecie do nieba. Wstyd! Żeby ciężarna musiała prosić o miejsce, bo jak nie to straci przytomność, albo obrzyga pół autobusu. Poza końcem waszego nosa też jest swiat!! Miejsca ustapila mi z uśmiechem Pani w hidżabie pytając czy wszystko dobrze. Miłego dnia kochani rodacy!

393 796 Comments 9 Shares

F (Mora): I want to address you with a small appeal. I am in the 6th month of pregnancy, going to work (unfortunately) by bus stuffed to the brim by Polish ladies scrambling to go cleaning in Schilde. How do I know that? Because gossip and evil looks splash around the whole bus. And these Polish faces - having carefully inspected my swollen feet, my jacket tightly strapped around my boobs and ruffled hair, from top to bottom - turn to the window. None of the madams between the ages of 18 to 60, managed to notice my substantial belly that barely fitted in the crowd, compressed in-between stinky cigarettes and yesterday's people. I understand that you are tired with your life abroad, but I live here too! On top of that with a balloon, and just like you I have to start working at 8. Henceforward, if you require compassion from others, because your mother is dying, a girlfriend shags a boyfriend, and your back is sore, because you spent the last 3 hours at a beautician (the whole bus could hear that) then give that compassion to others, a bit of empathy. Ceding your place will not diminish your pride, and maybe it will help you earn a little plus with God and you will go to heaven. Disgrace! That a pregnant lady has to ask for a spot, because if she will not, then she will faint, or vomit over half of the bus. There is the world beyond the end of your nose!! The lady with a hijab gave me her spot with a smile and asked if everything was ok. Have a nice day dear compatriots!

Figure 6.3: The appeal of Mora

The post in Figure 6.3 is made available on a forum specifically for Polish people. It is addressed to Polish people and it is also about Polish people. More precisely, it is a complaint about what Mora perceives as inappropriate behavior by Polish women on a commuter bus to and from the places where they work as cleaners in the suburbs of Antwerp. Mora herself concentrates on the fact that her pregnancy should prompt particular forms of social behavior from others. More precisely, her complaint is that, normally one should cede one's seat to pregnant women. The expected behavior under the frame of a pregnant woman that she describes is a specific script. Mora's complaint is not unreasonable, because it corresponds to behavioral guidelines propagated by the public transport company itself in the bus. This institutional back-up to Mora's complaint is pointed out by several commentators (see Figure 6.4).

1	Nie musisz prosić o miejsce bo w busach są wyznaczone miejsca dla kobiet w ciazy matek z dziećmi czy ludzi o lasce.wystarczy podejść pokazać paluszkiem okno gdzie jest przyklejona naklejka i w kulturalny sposób wypi.....lić taka damulkę z siedzenia Like · 1y · Edited 19	**F:** You do not need to ask for a spot because there are designated places for pregnant women mothers with children or handicapped. It is enough to walk up, point with your finger to the window where the sticker is placed and politely get such a broad the f..k out of the seat.
2	Normalnie w każdym autobusie są miejsca wyznaczone dla osób w ciąży i starszych a postać w wyperfumowanym autobusie w ciąży to jest wyczyn niestety panie jadące do pracy zaczynają od picia kawy po takiej ciężkiej drodze żeby się obudzić bo się przymuliły plotkując i obmawiając wszystkich dookoła ja też pracowałam do 8 miesiąca i niestety ale musiałam wysiadać z autobusu i odetchnąć świeżym powietrzem .Kultura to podstawa .Pozdrawiam panie w ciąży i te pracujące. Like · 1y 10	**F:** Normally, in every bus there are designated places for pregnant and elderly people and to travel in a scented bus during pregnancy is an achievement unfortunately ladies travelling to work start with coffee after such a hard journey so that they can wake up from becoming so dim from all this gossip and backbiting everyone around them I also worked up until the 8th month and unfortunately I had to exit the bus to breath some fresh air. Manners are the basis. Greetings to the pregnant ladies and the working ones.

Figure 6.4: Comments describing institutionalized scripts

However, not every commentator has the same repertoire of scripts. Individuals who are not aware of the existence of institutionalized scripts within a public transport are reminded by others that such scripts exist, as shown in Figure 6.5.

There is no doubt that the initial complaint has an institutionalized backup. The existence of official behavioral scripts displayed in the bus is made explicit by other people involved in the conversation. However, the fact that those institutionalized scripts exist, does not automatically imply that everyone follows them, as shown in Figure 6.6, and this is also something that individuals in the conversation reflect upon and morally evaluate.

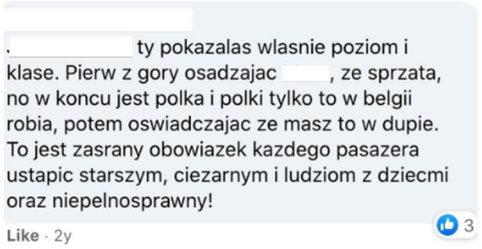
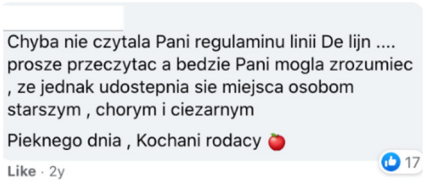
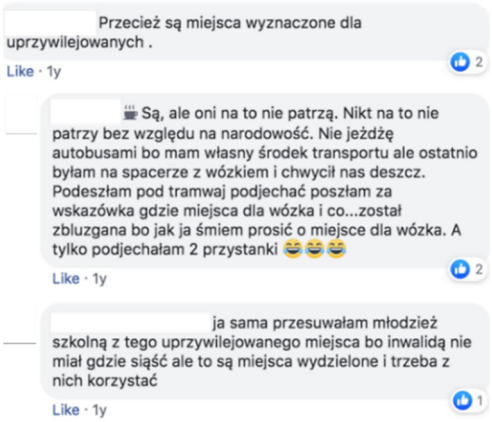
1		**F:** [*referencing female respondent who said that people do not need to cede their spots to others (Figure 6.14 example 3*); MS] you just showed your level and class. First you judge Mora that she cleans, well actually she is Polish and Polish ladies only do that in Belgium, later you state that you do not give a shit. This is a fucking obligation of every passenger to cede a place to elderly, pregnant, passengers with children and disabled!
2		**F:** I guess you did not read the regulation of the bus line De Lijn …. please read it and then you will be able to understand that you actually are supposed to cede your seat to elderly, sick and pregnant. Have a beautiful day, Dear compatriots.

Figure 6.5: Comments recalling the institutionalized scripts

1		**F**: But there are designated seats for privileged people. **F**: Yes, but they do not pay attention to it. Nobody pays attention to it regardless of the nationality. I am not commuting by bus because I have my own means of transportation but lately I went for a walk with a trolley and we were caught by rain. I went up to the tram to ride up I followed the guidelines where the places for trolleys are and what…I got sworn at, because how dare I to ask for the trolley spot. And I was only riding up two stops **F**: I myself had to move school children from privileged place because a disabled person did not have a place to sit but these are the assigned places and you should make use of them

2	Jesteście okropni piszecie zostań w domu , idź do lekarza weź zwolnienie , robisz problem , ciąża to nie choroba .... Skoro ciąża nie jest choroba to zwolnienia od ręki się nie otrzyma 😉 Ta Pani nie powinna prosić o miejsce w autobusach ,tramwajach są specjalne oznaczenia miejaca dla kobiet w ciąży ,z wózkami itp ale oczywiście nikt nie zastosujesiw do tego , a gdy podejdziesz i poprosisz o ustąpienie miejsca dla siebie lub dla dziecka większość z was odwraca głowę , może dziś jak wejdziecie do autobusu rozejrzyjcie sie i zamiast rozpisywać się tutaj pokazując ile to rozumów nie zjedliscie poprostu zróbcie dobry uczynek i ustąpcie miejsce komuś kto bardziej go potrzebuje 😉 Like · 1y 16	**F:** You are terrible, you write stay at home, go to the doctor get a sick leave, you are making a problem, pregnancy is not an illness .... If pregnancy is not an illness, she won't get her sick leave right away. This lady should not be asking for a seat in the busses, trams are special signs indicating places for pregnant ladies, with trolleys etc. but of course nobody conforms to these norms, and when you come up and ask someone to cede their spot for you or your child majority will look another way, maybe today you will enter the bus you will turn around and instead of commenting here to show off how smart you are, do a good deed and cede a seat to someone who needs it more.

Figure 6.6: Commentators' perspectives on the divergence from institutionalized norms

We can see a frame in action here: that of pregnancy, which only becomes explicit through the format that conveys all the behavioral rules of conduct within that frame. It is important to note however that the frame of pregnancy operates within the larger, primary frame of work, as indicated in the background description in Mora's post in Figure 6.3, depicted by phrases, such as "going to work," "go cleaning in Schilde" and "just like you I have to start working at 8." Mora explains that she is not just a pregnant lady that happens to travel on a bus at the same hour as the working people, but she is a working person herself who needs to be at work by 8 and on top of that she is six months pregnant. The frame of work is also frequently reoccurring in the comments where work is mentioned, either explicitly or implicitly, as a reference to the current topic, such as the first example in Figure 6.5. In other words, an interpretive dimension of a frame allows for the recognition of an action as belonging to a particular category to which strong moral values are attached. The frame operates through a particular behavioral format, and the specific rules that people follow to conduct themselves in their conversation with others, or which they point out during interactions, are scripts.

There is a dimension of universality here – respect for pregnant women should not depend on race, class or nationality, but it should be a fundamental human reaction (see examples in Figure 6.7). The scripts are always heavily moralized and formats are made up of both universal and newly emergent norms of conduct. So, what can be observed here is a primary frame of work and a secondary frame of pregnancy, interacting in a specific chronotope, leading to specific scripts about ceding your seat to a pregnant woman.

Because of the institutionalized backup, Mora's own position within the frame of work and a high regard for fundamental norms, such as respect for pregnant women, Mora gets quite a bit of support for her complaint. Many of the respondents support her, endorse her, and even though the majority of the individuals involved in this conversation are females, the support is not gender specific (see the examples in Figure 6.8).

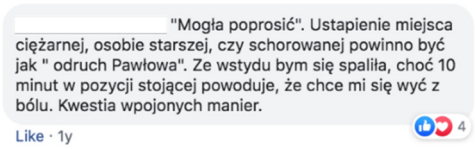
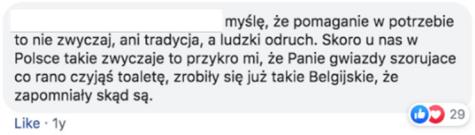
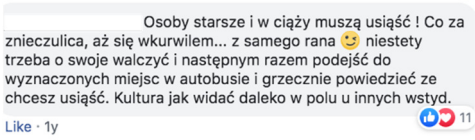
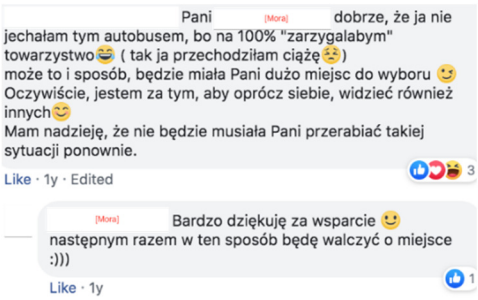
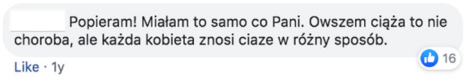
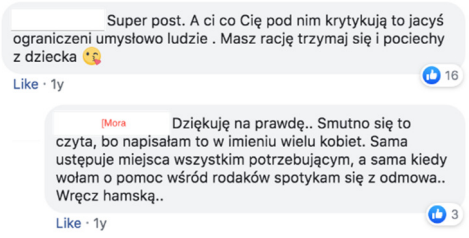
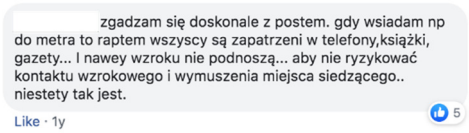
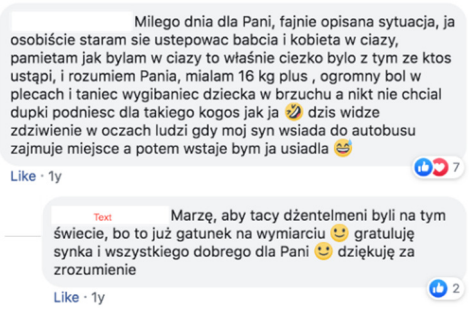
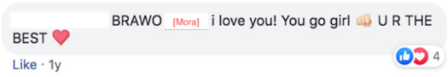
1		**F:** "She could have asked." Ceding a spot for a pregnant lady, elderly or sick person should be like "Pavlov reflex". I would burn with shame, even though 10 minutes in a standing position makes me want to howl in pain. It is the matter of instilled manners.
2		**F:** I think that helping those in need is not a habit nor a tradition, but a human reflex. Since in Poland, these are our traditions then I feel sad that Lady princesses who scrub someone's floor every morning became so Belgian that they forgot, where they are from.
3		**F:** You should always cede you seat for pregnant women – always and everywhere!

Figure 6.7: Comments emphasizing the importance of institutionalized scripts – scripts depicted as a fundamental human reaction

1		**M**: Pregnant and elderly people need to sit down! What a numbness/ indifference, it pissed me off… in the early morning unfortunately one needs to fight for his own and next time you need to get to the designated places in the bus and politely say that you want to sit. Manners of others, as you can see, are lagging far behind, shame.
2		**F:** Miss Mora, good that I didn't travel with this bus, because I would, for 100% "puke over" the entire company (this is how I went through pregnancy). Maybe this is a way, you will have a lot of places to choose from. Of course, I support the claim, that people should look beyond themselves and see other people as well. I hope that you will not have to experience the same situation again. **F (Mora):** Thank you for your support next time I will try to fight for the seat in this way :)))

3		**F:** I support you! I had the same as you Miss. Yes, pregnancy is not an illness, but every woman experiences pregnancy differently.
4		**F:** Great entry! And the people who criticize you under it are some mentally limited people. You are right, hold on and I wish you joy with your child **F (Mora):** Thank you, really… It is sad to read all that, because I wrote in the name of many women. I, myself always cede a spot to the needy, and when I call for help among my countrymen myself, I experience refusal.. and a rude one…
5		**F:** I completely agree with your post. When I get into for example a metro then everyone quickly stares at their phones, books, newspapers... And they do not even look up... not to risk an eye contact which would force them to cede their seat… unfortunately it is like that.
6		**F:** Have a nice day Miss, nicely described situation, I personally try to cede my seat to grandmas and pregnant women, I remember when I was pregnant and it was indeed difficult to have someone cede a seat, and I understand you, I had 16kg plus, immense pain in my back and baby dancing in my belly but nobody wanted to move their bottom for someone like me today I see astonishment in people's eyes when my son enters a bus, takes a seat and later he stands up for me to sit down **Mora (F):** I dream for gentlemen like that to be in this world, because these species are almost extinct. Congratulations with your son and all the best to you Miss. Thank you for understanding.
7		**F:** Applause Mora I love you! You go girl You are the best[53]

[53] One of the female respondents chose to express her support in English. The choice of a foreign language over Polish could be perceived as a safer alternative to express her support. The message did not trigger any further debate and did not expose her in the conversation.

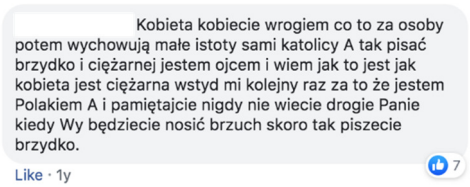
8		**M:** Women are women's enemies. What kind of people are they and later they raise little beings, real Catholics. But to write so ugly to a pregnant woman. I am a father and I know how it is when a woman is pregnant. I am ashamed, yet another time, to be Polish. But remember, you never know, dear Ladies when you will be having a baby bump if you are commenting so ugly.

Figure 6.8: Mora's supporters

The examples in Figure 6.8 show that the respondents agree with the primary frame of work and pregnancy that are at stake here, but underlying all communication in this community there is Polishness: all of the frames, formats, scripts ultimately refer to positions with regard to Polish identity – the big issue, debated and contested throughout the online interactions. It can be said that Polishness is a default frame of the Polish community, this frame however is not always a matter of choice, but mostly a matter of inheritance, as it is socially co-constructed within communities. Inheritance therefore should not be seen as an autonomous concept that cannot be escaped, but rather as social construction that is dependent on social action as well.

The frame of Polishness is very deep-rooted in communities, as it represents the 'thick identity diacritics' discussed in Chapter 2, and as a consequence it might no longer be visible for people involved in the interaction. The notion of Polishness is reiterated in a majority of the posts on the forum, because everything that happens there concerns Polish people, and so each frame, format and script is evaluated with reference to how Polish people 'really' are. Example 8 in Figure 6.8 uses some of the descriptions of stereotypical Polishness, such as being religious, and morally evaluates the behavior of Polish people not only from the bus, but also on the forum itself in view of the frame of religion and the frame of Polishness. The behavior of the group members in not positively evaluated from within those frames, which is why the author says ironically "real Catholics." On top of that, he despises the behavior of those pseudo-Catholics, and states that he is "ashamed, yet another time, to be Polish."

Mora, backed by her supporters and within the 'pregnant woman' frame, clearly describes a script here. She identifies a strongly moralized mode of behavior, to which identity judgments are attached. Those who follow the prescribed mode of behavior – or script – are good people while those who violate it are treated to rather strong forms of verbal condemnation. Observe that these condemnations are directed at Polish women, and that she describes these women in derogatory categorial terms, the more since Mora believes that the women noticed her pregnancy. She says as much in her initial post (see Figure 6.9), provoking shame on the people who were not following the script.

Mora: *Skąd to wiem? Bo na cały autobus niosą się ploty i złowieszcze spojrzenia. (...) No i te Polskie twarze, które po dokładnym obejrzeniu moich spuchniętych nóg, opiętej na cyckach kurtki i potarganych włosów, od góry na dół - odwracają się w okno. Żadna dama w przedziale od 18 do 60 nie zwróciła uwagi na mój pokaźny brzuch, który ledwo mieścił się w tłumie, ściśnięty pomiędzy śmierdzącymi petami i dniem wczorajszym ludźmi.*	**Mora:** How do I know that? [*that the bus is filled with Polish ladies scrambling to go cleaning in Schilde*; MS]. Because gossip and evil looks splash around the whole bus. And these Polish faces having carefully inspected my swollen feet, my jacket tightly strapped around my boobs and ruffled hair – from top to bottom – turn to the window. None of the madams between the ages of 18 to 60, managed to notice my substantial belly that barely fitted in the crowd, compressed in-between stinky cigarettes and yesterday's people.

Figure 6.9: Reiteration from Figure 6.3

Mora's attack is directed to Polish women and echoes sensitivities encountered in the thesis before – the problem of solidarity and conviviality among members of the Polish diaspora. Mora herself writes that she got a seat from a Moroccan lady, and this resonates with experiences of some other commentators as well, as shown in Figure 6.10.

1	[redacted] Miałam identycznie. Ciagle narzekamy jakie to inne narody złe i nie wychowane a sami przykładem nie świecimy. Kiedyś nawet zasłabłam w autobusie (427), wokół pełno polek które znam z widzenia bo co tydzień tym samym autobusem jeździliśmy i żadna się nie pofatygowała zeby mi pomóc. Tylko jeden "brudas" pomógł mi wstać i zaproponował pomoc. Ale obrabiać dupe połowie Antwerpii to się nigdy nie krępowały. Like · 1y 27	**F:** I had an identical situation. We constantly complain how bad other nations are and how badly brought up they are, but we do not set a good example ourselves. Once I even fainted in the bus (427), around me many Polish ladies, whom I know by sight, because every week we travel with the same bus and none of them bothered to help me. Only one "brownie"[54] helped me on my feet and offered to help. But to badmouth[55] half of Antwerp never made them feel uncomfortable.
2	[redacted] Ja jestem w 9 miesiacu ciazy i za kazdym razem gdy korzystam z transportu publicznego kazdy odwraca glowe i udaje ze nie widzi. Ostatnio mlofa belgijka mnie zaskoczyla widziala mnie (stalam juz dobre 15 min) z odleglosci zostaeila swoja torbe na siedzeniu przyszla po mnie i ustapila miejsca. To bylo niesamowicie mile ale przez cala ciążę zdazylo sie tylko dwa razy. Drugim przypadkiem byl maly marokanczym moze mial ok10 lat nie wiecej. Zero kuturalnego zachowania. Paniusie z pieskami na kolanach i zakupami zajmuja po dwa siedzenia i zadna za przeproszeniem dupy nie ruszy.... mężczyźni wcale nie lepsi Like · 1y 6	**F:** I am in the 9th month of my pregnancy and every time I make use of public transport, everyone turns away and pretends not to see. Recently, a young Belgian girl surprised me (I was standing for good 15 minutes already), she saw me from a distance, and she left her purse on her spot, came to get me and offered her seat. It was unbelievably kind, but throughout the entire pregnancy, it happened only two times. The second case was a young Moroccan boy who was maybe 10 years old, not more. Zero good manners. Madams with lap dogs and shopping bags take up two seats and none of them, excuse my language, will move their ass…men are not better either

[54] The author uses the word 'brudas' which means filthy, dirty and it is a derogatory term used to refer to a dark-skinned person.

[55] Badmouth is slang meaning disparage.

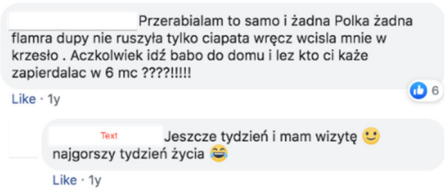
3		**F:** I had a similar situation when I was pregnant and it was a Moroccan lady that even wanted to bring me home, because I was not feeling well!!!! Compatriots SHAME on you
4		**F:** I went through the same and no Polish lady, nor Belgian lady moved their ass, but a brownie[56] almost pushed me in her seat. But woman, go home, who says you have to work your ass in the 6th month? **Mora (F)**: One more week and I have my appointment. The worst week of my life.

Figure 6.10: Commentator's perspectives on solidarity between different communities as reflected in the frame of pregnancy

Other individuals reflect upon the issues of Polishness and try to undermine the argument of Mora and some of the other commentators (see Figure 6.11). Polish people are not the only ones who break this script, and Moroccan people not the only ones who follow it.

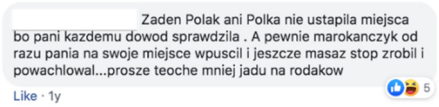
	**M:** None of the Polish males nor females ceded the seat, because you Miss checked everyone's ID. And likely a Moroccan immediately ceded the spot for you and even massaged your feet and fanned you… please less venom to your compatriots.

Figure 6.11: Reflection upon compliance with scripts

Mora's post started an extensive conversation however, and reactions were definitely not unanimous. And here we encounter the power of the primary frame of work. Mora in her post, attacked Polish working women, and this aspect of her complaint (including the strong identity judgments that came with it) triggered intense attacks from others, as illustrated in the examples in Figure 6.12. Based on the moral evaluation of the frame of work, working people are in essence 'good' people, and any attack on them can be negatively perceived by others. Individuals are therefore easily outraged and try to zoom in on Mora and her behavioral conduct. Some commentators suggest that it seems like "this pregnancy is some sort of punishment for Mora" (comment 1) and others say "that some people completely lost their heads because of this emigration that they even envy those who have seats in the bus" (comment 2). Still others point out "that life in this country is [not; MS] a radio request show" (comment 5), and reflect on Mora's actions in the following way: "you judge other people, but you yourself show your 'class' writing like that about other people" (comment 6). Mora is reminding others of generally accepted norms, but her own behavior online does

[56] The word '*ciapata*' (used in the original text) is a female noun, a derogatory term to describe people of color, who are not black, originating from the Middle East namely Pakistani, Hindu or Arabic. The word originates from Urdu and it is a Polish version of a pronunciation of the word chapati (*capātī* - pancakes originating from India). It can be compared to English derogatory terms, such as Paki or Wog.

not seem to follow the newly emergent norms of online environments, in which you are not supposed to 'badmouth', troll or belittle other people, as suggested in comment 6 – "I think that if you are just as unsympathetic as the way in which you wrote your entry, then it is not surprising that nobody ceded their seat."

1	Polska księżniczka w Belgii! Nie Ty pierwsza i nie ostatnia. Świata nie zmienisz... A czytając ciągle "bęben" to można odczuć że ciąża to jakaś kara dla Ciebie... Like · 1y 6	**F:** Polish Princess in Belgium! You are not the first and not the last. You won't change the world… And reading constantly "balloon" gives a feeling that this pregnancy is some sort of punishment for you…
2	Widzę ze nie którym tak emigracja do łba strzeliła ze zazdroszczą tym co mają miejsce a autobusie 🤣 Like · 1y 8	**M:** I can see that some people completely lost their heads because of this emigration that they even envy those who have seats in the bus
3	Ale masz smutne życie, widzisz je jak chcesz widzieć a Twój dzidziuś chłonie humorku mamy. Spojrzyj na pewne sytuacje z lepszej strony a będziesz szczęśliwsza. Like · 1y 7	**F:** What a sad life you have, you see it the way you want to and your baby soaks up mam's moods. Look at some situations from a better angle and you will be happier.
4	Zero szacunku dla własnego "bebna" a wymagany szacunek od innych. Słabe. Każdy ma taki los jaki sobie zgotował. Zawsze mozna sie wyprowadzić z Belgii, założyć chustę i czekać na szacunek. Like · 1y 10	**F:** Zero respect for your own 'balloon' but you expect respect from others. Weak. Everybody has a faith that they brought upon themselves. You can always move out of Belgium, put on burka and wait for respect.
5	Wy myslicie ze zycie w tym kraju to jakis koncert zyczen? tu wybuchaja jebane bomby na ulicach a wy sie doszukujecie empatii od innych smiech na sali przejrzyjcie wreszcie na oczy, a to ze inni wzajemnie obrabiaja sobie dupe to zadna nowosc ich zycie jest i pozostanie spelnione 😆 Like · 1y 9	**F:** Do you think that life in this country is a radio request show? Here fucking bombs explode on the streets and you are looking for empathy from others pathetic open your eyes, and the fact that others badmouth each other is no news their life is and will stay fulfilled.
6	Myślę,że jeśli Pani jest tak nie sympatyczna jak sposób w jaki Pani napisała ten post to nic dziwnego że nikt Pani miejsca nie ustąpił Ocenia Pani innych sama pokazują swoją "klase" pisząc w taki sposób o innych ludziach Eh.... Like · 1y 12	**F:** I think that if you are just as unsympathetic as the way in which you wrote your entry, then it is not surprising that nobody ceded their seat. You judge other people, but you yourself show your 'class' writing like that about other people Eh...

