Mariusz Dzięglewski

The experience of migration and spheres of social life: economics, politics, media and literature

Abstract

This article takes the form of a synthetic outline of research work done into the topic of Polish migration taking place since the 1st of May 2004. In the first two sections, the author presents aspects of post-ascension migration in the context of contemporary global migration trends, as well as specific aspects of the wave of Poles leaving their country after its accession to the EU, in relation to previous such waves. In subsequent sections, the author adopts a two-dimensional perspective, separating the presented materials between research which takes on an inter-subjective perspective, the socio-cultural experiences of those migrating in the spirit of Alfred Schütz's phenomenology, as well as research conducted from a macro perspective, encompassing selected spheres of social life (Jeffrey Alexander): the economics, politics and media, applying a specific focus on research into the literary sphere. In section one, devoted to the socio-cultural experience of migration, the author presents the most important aspects of the research so far, describing some in greater detail, including: identity, relations in single and mixed ethnicity groups, diaspora, integration, social and professional mobility, cultural capital, family ties and re-integration. In the section devoted to migration research from the perspective of social ties the focus is on areas such as: problems of economic aspects and effectiveness of migration, migration politics in relation to migrants, diasporas and return migrants, as well as media narratives and images of the most recent waves of migration from Poland. The author closes with a brief attempt to outline the course and further prospects of research into the links between migration and the sphere of literature.

Key words

1. Migration as an exception to the rule. Contemporary global trends

Odysseus' decade-long wanderings across the seas and oceans is a very vivid and effective motive in literature and arts, illustrating one of the most important characteristics of humankind – the desire or even the need to move from place to place. This theme can also come in useful as one more metaphorical figure which is difficult to avoid in humanities and social studies. Along with Odysseus, in these fields of research we meet whole hosts of similar figures, such as: drifter, tourist, "homecomer" or nomad. These archetypes refer to various forms of moving across space, in which we also see migration understood as a relatively long-term movement from place to place of an individual or a group in terms of a specifically defined space (Kubiak, Slany 1999). In among the well-thumbed annals of human history, we can identify various phases of spacial mobility, beginning with the Palaeolithic age, Antiquity, the great migrations between the 9th and the 12th centuries AD, through to modern patterns of migration related to various geographical discoveries in the 14th century, up to contemporary migration in a new, globalised system-world (Wallerstain 2006).

Individual migration streams are separated by almost all their aspects: the range/size of migration (the great Atlantic migration of 1800-1924 involved 60 million people, while migrations caused by the Second World War – 45 million); causes (political, economic, etc.); the legal status of those migrating (legal, illegal); the number of people migrating together, the time of the period of migration and the point of arrival. What is more, the history of migration affecting two individuals moving across the same time into one place can differ substantially, not only due to the above criteria, but also down to personalised, internal aspects of the experience of migration. Alongside the interest expressed in migration by experts from fields such as statistics, geography, economics, demographics or sociology, along with an age-old tradition of migration studies in Poland and across the world, we are still asking ourselves similar questions. This is so, because knowledge about migration is historically contextualised. Without taking into consideration socio-cultural and historical aspects of patterns of migration, it is hard to describe and explain its causes and effects. One can and indeed must also seek out that which is universal, timeless, shared – theories and regularities which in the spirit of positivism allow us, with sufficient clarity, to understand the mechanisms, phenomena and social processes related to migration. Questions which arise in the context of migration include: those about the causes of people migrating, what happens to them in their final port of call, how their perception of reality changes, their sense of values, of norms, habits and patterns of behaviour, what experiences and emotions register. Out of these questions

about individual experience we come to those of macro-economics, society and cultural effects of streams of migration, their meaning for all local and national groupings.

