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State of the Art of the Migration Research in Poland

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Preface

As Director of the Institute for Urban and Regional Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, it is an honour – and my pleasure – to write a foreword to *State of the Art of the Migration Research in Poland*. My institute was involved as an IMISCOE twinning partner in the project that produced this report. Anna Kicingier and Agnieszka Weinar's edited collection, finalised in autumn 2007, is the most comprehensive contemporary study of its kind.

Scoping the widest possible picture of migration research in Poland after 1989, this report presents output by scientists published in Poland and abroad, both in Polish and in English. Over 300 scientific texts were reviewed, categorised, summarised and assessed on the basis of their research results and applied methodologies. The contributors to this collection concentrated on articles culled from published books, reviewed journals, research reports and working papers; unpublished works were not considered. Encyclopaedic in its approach, this study will provide valuable literature to Polish researchers in the field of migration as well as prove extremely useful to those seeking an overview of migration research in Poland. Any reader will be impressed by the high quality of this report, which succeeds in being truly critical and well balanced.

I sincerely hope that *State of the Art of the Migration Research in Poland* will be accepted by the scientific community and seen as testament to the excellence of the researchers involved in the project.

Heinz Fassmann, Austrian Academy of Sciences

1. Introduction, by Anna Kicinger

The aim of this study is to present the state of the art of the migration research in Poland after 1989. It provides for the overview of the development of migration research according to various fields of migration studies that developed in Poland. We hope to familiarize the reader with the main achievements of Polish researchers in the field.

The study covers the works on migratory phenomena after 1989 published by Polish scientists after that date. It was impossible to present all the history of migration research in Poland that developed for over a century. Thus, being aware of the long and relatively rich, sometimes forgotten research of earlier decades, we decided to establish the closing dates on years 1989-2007 in order to delimit clearly the scope of this study. Therefore the study does not encompass historical research on migration in Poland before 1989 nor any works published before 1989. However, on very few occasions exceptions were made to this rule justified either by the necessity to refer to the previous achievements in given field (references to the works published before 1989), or by the importance of the given work in the explanation of the developments of current migratory situation of Poland (references to works published after 1989 but relating to phenomena that occurred before 1989).

The study presents the research output of Polish authors published in Poland or abroad (in Polish or in English), including also the works co-authored by Polish scientists. Most important are considered the articles published in reviewed journals, then the books or chapters in the books. Within the scope of the study are also the Working Papers, the post-conference publications (books) and published research reports if the research has been commissioned by international organizations. The study does not cover any unpublished research reports, seminar or conference papers available only on the Internet, nor any unpublished doctoral theses. It omits all publications of policy paper character as well as any collective reports by governmental or non-governmental bodies.

The study is divided into chapters and subchapters according to migration research fields that have developed in Poland. Within the research fields, the works are presented usually in an interdisciplinary perspective. Each chapter, or sometimes subchapter is written by authors specializing in a given field of migration research. All the authors worked according to the agreed research method that included the preparation of the exhaustive list of bibliography relating to given research field. Only then, the systematical analysis of the content of publications as well as critical assessment of their value was made. Basing on that assessment, a general description of the development of migration research in given field and statements on its current state of the art were formulated. Finally, most important pieces of research were selected to be described in more detail. Such a multi-stage, systematic method of work was chosen to ensure the comprehensiveness and thoroughness of the study. We hope that it resulted in a well-balanced critical assessment of all the most important developments of migration research in Poland after 1989.

The study begins with an overview of migratory movements in Poland in 20th century presented along to the European migratory history (chapter II). It aims to pinpoint most important migratory developments of the past decades and places

Poland on the migratory map of Europe in order to familiarize the reader with the rationale behind the subsequent chapters. This presentation is followed by introductory reflections on the rebirth of migration research in Poland after 1989. The reflections include the examining of national paradigms and international hidden agendas that have driven the development of migration research since then (chapter III).

When presenting the overview of migration research in Poland, the studies of emigration from Poland (chapter IV) come in first place, according both to the importance of emigration in the recent decades as well as to the level of scientific achievements. Research on emigration from Poland is dated even before 1918, i.e. before the re-establishment of Polish sovereign state. The research on emigration was hampered during the communist period (1945-1989), and then was successfully conducted after the system transition. The chapter on emigration research encompasses also two sections on the research on Polish diaspora abroad after 1989 (chapter IV.4 and IV.5).

After 1989, apart from traditionally developed studies on emigration, new field of migration research arose after 1989 – the studies on the inflow to the country. Research on the immigration to Poland and the development of migrant communities in the country is presented in chapter V. Three groups, namely return migrants, repatriates and asylum-seekers, stand out within the inflow to Poland and, special sections of this study were devoted to present the research on them (sections V.4, V.5 and V.6 respectively).

After presentation of the research on the outflow from (chapter IV) and inflow to the country (chapter V), the study provides for the overview of the research on migration policy and law (chapter VI). This new field of study, developed hand in hand with the subject of research i.e. migration policy itself. It developed under huge influence of Western studies, and financing, that often steered the study to the problem of intake, leaving aside the emigration policy aspects that still seem to be of crucial importance for Poland.

Last but not least, the studies on the demography and statistics of international migration are briefly explained and highlighted (chapter VII). Main developments of Polish scientists within these fields are presented, including specifically a huge research done on migration forecasting.

Some of the research projects conducted in Poland were unique in their scale and due to the use of sophisticated and innovative research methods. Therefore, a separate chapter (chapter VIII) is devoted to the methodological background of the migration research in Poland. It points to most interesting researches from the perspective of the methodology and highlights also basic methodological challenges faced by Polish researchers.

The study ends with the conclusions that summarize the most important scientific achievements of Polish researchers in the field of migration research after 1989 (chapter IX). For all the authors participating in this collective study, it proved to be a sort of mapping exercise that added to our knowledge on the past achievements and the current state of the art of migration studies and enabled us to pinpoint the most and least researched areas in the field. Given this perspective, we hope that the study will be valuable both for the non-Polish migration researchers interested in any aspect of migration research in Poland, as well as for

the Polish researchers looking for the overview of what has already been done and what still needs to be done in migration research in the country.

2. Poland's migration in the European context, by Marek Okólski

Migration trends in Poland for most of the recent 60-year period resembled those in other countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), and these trends seemed distinctly different from those observed in other European regions. The situation of CEE countries might be contrasted with that of other parts of Europe by means of a five-stage perspective of political and economic developments and migration trends in the post-World War Second period:

Stage	Epitome characteristics
1. 1945 - 1947	Post-war reconstruction; new partition of Europe; adjustment migration.
2. 1948 - 1973	Political bi-polarity: "cold war" and "arm race"; blooming western market economies <i>vis-à-vis</i> state-controlled and non-efficient economies of Southern and Central and Eastern Europe (CEE); western economic integration (EEC); strong labour flow from the South to the West and suppressed labour mobility in the East.
3. 1974 - 1988	Political " <i>détente</i> "; major cracks on political system in CEE (1980, Poland); globalisation challenges: economic restructurisation and deeper integration (inclusion of the South); search for available low-cost labour: inflow of irregular migrants from CEE (including many "ethnic Germans" leaving their CEE countries of origin and entering Germany as tourists) and non-European countries; failure of "socialist modernisation".
4. 1989 - 2004	Breakdown of the communist block: end of bi-polarity; sudden increase in population displacements: regional conflicts and wars, new political entities; a complete project of European integration (incl. common immigration policy and management); economic transition in CEE.
5. after 2004/07	Restoration of European unity; strong competition on the part of non-European economies; human capital deficits: continuous demand for immigrants <i>vis-a-vis</i> intensified difficulties in migrant integration

Major migration-related characteristics which were specific for the consecutive stages in each of the three European regions can be encapsulated as follows:

Stage	Region		
	North-Western (NWE)	Southern (Mediterranean)	Central and Eastern (CEE)
1. Post-war adjustment migration (1945 - 1947)	post-war return migration, politically- and ethnicity-motivated displacements		
2. Labour recruitment/bilateral agreements (1948 - 1973)	(Germany)	(Greece)	(all countries)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ labour shortages ▪ foreign recruitment ▪ towards net immigration ▪ Finland, Ireland (major exceptions) ▪ fears of brain drain in some NWE countries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (low skilled) labour outflow → labour market ▪ (freeing LM of redundant labour ▪ strong net emigration ▪ networks & ethnic niches in NWE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ban on international movements ▪ underurbanisation ▪ GDR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia (political exceptions) ▪ Yugoslavia (economic exception)
3. Onset of “new globalisation” (1974 -1988)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ cessation of recruitment ▪ LM segmentation ▪ inflow for family reunion ▪ inflow of asylum-seekers ▪ irregular employment of foreigners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ rapid decline in outflow ▪ labour deficit → admission of foreigners (large scale of irregular work) ▪ towards net immigration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ movements contained within CEE region ▪ resumption of ethnicity-motivated outflow ▪ onset of incomplete migration
4. Disruption of communism, towards “Fortress Europe” (1989 - 2004)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ advanced segmentation of LM (secondary jobs for foreigners) ▪ massive inflow of undocumented migrants and \asylum seekers ▪ migrant smugglers and traffickers 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ incomplete migration ▪ post-communist adjustment migration ▪ economic

Stage	Region		
	North-Western (NWE)	Southern (Mediterranean)	Central and Eastern (CEE)
5. United Europe /integrated migration space (after 2004/07)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ selective admission for the highly skilled 		<p>polarisation within CEE → intra-regional movements</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ towards net immigration (Czech Republic)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ prospective trends in the 10-15-year time span ▪ inflows due to population stagnation & ageing (main underlying factors) ▪ further segmentation of LM ▪ intra-EU competition for the highly skilled ▪ low level of intra-EU mobility (some but shallow potential in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and the Baltic states → completion of LM draining of redundant labour 		

That perspective suggests a divergence of migration trends in CEE and the rest of Europe between 1948 and 2004, and it implies a likely convergence of those trends after the CEE countries have accessed to the European Union. Since this report aims at the description of research that dealt with migration phenomena, which were observed during a post-communist transition, in the present foreword I will focus on major traits of population movements in Poland in the decades immediately preceding the transition.

A predominant feature of migration trends in Poland as much as in CEE as a whole over the period up to the late 1980s was a strong subordination of the population movements to a political factor. In fact, after an abrupt interruption of massive post-war resettlements in 1948, both the outflows from and the inflows to Poland were reduced to virtually exceptional cases. For instance, in 1953 only 2.8 thousand emigrants and 2.0 thousand immigrants were recorded whereas an annual average for 1945-1947 stood at 1.3 million emigrants and 1.2 million immigrants. Not only international migration came to a halt; any cross-border mobility was effectively stopped. However, in the course of time, and hand in hand with softening grip on human freedoms, a variety of forms of the out-movement were observed, which became an alternative to “regular” emigration. Those movements, heavily controlled by the authorities, reflected a specific pattern which was concomitant with an internal political cycle. In particular, compared to a “norm”, many more people were allowed to leave Poland at times of political turmoil and a shift in political leadership. Step by step, more and more residents of Poland travelling abroad became the residents of foreign countries – as immigrants or

temporary workers, or refugees, or co-ethnics, or irregular overstayers. All over non-communist Europe, USA and elsewhere old Polish migrant communities were revitalised and the new ones established, which greatly facilitated further out-movements. Finally, the outflow took on a massive scale in 1980-1989 when more than one million Poles emigrated and several other millions circulated.

What fundamentally differed Poland (and other CEE countries) from other source countries important for European migration with respect to population movements were, until at least 1989, their concealed motives and forms. While a great majority of migrants from Poland sought employment in foreign countries and that was by far a major motive of their migration, they were forced to declare other purposes both to the administration of their country of origin and host countries simply in order to be allowed to leave or enter and stay, respectively. This forced them to an unstable and disadvantageous if not precarious situation in labour market and social life in general. Even after 1989, when the exit from Poland became unlimited and the residents of Poland could easily enter many countries of their “traditional” destination, Polish migrants as a rule could legally be only tourists in those countries, which rarely was their actual motive of a foreign journey.

It might also be mentioned that Poland was a distinct emigration area also within the group of CEE countries because of its relatively high migration potential. Major reasons for that were, first, a large population size, and, second, a large proportion of redundant population living on a semi-subsistence sector of the economy who could not be absorbed by the local poles of modern development. That Polish “specificity” has been confirmed since May 1st, 2004 when the citizens of eight CEE countries could fully benefit from the freedom of movements and stay within the European Union, and, especially, from a free access to the labour market of selected EU countries. It turned out then that Poles by and large predominated over the travellers and migrant workers from the seven remaining accession countries.

Contrary to the outflow, at times of heavily controlled cross-border population movements, the inflow to Poland was almost non-existent. Still in the 1970s through the second half of the 1980s, in a climate of *detente* in the East-West relations, Polish migration statistics recorded hardly any inflow of immigrants, and the records did not account for such categories as asylum seekers or migrant workers. Officially, some 2,000 to 3,000 new immigrants were registered each year but a majority of that tiny group consisted of returning emigrants, often the retirees.

In the period of the post-communist transition Poland proved to remain a country both unattractive and restrictive to all forms of migratory inflow. Despite that since 1990 various categories of foreigners became present in Poland, such as refugees, entrepreneurs, temporary workers, students and even long-term residents, the 2002 population census revealed that their total number stood at less than 0.2 per cent of the total population. That made Poland a country with probably the lowest proportion of foreign population in Europe.

To sum up, Poland, a country of rich migration history, with a great propensity of its residents to migrate and a surprisingly low attractiveness to immigration presents a clear exception in contemporary Europe and at the same

time a formidable case for a researcher to inquire into the complex nature of population movements.

3. A note on rebirth of migration research in Poland after 1989, by Krystyna Iglicka

It might be argued that migration research in Poland after 1989 has been influenced by certain national paradigms and 'hidden' national agendas on the one hand, and 'hidden' international agendas supported by the foreign financial aid on the other hand. The national paradigms have been shaped by a long history of Poland as a country of emigration. Therefore the stress on national political and research agendas was put on relations with Polish diaspora and repatriation of the fellow countrymen or their reintegration in the society. In turn 'hidden' international agendas were created *ad hoc* after 1989 in many minds of western politicians who feared hordes (to quote the media parlance of those times) of ex-Soviet citizens to flood western European countries. Quickly international agendas became filled with the issues and efforts that sought identification of such danger and ultimately instruments capable of stemming the inflow from the East, and in particular circumstances under which citizens of the former Soviet Union could be kept within the Central and Eastern European (CEE) region.

Although Poland, as a consequence of borders' changes, has experienced massive emigration and immigration fluxes immediately after the Second World, nearly no research was devoted to these phenomena until the late eighties. Same holds for other significant population movements of the communist era, such as intense migration on ethnic grounds from Poland (ethnic Germans and Jews) and to Poland (from the Soviet Union) in the mid-1950s, another outflow of ethnic Germans in the 1970s, and huge circular mobility and definite out-movement of Poles in the 1980s.

For chiefly ideological reasons, in the post-1945 period (till the late 1980s) research on international migration in Poland became an almost exclusive domain of historians.

In order to understand that rather astonishing disproportion between migration studies on the past and those on the present, when discussing 'national frames' of migration research in Poland and its 'hidden agendas', one has to remember that till the collapse of the communist system, i.e. until the year 1989, official political propaganda did not acknowledge emigration or fluxes out of Poland as a fact. Edward Rosset (1975)¹ in his fundamental book on the population of Poland choose to justify the absence of the analysis of on-going migration by quotation from Soviet demographers who declared that contrary to capitalist countries, no international migration exists under socialism. In the real life, however, it was not so much forbidden but rather impossible to conduct a research on migration in Poland not only due to the 'official political line' but also

¹ Rosset E. (1975), *Demografia Polski (Demography of Poland)*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

simply because no data were collected on international population mobility on Polish territory, and particularly through Polish borders.

Truly, the phenomenon of emigration, and more specifically the phenomenon of Poles living somewhere abroad has been extremely important for those who stayed in the country that was over the last 200 years mainly either under partition or political domination imposed by stronger neighbours. In many periods Polish emigrants helped to maintain the sense of national identity among Poles, as e.g. in 1830s an intellectual elite called 'the Great Emigration' who left the country after the November Insurrection or in the period of communist rule persons displaced during the Second World War who failed to return to Poland but consistently influenced cultural and political life of their home country (e.g. through a Polish government on exile in the UK, Polish broadcasting stations, various cultural foundations established in Britain, France, Switzerland or USA, publishing houses and journals targeting elites in Poland). As a result, an idealistic, at least to some extent, portrayal of Polish migrants as martyrs fighting for, maintaining and spreading Polishness all over the world became deeply rooted in the society. There were always, before and after the communist regime collapse in 1989, good reasons for dealing with Polish diaspora issues, especially to study its history.

A new political and socio-economic reality of the early 1990s added a new dimension to international population mobility in the whole Central and Eastern European region. Movements turned to be more intense, more diversified in terms of their forms, more geographically dispersed. Not only from Poland but also to or through the country.

Governments of West European countries and international organisations quickly realised the emergence of a new quality in the European 'migration deal' and a need to closely monitor current developments. As soon as in November 1990 the Council of Europe organised a meeting of experts where a number of reports throwing light on new migratory trends in CEE were presented and discussed. The reports were to become background papers for a ministerial level conference held in Vienna on 24-25 January 1991², the first of many politically-oriented international conferences of the early 1990s devoted to post-communist East-West migration.

The focus of one of those reports, commissioned from a researcher from Poland³, was past and new migration trends in CEE. In a situation of the lack or dispersion of reliable data and atrophy of migration studies, preparing of that report was a very challenging task, and it in fact required an initiation of systematic analyses of migratory phenomena in the countries of the region. In 1991 the same researcher was invited by Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) to prepare an account of statistical sources and statistical analyses related to migration in various CEE countries, including Poland. Its outcome became a part of the 1991 SOPEMI Report (Continuous Reporting System on Migration), and since that year on Polish researchers (with OECD financial support) have been involved in monitoring of migration trends and

² "Conference of Ministers on the movements of persons coming from central and eastern European countries" (organized by the Council of Europe).

³ Marek Okólski.

policies in Poland, the activities that were subordinated to SOPEMI requirements and standards.

In 1993 International Organisation for Migration (IOM) encouraged and supported Polish researchers to study transit migration in Poland, a newly observed phenomenon stemming from that since 1990 CEE had come to be a transit area for migrants from Africa and Asia heading West. Later in that decade IOM coordinated and subsidised another research project on irregular migration in Poland (together with Hungary and Ukraine), namely on migrant smuggling. Also that project provided Polish researchers with an opportunity to deepen their interests and sharpen their analytical skills with regard to migration.

At about the same time, on the initiative of international organisations, OECD and International Labour Office (ILO), Polish researchers were gradually introduced to the field of policy-oriented expertise devoted to migration. In 1994 and 1995 together with internationally recognised specialists they contributed to two high-profile conferences co-organised by the Polish government offering background analytical papers⁴. This marked a beginning of a continuous close bond and collaboration between the polity and migration researchers in Poland.

Soon, it became more and more obvious that in order to understand current migrations, a fundamental research that would explain mechanisms of migratory behaviours is needed. It was so not only for Polish researchers but also for policy makers in the Western European countries who carefully observed and examined changes in population mobility in the CEE region. In 1991 the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), with support from the UN Population Fund, developed a comprehensive research programme on international migration whose geographical scope included CEE and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Within the framework of that programme, in 1993 CEE convened a meeting of experts from the region with an aim to overview recent changes in migration and trace direction for further studies. It was decided that an ambitious project will be launched inquiring into causes and consequences of on-going population movements in selected countries of CEE or CIS. An approach adopted in the study was to be modelled on a project concerning migration of Mexican population to the United States developed by Douglas Massey⁵. Three countries were chosen for distinctness of their migration trends and presumed professional competence of local researchers: Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine. Taking all this into consideration, no wonder than, that a first in-depth study on causes and consequences of migration in Poland (1994-1995) was initiated, co-ordinated and partially financed by ECE.

⁴ "Migration as a social and economic factor in the process of transition in Poland from the perspective of European integration" (conference co-organised by OECD and Ministry of Labour and Social Policy) and "Migration processes in Central and Eastern Europe" (regional conference organized by Ministry of Labour and Social Policy with the assistance of ILO).

⁵ Massey D.S., R. Alarcon, J. Durand, H. Gonzalez (1987), *Return to Aztlan. The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.

Implementation of the ECE in-depth migration study has set an end to the formation of a stable research group in Poland⁶ specialising in broadly conceived migration studies. Undoubtedly, a crucial role in that process was played by initiatives, resources and feed-backs from outside of Poland – from international organisations and international research community. Therefore in case of migration research in Poland we should be aware that in some cases it was rather international hidden agendas that laid behind it than national paradigms.

In 2001 the Population Migration Environment Foundation from Zurich invited one of Polish geographers⁷ to participate in a call for tenders to present a concept of setting up a research unit specialising in international migration research in Central and Eastern Europe. The proposal was accepted and the unit, called Central European Forum for Migration Research (CEFMR) was established in 2002. Interestingly, the CEFMR is funded almost exclusively from foreign sources, initially predominantly coming from the Foundation and recently dominated by European Union funds. Substantial part of research, especially funded by the EU either within 6th Framework Programme or within tenders launched by various Directorates General is linked to the political agenda of the European Union in the former case or with the direct analytical and research needs in the latter case.