Figure 6.12: Perceptions of Mora's opponents

The fact that Mora is also working while pregnant becomes the topic of violent rebuke. Individuals question and evaluate Mora's situation from the perspective of a working frame, as shown in Figure 6.13. Commentator in example 1 states that if Mora has "the energy to work for 8 hours," she should also be able to stand in "a bus for a few minutes," and that it

seems as if Mora "is looking for pity for [her; MS] own pregnancy." Similarly, the poster of comment 2 explains that if "you are able to work" you should be "able to stand in the bus," emphasizing that "pregnancy is not an illness."

1	[redacted] Nie ogarniam.... Pracować 8 godzin masz siłę, ale parę minut w autobusie postać to mega wysiłek?? Szukasz litości dla własnej ciąży??? Nie bardzo rozumiem przesłanki... Like · 1y 8	**F:** I do not understand… You have the energy to work for 8 hours, but standing in a bus for a few minutes is too big of an effort?? Are you looking for pity for your own pregnancy?? I do not quite understand your message...
2	[redacted] Ciąża to nie choroba ze maja ustąpić miejsca jesteś wstanie pracować a nie jesteś w stanie postać w autobusie żenujący post co ma do tego Polka śmierdząca czy pachnąca maskara jak to jeden drugiego gnoi Like · 1y 21	**F:** Pregnancy is not an illness that people have to cede their spot, you are able to work but you are not able to stand in the bus, this post is embarrassing, what a stinky or fragrant Polish woman has to do with it, massacre how one slanders another

Figure 6.13: Perceptions on 'working while pregnant'

Some individuals even suggest that Mora should stay at home (example 1), get a sick leave (example 2), early maternity leave, get a car (example 3) or simply not get pregnant (example 2) if she has such high moral standards and behavioral expectations from other people (see Figure 6.14).

1	[redacted] Jak jest się w ciąży w 6 miesiącu to się w domu siedzi a nie jeździ ciasnym tramwajami i żali na całą Antwerpie Like · 1y 12	**M:** If you are 6 months pregnant then you sit at home, not in the overcrowded trams and complain to the whole of Antwerp.
2	[redacted] Po co bylo juz w ciaze zachodzic ?trzeba bylo sie dorobic najpierw limuzyny z szoferem,sposob w jaki pani pisze o ludziach ba o wlasnym brzuchu beben to jest dopiero pokaz inteligencji i empatii.jesli nie jest w stanie pani pracowac to trzeba pojsc do lekarza i poprosic o zwolnienie.I po co robic gownoburze od rana? wystarczylo dojsc do kogos i powiedziec zeby ustapil miejsca bo zle sie pani czuje,napewno nikt by nie odmowil. Like · 1y 4	**F:** For what reason did you get pregnant already? You should have first earned yourself a limousine with a chauffeur, the way in which you write about other people, ba, about your own belly – balloon, this is the true show of intelligence and empathy. If you are unable to work, then you need to go to the doctor and ask for sick leave. Is there really the need to start the shit storm from the early morning? It was enough to walk up to someone, tell them to cede their spot for you, because you are not feeling well, I am sure that nobody would refuse.

3	Gdzies mam czy się komuś mój kom spodoba. Jestem w stanie Cię zrozumiec, ale że jesteś w ciąży nie czyni Cię lepszą niż inni użytkownicy publicznego środka transportu. Mógłby ktoś ustąpić miejsca, ale nie musi. Kwestia kultury i empatii. I..skoro z takim ,,bębenem" jak sama określiłas, masz siłę pracować (na sprzątaniu?) To musisz i trasę do pracy wytrzymać. Albo zakupić auto. Post, w tym miejscu i tak nie odniesie skutku. Ale,chociaż dałaś upust nerwom.. Like · 1y 14	**F:** I do not care if people are going to like my comment. I am able to understand you, but the fact that you are pregnant does not make you better than any other users of the public transport. Someone could cede you their spot, but they do not have to. It is the matter of culture and empathy. And if you, with such a 'balloon' as you yourself said, are able to work (cleaning houses?) Then you have to hold out the route to work as well. Or you can purchase a car. Your entry here will not bring effect anyway. But, at least you could blow off some steam…

Figure 6.14: Suggestions of Mora's opponents

Mora's involvement in the conversation on Facebook is evaluated against the format of a working frame. A good employee needs to comply to this format, and their behavior should not be seen in violation of the existing scripts. Some commentators go as far as to point out that Mora might not be a good employee, as shown in Figure 6.15. Mora's behavior is questioned and moralized by some of her respondents in view of the working frame, and specific scripts are identified, such as the suggestion that Mora is spending "the whole day on Facebook writing [her; MS] post and responding to comments" during working hours. This evaluation of Mora clashes with her own description of herself (a hardworking person, even during the pregnancy).

	A po za tym ja bym Cie z pracy zwolniła Zamiast Pracować to na fejsie zleciał Ci cały dzień na pisanie posta i odpowiedziach na niego Like · 1y 7	**F:** And by the way, I would fire you from work. Instead of working you have spent the whole day on Facebook writing your post and responding to comments.

Figure 6.15: Evaluation of Mora's behavior

Supporters of Mora however explicitly point out to others that the post is not about work (Figure 6.16). The format and scripts through which it is realized, in a frame of work significantly differs from the format in a pregnancy frame.

Quite a few respondents question the appropriateness of working as a cleaning lady while being pregnant. We can observe a clash of frames here – that of pregnancy and work. By illustrating what it is that commentators agree or disagree with, they depict the boundaries of identity. People who accept Polish pregnant ladies to clean their house are not viewed positively by some of the individuals involved in the interaction (see Figure 6.17).

Others acknowledge that employers are viewed positively under a general frame of work. They offer jobs to people who might need them. Polish ladies cannot stop working because they are pregnant, and Belgian people are willing to overlook their shortcomings during the period of their pregnancy. People have different moral evaluations of the clashing frames (see Figure 6.18).

F1: It [*good manners*; MS] does not depend on nationality, but on what you got from home! I also gave birth recently and I did not demand from anybody to cede their seat for me. And when I felt bad and I was not able to work then I went on an early maternity leave and not until the last moment…

F2: So when you felt bad then half of your pregnancy you were sitting at home and you did not go anywhere? This is not a post about work!

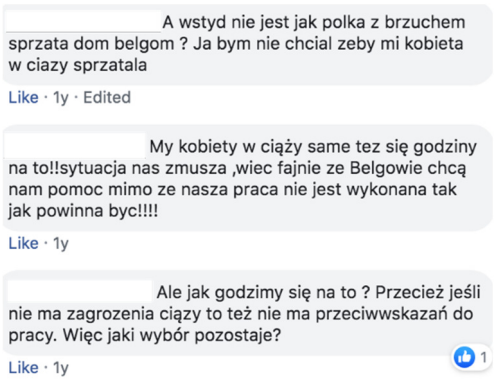
F2: You do not know what the situation of females is like so do not judge in advance!! What does work have to do with ceding ones' spot in a bus, tram or a public space?

Figure 6.16: Reminder with regard to the original frame of Mora's appeal

M: What? I would not have a clear conscience if a Polish woman with a baby bump would clean my house!!!

Figure 6.17: Working as a cleaning lady during pregnancy – questioned

1



M: Isn't it a disgrace that a Polish lady with a baby bump is cleaning the houses of Belgians? I wouldn't want a pregnant lady to clean my house.

F1: We, pregnant women ourselves agree to it!! Situation forces us to do so, so it is nice that Belgians want to help us even though our work is not done in a way it should be done!!!

F2: But how do we agree to it? If you are not in an endangered pregnancy, there are no contraindications to work. So, what kind of choice remains?

2	Co? Ja bym nie mial sumienia zeby mi polka z brzuchem dom sprzatala !!! Like · 2y Czasem kobiety nie maja wyjscia! Like · 2y a co myślisz że jak w ciąży się sprząta to klienci karzą chatę od góry do dołu robić ? No bez przesady 🙂 ja miałam kawusie herbatkę i ciasto podstawiane i dłuższe przerwy, lepiej niż w domu 😂 na pewno miała tak część Pan stąd 🙂 Like · 2y Hmmmm to pan jest wyjatkiem.Ja do konca 8 m-ca pracowalam.....ale nie powiem,mialam ulgi i to duze😊🙂 Like · 2y · Edited	**M:** What? I would not have a clear conscience if a Polish woman with a baby bump would clean my house!! **F1:** Sometimes women do not have a choice! **F2:** Do you think that when you are pregnant your customers make you clean their house from top to bottom? Let's not exaggerate, I had coffee, tea and cake put under my nose and longer breaks, better than at home. For sure some of the ladies here had that too. **F3:** [*Reply to M*; MS] Hmmmm then you are an exception. I worked until the end of the 8th month…but I cannot say, I received special treatment, big time.

Figure 6.18: Working as a cleaning lady during pregnancy – evaluated

The frame of work gives rise to even more distant issues. The husband of Mora and his role as a head of family is questioned. The commentators point out that a very specific form of behavior is expected of a husband within the pregnancy frame and the work frame. In other words, the individuals reflect on specific scripts that are deeply rooted in society and required of a husband. This means that very specific scripts are pointed out and expected to be followed. As a good husband, you are supposed to help your wife during pregnancy and you should be the one providing for your family, or at least your pregnant wife's income should not be the primary income within a household.

1	Autorko czy Twój mąż leży przed tv, kiedy ty z wielkim brzuchem musisz ciagac się do pracy autobusem? Like · 2y	**F:** Author, is your husband laying in front of tv, when you with this big belly have to commute to work by bus?
2	Od tego jest mąż zeby pomogl zawiesc do pracy itp Like · 2y Uważasz że ona zapierdala a mąż siedzi na dupie? Dobre 😂 Like · 2y	**M:** This is what husband is for, to help bring to work etc. **F:** Do you think she works her ass off and her husband sits on his ass? Good one.

Figure 6.19: Commentators' behavioral expectations of a husband

Another interesting aspect, visible in this interaction is the fact that people explicitly reflect upon what other people do, say or think, i.e. the behavior of others, as observable in scripts, and evaluate and contest this behavior in accordance with their own moral reflections. For instance, in example 1 in Figure 6.20, a commentator pointed out different potential ways of 'seeing' the action of standing in different situations, e.g. elders standing 'in church for

an hour' versus elders standing in a bus, which would lead to different conclusions as to whether one should cede a seat to a standing elder or not. In other words, a same action, when approached with reference to different frames in different chronotopes, might lead to different moral judgements and reactions. This is to say that in social life, a same action is subject to the examination and interpretation of people with reference to different frames in different chronotopes. This fact highlights the cultural and social importance of the interaction between different frames, which is in essence the negotiation and (re)construction of moral judgements and frames, and consequently formats and scripts.

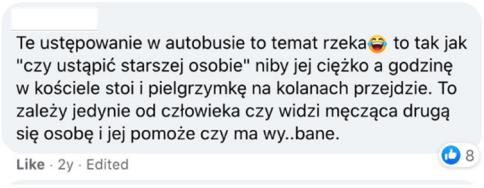
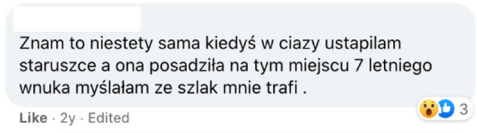
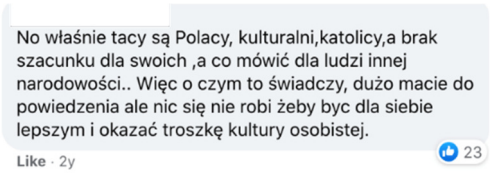
1		**M:** Ceding one's place in a bus is a very broad subject. It is like "shall I cede my seat to an elderly person" it is kind of hard for them, but they can stand in church for an hour and will manage the pilgrimage on their knees. It depends only on a person and whether they see another person struggling and decide to help or not to give a f..k.
2		**F:** Unfortunately, I know this. Once, while pregnant, I conceded my seat to an elderly woman and she seated there her 7 year old grandson I was so pissed.

Figure 6.20: Institutionalized scripts questioned – interacting frames

6.3 The Complexities of Solidarity

As already illustrated in Chapters 2 and 5, superdiverse neighborhoods, such as Berchem, can be characterized by high levels of conviviality and solidarity among different ethnic groups. People display high levels of tolerance and helpfulness, which is not necessarily limited to help from within the national community. This phenomenon is also observed in online interactions, such as the case of Mora discussed in this chapter – according to the participants of the Polish Facebook forum, other nationalities tended to be more eager to help Polish people than their own compatriots. Moroccans or Turkish people emerge as potential friends, partners, problems solvers or even potential allies, which is in contrast to the situation among Polish communities themselves and this has proven to be a rather sensitive topic among Polish diaspora communities.

Some individuals in the conversation on Mora's complaint point to those sensitive issues, especially frequent disharmony among Poles. They do that by means of pointing out specific behaviors that index specific identities, or in a more technical jargon – particular scripts, as shown in Figure 6.21, which are either perceived as morally good or morally bad and which consequently index particular identities.



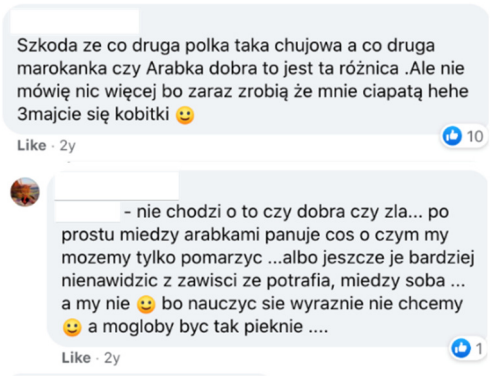
F: This is exactly how the Poles are, well-mannered,[57] Catholics, but with no respect for their own people, not mentioning people of different nationality.. So what does it prove, you have a lot to say but nothing is done to be better for each other and show some good manners.

Figure 6.21: The nature of Poles through the eyes of a Facebook user

It is also often acknowledged that other cultures tend to be more solidary towards one another, and Moroccan ladies excel all the other cultures in that respect, as is frequently pointed out by Polish people in online interactions (see Figure 6.22). The distinction here is an entirely moral one – the good and the bad females.

Another important phenomenon tackled in the conversations refers to the differences between online and offline spaces, and how the actual behavior differs online and offline. One of the respondents, as shown in Figure 6.23, specifically mentions that the members of the Polish Facebook group have a tendency to share online "how good they are to compatriots," but she finds that those are rather empty claims that "end with the cables [online; MS] and not in real life." Of course, this observation is not specific to Polish people, and pertains in society in general, but it is an important issue often raised by the members of various Polish Facebook forums.

1



F: It's a pity that every second Polish woman is so fucking bad and every second Moroccan or Arab woman is good, this is the difference. But I say no more because you will make a colored[58] one out of me. Haha. Take care ladies

F: It is not about whether she is good or bad ... simply between Arabic women there is something that we can only dream about ... or hate them even more out of envy that they can, among themselves ... and we cannot. Because we clearly do not want to learn, but it could be so beautiful ....

[57] In Polish the word '*kulturalni*' does not necessarily imply that someone is well-educated or has a good taste or knowledge of arts. It is primarily about being 'well-mannered' and concerned with issues of 'propriety' reflecting social and cultural manners.

[58] She uses the word '*ciapatą*', see footnote 56 for explanation.

2		**F1:** Well, those ladies in scarves are so bad, but sometimes they have more heart than many Polish women **F2:** I do not refer only to Poles here, because they are not the only ones who behave like that, majority of people act like that **F3:** it is not their heart, it is their culture – a woman needs to help another woman **F2:** (F3) yes, ladies in scarves are really much more willing to help another woman **F3:** (F2) yes, because they have it coded in their culture ... and we only have a "rivalry" for a better "male" ... over the dead bodies of other women ....

Figure 6.22: Reflections upon conviviality among different cultures

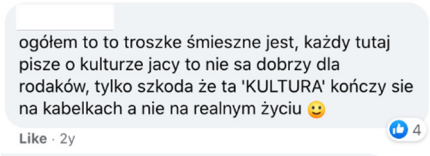
1		**F**: Generally, it is a bit funny, everyone here is writing about culture[59] how good they are to compatriots. But it is a pity that this "CULTURE" ends with the cables [*online*; MS] and not in real life.

Figure 6.23: Discrepancies between online and offline behaviors – identified

Individuals go so far as to conclude that if Mora would not direct her update at Polish ladies – Polish working ladies to be exact – everyone would agree with her complaint (see Figure 6.24). The fact that Mora attacked Polish ladies who live and work in a superdiverse neighborhood made the case exceptionally complex.

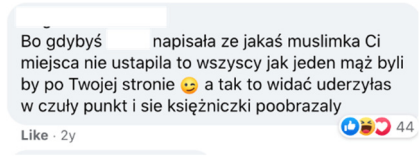
1		**F**: Because if you, Mora would write that a Muslim lady did not cede a spot for you, everyone jointly would be on your side. And now you touched upon a sensitive subject and princesses are offended.

Figure 6.24: Comment describing complexities of solidarity

[59] The author of the comment used the words: '*kulturze*' and '*kultura*' respectively. The words literally mean 'culture', but they can have multiple meanings in Polish. The context of the message suggests that the commentator refers to '*kultura osobista*' that means 'propriety'.

6.4 Scripted Identity Work

It is easy to see how most of the discussion on Mora's complaint involves explicit descriptions of details of adequate versus inadequate behavior, to which identity judgments are attached. Thus, we see a multitude of very concrete scripts circulating, revolving around two major frames: 'the pregnant women frame' and 'the work frame'. The latter, as explained in Section 3.2, is the primary frame I encountered in my data. Another topic that becomes vivid throughout the conversation is the notion of Polishness and the nature of the Poles in immigration, but at an even higher level than all the rest. It becomes activated by means of the primary frame of work, which as shown in the previous chapter, is the primary frame for Polishness as well. The notion of work and Polishness are intrinsically connected and often evoked simultaneously.

This means that the most prevalent frame in an interaction is the primary one, and this chapter has shown that work operates as the primary frame in the majority of interactions among Polish people on Facebook. Within specific primary frames, multiple frames might be present simultaneously, such as the frame of pregnancy operating as a sub-frame in this Facebook interaction. Which frame comes out as a salient one in specific stretch of communication depends on the co-construction of orderliness and understandability of participants. The work frame can lead to specific scripts about pregnancy in relation to work, but it can also lead via the pregnancy frame to a Polishness frame. However, it is scripts that make frames visible in the online interactions.

By focusing on scripts, it becomes clear that groups and identities in the context of superdiversity need to be looked at in a different way. The identities that can be seen evolving through scripts are not the identities as we know them and this is why the focus on action is so essential in this kind of analysis. The identities are intricate and nuanced products of tightly organized and policed social action, and they are continuously contested and put up for inspection. They need to be ratified by others in order to become valid and even then, they are continuously challenged and might take up a variety of different shapes. Scripts and formats only become relevant if they are viewed through frames that sketch moral orientations in which social action is recognized and evaluated. Scripts are the outcome, i.e. final, observable behaviors of heavily moralized and behavioral aspects of chronotopes. They are the third step in the chronotopic analysis.

The multitude of simultaneously present frames, formats and scripts leads to the polynomic situation, which is organized by co-existing frames. The next chapter will offer a synthesis of the different dimensions of the chronotope discussed so far – frames, formats and scripts – in which a widely used concept from online studies will be used, i.e. the concept of 'context collapse'.

CHAPTER 7

Chronotopic Analysis: Picking up the Pieces

In the preceding chapters the key conceptual tools of chronotopic analysis were laid out, explained and illustrated. This chapter will bring them into a synthesis to show how a chronotopic analysis actually proceeds. Briefly repeating what was emphasized in the previous chapters, the starting point is that chronotopes impose moralized behavioral scripts, of which frames constitute the moralized-interpretive dimension, while formats and scripts point to different behavioral-normative dimensions of order.

However, before integrating these concepts in one analysis, it is important to briefly return to the basic principles that were sketched in the introductory chapter. The main point of departure for chronotopic analysis is the focus on social action as not preceded by assumptions about social structure, groups and identities. Social action is therefore the key to get an understanding of communities and individuals, but necessarily without any a priori assumptions with regard to social groups. Interaction becomes therefore the basic unit in analyzing the 'social' in sociolinguistics, instead of, and replacing, the long tradition of using existing (social) groups and their characteristics as basic units. By shifting the focus from groups to interaction as social action, it is possible to make much more concrete statements with regard to identity and groups in online discourses (Blommaert, 2019b). The reason for choosing this approach lays at the very core of the online interactions' character, because very little can be assumed with regard to groups and identities in an online context and "we usually only have the actions as hard evidence" (Blommaert, 2019b: 489).

The complexity of such actions should not be underestimated, nor simplified: they are never uniform, but rather intertwined and multifaceted. For the purpose of chronotopic analysis, social actions should be viewed as a network with a multitude of different nodes and interconnections. To comprehend this complex nature of social action in online environments, it is necessary to focus on specific forms of actions performed rather than on a general communicative event, and properly contextualize these social actions by attending to timespace constellations evoked in a particular event. To illustrate all of this, I shall address the phenomenon of 'context collapse' that has recently acquired wide currency in online media studies. I will introduce this concept below, but at this point I can already announce the outcome of the discussion: by approaching the topic from the perspective of an action rather than that of an actor by means of a chronotope, it can be seen that context does not collapse, but rather expands. In the analysis, actions can be recognized as concrete instances by means of a frame. Frames enable the interpretation of an event as belonging to a particular category to which a moral vector is attached. When entering online social interaction, participants immediately know what kind of an update they are dealing with and they comprehend the moralized codes that go with it.

Actors in communicative events are not pre-defined, as very little can be known for certain about the identities of the individuals involved; they can however be understood through their interactive performance that results in an emergent sharedness of norms within a particular format. Social order is a result of situated, collective interactions in a specific context and cannot be seen as an effect of individual, independent acts. Formats are essential in order to be able to act upon a particular, recognizable frame. Formats represent a co-constructed social order that is not explicit, but still widely understood and followed by the individuals involved in the interaction. Frame and format always go together, because the frame sketches the moral vector within a format, and the format represents the set of concrete behavioral rules that operate within a frame. Consequently, scripts refer to all the small sets of rules that fit within a format. All of which, together, helps to define online relationships, from which different communities, groups and identities emerge.

The chronotopic analysis offers the methodology and vocabulary to attend to the complexities of online social phenomena and to make concrete statements with regard to individuals, groups and cultures in the online world.

7.1 Context Collapse

Context collapse refers to the phenomenon widely debated in social media research, where various audiences convene around single communicative acts in new networked publics, causing confusion and anxiety among social media users.[60] The notion of context collapse is a key one in the reimagination of social life as a consequence of the mediation technologies we associate with Web 2.0. It is part of an – often tacitly adopted – theory of communication grounded, in turn, in a particular imagery of the social world, and stands for

> the flattening out of multiple distinct audiences in one's social network, such that people from different contexts become part of a singular group of message recipients. (Vitak, 2012: 541)

This is generally seen as a *problem*, something that distorts 'normal' assumptions about communication and requires caution and repair strategies. This problem is an effect of the specific features – affordances as well as constraints – of social network communication, the technology of which "complicates our metaphors of space and place, including the belief that audiences are separate from each other" (Marwick & boyd, 2010: 115), and has taken us from a world of relatively transparent audiences to that of far less transparent 'networked publics' (boyd, 2011). Users on social network sites (SNS) have assumptions about whom they are addressing and interacting with, but the features of SNS do not correspond to these assumptions and create indeterminacy in audience selection, with confusion and uncertainty of users as one effect.

While the notion of context collapse certainly has its merits and should not be dismissed entirely – the indeterminacy of addressees is irrefutable – it invites critical scrutiny (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2017a, 2017b; Tagg, Seargeant & Brown, 2017). In what follows, I shall engage in such an examination, aimed, specifically, at the assumptions about the social

[60] An earlier version of the remainder of this chapter was first published as Szabla and Blommaert (2018).

world and communication carried along with the notion. And I shall do this by means of a relatively straightforward approach: confront such assumptions with a detailed analysis of a sample of SNS interaction. The latter, I undertake by means of a chronotopic analysis.

Let us first look somewhat closer at how the problem of context collapse is sketched in the literature and highlight some of the more questionable assumptions underlying such sketches. The problem called context collapse rests on a general imagination of communication – in earlier times – as *not (that)* sensitive to context collapse. Before we had SNS, communication was relatively simple. Davis and Jurgenson (2014: 477) speak of "the relative segmentation [of communication; MS] of earlier times," and this has to do with a presumed clarity of *audience* and *situation*. People (it is presumed) used to know quite clearly with whom they interacted and, thus, how they should interact. The big problem caused by SNS lies in the latter's unique affordances: communication through SNS is persistent, replicable, scalable, searchable and sharable – features that all characterize communication beyond the immediate interactional situation, or beyond the single speech event, to quote the title of a recent study of such phenomena, i.e. Wortham and Reyes (2015).

This, of course, has effects on who can be addressed by SNS messages, and how such unintended audiences might respond and react to them. People tend to get confused on SNS in a specific way:

> While Facebook and Twitter users don't know exactly who comprises their *audience addressed*, they have a mental picture of who they're writing or speaking to – the *audience invoked*. Much like writers, social media participants imagine an audience and tailor their online writing to match. (Marwick & boyd, 2010: 128)

This analogy with professional writers turns SNS interaction into something *special*, something exceptional. While SNS "combines elements of broadcast media and face-to-face communication" (Marwick & boyd, 2010: 123), spoken face-to-face interaction is the *normal* default mode of communication, the source of people's expectations and norms in interaction, also in scholarship:

> Most of these studies [on 'normal' interaction; MS] draw from data and observations that involve people interacting face-to-face, where it is fairly easy to gauge the gender, race, status, etc. of the audience. Removing this ability creates tensions. (Marwick & boyd, 2010: 123)

These tensions often have to do with issues of 'privacy' and have effects on the ways in which people handle issues of unintended addressees, by means of privacy settings, self-censorship or 'unfriending' and 'blocking' (e.g. Dugay, 2016; Marwick & boyd, 2014; Sibona, 2014).

Underlying such discussions of context collapse, there is a social imagination of communicative simplicity and determinacy. SNS communication complicates a world in which 'normal' interaction was:

- dyadic and spoken, with clear, transparent, 'authentic' and verifiable (singular) identity positions

- deployed in a linear, simple and bounded activity, not replicable beyond the speech event, not shareable, not searchable etc.
- and with a maximum of social sharedness, relating to the nature and identities involved and the audiences addressed.