The intensification of public debate on the topic of migration in the present day is directly connected to two factors. These are: postmodernist discourse and historical moments of notable increases in the number of people migrating, related to, as an example, to events such as the expansion of the EU in 2004 and 2007. Postmodernist discourse substitutes: the "stable body" for "liquidity"; tightly defined systematic limits in society for undefined "public spaces"; traditionally understood autotelic values for historically dependent cultural constructs or "regimes"; and finally – all forms of stability and stagnation for movement, flexibility and mobility. Historical moments when human wanderings intensified, as well as the scale of this movement, tend to create instant interest in the media, which results in explosions of various "moral panics" (Cohen 2002). Such a scenario can be observed in the example of the number of articles in influential weekly journals after Poland entered the EU. The number of these publications increased steadily up until 2006 – the year of the most intense "migration fever" in Poland (Dzięglewski 2013a). These factors mean that the migration thematic is becoming especially important, if not most important, in various spheres of civic life. An intense awakening can be expected in the studies which "service" this thematic: economics, sociology, demographics. At the same time, the workings of these two factors force a visibly livelier debate on the subject of migration and emigration politics, projects related to diasporas and the return of migrants to their homes. The increase in the importance of migration thematics doesn't fail to include the arts, along with literature, film or visual arts. An unusually large interest in movement and mobility sometimes leads to radical programmes which change the whole paradigm of studies, an example of which in social sciences is John Urry and his proposed "sociology of mobility" (Urry 2009). Urry posits the thesis that mobility amounts to the core of contemporary social existence, and so it should be at the centre of sociological studies (Urry 2009:75). The author also points out that the subject of analyses should not only be the mobility of people, but also of objects, ideas and an imagined, virtual mobility. A world in constant motion is also put forward by fashionable concepts of trans-nationality, in line with which people's lives pass in a social space constructed from various elements over and above national borders, tearing free of geographical territories (Glick-Schiller, Bosch, Szanton-Blanc 1995). This thread is ably illustrated by research into "trans-national class systems", which also encompass such categories as "Third Culture Kids".

Those on the receiving end of contemporary media broadcasts, or an academic focused on the phenomena of trans-nationality, can lose sight of the appropriate perspective in relation to spatial mobility, considering it a central form of individual and collective activity in the modern

world. Nothing could be further from the truth. United Nations data on the size of global migration shows a steady rise from 76 million in 1960 to 191 million in 2005, though the number doesn't exceed 3% of the total world population (Castels, Miller 2011). Media images and academic investigations veer away from the everyday experience of the vast majority of the inhabitants of our planet, whose lives pass by within a tightly defined, localised territory. Giving it back its actual ranking, Stephen Castels and Mark Miller's research into geographical mobility indicate that migration is an exception and not the rule in the modern world – nevertheless, what is noticeable is that there is defined acceleration and growth in the number of migrants on a global scale (Catels, Miller 2011). The authors of what is today a classic monograph indicate six general tendencies characteristic of contemporary migrations. These are:

1. the globalisation of migration – an increase in the number of countries who are subject to waves of migration, the flow of migrants from far-off parts of the world, which differ substantially from the target countries in the spheres of economics, society, culture and politics;

2. the increase in migration - the flow of people across borders is becoming more numerous, and its direction is decided by the global division between the poor North and the rich South;

3. the diversification of migration – in the main, we are dealing not just with one type of migration (e.g. in search of work), but a variety of types and forms of migration (e.g. circular as opposed to permanent; economic vs educational, etc.), which coexist in terms of a single migration stream;

4. the feminisation of migration – a rise in the importance of women in employment migration; in certain sectors (childcare, looking after the elderly) and in certain countries they are a definite majority (e.g. Italy);

5. the growing politicisation of migration – the intensification of international migration means the need to put laws in place to regulate it and strategies which manage various streams of migration (migration politics);

6. the popularisation of transit migration – this phenomena affects countries which gradually turn from countries migrants leave into countries which receive migrants; Poland is among these.

The above listed global tendencies in international migration have a key influence on the most recent stream of migration out of Poland, which took place after the expansion of the EU on the 1st of May 2004. All these tendencies are observable even through superficial analysis of the process of people leaving Poland – around 1.5 million people in the past 10 years – which is down

to factors such as the forming of new types of mobility, movement in search of a new lifestyle, repeat migrations, circular migrations, etc. Poland – a country with a rich history of emigrations – has once again become subject to a very intense, incredibly dynamic outflow of population, mainly to countries in Western Europe (UK, Ireland, Italy, Germany). At the same time, this outflow is taking place in specific circumstances, among which there are at least three deserving of mention:

1. the ability to freely cross borders (lifting of visa requirements) and legal employment (opening of job markets);
2. the availability of cheap air travel (air lines include EasyJet, Ryanair, Wizzair, etc.)
3. the development of cheap modes of communication (Internet), which allow continuous contact with those closest back home.