Political changes after 1989 brought also significant differences in political perception of a phenomenon of emigration from Poland. Right at the beginning of the 1990s. a commission for contacts with Polish diaspora was established in Senate (an upper chamber of the Parliament) and Poles living abroad got some rights to participate in Polish elections. A new TV channel 'Polonia' has been brought into existence and become accessible via satellite in majority of the European countries (counting newly arisen countries of the former Soviet Union) and North America. The opinion that Polish communities, Polish diaspora all over the world is very influential and strongly tied with Poland and that Poland has to take care of its offspring all over the world has become a common conviction among various political forces. Therefore a tendency in a migration research to study Polish communities abroad (especially in the USA) arose with a new strength after 1989 .

Additionally, after 1989, emotional feelings governed by some political parties towards 'our forgotten' people living abroad arose with a new strength. These feelings targeted mainly Poles or descendants of those who had been deported by Tsarist or Soviet regime to Russia (or the former Soviet Union). There has been a general point of view and a conviction that a historical mission of a post-communist, democratic Poland is to help those who still live on the ex-USSR territory (in particular – in remote Kazakhstan), either by spreading Polishness among them by financial or material aid or by creation of a repatriation possibility. At the beginning of 1990s the Parliament enacted a specific repatriation law and a repatriation programme was initiated. Consequently, several field studies in the 1990s were conducted in Kazakhstan on ethnic Poles living there, and in the late 1990s a research began on integration of repatriated persons in Poland .

At this point it is important to mention another aspect of emigration which was not touched upon by Polish scholars till 1989, namely the phenomenon of

⁶ Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw. The centre was formally established in 1993.

⁷ Marek Kupiszewski.

return migration. This phenomenon seemed to be ignored by both researchers studying migration problems and politicians. To some extent it is not surprising, since in post-war, communist Poland the extent of return migration was statistically insignificant. However, the social, political and economic transformation has changed such an attitude towards returns. A pioneer study conducted in the years 2001-2002 is being followed by several other studies.

The dynamic relationship between the geopolitical shift and emerging migratory patterns and processes proved to be of extreme importance in the post-communist Poland and created great challenges for the migratory research and its rather inexperienced researchers. Social scientists have long studied the migratory consequences of shifting from peasant to a market society. It turned out at the end of the 20th century that the shift from command-type and centrally planned economies to market mechanisms was equally important yet few social scientists have investigated, much less theorised a link of this transformation with the change in population movements.

Along with the dismantling of the communist system, and subsequently with the collapse of the USSR, alarmist warnings began to be heard in Western Europe about the prospect of a mass population exodus from the former Soviet Union. In 1991 the most pessimistic scenario envisaged nine million citizens seeking work and living space among the 'well established' societies of Western Europe. Politicians, academics, journalists could not be persuaded that this exodus would not take place. And to some extent they were right. Enormous mobility of citizens of the former USSR had not made itself felt in the countries of Western Europe, since it has manifested itself and been contained on the periphery – notably in Poland. In the 1990s two walls, which had divided Europe for several decades after the Second World War ceased to exist. One of those was the boundary between the socialist bloc and the Western Europe. The other, far less often mentioned, was the strictly guarded border between the USSR and Moscow's satellite countries. As a result of these changes the most important inflow into post-communist Poland was the brief, mass international shuttle movement of citizens of the former Soviet Union. It is important to stress at this point that this kind of mobility had never occurred before in the region. Therefore it might be said that Poland became not only a destination area for pendular travellers from the ex-USSR but also a laboratory of new population processes. A strong demand and big financial resources from the Western European countries were pumped and channelled onto research on mobility of citizens of the former Soviet Union on Polish territory. Therefore research on the ex-USSR citizens' journeys to Poland was driven at the beginning not so much by nationally-founded premises but rather by 'hidden' international frames driven by 'jeopardised' security of western societies.

Looking at the phenomenon of shuttle mobility from Polish perspective alone, at first it was perceived mainly as a threat, in a similar manner as in Western Europe. Eventually, however, that mobility revealed more positive aspects than negative ones. Consequently, some research conducted recently has been focused on negative economic aspects of the implementation of the Schengen treaty for Polish eastern borderlands and selected sectors of Polish economy.

However, the new and widespread spatial mobility of citizens of the former Soviet Union was not only a social and demographic blip but, a harbinger of real

immigration. Recently, after a decade of penetration of Polish merchandise and labour markets by petty-traders and seasonal workers from the East, one can observe, that many of those people, having come to terms with the restrictions in Western Europe against mobility from the 'East', have started contemplating long-term or permanent residence in Poland. This is especially true for workers and traders who have already established networks in Poland. This new trend has met with an interest among researchers, and a couple of studies concerning the mechanisms and patterns of foreigner settlement and immigrant integration are currently under way.

Other important premise in this analysis of national frames of migration research and hidden factors behind it, is a fact, just very recently discovered by Poles that all Central European countries and Poland among them, are now in the preliminary stage of an inflow of more stable immigrants flows not only from the former Soviet Union countries but from the far East (refugees, economic immigrants from Vietnam, China, India) and from the West (managerial migration and return migration of Poles).

One can observe during the 1990s the slow transformation of Poland from one of the biggest sending countries in the CEE region into a country of foreigners' inflow and transit. Completely new and exotic for this part of Europe groups of foreigners as, for instance, Vietnamese and Chinese are rapidly forming. Their arrival takes all forms of inflow, from illegal entry, temporary stay and arranged marriages to the setting-up a business and permanent settlement. Of course, this is just a beginning of the trend towards a 'new' ethnic diversity. Perhaps because of relative novelty of that social processes, research on different aspects of immigrants' stay in Poland, as e.g. possible modes of integration or a lack of integration or discrimination against foreigners is at the moment almost not existing. A pioneering projects on discrimination against old and new ethnic minorities and modes of integration of new immigrants' groups were launched very recently.

4. Studies of mechanisms of emigration from Poland after 1989, by Ewa Jaźwińska, Agnieszka Fihel, Dorota Praszałowicz, Agnieszka Weinar and Paweł Kaczmarczyk

Although research concerning emigration from Poland has a rich tradition dating back as far as the pre-war period and regarding different aspects and types of emigration, researchers engaged in that range of problems found themselves in a difficult situation at the beginning of the 1990s. The difficulty stemmed from the lack of the knowledge on migration in the Polish People's Republic and scarcity of data on current flows. Therefore, after the restrains of the communism period, beginning new research and analyses required summary of the existing state of knowledge, cataloguing research problems, defining theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches that would allow to answer the considered questions. That is why numerous research streams and studies appeared, different from the point of view of standards of analyses as well as approaches to specific issues.

4.1 Analyses of macrosocial character

One of the key streams of analyses concerning emigration from Poland during the period of transformation are analyses aiming at characterising the examined phenomena from the socialwide perspective: estimating the scale of flows, presenting conditionings and consequences of emigration in a macro scale. The nature of studies representing this stream was significantly diverse from the point of view of the thematic domain as well as the sources of data used and the way of using it. Moreover, visible changes in the approach to the range of problems during the past 17 years can be observed.

To initialize the research on emigration after 1989, it was necessary to characterize first the starting point for the research, especially, to describe and interpret everything that had occurred in this domain in the decade of the 1980s. Therefore, at the beginning of the 1990s a number of studies was published, being a sort of the opening balance.

Firstly, the studies aimed to reveal the basic elements of the political, economic and social situation that determined migrations before and after the system change. The state passport policy must be mentioned in the first place. Until the end of the 1980s migrations were considerably limited by the state control of documents allowing for journeys abroad. The obligation to obtain visas made entering potential migration destinations difficult. The general political atmosphere also played a vital role in forming migrations during the period preceding the transformation, especially after introducing the martial law - restriction of civil liberties, persecutions of the Solidarity opposition which inspired seeking for political asylum in the Western countries (Okólski 1990, 1991, 1993, 1994e, 1996a, 1998d, 1999d). The economic situation that made daily life difficult and offered limited opportunities for the future was another factor of equal importance (Jaźwińska 2001a).

It is worth mentioning that within this research stream characterising system conditions at the moment of opening, Polish authors often made generalisations of their analyses with regard to other countries of the Central and Eastern Europe (Okólski 1990, 1993, 1994b, 1998e, 2000d, 2004b, Stola 1998a, 1998b, 2001, Wallace, Stola 2001). It resulted from the fact that all these countries, despite diverse migration traditions and differences in demographic potential were placed in a similar position at the moment of the political breakthrough. The approach to include in the migration research at the beginning of the 1990s the perspective of the region of Central and Eastern Europe made it possible to analyse the differences of patterns of migratory behaviour among these countries in the later studies, especially in the context of the EU accession (see further parts of this chapter).

Secondly, another research stream which can be included in the opening balance constitute analyses aiming at estimating the actual scale of the Poles' migrations in the 1980s, at characterising these migrations and its participants. Marek Okólski and Barbara Sakson, with the use of various data sources, both Polish and of the receiving countries made an apparently fullest estimate of the outflow from Poland in that period (Okólski 1994a, 1999a; Sakson 1998, 2000). In their calculations so-called invisible migrations were included, that is flows omitted in official statistics but dominating the total outflow. The authors described both

the character and scale of long-term migration in the 1980s, which, officially estimated at approximately 200 thousand, had been indeed much bigger and had reached 1- 1,2 million. It was a migration of a visibly selective character: from mainly big urban centres, with overrepresentation of people at working age, relatively well-educated (Okólski 1994a; Sakson 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002). Moreover, their analyses clearly proved that on the map of destination countries along with the traditional directions of emigration, such as Germany and the USA, different European countries appeared, inter alia Austria, Italy, Greece, Sweden (Okólski 1994a; Slany 1991, 1995; Sakson 2002). Basing on the data concerning sex, age and legal status of migrants, Okólski formulated a hypothesis regarding one of the resettlement migration patterns that had occurred during that period: the outflow was started by males travelling as tourists and staying abroad irregularly. After „establishing themselves” they brought abroad their wives and children, who left Poland as official emigrants (Okólski 1994a). Estimates done by Okólski (1994a) and Sakson (2002) also allowed for formulation of several conclusions concerning the consequences of migrations with regard to the demographic situation of the country (see Chapter VII.1)⁸.

As a part of macrosocial analyses systematic monitoring of Poles' international migrations connected with the activities of the OECD SOPEMI network and its annual reports must be mentioned⁹. Those annual reports present all the accessible official data concerning different sorts of flows and migration resources - from casual border crossing to settlement migrations¹⁰. The reports allow for observation of trends concerning both the size of general international mobility and its particular components, e.g. labour migrations, students' migrations, flows of asylum seekers etc. Apart from their purely informational weight, the reports include an analytical part, where conclusions concerning the character of current migration trends and policies can be found. Because of the range and regularity of collecting data the reports are an important element of knowledge concerning contemporary migrations and can be treated as a basis of more detailed research¹¹.

Another stream of macrosocial studies is constituted by research on Polish seasonal workers. A large part of seasonal migrations was undertaken on the basis of international agreements concluded by Poland with several countries and due to the fact that all flows were registered by relevant employment agencies, research on

⁸ The analyses described above as the opening balance proved to be vitally important for further research on migrations of the Poles and for the interpretation of this research. In many studies concerning further migrations references to statements made in these analyses can be found (e.g. Jaźwińska, Okólski 2001; Kaczmarczyk 2005a; Iglicka 1998a, 2005).

⁹ Okólski 1997a, 1998a, 1999b, 2000a, 2001a; Kępińska, Okólski 2002; Kępińska 2003, 2004a, 2005, 2006.

¹⁰ A considerable part of SOPEMI reports concerns inflows to Poland, here we refer only to the data regarding the outflow.

¹¹ Apart from the reports for SOPEMI, several studies on migration in the countrywide scale must be mentioned, namely publications of the Polish Central Statistical Office basing on both census data and representative surveys (Kostrzewa 1998, 2000; Stańczak, Orzół 1998). Those studies are mainly of reporting type, however, their value lies in the presentation of interesting empirical material, difficult to obtain and being a possible basis for deepened studies.

this type of mobility was conducted on a countrywide scale. The significance of seasonal flows becomes obvious if we consider the fact that since 1991 approximately 200 thousand people annually have taken regular seasonal jobs in Germany alone (Domaradzka 2000; Kaczmarczyk 2005a). This country remained the main destination for seasonal workers and, therefore, most analyses of seasonal mobility concerned migration to this very country. A wide research programme regarding this type of migrants was started at Institute of Labour and Social Studies (Instytut Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych, IPISS) by a team managed by Antoni Rajkiewicz (2000). Basing on the results of a series of surveys conducted in different regions and with the use of various techniques, the authors have made an attempt to create a complete picture of the phenomenon from legal regulations to consequences on a macrosocial scale. The authors focused their attention on the regional diversity of seasonal migrations (e.g. Rauziński 2000; Anisiewicz 2000; Domaradzka 2000), attempted at analysing the situation of Polish workers working with German employers, with impact on working conditions and their reference to agreements included in their contracts (Korczyńska 2003).

A different approach to the subject of seasonal workers was used in the research carried out by Centre of Migration Research. The study, uniquely, in comparison to most research on international mobility, based on a countrywide random sample, allowed for a comprehensive characteristic of this migration stream as well as its diverse consequences on a national scale (Kaczmarczyk, Łukowski 2004). The study showed that seasonal workers have been employed almost exclusively in agriculture, where no qualifications are required and wages are relatively low (Kaczmarczyk 2005b). At the same time it proved that this category of migrants was not positively selected, in relation to the entire population, with reference to education or socio-professional status (Jaźwińska 2004). It is a consequence of the fact that this type of mobility has been a relatively inexpensive way of replenishing migrants' household budgets without a necessity to withdraw from a normal life in the home country, including the labour market. This type of earning a living has gradually become a permanent life strategy, a lifestyle (Fihel 2004; Łukowski 2004).

The above-mentioned types of studies: opening balance publications, regular collecting of statistical data and fragmentary research on seasonal migrations allowed for providing in the second half of the 1990s and in the beginning of the current century syntheses of the migration processes in the macrosocial perspective. Such synthetic studies characterised selected aspects of Poles' migrations in categories referring to the entire country or even the region of Central and Eastern Europe. Already in the mid-1990s Okólski (1994b, 1994c, 1994e, 1994d, 1996a) presented basic migration trends, in the later publications the theoretical base has become stronger and the number of discussed elements of migration process has increased. For instance, in the analyses of social and economic aspects of mobility the issue of immigration was included (Kaczmarczyk, Okólski 2002), whereas the outflow from Poland was also regarded as a component of migration from all the countries of the region (Kaczmarczyk 2004; Okólski 2004a). A study by Okólski (2006), concerning the migrations' costs and benefits for the Central and Eastern Europe can be regarded as one of the fullest works of the synthetic type. The author took into account specifics of particular countries and, what is more, presented common consequences of migration, especially those

connected with the situation at local labour markets as well as economic costs and benefits stemming from migrants' money transfers.

Finally, studies of synthetic type pertaining to the Poland's accession into the EU need a discussion. Generally, the main problem referred to changes in the Poles' migration behaviour in the aftermath of opening of the labour markets in the EU-15. Referring to different data and assumptions, researchers attempted to forecast both the size and character of migrations after the accession¹² (see Chapter VII.2). Agnieszka Fihel, Pawel Kaczmarczyk and Marek Okólski (2006) summed up the scale and the patterns of labour mobility from the new EU member states in the last three years. Their analyses included all Central and Eastern European countries that joined the European Union in 2004 and 2007, however, the Poles' migrations were described most fully. The importance of the study lies in the fact that the authors did not only presented the available and limited statistical data concerning the latest migrations, but they also referred to a wide theoretical perspective and rich research experiences. As a result, the explanation of the processes was given from demographic, economic, institutional and social perspective and in this way the analysis contributed to the body of research focused on migration patterns in the whole region of Central and Eastern Europe.

4.2 Complex CMR research based on ethnosurvey methodology

International migration is a complex process, which is extended both in time and space, conditioned by factors from various levels of social life, with individual, group and institutional actors participating in it. Considering all elements of migratory process in a research, which would provide the explanation of mobility mechanism, is an expensive and complicated operation. An attempt to accomplish such a complex research of the emigration mechanisms was made by the Centre of Migration Research in 1993. In that study a methodology combining various techniques, elaborated by Douglas Massey with regard to migration from Mexico to the USA, called ethnosurvey, was adapted to the Polish conditions¹³. Using this research method, it was possible to describe various migrants' types, motives, strategies and consequences of migration and, what is more, to formulate an explanatory theory of the dominating character of outflow from Poland in the 1980s and 1990s. Abundance of the collected empirical material has been used in a number of studies presenting both the research as a whole and a detailed analysis of particular problems¹⁴.

¹² At the same time, the perspective of the accession to the European Union, and the accession itself, resulted in an increased interest in migrations between the new and old Union (Okólski, Stola 1998; Okólski, Stola 1999; Okólski 1994d, 2005; Kaczmarczyk 2004).

¹³ The application of this method into the Polish conditions is described in Iglicka, Jaźwińska, Okólski (1996), Jaźwińska (1996, 1998); see also chapter 8.2 of the present study.

¹⁴ The most important publications comprising the results of the whole research project: Jaźwińska, Okólski (1996); Jaźwińska, Łukowski, Okólski (1997), Frejka, Okólski, Sword (1998), Iglicka 1998a, Jaźwińska, Okólski (2001).

Although the CMR research allowed for measuring the intensity of outflow to a very limited degree¹⁵, it made it possible to isolate the factors conducive to migration. The retrospective character of the data led to the conclusion that macro-social factors, such as the economic situation or passport policy played an essential role in that process (Jaźwińska, Łukowski, Okólski 1997). Localization of the research in different regions of the country enabled the researchers to grasp of regional and local diversity of migration. The difference between migrations from metropolitan (Warsaw) and peripheral areas proved to be really distinctive. As far as the former were concerned, migratory processes began to intensify much earlier and took more diverse forms, with regard to both the directions of outflow and its forms (Jaźwińska 2001a; Kaczmarczyk 2001a, 2005b; Koryś 2001; Okólski 1997b, 1998d). Only among migrants from Warsaw a significant number of people took up legal jobs and jobs adequate to their qualifications. Outflow from peripheral regions was characterised as significantly unidirectional, which could be connected with the vital role of social migration capital.

The diversity of migration patterns clearly relates to regions' unique traditions. New migration flows which appeared as soon as in the 1980s, have directed mostly to the routes followed in those regions already in the 19th century - the inhabitants of Podlasie (a north-eastern region of Poland) and Podhale (southern region) headed for the USA (Tefelski 1996), whereas the Silesians (south-western region) for Germany. Within the regions' boundaries, however, local differences were also visible. They proved to be the most distinct in western Silesia (around the city Opole), where migration patterns of inhabitants of two communities, only a few dozen kilometres distant from each other, differed significantly. In an autochthonic cluster of villages called Łubiany all flows, to a great extent settlement migration, directed to Germany, making use of both legal possibilities and family connections being a source of social migration capital. In a neighbouring city Namysłów, where a majority of population originates from other parts of Poland, migrations at the beginning of the 1990s, were only at an initial stage. The lack of traditions and social networks made migrants take up the least risky/hazardous journeys, often of petty trade character (Jaźwińska, Łukowski, Okólski 1997; Jaźwińska 2001a).

As discovered in the complex CMR research, petty trade movements turned out to be a specific form of spatial mobility, characteristic of the turn of the 1980s and the 1990s. This type of mobility can be described as a systematic shuttle movement between two countries in order to purchase and sell goods and, thus, obtain profit resulting from the price difference (Jaźwińska 2001a). The attractiveness of such form of earning lied in the fact that it required neither significant financial capital nor social capital; it did not have to result in resigning from work, parting with the family, the necessity of entering a new society or learning its patterns of behaviour. It was a temporary form of international mobility connected with the market situation of the participating countries, but for the people who did not have fixed patterns of migratory behaviour it could have been the first step towards labour or permanent migrations.

¹⁵ The character of sample selection allowed only for estimating the outflow within the localizations under study; the data could not be re-estimated with regard to larger areas.

Research done in different regions made it also possible to understand the role of migration networks and migration capital with regard to mobility (Górny, Stola 2001; Osipowicz 2002). According to Bourdie's theory and in accordance with Massey's findings it turned out that also in the case of Polish migrations, the deficiency in cultural capital has been compensated with social capital, which makes migrants' decisions concerning migration easier, especially for inhabitants of peripheral areas.

Migrations, as stated before, are a process, and therefore studying their dynamics appears a necessary element for understanding their entire mechanisms. The ethnosurvey approach in the CMR research created such opportunity. Presenting the changes in migration patterns connected with system changes which started in 1989 appears especially important. Basic macrosocial changes, such as lifting travel restrictions, development of market economy, occurrence of massive unemployment, the increase in the value of education and professional qualifications connected with modernisation of economy, finally, the adjustment of the Polish currency rate to its real value resulted in changes in profitability of migration and, as a consequence, in migration strategies (Jaźwińska 2001a, b). While losing their profitability, labour migrations became attractive mostly for the inhabitants of peripheral regions which were threatened by unemployment to the greatest extent. Also the migration directions changed significantly. Expensive, long-term migrations across the ocean were replaced by cheaper and usually shorter journeys to West European countries.