People, so it seems, had just one set of common assumptions about communication: those directing simple dyadic face-to-face conversation in a world known to both participants. Complex and non-homogeneous audiences used to be exceptional and only familiar to specialized practitioners, i.e. "professional writers" (Marwick & boyd, 2010: 115). Within acts of communication, ordinary people performed simple bounded activities resting on shared assumptions and conduct-and-meaning frames circulating in a 'real' community; all of this, together, constructed the 'context' with which people were familiar. Such simple contexts are no longer afforded in the blended, complex networked publics of SNS, and tensions arise. As it appears, people are, in a way, 'stuck' in specific contexts: "people from different contexts become part of a singular group of message recipients" (Vitak, 2012: 451). And even in more sophisticated discussions, where the assumption of a "verifiable, singular identity" (Marwick & boyd, 2010: 122) is replaced by a more Meadian-Goffmanian emphasis on specific and diverse forms of social roles and role expectations, such roles and expectations appear to 'belong' to specific networks:

> These expectations inform appropriate – and inappropriate – lines of action and identity performance. In these terms, collapse refers to the overlapping of role identities through the intermingling of distinct networks. (Davis & Jurgenson, 2014: 477)

Groups – 'audiences', 'networks' or 'publics' – appear to have amazing degrees of stability and persistence, and 'contexts', in that sense, are features derived from group membership. It is the presence of such unintended audiences that generates context collapse.

The literature on context collapse, we have seen, starts from assumptions about *groups* ('audiences'), their features and stability in explaining interaction; and the latter is done *generally*: authors speak of 'SNS communication' as one single object, features of which include context collapse. Instead of these, I focus not on groups but on actual *practices performed by people*, and I focus on *specific* practices. People do not just communicate, they perform highly specific actions, by employing moral behavioral scripts appropriate to the situation such as 'asking', 'arguing', 'shouting', quarreling' or 'storytelling', and they do so within the space of higher-level social actions i.e. frames and formats such as, for instance, 'conversation'. It is within the layered structure of such complex actions that I consider 'context' and how people deal with it. Such contexts include chronotopic patterns of identity work (a term preferred over for instance 'role taking') based on the genre characteristics of specific activities (Blommaert & De Fina, 2017; Karimzad & Catedral, 2017; Wang & Kroon, 2016). All of this is interactional, i.e. it is driven not by just individual motives and choices but by social (normative) ones that need to be dialogically established and ratified in order to be meaningful in interaction.

The points of departure underlying context collapse are turned upside down here: I do not start from images of groups, with actions and their features derived from them, but I

start from actions and see which kinds of groups might emerge from them. In this sociolinguistic frame, I approach groups pragmatically and axiologically, from the angle of the actual observable communication practices and through the values attributed to such practices. Groups, then, are not a priori given collections of human beings but must be taken from patterned sets of communicative behaviors and the relationships with which they are dialectically related. Whenever we see such ordered forms of communicative behavior, there is an assumption of active and evolving groupness – sociation – but the analytical issue is not the nature of the group (or the label that needs to be chosen for it) but the specific social relationships observable through and in communication. All other aspects of sociation can be related to this. This all leads to the definition of a group as a communicatively organized and ratified set of social relationships.[61]

To shift back to context collapse notions: 'networked publics' do not exist in any real sense independently of specific patterns and modes of interaction, they are *generated* by them and they *change* from action to action, for each action can (and usually does) involve different forms of relationships between actors. When someone tells a story in a conversation, they 'lead' the event, so to speak; when a few minutes later that same person asks an informative question to the interlocutor, they shift into a subordinate role in the event; and when the interlocutor's phone rings, they change from participant to non-participant in a moment's notice. The 'group' made up of the interlocutors is, thus, unstable, continuously emerging and subject to dialogical (re-)ratification at any moment in the conversation, depending on what *exactly* goes on (see Goodwin, 2007; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992; Rampton, 2006 for examples).

When applying this approach now, we begin to notice certain things. For instance, we notice that people don't usually interact with 'audiences' or 'networks' but with specific addressees placed in specific relationships with them during highly specific forms of interaction. In the examples given by Marwick and boyd (2014) to show the dynamics of privacy control on SNS, thus, we see that much of what people actually do is *addressee selection*, expressed quite transparently in lines such as "I wasn't talking to you" (Marwick & boyd, 2014: 1057), or more generally the construction of highly specific participation frameworks through moral behavioral scripts for specific actions (Goodwin, 2007; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992, 2004). Dugay (2016) describes strategies of deliberate simultaneity and ambivalence performed by SNS users, so as to separate specific addressees from the broader audiences and Sibona's (2014) analysis of 'unfriending' on Facebook is evidently a practice of addressee selection-by-exclusion. Thus, the diffuse (and confusing) 'audiences' and 'network publics' causing context collapse appear, in actual practice, to be chopped up into much smaller and highly specific sets of addressees. The reasons for that may be privacy concerns or anxieties over undesirable disclosure of information on SNS – I do not exclude that possibility. But they may *also* be an effect of much simpler features of social action on SNS. I shall now attempt to demonstrate that by turning to data from my study.

[61] Observe that I follow a long-established interactionalist principle of methodology here, often insufficiently emphasized and clarified: to start from *the situation* rather than from its participants. See e.g. Goffman (1964) and Garfinkel (2002) as detailed in Section 1.2.

7.2 A Polish Journalist Seeking Help on a Work-related Topic

The case I shall examine in some detail here is a long discussion on a Facebook forum for Polish migrants in the Netherlands, *Polacy w Holandii*.[62] The data, as will become clear, represent a lengthy and complex case of Facebook interaction, starting from an update which then triggers likes, comments and reactions to comments. The interaction ran for five days, from March 14 until March 19, 2016.[63] No less than 65 individuals were involved in the conversation, and the update triggered a total of 192 responses – 'comments' as well as 'replies' to comments. In the analysis, I shall call the entire interaction the *event;* the update defines the *main action*; comments and replies to comments are all *actions*. I shall need to provide more precise descriptions of those actions later. Thus, the main action, performed by a female journalist whom I shall nickname Ala, invited 79 comments and 113 replies: a total of 192 actions. In the transcript (available in its totality in the Appendix) the main action is numbered 0, the comments are numbered as 1, 2, 3… etc., and the replies to comments as 6.1, 6.2, 6.2 …, etc.

The main action occurred on March 14, 2016, at 12.37 p.m. when Ala posted the update in Figure 7.1. The update of Ala is a straightforward statement with a request for assistance. Her Polish however is questioned, because it is orthographically, grammatically and pragmatically awkward.[64]

0	**Ala (F)**: *witam, jestem dzienkarka telewizijna i szukam polakow, co pracuja w szklarniach co chca cos opodwiadac o warunkach pracy lub mieszkac i pracowac zagranica bez rodziny. chetnie infornacie na priw. krecenjie moze sie stac tez anonymowo.* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:37PM LIKES: 75 EDITED: 1	**Ala (F):** Hello, I am a television journalist and I am looking for Polish people, who work in greenhouses who want to tell me about the working conditions or living and working abroad without family. Gladly information on priv. Filming can also happen anonymously.

Figure 7.1: The main action[65]

[62] The event presented as a case here is in itself, of course, an abstraction. The Facebook discussion examined here appeared on a forum, and the histories of themes, modes of interactions, shifting 'camps' and conflicts on this forum evidently provide a backdrop – a higher-scale context – for what happened in the case I focus on. The sensitivities regarding the 'correctness' of the Polish language, for instance, were frequently articulated on the forum, as was, more generally, the issue of what it means to be a 'true' Polish migrant.

[63] Initially, the conversation received 75 likes; on June 22, 2017 (date of data retrieval) there were 73 likes, 11 to the initial message, and 65 to the edited one, because commentators can remove their comments and likes on Facebook. There were no new comments after March 19, 2016. The entire data set, in transcript, can be consulted in the Appendix or online on https://alternative-democracy-research.org/2017/06/26/data-set-context-collapse/

[64] The translations from Polish into English were very challenging, due to (a) the features of online SNS writing (abbreviations, erratic case usage and punctuation, emoticons, slang, spelling errors, and lack of Polish characters); (b) the thematic salience of 'correctness' in Polish language display in these data, which caused participants to edit their comments or willfully play with it. Since this thematic issue is not the core of the argument here, I decided to render the essence of the utterances in the translations, but without trying to reproduce the grammatical errors in English.

[65] The way of presenting the transcripts in this chapter is slightly different from the rest of the dissertation. The reason why I provide original messages in text rather than in form of screenshots of the comments is the fact that

Due to the initial negative responses (dealt with below in Figure 7.3), mainly related to Ala's apparently limited proficiency in Polish, the comment was edited at 01.40 p.m., and from then on appeared online in the following form:

0	**Ala (F):** *witam, jestem dzienkarka telewizijna i szukam polakow, co pracuja w szklarniach co chca cos opodwiadac o warunkach pracy lub mieszkac i pracowac zagranica bez rodziny. chetnie infornacie na priw. krecenjie moze sie stac tez anonymowo. (bo duzo ludzy pyta dlaczego tak zle pisze: jestem urodzona w polsce, ale pracuje dla telewisji niemieckiej i holenderskiej. przeprazaszam za bledy, ale wyjechalam z polski jak mialam 4 latka. wydaje mi sie jednak, ze kommunikacja w tej grupie powinna byc po polsku, dlatego staram sie..).* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:37PM LIKES: 75 EDITED: 1	**Ala (F):** Hello, I am a television journalist and I am looking for Polish people, who work in greenhouses who want to tell me about the working conditions or living and working abroad without family. Gladly information on priv. Filming can also happen anonymously. (because many people ask why I am writing so badly: I am born in Poland, but I am working for German and Dutch television. I am sorry for mistakes, but I left Poland when I was 4 years old. It seems to me however, that communication in this group should be in Polish, that's why I am trying..).

Figure 7.2: The edited main action

While the message in Figure 7.1 was edited by Ala, the orthographical errors were not eliminated. In the edited message, as shown in Figure 7.2, Ala aims to explain and excuse herself rather than correct the text. The text visible in Figure 7.2 is understandable, but there are spelling mistakes and grammatical errors, and upper case or punctuation are (not unusually in online writing) missing too. Generally, the text is 'awkward', and Ala uses words which sound odd in particular sentences. For example, she says "*Jestem urodzona w Polsce,*" whereas it would be more expected to say *Urodziłam się w Polsce* or *Pochodzę z Polski* in this context. Her sentence literally translates to English "I am born in Poland," whereas *Urodziłam się w Polsce* would translate to "I was born in Poland."

I sequentially numbered every participant as they entered into the event by an action and marked them as 'F' (female) or 'M' (male). 34 participants only commented once. Some of them commented as a reply to the main action, others only replied to one of the sub-actions. Four people stood out with their number of comments: Ala (F) posted 24 times on different entries; Participant 3 (F) commented 11 times, but all of this as part of the complex discussion following action 2. Participant 4 (M) engaged in the conversation 11 times throughout the event; and Participant 13 (F) engaged 15 times, all of it in actions 2 and 6. Eight other people commented at least five times (Participant 6 (M), Participant 14 (F), Participant 30 (F), Participant 31 (M), Participant 33 (M), Participant 53 (M), Participant 57 (M), Participant 60 (M)). Nineteen people commented more than once, but less than five times. In general, different actions and sub-actions trigger different participation frameworks, they can evoke different frames that consequently operate under different formats. The change of sub-frames and formats is clearly visible, but overlap is present as well, as the event operates under a primary frame of 'work', explained and discussed in Chapter 4.

the conversation has been permanently deleted from Facebook not later than January 2019. This is when I personally experienced the ephemeral character of online interactions, and therefore had to rely on already collected materials in the previously preferred format.

7.2.1 A Complex, Nonlinear Social Event Made Up of Diverse Actions

The event is nonlinear. There are thematic shifts, main lines of interactional activity interrupted by stand-alone dyadic interactions, and gender balance shifts. The first part of the event, actions 1-8, is dominated by female participants; actions 9-34 show a more gender-balanced profile, while from action 34 up until the final action 79, the interaction is dominated by male participants.

It is also nonlinear in the sequential sense: people sometimes reply to comments, and thus perform responsive actions to ulterior actions, long after posterior actions had been performed. This is one of the particular affordances of SNS, and the clearest example of it here is the main action itself. Ala posted her original update at 12.37pm on March 14, 2016. This instantly triggered a heated discussion about the spelling and other errors in her text, starting with action 2 at 12.43 (Figure 7.4). Participants immediately recognize this entry as operating within a primary frame of 'work' and a more specific frame of a 'journalist' and, as a consequence, the authenticity of Ala's position is questioned by means of formats (see, for instance, actions 2, 2.2, 2.7, 2.36, 2.48, 3, 5, 6.2 and 6.4 in the Appendix). The specific identity features of a journalist are contested through scripts that point out the language shortcomings of the author of the post. A journalist within a general frame of 'work' needs to possess the features of a qualified employee. Ala edits her update about one hour later, after 16 turns in the discussion mainly criticizing her Polish, which partly takes the sting out of the discussion on her language proficiency. The topic of language proficiency however became a frame on its own and continued to play a major role in the conversation.

This brings us to the issue of actions in need of more precise descriptions. Ala's update is, as explained earlier, the main action, a general frame overarching all the other frames resulting from the conversation. It introduces a thematic domain and an action frame: she launches a request or invitation to Polish people working in Dutch greenhouse industries, to participate in a TV program she intends to make. The thematic domain, from then on, defines what is 'on topic' or 'off topic', and in that sense establishes the benchmarks for what can be called legitimate participation; the action frame and format – a request – further establishes such benchmarks. The most 'normal' response to such an action is to accept or decline the request. These expected behavioral norms of conducts, however, are not the only scripts operating within the format of a request.

The main action, as can be observed, draws the main lines of the normative framework, i.e. the format, that will be deployed in judging the conduct of participants. The main action, in that sense, is always a normatively ratified action frame in which a preferred participation framework, i.e. format, and preferred modes of activity, i.e. scripts, are inscribed: people who collaborate with it (respond supportively and stay 'on topic') are welcome and legitimate participants; people who deviate from it are unwelcome and illegitimate participants. And at the end of the event, Ala can be satisfied. Of the 79 actions following her request, 31 are cooperative.[66] Participants either straightforwardly volunteer, add encouraging comments or offer further suggestions for developing Ala's TV program.

But this is not all. Consider Figure 7.3, a graphic representation of the different actions that occur in the event with different colors representing different lines of interaction and

[66] Actions 1, 7, 10-13, 15-19, 23-29, 31-32, 34-35, 42-44, 48-49, 60, 74-75, 77 in the Appendix.

varying attitudes. Each of these actions operates under the frame of a journalist, and consequently represents different formats of action.

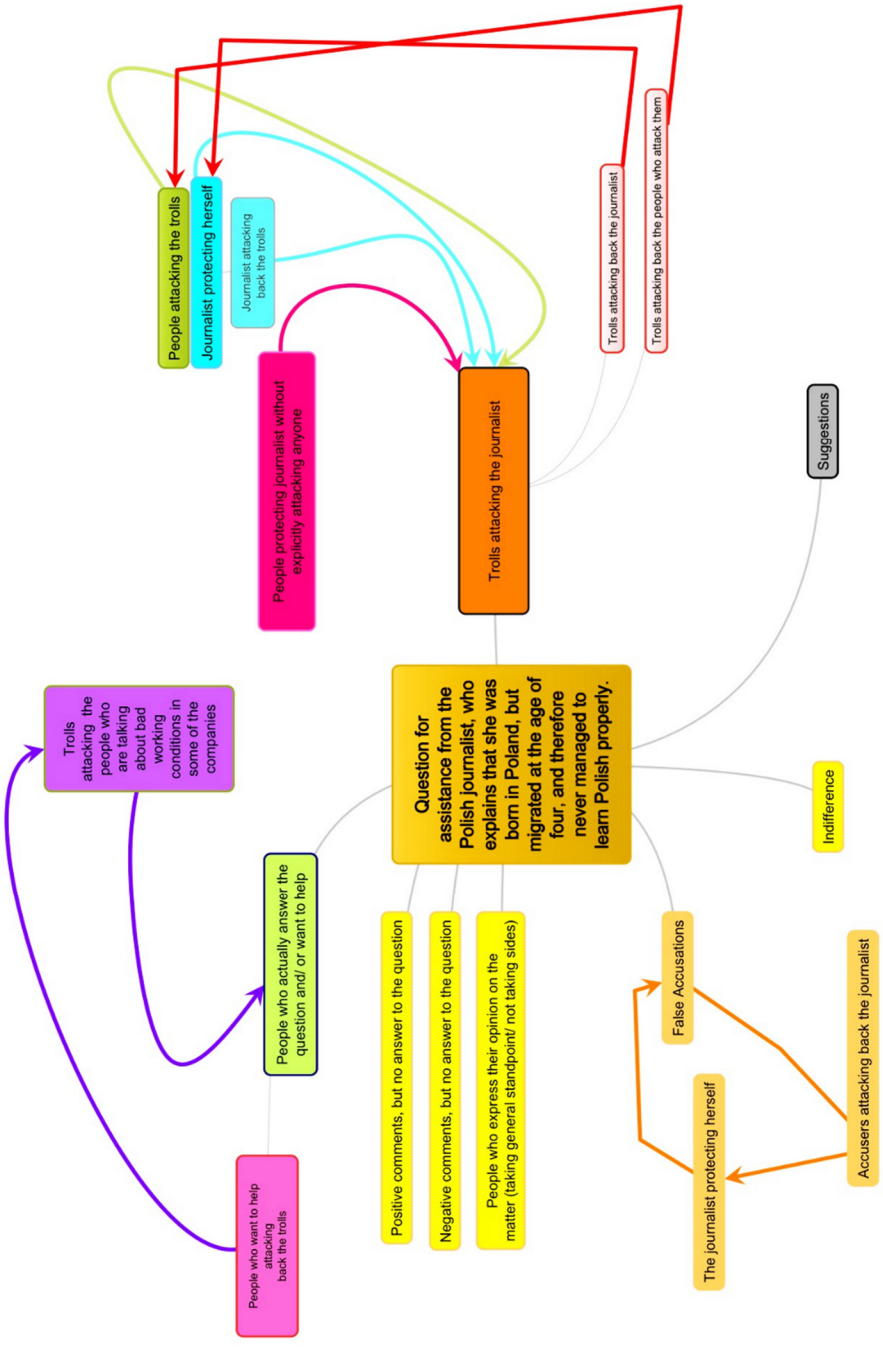


Figure 7.3: Actions in the event

We can see how the main action sets in motion not one line of action, but several: the event is a complex, nonlinear and composite event, made up of highly divergent actions, legitimate as well as illegitimate ones. And two lines of illegitimate divergence (frames within frames) should be highlighted, for both can be said to originate, nonlinearly, from Ala's main action.

First, Ala's main action, in Figure 7.1, establishes the normative action and participant framework for the event. It is, however, also an *action in its own right*, the features of which are socio-semiotically salient as reflexive indexicals of identity. Thus, one very salient line of illegitimate participation revolves around the *metapragmatics* of Ala's update. And this starts very quickly. After one first collaborative comment (action 1, see the Appendix), a female participant (Participant 3) launches a direct attack on Ala's update in action 2, just a handful of minutes after Ala's update appeared online:

1	**Participant 3 (F)**: *Zajebista dziennikarka co bledy w pisowni robi..* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:43PM LIKES: 26	**Participant 3 (F):** Fucking great journalist who makes spelling mistakes...

Figure 7.4: A direct attack on Ala's update

The comment visible in Figure 7.4 receives 26 likes. In addition, it triggers several things. It triggers the longest series of replies to comments (57), turning it into a 'discussion-within-a-discussion' or 'frame-within-a-frame'. There is a flurry of 48 replies in the hour following Participant 3's comment; lower intensity interaction resumes later that night and continues until March 19.[67] Next to that, it also establishes language and identity as separate frames of activity throughout the event. Issues of orthographic stability and language competence are raised throughout this long discussion, and 13 actions directly or indirectly raise issues of language proficiency.[68] And finally, it triggers action censorship as part of the discussion: respondents are identifying linguistic errors of one another, but they are also engaging in self-correction by editing their original messages. They are in fact perpetually adjusting the scripts operating under the frame and format of language proficiency. Individuals who follow the frame of language competences, explicitly point out the scripts that operate within this format. The act of censorship is meant to remind or educate others about the existing rules (scripts) within the normative system (format) resulting from a specific frame (work). Thus, the formal, *indexical features of scripts* within the format of the main action, apart from its thematic contours and action-and-participation frame, become an important frame that informs all sorts of other actions,[69] including general disparaging meta-commentaries such as in action 33 (see Figure 7.5).

[67] This observation points to a different feature of SNS interaction: the fact that phases of high-velocity interaction are alternated with phases of slower and more fragmented interaction.

[68] Actions 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 22, 27, 33, 36, 41, 60, 65, 72.

[69] At one or two points in the discussion, participants suggest that Ala is not a journalist at all, that she is a fraud, an unreliable person and so forth. I did not include those items in the count of actions related to language proficiency and its relationship to Polish identity, although there might be a case for seeing it as a further branching of the same theme. As noted earlier, the broad theme of Polish identity (and its defining forms of conduct) is a recurrent one in this Facebook group, and this is where I observe the broader context seeping into this particular event, creating indexical links across separate events (cf. Wortham & Reyes, 2015).

33	**Participant 45 (F):** *Jakby tak dokładnie przepytac zasad gramatyki jezyka polskiego tych, co maja zawsze na ten temat duzo do powiedzenia....* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 4:02PM LIKES: 2	**Participant 45 (F):** If we only could test the knowledge of the Polish grammatical rules of those who always have so much to tell on this topic…

Figure 7.5: Disparaging meta-commentary

Or consider the actions 38 and 39 in Figure 7.6 (and observe the expletives in 38, quite a frequent feature in the more heated parts of the event):

38	**Participant 48 (F):** *Przeczytałam wszytkie te komentarze i dawno się tak... nie zdenerwowałam. Wstyd Wam powinno być wredne i zawistne baby!!! Ala Powodzenie i duzo sukcesów w pracy* 🙂 DATE: MARCH 14 AT 6:36PM LIKES: 5	**Participant 48 (F):** I read all the comments and it has been a long time since i got so frustrated. Shame on you disgusting and envious chicks!!! Ala good luck and lots of successes at work 🙂
39	**Participant 49 (M):** *To wlasnie robi holandia z polakow* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 7:06PM LIKES: 2	**Participant 49 (M):** This is exactly what Holland makes of Poles

Figure 7.6: Heated comments

Second, the topic proposed by Ala for her TV program – Polish workers in Dutch greenhouse industries – likewise becomes autonomous frame provoking a range of comments and discussions. It is not surprising, as the frame of 'work' in earlier chapters has shown to be a primary, pervasive frame in a majority of online interactions among Polish communities. In several collaborative responses to Ala's request, participants volunteer information about the labor conditions in such segments of the market, as in action 24 (Figure 7.7).

24	**Participant 36 (M):** *dalbym ci jeden temat jak lokuja ludzi jak swinie w oborach gdzie strumyk gowna plynie srodkiem pokoju* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:53PM LIKES: 0	**Participant 36 (M):** I can give you one topic about how they locate people like pigs in barns where a stream of shit flows through the middle of the room

Figure 7.7: Migrant labor and living conditions

Such collaborative responses are complemented by general remarks on the Netherlands, Dutch people, and Polish workers as well, and in the second part of the interaction a full-blown discussion develops on what could be called the frame or an 'ethos' of being a Polish immigrant worker in the Netherlands.[70] Consider the exchange in actions 45-47 in Figure 7.8.

[70] A total of 28 comments (not counting replies) can be listed in this category: actions 15, 19-21, 23-28, 30-31, 39-40, 42-47, 51-52, 54-58, 74.

45	**Participant 54 (M):** *skoro wam tak zle to dlacze zgadzacie siewciaz na takie traktowanie? zmiana pracy, poprostu. da sie inaczej troche wiary i samozaparcia a nie tylko narzekac* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 11:41PM LIKES: 3	**Participant 54 (M):** If it is so bad why do you still agree to be treated this way? Change job, as simple as that. You can do it differently, a little bit confidence and determination and not only complaining
46	**Participant 38 (F):** *Dokładnie zgadzam się całkowicie, trzeba pamiętać gdzie chciałoby się być i dążyć do tego małymi krokami. ….* DATE: MARCH 15 AT 6:04AM LIKES: 1	**Participant 38 (F):** Exactly I agree completely, you need to remember where you would like to be and to pursue one's aim step by step…
47	**Participant 55 (F):** *wystarczy się nauczyć holenderskiego i trochę postarać,ale wielu polakom się po prostu nie chce i wolą narzekać zamiast się ogarnąć* DATE: MARCH 15 AT 9:12AM LIKES: 3	**Participant 55 (F):** One only needs to learn Dutch and needs to strive a bit, but many Polish people simply do not feel like it and they prefer to complain than to get a grip.

Figure 7.8: Discussion on the Polish immigrant worker in the Netherlands

Ala is rarely addressed in those exchanges; in that sense they are illegitimate forms of participation in which participants 'hijack', so to speak, the broader thematic frame of Ala's update to engage in a discussion among themselves.[71] Such 'nested' discussions-within-discussions involve specific participation frameworks, i.e. formats. Usually, a handful of participants dominate such divergent lines of action, excluding Ala and others. Yet, it is important to observe that this diverging line of discussion still has its roots in Ala's main action; it is in that sense a nonlinear extension of it and it becomes a frame within a frame.

In sum, what can be observed is that over a period of five days, in 193 separate actions, a complex social event unfolds in which varying groups of participants create a nonlinear web of actions, operating under different frames and formats, most of them rooted directly or indirectly in the main action, but several of them involving important thematic and participation framework shifts. What we see is how different frames emerge alongside different formats, and how formats define the scripts of behavioral conduct. If we convert this now to the discourse of context collapse, we see different 'audiences' drawn from 'networked publics' engage in the interaction, jointly constructing something that looks quite chaotic and may yield confusion and tension. Let us now turn to this issue.

7.3 The Rules of a Complex Game

The question that emerges from the above is how, given the chaotic mess of diverse actions and shifting participation frameworks, participants do find their way around all of this. I shall address this question using interactionist-sociolinguistic methodology as mentioned in Chapter 1 and begin by a brief precision to the well-known notion of 'contextualization'

[71] Similarly, the actions 2.38-2.47 are a self-standing, quite combative discussion between a male and female participant in gender issues in the event.

(Auer & Di Luzio, 1992; Gumperz, 1982, 1992). Participants in interaction establish the meaning of what goes on in a particular situation by giving off and picking up 'contextualization cues'. Such cues can be lodged in any and every aspect of communicative behavior: from language or language variety choice, register, style, genre and sequential organization to body posture, pitch, gestures, facial expression and gaze in spoken interaction. In *written* communication such as the ones we face on SNS, language and language variety (as we have seen) play a role, alongside specific orthographic (or heterographic; see Blommaert, 2008; Lillis, 2013) forms of sign deployment including abbreviations, slang, emoticons and so forth (see Lu, 2020).