These factors, added to the relatively high unemployment rate in Poland, which in 2004 stood at 19.6%, in the main contributed to the large scale and incredible dynamism of journeys abroad.

2. **"New" and "old" Polish migrations**

Increased interest in migrations, within and without the academic sphere, has facilitated a number of meetings, conferences and an avalanche of publications on the subject. One of the key questions which is often asked in this context is about what sort of degree can we talk about when it comes to the appearance of new migrations, differing substantially not only down to historical and technological factors, but also in form, the process they take, their mechanisms – from those migrations which came before. Researchers are not in agreement with each other on this – some consider contemporary migrations to be quite similar to those of the 1980s or pre-WWII periods, while others highlight some key differences. In the second half of the 19th and in the 20th centuries, Poland went through several key stages of very intense external and internal migrations. These phases were influenced mostly by political and economic factors: the independence movement during martial law (1981-83), along with a lack of economic growth and regression in civilised terms. It is estimated that towards the end of the 20th century, around 16 million Poles and those of Polish origin lived in 79 countries around the world (Kubiak, Slany 1999). Migrations after 2004 indicate a series of similarities with previous streams of migration. In the words of Dorota Praszałowicz, the main cause of migration is "transformations and cracks" in existing social structures caused by the start of the process of modernisation (Praszałowicz 2007). Mass migrations out of villages and small towns are, according to theories put forward by Marek Okólski, caused by insufficient urbanisation and overpopulation of those regions. A sizeable loss of population caused

by migration is therefore an element of the inevitable process of "crowding out", which from the perspective of theories of modernisation should be judged as positive (Okólski 2012). The main underlying factor behind post-accession migration is economics – a high percentage of unemployed in Poland (especially among graduates), along with marked differences in earnings between Poland and other European countries of the "old Union". Diagnoses of the economic foundations of the most recent streams of migration in connection with political factors (membership of the EU) allow us to talk about similarities rather than differences in seeking out causes of contemporary and historical migrations (e.g. the migrations of peasants to the USA at the end of the 19th century). In analysing certain categories of migrants, it is possible to observe a certain *novum*, which is characterised by migrations in search of another, new way of life (*Addressing...* 2010). Such motivations affect the young especially, those with relatively good education, for whom a move abroad is a chance to improve themselves and increase their sense of capability and subjectivity.

We can talk about similarities, rather than differences, in relation to the scale and dynamism of the most recent migration streams out of Poland. It is estimated that in the years 2004-2012, Poland lost around 1.13 million citizens. This number is comparable to other periods, even if we take into consideration the period of communism, during which the process of migration was tightly controlled. In spite of this, in the 1980s, around 1.1 to 1.3 million people left Poland, of which 633 thousand were considered ethnic Germans and admitted into West Germany (Stola 2010). Similarly to previous migration streams – as well as those most recent – they are processes which take place on a substantial scale, long after the factors which cause them to happen disappear ("migration fever"). Dorota Praszałowicz also mentions, in terms of similarities between "old" and "new", the fact that many migrants leave with the intention of returning (Praszałowicz 2007). What is to be observed here, however, is some key differences. As much as in the 19th century the decision by a farm worker to migrate to the US involved a permanent leaving behind of home, the intentions of modern migrants are not that clear. Today, we can decide to stay in a host country for a few years, to go back and forth, to move from country to country, to settle in a land of our choosing or to return home, which too doesn't have to be a final decision. More and more migrants are defined by the attitude of "intentional unpredictability", which is based on a conscious refusal to make any binding decisions regarding our stay in a given country (Garapich, Osipovič 2007:23). Another aspect worth considering is the demographic structure of the migrant group. Among post-accession migrants, a relatively large percentage are those with higher education (16%) (Grabowska-Lusińska, Okólski 2009). The available data allows us to acknowledge the cultural capital of these migrants as wasted, due to them being employed in substandard sectors of the market (processing and service industries). More and more women are migrating, while the average age is falling, from 32.9 years

6

old down to 31.36 (since 2004), along with the number of people who come from the countryside (Grabowska-Lusińska, Okólski 2009:103).