CMR research has also made it possible to present wide diversity of the consequences of international migrations. With regard to migrants themselves, these consequences could be examined from two perspectives – economic and social. In most cases migrations were an economic success, or at least the participants perceived them as such (Giza 1996, 1998; Hirszfild 2001, Hirszfild, Kaczmarczyk 1999; Iglicka 1998a; Kaczmarczyk 2005a). What is essential here is the fact that before 1989 the economic success was clearly noticeable and provided an opportunity to improve one's social position in the local environment, whereas in the 1990s migrations often allowed for escaping economic deprivation. In the social perspective the evaluation of the consequences of migrations is more complex. Dorota Osipowicz (2001) considered the fact that migrants, especially those who shuttled between sending and receiving countries over a long period of time, underwent a multi-dimensional exclusion. Exclusion sometimes was the reason for migration, took place during migration and became complete after return to the home country. Rarely was migration perceived as an opportunity of individual development, a chance to qualify and, consequently, to change the social position. Research implied that opportunities to change the position were rather connected with the next generation, and resources gathered abroad were meant to serve this goal (Łukowski 2001; Hirszfild, Kaczmarczyk 1999).

The results of the ethnosurvey research also threw the light on the influence of migration on the situation of the sending community (Giza 1996; Iglicka 1998a; Hirszfild, Kaczmarczyk 1999). Benefits resulting from migration were limited, with migrants' remittances mainly assigned for consumption, not always realised in the home country. Novelties imported from abroad concerned rather consumption patterns than tendencies to modernisational behaviour. Moreover, a high incidence of migrations resulted in withdrawal of numerous

inhabitants from the public sphere and, consequently, in weakening of community ties.

The project included also the final element of the ethnosurvey methodology, namely the study of the situation of migrants in the destination countries. This part of research was rather limited due to financial and organisational reasons, but it was carried out in areas of concentration of the latest emigration from Poland and allowed for complementing the patterns of migratory behaviour. The research on the new outflow to the USA presented how new migration chains are shaped, it also confirmed the hypothesis that migration networks form mainly in environments of relatively low cultural capital resources (Sakson 2001). Research carried out in Brussels, the destination of migrants from Podlasie, allowed for a description of the process of forming, institutionalising and dynamics of new migratory networks (Grzymala-Kazłowska 2001a)¹⁶.

The conclusions drawn from the CMR research allowed to formulate the theory termed by its author Okólski as incomplete migration (Okólski 2001b, 2001c, 2001e). This theory referred to the industrialisation process characteristic of the former socialistic countries. Relative retardation in that sphere in comparison to developed countries, and political determinants entailed concentration of the substantial state effort on intense development of industry, mainly heavy industry. Urbanisation, understood as development of city infrastructure, especially housing, did not keep pace with industrialisation. As a consequence, the natural process of permanent relocation from villages and small towns to big centres of industry, which usually accompanies this stage of industrialisation, could not be fully completed. In the 1960s a numerous category of workers, usually low-qualified, had been circulating between a place of work in the city and a household in the country or a small town. This group was limited in the 1970s as a consequence of modernisation in Polish industry and decline in the need for unqualified labour force. Certain patterns of behaviour became nonetheless established, and at the moment of liberalization of border policy (which partly took place already in the 1980s) this type of mobility was undertaken at international level. Complex CMR research revealed that migrations of this type became an essential element of flows at the end of the 1980s and in the 1990s. The Polish migrants of the end of the former century, similar to their predecessors of the 1960s, lived simultaneously in two different worlds, and this peculiar bivalence became an established pattern of behaviour, a way of living (Łukowski 2001). At the same time, this migration type was conducive to creating an international social space comprising migrants abroad, their families in the home country and numerous formal and informal institutions which were formed and became established as a result of these processes (Kaczmarczyk 2002, 2005a).

¹⁶ For more on the studies on Polish emigration in destination countries – see chapter 4.4 and 4.5.

4.3 In-depth studies of selected aspects of migration and migrants' categories

As a result of the complexity of migratory processes and difficulties connected with the research on these processes on a macrosocial scale, most researchers focused on fragmentary studies relating to selected aspects of migration. The choice of a research problem was influenced by various factors. On the one hand, researcher's individual interests and his or her theoretical perspective played an important role. On the other hand, however, particular problems appeared as important at certain moments and called for a scientific explanation, which was a factor of crucial significance. Observation of the studies on emigration from Poland during several last years allows to separate a number of clearly defined streams of such research.

4.3.1 *Emigration and labour market*

In the analysed period the international mobility of Polish citizens has been dominated by labour migration and, therefore, research on migration has been focused on this type of outflow. Therefore, the mutual relationship between situation at the Polish labour market and labour emigration of Poles is worth discussing¹⁷. On the one hand, high unemployment rate constituted a significant determinant of emigration, on the other hand, pendular flows of Polish workers, who temporarily undertook employment abroad and thereafter returned to the home country, determined migrants' activity at the Polish labour market.

In case of Poland, a country that have gone through the process of transition from socialistic to market economy, the main push factors for labour migration were constituted by, firstly, wage disparities between Eastern and Western Europe, and, secondly, rapid deterioration of situation at the labour market (Okólski 1996b, 1998b; Kaczmarczyk, Okólski 2002; Fihel, Kaczmarczyk, Okólski 2006). As long as the former has consistently been losing its significance, especially since the end of communist period, the latter has meant lack of possibility to find any job in the home-country, especially in case of the young, low-skilled inhabitants of peripheral regions (Strzelecki, Witkowski 1994). In the view of very low internal mobility, international labour migration became an economic constraint or at least a way to start/continue the occupational activity. Paradoxically, at the beginning of the 1990s, when the situation at the labour market became very severe, and also thereafter, the scale of labour migration was too low to be perceived as a remedy for high unemployment rate (Strzelecki, Witkowski 1994; Okólski 1996b, 2006). At the beginning of 21st century only in Opole region the outflow resulted in acute labour shortages and slow down of economic development of this area (Jończy 2003, 2006).

At the macroeconomic level various attempts to forecast migratory behavior of Poles in the transition period have proven that situation at the labour market (measured by unemployment rate) could explain – at least partially – the

¹⁷ This body of research includes analyses on incomplete migration pursued at CMR (see chapter 4.2), on seasonal migration done by the team of Institute of Labour and Social Affairs and CMR (see chapter 4.1), on migration from Opole region (see chapter 4.3.4), and on migration modelling conducted at CEFMR (see chapter 6.2).

variability of international migration rates (Bijak, Kupiszewski, Kicinger 2004; Kaczmarczyk 2005a). Those conditions, however, were not sufficient to explain the whole complexity of outflow from Poland which turned out to be highly selective with regard to socio-demographic characteristics (Kaczmarczyk 2004, 2005a). Therefore, Polish researchers turned to the meso- and microeconomic level, studying links between households' and individuals' characteristics and mobility propensity and migration strategies. Kaczmarczyk (2001a, 2005a) has econometrically proven that unfavourable economic situation, also relative to other households, structure of the household (number of households' members, especially non-adult members), level of education as well as access to migration capital (networks and informal institutions) significantly influences the proneness to undertake labour migration. However, in all cases, the individual's position at the labour market has had the most important impact on probability of becoming a migrant.

The studies of incomplete migration proved that sending a family member to work abroad, especially on the short-term basis or even seasonally, has become a strategy aimed at diversifying sources of households' incomes (Fihel 2004; Kaczmarczyk 2005b). Migrants even tended to neglect their occupational duties at the domestic labour market in order to be able to work seasonally in Germany every year, which resulted in self-exclusion from economic activity in Poland (Fihel 2004). Labour migration turned out to have no impact on migrants' careers in the home-country either, because duties performed abroad did not lead to getting new professional qualifications (Jaźwińska 2001b, 2004). Besides, improvement of occupational status was very unlikely in the peripheral areas from which temporary migrants mostly recruited.

Apart from the impact of migration on unemployment rate and behaviour at the domestic labour market, migrants' remittances may increase national consumer demand and, in this indirect way, increase the number of vacancies. The estimates of transfers sent from Germany to Poland by seasonal migrants (Marek 2000; Kaczmarczyk 2004; Okólski 2006) or migrants from Opole region (Jończy 2003) proved to be an impressive total, but not in comparison to, for instance, the total of direct foreign investments in Poland. Therefore, as Okólski concluded (2006), the impact of migrants' remittances on the Polish economy, and indirectly on the Polish labour market, has been insignificant.

4.3.2 Migration of highly skilled Poles

Most research on the mobility of highly skilled Poles focus on its scale and patterns, although the available data is of poor quality. A distinct body of research pertains to theoretical consequences of brain-drain for sending country, expressed in the form of mathematical proofs.

To start with the latter, Oded Stark and Simon C. Fan (2006, 2007a, 2007b) introduced the concept of "educated unemployment" that describes the strategy of highly skilled persons remaining voluntarily unemployed in order to find a job abroad. As the possibility of emigration rises, the number of individuals undertaking university education increases, and so does the rate of unemployment among the highly skilled (Stark, Fan 2006). Despite the fact that the phenomena of overeducation and educated unemployment result in social inefficiencies, they may

contribute to economic development in the long-run (Stark, Fan 2007a). This conclusion remains in line with experiences of several developing countries (Stark, Fan 2007b).

As far as the scale of highly skilled persons' mobility is concerned, Janusz Hryniewicz et al. took up the challenge to monitor the outflow of Polish scientists in the period 1981-1996 (Hryniewicz, Jałowiecki, Mync 1992, Jałowiecki, Hryniewicz, Mync 1994, Hryniewicz, Jałowiecki, Mync 1997). The authors conducted the qualitative research based on questionnaire sent to the representative number of Polish scientific institutions and Universities. According to the authors' estimates, in 1991 the number of employed scientists would have been by 25% higher if the outflow from scientific institutes had not taken place in the 1980s. This outflow, however, included both emigration and outflow from the scientific sector to other sectors of economy in Poland, and the latter, surprisingly, turned out to be the major component. In other words, at the beginning of the economic transition Polish scientists have been strongly encouraged to take up jobs in developing private companies in the home country, while the external migration was perceived as less attractive. Intensive emigration of Polish scientists took place straight after the introduction of martial law in 1981, thereafter this outflow has diminished.

The only analysis of highly skilled Poles' experiences abroad was provided by Adam Józefowicz (1996). The detailed analysis referred to the performance of University graduates at the Swedish labour market at the beginning of the 1990s. Thereafter, the migration of highly skilled Poles became a substantial issue in the aftermath of Polish accession into the EU. The majority of Polish students surveyed by Grzegorz Sygnowski (2004) turned out to be prone to work abroad after the graduation. Most respondents considered low level of wages and lack of vacancies at the Polish labour market to be the main reasons for emigration, and, therefore, the improvement of those conditions would discourage them from emigration. A comprehensive summary of official statistics on the mobility and mobility propensity of highly skilled Poles was provided by Kaczmarczyk and Okólski (2005). According to the authors, the scale of brain flight after 1st May 2004 cannot be recognized as massive, in fact, it might be acknowledged even too little to allow for brain circulation (Kaczmarczyk, Okólski 2005, Kaczmarczyk 2006). However, according to the authors the outflow of highly skilled might have serious consequences in the local and sectoral dimension.

4.3.3 Migration of women

Detailed statistics monitoring flows of women have been systematically published in SOPEMI reports for Poland since the beginning of the 1990s.

There are, however, few comprehensive studies about the emigration of Polish women. For instance, there has not been a single publication on trafficking in Polish women. Empirical research, consisting of interviews conducted with women migrating to Germany (Jaroszewska 2003), the USA (Slany, Malek 2005), Italy (Rosińska-Kordasiewicz 2005; Slany, Malek 2005) and Belgium (Grzymala-Kazłowska 2001a; Kuźma 2005) covered a wide range of topics: motives and strategy of migration, family situation, employment and living conditions abroad, plans and aspirations. As an exception to the qualitative studies, Ewa Kępińska

(2004b) carried out a quantitative comparative analysis of men and women involved in seasonal migration to Germany.

Krystyna Slany and Agnieszka Malek (2005), on the basis of interviews conducted with Polish female migrants working in Italy and the USA, developed a typology of motives for undertaking employment abroad in the context of the transitional situation of the Polish economy. In their sample, the major group of females undertaking employment abroad consisted of so-called 'new-trauma' emigrants who "very clearly felt the destabilizing effects of the transforming system" in the home country (Ibidem:133). Migration as a survival strategy or economic necessity was particularly notable in the case of temporary labour mobility to Italy. In contrast to this, labour outflow to the USA included also other types of female migrant: aiming at self-fulfillment (individualist type), escaping from problems in the country of origin (escapist type) or following husbands (family type).

According to the majority of researchers (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2001a; Kępińska 2004b; Kuźma 2005; Rosińska-Kordasiewicz 2005; Slany, Malek 2005), women undertake labour migration because of poverty and lack of employment prospects in Poland and send remittances to their families in Poland. In contrast to male migrants, females tend to undertake employment abroad only when gaining an additional income is an absolute necessity for their households in Poland (Kępińska 2004b). Exclusively typical of female migrants is employment in household services, mostly on an irregular basis (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2001a; Kuźma 2005; Rosińska-Kordasiewicz 2005; Slany, Malek 2005). This phenomenon was comprehensively described by Anna Rosińska-Kordasiewicz (2005) who compared the situation of Polish women working in Italian households to living in a totalitarian institution, under constant control of employers, in isolation from the rest of society, stigmatized as inferior persons.

Polish women employed abroad are often involved in temporary (pendular) mobility. Therefore, they have developed a system of 'shift work', where a woman relies on a friend's or relative's job to cover a temporary absence (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2001a, Kuźma 2005). The only research that pertains to permanent emigration of women was done by Emilia Jaroszevska (2003) who interviewed Polish women married to German men. The author analysed many aspects of binational marriages and concluded that economic motives were not the main reason for marrying a German spouse. Polish women have had a sense of their national identity, but adapted well to the labour market and society of the destination country.

4.3.4 Regional and ethnic studies

Territorial diversity of migrations appears to be an evident issue. Available statistical data indicate distinct discrepancies in incidence of emigration in different regions of Poland. Such phenomenon was observed in the 1980s with regard to settlement emigration (Okólski 1994a) and in the 1990s with regard to seasonal migrations to Germany (Kalita 2004).

In the studies concerning emigration after 1989 two approaches to a territorial unit as a framework of migratory behaviour can be distinguished. In the first approach, region (province, district) constitutes an area where studies were

conducted. This research stream includes a number of studies edited by Rajkiewicz, referring mainly to seasonal migrations (Rajkiewicz 1996, 2000). Works of different authors presented the scale/size and character of migrations in chosen provinces, however, they did not imply whether regional context had influenced the observed variables (e.g. Markowska 2000, Szafrankowski 2000, Mańkowski 2000).

The other approach treat region, its historical and economic specifics as an important context of analyses, and elements of monographic characteristics of a researched community are an integral part of the analysis of migration mechanisms. The results of the above presented complex research of CMR proved that a region is a significant explanatory variable for the intensity and character of migratory processes (Jaźwińska, Okólski 2001, Jaźwińska 2001a, see Chapter IV.3.2). The main group of this type of research refers to Opole Silesia (Heffner 1996; Heffner, Solga 1999; Grygierczyk 1997; Grygierczyk, Rauziński 1994; Jończy 1999, 2003, 2006; Rauziński 1998, 1999; Solga 2002). Its specificity results from the fact that it has been inhabited by indigenous Silesian population, who in the 1970s and 1980s were granted a right to apply for legal settlement in Germany. As a consequence, migratory processes in that region began to intensify relatively early and assumed enormous proportions. The scale of this phenomenon resulted in comparatively early commencement of research on emigration from Opole Silesia. In the first place, researchers focused their attention on the demographic consequences of emigration, with special regard to a decrease in the number of population at the productive age (Rauziński 1998, 1999). Long-term research allowed to grasp the changes in the character of migration and migration strategies. Before 1990, settlement emigration, often of whole families, had been predominant, whereas in subsequent years, as a consequence of the changes in the policy of Federal Republic of Germany and the situation in Poland, seasonal employment migrations began to prevail (Solga 2002, Jończy 2003). Indigenous inhabitants of this region, often of dual citizenship (Polish and German), take up regular jobs in Germany, at the same time maintaining houses in home towns and investing in their extension. Romuald Jończy drew attention to the fact that migrations in this region are losing the character of household strategy, a typical strategy of the Polish emigration of the last 25 years. The migrations are being taken up by people at the beginning of their professional careers who do not feel attached to their family households and who have not started households of their own yet (Jończy 2003). Researchers carried out a comprehensive analysis of the consequences of migrations for the region. Apart from consequences of economic nature, especially for the labour market, they indicated the destruction of traditional local bonds and the forming of a new type of society - "pendular society" functioning in a transnational space (Solga 2002; Heffner, Solga 1999).

Apart from the Opole area, research of regional character also developed in the North-Eastern region of Poland, mainly at Podlasie. In this case, migration processes relate to two specific features of this region. Firstly, to the peripheral character and civilisational underdevelopment of the region, which was strongly exacerbated at the moment of the system change. Secondly, they relate to a local tradition of international migrations dating back to the 19th century. It must be stressed that in most analyses concerning this region the problem of migrations is not a central issue, but it is considered as one of the factors shaping the ways of functioning of local communities of the area (Cieślińska 1992, 1994, 1997;

Poplawski 1994; Sadowski 2001)¹⁸. Research done by Barbara Cieślińska in a small town indicate, that international migrations make it possible to maintain or to upgrade the social status, and, consequently, influence the shape of social structure (Cieślińska 1997). Dariusz Poplawski presented mutual relationships between the family structure (traditional in this peripheral region) and migrations: the family model influences migration strategies, but migrations simultaneously modify the family life (Poplawski 1994). On the other hand, according to Andrzej Sadowski, international economic migrations are in the first place a way of dealing with the system changes, whereas the character of migrations - the tendency to re-create a community of origin overseas - is shaped by patterns of behaviours typical of peripheral areas (Sadowski 2001).

4.4 Polish temporary migrants abroad

The scale of migrations in the 1980s, 1990s and later naturally resulted in the development of an interest in the performance of new migrants abroad. A considerable diversity of migrations' directions and migrants' dispersal in receiving countries caused difficulties in conducting empirical research concerning this stage of migration process. Therefore, studies on these issues were of a very diverse character with regard to data sources, research methods and the range of problems considered. Authors usually focused on quality research of chosen aspects and migrants' categories, using available statistical data as well as the background and context of these specific analyses (Kuźma 2004, Gandziarowska 2006, Włodarczak 2005, Grabowska 2003, 2005).

Basically, in the analyses concerning the problems of temporary Polish migrants abroad two research streams can be distinguished. The first one is, to a certain extent, a continuation of the traditional research on the Polish diaspora overseas (see chapter IV.5). This stream includes studies concerning the new emigration in the countries of traditional settlement emigration, especially in the USA, Canada and Australia (Sakson 2005, Włodarczak 2005, Slany 2002, Lipińska 2002). The main difference between these studies and previous research lies in the fact that more attention is devoted to the very mechanisms of migrations, decision-making strategies concerning migrations, establishing the migratory networks and the perspective of the sending country is prevailing (Sakson 2001, Włodarczak 2005). Another characteristic feature of this research stream is the analysis of differences between the old emigration and the new migrants of the 1990s. The results of the studies indicate distinct differences between these two categories. The new migrants both in the USA and Australia aim at integration with local communities rather than at entering the existing circles and structures of the Polish diaspora (Sakson 2005, Włodarczak 2005).

The second research stream regarding the performance of Polish migrants abroad, apparently more important from the point of view of the specificity of the migrations of the last decades, is research concerning seasonal migrants in

¹⁸ Studies conducted within the framework of CMR complex research, devoted to selected communities were an exception here. However, they focused mainly on the analysis of mechanisms of migration, e.g. Osipowicz 2001, Hirszfeld, Kaczmarczyk 1999.

European countries, both the traditional destinations of Poles searching for employment (especially Germany) and relatively new countries on the migration map. The interest in emigration to particular countries developed as successive destinations were opening and increasing in importance.

Therefore, the first studies referred to irregular migrants from Poland in Greece, which in the 1980s had become an important destination or transit country for those who wished to take up seasonal jobs in agriculture and tourism (Romaniszyn 1994, 1996). Next, Belgium (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2001a, 2001b, 2002a; Kuźma 2001, 2004, 2005; Siewiera 1994), Italy (Rosińska-Kordasiewicz 2005; Kowalska-Angelelli 2007), Spain (Matejko 2004) and in the years 2000s Ireland (Grabowska 2003, 2005, Kropiwić, King-O'Riain 2006) attracted researchers' attention. Until 2004 migration to the above mentioned countries was mostly seasonal, with Polish migrants usually placing themselves at the black economy labour market, without legalising their status. As a consequence, the starting point of many studies was a characteristic of migration regulations, migrants' rights, possibilities of residence and regular employment (e.g. Kuźma 2004; Rosińska-Kordasiewicz 2005; Kowalska-Angelelli 2007; Grabowska 2005). Authors of these studies assumed that these regulations to a great extent determined the way in which migrants have performed at the labour market and within the communities of receiving countries. For instance, Poles located themselves in market niches creating scarce opportunities of promotion and social services, but at the same time offering relative safety of functioning without regularisation of employment or residence. Such niches were: the construction/renovation sector and agriculture for males; for females usually work as a domestic help. In her study concerning this category of female migrants in Italy, Rosińska-Kordasiewicz (2005) demonstrated that even in a limited space of available labour market like this one, Polish female migrants, depending on possessed cultural capital and motives behind migration, applied different strategies from risky jobs for many employers to safer, although not so lucrative jobs within one household.