Much of what these contextualization cues effectively do, is to establish clarity about *the action in which one is involved,* and more specifically *the chronotopic characteristics of the action*: the ways in which different actions revolve around different thematic domains (frames), include different kinds of participants and impose different normative patterns of actual conduct (formats) that are realized through scripts (cf. Blommaert, 2015a; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004). This is not always a straightforward thing; already Goodwin and Goodwin (1992: 96) pointed to the fact that quite often, multiple interpretive frameworks (or 'contexts') offer themselves in events, for "within actual interaction it is rare for only a single activity at a time to be on the table. Moreover, those present may have competing agendas even within a single activity." Therefore, according to Goodwin and Goodwin (2004: 96), "[t]here are great analytical gains to be made by looking very closely at how particular activities are organized" (see also Rampton, 2006 for elaborate illustrations). Needless to say, SNS interaction offers its own challenges in this respect, and the event I examine here is a case in point.

Yet, participants appear to be able to draw on a large and quite effective repertoire of forms of interactional conduct for sorting out what really goes on and identifying a frame, and for 'organizing' their specific parts of the activity into formats, to adopt the terminology of Goodwins. So, also in this example, let me list some of the resources deployed by the participants in the event, starting with the simple ones.

7.3.1 Platform Affordances

Facebook, like other SNS, offers a range of technologically configured tools for establishing 'order' in interactions. Two such tools demand particular attention here, both of which operate under the format of Facebook communication:

- The system of comments and replies to comments, structuring both a sequentiality to Facebook discussion and a scaled hierarchical order of superordinate and subordinate comments.
- The system of name tagging, enabling participants to select and identify direct addressees of an utterance and/or mention indirect addressees.

Both tools have disambiguating functions. The former enables participants to signal thematic coherence and scaled interactional roles. Posting a reply to a comment, for instance, signals a specific (subordinate, low-scale) reaction to the one who posted the (superordinate, higher-scale) comment, while it still, in a more flexible sense, remains inserted in the

entire (highest-scale) discussion launched by the original update. The assumption in comments and replies is that the superordinate participant is the addressee. Thus, if we go back to the examples above, action 24 in Figure 7.7, the "you" is clearly Ala; and Ala is also the "fucking great journalist" in action 2 in Figure 7.4.

The latter, evidently and explicitly, serves the direct function of addressee selection: from the potentially infinite 'networked publics', specific individuals are identified as the direct addressee in interaction. This does not prevent others from interfering, so to speak; but the function of name tagging is obvious, straightforward and effective, as it can be observed in Figure 7.9.

5.2	**Participant 22 (F):** *Participant 3 powala mnie Twoja POPRAWNOŚĆ JĘZYKOWA.. A tak szczerze to współczuję takim ludziom jak Ty i Participant 13. Miłego wieczoru* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 8:51PM LIKES: 0	**Participant 22 (F):** Participant 3 I am absolutely blown away by your LANGUAGE CORRECTNESS... But honestly I feel sorry for people like you and Participant 13. Have a nice evening

Figure 7.9: Addressee selection in the event

Both tools are abundantly used in the event and I shall discuss another example in which we see both tools in practice in the following section. Let me note, at this point, that while both tools are clear in design and prescribed functions, deviations can also be observed. In the event I examine here, people do not always move to the reply-to-comments tool for direct dyadic interaction – see the example of actions 45-47 (Figure 7.8) in which participants use comments for direct responses and additions to previous turns. And the example of action 38 in Figure 7.6 shows that just naming or nicknaming people, rather than tagging them, serves the same function of addressee selection ("Ala" in action 38). Observe also, that the sequentiality offered by these tools may be undone by the non-sequentiality of real actions: a response to an utterance may come several turns after the utterance – other participants having responded more rapidly – which can give rise to misunderstandings as to addressee. I witness very few instances of this in the event under analysis; one will be documented in the sample analysis below. In general, thus, I do not witness much 'context collapse' in my data, and these tools are a major factor in this.

Those platform affordances are technological resources specific to SNS; participants, however, also draw on *cultural* resources in the organization of their activities. All of these resources jointly represent a specific format that is realized through specific modes of behavior, i.e. scripts.

7.3.2 Policing

Goffman's work is replete with descriptions of how people who are not necessarily profoundly acquainted with each other construct, observe and police rules for engaging in interaction (e.g. Goffman 1961, 1971, 1981). As soon as people have established the nature of a particular social action and the situation in which it will develop (frame), such rules are used continually to maintain 'order' in the event by following a particular format. The most common way of doing that is by simply observing the rules of the game and adjusting one's conduct to the chronotopic normative framework, i.e. format, which has been ratified in

the action. A more exceptional way is by 'policing' the event: explicitly stating or emphasizing the rules, i.e. specific scripts, especially when they have been violated, emphatically pointing to more appropriate modes of conduct for transgressing participants, outright excluding them, or qualifying them with labels flagging illegitimate participation or ascribing particular (negative) identities to them.

In the data, a good deal of such policing occurs. Above, I already pointed to the fact that the event consists of a variety of activities that operate under different frames and formats, some directly responding to Ala's main action (and, thus, 'legitimate') while others took a more divergent path only indirectly related to the main action. The latter activities, of course, are possible targets for policing, and Ala does quite a bit of that, particularly when she judges participants to be off-topic or negatively biased towards her (see Figures 7.10 and 7.11):

6.9	**Ala (F):** *jak Pani sie nic nie ma do powiedzenia, to proszę sie nie mieszac* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:02PM LIKES: 0	**Ala (F):** If you do not have anything to say, then please do not interfere

Figure 7.10: Policing in practice 1

Other participants do the same; here, Participant 4 directly addresses Participant 3 in response to action 2 (see Figure 7.4):[72]

2.13	**Participant 4 (M):** *Co sieczepiasz? nudzi Ci sie to pozmywaj gary.* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:54PM LIKES: 31	**Participant 4 (M):** Why are you picking on her? If you are bored, then clean the dishes.

Figure 7.11: Policing in practice 2

A little bit further in the same part of the event a female participant 'rectifies' a male one about gender bias in interactions such as those in Figure 7.12 (the start of a self-contained 'nested' interaction on gender issues, ultimately involving four participants, 2.38-2.47):

2.38	**Participant 6 (M):** *Jakoś mnie wcale nie dziwi, że same kobiety komentują ten wątek;-)* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:31PM LIKES: 0 EDITED: 2	**Participant 6 (M):** Somehow I am not surprised that only women comment on this thread ;-)
2.39	**Participant 13 (F):** *Participant 6 wojnę chcesz rozpętać? O co cho?* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:32PM LIKES: 0	**Participant 13 (F):** Participant 6 would you like to wage war? What's your problem?

Figure 7.12: Gender bias in interactions

[72] Observe the number of 'likes' attached to action 2.13 in spite of the gender bias of the utterance. The term for '(nit)picking' introduced in this utterance was adopted by several other participants in later actions.

It is also possible to note frequent meta-commentaries dismissive of deviant conduct by participants, such as the examples in Figure 7.13.

2.50	**Participant 4 (M):** *Adek jak sie wyrwał.hehe* DATE: MARCH 15 AT 6:09AM LIKES: 1	**Participant 4 (M):** Adek how you blurt out. Hehe
[*Adek is Participant 18 who posted a reply a few comments earlier (action 4.48) and who supposedly changed his name through the course of the conversation, eventually deleting his profile*; MS]		
2.51	**Participant 20 (M):** *nie umiesz czytac idiotko? chyba dziewczyna wyjasnila czemu popelnia bledy. niektorzy polacy calkiem zapominaja swojej ojczystej mowy!* DATE: MARCH 15 AT 9:49PM LIKES: 0	**Participant 20 (M):** Can't you read idiot? [*idiot is in its female form*; MS] A girl explained why she makes mistakes. Some polish people completely forget their native speech!
[Comment 2.51 does not have a direct addressee, but most likely it is directed to Participant 3, as the comment appears as a reply to the original post of Participant 3 (action 2); MS]		

Figure 7.13: Comments acknowledging deviant conduct of other participants

Adding to that, participants appearing overly aggressive or persistently uncooperative are labeled as 'trolls' – a well-known category of illegitimate participants on SNS (see the examples in Figure 7.14).

48	**Participant 57 (M):** *Tak tak pochwalcie się jak żałośni jesteścieże was biura walą w rogi. Ale oni walą tylko tych co sobie pozwalają na takie traktowanie. Jak ktoś jest sierota w życiu to trzeba to w tv pokazać.* DATE: MARCH 15 AT 12:48PM LIKES: 1 EDITED: 2	**Participant 57 (M):** Yes, yes, boast about how pathetic you are because the offices put something over you. But they only deceive those who allow them to be treated in this way. If someone is a wimp in life, it is necessary to show on TV.
48.1	**Participant 53 (M):** *Taki w gębie mocny jesteś? Widać zes robiony na próbę a starzy zapomnieli cie udusić. Internetowy trollu.* DATE: MARCH 15 AT 10:38AM LIKES: 3	**Participant 53 (M):** This is how big mouth you have got? It is clear that you have been made in a practice run and your folks forgot to suffocate you. Internet troll.
48.2	**Participant 52 (M):** *Pewnie koordynator pierdolony, ktory sam rodakow w dupe ruche na hajs. Participant 57 korwa pozal sie boze* DATE: MARCH 16 AT 7:14PM LIKES: 0	**Participant 52 (M):** Probably fucking coordinator, who fucks his compatriots in the ass for money himself. Participant 57 [*addressed with first name*; MS], fuck, pathetic.

Figure 7.14: Troll's identification

There are also participants that are informing others of mistakes in perception (actions 2.53 and 2.54 in Figure 7.15), i.e. reshaping a 'correct' universe of interpretation for the interaction:

2.53	**Participant 20 (M):** *Adek sam walisz literowki cycu a innych uczysz* DATE: MARCH 15 AT 10:01PM LIKES: 0	**Participant 20 (M):** Adek you make spelling mistakes yourself loser, and you try to teach others
2.54	**Participant 13 (F):** *Participant 20 post Ali był edytowany* DATE: MARCH 16 AT 8:43AM LIKES: 0	**Participant 13 (F):** Participant 20 the post by Ala was edited

Figure 7.15: Pointing out mistakes in perception – context clarification

A final form of policing is *redirecting interaction*. As soon as certain boundaries of information are judged to be reached, instructions are given to move to another form of interaction. When participants respond positively to Ala's invitation to participate in the TV program, she redirects them towards the personal messaging function of Facebook; in a number of instances, this redirection is proposed to Ala by participants themselves, and of course there may have been people who did not participate in the discussion but contacted Ala directly through personal messaging. This function – another technical affordance – is well known and Ala, in action 7.1 in Figure 7.16, can use slang to identify it:

7	**Participant 25 (F):** *Ja chętnie opowiem 🙂 mam ciekawe doświadczenia:)* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:49PM LIKES: 1	**Participant 25 (F):** I will gladly tell my story 🙂 I have interesting experiences :)
7.1	**Ala (F):** *chetnie na priw* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:49PM LIKES: 0	**Ala (F):** Willingly on priv

Figure 7.16: Redirecting interaction 1

Participants insisting on proof of Ala's authenticity as a Polish journalist equally get redirected to the personal messaging tool (as demonstrated in Figure 7.17); clear boundaries are being marked between what is allowable and what is not in specific formats of interaction.

76.3	**Participant 63 (F):** *jeżeli jestes uczciwa to podaj swoje nazwisko nie tylko Ala* DATE: MARCH 19 AT 10:25AM LIKES: 0	**Participant 63 (F):** If you are honest then give your surname not only Ala.
76.4	**Ala (F):** *Kto do mnie pisze dostaje* DATE: MARCH 19 AT 12:26PM LIKES: 0	**Ala (F):** The ones who write to me get it.

Figure 7.17: Redirecting interaction 2

Thus, a very broad and powerful range of norms appears to be at play in this complex event, various formats are simultaneously present in the interaction, guiding and directing different actions, both specifically in themselves and in relation to more general lines of action – Ala's main action frame, conventions established within the Facebook group, or rules projected onto appropriate interactional behavior on SNS in general. The event is extremely

complex, but not unregulated – on the contrary, there is a continuous articulation, implicitly as well as explicitly, of norms of legitimate participation. And there is an across-the-board exploitation of the platform affordances available to participants, supporting the organization of actions. All of these elements serve the purpose of contextualization, of helping participants understanding what goes on in such complex interactions. In other words, recognizing frames and formats in these interactions and consequently acting in accordance with the expectations.

7.4 Navigating Through a More Complex Notion of Context

Let us now close this empirical examination with a sample analysis in which the comments and observations made above can be synthetically combined in a chronotopic analysis, which offers an alternative, more detailed view on the notion of context, one that cannot collapse because it is so complex and layered.

Recall the warning provided by Goodwin and Goodwin (1992): we rarely see just one action in real bits of interaction; more often we observe people making sense of complex overlapping and interlocking activities, through elaborate work of contextualization. They do this by means of employing different frames, formats and scripts in their interactions with other people. We have already seen the particular complications generated by SNS interactions: it is scripted discourse and its sequential occurrence does not necessarily mirror the interactional sequentiality. Add to this the diversity of participants and the lack or fragmentation of mutual knowledge among participants, and we get an idea of the tasks of contextualization confronting participants. This is when the notion of chronotope comes in handy. By means of attending to specific moralized behavioral scripts, it is possible to unravel the complexities behind specific actions.

In the data, the actions 2.26 to 2.36 generously illustrate the complexity of interaction on SNS such as Facebook. Remember that this fragment occurs in the long interaction following action 2 (performed by Participant 3), quoted earlier in Figure 7.4. Let us look at the full transcript of this part of the event in Figure 7.18.

2.26	**Participant 15 (F):** *Pani Participant 3, pisze się "nie rozumiem," a nie "nie rozumie"* 😊 *to tak w gwoli ścisłości co do Pani znajomości języka polskiego. Pozdrawiam serdecznie* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:36PM LIKES: 10 EDITED: 2	**Participant 15 (F):** Miss Participant 3 [*addressed with Miss and only first name*; MS], you write I do not understand [‘*nie rozumiem’*] and not [‘*nie rozumie*’] 😊 This is for the sake of accuracy [*‘gwoli ścisłości’ meaning ‘for the sake of accuracy’ is not spelled correctly*; MS] of your Polish Language competences. Best regards
2.27	**Participant 16 (F):** *A ty Participant 3? może pochwalilabys się znajomością holenderskiego??? Wstyd robisz jadąc po kimś kto wyemigrował dawno temu i być może nie miał styczności w dużej mierze z językiem polskim. Znam wielu takich ludzi...*	**Participant 16 (F):** And you Participant 3? [*addressed with the first name only*; MS] Maybe you would like to boast about with your knowledge of Dutch??? It’s a disgrace to besmirch someone who emigrated long time ago and maybe was not heavily exposed to Polish language. I know many people like that...

	Ala życzę powodzenia!!! I wybacz tym zawistnym ludziom. DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:35PM LIKES: 10	Ala I wish you good luck!! And forgive these envious people.
2.28	**Participant 10 (F):** *Participant 15 przeczytaj swój ostatni komentarz i zastanów się nad sobą i nad tym co piszesz. Nie widzisz czubka swojego nosa a innym błędy wytykasz. Straszne chamstwo tutaj. Z pustaka cegły się nie zrobi.* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:38PM LIKES: 2	**Participant 10 (F):** Participant 15 read your last comment and rethink your own actions and what you have been writing. You cannot see an inch beyond your nose, but you point out others' mistakes. Terrible boorishness here. You won't make a brink out of a cinder block.
2.29	**Participant 14 (F):** *Czubka swojego nosa to nie widzi Pani Participant 3. Polecam przeczytać sobie posty od początku, bo chyba jakieś nieporozumienie zaszło. Pani Participant 15 wypowiedziała się treściwie I kulturalnie.* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:41PM LIKES: 3	**Participant 14 (F):** Mrs. Participant 3 is the one who does not see an inch beyond her nose. I recommend to read the posts from the beginning, because I think that some misunderstanding arose here. Mrs. Participant 15 expressed herself concisely and politely.
2.30	**Participant 13 (F):** *Participant 14 ale napisała "w gwoli" i czar prysł haha* 😀 DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:42PM LIKES: 0	**Participant 13 (F):** Participant 14, but she wrote "w gwoli" [*meaning for the sake of accuracy, but it should be written as 'gwoli scislosci'*; MS] and the spell broke hahah 😀
2.31	**Participant 15 (F):** *Pani Participant 10, dziewczyna napisała posta, radzi sobie jak radzi w języku polskim, ważne jest jednak, że sobie radzi. Wytłumaczyło się bieżącego nawet na wstępie dlaczego pisze tak, a nie inaczej. Została zaatakowana i wyśmiana przez innego członka grupy, który niestety ani poziomem elokwencji, ani poprawnej poprawnej pisowni poszczycić się nie może. Pani więc wybaczy ale zastosowałam stare powiedzenie: kto jest bez winy niech pierwszy rzuci kamień. Pozdrawiam* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:43PM LIKES: 5	**Participant 15 (F):** Mrs Participant 10 [*addressed with first name only*; MS], the girl wrote this post, she manages the way she can in Polish language, the important thing is however that she manages. She explained right from the start why she writes in this fashion and not differently. She was attacked and derided by another member of this group, who unfortunately cannot pride oneself with the level of eloquence nor correct spelling. You forgive me miss, but I will use here an old saying: the one who is with no guilt should throw the stone first. Greetings.
2.32	**Participant 10 (F):** *Przepraszam, źle zrozumiałam, myślałam że Pani atakuje Alę. Przepraszam raz jeszcze* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:45PM LIKES: 0	**Participant 10 (F):** I am sorry, I misunderstood, I thought that you were attacking Ala. Once again, I am sorry
2.33	**Participant 15 (F):** *Mea culpa Mrs Participant 13* 😊 *gwoli ścisłości* 😊 DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:46PM LIKES: 1	**Participant 15 (F):** Mea Culpa Mrs Participant 13 😊 gwoli ścisłości' 😊 [*corrects her spelling error*; MS]
2.24	**Participant 13 (F):** *Participant 15 Amen! Pozdrawiam* 😉 DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:47PM LIKES: 1	**Participant 13 (F):** Participant 15 Amen! Greetings 😉

2.35	**Participant 14 (F):** *Participant 13, również należę do osób, które lubią ogładę wypowiedzi i ortograficzno-gramatyczną poprawność. Ale nie napastujmy tych, którzy tak pisać nie potrafią.* DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:47PM LIKES: 0	**Participant 14 (F):** Participant 13, I also belong to people, who like neat utterances and orthographic-grammatical correctness. But let's not harass those, who cannot write like that.
2.36	**Participant 13 (F):** *Participant 14 zgadzam się. Nie napastujmy. W ogóle nikogo nie napastujmy. Ale dla mnie było niejasne jak osoba, która nie potrafi pisać jest dziennikarką. I wyjaśniło się. Dlatego cofnęłam mój wstępny hejt* 😂 DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:54PM LIKES: 1	**Participant 13 (F):** Participant 14 I agree. Let's not harass them. In general, let's not harass anybody. For me it was unclear how a person, who cannot write can be a journalist. And it explained itself. That's why I took back my initial troll message 😂

Figure 7.18: Complex interactions

There are four main participants (all of them female) in this bit of interaction: Participants 10, 13, 14 and 15. The interaction starts with two consecutive direct reactions to action 2 in Figure 7.4, in which Participant 3 is directly addressed. In 2.26, Participant 15 reacts, and in 2.27, Participant 16 joins in; both get a large number of likes. Action 2.26 then becomes the object of a response (2.28) by Participant 10, directly addressing Participant 15. Both participants will continue their exchange in 2.31 and 2.32. This, we could say, is one conversation that is initially placed by Participant 3 in action 2 under the primary frame of 'work' but connected to a frame of 'a journalist' and 'language competences' as well. It is therefore possible to identify multiple frames of action evoked in one action simultaneously, with very strong moral evaluations attached to it. Specifically, a good employer needs to be qualified as directed by moralizations in the frame of work, similarly Ala needs to possess specific qualities relevant for a journalist. Language correctness is one of those qualities, and as Ala clearly lacks that specific script, or does not possess the sufficient command of this script, it becomes problematic. The issue of language competences becomes a topic in its own right, debated and contested by individuals involved in the conversation.

The actors in this particular fragment of the interaction reflect upon and disregard the moralizations from within the frame of work, because the situation of Ala is not that simple and straightforward. She is not a Polish journalist in Poland, she is a journalist who works for a Dutch and German TV program in the Netherlands. Polish language competence is therefore not a necessity to be perceived as a competent journalist in the Netherlands or Germany. This means that her language competence in Polish is complementary rather than essential, and she uses it because she wants to accommodate Polish people on the forum to possibly reach a larger group of Polish people. As it is clear from the descriptions that Ala provides in her update, she was born in Poland but moved abroad at the age of four. This implies that Ala did not have the necessary means to acquire native Polish language proficiency and can in fact be excused for the way in which she writes in Polish. Ala also mentions that she works for Dutch and German television and it can be inferred that her language competences in these languages will be sufficient to work as a journalist there. The TV program will also feature on those platforms, so in fact Ala's Polish language competences are

only advantageous in reaching more Polish people for the TV program and conducting the interviews with them in the future.

In between the turns of the interaction by Participants 10 and 15, Participant 14 has placed a reaction to action 2.28, attacking Participant 3 and defending Participant 15. Again, we can see this as an attempt at 'correcting' the context of a frame in which this interaction occurs, as a form of policing in other words, where participants are reminded of scripts operating under a particular format. This intervention, however, is immediately followed by a riposte in 2.30 from Participant 13, pointing out to Participant 14 a writing error in Participant 15's earlier utterance – a specific script originating from a format of language competence. This, we could say, is a second conversation.

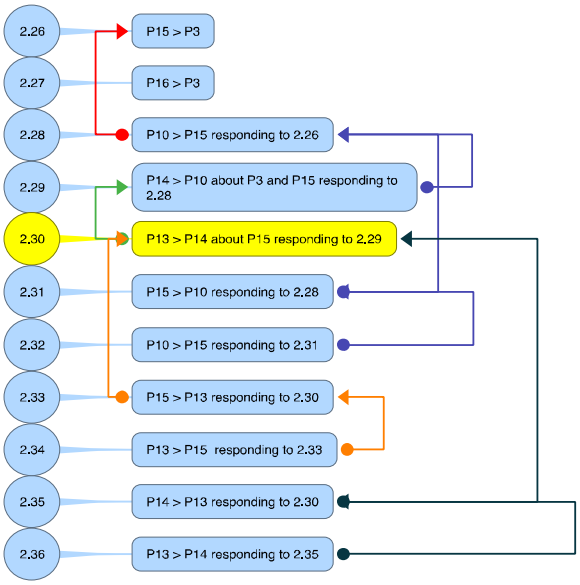


Figure 7.19: Four interlocking conversations

Action 2.30, next, becomes the point of departure for two more conversations. Participant 15 responds in 2.33 to Participant 13 with "mea culpa," to which Participant 13 adds "Amen" in 2.34. Remember that participant 14 was mentioned in 2.30 but was only an indirectly addressed participant in that sense. The direct addressee of 2.30, Participant 14, responds in 2.35, and this conversation ends with conciliatory words from Participant 13 in 2.36. Observe how in 2.36 mention is made of a feature of SNS interaction we already encountered: Participant 13 refers to an earlier comment she had removed from the interaction. Participant 13 also reflects upon the initial frame and format in which Ala, as a journalist was placed. She says that "it was unclear [to her; MS] how a person, who cannot write can be a journalist," and this is because the update of Ala did not fit within the normative framework of a Polish journalist, and Ala herself did not follow the expected scripts in her update. Therefore, she did not demonstrate the competences, i.e. scripts necessary to be

regarded an authentic member of this identity category. However, Ala aware of the moralizations and norms within the frame of work and a journalist, attends to these issues by means of editing her initial post, which helps people like Participant 13 to change their mind. Participant 13 admits to being persuaded, which means that she evaluates the initial frame and accepts the view of the others. From that time on 'she also thinks what other say'. She adopts their point of view.

Each of the four participants is involved in two separate conversations in this fragment, and the response in one conversation (viz. 2.28 and 2.30) can serve as the point of departure for another one – thus action 2.30 is the point of departure of two separate conversations (the yellow box in Figure 7.19). Shifts from one conversation into another are swiftly made, mostly by means of name tagging, and no misunderstandings occur, in spite, even, of the odd sequentiality of written texts in the reply tool.

Graphically, the different actions – four interlocking conversations, in which each participant is involved in two of them – are represented in Figure 7.19. The colors of the arrows represent different conversations and the boxes specify the interlocutors involved in them, and if applicable, also the actions to which they are responding.

Each conversation, needless to say, demands its own small chunk of specific context (and, thence operates under specific frames, formats and scripts); each one needs to be marked indexically by participants as separate from others and belonging to a particular frame, while still in some way connected to higher-scale ones; and all need to be sustained and concluded in collaboration with people who might be, and often are, strangers in offline life. This complex work is done by the participants without much apparent difficulty. The participants in this bit of SNS discourse (of whom we cannot assume much mutual knowledge) successfully navigated through context activated in overlapping, interlocking actions, awkwardly occurring as written signs on a screen.

7.5 Does Context Really Collapse?

Let me summarize what we have seen in the case analysis.

1. We have observed a complex and compound social action, the 'event' as I called it. This event is non-homogeneous thematically, in terms of modes of interaction and styles of expression, and in terms of participation frameworks. In other words, different frames are simultaneously present in a 'single' interaction.
2. This means that this event was made up of an intricate web of nonlinearly organized sub-actions: comments, replies to comments and so forth, which can all be characterized as specific scripts employed in the interaction with others.
3. This web of actions displayed specific interaction modes and participation frameworks, all demanding normative enactment. Participants appeared to have a high awareness of the rules of the game, i.e. formats, most clearly when they explicitly policed parts of it, by means of referencing particular scripts.
4. Each of these actions showed a relatively unproblematic 'context': participants used various mechanisms to solve possible complications in addressee selection, provided useful correcting information to each other, and completed complex interactional tasks.

5. All in all, participants displayed an acutely accurate sense of the *specific actions they were involved in*, adjusted their conduct accordingly and sanctioned that of others.

The event, recall, did not take place on a personal Facebook wall; it happened on a forum serving a large community, and it is safe to assume that the administrators of the forum do not personally know every member of the forum. In that sense, the case I have analyzed could have been sensitive – even typically so – to context collapse as a feature of SNS communication. I did not see any evidence of that; I saw a good deal of evidence to the contrary: that participants have a pretty well-developed sense of what they are involved in, with whom, and how – their contextualization skills by means of recognizing and deploying different frames, formats and scripts were rather advanced and did not seem to slacken in the face of a lengthy, meandering and often high-tempered SNS discussion. Context did not collapse; if anything, it expanded into a mountain range.