An important variable differentiating old and new migrations is modern varieties in the classification of migrant employment. Those migrating include hired workers specialising in menial jobs, as well as office workers, managers, entrepreneurs and specialists – mainly medical and scientific staff. In spite of a lack of specific data, we can suppose that a sizeable section of this migrant group are people who are professionally inactive: the unemployed, children, mothers with children, students and the retired (e.g. grandparents helping to look after young children). A key difference must also be noted in the direction these migrant streams are heading. A very rapid rise in the number of people migrating after the widening of the EU can be observed in places such as Ireland, the UK, Sweden and Norway, at the expense of a fall in numbers of those emigrating to traditional destinations, such as USA, Germany or Italy (Grabowska-Lusińska, Okólski 2009:85). A change of direction is mostly caused by the opening of job markets and a relatively low cost of travel. A specific phenomena which must be mentioned is the flow of Poles to Ireland, where they now constitute the second biggest ethnic group, resembling the days of the pioneers, and is connected to the building of brand new structures and institutions which had become lax in the past, in other, traditional places of Polish migrants gathering. We lack the right sorts of accurate statistics, yet a key difference in comparing "older" and "newer" migrations can be observed in the spacial spread of migrant settlements. It is possible to hypothesise that contemporary migrants are a lot more widely spread than previous generations, which is down to technological advances (the ease of finding housing through the Internet), as well as better preparation being done prior to migration. Areas where migrants tend to group (ethnic ghettoes), characteristic of previous streams of migration (e.g. to the USA), can still be found today, as a result of so-called "migration chains", although their number is shrinking as a result of increases in personal decisions and strategies of migrating.

The above sketch doesn't explore all the relevant criteria. It indicates certain shapes within migration post-ascension patterns – and yet it doesn't explain the concept of a "new quality" of the most recent migration streams, compared to previous phases in the rich history of migration out of Poland. That which is new should be sought out in socio-cultural aspects of the process of migration and its effects – in the process of altered identity of both individuals and groups, influence of technology on the shaping on new modes of living communally, a change in relations (familial, social, ethnic) and flows in cultural and social capitals.

3. The socio-cultural experience of migration

The problematics of migration can be seen from two differing perspectives: from the perspective of intersubjective experience of the individual or from that of whole, combined social systems, functioning in terms of large groupings: nation, ethnic minorities. An example of an initial approach is the phenomenology developed by Alfred Schütz, which takes as its essential core analysis in the world of experience and as lived by people in their everyday routines, constructed in the process of interaction with other members of civic networks (Schütz 2008a). An example of the second approach and an attempt to square micro and macro perspectives is neo-functionalism developed by Jeffrey Alexander, where individual actions of each individual are placed in specific spheres of public life (economics, politics, media) (Alexander 2010). This and other paradigms in social sciences allow us to construct theories and models allowing descriptions and explanations, and even forecasting of certain social and cultural phenomena. Agnieszka Fihel and others correctly observe that there is no one single, unified, "global" and widely accepted theory of migration (Fihel, Kaczmarczyk, Okólski 2007). Instead of such a grand theory, many smaller theories of "limited scope" were developed, which can be more or less related to the phenomenological or functionalist paradigm – and yet they always allow a description and explanation of only one of the many aspects of the migration process. This happens because, first of all, this process is very complex and multidimensional, and secondly due to theories of migration having been formulated using a language which belongs to other scientific disciplines (economics, demographics, anthropology, etc.). Douglas Massey's collected and published collection of theories (Massey and others 1993), as shown by Fihel and others (Fihel, Kaczmarczyk, Okólski 2007), is fragmentary and incomplete. Every theory allows the establishing of a certain limited set of questions. Neoclassical theories of migration propose that the main cause of migration is a difference in salaries, and so it allows a description of the causes of migration in relation to a simple model of "repelling" (push) and "attracting" (pull) factors. The theory of social networks concentrates on the role of family ties and social ties, which allow spacial mobility. And yet, the theory of "cumulative causation" allows analysis of causes of temporary structural migrations relating to countries which send out and receive migrants. According to Fihel and others, these theories are not mutually exclusive, but complement each other, and connecting them allows an eventual building of certain models, leading to a multidimensional analysis of the process of migration becoming possible (Fihel, Kaczmarczyk, Okólski 2007). Dorota Praszałowicz draws our attention to the constant shifting of definitions and concepts used by migration analysts in the course of the past few decades (Praszałowicz 2007). The language used in such studies utilises a range of concepts, such as: waves of migration, streams of migration, networks and chains of migration, social capital, local ethnic communities, ethnic

ghettoes, modernisation, assimilation, integration, transnationality and many others. These concepts do not constitute a coherent "conceptual map" – we should rather talk about many such "maps", which in a specified way order the process of analysis.