In the 1990s Belgium, and more specifically its capital city, Brussels, had a special position on the map of Polish labour migrations. Its attractiveness could be explained with the fact that in a relatively short time a specific Polish diaspora started to form there, which enabled researchers to observe its shaping and changes. Studies concerning migrations to Belgium focused on both functioning at the local labour market and the migrants' everyday life. These analyses, as well as research conducted in Italy, implied that seasonal migrants, as opposed to the new emigration outside Europe, hardly ever attempted to enter the receiving society and more frequently re-created social networks with the communities they originated from (Kuźma 2001, 2004, 2005; Grzymała-Kazłowska 2001a, 2001b, 2002a). Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska (2001b) interestingly presented, basing on the observation and in-depth interview techniques, the transformations of the performance of the Polish community in Brussels. In the situation of increasing competition at the labour market, the shift from cooperation to competition occurred, along with the increase in importance of family bonds at the expense of local bonds, and increase in importance of cultural capital as compared to social capital.

At the beginning of the 2000s, before the accession to the EU, Poles began to take up jobs in Ireland more and more frequently. Research done by Izabela

Grabowska already in 2003 implied that migration strategies were undergoing changes: besides purely economic motives, more and more often educational motives were appearing and new migrants' ambitions were not limited to functioning at a secondary labour market (Grabowska 2005).

Studies regarding Polish migrants to Germany deserve individual presentation, which results from the diverse character of migration to this country, being a traditional destination for Poles. On the one hand, as previously stated, legal seasonal workers were the most numerous category of migrants in the 1990s. On the other hand, as a result of other forms of migration in Germany, particularly in Berlin, many circles of Polish diaspora and many groups of migrants were formed. Both categories: seasonal and settlement inflows were the subject of migration research. With regard to the former category, analyses focused on working conditions and their accordance with the terms of contracts, relations with employers, leisure time management (inter alia Korczyńska 1998, 2003, 2004; Ludwiczuk 2000). The second stream of analyses concerned more diverse categories of migrants residing in Germany, usually for a longer period of time, both legally and illegally (Misiak 1995; Warchol-Schlottman 2002; Kaczmarczyk 2001a; Gandziarowska 2006). Within this set of studies three questions were particularly emphasized. Firstly, a great diversity of this group from the point of view of the residence status, to begin with full security and to finish with insecure functioning within a considerably irregular zone (Kaczmarczyk 2001a). Secondly, the ways in which Polish clusters were organized and Polish diaspora was formed (Gandziarowska 2006). Thirdly, the discrepancy between the „old” and „new” migrants was featured. The migrants of the 1990s and 2000s, usually have had greater cultural capital, have performed better in the new reality and, similarly to the observations from the American and Australian research, have not tended to enter the structures of “the old Polish diaspora” (Warchol-Schlottman 2002; Gandziarowska 2006).

Since accession into the EU, migration became one of the most important topics in public debate in Poland, as well as in destination countries. Along with dynamic inflow of Polish citizens in most so-called “old” EU countries, interest in monitoring and analyzing new mobility from CEE grew. As a consequence, a new worth noting stream of migration research appeared. Notwithstanding previous analytical works, many Western scientific institutions started a close collaboration with Polish, predominantly junior, researchers who more or less permanently settled abroad. Due to spectacular scale and dynamics of these migration streams, most of foreign research centers dealing with recent mobility of Poles are located in the UK, including, among others, Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (CRONEM) at the University of Surrey (Michał Garapich), School of Slavonic and East European Studies at the University College London (Dorota Osipovic), University of East London (Marta Rabikowska), University of Westminster (Bernadetta Siara), University of Wolverhampton (Olga Kozłowska), School of Social and Political Studies at the University of Edinburgh (Emilia Lewandowska)¹⁹. The newest research on Polish migration into the UK deals with

¹⁹ Polish guest researchers are also active in most destination countries, predominantly in Germany, Spain, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Scandinavian countries as well as in “old immigration countries” (USA, Canada).

the whole complexity of migration process – from discussion of the scale of the phenomenon and identification of migration strategies (Drinkwater, Eade, Garapich 2006a, b) to typical integration studies, including research on the everyday life of immigrants and ethnicity, identity or culture related issues (Garapich 2006, 2007; Lewandowska, Ronowicz 2006). So far, list of articles and books published by the group of Polish researchers affiliated abroad is very short, however their extraordinary activity in presenting papers at international conferences and seminars promises a new wave of literature on Polish migration.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, studies on the situation of Polish migrants abroad are to a great extent exiguous and they do not constitute a consistent research programme. Their thorough analysis, however, allows to form a relatively full picture of the performance of Polish migrants abroad and, what is especially important, to grasp the changes which are taking place.

4.5 Polish diaspora studies after the political turnover of 1989²⁰

Polish diaspora called *Polonia* is believed to embrace between 15 and 20 million people scattered throughout the world with the largest centers in the United States, Germany, and Brazil. It was produced by the mass migrations of the 19th and 20th centuries, composed of a variety of migration streams, pushed out by multiply reasons, mainly economic but also political, and individual. After the World War II this inherent part of the Polish history was not much studied until the late 1970's. It is important to note that Polish diaspora studies were initiated in Poland at the time when migration and ethnic studies gained popularity in the West (Praszałowicz 2006). This prompt reaction to the Western trends would not have been possible without certain degree of political liberalization which the communist state enjoyed in the 1970's. The main (multidisciplinary) centers for Polish diaspora studies were launched at the time at the universities of Kraków, Wrocław, and Lublin, and in the institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw and Poznań²¹. Moreover, new journals and book series were established²². The tradition of Polish migration studies was revived which reached to the works

²⁰ The literature referred to in this subchapter partially goes beyond the scope of the study as presented in the introduction. Some interesting works relating to the history of Polish diaspora are presented due to the dynamic development of this field of studies after 1989.

²¹ The results of the studies conducted in the main research centers are discussed in the volume edited by Grzegorz Babiński and Henryk Chalupczak (2006).

²² The main journals which have been published until now are *Przegląd Polonijny* (Polonia Review) and *Studia Polonijne* (Polonia Studies). Both provide English language summaries of the published articles, and some recent issues of the *Przegląd Polonijny* are published in English exclusively.

of Ludwik Krzywicki, Franciszek Bujak, Krystyna Duda-Dziewierz²³ and Florian Znaniecki²⁴.

Until the political turnover of 1989, Polish migration studies focused on the history of Polish migrations (in the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century), and on cultural changes of Polish immigrant communities in the main destination countries (Kubiak 1975, Kubiak, Pilch 1976, Pilch 1984). The frame of reference were Western theories of migration and ethnicity (Kubiak, Paluch 1980, Kubiak et.al. 1988). Starting from 1989 new subjects which were taboo under the communism attracted attention of students, such as the fate of Polish minorities in the Eastern European countries, especially in the former Soviet Union (Kubiak et.al. 1992, Dzwonkowski 1994, 2003, 2006, Nowicka 2000, Kuczyński, Michalska 2004, Kurcz 2005). Another new topic which was unwelcome under communism, related to the WW II and the post-war political emigration (Radzik 1991a, 1991b, Reczyńska 1997, Siwik 1998). According to Tadeusz Radzik's assessment, however, there are many studies in this field which are substantially biased, for example their authors overestimate the political impact of the London based Polish Government in Exile (Radzik 2006).

Recently two large endeavors aimed to provide a synthesis of the studies on Polish diaspora. The first one resulted in a volume which gives an overview of the main Polish immigrant communities (Walaszek 2001), and by now it is the best compendium in this field. The editor of the volume managed to escape the ethnocentric perspective and next to the chapters which focus on Poles, he offered texts on emigration of national minorities which lived next to Poles: Jews, Ukrainians, and Germans. The second endeavor produced a five volume encyclopedia of Polish emigration and Polish diaspora (Dopierala 2003-2005). Moreover, a few works discussed the results of recent Polish diaspora studies (Klimaszewski 2002, Babiński, Chalupczak 2006, Kraszewski 1995).

Polish archives suffered substantial losses due to the historical turmoils, but still in many of them some interesting records on the history of the migration processes could be found. However, the records are dispersed (in various regional and branch archives) and they are often incorrectly catalogued, so students are confused while trying to get to them. Therefore, guides of sources for research on the history of Polish migrations are edited and published (Kołodziej 1996, 1997). Some of the guides advertise immigrant archives which were established in the centers of Polish diaspora (Nir 1996, Wrede et.al. 2000). Students who seek data on local Polish immigrant communities can reach for the list of Polish Roman-Catholic parishes and churches in Canada, prepared at the Lublin Catholic University (Walewander 1992-93). So far there is no such a list for Polish diaspora in any other country.

Moreover, clergy and lay students of the Lublin Catholic University are involved in research projects which aim to analyze the role of the Roman-Catholic

23 Duda-Dziewierz K. (1938), *Wieś małopolska a emigracja amerykańska. Studium wsi Babica, powiatu rzeszowskiego [Małopolska village and American migration. The study of Babica village, Rzeszów district]*. Warszawa/Poznań: Polski Instytut Socjologiczny. This one of the most stimulating projects in inter-war time was devoted to the overseas migration streams and counter-streams from the village Babica in south-eastern Poland).

24 Thomas W., F. Znaniecki (1918-1920), *Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, vol.1-5. Chicago: University of Chicago Press and Boston: Boston Mass: Badger.

Church within the centers of Polish diaspora (for the list of the studies see: Korzeniowski 2002; Plewko 1995). Many authors who are connected with the Lublin Catholic University combine research skills with experience of long-term work within Polish immigrant communities, so the studies which are produced by them provide a deep insight into every day life of Polish immigrant groups, their institutions, and societies (Dzwonkowski 1994, Nadolny 1994, Koszałka 2002).

Another type of studies are directly devoted to Polish immigrant societies, and they are conducted both by Polish scholars (Wojdon 2005), and by immigrant scholars (Radziłowski, Mahal 1992). It should be mentioned that many Polish immigrant societies publish their histories and/or jubilee books; such publications should be treated as interesting sources rather than academic works, however. Professional studies on the Polish-American community (the USA) which is the largest center of Polish diaspora in the world, are promoted by the Polish American Historical Society (Pula, Dziedzic 1990, Pula 1995, Pacyga 1991, Bukowczyk 1996, Majewski 2003, Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann 2004).

At the same time Polish scholars continue their (interdisciplinary) case studies which focus on immigrant local communities; the most stimulating of them combine history with social anthropology (Walaszek 1994), and sociology with anthropology (Mucha 1996). Recently a micro-level approach became popular and so a family (Stopikowska 2000, Śladkowski 2005), or individual stories are studied and interpreted (Piątkowska-Stepaniak 2003). Moreover new topics attract attention of researchers, such as migrations of women and children (Walaszek 2000, Walaszek 2003), inter-ethnic relations between Poles and other immigrants in the destination countries (Zięba 1998, Praszalowicz 1999, 2005), or sport activity of Polish migrants (Chelmecki 2005). There are also studies on topics which seemed to be well known (like the tradition of the political emigration in the 19th century), but which recently became analyzed from a new perspective (Pezda 2003).

The studies on Polish diaspora are conducted on macro-, meso-, and micro-level; with the use of qualitative and quantitative methods (Babiński 2004), and Polish researchers often cooperate with researchers who are descendants of Polish immigrants. In the new political situation after 1989, nowadays there are far better conditions for the studies in the field than ever in the last two centuries.

5. Research on immigration and migrant communities in Poland, by Izabela Koryś, Agnieszka Fihel, Agata Górny, Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska, Weronika Kloc-Nowak, Agnieszka Weiner

A brief overview of studies dealing with the presence of immigrants in Poland clearly demonstrates the disproportion between the attention paid to immigration to and emigration from Poland. Comparing the plethora of studies exploring various forms and directions of the outflow, researches on the inflow are rather scarce, needless to say about studies on the immigrant communities actually settling in Poland after 1989.

To some extent this disproportion is understandable regarding the limited number of immigrants residing in Poland, and massive outflow attracting attention

of scientists, policy-makers and the general public. Contrary to a long tradition of studies on emigration movements and the Polish diaspora, immigration has become an issue only recently. Another factor contributing to this disproportion might be a difficulty in carrying out systematic research on immigrants²⁵.

In the development of the immigration research in Poland, the phase of explanatory studies can be identified encompassing most of the research carried out in the 1990s. In the 2000s, studies describing and analysing migration process at its more advanced phase were more and more frequent. Noticeably, studies on immigrants and immigrant communities emerging in Poland have been developed from two ends and conducted either at the macro- (general) or the micro-level. Analyses carried out at the macro-level are based on statistical data and focus mostly on migrants' participation on the primary and secondary labour market (Iglicka 2000a, 2003b; Okólski 2002). Micro-level approach builds up on a direct observation of migrants groups and meticulously collects all pieces of information on migrants' daily-life in Poland (i.e. Antoniewski 2002, 1997; Koryś, Antoniewski 2006; Malewska-Peyre 2001).

5.1 Grasping the picture: exploratory studies on immigration to Poland in the 1990s

As of 2006, immigration to Poland is still limited in scale and does not influence Polish economy and society in a considerable way. In this context, an important factor stimulating research on immigration to Poland was the interest of western scholars encouraging Polish researchers to conduct studies on immigration to Poland in order to built up a common axis of comparison with Western Europe. Then, the role of European research agenda can not be neglected: anxiety regarding high numbers of citizens of ex-USSR countries coming to Poland after its accession to European Union constituted an important facilitator of immigration studies in Poland in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Many analyses, especially early works, on immigration to Poland can be considered as by-products of descriptive works demonstrating general pictures of migratory trends in Poland or in the CEE region (Golinowska, Marek 1994, Szymańska 1997, Okólski 1994d, 1999b, Chodubski 2000, Iglicka 2000a). They were frequently anchored in more general research stream devoted to East-West mobility (for example, Iglicka 2000a, Jerczyński 1999). An interesting analysis of the role of immigration to Poland in the East-West mobility has been presented by Marek Jerczyński (1999). He proposes a neat model in which three types of immigration are analysed: permanent, temporary and transit. He also argues that citizens of ex-USSR countries tend to go to locations in Poland where national minorities – Belarusian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian – are present. Jerczyński's conclusions, going beyond simple descriptions, constituted an interesting starting point for some further research on immigration from the former Soviet Union to Poland²⁶.

²⁵ More on that see chapter 7.3.

²⁶ Though the weak point of the analysis is insufficiently described method of data collection.

The good example of first explanatory empirical studies of immigration to Poland was the research “Immigrants: socio-demographic characteristics, causes of inflow, integration in Polish society” carried out in 1995-1997 by Centre of Migration Studies. Basing on quantitative and qualitative approach and encompassing variety of issues, the research aimed first of all at uncovering the most important types of migrants coming to Poland in the mid-1990s (Iglicka et al. 1997; Łukowski 1997; Okólski 1998a; 1999a, Stola 1997).

In the group of explanatory studies on immigration to Poland, the research of Krystyna Iglicka (1999) deserves some attention. In 1995, she conducted the survey on two frontier crossing points – Medyka on Polish-Ukrainian border and Terespol on Polish-Belarusian border – on the group of 792 ex-USSR citizens crossing the Polish border. The descriptive analysis of its results shed the light on most important characteristics of the inflow to Poland in the mid-1990s. As many as 70% of interviewed persons came to Poland to trade and 63% of them were women. The group of job-seekers was much smaller – 15% of the total with the predomination of men. The research revealed also the repetitive nature of the mobility: 70% of respondents came to Poland within one month or less from the previous trip to Poland.

The study of Iglicka is also an example of the bigger group of studies devoted to the petty traders (foreigners coming to Poland for not more than several days, sometimes just for one day) and more general to trade on the bazaars in Poland. Though, it may seem questionable to include research on this type of mobility into immigration studies, the petty trade constituted *singum specificum* of Polish (and CEE) migratory reality at the beginning of the political transition and laid a ground for further inflow of foreigners to Poland. Thus, studies on this issue can not be omitted while describing the expansion of immigration studies in Poland.

In his descriptive, rich in interesting illustrations, in places anecdotal analysis, Dariusz Stola (1997) presented the economic activities of foreigners in Poland in the 1990s pointing at the gradual development of trading business. He notices that foreigners tend to engage in a transborder open-market trade, usually coping with import and distribution on their own. In the early 1990s, the focus was on import of goods, what changed into an interest in the export throughout the decade. According to Stola, with time, the process of trade exchange altered, and foreigners developed specialized chain. Stola reflected upon the fact that these migrants did not consider settlement in Poland, and concludes that the regular pendular migrations can attenuate the economic situation of individuals and their households without a dramatic (psychologically and emotionally) decision to emigrate for good.

Similar conclusion was derived by Iglicka and Sword (eds) (1999) from their qualitative study of petty traders carried out in the late 1990s. They argued that settlement of petty traders in Poland would be unlikely in a short- and mid-term, because Poland was not perceived by them as a destination area. In their opinion they perceived migration to Poland rather as a “training” for migration further West.

It can be argued that early, explanatory studies on immigration, carried out in Poland in the 1990s focused on causes of immigration rather than on its consequences. Its students mostly agreed that chief causes of immigration were economic factors resulting mainly from the increasing economic differences in the

CEE region. Apart from petty traders, immigrants were entering the Polish labour market as: unskilled undocumented workers and highly skilled experts (Łukowski 1997, Okólski 1998c, 2001e, Iglicka 2000b, 2001b).

In the group of studies on causes of immigration to Poland, the voice of Marek Okólski (1997c) deserves some attention. He argued that the decisive cause of migration from the former Soviet Union to Poland were the social networks developed by Poles during their petty trade trips to USSR in the communist times, and the networks the migrants established already in Poland. As he pointed out, in the survey carried out in 1996, almost half of irregular migrants from Eastern Europe claimed that the main reason for their arrival to Poland was the example of family and friends. However, Okólski agreed that such factors as cultural and geographical closeness, economic arguments, positive image of Poland as a safe country also played a role.

Also Stola (1997) demonstrated an interesting point of view analysing determinants of popularity of pendular immigration to Poland. He argues that migrants from Eastern Europe chose pendular migration to Poland because of a match between economic attractiveness of Polish salaries, “closeness” (in geographical and cultural terms), satisfactory security (operating in a grey zone, not necessarily criminalized), and existence of a large and easily accessible shadow economy (*de facto* tolerance for “soft” irregularity, especially work and small business).

While closing the description of explanatory studies on immigration to Poland, one more field of research has to be mentioned: study on migrants trafficking in Poland. The phenomenon occurred to be important taking into account insufficient control on the Polish border and initial phase of formation of Polish migration policy. As other CEE countries, Poland seemed to become an important channel for trafficking from the East to Western European countries in the 1990s. The research sponsored by International Organisation for Migration and carried out, in 1997-1999, in three CEE countries – Hungary, Poland and Ukraine – as well as in the United Kingdom was to reveal dominant mechanism of trafficking in countries involved. The research belonged to the group of studies initialized as a consequence of broader international research agenda determined by the importance of phenomena recognized not only in Poland but on the international level²⁷.

The works on this topic had a largely sociological, sometimes even anthropological, character basing on scarce statistical data and qualitative analysis. Głąbicka, Halik, Sawicka (1999) in their descriptive analysis of trafficking routes through Poland arrived at conclusion that the mobility resulting from the trafficking often leads to a longer undocumented stay of a migrant on the Polish territory. They confirmed, as expected, that Poland is usually treated as a stop-over before the trip further West, especially by immigrants from Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Pakistan India, Bangladesh, Iraq and Lebanon. In their view, only ex-USSR, Romanian, Bulgarian, Vietnamese and Chinese migrants considered Poland to be their destination country.

²⁷ F. Laczko, D. Thompson (eds) (2000), *Migrant Trafficking and Human Smuggling in Europe*. Geneva: International Organisation for Migration.

Marek Okólski (2000c) while describing the above research focused more on causes of the phenomenon of trafficking in Poland going beyond a simple description of characteristics of migrants. In his view, the topography of the Polish border, relatively permissive border control, friendly attitudes of the Polish people and of the Polish authorities combined with tougher policies of the destination countries bordering with Poland were factors responsible for generating trafficking flows through the Polish territory. For the time being, as the trafficking became less intense and Poland experiences more voluntary migrations, the scientific research on trafficking has not further expanded. Only in the last years some research initiatives has been taken up but their results has not been yet published²⁸.

5.2 Going in-depth: studies on selected aspects of immigration to Poland in the 2000s

The clear line between the era of explanatory studies and the era of more sophisticated studies regarding more advanced processes of immigration to Poland is certainly difficult to draw. It can be, however, argued that the beginning of 2000s brought to the end the period of early exploration in immigration field. Two areas of research are worth mentioning since they expand gradually: studies of demand for foreign labour in Poland (or broader of the foreign labour market in Poland) and studies on settlement immigration. The latter intersects with research on integration of immigrants, but should be treated as a separate area since the issue of integration constitutes only some part of it.