There are, however, *specific* formats characteristic of *specific* forms of action. Responding to a question involves a different kind of format than launching expletives to a participant whose conduct was judged to be inadmissible; and volunteering to collaborate with Ala in her TV project involved yet another format than challenging her credentials as a Polish journalist. All of these layers of context are encompassed in the notion of chronotope. Regarding SNS interaction, to repeat Goodwin and Goodwin's (1992: 96) words, "there are great analytical gains to be made by looking very closely at how particular activities are organized." Too general a picture leads to superficial, and sometimes factually unsubstantiated claims and insights, as I found such aims and insights in the studies on context collapse referenced in Section 7.1.

Chronotopic analysis, by means of frames, formats and scripts makes it possible to unravel the complexities behind the notion of context. Frames function as a moral-interpretive dimension of order within a chronotope, which helps participants to recognize the situation as a concrete instance to which strong moral values are attached and further guide the behavior. Once, a frame is established, it gives rise to formats – a normative-behavioral dimension of order within a chronotope that further structures the behavior through concrete scripts. The way in which frames, formats and scripts operate has been made clear in the above analysis. We have seen how multiple frames, such as a frame of 'work', 'journalist' and 'language competence' can be simultaneously present in a single interaction, and how those frames give rise to very specific formats. The formats are not explicit, but still widely recognized and followed by the participants involved in the interaction. The normative order, enacted through scripts is what renders the interaction meaningful and appropriate. Consequently, the divergence from formats is not viewed positively when it violates a specific script that is morally expected, and such behavior is often policed by other people involved in the interaction. The three different layers of the chronotope, i.e. frames, formats and scripts, interlock into one fruitful analysis enabling much more precise statements with respect to components of what we call 'context'. In other words, I 'dissect' context, because I refuse to separate context from action: both are intrinsically connected and cannot be detached from each other.

On this note, I am ready to conclude the empirical part of my study, and in the next chapter I am going to offer conclusions to this research.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusions and Discussion

In this final and concluding chapter, I will summarize and discuss the main findings of my study, both in terms of its contribution to the knowledge base regarding the Polish diaspora in Antwerp and diaspora studies in general and its contribution to developing a theoretical and methodological framework for a sociolinguistics of globalization. These findings will be dealt with in Sections 8.1 and 8.2 respectively. In Section 8.3, I will then further detail and discuss these findings by giving a recap of my research trajectory, thereby focusing on the central concepts of chronotope, frame, format and script as the main building blocks of the proposed and conducted chronotopic analysis of online and offline ethnographic data. Some final thoughts on my study and its indebtedness to the work of Jan Blommaert can be found in Section 8.4.

8.1 Rediscovering Polish Diaspora Communities

I opened this dissertation with a lengthy quotation of Arjun Appadurai (1996) in which he proposed a new perspective on diaspora, including the emergence of online diaspora neighborhoods, as an effect of globalization and digitalization. After having conducted close, intensive and manifold participatory online as well as offline observations of the Polish diaspora and its members in the neighborhood of Berchem, Antwerp mainly, I can totally agree with Appadurai's perspective. There is no one, homogeneous, stable, bounded Polish diaspora community. There are, on the contrary, many different Polish communities and individuals that exist with, next to, and separate from each other and together with other communities. These Polish communities can be found in offline and online neighborhoods using the digital and analog infrastructures and affordances of the online-offline nexus. They are at the same time conservative and in a constant process of flux and change and they do not necessarily uniformly reflect what generally seems to be considered stereotypical Polishness, i.e. widely accepted, but frequently oversimplified images of the Polish national community (Kośnik & Janiak, 2018), based on thick community categories, such as ethnicity, religion, social class or language (Blommaert, 2018a) often referring to both external and internal stereotypes, for instance the (self)labeling of Polish nationals as religious, patriotic, united, nationalistic, hard-working, drunkards (Mucha, 2000). Nonetheless the notion of Polishness is far from straightforward and should rather be seen as in a constant process of construction conditioned by both the perception of outsiders and Poles with regard to what it actually means to be Polish (Dreef & Kroon, 2020; Sasunkevich, 2020; Temple, 1994; see also Brubaker, 2005). Similar observations are drawn for Chinese in the Netherlands by Li (2016) and Iranians in Sweden by Khosravi (2018). It would certainly also be relevant to look

at different Polish communities in Western Europe from a comparative perspective. Diasporic features seem to be shared among Polish migrants in different countries, and at the same time they are not exclusive to Poles (see e.g. the contributions in Galasińska & Krzyżanowski, 2009)

Appadurai (2013: 5) has prudently warned us that "there is an underlying pull in the core concepts of anthropology – such as culture, diversity, structure, meaning, and custom – toward earlier concerns with persistence, stability, and fixity in the cosmologies of different societies." However, the usual point of departure in the majority of diaspora studies is exactly that 'imagined' (Anderson, 2006), 'original', 'visible', 'stereotypical' or 'national' community (Chang, 2000). The origins of my research are no different – the trajectory began with my master thesis that investigated the structure of the Polish diaspora in Antwerp, starting off with the assumption of a stable community elicited on the basis of its visibility. In the process of exploring the structures of migration, I was bombarded with observations of diversity, dynamism and instability, all of which challenged the original image of a homogeneous, stable and bounded Polish community – a stereotype popular in diaspora studies; see also other studies challenging this original image such as Hall (1990) and Werbner (2004). The way in which research tends to focus on diasporas and "imposes groupness through definitional fiat" as Brubaker (2005: 13) called it, should be de-substantialized and viewed instead as a category of practice without presupposed groupness and boundedness.

This experience led me to rethink the methodology in exploring migration and investigating diaspora communities, as I realized that the Polish diaspora could no longer be understood in the traditional sense. In the contemporary context of globalization and digitalization, which combine into a social environment of superdiversity, unpredictability and radical instability (Blommaert, 2010), we cannot afford to lose sight of the changes that have happened and are still happening to diasporas. Otherwise, we would run the risk of oversimplification and never truly unraveling the forces underlying the existence of specific social groups in superdiverse neighborhoods in the online-offline nexus (Blommaert, 2019b). The key is not to be confined by abstract stereotypes, but to follow concrete social interaction and identity work, the fine grain of migration processes, and forms of community formation, which will lead to a realistic anthropological (re)discovery of Polish diasporic communities in an era of globalization and digitalization.

The theoretical and methodological apparatus used in this dissertation prevented me from making such mistakes and enabled me to explore, following Appadurai (2013: 5), "the ways in which humans construct their cultural futures."

The Polish diaspora in Antwerp, at first glance seems to be quite conspicuous, as the neighborhood is filled with references to Polish ethnicity (see Chapter 2). There are Polish shops, Polish schools, Polish work agencies, Polish language features on shop signs and advertisements, you can spot Polish license plates all over the neighborhood and frequently overhear Polish people speaking their national language. Semiotic landscaping tells one story of the Polish diaspora, but the imagination of a visible and stable community is far from accurate, and this perception was also instantly contested by my participants. Polish people, apart from being born in the same country, speaking the same language and sharing the same culture and customs, do not necessarily share the same ideals or needs and therefore constitute different types of Poles and conceptualize Polishness in different ways. This leads to conflicts among diaspora members and often very negative attitudes towards fel-

low Poles. The Polish diaspora in the superdiverse neighborhood of Berchem can be characterized by unpredictability with erratic shifts in composition, changing and evolving infrastructures and segregated public space resulting in polycentricity and polynomicity, not only among Polish nationals, but in the neighborhood as such as well (Blommaert, 2013).

8.2 Developing a New Theoretical-Methodological Framework

The main contribution of my thesis is not only in providing insights into the Polish diaspora in Antwerp but also in exploring the analytical purchase of the concepts and instruments that I used in my empirical chapters and that can be captured under the heading 'chronotopic analysis', which adopts an action-centered perspective in the exploration of social interaction, identity performance, community formation and the fabric of society. The action-centered perspective is absolutely central in my conceptual framework, because it focuses on what people actually 'do' online and offline, i.e. their *poiesis* (Arnaut et al., 2017). What people *do* kind of supersedes macro and micro level analysis; it has to be understood in a more holistic way, i.e. in its historical and spatial, or chronotopic, context (Blommaert, 2020b), giving way to its indexicality, i.e. to what it communicates in addition to its referential meaning. Central in this (diasporic) 'doing' is the absence of nation-based doings. Societies, groups and diasporas are the observable results of people's actions. The focus on social action should be free from assumptions about social structure and the organization of groups and identities. Interactions, especially in the online-offline nexus, are the only hard evidence to be used as data in online as well as offline ethnographic research to draw conclusions about groups and identities, and to generate ecologically valid findings.

The theoretical and methodological apparatus used in this thesis combines chronotopes, frames, formats and scripts into a heuristic and analytical toolkit that provides a coherent framework of modern sociolinguistic analysis. This framework offers both the vocabulary and methodology to address the complexities of social phenomena in the online-offline nexus as will be discussed below.

8.3 Central Concepts Revisited: Chronotope, Frame, Format and Script

The analytical approach, concepts and theories employed in my study 'emerged', or offered themselves, in the very process of my research. While I initially planned to primarily conduct an offline ethnography of the Antwerp Polish diaspora and possibly supplement it with some online materials, this plan was turned upside down the moment I realized that I, although being of Polish descent myself and as such a member of the community, could not easily find any volunteers to participate in my study. This is the point where 'the online' part of my research became of primary importance, as it facilitated both offline and online data collection as described in Chapter 1. This is also the point when I realized that the Polish diaspora community is not straightforward, and that my presumptions about the community had to be abandoned in order to make sense of what I encountered *in situ*. I knew from that moment on that I would need an entirely different focus to actually make sense of what

I was observing, witnessing and experiencing. There was no other possibility than to change my research approach to what in hindsight can be considered a case of grounded theory, i.e. the inductive approach that facilitates generating a theory grounded in data as a result of comparative analysis of systematically collected data (Chun Tie et al., 2019; Glazer & Strauss, 1967). The initial stage of my research was guided by a drive to really find out 'the real, empirical truth' about the Polish community, i.e. to understand their *cultural-behavioral repertoires* (Hymes, 2016) and make sense of the collected data. This is when, after reviewing my data, the concepts and research questions offered themselves in my research trajectory. The period of data collection offline and online was therefore essential for shaping my conceptual framework, i.e. without any preformulated theories and research questions but adhering to a research process that kind of organically produced these. My initial observations guided the theoretical and methodological development of my study. The breakthrough that I experienced when going online for data collection revealed a central characteristic of the contemporary diaspora. I quickly discovered that online and offline Poles and their various communities are not the same, although they all share 'work', the central feature of them being migrants, as a central frame to talk about (almost) everything else – but in different ways, with different perspectives and different indexicalities. This insight will be further detailed in the following sections, focusing on chronotopes, frames, formats, scripts and chronotopic analysis respectively.

8.3.1 Chronotopes

Chronotopes function as generally recognizable but locally produced social situations in which frames provide the interpretative dimensions of order and formats as well as scripts provide the behavioral dimensions of order. Frames, formats and scripts are different dimensions of a chronotope. While the empirical chapters of this thesis address the three dimensions one by one, these concepts in actual fact are not independent – they exist in and through one another and are materialized in concrete actions in social interaction. The focus is therefore on actions performed by participants as members of groups that emerge through such chronotopic actions that are governed by moral behavioral norms and scripts.

Newly emerging online diasporic spaces such as Berchem, contain and require "chronotopically circumscribed 'formats' for social action requiring constant 'congregational work' by those participating in the social actions" (Blommaert, 2019b: 488). Online social interactions inevitably happen in chronotopes that impose specific moral behavioral scripts. A frame outlines an interpretive scheme and illustrates the moral vector that individuals attach to in specific domains of social life, such as work or relationships. Every social action is recognizable through frames that sketch moral orientations for formats, which are then brought into existence through the collaborative congregational work of participants. Formats are the behavioral and structural aspect of frames; they constitute the collective behavioral dimension of order in a chronotope. The invocation of a format of solidarity in communication for instance, automatically suggests expectations of a friendly and a helpful response. This response is triggered by indexically ordered moralizations of interaction, very specific norms governing highly concrete behaviors, i.e. scripts or microhegemonies that make explicit what in fact can be communicated and what cannot. In other words, formats are evoked to structure specific activities, and scripts represent the microstructures of those

activities: the concrete, observable actions in which frames and formats are enacted. Formats realize frames in the sense that they structure behavioral conduct that in turn reflects moral orientations within frames. This implies that formats and scripts are always moralized, and that moral frames are always present in formats.

Chronotopic identity work is a case in point here. Identity in an era of superdiversity is not stable, which explains the complexity of the Polish diaspora in the Low Countries characterized by multiple identities, which are individual and social at the same time, as detailed in Chapter 3. This chapter unravels that chronotope is more than just context and is highly useful for addressing identity work because it helps to avoid conceptual simplification (see also Blommaert, 2020b). This results in the formation of identity repertoires, used by people in social interactions. Chronotopic changes can lead to identity shifts and therefore require individuals to possess an identity repertoire in order to be able to swiftly switch their position in social situations.

As a consequence of polycentricity and polinomicity, norms can easily be violated by individual participants in communities, which explains the found animosity between different Poles. As such, identity is a chronotopically organized behavioral script (leading to distinguishing normal and abnormal behavior, ascribed versus subscribed identity, good Poles versus bad Poles). This can be illustrated by the statement that I was offered during my fieldwork by a middle-aged 'old generation immigrant' Polish lady that I met in a Polish delicatessen shop, indicating that "not all that shines is gold" (see Chapter 2) implying that Polish migrants are subconsciously or even consciously aware of the multifaced identities present in the Polish diaspora. Similarly, the example of Paulina's life trajectory in Chapter 3 shows that individuals shift their moral economies depending on the chronotope they are in, which implies that identity is defined by chronotopes. These observations clearly show the added value of chronotopic analysis, as these conclusions could not have been achieved by means of a more traditional analysis that focuses on actors and fixed groups and therefore does not allow to fully address the complexity of an online environment in which actions are the only traceable evidence.

8.3.2 Frames

A frame, i.e. a social and cultural interpretive scheme, as illustrated in Chapter 4, provides the basis for understanding a specific situation as connected to norms. It is with reference to frames that people conduct themselves and interpret and evaluate the behavior of others. Frames are never neutral, because they (not unlike formats and scripts) are the result of histories of semiotic work in society, and such work – motivated by the intention of conveying one's interest and persuading others – is essentially moral and political. It is through the moral evaluations of frames that the connection between words and values is established, on the basis of which the communicational actions of individuals are defined and thereby identities are projected.

As unraveled through my research, 'work' turned out to be a primary frame that is especially relevant for diaspora members, as it describes the essence of the life trajectories of Polish migrants and gives rise to all sorts of positive and negative evaluations (such as evaluations connected to having work or being unemployed). A frame can be seen as a 'guide' of social behaviors that are organized into specific formats of conduct. While formats refer

to the set of rules operating within a particular frame, they are the factor that actually makes frames authentic and evident, as specific frames can be activated within formats.

It is by means of a frame that the moral value of specific schemata, such as work, is defined. The example of Gloria, one of my female participants, in Chapter 4, illustrates that the work frame is a primary determinant of identity for Polish migrants and that it is constantly reiterated in their life histories. The moral evaluations attached to this primary frame demonstrate that frames are an essential reference with which one's behavior, status and position in a community are defined. At the same time, the scope of actions, behaviors and practices that might be subject to the evaluation of the frame of work is being constantly reshaped or reconstructed. For instance, in Polish diaspora communities, certain occupations or jobs are regarded as more enabling and therefore more prestigious than others. The simple fact of having such jobs would, with reference to the work frame, project favorably on the identity of individuals. In the history of Polish migration to Belgium, the prestige of existing occupations is changing over time, new professions are emerging, and they are constantly being (re)assigned value in daily communication, which is the association stage of framing (see Chapter 4). In this light, frames, formats, scripts and the identities performed therein are never fixed or stable but are being constantly reconstructed through the reshaping of common everyday practices and actions. The moral codes guide the behavior of participants and while they can be conflicting at times, they are essential for an understanding of identity work.

This implies that different imaginations of Polishness exists, each of them being chronotopic. Every perspective is different, however recognizable, which entails that there is no one robust Polish identity. There is a chronotope of Polishness back in Poland, where the idealized image is that everyone is friendly and individuals have exuberant social contacts with friends and family, which migrants yarn to. This chronotope of Polishness back home differs greatly from the dominant chronotope in Antwerp, namely that 'we are here to work' and for no other reason whatsoever. The primary frame of work often dominates other frames, such as frames of pregnancy or politeness, as in the case of Mora in Chapter 6. In the daily life in Polish diasporic communities, multiple chronotopes are operating simultaneously – they coexist, interweave with, oppose to, or compete with one another, or develop ever more complex relationships, which point to the polynomic nature of social interaction.

8.3.3 Formats

A frame can be realized through different formats, and a format can be realized through different scripts. While an analytical purchase of the concept of frames was the understanding of the situation and a moral code obtained in that situation, it is by means of a format that frames are executed in social situations. The theoretical background given to the notion of format in Chapter 5 shows how formats structure specific activities in online interactions. A format is the direct reflection of the action-centered perspective introduced earlier. Meaning is constructed in situated interactions, i.e. in specific chronotopes. Social actions unfold in formats.

The way people conduct themselves in specific social events (e.g. an interview) shows a general degree of similarity (e.g. in terms of dress code). The reason behind this is that in social interaction people follow recognizable and recognized modes of conduct, i.e. formats.

The normative order in interaction is jointly constructed and/or enacted by participants, highly competent of recognizing formats, as they are socially formed in a social environment shaped by these frames and formats. This means that formatted social action is characterized by reflexivity and recognizability of the properties of order. Normative order in an interaction is jointly constructed by individuals involved in the interaction, and while individual actions are important here, action formatting is always and necessarily a collective process that is only recognizable after its execution and therefore has to be acquired and learned through congregational work with others.

This does, however, not entail that formats are canonical, fixed or static. On the contrary, there is an element of contingency in their invocation, and they are constantly subject to reconstruction in new communicative situations or chronotopes. While there is always room for improvement within formats, they are still concrete rather than abstract entities. For instance, the action of Patryk, a Polish young man standing outside a supermarket in Antwerp begging for food, might invoke the frame of work or the frame of solidarity, or both (see Chapter 5). It is highly dependent on the participants involved in the interaction, including among other things their personalities, experiences, temperaments and dispositions. Underlying this element of contingency of the invocation of chronotopes are the agency of participants who collaboratively construct orderliness to achieve understandability in the process of communication, and the complex relationships between chronotopes (as has been mentioned in the previous section).

As it happens, after the solidarity frame has been invoked – to a great degree thanks to the fact that the young man is begging for food instead of money – formats of supporting a young fellow countryman who recently migrated to Belgium are triggered, for instance leading people to donating food and products for daily use, inviting him for meals (probably to ease his homesickness), and introducing him to potential jobs. In the frame of solidarity, the moral vectors of begging and not working are re-negotiated, at least temporarily in this specific case: what would have been perceived as highly despicable in the work frame is greatly mediated, and even justified by the fact that the young man has just migrated to a new place. In a nutshell, in social interaction multiple frames often operate simultaneously, and with reference to these frames, participants rethink and reflect on specific communicative actions, which are in essence a negotiation and reconstruction of moral behavioral schemes, consisting of frames, formats and scripts.

The example of the format of solidarity that is co-constructed in the interaction with Patryk shows how complex the process of formatting is, and how it is effectively constructed. It shows the general behavioral and fundamentally normative side of chronotopes, which always operates alongside and within moral frames and contains infinite numbers of small scripts. It means that every action is formatted, and that Patryk is lucky enough to be initially moralized in such a way that he is seen as worthy of help. The support is then organized in a heavily formatted way in an online-offline solidarity format, which is enacted through very specific behaviors, i.e. scripts, like collecting clothes, fundraising and presenting job offers.

8.3.4 Scripts

Scripts are the microhegemonies or small sets of concrete rules governing specific forms of social conduct (Blommaert & Varis, 2013). It is through scripts that formats, frames and

chronotopes become materialized and observable. Scripts have indexical meaning that refers to moralized frames, and just like formats, they are interactionally established. Every social situation operates from within a polynomic arena, where different normative systems are simultaneously present and can interact with one another. These norms define and structure interactions.

Using the right scripts or microhegemonies (within formats) is the essence of identity work. Identity work demands a degree of authenticity for a person to be considered a true member of an identity category. The boundary of identity is regulated through 'enoughness', i.e. a norm determining if a person possesses enough – and at the same time not too many – displayed and performed identity features to be perceived as a legitimate utilizer of an identity (Blommaert & Varis, 2013). It is through scripts that it is possible to distinguish formats and frames, as they are the concrete outcomes of moralized and behavioral aspects of chronotopes. Scripts are the actual, observable characteristics in which all of the analytical levels become concrete. Scripts are the actual, tangible reality of chronotopes.

The discussion on Mora's complaint about fellow Poles not offering her a seat in the bus when going to work in Chapter 6, clearly illustrates the productivity of the concept of script. The multitude of very concrete scripts revolves around two major frames, the frame of 'work' and the frame of 'pregnancy'. It is through these scripts that frames and formats become visible. The work frame leads to specific scripts about pregnancy in relation to work, and similarly the work frame via the pregnancy frame leads to a Polishness frame and a discussion on the nature of Poles in immigration. It shows that multiple frames can be visible through different scripts, and while they can operate simultaneously alongside each other, they can also give rise to conflicting scripts, and end up in a situation in which chronotopes are played out against one another. The case of Mora shows how a primary frame of work enters the picture, and consequently how the frames of nationality, identity and community boil down to a script-identity connection – what is Polishness. Identities in superdiversity that are unraveled through scripts are different from stereotypical identities, because they are the products of highly normative social action and communicative practices. Identity in superdiversity is in fact identity work, which is under constant (re)construction, unceasingly contested, taking different shapes, and giving rise to groupness as a result of intricate and highly specific social relationships that arise in communicative practices.

8.3.5 Chronotopic Analysis

A full-fledged chronotopic analysis, as a synthesis of the theoretical concepts described above, is presented in Chapter 7 to show how the newly developed analytical model works, i.e. how "chronotopes impose moralized behavioral scripts, of which frames constitute the moralized-interpretive dimension, while formats and scripts point to different behavioral-normative dimension of order" (Chapter 7: 155).

Chapter 7 showed how the methodological-theoretical framework of chronotopic analysis, with an emphasis on social action without preconceived assumptions about actors' socio-cultural and sociodemographic characteristics, is used and what it is capable of unraveling. The analysis focused on a specific topic, i.e. the, in media studies presupposed online context collapse (Marvic & boyd, 2010; Vitak, 2012; Wesch, 2009), which is detailed, discussed and criticized. The analysis of a long and complicated, multi-actor conversation of a Facebook post showed that no real context collapse exists if the starting point is with actions

rather than actors. Again, it is shown that if you look from an integrated perspective, i.e. by using the concepts of chronotope, frame, format and script, the phenomenon of 'context collapse' – termed as such following the traditional approach and regarded as unresolvable – doesn't exist in the 'traditional' way. The traditional approach deals with the ways in which context collapse arises due to the complexity and presence of invisible audiences from within different contexts all becoming addressees of a specific message resulting in confusion and disorganization (Davis & Jurgenson, 2014; Vitak, 2012). Chronotopic analysis instead, does not depart from assumptions about these audiences, but rather focuses on interactions and specific practices performed, and observes if they lead to the formation of groups, and if so, what kind of groups. The focus is therefore on interaction and communication, and on the basis of these interactions it is possible to observe specific relationships rather than unravel the nature of a group. By means of chronotopic analysis, it is possible to expand context, rather than limit it due to starting with groups in order to justify the context collapse.

8.4 Final Thoughts

In this study, I have shown that chronotopic analysis is an innovative, sound and productive methodological approach that yields new knowledge, not exclusively about Polish diaspora communities in the Low Countries, but about diasporas in general in the online-offline context of superdiversity. This conceptual framework is proposed here as an analytic approach to superdiversity, which is organized around the central concept of the chronotope, including the dimensions of frame, format and script. Chronotopic analysis, with social action as its central point of departure, provides a valid and reliable approach to investigate intricate identity work, new forms of online and offline community formation, and ongoing transformations of social structure in societies featuring superdiversity, radical instability and unpredictability due to globalization and digitalization.

Chronotopic analysis succeeds in understanding the complexity of social action by means of a three-level analysis that can be easily discussed and located in what people do. The understanding of concrete social actions is achieved by means of dissecting and evaluating different levels of analysis that later need to be integrated and consolidated to effectively generate knowledge. These dimensions of a chronotope are different aspects of the same reality; they highlight in one analysis more context and historicity than any other analytical approach in the field. It is a model with different levels of analysis that can be applied individually, but ideally with the clear understanding that all the other concepts are always and at the same time also involved. It is all a matter of highlighting different aspects of the same reality, that are deeply interconnected. It is important to remember, however, that even though the layers of analysis can be isolated for the sake of analysis, all layers need to be seen in integration to fully understand the total sociolinguistic fact (Karimzad, 2020; see also Silverstein, 1985). By means of the analysis it is possible to highlight different aspect of the same social reality, different identity activities and identity work of Polish community members online and offline.

After all the above, there is still one final thing to be mentioned here. The theoretical and methodological apparatus that I used in this study is not only my contribution to the academic field. It also constitutes a monument honoring my late supervisor Jan Blommaert's

latest theorizing and immense contribution to establishing a sociolinguistics of globalization in the online and offline context of superdiversity. The configuration of chronotopes, frames, formats and scripts into a heuristic and analytical toolkit is in fact a culmination of his most recent thinking, as reflected in e.g. Blommaert (2018b, 2019a, 2019c, 2020b). The fact that I use Blommaert's theorizing does not mean, however, that I just uncritically follow it. I interpret, use, adapt and integrate his theoretical perspectives in my work and make them my own in concrete analyses – the theoretical-empirical framework for data analysis developed in my thesis cannot be found in this way in any other literature. I see this process as a continuation of his efforts, as the analytical potential of the concepts that he established, is addressed and developed in my theoretical model by means of specific case studies. Through this work I hope to contribute to finalizing his latest and still unfinished concerns on the matter and put these into a coherent framework of modern sociolinguistic analysis that is of course again open for further discussion. Or, to quote Jan Blommaert from his last public interview, conducted by Daniel N. Silva:

> It's good to remember that the moment you read something in view of your article or book, that article or book is no longer single-authored, it's collective, it's made by you and by the author of the book or article that you were reading. It's good to keep that in mind.[73]

[73] See Daniel N. Silva entrevista Jan Blommaert on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LPwxX6fDgh0

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APPENDIX

The transcript of the Facebook Event from March 14-19, 2016

A five-day long discussion following a Facebook update by a Polish-born journalist (nicknamed 'Ala') posted on a Facebook group for Polish immigrants in The Netherlands. 65 individuals were involved in the discussion. Initially the update got 75 likes; on June 22, 2017 (time of data retrieval), 73 likes. No new comments were added after 19.03.2016.
There are 193 actions in the event: Ala's update, 79 comments and 113 replies to comments.