Due to the above listed theoretical and methodological limitations, the incredibly rich body of writing on the subject of post-ascension migration fails to form a coherent narrative. Ten years on from the point at which Poland joined the EU is a good time to define our initial syntheses. New knowledge on the subject of post-ascension migration is highly developed, and yet still incomplete. The range of scientific studies relating to socio-cultural aspects of migration can, with some simplification, be separated into the following thematic categories:

1. Socio-demographic characteristics and profiles of those migrating. Numerous statistics of flows, which take into consideration factors such as: gender, age, education, place of residence, etc.

2. Changes in identities, both collective and individual. This is a well-established area of research (Florian Znaniecki, Józef Chałasiński), which takes into account aspects such as: process of integration, assimilation of migrants, relations within and without ethnic contexts, the functioning of diasporas and ethnic institutions (Church, associations, etc.), trans-national networks.

3. Socio-professional mobility of migrants. Studies of mobility within employment patterns in Poland have a long-standing tradition (Henryk Domański, Dariusz Przybysz). The analysis of the changes within socio-professional standings of migrants appears to be complex, in as much as it encapsulates the period of time spent at home and abroad, and aspects relating to these time factors – the functioning of the migrant in two diverse social structures. Most often, those studying this field refer to both "hard" structural indicators (pay, profession) as well as subjective indicators (the individual evaluation of the social standing of a migrant).

4. Family relations, women and children. In analyses of modern migrations, a key role is played by the thematics of the functioning of families in the trans-national space. In this context, there are a number of publications relating to women migrating, understood as a phenomena which involves a range of aspects which differentiate it from male migration. In the context of family network analysis and the intense media attention, migrant children have become a key area of focus in terms of separation ("Euro-orphans") and their adapting to a new environment.

5. The migration of highly qualified professionals. This area of study also belongs to classical fields of research, as an element of debate surrounding "brain gain – brain waste – brain gain".

6. Migration networks and migrant strategies. A traditional area of research, relating to motivations, mechanisms and rules of migration by representatives of different social spheres.

7. Migration politics. A very rapidly expanding field of exploration, which aims to describe the legislative solutions, which are the basis for the management of the flow of migrants in various countries.

8. Return migration. An incredibly important area of interest for researchers, related to the debate about economic and social transference of those who return to their country of origin, along with a discussion on the topic of benefits and losses related to migration, also in the context of region, nation and individual.

9. The media and its representation of migrants. An area of interest for cultural studies experts and social researchers, relating to the problem of image, stereotyping, myths in the press, advertising, film and television.

10. Educational migration. A marginal but slowly evolving field of study, related to migrating learners, students and PhD students, who constitute an ever broadening percentage of those migrating (Andrejuk 2011). This topic fits into the concepts of cultural capital.

11. The artistic output of migrants and about migrants (theatre, literature and film). A rather rare field of study, which is more and more often in the public eye.

It is not possible to, in so short an article, to fully describe all the research conducted in individual areas, hence below we present a short review of some of them.

Studies into the changes in individual and collective identities constitute an incredibly difficult field to explore, due to the complexity of the term itself. From a phenomenological perspective, the identification of an individual is decided by how they are perceived and experienced by those who they consider to be "one of their own" and those who are "alien" (Schütz 2008b,c). Migrants, in an obvious way, enter the role of the "alien" in relation to societies they find themselves part of. In order to function, in a minimal way, as part of a new social world, they have to encounter the "other" - new cultural models of behaviour, of judging, "structures of significance". The outcomes of such encounters can be very different, arranging themselves on a scale from complete isolationism and life in an ethnic ghetto to an extreme attitude of rejecting native cultural templates, adopting a new language, a new lifestyle and behaviours belonging to representatives of the new country of residence. Along with such extreme positions, we can also observe other, more modest examples: an attitude of relative openness combined with a simultaneous acceptance of priorities related to bonds and relations within one's own national grouping (Dzięglewski 2010:24). As indicated by reports from studies into the most recent, post-