The lack of long-series and reliable data on employment of foreigners in Poland, have made all attempts of a sophisticated econometric analysis void. Consequently, the scarce studies were usually of descriptive character, based on the data from Central Statistical Office, and/or qualitative research. The most complete analysis of consequences of immigration on the Polish labour market was offered by Krystyna Iglicka (2000b, see also 2000a, ed. 2003a). She used economic and demographic official data to demonstrate the changing dynamics of migratory movements and the impact of the presence of different groups of foreigners on the Polish labour market. Though basing on fragmented data, Iglicka (2000b) convincingly argued that labour market in Poland became segmented reproducing ethnic divisions with “Eastern Europeans” employed as manual workers and “Western Europeans” holding managerial functions and employed as experts, specialist and consultants. “Asians” represented mostly by Vietnamese small-scale entrepreneurs locate some-between – neither employed at the Polish secondary labour market, nor operating typical enterprises of the primary labour market.

The later work edited by Stanisława Golinowska (2004) did not bring many novel results though it focused on mechanisms of the employment of foreigners in Poland, neglected in the earlier works. The advantage of the book is collection of the results from various dispersed studies dealing with immigrant labour in Poland. It applied especially to studies dealing with demand for foreign domestic work suggesting, according to the authors, that this demand will grow in the future.

²⁸ The Project „Trafficking for forced labour in other industries than sex-industry – Poland’s perspective after the accession to the EU” (2006-2009) being conducted by Centre of Migration Research UW.

Then, basing on their own study and results of other studies, the authors pointed out that the discrepancy between legal and illegal employment is very high even though the demand for both kinds of migrant workers is high in Poland. In their view, the further inflow of foreign workers to Poland is very likely taking into account progressing integration of the Polish labour market with the labour market of the European Union. In this context, the main postulate formulated by the authors was the need for introducing, in Poland, effective selection mechanisms into policy of foreign workers recruitment.

In the field of foreign labour market in Poland, the work of Joanna Korczyńska and Maciej Duszczyk (2005) deserves some attention. In their policy-oriented report, they have presented the only (to this date) overall assessment of the demand for foreign labour in Polish economy. They concluded that in Poland, as in other developed countries, the labour market is divided in two segments: primary and secondary. Foreigners are employed in both sectors of the labour market, especially in the secondary sector, where the demand for their work is growing. The conclusions drawn agree with what was proposed by Iglicka (2000a) five years earlier and are not especially surprising. The report is, however, an important case of the study of the actual labour market needs in Poland.

Settlement immigration was a part of the research that could not be developed well enough for the prevalence of shuttle immigration to Poland. The importance of settlement migration for the further development of the migration process is, however, unquestionable, thus this type of inflow has been also studied in Poland. The research on settlement migration can be divided into two main areas: studies of mixed marriages, mainly Polish-Ukrainian (Górny, Kępińska 2004) and studies of members of immigrant communities settling in Poland²⁹. The latter has most in common with research on integration of migrants. Selected studies addressed also settlement of people, usually of irregular status, that initially did not consider Poland as destination country (Łukowski 1997, Głębicka 1999, Okólski 2000b, 2000c).

In the context of studies of settlement of foreigners in Poland, recently published work of Agnieszka Fihel (2006) deserves attention. Basing on registry data of Office for Repatriation and Aliens she offered the complex analysis of spatial distribution of foreigners with the residence permit for specified period of time and with the permission for settlement. As of 01.09.04, 84 729 foreigners were living in Poland³⁰, among whom 37.8% held a permission for settlement. The most numerous national groups include: Ukrainians, Russians and Belarusians. Also Vietnamese and citizens of Western Europe constitute the big groups of foreigners resident in Poland.

Valuable part of Fihel's analysis is a closer look at the tendency and patterns of foreigners' spatial concentration. She argued that they tend to settle in big agglomerations and in the borderland areas. Going beyond mere descriptions and using three different measures of spatial concentration – dissimilarity index, Gini coefficient and Hoover index – she argued that the medium concentration of foreigners settling in Poland has been observed. Then, she discovered that

²⁹ These two research areas are described more in detail in the chapter V.3. where studies on specific migrant groups are dealt with in detail.

³⁰ This number includes all foreigners who, according to the database of Office for Repatriation and Aliens, held permits in September 2004.

foreigners with tertiary education and also Vietnamese are especially likely to concentrate in big cities. This novel, on the Polish ground, piece of analysis constitute an important contribution to the research on settlement patterns of foreigners in Poland and lay the ground for further studies on the issue.

5.3 Documenting the process: emergence of migrants' communities in Poland

Studying the migrants' communities settling in a country, their integration is unavoidably tackled. However, the notion of integration is frequently used as an obvious and self-explanatory term, yet its content often remains vague. It can be argued that discussion on the meaning and the measurement of integration is virtually absent in studies on integration or functioning of migrant communities in Poland. Scholars referring to integration tended either to focus on the scope and implementation of so called integration programmes (institutional assistance provided to selected group of migrants) or examine the public discourse and surveys on the attitudes towards ethnic and migrant groups displayed by the Polish society members.

A question that should be posed is whether a thorough examination of the integration ongoing in Poland is possible regarding the relatively short period of immigrants' residence in Poland. Integration is a dynamic social process, lasting over a long time. Polish researchers observed and documented various "modes of migrants adjustment" adopted by immigrant communities that emerged in 1990s. However, the assessment of the migrant's integration into the Polish society would be more appropriate in a long-term, intergenerational perspective.

At the moment, the bilingual researchers originating from immigrant's minorities, have not yet completed Polish universities to support development of the research project aimed at their compatriots. Therefore, Polish researchers tend to specialize in certain migrant group, learning its language or building up a network of insiders assisting in the research process, recruiting potential respondents, serving as translators and cultural consultants.

Vietnamese immigrants, despite a high exclusiveness of this group, are relatively well documented. The leading expert on this migrant group is Teresa Halik (Halik 2000, 2001a, 2001b; Halik, Nowicka 2002; Halik, Nowicka, Poleć 2005), who is a sinologist speaking Vietnamese and serves also as a gate-keeper helping other researchers to get in touch with potential interviewees. Halik, together with a sociologist Ewa Nowicka, conducted a small survey (N=128) among various categories of Vietnamese immigrants living in Poland (Halik, Nowicka 2002). Both authors continued their research examining the position of Vietnamese children in Polish educational system – investigating adaptation to a new cultural surrounding as well as the inter-generational transmission of Vietnamese cultural values and codes (Halik, Nowicka, Poleć 2005).

Remarkable findings shedding light on spatial concentration and economic activity of Vietnamese migrants and their oligopoly practices implemented at the largest marketplace of Warsaw have been provided by Grzymała-Kazłowska (2004a). Vietnamese community in Poland is a classic example of migration chains and extensive migrant networks, both inciting substantial inflow of ensuing

immigrants and assisting newcomers in a host country. Nevertheless, their self-reliance does not lead to the integration with the Polish society. Except selected subgroups (usually belonging to upper strata of Vietnamese community, residents living in Poland for over 20 years, Vietnamese spouses of Polish citizens and some students and scientist) the majority of “average Vietnamese migrants” tend to develop a parallel society (Halik, Nowicka 2002: 175-6). Their social isolation is enhanced with “the high propensity (culturally determined) of the Vietnamese migrants for in-group cooperation” that “contributed strongly to the formation of an ethnic enclave” in Poland (Grzymała-Kazłowska, Okólski 2003: 45). In consequence, Vietnamese community is weakly anchored, and may relocate to other country offering better conditions (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2004a).

Armenians, explored by Tomasz Marciniak (1998, 2005), are one of the oldest ethnic minorities present in Poland since 11th century. Within centuries, they successfully enjoyed their upward mobility within the Polish society preserving their cultural and religious identity (Pelczyński 1997). Interestingly, so called third wave of Armenian immigrants that appeared in Poland fleeing Caucasus conflicts (the inflow gained its momentum in 1994, Maciniak 1998) profited from the assistance of Poles of Armenian origin, for example in running an ethnic school for their children (Koryś 2005). Cultural similarity, Christian religion, finally common experience of living under socialist regime and the Soviet Union dominance are, according to Marciniak (2005), factors explaining smooth and relatively quick integration of Armenian settlers in Poland.

Much less is known about other immigrant groups residing in Poland. Apparently immigrants who are exotic, seem to be more rewarding as a target of research both for scientist and their students, frequently employed for collecting data and interviewing immigrants (Ząbek 2002; Halik, Nowicka 2002).

As for the most numerous group of immigrants in Poland (leading also in fixed-term and settlement permits), migrants from Ukraine and other bordering countries of the former Soviet Union are rarely explored. Unfortunately, they are neither exotic, nor problematic, since “due to long- and well-established connections with Polish society and a small level of cultural distance to the host society [they] can easily adjust to life in Poland” (Grzymała-Kazłowska, Okólski 2003: 42). Hence, except of the early studies exploring pendular migrants, those who finally settled in Poland have not yet been profoundly studied.

Surveys and studies carried out in 1990 targeted mostly Ukrainian petty traders and circular immigrants (Walace, Stola 2001; Iglicka 1999; Stola 1997; Okólski 1997c, 2001c) documenting the transformation from a “primitive mobility”, through pendular migration into a permanent one (Iglicka 2001b). Ruslan Antoniewski (2002, 1997) conducted participant observations among Ukrainian seasonal workers, irregularly employed at a farm and waiting for jobs at informal ‘job stocks’, providing an insight into daily-life routines of circular migrants. Rich in details and venturing some estimation (i.e. an average income of Ukrainian agricultural workers) Antoniewski’s reports failed to develop the complexity of a dense description, but still constitute the only available evidence of the strategies of seeking seasonal employment and adapting to their irregular status developed in the late 1990s by Ukrainian migrants in Poland.

Ewa Kępińska (2002) provided comprehensive overview of Ukrainian immigrants’ settling in Poland with particular attention paid to mixed-marriages.

Together with Agata Górny they have examined socio-economic characteristics of Ukrainian spouses married to Polish citizens. Ukrainian spouses are younger and better educated than the Polish ones (mostly males). These “high-value, non-market traits” of Ukrainian brides “match satisfactory” with the fact that regarding relatively restrictive settlement policy, for many Ukrainians “marrying a Pole is an excellent opportunity to acquire legal residence and settle in Poland” (Górny, Kępińska 2004: 371).

Be it “genuine” or “economy driven”, Polish-Ukrainian mixed-marriages were regarded as a milieu, where assimilation of Ukrainian migrants occurs particularly often. Small geographic distance between both countries enables formation of transnational social space linking Poland and former Soviet Union countries. *Surface accommodation*, characteristic for short-term and circular migrants, together with *transnational spaces* and *assimilation* were “three the most prevalent adaptation strategies” of Ukrainian migrants at the turn of 21st century (Grzymala-Kazłowska, Okólski 2003).

The last distinctive group of migrants in Poland is constituted by migrants from Western countries. Inflow from the West, although much lower in crude numbers than from the East according to Krystyna Iglicka “had a big qualitative impact on the recent changes in the Polish economy generally and on labour markets particularly” (Iglicka 2003a: 47). Highly skilled professionals, managers and consultants played an important role in the economic transformation satisfying demand for new branches of economy (finance and banking system, insurance, consulting, marketing and PR) though its actual impact was limited to the largest cities, where most of the work permits were granted (i.e. 56% of work permit application was issued in Mazovian voivodship, de facto in Warsaw’s area) (cf. also Iglicka, Weinar 2004). In small local labour markets, where their influence and know-how transfer could have been even more beneficial, this group of immigrant was almost absent (Okólski 2002).

Contrary to the movement from the East, mobility from the West “pertains only to the primary labour markets” being a highly institutionalised phenomenon (Iglicka 2000a: 1249). Employed mostly within foreign-capital enterprises, and assisted by Polish staff, Westerners adapt superficially, narrowing their contacts to the circle of compatriots and work mates (Szwąder 2002). The low propensity to integrate is related to frequent international transfers experienced by this group (Okólski 1999c, 2001d). The highly skilled mobility on West-East axis is expected to decrease gradually in Poland, as foreign experts and managers would become replaced by Poles already trained by their western colleagues (Iglicka 2000a).

5.4 Return migration

In Poland, which for the last century has been one of the main emigration countries in Europe, the phenomenon of return migration took place on a significant scale. This particularly applies to the period since the collapse of communism: not until 1989 the freedom of international mobility had been restored and Polish nationals were allowed to return from emigration. Moreover, only since the beginning of the 1990s, Poland became an attractive country for both foreigners and return migrants.

The state of research on return migration remains limited despite high estimates on scale of return migration in Poland. According to speculations of the Polish Central Statistical Office (Iglićka ed. 2002) every second immigrant in Poland is a Polish national returning to the home-country. For a long time, the main obstacle for doing a research was lack of precise statistical data: migrants who had left Poland were rarely registered as emigrants unless they cancelled permanent residence in Poland. Thus, those, who were not regarded as emigrants officially, could not be registered as return migrants either. Moreover, according to the definition adopted in the current migration register, an immigrant must hold a permanent residency in Poland. Therefore, those return migrants and other immigrants who did not fulfill this condition were ignored in official migration statistics.

The definition of a return migrant differs slightly in the below-presented researches. In an analysis based on 2002 population census (Fihel, Górný and Matejko 2006) the category of return migrants includes Polish citizens (and those who have dual, including Polish, citizenship) who in the period 1989-2002 arrived from abroad and hold permanent residency in Poland. Qualitative analyses adopt less rigorous definition of return migration. A migrant is a person born in Poland, who left Poland for settlement abroad and returned after 1989 (Iglićka ed. 2002), which includes also persons who left Poland as children and representatives of so-called second generation emigrants (Górný, Osipovič 2006), not necessarily holding Polish citizenship. Analyses pertaining to Silesian autochthons who returned from Germany include all persons who have any cultural or economic relations with Poland (Heffner, Soldra-Gwizdź 1997; Heffner 1999).

The most comprehensive and most general research is a quantitative analysis based on the 2002 Population Census results. The paper by Fihel, Górný and Matejko (2006) includes not only absolute numbers of return migrants by citizenship, country of last residence and period of return to Poland, but also their demographic, social and economic features. Return migration, which was in 1989-2004 as numerous as 70,000 persons, recruits mainly from Germany, U.S. and Canada (which used to be major destination countries for Polish emigrants). According to the authors, various types of return migrants might be distinguished, namely Polish citizens and double citizens (Polish-German and Polish-other countries' citizens), as those groups significantly differ according to demographic structure and economic activity. In comparison to the Polish population, return migrants are relatively well educated and many of them hold the University degree. Therefore, return migration of highly skilled Poles has become a subject of main interest of a study by Klagge et al. (2007), which presented preliminary results of quantitative and qualitative research on this phenomenon with regard to local development.

Before the Population Census data were available, the only method to analyse return migration was qualitative in character. Such a qualitative research has been conducted by a group headed by Iglicka (ed. 2002). The authors interviewed 100 migrants who have returned to Poland from U.S., U.K. or Germany. The motives for return turned out to be both sentimental and rational in character (Weinar 2002), while the return migration from the U.K. is in fact a return of innovation, innovation in terms of economic as well as cultural capital (Górný, Kolankiewicz 2002).

Another comprehensive qualitative research, focused on return migration from the U.K., was conducted by Agata Górný and Dorota Osipovič (2006). The authors analysed 36 interviews with second-generation British Poles, living in Poland or in the U.K., and additionally made a review of diaspora newspapers published in London. According to the research, only selected British Poles took up remigration to Poland, while the group of those who returned for good is even fewer. For many of returnees the mechanism of return migration included commuting between Warsaw, the place of work, and London, the place where the rest of family lived and worked. Sooner or later most of commuters made the decision to return to the U.K., and “the remigration (...) lost its impetus in the mid-1990s” (Górný, Osipovič 2006: 99), mainly due to decreasing attractiveness of the Polish labour market for them.

A completely distinct issue in research on Polish return migration refers to the region of Lower and Upper Silesia inhabited by indigenous population, out of which many persons hold dual (Polish-German) citizenship. The population of the region displays intensive mobility between Poland and Germany, and, in this context, return migration may take various forms. For instance, Krystian Heffner and Teresa Soldra-Gwiżdż (1997) made interviews with migrants who returned to Poland and had ever inhabited the region of Upper Silesia or had originated in Silesian family or had close contacts to relatives living in Silesia. In contrast, Izabela Koryś (2002) studied return migrants from Germany born in Poland. Thus, as far as migration from/to Silesia is concerned, the regional and family aspect is more important than holding Polish citizenship.

The analysis of Heffner and Soldra-Gwiżdż (1997) is to some extent incomprehensive as it is based on 10 interviews only. It gives a picture of economically-driven emigration that took place in the 1970s and 1980s and was followed by a failure in assimilating into German society. Thus, the return to Poland is considered to be the most satisfactory and reasonable solution for migrants. To some extent this picture is confirmed by Koryś (2002) who analysed 20 interviews with return migrants. The problem with integration with German society referred to many migrants, especially to those equipped with low social and cultural (incl. German language skill) capital. In contrast, Heffner in his later work (1999) describes the return migration to Silesia as inflow of innovation and investment. “Frequently they [returnees] seek to use money earned abroad, looking for opportunity for capital investment and to make the most of the professional skills and contacts gained in the German economic system” (1999: 193). This conclusion, however, was not supported by author’s research.

To conclude, the phenomenon of return migration takes place on a large scale and refers mainly to inflows from traditional destination countries for Polish emigrants: Germany, U.S., Canada and U.K. Generally, Polish researches on return migration are in compliance to the theory of human capital. The role of this capital is emphasized in the context of well-being in the emigration country, reason for return, social and economic activity after return to Poland. This implies that the interest in this matter, as far as empirical research and theoretical approach are concerned, should be extensively widened.

5.5 Repatriates

Repatriates constitute a small (1779 families that arrived between 1998 and 2005, Kępińska 2006) but very distinct group among incomers to Poland. Majority of them come from Kazakhstan, where thousands of ethnic Poles have been deported from the Soviet Republic of Ukraine in the 1920s. To some extent, also people of Polish descent from other former Soviet Republics are included into this group. As they have Polish origins and receive at arrival citizenship as well as some institutionalised help, they are often seen as capable of very good adaptation.

According to the regulations and policy on repatriates, shaped between 1995 and 2000 (process described in-depth by Pawel Hut, 2002), persons of Polish origin from selected states could come to Poland on repatriation visa if they had obtained an invitation, guaranteeing them accommodation and resources covering subsistence (e.g. a job offer). In the period 1995-1997 all, and later – most of the invitations have been issued by local administration (communes), but also invitations of institutions or private persons have been accepted. Repatriates were granted some benefits especially in the early stage of their stay and provided with separate apartments or houses (in form of rental or ownership). These regulations shaped the conditions in which adaptation of repatriates took place. The phenomenon attracted relatively high research attention. In general, the research covered the issues of motivation of arrival to Poland, the living conditions and the functioning on the labour market of repatriates as well as the relations between the incomers and the local population.

Already at the brink of regular inflow of repatriates Krystyna Iglicka (1998a) pointed to possible barriers in adaptation of this group such as their lack of knowledge of the Polish language, mixed marriages (thus repatriation of a family would involve also immigration of a complete foreigner), Soviet mentality and, on the host society's side, difficult economic situation resulting in possible hostility towards strangers receiving public aid. In response to the increasing scale of repatriation research on this phenomenon was launched using quantitative (Kozłowski 1999), qualitative (Piątek 2000, Weinar 2003) or a combination of both approaches (Hut 2002). Bronisław Jan Kozłowski's and Pawel Hut's surveys covered over the half of the whole repatriated population of the period or research. Kozłowski for his expertise for the Polish Parliament interviewed also local officials and people cooperating with repatriates, e.g. employees of social care centers. Hut studied the official data of repatriates and applicants for this status and conducted a postal survey, using an official database of repatriates from the period 1996-2000. Katarzyna Piątek analysed 22 in depth interviews with repatriates in one region of Poland using a number of theoretical ideas for factors influencing adaptation and its various dimensions.

Research proved that motivations for repatriation from Kazakhstan were twofold (Kozłowski 1999, Piątek 2000). First group are the identity issues, making the people, especially elderly ones keen to come back to their ethnic fatherland, hoping that it would "take care of the Polish people". On the other hand majority of respondents thought of better living conditions in Poland, especially for future, for their children. The idea of repatriation has also been promoted by Polish diaspora organisations, Polish missions of Roman Catholic church and other successful repatriates. It seems that Poles from the far Kazakhstan received a false,

idealised image of Poland (Kozłowski 1999) which increased their expectations and contributed to disappointment after resettlement.

Kozłowski and Hut described the repatriates as very well educated (share of tertiary education among repatriates was significantly higher than among the Polish population), which had negative impact on their adaptation: better educated repatriates had more problems with finding employment and suffered from deskilling. On the other hand Piątek reported no deskilling and judged high education level a positive factor for adaptation. According to the research, a disadvantage for employment of the repatriates was their settlement in villages and small towns, where the labour market was smaller and high level specialists - unemployable. The share of unemployed in the moment of study was at least 20% (Kozłowski 1999), showing a failure of economic adaptation, at least in the medium term. As a result many of the families were in difficult economic situation (Hut 2002) and dependent on the local social care system (Kozłowski 1999).