In the transcript, all participants are sequentially numbered; a gender identification was added (F = female; M = male). Actions were sequentially and hierarchically numbered.

0 **Ala (F):** *witam, jestem dzienkarka telewizijna i szukam polakow, co pracuja w szklarniach co chca cos opodwiadac o warunkach pracy lub mieszkac i pracowac za granica bez rodziny. chetnie infornacie na priw. krecenjie moze sie stac tez anonymowo. (bo duzo ludzy pyta dlaczego tak zle pisze: jestem urodzona w polsce, ale pracuje dla telewisji niemieckiej i holenderskiej. przeprazaszam za bledy, ale wyjechalam z polski jak mialam 4 latka. wydaje mi sie jednak, ze kommunikacja w tej grupie powinna byc po polsku, dlatego staram sie..)*
Translation: Hello, I am a television journalist and I am looking for Polish people, who work in greenhouses who want to tell me about the working conditions or living and working abroad without family. Gladly information on priv. Filming can also happen anonymously. (because many people ask why I am writing so badly: I am born in Poland, but I am working for German and Dutch television. I am sorry for mistakes, but I left Poland when I was 4 years old. It seems to me however, that communication in this group should be in Polish, that's why I am trying.
DATE: MARCH 14, 2016 AT 12:37PM LIKES: 75 EDITED: 1

1. **Participant 1 (F):** *Jakbym zaczęła opowiadać to by filmu zabrakło*
Translation: If I would start to narrate, they would run short of the movie
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:42PM LIKES: 17

   1.1 **Participant 2 (F):** 😂😂
   DATE: MARCH 14, 2016 AT 1:53PM LIKES: 0

2. **Participant 3 (F**): *Zajebista dziennikarka co bledy w pisowni robi..*
Translation: Fucking great journalist who makes spelling mistakes...
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:43PM LIKES: 26

   2.1 **Ala (F):** *a moze nie mieszkalam w polsce dlugo, ale potrawie mimo wrzystko pisac, co?*
   Translation: Maybe I did not live in Poland for long, but I can write anyway, don't I?
   DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:45PM LIKES: 10

   2.2 **Participant 3 (F):** *Zmien zawod*
   Translation: Change profession
   DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:46PM LIKES: 1

2.3 **Ala (F):** *Participant 3, a ty?*
Translation: Participant 3, and you?
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:47PM LIKES: 0

2.4 **Participant 3 (F):** *A co ja*
Translation: What about me?
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:48PM LIKES: 0

2.5 **Participant 3 (F):** *Znam pisownie i gramatyke*
Translation: I know spelling and grammar
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:48PM LIKES: 0

2.6 **Ala (F):** *masz cos do powiedzenia cyz tylko narzekasz?*
Translation: Do you have anything to say or can you only complain?
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:48PM LIKES: 6

2.7 **Participant 3 (F):** *Nie rozumie twojej polszczyzny*
Translation: I do not understand your Polish
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:49PM LIKES: 2

2.8 **Ala (F):** *Participant 3 w ktorych jezykach? ja conajmniej daje se rade w siedmniu. 3 mowie biegle.*
Translation: Participant 3 in which languages? I can cope with 7 at the very least. I speak 3 fluently.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:49PM LIKES: 0

2.9 **Participant 3 (F):** *A Lubie sie posmiac*
Translation: I like to laugh
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:49PM LIKES: 0

2.10 **Participant 3 (F):** *Wychowalam sie w nl do sie domysl*
Translation: I grew up in NL, so imagine
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:49PM LIKES: 0

2.11 **Participant 3 (F):** *I dalej polski znam*
Translation: And I still know Polish
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:49PM LIKES: 0

2.12 **Ala (F):** *Participant 3 no to sie smiej. po polsku lub holendersku*
Translation: Participant 3 then laugh. in Polish or in Dutch
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:50PM LIKES: 20

2.13 **Participant 4 (M):** *Co sie czepiasz?nudzi Ci sie to pozmywaj gary.*
Translation: Why are you picking on her? If you are bored, then clean the dishes.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:54PM LIKES: 31

2.14 **Participant 5 (F):** *Chuj kogo to obchodzi ze ty polski znasz hahahaha*
Translation: Who the fuck cares that you know Polish hahahaha
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:56PM LIKES: 1

2.15 **Participant 6 (M):** *Widze, ze ktos tu okres ma albo mamy zlot okresowiczów;-)*
Translation: I see that someone here is on period [*menstruating*; MS], or we have periodic jamboree ;-)
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:59PM LIKES: 7

2.16 **Participant 7 (F):** *Participant 3 reprezentujesz dno w czystej postaci*
Translation: Participant 3 [*uses only first name to reference her*; MS] you represent bottom in its most pure/visible form
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:10PM LIKES: 25

2.17 **Participant 8 (F):** *Zwraca uwagę osoba, która nawet polskich znaków nie stosuje. Też się można przyczepić.* 😀 *Cebula* 😀
Translation: Points out a person, who does not even use polish characters. Someone could also pick on that. 😀 Onion 😀
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:50PM LIKES: 11

2.18 **Participant 2 (F):** *Jakies czytanie ze zrozumieniem.?*
Translation: Some comprehensive reading.?
DATE: MARCH 14, 2016 AT 1:54PM LIKES: 1

2.19 **Participant 9 (F):** *Czepiacie sie dziewczyny*
Translation: Girls you are being nitpicky
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:56PM LIKES: 2

2.20 **Participant 10 (F):** *Participant 3, Ty nie masz co robić tylko się czepiać? Nie podoba Ci się jak Ala pisze to nie czytaj i nie komentuj, bo Twoje komentarze są nie na temat. A jeśli coś jeszcze w grupie Ci nie pasuje to zrezygnuj z uczestnictwa w niej.*
Translation: Participant 3, Don't you have anything else to do than to nit-pick? If you do not like it how Ala writes then do not read it and do not comment, because your comments are off topic. And if there is anything else in this group that does not suit you, then resign from your participation in it.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:06PM LIKES: 20

2.21 **Participant 11 (F):** *ja mieszkam w NL ponad 12 lat i też nie znam dobrze pisowni polskiej. Nie macie się czego czepiać.*
Translation: I live in NL over 12 years and I also do not know Polish spelling well. There is nothing to pick on.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:08PM LIKES: 3

2.22 **Participant 12 (F):** 🙂
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:16PM LIKES: 0

2.23 **Participant 13 (F):** *Participant 3 ona nie dla polskiej telewizji ten reportaż robi jak się okazało.. Ale przynajmniej beka była* 😛
Translation: Participant 3 it turns out that she does not make this reportage for Polish television. But at least there was fun 😛 [*'beka' is slang for 'ubaw'*; MS]
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:21PM LIKES: 0

2.24 **Participant 14 (F):** Beka? 😀 Zazdroszczę poziomu poczucia humoru!
Translation: Fun? 😀 I envy the level of your sense of humor.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:24PM LIKES: 2

2.25 **Participant 13 (F):** *Participant 14 jak mam się nie śmiać jak palca nie można zakrzywić bo bluzgi lecą*
Translation: Participant 14 how can I not laugh, if I cannot even bend my finger because flames are thrown
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:27PM LIKES: 0

2.26 **Participant 15 (F):** *Pani Participant 3* [adressed with Miss and first name only; MS]*, pisze się "nie rozumiem", a nie "nie rozumie"* 😊 *to tak w gwoli ścisłości co do Pani znajomości języka polskiego. Pozdrawiam serdecznie*
Translation: Miss Participant 3, you write "nie rozumiem" – I do not understand and not " nie rozumie" – I do not understand 😊 This is for the sake of accuracy of your Polish Language competences. Best regards
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:36PM LIKES: 10 EDITED: 2

2.27 **Participant 16 (F):** *A ty Participant 3?* [adressed with the first name only; MS] *może pochwalilabys się znajomością holenderskiego??? Wstyd robisz jadąc po kimś kto wyemigrował dawno temu i być może nie miał styczności w dużej mierze z językiem polskim. Znam wielu takich ludzi... Ala życzę powodzenia!!! I wybacz tym zawistnym ludziom.*
Translation: And you Participant 3? Maybe you would like to boast about with your knowledge of Dutch??? It's a disgrace to besmirch someone who emigrated long time ago and maybe was not heavily exposed to Polish language. I know many people like that... Ala I wish you good luck!! And forgive these envious people.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:35PM LIKES: 10

2.28 **Participant 10 (F):** *Participant 15 przeczytaj swój ostatni komentarz i zastanów się nad sobą i nad tym co piszesz. Nie widzisz czubka swojego nosa a innym błędy wytykasz. Straszne chamstwo tutaj. Z pustaka cegły się nie zrobi.*
Translation: Participant 15 read your last comment and rethink your own actions and what you have been writing. You cannot see an inch beyond your nose, but you point out others' mistakes. Terrible boorishness here. You won't make a brink out of an air-brick [*English idiom equivalent: You can put lipstick on a pig, but it's still a pig. She means that you can't make more of something than what it actually is*; MS]
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:38PM LIKES: 2

2.29 **Participant 14 (F):** *Czubka swojego nosa to nie widzi Pani Participant 3. Polecam przeczytać sobie posty od początku, bo chyba jakieś nieporozumienie zaszło. Pani Participant 15 wypowiedziała się treściwie i kulturalnie.*
Translation: Mrs. Participant 3 is the one who does not see an inch beyond her nose. I recommend to read the posts from the beginning, because I think that that some misunderstanding arose here. Mrs. Participant 15 expressed herself concisely and politely.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:41PM LIKES: 3

2.30 **Participant 13 (F):** *Participant 14 ale napisała "w gwoli" i czar prysł haha* 😀
Translation: Participant 14, but she wrote "w gwoli" [*meaning for the sake of accuracy, but it should be written 'gwoli scislosci'* ; MS] and the spell broke hahah 😀
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:42PM LIKES: 0

2.31 **Participant 15 (F):** *Pani Participant 10, dziewczyna napisała posta, radzi sobie jak radzi w języku polskim, ważne jest jednak, że sobie radzi. Wytłumaczyło się bieżącego nawet na wstępie dlaczego pisze tak, a nie inaczej. Została zaatakowana i wyśmiana przez innego członka grupy, który niestety ani poziomem elokwencji, ani poprawnej poprawnej pisowni poszczycić się nie może. Pani więc wybaczy ale zastosowałam stare powiedzenie: kto jest bez winy niech pierwszy rzuci kamień. Pozdrawiam*
Translation: Mrs Participant 10 [*addressed with first name only*; MS], the girl wrote this post, she manages the way she can in Polish language, the important thing is however that she manages. She explained right from the start why she writes in this fashion and not differently. She was attacked and derided by another member of this group, who unfortunately cannot pride oneself with the level of eloquence nor correct spelling. You forgive me miss, but I will use here an old saying: the one who is with no guilt should throw the stone first. Greetings.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:43PM LIKES: 5

2.32 **Participant 10 (F):** *Przepraszam, źle zrozumiałam, myślałam że Pani atakuje Alę. Przepraszam raz jeszcze*
Translation: I am sorry, I misunderstood, I thought that you were attacking Ala. Once again, I am sorry
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:45PM LIKES: 0

2.33 **Participant 15 (F):** *Mea culpa Mrs Participant 13 😊 gwoli ścisłości 😊*
Translation: Mea Culpa Mrs Participant 13 😊 gwoli scislosci 😊 [*corrects her spelling error*; MS]
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:46PM LIKES: 1

2.34 **Participant 13 (F):** *Participant 15 Amen! Pozdrawiam 😉*
Translation: Participant 15 Amen! Greetings 😉
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:47PM LIKES: 1

2.35 **Participant 14 (F):** *Participant 13, również należę do osób, które lubią ogładę wypowiedzi i ortograficzno-gramatyczną poprawność. Ale nie napastujmy tych, którzy tak pisać nie potrafią.*
Translation: Participant 13, I also belong to people, who like neat utterances/ statements and orthographic-grammatical correctness. But let's not harass those, who cannot write like that.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:47PM LIKES: 0

2.36 **Participant 13 (F):** *Participant 14 zgadzam się. Nie napastujmy. W ogóle nikogo nie napastujmy. Ale dla mnie było niejasne jak osoba, która nie potrafi pisać jest dziennikarką. I wyjaśniło się. Dlatego cofnęłam mój wstępny hejt 😂*
Translation: Participant 14 I agree. Let's not harass them. In general, let's not harass anybody. For me it was unclear how a person, who cannot write can be a journalist. And it explained itself. That's why I took back my initial troll/ hater message 😂
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:54PM LIKES: 1

2.37 **Participant 17 (F):** *Participant 3 napisałaś kilka zdań żeby sie wymadrzyć a okazało sie ze sama nie znasz polskiego ✌ typowy "polaczek" z Ciebie !!!!*
Translation: Participant 3, you wrote a few sentences to play the smart guy (to be a know-it-all), but as it turns out, you do not know Polish yourself ✌. You are a typical Polack "Polaczek"!!!! ['*Polaczek' literally means a little Pole (English equivalent is Polack), it is an ironical description of a Polish person. It is used with contempt. It is insulting and derogatory in any form. Other similar words: 'Polus', 'Polaczysko'*; MS].
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:22PM LIKES: 4

2.38 **Participant 6 (M**): *Jakoś mnie wcale nie dziwi, że same kobiety komentują ten wątek;-)*
Translation: Somehow I am not surprised that only women comment on this thread ;-)
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:31PM LIKES: 0 EDITED: 2

2.39 **Participant 13 (F):** *Participant 6 wojnę chcesz rozpętać? O co cho?*
Translation: Participant 6 would you like to wage war? What's your problem?
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:32PM LIKES: 0

2.40 **Participant 14 (F):** *Faceci nauczyli się siedzieć cicho, bo to im się potem opłaca xD*
Translation: Men learned to stay quiet, because they will benefit from it later xD
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:33PM LIKES: 2

2.41 **Participant 6 (M):** *Stwierdzam tylko fakty. Pamiętajcie moje Panie, najmądrzejszy jest ten co najmniej mówi a najwięcej słucha;-)*
Translation: I am only noting the facts. Remember my Ladies, the smartest person is the one who says least but listens most ;-)
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:34PM LIKES: 2

2.42 **Participant 13 (F):** *Participant 6 nie stwierdzasz tylko faktów. Wyraziłeś swoją opinię. I ja bym chciała wiedzieć (z ciekawości) czemu cię to nie dziwi, że tylko kobiety się wypowiadają w tym temacie?*
Translation: Participant 6 you are not only noting the facts. You expressed your opinion. And I would like to know (out of curiosity) why are you not surprised that only women comment on this topic?
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:37PM LIKES: 0

2.43 **Participant 4 (M):** *A Participant 13* [referenced by the first name; MS] *jak dociekliwa*😉
Translation: And Participant 13 how inquisitive 😉
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:39PM LIKES: 0

2.44 **Participant 6 (M**): *Wydaje mi się, że już wystarczająco powiedziałem;-)*
Translation: I think I've said enough ;-)
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:41PM LIKES: 1

2.45 **Participant 13 (F):** *Participant 4 staram się zrozumieć czy czas złożyć broń czy rozpocząć walkę z seksizmem*😀
Translation: Participant 4 I am trying to understand if it is time to rest the arms or wage the war with sexism 😛
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:43PM LIKES: 0

2.46 **Participant 4 (M):** *Jaka chętna do walk i*😉
Translation: How eager she is to fight 😉
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:44PM LIKES: 0

2.47 **Participant 13 (F):** *Participant 4 honor i szacunek to jedyne wartości warte walki!* ⚔️
Translation: Participant 4 honor and respect are the only values worth war! ⚔️
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:48PM LIKES: 2

2.48 **Participant 18 (M):** *Ala wielka dziennikarko czemu piszesz Polska,Polacy z malej litery ? juz wielkiego wuatraka udajesz? jeszcze bedziesz pelzac na kolanach do Polski*
Translation: Ala the great journalist, why are you writing Poland and Polish people starting with a small letter? Are you already pretending to be a large windmill? You will be crawling on your knees to Poland one day
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 8:55PM LIKES: 1

2.49 **Participant 19 (F):** *Dziewczyna się tylko w Polsce urodziła. Mieszkała w Niemczech, więc dajcie jej spokój. Ważne, że potrafi się porozumieć* 🙂 *można wywnioskować, że jest samoukiem (ja odniosłam takie wrażenie). Drodzy Polacy - mniej jadu. Chciała przeprowadzić wywiad zapewnie nie do polskiej tv (jej polski język z pewnością jest lepszy, niż angielski czy niderlandzki niektórych Polaków). Znajdujcie pozytywy, nie trzeba wszystkiego od razu krytykować. Pozdro!* 🙂
Translation: The girl was only born in Poland. She lived in Germany, so leave her alone. Important is that she can communicate 🙂 you can infer that she is self-taught (it is the impression I got at least). Dear Poles – less venom. She wanted to conduct interviews most likely not for Polish TV (her polish is surely better than English or Dutch of some of the Poles). Look for the positives, you do not need to criticize everything right from the start. Greets! 🙂
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 9:27PM LIKES: 6 EDITED: 2

2.50 **Participant 4 (M):** *Adek jak sie wyrwał.hehe*
Translation: Adek how you blurt out. Hehe
[*Adek is Participant 18, a few comments earlier (2.48), who supposingly changed his name through the course of the conversation and now his profile has been deleted. If you click on his name, it says that content has been deleted, if you do the same with other people you will get their profiles*; MS]
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 6:09AM LIKES: 1

2.51 **Participant 20 (M):** *nie umiesz czytac idiotko? chyba dziewczyna wyjasnila czemu popelnia bledy. niektorzy polacy calkiem zapominaja swojej ojczystej mowy!*
Translation: Can't you read idiot [*idiot is in its female form*; MS]? A girl explained why she makes mistakes. Some polish people completely forget their native speech!
[*This comment does not have a direct addressee, but most likely it is directed to Participant 3, as the comment appears as a reply to the original post of Participant 3*; MS]
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 9:49PM LIKES: 0

2.52 **Participant 20 (M):** *wiesniara*
Translation: Yokel [*in a female form*; MS]
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 9:57PM LIKES: 0

2.53 **Participant 20 (M):** *Adek sam walisz literowki cycu a innych uczysz*
Translation: Adek you make spelling mistakes yourself, tit and you try to teach others
[*Adek is Participant 18, a few comments earlier (2.48), who supposingly changed his name through the course of the conversation and now his profile has been deleted. If you click on his name, it says that content has been deleted, if you do the same with other people you will get their profiles*; MS]
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 10:01PM LIKES: 0

2.54 **Participant 13 (F):** *Participant 20 post Ala był edytowany*
Translation: Participant 20 the entry of Ala was edited
[*The second part of the original entry, in the brackets has been added to the original entry (action 0) during the course of this conversation*; MS]
DATE: MARCH 16 AT 8:43AM LIKES: 0

2.55 **Participant 21 (M):** *to co z ciebie za kobieta, jak o ryj zadbać nie potrafisz i wyglądasz jak mój obiad w kiblu Participant 3* 😀:
Translation: What kind of woman are you if you can't take care of your snout and you look like my dinner in the toilet, Participant 3 😀 [*addressed by a pet name made from Participant 3's first name*; MS]
DATE: MARCH 19 AT 8:04AM LIKES: 2

2.56 **Participant 3 (F):** Fuck you [*written in English*; MS]
DATE: MARCH 19 AT 8:05AM LIKES: 0

2.57 **Participant 4 (M**): *Co za gamoń bez kultury z Ciebie kobieto.*
Translation: You are a lout with no manners woman
DATE: MARCH 19 AT 8:14AM LIKES: 0

3. **Participant 1 (F):** *To sie nazywa nowoczesne dziennikarstwo*
Translation: This is what they call modern journalism
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:44PM LIKES: 1

4. **Participant 3 (F):** haha
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:44PM LIKES: 0

5. **Participant 3 (F):** *Gramatyki i pisowni nie zmienisz... Nowoczesne czy to stare*
Translation: Grammar and spelling can't be changed… weather it is modern or old
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:45PM LIKES: 0

5.1 **Participant 14 (F):** *Piekny przyklad Polaka - hejtera* 🙂 *gratuluję!*
Translation: A great example of the Pole- the hater 🙂 Congratulations!
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:53PM LIKES: 15

5.2 **Participant 22 (F):** *Participant 3 powala mnie Twoja POPRAWNOŚĆ JĘZYKOWA.. A tak szczerze to współczuję takim ludziom jak Ty I Participant 13. Miłego wieczoru*
Translation: Participant 3 I' am absolutely blown away by your LANGUAGE CORRECTNESS... But honestly I feel sorry for people like you andParticipant 13. Have a nice evening
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 8:51PM LIKES: 0

6. **Ala (F):** *jestem z niemczech, urodzona w polsce, teraz pracuje w holandii. przepraszam za bledy ale conajmnie moge sie porozumiec. dziekuje za pomoc.*
Translation: I come from Germany, born in Poland. I am working in Holland now. I am sorry for my mistakes, but at least I can communicate with you. Thank you for your help.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:47PM LIKES: 29 EDITED: 2

6.1 **Participant 14 (F):** *Nie przejmuj sie, to wlasnie polska mentalnosc. Lepiej obrazic niz pomyslec, ze fajnie, ze sie starasz* ☺ *zawsze moglas poprosic kogos o poprawienie bledow, ale rozumiem Cie doskonale i szacunek za autentycznosc!*
Translation: Don't worry, this is exactly polish mentality. Better to offend someone than to think that it is nice that you are trying ☺ You could have asked someone to correct your mistakes, but I understand you very well, so respect for authenticity!
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:54PM LIKES: 21

6.2 **Participant 13 (F):** *Jeśli ktoś się przedstawia jako reporter telewizyjny to czy nie powinien lepiej mowić i pisać po polsku niż "Fajnie, ze sie starasz"..? A może ten wywiad nie będzie przeprowadzony w języku polskim?*
Translation: If someone introduces himself or herself as a TV reporter, shouldn't they write and speak better Polish than "great that you are trying"…? Or maybe this interview will not be conducted in Polish language?
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:19PM LIKES: 0

6.3 **Participant 23 (F):** *Reportaz moze byc wyswietlany w kazdym jezyku, od tego sa tlumacze. Kto Pani zdaniem powinien przeprowadzic takie wywiady? Mi wydaje sie adekwatna reporterka, ktora dogada sie z polakami. Chyba, ze kazdy z pracownikow szklarni wlada angielskim czy holenderskim, wtedy mogliby opowiedziec swoje losy w tych jezykach.*
Translation: A report can be displayed in any language, that's what translators are for. Who do you think should conduct this kind of interviews? She seems to me to be an adequate journalist, who will be able to actually communicate with Poles. Unless, all of the people employed in the greenhouse have a good command of English or Dutch, then they can tell their story in these languages.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:25PM LIKES: 7

6.4 **Participant 13 (F):** *Tak, zgadzam się, rozmowa może być przetłumaczona na dowolny język. Jednak wydaje mi się, że reporter powinien lepiej władać językiem niż "dogadanie się", bo moim zdaniem poziom wypowiedzi reportera świadczy o wiarygodności przeprowadzonego reportażu. Być może ta pani potrafi mowić po polsku, ale jej post był brzydko napisany. Spodziewałabym się czegoś innego po osobie, która zarabia na mówieniu i pisaniu*
Translation: Yes, I agree, the talk can be translated to any language. However, I still believe that the reporter should have a better command of language than just "being able to communicate", because in my opinion the level of reporter's utterance denotes the credibility of conducted report. Maybe this lady actually can speak polish, but her post has been written in an ugly manner. I would expect something else from a person, who earns the living on writing and speaking
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:34PM LIKES: 0

6.5 **Ale (F):** *zarabiam nie w jezyku polskim. ale jak pani chce, mozemy zrobic wywiad w jesyku angieslkim, niemieckim, lub holenderskim. jak pani wygodniej.*
Translation: I do not earn my living in Polish language, but if you want, we can conduct the interview in English, German or Dutch, whatever you prefer.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:36PM LIKES: 1

6.6 **Participant 23 (F):** *Dokaldnie o to chodzi. Ala oferuje kilka jezykow, w ktorych moze przeprowadzic wywiad, a ludzie czepiaja sie, ze nie uzywa perfekt polskiego, czyli jedynego jezyka, ktorym wladaja komentujacy.*

Translation: That's exactly what it is about. Ala offers several languages in which she can conduct interviews, and people still are nitpicky, because she does not use perfect Polish, meaning the only language that the commentator wields.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:41PM LIKES: 8

6.7 **Ala (F):** *dziekuje..*
Translation: Thank you…
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:42PM LIKES: 1

6.8 **Participant 13 (F):** *Haha jak nie dla polskiej telewizji to spoko. W takim razie warto docenić, że ma pani możliwość przeprowadzenia wywiadu po polsku. Jeśli uprzednio nie wypowiedziałam się jasno to chodziło mi o to, że pani posty wyglądają jak by się pani nie starała ich poprawnie napisać, chociażby ze względu na brak wielkich liter. A to moim zdaniem negatywnie świadczy o pani (rzekomych) kwalifikacjach.*
@Participant 23: moim zdaniem znajomość języków obcych komentujących nie ma związku z tą dyskusją
Udanego reportażu. Pozdrawiam
Translation: Haha if not for Polish television then ok. In this case it is worth appreciation that you even have possibility to conduct the interview in polish. If I wasn't clear the last time, I meant that your posts look like you were not trying to write them correctly, if only due to the lack of capital letters. In my opinion it negatively tells of your (supposed) qualifications.
@Participant 23: in my opinion the command of foreign languages of people commenting does not have anything to do with this discussion. I wish you successful report. Greetings
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:59PM LIKES: 0

6.9 **Ala (F):** *jak Pani sie nic nie ma do powiedzenia, to prosze sie nie mieszac*
Translation: If you do not have anything to say, then please do not interfere
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:02PM LIKES: 0

6.10 **Participant 13 (F):** *Hahaha czyli udało mi się zamieszać. Sukces!*
Translation: Haha so as I can see, I managed to mix things up. Good Epic win!
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:05PM LIKES: 0

6.11 **Ale (F):** *no wyglada na to ze to dla Pani najwieksza przyjemnosc. jak nic innego w Pani zyciu nie ma wartosci, to bardzo chetnie Pani pomoglam sie conajmniej posmiac na moi koszt . zapraszam ..natepnym razem moze Pani mi napisac po holendersku. pomoge bledy poszukac* 🙂
Translation: As it seems it must be the greatest joy for you. if you do not have anything else of value in your life, then very gladly I helped you laugh on my cost. Next time I invite you to write something in Dutch then I will help you find mistakes 🙂
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:07PM LIKES: 3