ascension migration, the degrees of integration by Polish migrants varies and strongly correlates to aspects such as: age, educational attainment and profession. These last two characteristics are useful indicators of social standing, which plays a key role in both inter- and extra-ethnic relations (Eade, Drinkwater, Garapich 2007). As a key variable affecting the degree of integration of migrants we must also consider specific socio-historical and cultural conditions of countries migrants move to, along with their histories of taking in migrants. The process of integrating Poles will look different in the UK and the US, and different again in Ireland, where they represent a first, pioneering generation. Research conducted in this country suggest a low level of integration by Polish migrants, in spite of many favourable factors (Dzięglewski 2011:147). The barriers which build up en route to complete integration include:

a. in social and economic dimensions: weak relations and bonds among Polish migrants with Irish nationals, Irish institutions and a strong connection with their country of origin (declarations regarding a return to their country of origin);

b. in the dimensions of identity and culture: an insufficient level of competence in terms of language, a low level of knowledge of Irish norms, models of behaviour, history, the maintaining of traditions along with a lack of acceptance of Irish cultural templates,

c. in the dimensions of institutional and legal frameworks: an unwillingness to be naturalised (perceived as being instrumental), a lack of participation in the socio-political life of Ireland;

d. in the geographical sphere: a lack of regular contact between migrants and Irish locals in places of work and residence.

Research involving migrants in London also indicate variations depending on age and educational level and their migrating strategies, which in turn allows us to define migrants in two categories: those who are disorientated communally, and are thus more likely to identify strongly with a traditionally understood national identity, and those who have a better grasp of individualistic contexts and identify more with a defined lifestyle, values and behavioural modes characteristic of a defined group or social category. In this latter example, identity is understood as a sort of open process, influenced by individual migrant experiences (see Giddens 2001). In a typology of post-accession migration strategies popularised by Michał Garapich, relating to the first migrant group, of key importance are above all "storks" and "hamsters" (Eade, Drinkwater, Garapich 2007). "Storks" are circulating migrants, those who undertake low paid, short term employment and are strongly tied into "tight" social networks. "Hamsters", on the other hand, are migrants who consider their emigration instrumentally, their aim being the accumulation of the greatest capital and decrease of cost of stay abroad, and ultimately the reinvesting of said capital in Poland. This second group must also include the "Seekers" and "Settlers". The first category represents a key argument

in the discussion around new and old migrations, seeing as it amounted to 42% of respondents in London. The "Seekers" tend to be young, ambitious individuals with a self-centred attitude, working both in low paid sectors which involve physical work, as well as highly specialised professionals. Qualities which define "Seekers" include flexibility, openness in meeting new challenges, keenness to develop professionally and personally, and the ability to quickly adapt to ever changing conditions. "Settlers" are migrants with a long standing, whose future is related to remaining in their destination country. This typology doesn't disallow for the complexity of migration strategies and related orientations of identity. In their responses, migrants asked about definitions of their identities in the main refer to nationality and ethnicity in terms of categories of identity, pushing into the background such concepts as "European" and "Citizens of the world" (Dzięglewski 2010). In studies relating to the pioneering, "first generation" young migrants in Ireland we can also observe a certain characteristic form of change in identity relating to declared value systems. As much as young Poles still put values such as family, faith and truth as top of their lists, values considered to be "traditional", more and more often we are also seeing new entries to that list, which according to Ronald Inglehart we can consider to be post-materialistic: being at peace with oneself, tolerance, openness, optimism and the desire to get things done (Dzięglewski 2010:28). In this context, it is worth drawing attention to the fact that even in a group of young and relatively well-educated migrants we can see a very strong emotional attachment to traditional Polish rituals relating to Christmas and Easter, equally strong bonds with the homeland, often reflected in frequent communications with families, an interest in socio-political affairs back home and involvement in Polish socio-cultural life.