The research encompassed also the relations between the newcomers and local population. The amount of help granted by authorities was, according to almost all authors (Kozłowski 1999, Hut 2002, Weinar 2003), a factor contributing greatly to the hostility of the local community members against the repatriates. As a result of hostility and, more generally, of being strangers in the villages and towns, the repatriates complained about loneliness and lack of social ties to their new home. On the contrary, according to the qualitative research of Piątek, the repatriates were well received by the local communities, and thus majority felt fully adapted and satisfied with their repatriation. The discrepancies between the studies may result from different methodologies – Hut noticed that the form of postal survey with some open-ended questions encouraged respondents to complain about their situation.

Summing up the studies of repatriation, the inflow and adaptation of repatriates has been thoroughly surveyed, especially in the projects of Kozłowski and Hut, and most of the researchers agree that, despite the privileged legal position and benefits not available to other immigrant groups, integration of this group encounters many problems.

5.6 Asylum seekers and refugees

Although refugees seem to be the favourite object of master and doctoral dissertations (Hryniewicz 2005, Florczak 2003, Kryszczuk 2002, Krzyżaniak 2002, Sobolewska 2002, Musiał 2002, Just 2002) and have been studied also by senior researchers (Ząbek 1999, Grzymała-Moszczyńska 1998a,b), yet they still await systematic research. In fact most of the studies conducted up to now in Poland examined the group of asylum seekers residing in reception centers (Hryniewicz 2005, Cieślińska 2005, Sobolewska 2002, Musiał 2002, Grzymała-Moszczyńska 1998a,b) of whom, according to appropriate statistics, overwhelming majority were refused a 'refugee' status.

Most of the referred studies were rather limited in scope, analysing statistics of claims submitted by the asylum seekers and granted refugee statuses (Hryniewicz 2005, Firlit-Fesnak 2005) and/or reporting findings from interviews conducted by the authors themselves (Ząbek 1999). This empirical evidence

typically referred to migrant group prevailing in refugee centres visited by researchers at the time of the study. Barbara Cieślińska (2005) wrote about Chechnya's asylum seekers in the refugee centre in Białystok (where they replaced Armenians, former dominant group of asylum seekers). Hanna Grzymala-Moszczyńska (1998a) focused mostly on refugees from the Balkan war, of whom almost all left Poland by now. Maciej Ząbek (1999) and Aleksandra Kryszczuk (2002) examined refugees and asylum seekers from African countries while Aleksandra Krzyżaniak (2002) reconstructed the smuggling route of Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka³¹.

Two studies stand out from the mainstream publications on refugee issues. First one is a book by Agnieszka Florczak (2003), which provides a systematic and comprehensive analysis of legal and institutional framework as well as the practice of protection over the asylum seekers since they appeared in Poland in 1990s. Second one is Hanna Grzymala-Moszczyńska's enquiry of mutual misunderstandings, misconceptions and attribution errors that arouse between the refugees from the Balkans, the staff employed in refugee centres and inhabitants of towns where the centres had been located. The major source of these misunderstandings and conflicts were, according to Grzymala-Moszczyńska, cross-cultural differences that nobody helped all those people to overcome (1998a) as well as ignorance concerning appropriate identification and treatment of PTSD syndrome (1998b) what apparently reflected the author's background of a psychologist. Although the major conclusion drawn out of her study is a plea for greater psychological and psychiatric assistance available to all parties, her study went more in-depth than similar works in this field. Significantly, refugees have been successfully studied by a political scientist (Florczak) and a psychologist (Grzymala-Moszczyńska) while sociologists and ethnographers, up to now have merely touch upon the surface of the phenomenon.

The interest in refugees, be it for their greater accessibility in reception centres or for the fact that many acknowledged refugees had left Poland with Geneva passport, rarely reached outside the context of their prolonged residence in refugees centres. Very few works analysed their further experiences in Poland – approached either from the perspective of the refugees (Just 2002, Weinar 2003) or the public authorities responsible for implementation of the so called 'integration programmes' (Iglicka, Okólski 2005, Koryś 2004). The greatest difficulties encountered by refugees settled in Poland concerned finding long-lasting regular employment (as some refugees were illiterate their competitiveness on the Polish labour market was quite low) and renting a flat, hardly affordable for unemployed refugees. Their situation resembles the vicious circle – flats' rents are much cheaper in smaller towns, while their local labour markets are less likely to absorb refugees.

³¹ Number of cases (unless has been openly indicated by the author) ranges from 48 asylum seekers declared to be interviewed (though conclusions of this survey were not systematically presented), (Hryniewicz 2005), to one couple observed for over two years upon their leave from a refugee shelter (Just 2002).

5.7 Attitudes of Polish society towards immigrants

The research on the perception of immigrants in Poland properly began at the end of the 1980s – at the eve of the political transition and immigration itself³². The previous studies can be described as very basic and rare – so sparse as immigrants in Poland before 1989. The most known pioneering nationwide survey devoted to the reception of the first immigrants in Poland was “Poles and the Others” done by Ewa Nowicka (1990) in June 1988 and repeated by the author ten years later (Nowicka, Łodziński 2001). Its results showed a growth of political correctness and the phenomenon of “concretization” of the Other. Nearly at the same time as the first opinion poll by Nowicka, attitudes towards foreigners in Poland were examined in a project led by Aleksandra Jasińska-Kania (1992) focusing on the reception of foreign students in Poland.

On the whole, research on the attitudes of Polish society towards migrants may be divided into studies (usually surveys) monitoring the attitudes towards migrants and varied research analysing the perception, attitudes and relations between immigrants and the host society. Among all studies concerning the attitudes to foreigners there can be distinguished three main categories: 1) general research on Poles’ attitudes towards migrants (often including time perspective and/or international comparisons), 2) research on the attitudes of Poles towards specific categories and groups of immigrants, such as: refugees, foreign students, repatriates, expates and some particular national groups such as the Vietnamese or Ukrainians, 3) research on other specific problems linked with the attitudes of Poles towards immigrants including: the perception of immigrants in different regions and communities, the issue of discrimination and prejudices, cultural representations of migrants (i.e. media and political discourses on foreigners).

The majority of studies on the attitudes of Poles towards immigrants after 1989 constitute classical studies of social attitudes in the form of opinion polls where respondents are asked about an abstract category of “foreigners” or “immigrants” (see e.g. CBOS 2006, OBOP 1995). On the base of these monitoring studies and other research some cross-sectional analyses were done (Łodziński 2002; Grzymała-Kazłowska 2007). In general the results demonstrate a shift from a warm welcome at the beginning of the transition period through sort of ‘accustomisation’ in the mid-1990s to increasing distrust and feeling of insecurity particularly visible at the end of the 1990 when economic recession, large unemployment and social pessimism occurred. Approaching the EU accession and the first period after it turned out to coincide with the growth of tolerance towards immigrants in Poland. The subject of the research constitute also the reactions of Polish society to increasing diversity of the surrounding world (Siciński 1997).

The examples of studies on immigrant attitudes done as a part of larger international projects, gave a possibility for comparisons of attitudes towards immigrants in Poland with the attitudes in other countries in the region of the Central and Eastern Europe and across the whole Europe (i.e. PGSS 1995;

³² The brief survey of the literature presented below focuses only on studies on the attitudes of Polish society towards immigrants. It does not include research on attitudes towards traditional national minorities in Poland because of the lack of space to deal with such the complex problem (that should be analyzed in a long historical perspective) and the relative lower relevance of this topic to the main theme.

Siemieńska 1996, 2001; CBOS 2000, 2005; Grzymała-Kazłowska 2004b). It could be observed the intensification of such the research alongside the preparation of Poland's integration with the EU and its eventual accession in 2004. These research reveal the general similarity of attitudes and the resemblance of the above mentioned trends in the countries of Vysehrad Group.

Some categories and groups of immigrants have attracted more researchers' attention than others. The largest number of specific studies was devoted to attitudes towards refugees and people seeking an asylum in Poland (Grzymała-Moszczyńska, Nowicka 1998; Cieślińska 2005). A substantial part of such the studies were funded by the Polish branch of the UNHCR who monitors the perception of refugees and aims to develop people's awareness of this specific category of immigrants (TNS OBOP 2006). It has been noted that Poles more and more properly define who the refugees are. It should be noted the relative absence so far the studies devoted specifically to attitudes towards Chechen migrants in Poland

Another type of research constitute studies on the perception of foreign students, especially from non-European countries or general research on attitudes towards foreigners conducted among Polish students and pupils (Wilska-Duszyńska 1992; Nowicka, Łodziński 1993; Nowicka, Nawrocki 1996). These studies, frequently connected with the research on acculturation and adaptation of migrants in Poland, often include the problem of mutual attitudes between Polish and foreign schoolmates, as well as picture of Polish society and its attitudes towards immigrants in the eyes of foreigners.

There is also a relatively rich literature on the reception of repatriates showing that the prejudices and the feeling of being strangers encountered by repatriates lead to discouragement and impinges on their process of adaptation (Hut 2002, Weinar 2003).

In the 1990s the economic migrants began to be predominantly perceived through the prism of their position and economic activity in Poland. For example, Ukrainian migrants are now predominantly associated with irregular and unskilled labour in such sectors as: cleanings, children and elderly care, construction and farming in the place of being linked with petty street trade (Okólski 1997c; Konieczna 2002; Grzymała-Kazłowska 2007). Conversely, all studies revealed that immigrants from the EU-15 countries are mainly associated with specialists and managers and in general highly appreciated (Iglicka, Weinar 2004).

However it must be pointed out the Vietnamese constitute the group who due to its novelty and distinctness has attracted the most the attention of social researchers. This in turn has led to the greatest number of studies devoted to the attitudes of Poles towards Vietnamese immigrants (Halik 2000; Halik, Nowicka, 2002; Grzymała-Kazłowska 2002b, 2004a). According to the majority of research, the Vietnamese were relatively well received in Poland as a non-problematic immigrant minority supplying the Polish society with inexpensive goods and services. Towards the end of the 1990s this pictured was partly replaced by the representation of the Vietnamese as competitors on the market.

The attitudes towards Roma migrants, the incomers visible on the Polish streets in the 1990s, constitute another group of the studies. In this case the picture of the recent Roma migrants is compared with the extensively researched image of the traditional Polish Roma minority what shows similarities and continuation in

ethnic stereotypes (i.e. Grzymala-Kazłowska 2007). Both Roma traditional minority in Poland and recent Roma migrants coming to Poland in the 1990s were perceived as the most bothersome among ethnic minorities and recent immigrants (Siciński 1997).

A specific research problem represents dissimilarities in social attitudes towards immigrants in different regions of Poland (Pawelec-Górny 1997) and the reception of foreigners in the places of their concentration such as Warsaw metropolis (Kępińska, Okólski 2004; Grzymala-Kazłowska 2004a). In general the findings disclose more polarized attitudes on the territories of immigrants' concentration.

It is also worthwhile mentioning some research projects focusing on the issue of xenophobia and discrimination such as research done by the Institute for Public Affairs (Iglicka ed. 2003b) or the study under the project Xenophob (e.g. Supińska Łotocki 2003). The latter, being an example of international comparative research on these phenomena, has been criticized not only because of its methodological limits related to difficulties with cross-countries comparison and taking into account specific local contexts of the research reality but also because of *a priori* assumption that there is discrimination in politics and institutions in Poland.

Apart from studies on social attitudes towards immigrants, there is a substantial number of examples of psychological studies on stereotypes and prejudices (i.e. Kurcz 1994, Kofta 2004) that show universal mechanisms of stereotyping the 'others' and inevitability of this phenomenon. Interesting findings about attitudes towards immigrants emerge also from more qualitative studies on the process of acculturation and interaction between culturally different groups and their representatives (Malewska-Peyre 2001, Ząbek 2002).

The distinct group of research consists of analysis of cultural representations of immigrants as well as analyses of public discourse on immigrants both in the media and in political debates (Grzymala-Kazłowska, Okólski 2003; Grzymala-Kazłowska, Weinar 2006; Weinar 2006, Grzymala-Kazłowska 2007). The research on the press representations of immigrants in 1997 and 2003 confirmed the phenomenon of concretization of the other – perceiving immigrants in more defined and varied contexts, and pluralization of immigrant images (Mrozowski 1997, 2003). They also revealed the increasing presence in the Polish press of the issue of immigrants in Western European countries and four main discourses of immigrants: multicultural, state-oriented, national and sensation-seeking (Grzymala-Kazłowska 2005).

6. Studies of the Polish migration policy and law, by Anna Kicingier.

6.1 Poland's migration policy and law

Restrictions of communist regime and the resulting lack of scientific freedom, contributed to the undoubted limitations in the development of political sciences research in Poland. The limitations related also to the research on migration policy. In consequence, Poland, a country of large emigration experience, did not witness

a development of migration policy research before 1989, apart from few studies on emigration policy of interwar Poland.

Along with the development of Polish migration policy after 1989, attempts to describe the policy were made during the 1990s by researchers originating from various disciplines. First publications on Polish migration policy aimed to organize a nascent reality (Okólski 1994f; Korcelli 1994; Lewandowski, Szonert 1997) and focused on the description of migration policy, according to the researchers' perceptions of the subject. This category of publications was mainly arranged according to the following scheme: the presentation of the changes in migratory situation of Poland after 1989 and the resulting challenges for authorities, then the presentation of selected policy action or decision followed, mostly in chronological order. Often the policy changes were reduced only to law changes, as, given the unavailability of other sources, legal developments were used as the primary source of information on policy (Łodziński 1999a; Łodziński 2001a). Some works, belonging to this descriptive category, were published by political actors engaged in the policy-making process (Szonert 1999a; Szonert 2000; Lewandowski, Szonert 1997; Kozłowski 1999). Thanks to these publications a detailed reconstruction of policy events in the crucial years after 1989 was made, allowing for an insight into the period when the institutional and program foundations for migration policy development were laid. The personal experience of participation in migration policy-making process proved to be an additional source of information for this category of publication. An extended spectrum of information sources was used by Izabela Koryś (2004) who included in her study the information gathered from the in-depth interviews with the key policy-makers in the field. Summarising, the spectrum of information sources was widening along with the migration policy research development.

Two migration policy fields, namely asylum and repatriation, attracted special research attention. The creation of legal and institutional system for protection of refugees was presented, apart from the publications by the policy-makers, by Agnieszka Florczak (2003) and Paweł Kaczmarczyk (2001b). Additionally, repatriation policy issues, treated as a part of research on repatriation of ethnic Poles to Poland, were tackled by Paweł Hut (2002), Krystyna Iglicka (1998b), Marek Kurenda (1999) and Czesław Nowiński (2000).

European integration process proved to be a stimulus for migration policy research development in its comparative dimension. It prompted the studies that highlighted the divergences between the Polish and European migration and asylum law (Łodziński 1997; Łodziński 1998; Szonert 1999b; Iglicka et al. 2003). In this vein, the policy papers comparing Polish policy with EU or EU countries policies, were created in think-tanks that took on migration policy as a part of their activities (i.e. Iglicka 2003b; Iglicka 2004; Mazur-Rafał 2004).

First attempts to look at migration policy from the perspective of political sciences were made by Włodzimierz Aniol. His works went beyond description and encompass the elements of policy analysis with special focus on external policy-shaping factors, including the new international environment and the new security space in the post-cold war Europe (Aniol 1992) or the neighbourhood relations (Aniol 1995, 1996).

The departure from simple chronological and descriptive forms led to more problematic approach in migration policy studies. Two works by the

members of Centre for Migration Research (Warsaw University) are worth particular attention in this regard. First, by Katarzyna Głębicka, Marek Okólski and Dariusz Stola (1998) introduced the reflections by Marek Okólski on the importance of migration doctrine elaboration as the precondition for further migration policy development in Poland (Głębicka, Okólski, Stola 1998: 4-7) and the reflections by Dariusz Stola on the need to elaborate the policy goals and rules as well as institutional flexibility in response to the changing migratory situation (1998: 43). However, the claiming character of the points raised by the researchers places the work more in policy advocacy than policy analysis category.

Only Ewa Kępińska and Dariusz Stola (2004) did come with a more elaborate policy and politics analysis. They presented the institutional actors involved in policy-making process as well as their interactions and roles in the process. Authors adopted a problematic approach by focusing their analysis around the three policy subfields seen as crucial parts of migration policy in Poland. The subfields encompass the policy on admission and stay of foreigners along with the issue of their accession to labour market, the issues of repatriates and refugees, the two groups enjoying a preferential treatment, and finally the issues of irregular immigration. The work by Kępińska and Stola was definitely the most advanced Polish migration policy analysis till 2004, not only built on problem-wise approach but also combining policy and politics analysis.

What was characteristic for the earlier publications, was the predominant focus on policy with politics issues mainly skipped over. First attempts to analyse the policy-making process were made by Krystyna Iglicka et.al. (2003). The authors described the policy from the perspective of the crucial policy actors with some elements of parliamentary debates analysis. The lack of procedures in legislative process in migration policy field was pinpointed (2003: 10). Also the work by Maciej Duszcyk (2002) on membership negotiation process between Poland and the EU in the area of the free flow of persons, can be placed in a nascent category of policy-making analysis. The author presented the negotiation process from the perspective of negotiation game and its actors. The game led to the formulation and articulation of negotiators postulates and finally the negotiation positions.

Alike Kępińska and Stola (2004), also the work by Anna Kicingier (2005) should be placed in policy analysis category. The author scrutinised the development of Polish migration policy in 1989 – 2004 as a juxtaposition of European influences and more Poland-oriented policy fields. A point was proved that Polish migration policy development cannot be merely limited to the reactions and changes resulting from EU requirements. The work by Kicingier suffers from lack of precise definitions of the analytical framework, yet it introduces the analytical concept of interest in the migration policy analysis as well as the elements of migration policy theory which was absent from earlier works on migration policy in Poland.

Worth mentioning are also the works of Sławomir Łodziński, sociologist, that introduce the concept of multiculturalism to policy analysis (Łodziński 1999b; 2000; 2001b). Łodziński shifted the focus of migration policy studies to the issues of multiculturalism. He considered the multiculturalism as a special challenge for Polish policy given the lack of experience of cultural diversity in the communist Poland (Łodziński 1999b). Łodziński includes the migration policy analysis into the more broad research area in sociology which is the research on social attitudes

towards “the others” – foreigners, ethnic minorities and immigrants. The issues of integration policy challenges are raised along with the challenges of legal position of and social attitudes towards minorities in Polish society.

Legal studies on the developments of Polish law on migration in Poland were not numerous. Apart from studies combining legal and policy issues, relatively few authors took on the subject. A comprehensive commentary to the changes in Polish Act on Aliens and related laws were provided by Piotr Stachańczyk (1998), Jan Białocerkiewicz (2003), and most recently by Jacek Chlebny et.al (2006). Additionally, the reflections on the Supreme Administrative Court, the Supreme Court, and the Constitutional Tribunal judicature relating to foreigners and citizenship issues were presented by Jacek Jagielski (1997, 2001), whereas Białocerkiewicz (1999) provided analysis of the legal status of the foreigner from the point of view of international law. A comprehensive legal insight into refugee status determination procedure was provided by Jacek Chlebny and Wojciech Trojan (2000), whereas Leszek Mitrus (2003) studied the EU free movement legislation from Polish perspective.

6.2 Europeanisation of the Polish migration policy

The Europeanisation of Polish migration policy is an area of research that has developed since 2003 on the grounds of earlier works comparing Polish migration policy and law to the EU *acquis*. It is worth noting that the research on Europeanisation of Polish migration policy was conducted concurrently to similar research in Western Europe and Polish researchers joined the contemporary European research on the interactions between national and EU policies.

First work to recall the Europeanisation concept in migration policy context was the chapter by Agnieszka Weinar (2003) presenting the general development of Polish migration policy through the analytical lenses of learning from the West. The author joined the Western political scientists pointing to negative consequences of the process for Central European countries. According to this reasoning, solutions created in the West transferred to Central and Eastern Europe mainly through the EU, do not fit the scarce immigration experience of these countries and their memory of mobility restrictions of communist past. Unfortunately, the chapter lacked definitions and did not provide the reader with an in-depth analysis of Europeanisation process and its influence of migration policy-making in Poland. It represented rather a germ for further research in the area.

A more in-depth approach to Europeanisation was developed by Anna Kicingier, Agnieszka Weinar and Agata Górny (2007) who clearly conceptualized the analytical framework of their research. The authors supported the thesis that the Europeanisation started already in the 1990s. Apart from distinguishing of Europeanisation channels, an analysis of the degree of Europeanisation in various migration policy subfields was undertaken and a point was proved that the Europeanisation of the policy is advanced yet uneven depending on the policy subfield. Asylum policy, created according to Western experiences and the developed EU *acquis* in the field, was claimed to be most Europeanized part of Polish migration policy whereas the visa policy was presented as more Poland-

oriented policy field. An uneven degree of Europeanisation was observed also in migration politics. The work by Kicingier, Weinar and Górný (2007) places the research on Polish migration policy in the mainstream European research on Europeanisation of migration policies.