6.12 **Participant 13 (F):** *Dla wyjaśnienia: ja się z pani nie naśmiewałam tylko próbowałam zrozumieć sytuacje i reakcje innych osób na tym forum. Możliwe, że nie doczytałam oryginalnego posta. W przeciwieństwie do pani wyrażam się w kulturalny sposób i odnoszę się tylko do faktów, a nie bazuję mojej wypowiedzi na insynuacji odnośnie pani radości z życia i znajomości innych języków. Może mi pani zechce wyjaśnić jaki związek ma ta cała dyskusja z moją znajomością holenderskiego?*

Translation: To clarify things: I was not laughing at you, I was just trying to understand the situation and the reactions of other people on this forum. It is possible that I did not read your original post to the end. In contrast to you I express myself in a mannerly fashion and I only refer to facts, and I do not base my statement on insinuations with regard to your life's joy and command of other languages. Maybe you can explain me what kind of connection this discussion has with my knowledge of Dutch?
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:15PM LIKES: 0

6.13 **Participant 24 (F):** *Participant 13* [addressed by first name; MS] *a zwiazek ma taki, ze srednio 70% (jesli nie wiecej) Polakow w Holandii nie wlada jezykiem niderlandzkiego, a latwo "Nam" przychodzi krytykowac innych.*
Pani Ala prosze sie nie przejmowac brakiem tolerancji. Moj starszy syn byl w podobnym wieku gdy zamieszkalismy w Holandii, pisze na podobnym poziomie, a mlodszy mial zaledwie 5 miesiecy i niestety wcale nie pisze po polsku. Mam nadzieje, ze w przyszlosci bedzie chociaz pisal jak Pani.
Powodzenia zycze ✊
Translation: Participant 13 the connection is that on average 70 % (if not more) of Poles in Holland does not have command of Dutch, but it is easy for "us" to criticize others. Miss Ala please do not fret over lack of tolerance. My older son was in similar age when we decided to live in Holland, his writing is on similar level, but younger had only 5 months and he does not write Polish at all. I hope, that in the feature he will at least be able to write like you. I wish you good luck ✊
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 4:20PM LIKES: 4

7. **Participant 25 (F):** *Ja chętnie opowiem* 🙂 *mam ciekawe doświadczenia:)*
Translation: I will gladly tell my story 🙂 I have interesting experiences :)
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:49PM LIKES: 1

7.1 **Ala (F):** *chetnie na priw*
Translation: Willingly on priv
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:49PM LIKES: 0

8. **Participant 26 (F):** *Kurde po co sie kobieto czepiasz błędów zajmij sie czymś pożytecznym !*
Translation: Shoot, why do you have to nitpick about the mistakes woman, do something useful!
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:49PM LIKES: 28

9. **Participant 27 (M):** *Ale jad...*
Translation: What a venom…
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:52PM LIKES: 6

10. **Participant 28 (M):** *...pisz na priv*
Translation: Write on priv
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:55PM LIKES: 0

11. **Participant 29 (F):** *i ja poopowiadam:)*
Translation: I can also narrate :)
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 12:56PM LIKES: 0

11.1 **Participant 29 (F):** *pracujaca pelen etat samotna matka.*
Translation: Full- time employed single mother
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:12PM LIKES: 0

12. **Participant 30 (F):** *O niektórych burach to można bardzo długo opowiadać* 😕😕
Translation: About some of the cads you could talk for a long time 😕😕
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:04PM LIKES: 3

    12.1 **Ala (F):** *domyslam sie. dlatego pytam. wyglada na to ze jest bardzo duzo czarnych owcow..*
    Translation: That's what I thought. That's why I ask. It looks like there are many black sheep's.
    DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:05PM LIKES: 1

    12.2 **Participant 30 (F):** *Ala niestety bardzo dużo a to tylko i wyłącznie nasza wina, wina Polaków, którzy sobie na to pozwalają...juz zwolniłam się z kilku prac, gdzie myśleli, że będę pozwalała sobą pomiatac, że będę się godzila na prace 7 dni w tyg i to w weekendy za normalna stawkę, gdzie nie interesuje szefa czy Ciebie coś boli itd jesteś tylko jego maszynką do odwalenia swojej roboty i nabicia mu euro na konto* 😕*....oni myślą, że nikt tu nie chce normalnego życia, trochę wolnego czasu dla siebie i rodziny, że przyjechaliśmy tu tylko dla pracy. ..*
    Translation: Unfortunately, a lot, but it is only and exclusively our fault, the fault of the Poles, who accept it… I quit a few jobs, where they thought I would allow them to walk over myself, that I will agree on work 7 days a week and in weekends for the same money, where the boss does not care if something hurts you etc. because you are his machine to do the job you have been given and for making euros for his account 😕… they think that nobody wants normal life here, some free time for yourself or your family, that we came here only for work…
    DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:10PM LIKES: 8

13. **Participant 23 (F):** *ale fajnie, ze ktos sie zainteresowal i chce zrobic taki reportaz*
Translation: Great that someone took this up and wants to make a reportage
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:08PM LIKES: 7

14. **Participant 4 (M):** *Tamta jak zamilkła,myslała ze błyśnie i nie wyszło*😂😂
Translation: How the other one got silent, she thought she would shine here and it did not work out😂😂
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:08PM LIKES: 10

15. **Participant 31 (M):** *Pani Ala i tak to nic nie zmieni tylko tyle że się wydalimy a nikt się za to nie weźmie i dalej będzie to samo*
Translation: Miss Ala [*addressed with the surname*; MS] it won't change anything except that we will be exposed, but nobody will investigate it and it will all stay the same
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:12PM LIKES: 0

    15.1 **Participant 30 (F):** *Takie myślenie właśnie nic nie zmieni.*
    Translation: Exactly this kind of reasoning won't change anything
    DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:12PM LIKES: 3

    15.2 **Participant 31 (M):** *Co ci to da mało wywiadów już było i co się zmieniło*
    Translation: What will it change there were many reportages and nothing changed
    DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:13PM LIKES: 0

    15.3 **Participant 30 (F):** *Nie chodzi o wywiady a o podejście! Szału dostaje jak widzę jak pozwalamy się tlamsic! Moja mama była ostatnio w pracy w której na kantynie był zakaz rozmowy i wszyscy buty muszą zdjąć przed drzwiami!* 😑
    Translation: It is not about the reportages but about the approach to the matter! I get furious when I see that we allow to stifle ourselves! My mom was recently at work, where in the canteen you were forbidden to talk and you had to take the shoes off before entering! 😑
    DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:15PM LIKES: 0

15.4 **Participant 31 (M):** *To nie normalne jestem już tu trochę ale nie trafiłem na takie coś to nie normalne naprawdę*
Translation: This is not normal; I am here for a while but I never encountered anything like that. It is not normal, really
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:27PM LIKES: 0

15.5 **Participant 30 (F):** *Participant 31 no właśnie to jest chore a ktoś się na to godzi i boją się przeciwstawić bo na ich miejsce jest kolejka takich głupich...masakra...brakuje nam przede wszystkim solidarności* 😕
Translation: Participant 31 exactly this is sick, but some agree to it and are afraid to withstand it because on their place there is already a queue of stupid people… freaking insane… we lack most of all solidarity 😕
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:36PM LIKES: 2

15.6 **Participant 31 (M):** *Tak Participant 30 zgadzam się z tobą taka jest nie stety prawda*
Translation: Yes, Participant 30, I agree with you, this is unfortunately the truth
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:39PM LIKES: 0

15.7 **Participant 31 (M):** *I to jest smutne i prawdziwe* 😟
Translation: And this is sad but true 😟
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:39PM LIKES: 0

16. **Participant 7 (F):** *Ala zycze ci udanego reportażu jesli potrzebujesz fotografa to daj znać! Chętnie Ci pomogę. Zajmuje sie fotografia od 25 lat. Pozdrawiam*
Translation: Ala I wish you good luck with your reportage and if you need a photograph let me know! I will be glad to help you. I am working with photography for 25 years. Greetings
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:14PM LIKES: 4

17. **Participant 7 (F):** *I dodam, ze zrobię to gratis z czystej przyjemności.*
Translation: I want to add, that I will do it for free out of pure enjoyment
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:14PM LIKES: 5

18. **Participant 1 (F):** *Też mogę po opowiadać*
Translation: I can also tell something
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:21PM LIKES: 0

18.1 **Ala (F):** *prosze na priw*
Translation: please on priv
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:21PM LIKES: 0

19. **Participant 32 (M):** *fak ze pani nic nie zmieni a my polacy i tak mosimy pracowac w roznych warunkach i to za male pieniodze- zycze powodzenia , pozdrawiam*
Translation: It is a fact that you won't change anything and we Poles will need to work in different circumstances anyway and for a little money- I wish you good luck, greetings
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:24PM LIKES: 0

20. **Participant 25 (F):** *Głównym problemem sa agencje pracy które nas okradają*
Translation: The main problem are the work agencies that are stealing from us
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:28PM LIKES: 1

21. **Participant 33 (M):** *Zacznijcie pisać coś o tych normalnych Polakach niech ta dobra opinia o nas pójdzie aby brano ten dobry przyklad*
Translation: Start writing something about the normal Poles, lets spread a good opinion so that they can take a good example
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:29PM LIKES: 5

22. **Participant 34 (F):** *Pod zdjęciami na profilu nie widzę żadnych błędów w pisowni*
Translation: Under the pictures on the profile I do not see any mistakes in writing
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:33PM LIKES: 0

23. **Participant 35 (F):** *Pracowałam w szklarni na kolanach . Koszmar...*
Translation: I have been working in the greenhouse on my knees. Nightmare…
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:47PM LIKES: 1

    23.1 **Ala (F):** *moze Pani wiecej opowiedziec? na priw?*
    Translation: Can you tell me more? On priv?
    DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:51PM LIKES: 0

24. **Participant 36 (M):** *dalbym ci jeden temat jak lokuja ludzi jak swinie w oborach gdzie strumyk gowna plynie srodkiem pokoju*
Translation: I can give you one topic about how they locate people like pigs in byre where a stream of shit flows through the middle of the room
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 1:53PM LIKES: 0

25. **Participant 37 (F):** *Nie tylko agencje spróbujcie popracować na kontrakt w hotelach praca ponad ludzkie siły accord*
Translation: Not only agencies, try working on contract in hotels. Work above human strength. Piecework
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:25PM LIKES: 3

    25.1 **Participant 26 (F):** *Wiem coś o tym ;)*
    Translation: I know something about it ;)
    DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:31PM LIKES: 0

26. **Participant 38 (F):** *Ja pracowałam 4 lata…*
Translation: I was working for 4 years…
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:28PM LIKES: 0

27. **Participant 39 (F):** *Ala po pierwsze fajnie, ze piszesz i starsz sie pisac po polsku* ☺ *to, ze robisz bledy- nie przejmuj sie, duzo osob je robi a wyjechali z Polski pare miesiecy temu. Ja chetnie opowiem bardziej pozytywne rzeczy* ☺*;) Jest bardzo duzo osob, ktore odniosly sukces w Holandii. Takie przyklady powinno sie pokazywac. Juz bylo kilka reportarzy na temat Polakow, ktorzy nie radza sobie tutaj kompletnie, ktorzy sa wykorzystywani do roznych prac, za marne pieniadze i warunki. Jest tez spora grupa, ktora wlasnymi silami (podkreslam wlasnymi, bo pewnie za chwile pojawia sie komentarze typu"sponsoring"),odniosla sukces. Skontaktuj sie z Kasia jest organizatorka Sympozium Sukces. Zobaczysz ta druga strone Polakow w Holandii. Ta grupa tez jest duza. I wierze, ze naprawde warto pokazywac tez pozytywne strony polakow i ich sukcesy* ☺ *powodzenia* ☺

Translation: Ala, firstly, great that you can write and are trying to write in Polish 🙂 the fact that you make mistakes- do not worry about it, many people make them and some left Poland only few months ago. I will gladly tell you more positive things 🙂 There are many people who actually succeeded in Holland. This kind of examples should be shown. There were a few reportages about Polish people, who completely do not manage here, who are exploited in different jobs, for terrible wages and conditions. There is a sizable group, which uses their own strength (I emphasize, their own, because probably in a moment I will see comments in a type of "sponsoring") to achieve success. Get in touch with Kasia, she is an organizator of symposium success. You can see this other side of Poles in Holland. This group is also big. And I believe, that it is really worth it to show the positive sides of Poles and their successes. 🙂 Good luck 🙂

DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:51PM LIKES: 10

27.1 **Ala (F):** *tez bardzo interesujacy temat! dziekuje!*
Translation: Also a very interesting topic! Thank you!
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 2:54PM LIKES: 1

27.2 **Participant 40 (F):** *Wlasnie sie tam wybieram;)* 💥 *tez jestem jednym z tych przykładów ;chciec to moc;)Moge Wiele opowiedzieć pozytywnych rzeczy!!!*👉👉👉
Translation: I am actually heading there ;) 💥 I am also one of these examples; if you really want something you will find a way;) I can tell may positive things!!! 👉👉👉
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:46PM LIKES: 0

28. **Participant 41 (M):** *Pracowałem na kwiatach . Mała prywatna firma . Niema lekko . Albo zapierda... Albo lecisz . I nikogo nieninteresuje czy ty przyjechałes wczoraj inwydales ostatnie oszczędności na wyjazd*
Translation: I have worked with flowers. Small private company. It was not easy. Or you are working your ass off.. or you are flying… And nobody cares if you just came yesterday and you spent all your savings on this trip
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:28PM LIKES: 1

29. **Participant 42 (F):** *Tez moge pomoc. Nauczam jezyka hol I polskiego od 13 lat. Prosze obejrzec moja strone internetowa. Pozdrawiam* [Link to the page was included; MS]
Translation: I can help as well. I am teaching Polish and Dutch for 13 years. Please have a look at my internet page. Greetings
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:32PM LIKES: 0

30. **Participant 33 (M):** *Narzekanie to nasza narodowa cecha*
W koncu to wy godzicie się cieżko pracować za marne pieniądze przez biura może inaczej anty biura nie znając realiów języka tak jest
Translation: Complaining is our national characteristic. In the end you are the ones agreeing to hard work for little money through offices, or better anti-offices, if you do not know reality or language that's how it is
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:33PM LIKES: 3

31. **Participant 43 (M):** *Wywiady i tak nic nie zmienią będziemy i tak zap... za marne pieniądze:P*
Translation: Interviews won't change anything and we will work our asses off for terrible wages anyway :P
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:37PM LIKES: 0

32. **Participant 44 (M):** *Witam Panią chętnie pomogę i wesprze dobrym słowem naszych rodaków..*
Translation: Welcome Miss I will gladly help and I will support with a good word our nationals
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 3:40PM LIKES: 0

33. **Participant 45 (F):** *Jakby tak dokladnie przepytac zasad gramatyki jezyka polskiego tych, co maja zawsze na ten temat duzo do powiedzenia....*
Translation: If we only could test the knowledge of the Polish grammatical rules of those who always have so much to tell on this topic…
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 4:02PM LIKES: 2

34. **Participant 46 (M):** *Ja pracuje na ocynkowni i mieszkam ponad piec lat w Holandii. Jeśli chcesz to mogę troszkę poopowiadał jak sie mi tu żyje* 🤓🤓
Translation: I work in galvanizing industry and I live more than 5 years in Holland. If you would like I can tell you a bit about how my life here. 🤓🤓
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 4:58PM LIKES: 0

35. **Participant 6 (M):** *Jacy nagle wszyscy chętni do wywiadów hehe;-)*
Translation: All of the sudden everyone is so willing to do interviews hehe;-)
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 6:03PM LIKES: 1

36. **Participant 47 (M):** *Morda kapcie!!! k😕rwa! Jak zwykle to samo. Czy Ala pytała o zasady pisowni czy o zupełnie coś innego? Też trochę pisze i mógłbym podesłać kilka tematów.*
Translation: Shut your mouth Slippers!! F😕ck! Always the same. Did Ala ask you about the rules of writing or was it something completely different? I am writing a bit myself so I can send you some interesting topics.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 6:04PM LIKES: 3

37. **Participant 6 (M):** *O widać, że kolega nade mną to się umie wysławiać tylko nie w tą stronę co trzeba;-)*
Translation: Ohh I can see that a friend above me can express himself well but not in the direction he should ;-)
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 6:05PM LIKES: 0

    37.1 **Participant 47 (M):** *Bo już rzygam tymi wszystkimi "polonistami" od siedmiu boleści. No ile można..*
    Translation: Because all these pathetic “Polonists” make me wanna throw up. How long can one go on like that
    DATE: MARCH 14 AT 6:07PM LIKES: 4

    37.2 **Participant 6 (M):** *Spodziewałem się jeszcze większej agresji w odpowiedzi a tu miłe zaskoczenie, Brawo, takich ludzi nam trzeba, inteligentnych, którzy umieją się opanować;-) Musze przyznać Ci racje, że niezły polew miałem z tych jak ich nazwałeś polubownie "polonistów"😉 Najcenniejsza rada na takich, po prostu nie zwracać na nich uwagi. Koniec końców sami i tak się skompromitują w swoich wypowiedziach;-)*
    Translation: I expected even more aggression in your reply but I was positively surprised, Bravo, we need this kind of people, intelligent, who can control themselves;-) I have to agree with you, because I had a good laugh because of how amicably you referred to them as ‘Polonists’ 😉. The most precious advice for this kind of people is to simply not pay attention to them, In the end they will compromise themselves in their own statements;-)
    DATE: MARCH 14 AT 6:12PM LIKES: 3

38. **Participant 48 (F):** *Przeczytałam wszytkie te komentarze i dawno się tak... nie zdenerwowałam. Wstyd Wam powinno być wredne i zawistne baby!!! Ala Powodzenie i duzo sukcesów w pracy* 🙂
Translation: I read all the comments and it has been a long time since I got so frustrated. Shame on you disgusting and envious chick!!! Ala good luck and lots of successes at work 🙂
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 6:36PM LIKES: 5

39. **Participant 49 (M):** *To wlasnie robi holandia z polakow*
Translations: This is exactly what Holland makes of Poles
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 7:06PM LIKES: 2

40. **Participant 43 (M):** *Ja pracuje kilka lat na pomidorkach i czego polakom brak do nie których holendrów to coś takiego jak planning*
Translation: I am working for several years now with tomatoes and what poles miss in comparison to the dutch is something called planning.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 7:08PM LIKES: 0

41. **Participant 50 (M):** *Nie trzeba mieszkać w Polsce żeby POLSKA pisać wielkimi literami !!!*
Translation: You do not need to live in Poland to write POLAND with capital letters!!!
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 7:30PM LIKES: 1

42. **Participant 51 (F):** *Nie tylko szklarnie..a pieczarki..znacie to...czy uważacie że to normalna praca..zapraszam...można zobaczyć* 😟
Translation: Not only greenhouses, also mushrooms. Do you know that? Or do you think that this is normal job? You are invited to see for yourselves 😟
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 7:35PM LIKES: 0

43. **Participant 52 (M):** *Z checia opowiem o okropnym traktowaniu pracownikow w pewnej firmie. Praca przy amarylisach. Do tego oszustwa w sprawie wyplat.*
Translation: I will gladly tell something about terrible treatment of workers in one company. Work with amaryllises. In addition, frauds when it comes to payout
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 7:51PM LIKES: 1

    43.1 **Ala (F):** *Poprosze o wiadomość na priw*
    Translation: Please send me a message on priv
    DATE: MARCH 14 AT 11:30PM LIKES: 0

44. **Participant 53 (M):** *Albo o agencji Kennemerland w Haarlemie.*
Translation: Or about the agency Kennemerland in Haarlem.
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 9:16PM LIKES: 1

45. **Participant 54 (M):** *skoro wam tak zle to dlacze zgadzacie sie wciaz na takie traktowanie? zmiana pracy, poprostu. da sie inaczej troche wiary i samozaparcia a nie tylko narzekac*
Translation: If it is so bad why do you still agree to be treated this way? Change job, as simple as that. You can do it differently, a little bit confidence and determination and not only complaining
DATE: MARCH 14 AT 11:41PM LIKES: 3

46. **Participant 38 (F):** *Dokładnie zgadzam się całkowicie, trzeba pamiętać gdzie chciałoby się być i dążyć do tego małymi krokami. ….*
Translation: Exactly I agree completely, you need to remember where you would like to be and to persue one's aim step by step.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 6:04AM LIKES: 1

47. **Participant 55 (F):** *wystarczy się nauczyć holenderskiego i trochę postarać,ale wielu polakom się po prostu nie chce i wolą narzekać zamiast się ogarnąć*
Translation: One only needs to learn Dutch and needs to strive a bit, but many polish people simply do not feel like it and they prefer to complain than to get a grip.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 9:12AM LIKES: 3

    47.1 **Participant 56 (F):** Amen
    DATE: MARCH 15 AT 11:46AM LIKES: 0

48. **Participant 57 (M):** *Tak tak pochwalcie się jak żałośni jesteście że was biura walą w rogi. Ale oni walą tylko tych co sobie pozwalają na takie traktowanie. Jak ktoś jest sierota w życiu to trzeba to w tv pokazać.*
Translation: Yes, yes, boast about how pathetic you are because the offices put something over you. But they only deceive those who allow them to be treated in this way. If someone is a wimp in life, it is necessary to show on TV.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 12:48PM LIKES: 1 EDITED: 2

    48.1 **Participant 53 (M):** *Taki w gębie mocny jesteś? Widać zes robiony na próbę a starzy zapomnieli cie udusić. Internetowy trollu.*
    Translation: This is how big mouth you have got? It is clear that you have been made in a trial and your folks forgot to jug you. Internet troll
    DATE: MARCH 15 AT 10:38AM LIKES: 3

    48.2 **Participant 52 (M):** *Pewnie koordynator pierdolony, ktory sam rodakow w dupe rucha na hajs. Participant 57 korwa pozal sie boze*
    Translation: Probably fucking coordinator, who fucks his compatriots in the ass for money himself. Participant 57 [*addressed with first name*; MS], fuck, pathetic.
    DATE: MARCH 16 AT 7:14PM LIKES: 0

49. **Participant 58 (F):** *Dokladnie ja tez bym opowiedziala co kiedys mnie sie przytrafilo I innym brake slow*
Translation: Exactly, I also want to tell about what once happened to me and others. There are no words for it.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 11:51AM LIKES: 0

    49.1 **Ala (F):** *prosze napisac*
    Translation: please write
    DATE: MARCH 15 AT 12:03PM LIKES: 0

50. **Participant 57 (M):** *Wolę być trolem znającym swoją wartość niż jęczeć na forum czy w tv. A ty kolego żadnej wartości nie masz, bo jakże nisko trzeba upaść by po rodzinie jechać. Żałosny człowieczku*
Translation: I prefer to be the troll who knows his worth than to moan on a forum or on tv. And you, friend, you don't have any worth, because how low can you fall to insult your own family. Pitiful little person.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 12:42PM LIKES: 1

51. **Participant 57 (M):** *Chcesz by było lepiej , ogarnij się , zainwestuj w siebie , rusz dupsko . Pracy jest w NI tyle że przebierać można. Ale po co lepiej niech mi ktoś poda na tacy pracę i mieszkanie z samochodem a ja będę tylko narzekał bo to wychodzi mi najbardziej.... No przy takim toku myślenie to faktycznie daleko się nie zajedzie co najwyżej do Tv* 😉 *w trudne sprawy w NI* 😁

Translation: If you want it to be better, get a grip, invest in yourself, move your ass. There is so much work in NL that you can pick and choose. But why, it is better when work, apartment and car are handed on the plate to me and I will only complain, because this is what I do best 😉 With this train of thought you will indeed not get far in life, at best you can make it to tv to difficult topics in NL 😄
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 12:53PM LIKES: 2 EDITED: 3

52. **Participant 53 (M):** *Kolejny internetowy przydupas, pewnie koordynator z polsko-holenderskiego biura któremu rodzina zalatwila pracę. Tak się składa bawole że uczę się holenderskiego, kwalifikacje jeśli chodzi o skończone szkoły, referencje i doświadczenie zawodowe też posiadam, ale ty pseudopolska mendo z wykapanego wytrysku nie zrozumiesz jakie piekło zgotowali tu innym ludziom chcącym sobie ułożyć życie holendrzy czy Polacy - pariasi jeszcze nie holendrzy ale nawet nie Polacy.*
Translation: Another internet sidekick, probably coordinator from a Polish-Dutch office whose family arranged him the job. As it turns out ox, qualifications with regard to schooling are finished, references and working experience I also possess, but you pseudo Polish crud from a dripping ejaculation will never understand what kind of hell was set up here for people who wanted to build a better life for themselves, no matter Dutch or Polish – pariah, not even Dutch but already not Polish.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 12:59PM LIKES: 5

53. **Participant 53 (M):** *Tak jak myślałem troll* 😀
Translation: That's what I thought, a troll 😀
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 1:01PM LIKES: 0

54. **Participant 59 (M):** *Holendrzy wpedzaja na stale mieszkajacych polakow w dlugi w holandi pozniej kaza leczyc sie u psychologow poczym odbieraja I'm dzieci taka jest korwa holandia a jak narzekasz to kaza wracac do polski poczym sciagaja dalej dlugi Malo tego Ile jest rodzin ktorych szantarzuja odebraniem dzieci no a jakas menda holenderska zadzwoni ze jest zaglosno kaza rozbijak rodzine lub wracac do Kraju.ostatni mialem problemy I policje ze jezdze z dzieckiem do tylu autem*
Translation: The Dutch drive Polish people who permanently live here into debts, and later force them to be treated by psychologists, after which they take their children away, this is how the fuck Holland is and if you complain then they tell you to return to Poland after which they go after you to collect the debt. What is more, how many families are blackmailed with the depravation of their children. Some Dutch crud will call the police that it is too loud and they break up the family or they force you to return to your home country. Recently I had the problem with police because I drove backwards with my child in the car.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 1:23PM LIKES: 1

    54.1 **Participant 33 (M):** *To dlaczego są długi nie rozumie każdy odpowiada za siebie*
    A po za tym z tego co słyszę większość wyjechała do nl właśnie przez długi ...to sory wyjechać przed jednymi aby wpaść w drugie
    Translation: Why debt, I do not understand? Everybody is responsible for himself.
    What is more, from what I heard, majority moved to nl precisely because of debts… then sorry but to move from one dept to fall into another?!
    DATE: MARCH 15 AT 1:28PM LIKES: 0

    54.2 **Participant 59 (M):** *Nam placa 6-10 Im od 15 zas rachunki te same*
    Translation: They pay us from 6-10 them starting from 15 yet the bills are the same
    DATE: MARCH 15 AT 1:32PM LIKES: 0

54.3 **Participant 33 (M):** *Bez obrazy ale trzeba to zmienić*
Każdy jest kowalem swojego losu pozdrawiam i powodzenia
Translation: No offence but we need to change that. Every man is the master of his own destiny. Greetings and good luck.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 1:55PM LIKES: 1