Time spent abroad is connected not only with the necessity of developing relations with other ethnicities (with representatives of the host society, migrants from other countries), but also overemphasises the nature of relations within one ethnic group, as much with other Polish migrants as well as non-migrants*. As indicated by research conducted in Ireland, in the experiences and perceptions of migrants themselves there appears a degree of separation, whose demarcation line is a split between "we-migrants" and "they-non-migrants", something which is particularly relevant in cases of a possible return to one's homeland (Dzięglewski 2011b). Inter-ethnic relations in the context of diasporas are incredibly complex. One the one hand, at a declarative level, these relations are perceived to be qualified by a mutual unfriendliness, resentment and envy ("Poles like wolves to one another"), and on the other hand, these declarations are in contrast with everyday experiences modern migrants have and the very nature of Polish migration culture, which to a greater degree is based on social networks. Michał Garapich explains this paradox through a lack of agreement relating to hegemonic and mythical understanding of categories of ethnic belonging as a moral

12

obligation relating to other fellow nationals. We are therefore dealing with a lack of consensus regarding dominant cultural norms set within a national ideology, rather than a set template of animosity towards one's own co-ethnic group (Garapich 2012). Speaking about relations between migrants, one must therefore differentiate between myths and factual experiences, which suggest mutual support, help and goodwill.

A key characteristic when trying to describe inter-ethnic relations is the dynamic of the creation of the Polish diaspora. In countries with a rich history of influx of Polish migrants, inter-ethnic relations become complicated as a result of generational differences as well as historical genesis of migrant streams, the effects of which are closed and congealed structures. In countries which host a new generation of migrants, the institutionalisation of diasporas is in a pioneering stage, and the character of inter-ethnic relations will be much more flexible and open (inclusive). An excellent case point for this thesis is the comparison of the situation of Poles migrating to the UK and Ireland. In the history of those migrating to Great Britain, using a certain degree of simplification, one can identify three stages which define a dramatic intensification of migrant influx. These are: the period after the Second World War, the so-called "Solidarity migration", along with post-accession migration. Increased migration during those periods takes place in very different political, economic and social climates. The effects of these influxes is a "broken structure" of the diaspora, in which various forces represented by ethnic organisations and institutions compete for the chance to represent Poles living in Great Britain. Differences between representatives of various migrant streams are clear: the first cultivate traditional modes of culture relation to nationality and patriotism, while the youngest generations perceive their identity as an individual project (Garapich 2007a). In cases of such dramatic influxes of Poles into Ireland, the process of crystallisation of the diaspora has a grass-roots, spontaneous and inclusive character. The actions and initiatives initiated by individuals and groups – although stimulated and coordinated by institutions such as the Polish embassy, for example – are brought about more often on the basis of cooperation rather than competition or conflict.

The question which has aroused intense emotions, both in public debates as well as in everyday conversations among Poles, are migrant professional careers. The commonplace opinion on the subject of migrants' professional development is characterised by a certain ambivalence. Migration is often identified with advancement, an improvement in economic circumstances, and yet also with work which is beneath one's qualifications or educational attainment. One interesting research trial involving the problem of migrant careers was undertaken by Izabela Grabowska-Lusińska (2012), who takes into account both structural ("objective"), as well as individually conscious ("subjective") aspect of professional mobility. In structural studies of professional

13

mobility, social researchers make use of standardised socio-professional structural schematics (Goldthrope, CASMIN, Social Classification of Work, ISCO), which allow numerous, statistical estimates of the movements from one category (e.g. office workers) to another (e.g. specialists), thanks to which one can estimate the scale and direction (promotion vs demotion) of mobility. This way of studying migrant career patterns has a limited value, due to key differences in professional structures of various societies, in which the migrant figures, along with cultural determinants which are not considered by the above categorising schematics (lifestyle, aesthetic tastes, etc.).

In the studies by Grabowska-Lusińska, the question about the meaning of migration in professional lives is key, a question she answers on the basis of analyses of loose interviews with migrants, and hence in relation to their own, subjective rationalisation and causative subjectivity. Research leads to a formulated typology of migrant meanings in the subjective perception of respondents, which can be characterised in relation to two scales: changeability – stability, along with "surrendering to conditions – acting and planning" (Grabowska-Lusińska 2012:14). Types of meanings described by this researcher include:

1. incident,
2. binder,
3. exploration,
4. project.

"Binder" is a type of career in which the individual remains for a long or complete period of time in their lives in the same professional category, in the same trade, often with the one employer. Migration (often either circular or rotational) is a disruptor to such a career – an element of routine, undertaken in order to shore up household budgets (a pressing need for stability, giving into conditions). "Incident" involves migration as only one of the many changes in the course of a constantly shifting, directionless career path. In "exploration", migration is a pre-planned, pre-considered process, based on the searching for, discovering and testing of own abilities and qualifications. "Project" is the kind of career where migration is an element of a coherent conceptualisation of one's career development, a complete and resolutely realised project leading to a discreet career goal.