In this context, a special attention should be paid to the work on Europeanisation of Polish policy towards foreigners in 1990-2003 by Agnieszka Weinar (2006), the highest analytically developed study on Polish migration policy. The migration policy-making process, or more specifically, legislative process, was presented from the perspective of legitimizing strategies used by policy actors involved in legislation processes. The author proved that the concepts and the legitimizing strategies originating from Western European debate, influenced the shape of migration law in Poland. The work was theoretically well-grounded in immigration policy, Europeanisation and policy transfer theories. What is more, a first Polish migration policy model was created. The model was characterized by the discrepancies between external pressures and internal needs in policy development, and by the technocratic way of policy-making without the public opinion involvement (Weinar 2006: 19-20). To recapitulate, not only did the work by Weinar adds to the thoroughness of the migration policy analysis in Poland, but also advanced the European thought on Europeanisation processes. The thesis was supported that policy transfer processes that started in Central European countries when these countries were not EU members, could be seen as a Europeanisation process. Poland and its migration policy proved to be an excellent example of the policy transfers from EU to national level already since the 1990s (Weinar 2006: 223).

6.3 Studies of dual citizenship in Poland

Unlike in the West, the studies on citizenship policy treated as a part of immigrant policy have not developed in Poland. However, the issues of citizenship were partially included in migration research agenda. Strictly legal works on developments in the concepts of Polish and dual or multiple citizenship (Jagielski 1998, Zdanowicz 2001), as well as on the status of citizen and foreigner in Polish law and judicature (Jagielski 2001), were further developed by researchers adding a more sociological dimension to citizenship studies (Łodziński 2001c, Górný 2001, Górný 2007). Sławomir Łodziński (2001c), after historical analysis of the development of Polish citizenship concept and the regulation on its acquiring, highlighted the current issues related to citizenship regulations such as repatriation, the rise in application for granting Polish citizenship, and the dual, Polish and German, citizenship of many Silesians. Agata Górný (2007) presented a comprehensive overview of the both nationality regulations as well as their actual implementation in Poland in the communist period and during the post-1989 transformation era.

In-depth studies on the perception of multiple citizenship in Poland, and the practical consequences thereof for migratory movements, were carried out by the Centre for Migration Research (Warsaw University). The historical determinants made the dual Polish and German citizenship, mostly of Silesian population, strictly linked to migratory patterns as persons with German

citizenship enjoyed, in opposition to the rest of population, a free access to the German and other EU labour markets. Dual or multiple citizenship issues are of importance also with regard to policy towards the Polish diaspora abroad. Collective publications presenting the results of CMR research on the multiple citizenship issues in the context of migration and migration policy in Poland (Górny, Grzymała-Kazłowska, Koryś, Weinar 2003, 2007), highlight the wide socio-historical context for institutional and legal solutions on multiple citizenship and provide an analysis of the political debate on the issues basing on parliamentary debate analysis, press analysis and in-depth interviews with policy-makers and experts in the field.

The authors convincingly support thesis that despite the fact that according to Polish law (article 2 of the Act on Polish citizenship), a Polish citizen cannot be treated as a citizen of any other country in front of Polish authorities, the dual or multiple citizenship is *de facto* tolerated in Poland. There are pragmatic reasons for this toleration that come from the necessity and political will to maintain links with Polish diaspora abroad. The analysis of parliamentary debates on citizenship issues with regard to the proposed new Act on Citizenship, Act on Repatriation, and the proposed Act on the Charter of a Pole, along with press article analysis, showed the dominance of strongly ethno-cultural vision of a nation and citizenship in Poland. The debates of citizenship concentrated mostly on the Polonia or Polish minority in the East issues. The lobbying of American Polonia for new regulations on dual citizenship were of importance for the debate. Additionally, the works by Górny et.al (2003, 2007) provided the analysis of institutional actors involved in policy-making in the field.

A remarkable insight in dual citizenship perception was presented by Izabela Koryś (2007) in her work based on qualitative research (semi-structured interviews with persons holding dual citizenship). The reconstruction of rationale behind the decision to apply for second citizenship was made in the paper along with the tracing of the symbolic importance of second citizenship for the group under study. The author scrutinized the perception of advantages associated with the second citizenship, the actual usage of these advantages and the influence of second citizenship on the self-identification and the sense of belonging of an individual. Within the context of contemporary debates on the meaning of citizenship and nation state, especially in Europe, the work by Koryś proves to be an input to the socially important area of research on the identity of migrants and level of their inclusion in the receiving societies.

To recapitulate the state of art of migration policy research in Poland, the discrepancy between the relatively small research output and the importance of migration, specifically emigration, for past and contemporary Poland need to be underlined. The post-1989 studies tried to make up for the earlier shortcomings of migration policy research with various results. The relative lack of interest of political scientists in the field resulted in the descriptive and fact-finding character of some works or in the drifting of migration policy research towards sociology. Needless to say, the dynamic development of migration policy research in Europe, with many international research projects in the field, proved to be the most important accelerator for migration policy research in Poland. The studies on Europeanisation were especially advanced. Among them, the work by Agnieszka Weinar (2006) on Polish policy towards foreigners showed the highest level of

analytical approach and the most grounded theoretical basis in migration policy research so far.

7. Demographic aspects of research on international migration, by Marek Kupiszewski and Agnieszka Fihel.

This chapter summarises various aspects of demographic research focusing on international migration and its consequences. It consists of three sections. The first section (VII.1) looks at the research of descriptive nature, attempting at the identification of changes in the demography of Poland or, more frequently, of specific regions, which took place due to emigration. The second section (VII.2) looks at development in modelling and forecasting of migration and modelling of the impact of migration on population development. The third section (VII.3) deals with the problems of measurement and statistics of international migration.

7.1 Demographic impact of migration

Generally, demographic impact of migrations covers such phenomena as deformation of population's age and sex structures, disturbances in natural increase and families' split. Obviously, migration streams must take place rapidly and on a large scale in order to affect population's dynamics permanently. This is less probable to happen on a national scale than in regions that send/receive large groups of migrants.

The best example of a region which is substantially affected by emigration and for which a substantial body of research on the subject exists is Opole Silesia. In almost entire postwar period very intensive emigration streams from the region to Germany have taken place. Moreover, many Silesian inhabitants hold double, Polish and German, citizenship, and maintain traditional links with German society and undertake employment abroad. Until 2004 having a German passport opened for the prospective migrants protected EU labour markets. This migration has been documented thoroughly by a team of researchers from Opole, such as, among others, Krystian Heffner, Robert Rauziński and Romuald Jończy. The works of the former two (for example Heffner, Rauziński 2003) focus on geographical and demographic aspects of emigration and are very descriptive and elementary from methodological point of view, but offer a good documentation of observed processes. Most recent labour migration involves mainly young persons and according to Jończy's³³ (2006) estimates, as many as 80% economically active inhabitants of this region work abroad permanently or on a short-term basis. This raises concerns about demographic prospects of the region.

On the national level the demographic impact of migration was studied by Barbara Sakson (2002). Her research has a pioneering character because she was the first to corrected erroneous estimation of Polish population prepared by the Central Statistical Office for 1988, that is at the beginning of transformation

³³ The methodology of research conducted by Jończy is assessed by Koryś in Chapter 8.

period, demonstrating the actual magnitude of outflows. Sakson shows that just before this period a mass outflow of Polish citizens took place: almost 700 thousand long-term emigrants left Poland, mostly without reporting the change of their permanent residency in the home country. That made them “invisible” to official migration statistics. Sakson not only calculated the scale of emigration (see more on that in section 1.3), but also corrected the size of Polish population and death and births rates for the period of the 1980s. Despite the fact, that those results reveal better the actual demographic trends in Poland, the Central Statistical Office did not take them into account.

7.2 Modelling migration and population: demographic projections, simulations and forecasts

In both sections below we first examine methodological developments in the field and then present the most important applied research.

7.2.1 International migration forecasting

Jakub Bijak (2007) presented a major methodological advancement, applying Bayesian statistics to forecasts of international migration. He found that there were three major advantages of such approach. Firstly, the methodology allows for combining the formality of inference with subjective judgment on the model parameters, by means of the Bayes’ theorem and subjective probability. Secondly, the quantitative analysis of uncertainty of future migration is inherent in Bayesian forecasts, which yield whole predictive distributions. Thirdly, given the prior knowledge, Bayesian estimates and forecasts are more informative than the sampling-theory ones, which is important given the shortness of migration data series available in Europe. *A priori* assumptions on the precision of a random component have been found crucial in the context of such uncertain phenomenon as migration. As Bayesian statistics is neither a standard method for forecasting nor in demography, Bijak’s works has a pioneering character, what is carefully documented in a comprehensive overview of methods used to predict population flows (Bijak 2006). The author presented various theories of mobility and their limitations in predicting the future migration streams. Aside from an in-depth literature review, the author compared and evaluated selected methods and models used in the practice of migration forecasting, with particular focus on differences between the deterministic and stochastic approaches.

Polish researchers prepared several forecasts of migration. Witold Orłowski and Leszek Zienkowski (1998) set up an econometric model of emigration from Poland after her accession to the EU and calibrated it on data on emigration from Spain, Portugal and Greece to the then EEC after the accession of these three countries. The authors considered three variants of future increase in Polish GDP. The estimated outflow from Poland ranged from 380,000 to 770,000 of persons, mainly to Germany, France and Austria. However, Marek Kupiszewski (2002b) remained skeptical about applying experiences from Southern Europe to the Polish case.

Bijak et al. (2004) forecasted origin-destination migration flows matrix between 27 European countries for the period 2002-2052. This forecast was based not only on historical trends and macroeconomic variables, but also on the expected developments in migration policy, and was calculated for three scenarios of future economic situation in Europe. An increase in migration from new EU member states was expected but it was “going to be temporary by nature and thus in the long run a declining trend of this phenomenon can be anticipated” (Bijak et al. 2004:59). Moreover, the new EU member states, excluding Bulgaria and Romania, were assumed to become immigration countries by 2020.

The newest migration forecast was provided by Jakub Bijak (2007) who applied Bayesian approach to estimate long-term international flows between Poland and Germany in the period 2004-2010. As a result, the forecasted migration rates between these two countries were expected to remain stable after Polish accession into EU.

Kupiszewski (2002b) offered a critical assessment from methodological point of view of various migration forecasts prepared during the pre-accession period. The assessment pointed at inadequate methodology used in forecasting and compared the results of forecasts with some estimates of maximum outflows from Poland based on historical trends.

7.2.2 International migration variable in population dynamics models

One of the key methodological problems in accounting for international migration in population dynamics models is how to best incorporate international migration data flows into the model. The task is difficult predominantly due to poor quality and incomparability of international migration data. Dorota Kupiszewska and Marek Kupiszewski (Kupiszewski, Kupiszewska 1998, Kupiszewska, Kupiszewski 2005) addressed the problem and developed a MULTIPOLES (MULTIstate POPulation model for multiLEvel Systems), a hierarchical multiregional, cohort-component, female dominated model of population dynamics. The model extends population hierarchy from usual two level hierarchy (national and regional populations) to a three level hierarchy composed of multinational, national and regional. The innovation of this model lies in its hierarchical structure. First, on the lowest level, interregional, intranational migration is taken into account. On the second level, international migration between modelled countries is considered. Finally on the highest geographic level, migration between each of the modelled countries and the rest of the World is taken into account. On the two first levels the model uses occurrence-exposure rates, whereas on the third level net migration is used. Modeling migration on these three levels reduces the measurement error and makes setting the migration scenarios easier and more transparent.

Several examples of application of this model include regional projection of population of 14 Central European countries (Kupiszewski, Kupiszewska 1997), and elderly population forecast for the same countries (Kupiszewska, Kupiszewski 2005), and the assessment of the influence of international migration on population dynamics and structures in this part of continent on the regional level (Kupiszewski 2002a).

Major research has been done to assess the impact of international migration, fertility and labour force participation on population dynamics and labor

force resources in 27 European countries (Bijak et al. 2005, 2007). The timeframe of the study spans from 2002 to 2052. The research includes several population and labor force forecasts and simulations (assumptions are discussed in Bijak 2004, Bijak, Kupiszewski and Kicingier 2004 and Saczuk 2004), with focus on the analysis of interrelations between international migration, population ageing and labor force dynamics, followed by recommendations for future population and migration policies in Europe. The calculations are made using MULTIPOLES model. Results of the simulations show clearly that neither an increase in fertility nor immigration can solve the structural changes associated with the ageing of population within the coming five decades. According to the authors, the key for maintaining a reasonable relationship between economically active and inactive population is the increase in the labour force participation: Europeans have to work much longer during their lifetime.

7.2.3 Measurement and statistics of international migration

Migration measurement, despite of its crucial role for both research and policy, lies somehow on a margin of the mainstream migration research. This is partly due to relatively few researchers interested in demometric aspects of migration, partly due to policymakers' lack of appreciation of the importance of migration measurement. The research on international migration data and more generally on the measurement of international migration could be roughly divided into two subdomains:

- Research, aiming at the documentation of migration data, assembling metadata, attempts to estimate, based on available data, the actual magnitude of migration and attempts to propose the best way of measuring migration related variables.
- Research on data collection systems and international comparability of data, aiming at identification of definitions among legal regulations and administrative procedures used in various countries and the impact of differences of these definitions and procedures on consistency and comparability of data.

The number of reported migrants depends on the definition of migration adopted in the national statistics. The definition adopted in Poland reduces the scope of Central Statistical Office's data collection to the category of permanent migrants who registered their migration only. In consequence migration is severely underestimated and a substantial body of research aiming at the recovery of realistic patterns of migration and finding the best way to improve the data collection system is needed.

Under communism, the censorship made any research on international migration and on the methods of gathering data on international migration impossible. The first paper that looked critically at the definition of international migration in Poland and in the Federal Republic of Germany, entitled "Demographic fiction in Poland and FRG – A study in international migrations" was written by Mieczysław Kędelski (1990). It was followed by the description and analysis of migration statistics by Kupiszewski (1992, 1993), Okólski (1994a, 1997d), Sakson (2002), Kupiszewska, Nowok and Kupiszewski (2006), Kupiszewski and Bijak (2006), and Bijak and Koryś (2006).

Three papers stand out of this list. Kędelski's (1990) pioneered the discussion on the problems of data collection and their adequacy. He showed clearly that the official statistics of the Central Statistical Office (CSO) underestimates international migration by around a half. The assessment was made through a comparison of the CSO's statistics on permanent emigration with the data from the SERP administrative register based on the boundary crossing forms, which each person crossing national boundaries was supposed to hand in to the border guard officer. The cards handed in during the outward and inward travel were matched, allowing for the identification of those who emigrated. This system operated until late 1989. Okólski (1997d) went one step further than Kędelski and departing from a critique of the existing migration system, proposed a system of measurement of international migration in Poland based on the methodology of the British International Passengers Survey. His ideas have never been implemented, nevertheless up to very recently it remained the only serious alternative to the existing data collection practice. Finally Kupiszewska, Nowok and Kupiszewski (2006) prepared a one-stop source of information on the methodology and practice of data collection, offering a unique documentation allowing for understanding of the meaning behind the published data. The paper covered topics in migration statistics not always discussed together: migration flows and foreign population stocks, acquisition of citizenship, residence permits, asylum and illegal migration.

As an obvious consequence of the inadequate collection of data on international migration by the state numerous attempts to estimate the actual magnitude of emigration (Korcelli 1992; Kupiszewski 1993; Okólski 1994a, 1994d; Sakson 1998, 2002) and an attempt to calculate the resident population in Poland (Sakson 2000, 2002) were undertaken. Most of these research assembled various available sources of data, both national and international and tried to estimate total migration. The main flaw of this method is that it is hard to say according to what definition of migration the final numbers were calculated. A very interested proposal was offered by Barbara Sakson (1998, 2000, 2002), who calculated the difference between the 1988 Census population and the actual population present in Poland during the Census, using the above mentioned SERP register. She showed (Sakson 2000, 2002) that the Census count overestimated the resident population by over 700 thousand. This indicates that the population of Poland started to shrink in 1988, and almost certainly even earlier. This population overestimation by the CSO had a severe impact on both the distortion of age structures of the resident population and on its regional distribution (Sakson 2002). It also distorted the measures of intensity of births and deaths, which were substantially higher, particularly in some age groups and some regions, than those calculated by the Central Statistical Office (Sakson 1997, 2002). Sakson's work is of fundamental importance as it clearly showed that the migration data collected by the CSO do not correctly reflect the social and migration processes and demonstrated how inadequate migration statistics distorts all demographic indicators dependent on population stocks.

As it was said, the results of the measurement of migration depends on the definitions of migrant and migration adopted by the statistical office. The definitions used by various countries differ, what results in the lack of comparability of data collected. In addition many national statistical offices do not

document properly the way the migration statistics is produced. Quite a lot of research efforts has been put into finding how exactly migration is defined, how it is related to the definition of stocks of population and what are the mechanisms of data collection, verification and dissemination. Such research are needed for policymakers to fully understand the impact migration may have on the demographic, social and economic development of their countries in future.

A number of research activities aiming at improvement of migration statistics have been conducted in the recent years. Dorota Kupiszewska and Beata Nowok were involved in comparative research focusing on the way statistics of migrants flows are assembled in Europe (Nowok, Kupiszewska and Poulain 2006), the comparability of this statistics (Kupiszewska and Nowok 2007) and its evolution over time in CEE countries (Nowok 2007).

8. Methods of migration research in Poland – critical overview, by Izabela Koryś

Conducting empirical research on international migration involves many challenges of both methodological and organizational nature. This chapter aims at discussing basic methodological challenges faced by Polish researchers and highlights those studies that, struggling for representativeness, applied advanced sampling schemes. Migration, as argued by Ewa Jaźwińska (2005) is a process where both starting and destination points are often difficult to precisely define. Furthermore, migration flows are usually highly dispersed. Therefore researchers tracing emigration streams need to embrace numerous and remote destination points, while analysis of immigration streams requires exploration of various, also widely spread sending communities. Moreover, the irregular status of many migrants makes them particularly difficult to be contacted by researchers or selected in a systematic way. Finally, financial resources, usually tight in Poland, seem to be one of the decisive factors determining the scope of the research projects and the approach taken within.

8.1 Studies of Polish migrants at their destination points

Plenty of interesting, though small-scale exploratory studies have been conducted by individual researchers who approached in-person Polish emigrants staying in the EU countries³⁴. Taking advantage of their residence in a country of destination and often embedded in migration networks, researchers could deeper understand the experiences of the targets of their study. Consciously or intuitively they tended to frame their observations into a dense description. Though unsophisticated in

³⁴ See for example, Krystyna Romaniszyn on irregular Polish labour migrants in Greece (Romaniszyn 1994) and Austria (Romaniszyn 2003); Joanna Korczyńska's survey of Polish seasonal workers legally employed in German agriculture (Korczyńska 2003); Aleksandra Grzymala-Kazłowska (2001a) on undocumented Polish workers in Belgium; Anna Rosińska-Kordasiewicz (2005) and Kamila Kowalska-Angelelli (2007) on Polish migrants in Italy; and Barbara Sakson (2005) on Polish diaspora in Chicago.

methodological terms (usually based on a few dozens of semi-structured or in-depth interviews conducted by the authors themselves) these exploratory studies proved to be particularly efficient in studying irregular movements. Having irregular status, Polish immigrants are rather reluctant to participate in research, with a partial exemption granted to Polish interviewers³⁵. The extensive knowledge of the logic of circular migrations, strategies employed by emigrants (including the residence status infringements) and different types of costs (i.e. marginalization in the sending and receiving community) incurred by circular migration movements was considerably enriched through these type of studies.

8.2 Studies of Polish migrants in sending communities

Exploring the sending communities involves fewer difficulties and incurs smaller costs than tracing emigrants in the destination points. Actually, the largest in scale and most innovative in methodological terms were the surveys conducted within sending communities.

The most complex and comprehensive study of sending communities, where Douglas Massey's ethnosurvey technique was introduced to the Polish context, was carried out by the Centre for Migration Research under the leadership of Marek Okólski³⁶. As a novelty, the actual unit of analysis was a community (instead of typically analyzed individuals or households), carefully selected to analyze migration patterns affected by two variables: dwelling in rural vs. urban community and residing in "sedentary" (consisting mostly of indigenous inhabitants) vs. "mobile" (with the large share of internal migrants) area (Iglicka, Jaźwińska, Okólski 1996). In accordance with the ethnosurvey methodology, the collection of multi-source monographic data on the communities was followed by a survey carried among migrant (N=425) and non-migrant (N=475) households. The sampling procedures included a short screening questionnaire conducted on relatively large sample of randomly drawn inhabitants, and subsequently the full questionnaire carried out in identified (though randomly selected) migrants' households (Jaźwińska 1996). Certain exemptions to verbatim replication of the Massey's study on the US-Mexican migration, concerned the stress put into quantitative vs. qualitative components (participant observation was found unnecessary, semi-structured interviews evolved towards closed-ended questionnaire). Finally, since the dispersion of the outflow movements was much higher than in Mexico, studying the migratory process at its both ends appeared unfeasible³⁷.

An interesting method of pre-selection of migrants' households to a survey was used by Romuald Jończy (2003), who explored the labor migrations of the

³⁵ Bill Jordan and Franck Düvell conducting their research on irregular migrants in UK have also recruited a Pole to conduct interviews with Polish irregular migrants residing in UK, see: Jordan B., F. Düvell (2002), *Irregular Migration. The Dilemmas of Transnational Mobility*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

³⁶ On the results of the project see chapter IV.2.