54.4 **Participant 45 (F):** *Kolega ma racje. Zawsze cos znajda do placenia a takich tepych pal jak belasting to ja w zyciu swoim nie widzialam plus to ujowe ubezp gdzie sie tyle placi a na koncu ci wysylaja ryzyko jeszcze.*
Translation: The friend is right. They will always find something to pay for, and such dumb fuck's like 'belasting' [*Dutch word meaning 'tax office'*; MS] I have never seen in my life. Plus I never saw such a shitty insurance wherefor you pay so much and in the end they will still send you your own risk.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 5:06PM LIKES: 0

55. **Participant 59 (M):** *Piracy jest w holere za 6 euro bo holender Sra na takie pieniadze a wy nawet za 4 pojdziecie dlaczego onI maja od 15 e na godzine a rachunki sa takie same do zaplacenia szkoda ze nie wyplaty*
Translation: There is plenty of work for 6 euro, because a Dutch man shits on this kind of money and you will go work even for 4. Why do you think they start from 15 e. bills are the same to pay, too bad not the salaries.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 1:28PM LIKES: 0

56. **Participant 27 (M):** *Dla mnie to Holandia ma ładną infrastrukturę i tylko tyle. Do zaoferowania mają niewiele w przeciwieństwie do* 🇩🇪*. Gdyby tylko nie kozojebcy…*
Translation: To me Holland has a nice infrastructure and that's it. They have very little to offer in comparison to Germany 🇩🇪. If only not these goatfuckers…
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 1:55PM LIKES: 1

57. **Participant 57 (M):** *Żałosny czkowieczku jeden przyjechałem tu jak nie byliśmy jeszcze w dobie Internetu, forum i inych rzeczy które teraz powodują że społeczeństwo zrobilo się leniwe. Biura nie brały Polaków chodziłem od szklarni do sortowni po firmy robiące palety i łamanym angielskim pytałem o pracę. Dlatego teraz mam wywalone na biura pracy bo wiem jak się się przebić w tym kraju. Ale to już jest za mną. Ale Ty z takim pyskiem niewydarzanym co najwyżej o tak będziesz tu jako sztuka.*😆
Translation: Pathetic little person I came here before the era of internet, forums and other things, which now cause the society to become lazy. Offices did not take poles, I had to go from a greenhouse to a sorting departments to companies making pallets and with my broken English I have been asking for a job. That's why today I do not give a fuck about offices because I know how to break through in this country. But this is all behind me. But you being so foul-mouthed, you will exist here as an item.😆
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 2:44PM LIKES: 1 EDITED: 2

58. **Participant 57 (M):** *I nie tylko Holendrzy robią za 15 € większość z nas też. Ale tego rozwydrzanym pyskiem się nie osiągnie tylko umiejętnościami.*
Translation: And not only Dutch people work here for 15 euros, most of us as well. But someone with a foul mouth/big mouth wont achieve that, you need to achieve it with your skills.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 2:41PM LIKES: 3

59. **Participant 53 (M):** *Tak jak myślałem koleś w gębie mocny, a nawet imienia i nazwiska nie poda. Inteligencja na poziomie jednokomorkowca nie uwlaczajac amebom i okrzemkom* 😀 😀 😀
Translation: That's what I thought, he has a ready tongue, but he won't give his name and a surname. Intelligence on the level of unicellular organism, not to disparage amoeba's and diatom's 😀😀😀
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 3:00PM LIKES: 0

60. **Participant 60 (M):** *Czy tylko piszesz dla kasy co cię skłoniło aby uczyć się polskiego? I nagle nam pomagać! Odpisz mi na priv ok zrozumiem twoje błędy! Pozdrawiam*
Translation: Do you write only for money? What induced you to learn polish? And all of the sudden helping us? Write to me on priv ok I understand your mistakes. Greetings
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 3:51PM LIKES: 0

    60.1 **Ala (F):** *Co ty sobie takiego wymyślasz? Pisze przesz ze zostałam urodzona w Polsce. Rodzice zawsze mówili ze mną po polsku. Tylko do polskiej szkoły nie chodziłam. O co wam chodzi? Jak na temat nie chcec nic powiedzieć zostaw mnie w spokoju twoja krytyka. Szkoda czasu!*
    Translation: What are you inventing here? I already wrote that I was born in Poland. My parents always spoke polish to me. Only I never went to polish school. What do you want from me? If you do not want to tell anything on the topic, please leave me alone and your critique. It's a waste of time!
    DATE: MARCH 15 AT 4:11PM LIKES: 0

    60.2 **Participant 60 (M):** *To nie jest krytyka! Tylko nie ufność! Proszę przejrzeć portale jak Polacy pomagają Polakom mamy ty w roosendaal jednego już polaka który nam pomagać zaczął i mamy go dość jeśli jesteś dziennikarz to masz materiał zacząć od Polaków jacy są!*
    Translation: It is not critique! Please check portals about how Poles help other Poles we have here in Roosendaal one that started helping us out and we have enough of him if you are a journalist then you need to start your material with how Polish people really are.
    DATE: MARCH 15 AT 4:41PM LIKES: 0

    60.3 **Participant 60 (M):** *Naprawdę nie mam nic do twojej osoby*
    Translation: I really have nothing against your persona.
    DATE: MARCH 15 AT 4:42PM LIKES: 0

61. **Participant 4 (M):** *Tobie nie musi sie spowiadac.*
Translation: She does not need to confess to you.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 3:55PM LIKES: 0

62. **Participant 60 (M):** *Czemu? Tak myślisz!*
Translation: Why? That's what you think!
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 3:56PM LIKES: 0

63. **Participant 4 (M):** *Tak myśle.* 😂
Translation: That's what I think! 😂
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 3:57PM LIKES: 1

64. **Participant 60 (M):** *Źle myślisz skond ją znasz? Nagle chce pisać o czymś co nie ma pojęcia tu też mam kobietę co mama jej wyjechała za kasą zostawiła ojca a tu znalazła sobie wiatraka i teraz dziecko które ma 27 lat uczy się polskiego*

Translation: You are thinking wrongly where do you know her from? Suddenly she wants to write about something that she has no idea about I also have a woman here whose mother left to earn money left her father and found herself a windmill here and now has a child, who is 27 and learns Polish.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 4:00PM LIKES: 0

65. **Participant 4 (M):** *Skond?nie znam tego słowa* 😉
Translation: Wherefrom [*'skond' meaning wherefrom is not written correctly, it should be written 'skąd'*; MS*]?* I do not know this word 😉
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 4:02PM LIKES: 1

66. **Participant 60 (M):** *Sorry małe nie dopatrzenie ale jeśli cię interesuje tylko literówki to życzę Ci powodzenia*
Translation: Sorry a small oversight but if you are only concerned with spelling then I wish you good luck.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 4:06PM LIKES: 0

67. **Participant 60 (M):** *Jesteś naprawdę płytki*
Translation: You are truly shallow
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 4:07PM LIKES: 0

68. **Participant 4 (M):** *Nie cisnieniuj się dziadek*
Translation: Do not lift your blood pressure grandpa
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 4:12PM LIKES: 0

69. **Participant 60 (M):** *Nie cisne się! Ale ty? No nie wiem?*
Translation: I am not pressuring up! And you? I am not so sure?
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 4:43PM LIKES: 0

70. **Participant 57 (M):** *Skończyłem żałosny kolego z Tobą dyskusję. Bo można być biednym i wstydzić się nazwiska jesli niełądnie brzmi, nie mieć pieniędzy ale jesli nie ma się intelektu to już tragedia. Zaś jesli Ty lepiej się czujesz chłopczyku i w ten sposób się dowartościowujesz obrażając innych i jadąc po rodzinie to śmiało używaj sobie* 😉 *będzie Ci się lepiej spało. Dobrej nocki.*
Translation: I ended discussion with you- pathetic friend. Because you can be poor and ashamed of your surname if it does not sound nicely, or not having money, but if you do not have an intellect then it is a tragedy… But if it makes you feel better little boy, and if by offending others and your family you build up your own self-esteem then go ahead 😉 you will sleep better. Have a good night.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 5:09PM LIKES: 1

71. **Participant 60 (M):** *A czemu mam kogo kolwiek obrażać pisze tylko fakty jeśli się obaaziles to przepraszam*
Translation: And why would I try to offend anybody, I am only stating facts and if you got offended then I am sorry.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 5:41PM LIKES: 0

    71.1 **Participant 53 (M):** *Nie rusz gówna póki śmierdzi.....*
    Translation: Don't touch shit while it stinks…
    DATE: MARCH 15 AT 6:48PM LIKES: 0

72. **Participant 20 (M):** *Boze przepraszam za rodakow idiotow!!!! dziewczyna wyjasnila czemu robila bledy, sa debile ktorzy gorzej mowia po polsku*
Translation: God I am sorry for the countrymen idiots!!! The girl explained why she makes mistakes, there are morons who speak much worse Polish.
DATE: MARCH 15 AT 9:55PM LIKES: 1

73. **Participant 61 (M):**
DATE: MARCH 16 AT 7:10PM LIKES: 0

74. **Participant 52 (M):** *Powiem tak. Jesli jest to kogos pierwszy raz w Holi i wydupcza go na hajs, to tylko po czasie sie o tym dowie. Wiec taja opcja jest dla nich jedyna zeby walczyc o swoje. Nie mozna odrazu wiedziec wszystkiego ns temat prawa pracy w nowym kraju, gdzie jescze sie nie bylo. A wielu tak jak ja, musialo na szybko tu przyjechac. Wiec, nie bylo czasu studiowac swoich praw przed przyjazdem. A to ze Polak, Polaka na kase w huja za granica zrobi, to zalosne. Tylu smieje sie z rumunow, zryj gruz i takie tam. Ale bynajmniej pomagaja sobie na wzajem. Nie twierdze, ze pani od tego postu pomoze. Ale warto sprobowac naglosnic sprawe.*
Translation: I will say it this way. If it is someone's first time in Holland and they will fuck him for money, he will only figure it out later on. The only option they have is to fight for their own. You can't know everything immediately about work laws in a new country, where you haven't been before. And many people, just like me, had to come here in rush. There was no time to study your rights before you arrived here. But the fact that the Pole will always fuck up another Pole for money abroad is pathetic. So many laugh at gypsies, eat rebel and so on. But they at least help each other. I am not saying, that the lady from this post will help. But it might be worth it to publicize the case.
DATE: MARCH 16 AT 7:20PM LIKES: 3

    74.1 **Participant 33 (M):** *Kolego zgadzam się tylko jedno ale !!!*
    Zawsze jest tak ze tv zbiera materiały i tak pokaże to co chce w wtedy wszyscy są zdziwieni
    Dla mnie takie programy typu rodacy za granica to baja życie swoje tv swoje.
    Translation: Friend I agree with you with one but!!!
    It is always like that that tv collects materials and in the end they will anyway show what they want. And then everyone is surprised. For me these kind of programs in type of countrymen abroad is nonsense, life one thing, tv the other.
    DATE: MARCH 16 AT 11:49PM LIKES: 1

    74.2 **Participant 52 (M):** *No tak. Tv zrobi pod siebie. Dla ogladalnosci*
    Translation: That's true. Tv will alter it for themselves. For viewership
    DATE: MARCH 17 AT 5:25AM LIKES: 0

75. **Participant 62 (M):** *Ile za wywiat*
Translation: How much do you pay for the interview? ['*wywiat' translates to interview, but should be written with a 'd' in the end instead of a 't'*; MS]
DATE: MARCH 16 AT 10:08PM LIKES: 1

    75.1 **Participant 4 (M):** *Wywiat?*
    Translation: Interview [*individual is pointing out the spelling error in the comment of Participant 62*; MS]
    DATE: MARCH 17 AT 6:42AM LIKES: 0

76. **Participant 63 (F):** *w jakims poscie czytalam ze to oszustka*
Translation: In some other post I read that she is a fraud
DATE: MARCH 17 AT 6:40AM LIKES: 0

76.1 **Ala (F):** *Tak? No to poproszę o ten link. Chciałabym wiedzieć skąd sie taka nienawiść bierze. Jaki sens miałoby to mieć? Używał głowy jak ja już masz, ty..*
Translation: Yes? Then please send me this link. I would like to know where this hateridge comes from. What kind of sense would it have? Please use your head if you have it…
DATE: MARCH 19 AT 9:08AM LIKES: 0 EDITED: 2

76.2 **Participant 63 (F):** *sama uzyj i nie obrazaj od razu ludzi widzialam taki post nawet kilka osob reagowalo*
Translation: Use it yourself and do not offend people immediately. I saw this kind of post even a few people replied to it.
DATE: MARCH 19 AT 10:17AM LIKES: 0

76.3 **Participant 63 (F):** *jezeli jestes uczciwa to podaj swoje nazwisko nie tylko Ala*
Translation: If you are honest then give your surname not only Ala.
DATE: MARCH 19 AT 10:25AM LIKES: 0

76.4 **Ala (F):** *Kto do mnie pisze dostaje*
Translation: The ones who write to me get it.
DATE: MARCH 19 AT 12:26PM LIKES: 0

76.5 **Ala (F):** *Participant 63 no to podawaj link*
Translation: Participant 63 then give me the link
DATE: MARCH 19 AT 12:27PM LIKES: 0

77. **Participant 64 (M):** *Witam odezwij sie do mnie ,jak będę miał chwile opowoiem tobie jak to wszystko wyglada,w sumie pracuje w holl juz ponad 5 lat ,na ta chwile jezdze z jednej szklarni do drugiej i naprawiam generatory, rozmawim z ludzmi i wiem jak jest.pozdrawim*
Translation: Hi please contact me, in a spare moment I will tell you how it all looks like, I am working in Holland over 5 years, for this moment I travel between one greenhouse to another and I am repairing generators, I talk to people so I know how it is. Greetings
DATE: MARCH 17 AT 6:45AM LIKES: 0

78. **Participant 65 (M):** *A w jakim programie tv pracujesz?*
Translation: For which television program do you work?
DATE: MARCH 19 AT 8:31AM LIKES: 1

78.1 **Ala (F):** Omroep west
DATE: MARCH 19 AT 9:07AM LIKES: 0

79. **Ala (F):** *Powiem tak, z wystarczająca ludzi jusz miałam kontakt co wiedział ze jestem uczciwa i już nie bede reagowała na te wszystkie obrażenia. Naprawdę smutno ze nie można pytać w grupie. Szkoda.*
Translation: So, I already had contact with enough people, who know that I am honest so I will no longer react for all these offences. It is very sad that you cannot ask in the group. Too bad.
DATE: MARCH 19 AT 12:30PM LIKES: 0 EDITED: 2

SUMMARY

Superdiversity, Diaspora and Chronotopic Analysis in the Online-offline Nexus

A case study on the Polish diaspora in the Low Countries

As a result of new globalization processes that enabled new forms of interaction and mobility through the emerging internet, the concept of diaspora has become increasingly differentiated. The role of digitalization is crucial for the organization of societies around the globe, redefining the current era as the post-digital age in which lives are lived at the intersection of the online and offline nexus. These developments have complicated research on diaspora communities, because technological infrastructures tremendously increased the level of diversity and complexity for our understanding of social groups. Generally accepted, thick, categorical identity labels frequently used to interpret socio-cultural diversity, such as nationality, ethnicity, and religion are no longer sufficient descriptors when examining the realities of contemporary diversity.

The initial experiences of my ethnographic research, exploring the structures of Polish migration in Antwerp, Belgium, confirmed the above concerns. The visible presence of a seemingly stable Polish community was quickly challenged by the observations of diversity and instability that led me to redefine my earliest assumptions build around the imagination of a homogenous and fixed Polish diaspora. In the contemporary social environment characterized by superdiversity, dynamism and unpredictability, the Polish diaspora could no longer be viewed as a singular and unified object of study. This was a turning point in my research that encouraged me to rethink the analytical models, theories and methodologies when investigating diaspora communities and migration processes. I realized that the contemporary social environment required a new analytical approach, one build on the premise of social interaction, to comprehend identity performance of diaspora communities. Groups and communities are in fact the result of social interaction and should therefore be approached from the perspective of actions, rather than actors. It is through the observation of social life that larger social structures can be identified and distinguished, as in online environments the only hard evidence to be found are the traces of actions of online users. This action-centered perspective is the cornerstone on which the conceptual framework of this dissertation is built.

This study, as is explained in Chapter 1, is motivated by the desire to get an ecologically valid insight into the lived worlds of Polish diaspora communities. It approaches social groups by means of analytical instruments developed for the purpose of this study and captured under the term of chronotopic analysis with the aim to enable researchers to account for complex social action in their quest to make sense of contemporary diaspora communities. This study is an exploration of the analytical and methodological purchase of chronotopic analysis and reports on five years of research on the Polish diaspora in the Low Countries – Belgium, more specifically Flanders, and the Netherlands. It is a qualitative study that investigates the Polish diaspora by means of offline and online ethnography, interviews,

and online and offline fieldwork that altogether document important aspects of the history and lived reality of Polish people abroad.

The dissertation is structured in line with the methodological framework that is developed around the notion of chronotope, substantiated by the notions of frame, format and script. These concepts that emerged in the process of my research, function as tools and guides for examining communicative practices in social interaction.

The study begins by explaining, in Chapter 2, the various Polish migration flows to the Low countries, and shows that in times of superdiversity, there is an increased need for a more sophisticated view to truly comprehend the nature of complex migrant identities, which is achieved by looking beyond universal social categories and into lighter forms of identity performance.

Next, the background and demographics of the fieldwork site – the neighborhood of Berchem, a district of Antwerp, Belgium are introduced. Berchem is a superdiverse neighborhood that is dynamic, compound and complex due to the coexistence of different ethnolinguistic groups in a single space that represent different customs, social backgrounds, languages and religions. This results in polycentricity and polynomicity, as different norms for social action exist for different groups simultaneously in the same space, which complicates the interactions among its inhabitants. The neighborhood offers various infrastructures catering for different migrant communities, which makes it very attractive to newcomers. Despite the fact that it is a densely populated and culturally mixed neighborhood, it also displays exceptionally high levels of social cohesion and conviviality.

The empirical part of the dissertation, Chapters 3 to 7, is organized around the central, theoretical concepts, specifically chronotopes, frames, formats and scripts. The final empirical chapter integrates all the concepts into an action-centered, chronotopic analysis of a Facebook conversation.

The logic of the analytical approach revolves around the fact that social life is organized through chronotopes, i.e., recognizable, but locally produced social situations, in which frames provide the interpretive dimensions of order, and formats – realized through scripts – provide the behavioral dimensions of order. While for the sake of clarity, each concept and its analytical strength is addressed separately in the empirical chapters, the concepts are interdependent and should not be seen as disconnected from one another. Together they organize social life in an orderly fashion and exist in and through one another. Chronotopes are normative, and therefore moralized timespaces that impose moralized behavioral scripts for social action, but it is thanks to frames that social action is recognizable as they constitute the moral-interpretive dimension of chronotopes. Frames define the moral orientations for formats achieved through the congregational work of participants. Formats are the behavioral and structural aspects of frames and bring order to social interaction. Scripts reside within formats, as they represent specific microstructures of activities. It is scripts that can be directly observed in the interaction and only through them formats and frames are reflected. Chronotopes therefore offer a much more sophisticated view of the notion of context. They enable to detect the most intricate and refined practices within contextual universes operating in social interaction.

Chronotopic identity work is the central and guiding theme of Chapter 3. Identity in superdiversity is not a fixed or steady notion, which explains the dynamic and complex nature of the Polish diaspora, that is in fact characterized by multiple, often opposing identities. Individuals possess identity repertoires that they deploy in the interaction with others and

in different chronotopes. Those identities can be conflicting at first sight, but after a deeper investigation it becomes clear that identity shifts occur due to changes in chronotopes, and that a polynomic and polycentric neighborhood requires a very sophisticated balancing of identity work. The example of Paulina discussed in this chapter, shows that identities are chronotope specific, and moral economies shift from one chronotope to another.

The notion of frame, discussed in Chapter 4, is the cornerstone to the understanding of any social situation as connected to norms. Frames function as social and cultural interpretive schemes – they define the social situation and sketch the moral vector for orderly conduct. Frames, unlike formats and scripts are not neutral, as they are always connected to the historicity of their use, and in fact fundamentally intertextual – they are moral and political products of semiotic work in society, motivated by the desire to persuade others or to convey one's interests. All throughout my research, work turned out to be the most prominent moral vector, and the primary frame for diaspora communities, often dominating other frames present in the interaction. The examples discussed in Chapter 4 show that the work frame is the primary determinant of identity of Polish migrants and their position in the community – people who work are generally perceived as good and productive people, and some professions are viewed as more enabling than others. This means that within a frame of work, the moral ideal of the working template can project favorably or negatively on the identity of individuals. It is important to note, however, that frames, and consequently formats and scripts are not fixed, but rather constantly evolving, as professions, occupations and expectations change over time and are constantly reevaluated and assigned a different value. The notion of Polishness itself is therefore not a fixed object – it is chronotopic because different ideas of Polishness exist simultaneously and a single and stable Polish identity does not subsist.

Formats, as discussed in Chapter 5, structure social interactions and make frames 'real' because frames with their moral codes are executed through formats and formats are realized through scripts. The behavior of individuals is always conducted according to formats, because people have a tendency to follow recognized modes of conduct. Formatted behavior is always reflexive, because it is collectively constructed by the individuals involved in the interaction and recognizable through jointly established properties of order, only after it has already been executed. This means that behavioral formats need to be learned and acquired by participants through their congregational work with others in order to be recognized. The case study of Patryk discussed in this chapter shows that formats are not static, but constantly reconstructed in the interaction with others in line with chronotopic shifts. This characteristic makes the process of formatting very complex, which is illustrated through the online-offline case of a solidarity format.

Scripts embody the small sets of very specific rules, i.e., microhegemonies that structure social conduct and possess the same characteristics as formats. They are the observable actions in interaction through which chronotopes, frames and formats become materialized. The productivity of the concept is illustrated in Chapter 6 through an analysis of a complex online interaction revolving around two major frames, namely the frame of 'work' and the frame of 'pregnancy'. It shows that multiple frames can be visible through different scripts, and while they can operate simultaneously alongside each other, they can also give rise to conflicting scripts, and end up in a situation in which chronotopes are played out against one another.

In Chapter 7, the final empirical chapter of the thesis, I present a synthesis of the theoretical concepts described above with the emphasis on social action unburdened by a priori assumptions about actors. The analysis investigates context collapse, a phenomenon often presupposed in online media studies, by means of a chronotopic analysis of a complex, multi-actor conversation on Facebook. The results show that context collapse does not occur if the focus of analysis is on action, rather than actors, as the context in online interactions does not collapse but rather expands. The analytical strength of chronotopic analysis is its ability to attend to details and intricate connections between contexts by means of focusing on interactions and specific actions performed in order to make sense of groups and identities.

In conclusion (Chapter 8), the study shows that chronotopic analysis is an innovative and productive approach in the investigation of online-offline contexts and superdiverse communities. It offers a new approach to the sociolinguistics of globalization for analyzing superdiversity, by means of chronotopes, frames, formats and scripts. It succeeds in attending to complex social action and highlights more context and historicity than any other analytical approach in the field.

Tilburg Dissertations in Culture Studies

This list includes the doctoral dissertations that through their authors and/or supervisors are related to the Department of Culture Studies at the Tilburg University School of Humanities and Digital Sciences. The dissertations cover the broad field of contemporary sociocultural change in domains such as language and communication, performing arts, social and spiritual ritualization, media and politics.

1 Sander Bax. *De taak van de schrijver. Het poëticale debat in de Nederlandse literatuur (1968-1985)*. Supervisors: Jaap Goedegebuure and Odile Heynders, 23 May 2007.
2 Tamara van Schilt-Mol. *Differential item functioning en itembias in de cito-eindtoets basisonderwijs. Oorzaken van onbedoelde moeilijkheden in toetsopgaven voor leerlingen van Turkse en Marokkaanse afkomst*. Supervisors: Ton Vallen and Henny Uiterwijk, 20 June 2007.
3 Mustafa Güleç. *Differences in similarities: A comparative study on Turkish language achievement and proficiency in a Dutch migration context*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Kutlay Yağmur, 25 June 2007.
4 Massimiliano Spotti. *Developing identities: Identity construction in multicultural primary classrooms in The Netherlands and Flanders*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon and Guus Extra, 23 November 2007.
5 A. Seza Doğruöz. *Synchronic variation and diachronic change in Dutch Turkish: A corpus based analysis*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Ad Backus, 12 December 2007.
6 Daan van Bel. *Het verklaren van leesgedrag met een impliciete attitudemeting*. Supervisors: Hugo Verdaasdonk, Helma van Lierop and Mia Stokmans, 28 March 2008.
7 Sharda Roelsma-Somer. *De kwaliteit van Hindoescholen*. Supervisors: Ruben Gowricharn and Sjaak Braster, 17 September 2008.
8 Yonas Mesfun Asfaha. *Literacy acquisition in multilingual Eritrea: A comparative study of reading across languages and scripts*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon and Jeanne Kurvers, 4 November 2009.
9 Dong Jie. *The making of migrant identities in Beijing: Scale, discourse, and diversity*. Supervisors: Jan Blommaert and Sjaak Kroon, 4 November 2009.
10 Elma Nap-Kolhoff. *Second language acquisition in early childhood: A longitudinal multiple case study of Turkish-Dutch children*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Kutlay Yağmur, 12 May 2010.
11 Maria Mos. *Complex lexical items*. Supervisors: Antal van den Bosch, Ad Backus and Anne Vermeer, 12 May 2010.
12 António da Graça. *Etnische zelforganisaties in het integratieproces. Een case study in de Kaapverdische gemeenschap in Rotterdam*. Supervisor: Ruben Gowricharn, 8 October 2010.
13 Kasper Juffermans. *Local languaging: Literacy products and practices in Gambian society*. Supervisors: Jan Blommaert and Sjaak Kroon, 13 October 2010.
14 Marja van Knippenberg. *Nederlands in het Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs. Een casestudy in de opleiding Helpende Zorg*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon, Ton Vallen and Jeanne Kurvers, 14 December 2010.
15 Coosje van der Pol. *Prentenboeken lezen* als literatuur. *Een structuralistische benadering van het concept 'literaire competentie' voor kleuters*. Supervisor: Helma van Lierop, 17 December 2010.
16 Nadia Eversteijn-Kluijtmans. *"All at once" – Language choice and codeswitching by Turkish-Dutch teenagers*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Ad Backus, 14 January 2011.

17 Mohammadi Laghzaoui. *Emergent academic language at home and at school: A longitudinal study of 3- to 6-year-old Moroccan Berber children in the Netherlands*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon, Ton Vallen, Abderrahman El Aissati and Jeanne Kurvers, 9 September 2011.
18 Sinan Çankaya. *Buiten veiliger dan binnen. In- en uitsluiting van etnische minderheden binnen de politieorganisatie*. Supervisors: Ruben Gowricharn and Frank Bovenkerk, 24 October 2011.
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