³⁷ While migrants from Mexican communities, explored by Massey, clustered in 2-3 states of the USA, the emigrants from the communities studied in Poland headed for few dozens of countries.

indigenous inhabitants of Opole Silesia. At first stage of his survey he tried to define characteristics of the population of migrant workers as official registers neither distinguish between autochthon and non-autochthon population nor record migrants working abroad. For this purpose, Jończy rendered to key-informants in twelve selected communities³⁸ who gave basic information on each household in the community and its members, indicating autochthones, non-autochthons and those known to work abroad). Defining the characteristics of a target group using the key-informants' testimonies is the most innovative (and at the same time most hazardous) aspect of his methodology. Subsequently, Jończy's interviewers approached the migrant workers "with all available methods" (Jończy 2003: 106), but the author did not elaborate on this further (most possibly any forms of systematic sampling proved to be unfeasible). The survey covered 45% (N=569) of the labour migrants' population identified in the first stage of his study. Jończy claims to have achieved representativeness of his findings since the characteristics of the sample resemble respective distributions in the general population of the autochthones, defined in the earlier phase of his study (Jończy 2003: 107). However, unavailability of sources which would allow verification of statistical information collected via key-informants may be a limiting factor for the external validity of his findings.

The very first survey, results of which are fully representative and "could be extrapolated on the whole population of Polish seasonal workers" (Kaczmarczyk, Łukowski 2004:12) was conducted by CMR in 2002. What should be emphasized, a large country-wide sample of 800 respondents has been drawn³⁹ from the complete sample frame: the register of Polish seasonal workers legally employed in Germany in years 1998-2000. Structured face-to-face interviews were conducted by professional interviewers and supplemented with in-depth interviews conducted at further stages of the project (Kaczmarczyk, Łukowski 2004).

8.3 Studies of immigrants residing in Poland

The basic difficulty that needs to be overcome in studying foreigners settling in a country is the language barrier between the researchers and the immigrants. Since the settlement of immigrants in Poland is a relatively new phenomenon, the number of immigrants that could conduct researches by themselves or assist the researchers as translators is definitely lower than the demand for the knowledge on particular migrant groups. Therefore, respondents are most often recruited among those immigrants who are able to communicate in Polish or other European language (i.e. English), what inflicts on migrants capacity to freely express themselves and (because of under-representation of migrants who are unable to communicate with the researchers) biases the results.

³⁸ Since the first stage of the study was based on key-informants knowing in-person members of all households in the village, the size of a community was narrowed to 1600 inhabitants.

³⁹ Unfortunately, instructive from the methodological point of view, information on the sampling method, accuracy of the sampling frame nor the achieved response ratio has not been revealed.

Even if the language difficulty is resolved, the lack of trust towards researchers from the receiving country still constitutes a challenge. Teresa Halik and Ewa Nowicka in their survey of Vietnamese migrants living in Poland used a self-administered questionnaire translated into the Vietnamese language. The questionnaire was distributed by Polish students, in selective locations known to gather Vietnamese migrants but to gain respondent's consent, they must have been first introduced by a Vietnamese student to her compatriots. However, answers collected in this survey were scant and many open-ended questions were left unanswered (Halik, Nowicka 2002: 31). In their next study on Vietnamese pupils attending Polish schools, the researchers (Halik, Nowicka, Poleć 2006) rendered towards more qualitative research tools: in-depth interviews with Vietnamese youth and their parents as well as the analysis of respondents' narratives submitted for the young writer's competition announced by one of the Vietnamese magazines published in Poland.

Another problem in research on immigration is the sampling frame. Majority of research projects in this field usually employ purposive samples recruited through a snow ball method. Therefore two attempts to achieve statistical representativeness of surveys among immigrants, both undertaken by the Centre for Migration Research, should be particularly underlined. In 1995, CMR carried out a survey of 792 citizens of the former Soviet Union (based on systematic sampling, similar in its design to British Passenger Survey). Twenty interviewers at two Eastern border crossings approached every tenth traveler from the former Soviet Union. Upon the refusal the interviewers approached the next traveler (or continued until the consent for an interview was obtained), and repeated the procedure of counting down to ten (Iglicka 1999). Though the questionnaire comprised mostly closed-ended questions, data collected out of this survey allowed for considerable insight into socio-economic characteristic of the petty traders and job seekers.

Ten years later, CMR carried out a pioneering survey among Vietnamese and Ukrainian settlers based on a stratified random sample drawn out of the registers of the Ministry of Interior. This sampling frame (data base of immigrants granted the permit for settlement) proved to be of limited use. Despite the fact that migrants applying for the settlement permit are supposed to document their permanent residence address, many of the records drawn from the register appeared to be outdated. The response rate achieved within two studied groups amounted to 29% for the Vietnamese respondents and respectively 44% for the Ukrainians. Apart from the knowledge gained on studied migrant groups, this survey provided particularly important methodological evidence on feasibility of surveys based on probability samples conducted among immigrants⁴⁰.

Though including Polish repatriates from Kazakhstan into this section may stir some controversies, as repatriates are supposed to speak Polish language, the postal survey carried out by Paweł Hut (2002) should be certainly mentioned. Hut used data of the Office for Repatriation and Aliens (including name, surname, birth date and the address in Poland of 2560 persons included into the repatriation scheme) to identify 746 repatriates' households. The questionnaires were addressed to the alleged "head of the household" (interestingly Hut choose the oldest women

⁴⁰ The results of the study are to be published in 2007.

in a household). He obtained 39% response ratio, but with respect to the size of a household, he collected data on 56% (1432 persons) of all repatriates resettled to Poland (cf. Hut 2002). Duly filled-in questionnaires enabled Hut both to provide statistical overview of population in study and thanks to opened-ended questions to reconstruct the vivid picture of the repatriates' daily life upon their arrival to the mythic homeland.

8.4 Methodological reflection on migration research

Conducting empirical studies, researchers usually employ typical research tools developed within sociology or anthropology. However, exploring migration movements involves certain difficulties (like already mentioned lack of sampling frames, distrust towards researchers or the language barrier) that should be considered. Ewa Jaźwińska (2005) provided comprehensive overview of potential difficulties encountered in quantitative methods applied in migration research. Jaźwińska discussed factors that limit the feasibility of surveys or representativeness of acquired data, but she suggested also some solutions (i.e. concerning the sampling methods) that enable to obtain reliable data within reasonable budgets. Agata Górny (2005) discussed the qualitative approach, which in Poland seems to be often referred as general concept describing research projects without a claim to statistical representativeness. Górny presented methodological considerations underlying qualitative approach, emphasizing its analytical advantages (if accurately applied). Worth of notion is also collection of methodological reflections (Antoniewski, Górny, Koryś, Kosmala 2000) on application of standard sociological methods (semi-structured interview, family interview, focus group interview, participant observation) to exploring immigrants groups in Poland.

9. Concluding remarks, by Anna Kicingier and Agnieszka Weinar.

The study aimed at presenting the widest possible picture of the state of the art of the migration research in Poland after 1989. Its ambition was to provide the reader not only with a systematic overview of the works on migratory phenomena published after 1989, but also with a critical assessment of the current state of the research. The task turned out to be a highly demanding but also immensely rewarding experience for all the researchers involved in the preparation of this study. The relative plenty of works on migration phenomena that were published in Poland after 1989 were systematized, categorized, analysed and assessed from the perspective of the research results presented as well as from the perspective of the research methodology used. We sincerely hope that all these efforts enabled us to produce a truly critical and well-balanced report on the state of the art of the migration research in Poland.

As presented in the study, the migration research conducted after 1989, in many areas had to be built from scratch. Despite the long-standing tradition of emigration studies in Poland, the post-1989 migration research developed almost as a new field of study due to the discrepancy in research fields and methods

between Polish and world science that arose during the communist period. This was especially visible in case of immigration and immigrants studies, not existing previously in Poland. But it was also true in case of emigration studies, that had to start with discovering the reality, or, as it was termed by Ewa Jaźwińska (chapter IV), with making the opening balance. The severe lack of valid statistical data, especially relating to the beginning of the 1990s, but also later, constituted an enormous obstacle to the development of the migration research. Lots of research energy was consumed by efforts to assess the validity of the available data, before the proper analysis or research could take place.

The study proved to be a mapping exercise that widened and systematized our knowledge on the developments of the migration studies in Poland. Consequently, it enabled us to delimit the best and least researched areas in the field.

To start with the former, beyond all doubt, of highest importance proved to be the theory of incomplete migration formulated by Marek Okólski. The theory, summarized in chapter IV.2, anchored the migratory movements of transition period in the earlier mechanisms of pendular migration and explained the origins and mechanisms of migratory movements not only in Poland but also in the other CEE countries.

Apart from the phenomenon of incomplete migration, the considerable outflow of seasonal workers from Poland to Germany attracted a special research attention. Thanks to the extensive research projects carried out by the teams of CMR and Institute of Labour and Social Studies, this part of the outflow from Poland has been very scrupulously researched, including the mechanisms of the flows and the social and economic consequences of this form of international mobility for the seasonal workers themselves, and also for the economies of the sending and receiving countries.

Worth noticing are also the researches on petty-traders and on the evolution of this form of mobility, termed by Krystyna Iglicka as primitive mobility, into more permanent forms of international movements. The uniqueness of this research lies in its documentation value, that captured the phenomena that existed in a given time and in a given socio-economic milieu and underwent evolution along with the changes in the socio-economic conditions.

Special achievements of Polish researchers in the field of migration forecasting are worth underlining. The creation of the *Multipoles* by Marek Kupiszewski and Dorota Kupiszewska, as one of the two best world models to prognose international migration, can be named as the most spectacular accomplishment in the field.

Apart from the above-listed, best researched areas of migration research in Poland, few other fields deserve attention as relatively extensively studied. Among them, the issue of the Europeanisation of the Polish migration policy has to be mentioned. Also the inflow of repatriates attracted significant research interest and the functioning of this group in Poland was well documented and researched. A huge amount of research was conducted on the attitudes of Poles towards the immigrants. As a consequence to the severe lack of valid data on migration, the issue of migration data in Poland, its accessibility and comparability was scrupulously studied. Last but not least, the research on dual citizenship policy developed and was greatly advanced within the international comparative projects.

Last but not least, among the well-researched areas of Polish migration studies, the regional studies on the Opole Silesia have to be mentioned. The works of Romuald Jończy and other authors of the region provided us with a multi-dimensional picture of the mobility from the region and its socio-economic consequences.

Delimitation of the best and well studied areas within the field of migration research, allowed to pinpoint the least researched ones and thus to draw the possible directions for the future migration research in Poland.

Undoubtedly, the generalizing studies on the costs and benefits of migration in Poland are still waiting to be done. So far, this important research question was tackled only in a regional or sectoral perspective.

Further studies are needed also in the field of immigrant studies, a brand new area of research on migration after 1989. Given the lack of earlier traditions, the achievements of Western researchers became a primary reference point for the development of immigration and immigrant research in Poland. In a natural way, the studies on immigrants in Poland followed the science of the West, where the immigrant communities have been present for decades. Polish scientist who engaged in the study of immigration, joined the formal or informal European research networks. The advantages of this process included, first of all, the access to theories and methods of immigration studies, which had been long used in the West. There were also some disadvantages of the novelty of the problem – many of the multi-country research project, which Polish scholars could join, were tailored according to Western rather than Central European realities and challenges in migration field. On the other hand, European and international funding have been the core funding for migration, especially immigration, research in Poland, without which the field would not have developed in the same pace.

Recently, the post-accession outflow from Poland attracted significant research interest, yet, the results of more in-depth and longitudinal studies, including the studies on economic and social consequences of the outflow are still awaiting. The more general studies are also needed that would allow for the creation of a general picture of the whole Polish diaspora abroad, including the so-called old diaspora members and the declaratorily temporary new migrants in their destination countries.

The issue of temporality versus permanence of the stay of the migrants abroad, brings in another serious challenge for the future research, namely the understudied phenomenon of return migration. Due to its current scale and predicted rise in volume in the future, this part of the inflow shall be subject to more extensive studies in the near future.

The institutional base for the development of migration research after 1989 included first of all the new research centres that were created with the aim to study migration (Centre of Migration Research, Central European Forum for Migration and Population Research), then the already existing centres that had the long traditions of migration research (Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora at Jagiellonian University) or took on migration as a part of their research (Institute of Labour and Social Studies, Silesian Institute, Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Science) and finally some newly-created think-tanks, that included migration issues into the wide agenda of their policy advocacy and research (Centre of International Relations, Institute of Public Affairs). Last but

not least, some individual researchers based at various academic institutions in Poland, or abroad, also turned their research interest to study migration.

The concentration of migration research in not numerous research centres and the relatively small circle of persons engaged in research, facilitates the flow of information on the projects and studies and enables migration specialists to contact frequently and exchange ideas.

The Centre of Migration Research (*Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami*) at University of Warsaw is a well-known migration research institution in Poland. CMR has built its position as the most experienced centre specializing in migration studies since its research activities in early 1990s, and managed to establish a wide international network of contacts and collaborators. Worth underlining are especially the long (up to few years) research projects craved and carried out by multidisciplinary teams of CMR in the 1990s that allowed for the innovative and in-depth analysis of various forms of emigration from Poland. Also the scale of some of the CMR research projects (the representative address survey on immigrants in 2005, representative study on Polish seasonal workers to Germany in 2002) are unique in comparison to the Western migration studies.

Other research institutions in Poland tend to specialize in various areas of migration research. The Institute of Labour and Social Studies specializes in the studies on the Polish labour market, the Silesian Institute in Opole turned its focus on migrations of Silesian population. The Institute of the American Studies and Polish Diaspora (Jagiellonian University in Kraków) has been successfully continuing its long traditions in diaspora studies, and broadened its scope of interest also to the issues of multiculturalism. Central European Forum for Migration and Population Research (CEFMR), since its establishment in 2002, has played a leading role in demographic and statistical research on migration. However, the sociology of migration and migration policy studies could also be found within the broad scope of CEFMR's research projects, majority of them of international comparative character.

Attached to this study is the Annex providing for the short notes on the selected most important migration research centres in Poland.

Annex

Centre of Migration Research (CMR), University of Warsaw
(Ośrodek Badań Migracyjnych, Uniwersytet Warszawski)
www.migration.uw.edu.pl
ul. Banacha 2b; 02-097 Warszawa
tel.: (+48 22) 659 74 11;
fax: (+48 22) 822 74 05;
migration.cmr@uw.edu.pl

Centre of Migration Research, a research unit of University of Warsaw, headed by Professor Marek Okólski, was established in 1993 as an interdisciplinary research team whose object was to undertake in-depth and comprehensive studies on migration in present-day Poland. As of the middle of 2007, 30 researchers are affiliated with CMR, including Oded Stark, Dariusz Stola, Wojciech Łukowski, Ewa Jaźwinska, Agata Górny, Paweł Kaczmarczyk, Aleksandra Grzymala-Kazłowska and others. In 1993-2005 also Krystyna Iglicka was associated with CMR. Over the last 14 years CMR was involved in a number of large-scale migration projects, co-organised a number of international seminars and major conferences on migration issues in Central and Eastern Europe, and participated in various international collaborative initiatives. Since the early 1990s CMR has taken part in the OECD monitoring of migration trends in Poland and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe (SOPEMI network). Since 2003 CMR has been offering a regular post-graduate programme in 'International Migrations' at the University of Warsaw. The research results of the CMR team are published regularly (in Polish and English) in the series CMR Working Papers. Major topics covered by CMR studies include:

- causes and consequences of emigration from Poland
- micro-determinants of migration decisions
- operation of foreigners on the Polish labour market
- formation of immigrant groups in Poland
- dual citizenship
- migration policy.

In 2005 CMR joined IMISCOE Network of Excellence. Since 2005 CMR has been a member of transatlantic consortium TIREs (Transnationalism, International Migration, Race, Ethnocentrism and the State) which brings together 10 American and European research units.

Central European Forum for Migration and Population Research (CEFMR),
Środkowoeuropejskie Forum Badań Migracyjnych i Ludnościowych
www.cefmr.pan.pl
Twarda Street 51/55; 00-818 Warszawa, Poland.
tel.: (+48 22) 697 88 34;
fax: (+48 22) 697 88 43;
cefmr@cefmr.pan.pl

Central European Forum for Migration and Population Research (CEFMR) is a research partnership of the Foundation for Population, Migration and Environment, Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization of the Polish Academy of Sciences and International Organization for Migration. CEFMR specializes in multidisciplinary research on international migration in Central Europe. Since its establishment in 2002, it carried out more than 40 research projects on various aspects of international migration. It employs researchers with background in geography, demography, econometrics, statistics, math modeling, sociology, and political sciences.

The area of research, in geographic terms, focuses predominantly, but not exclusively, on Central and Eastern Europe. Of special interest for CEFMR are research on population and migration dynamics and forecasting as well as population and migration statistics. Substantial research is conducted into the sociology of migration, with particular interest in the integration of the migrants. The third area of research is political science focusing on the processes underlying the formulation and analysing the impact of migration policies.

CEFMR implemented projects for the International Organization for Migration, European Commission, Eurostat, United Nations, Council of Europe, World Bank, OSCE as well as various bodies of Polish governmental and local authorities. CEFMR regularly cooperates with over 20 research institutions in Europe.

Since 2004, CEFMR has been a partner institution of the Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies (SFM) in Neuchâtel. In 2006, CEFMR was invited to participate in the IMISCOE Network of Excellence as an Associated Member.

The Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora, Jagiellonian University

(Instytut Studiów Amerykańskich i Polonijnych, Uniwersytet Jagielloński)

www.iaisp.uj.edu.pl

ul. Rynek Główny 34; 31-010 Kraków

tel: (+ 48 12) 663 14 84,

fax: (+ 48 12) 422 03 64

mzsa@mzsa.uj.edu.pl

The Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora is an interdisciplinary research and teaching center of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. Established in 1972, the Institute has grown to become the main research and teaching center for issues related to the history of international migrations of Poles, and ethnic and social problems of Polish immigrant communities. Among the faculty members of the Institute there are historians, sociologists, social anthropologists, political scientists, and lawyers. The research projects conducted at the Institute reach to the centers of Polish diaspora in the United States, Canada, Australia, France, and Germany. The studies of Polish diaspora focus on cultural continuity and change, and on migration patterns *now* and *then*. Moreover there are research projects which relate to the situation of national minorities in Poland (Ukrainians, Germans, Jews),

and to the reinvention of ethnic identity in Poland, in the new (post 1989) political situation.

The faculty members of the Institute belong to the Board of Directors of the Polish American Historical Association, they actively participate in works of the Committee for Migration and Polish Diaspora Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and they edit the journal "Przegląd Polonijny" (Polonia Review) which is devoted to the migration and ethnic studies in its broadest sense. The Institute belongs to many international federations of migration studies centers. In 2001 the two year M.A. Migration and Ethnic Studies program was opened at the Institute in which some 160 students participate at the moment.

The Institute of Labour and Social Studies

(Instytut Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych, IPiSS)

www.ipiss.com.pl

ul. Bellottiego 3B, 01-022 Warszawa

tel. (+48 22) 536 75 11

fax (+48 22) 536 75 14

instprac@ipiss.com.pl

Since early 1990s, the Institute of Labour and Social Studies has carried out research on migration processes in Poland with special interest in labour migration. Research focused on different aspects of labour migration phenomenon: its demographic consequences, impact on labour market, and on family income. Research staff of the Institute, including A. Rajkiewicz, S. Golinowska, E. Marek, participated in many conferences and published numerous articles and books, i.e: S. Golinowska, E. Marek (eds.), (1994) *Studia o procesach migracji zagranicznych* [Studies on international migration processes], A. Rajkiewicz (ed.) (2000), *Zewnętrzne migracje zarobkowe we współczesnej Polsce. Wybrane zagadnienia* [International migration in contemporary Poland. Selected issues] and S. Golinowska (ed.) (2004), *Popyt na pracę cudzoziemców. Polska i sąsiedzi*, [Demand for immigrant labour. Poland and its neighbours].

State Research Institute – **Silesian Institute** in Opole

(Państwowy Instytut Naukowy – Instytut Śląski w Opolu).

www.instytutslaski.opole.pl

ul. Piastowska 17; 45-081 Opole

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State Research Institute - Silesian Institute in Opole has conducted studies concerning various aspects of international migrations since 1950s. After 1989, it launched the new systematic studies in this field, drawing from the existing rich migration literature referring to Opole Silesia. One of the aims of these studies was to grasp the essence of changes in the international migrations in connection with the transformation of political, social and economic system. The research aimed

also at the creation of scientific basics for the formation of regional policy in this area. Particular attention has been paid to causes and demographic, social and economic consequences of mass emigration from the region. The characteristic feature of the researches conducted at the Silesian Institute is the emphasis on the ethnic context of migration phenomena and re-emigration issues, including also the double citizenship studies.

In the field of migration research, the Silesian Institute co-operates with scientific institutes (e.g. CMR, Institute of Labor and Social Policy), governmental (e.g. Governmental Population Council) and non-governmental bodies (e.g. Polish-German Co-operation House) as well as with the local authorities (e.g. Marshalship of Opole Province). The Institute has organized or co-organized numerous conferences and scientific seminars on migration issues.

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