Reduced opportunities for structural studies of migrants' mobility mean researchers target intersubjective narrations of the migrants themselves or seek answers to the question of social mobility, in relation to the incredibly convincing theory of capital by Pierre Bourdieu (1986). According to Bourdieu, it is the size of individual cultural capital (formal and informal education, competencies, skills) and social capital (placement within webs of social relations and structures)

which are decisive with regards to social position and mobility. In this context, a key factor becomes the debate on the subject of the professional fates of young, well-educated migrants. Their percentage in the structure of those migrating is surprisingly high, much higher than in previous streams of migration, which is not explained by the facts of migration selectiveness. The causes of this phenomenon should rather be sought in the rapid rise of people with a higher education in Poland, starting with the 1990s (from around 10% to 17%), which, as is argued by Henryk Domański, until 2004 was closely correlated with a higher socio-economic status (Domański 2010). In that year, which was also the year Poland joined the EU, we see a "devaluation of diplomas", meaning a gradual fall in the dependency between qualifications and income. According to Marek Okólski, the large numbers of university graduates migrating after 2004 was a natural consequence of "overproduction" of graduates, whose educational level was totally insufficient for the needs of the Polish job market. Migration therefore – in this case – turned out to be an own safety valve, an alternative with regards to unemployment or work well below one's educational attainment (Grabowska-Lusińska, Okólski 2009). The fates of this category of migrants were of specific interest to the public. One of the points raised in this debate is the concept of a "migrant trap" proposed by Krystyna Iglicka (2010). In accordance with her theory, work abroad – in the case of graduates from Polish higher education establishments – is most often work in sector "3D" (dirty, dangerous, demanding) – simple, undemanding and low paid. According to Iglicka, taking up such a job following graduation results in a gradual loss of earned professional competencies and eventual marginalisation. In the context of a return home after a few years' absence, a migrant is condemned to a "double marginalisation" caused by the fact that they "fell out" of their native job market.

These assertions are however contrary to the experiences of many young migrants, something we learn from ethnographic studies, further extended, in which we have the ability to reach subjective rationalisations, mental maps and individual perceptions of our own career paths. Michał Garapich, a proponent of a move away from perceiving migrants and migration mainly in economic categories, especially in relation to categories of "seeking" migrants, notes that, in their own self-perception, factors relating to spending time abroad are: the chance to further one's education, the chance to realise one's potential, to learn new languages, to gain new skills and increased feelings of self-worth and capability (Garapich 2007b). In other studies of young migrants (Travena 2006, Dzięglewski 2013b), the fact that migrants work in positions beneath their qualifications is not perceived as marginalisation, but rather as an element of a certain strategy, a plan, perspective. Educated migrants often treat work "washing dishes" as a temporary, entry-point stage, necessary for the development of competencies such as linguistic fluency, cultural adaptation, specialised skills, or knowledge about a new work environment. As proven by studies in Ireland

(Dzięglewski 2010), young migrants use the very intensive first few months of their time abroad investing in language courses, specialised training, post-graduate studies and workshops in order to, in a relatively short period of time (six months or so), undertake employment matched or closely matched with their education and qualifications (as an architect, engineer, etc.). Aiding such dynamic development was the unusual economic situation Ireland found itself in since the economic crisis, which was especially acute in the year 2008 (Dzięglewski 2010). The influence of the economic crisis on the employment of migrants is a separate, vital area of research. Current analyses indicate that it affected mainly workers from the lower end of the job market, employed on temporary contracts in the construction sector, however levels of pay have proven to be surprisingly stable (Mühlau 2012).

Another incredibly important topic arousing emotions in public debate is the influence of migration on changes within social structures: relations between families and generations. This area has been throughly studied by specialists: sociologists, social psychologists and pedagogues, seeing as it encapsulates problems such as: the appearance of new family units (transnational families), changes in the role and social position of migrating women, solidarity between generations (care of the elderly, children), emotional problems and those affecting children of migrants in schools, migrant orphaning and mixed marriages.

As opposed to migrations by individuals of independent means and lifestyles, unhampered by familial obligations, the migration of persons who have close family units is a much more complex phenomenon. There are cases where whole families migrate, although much more often it is only one of the parents who decides to migrate, to then in time bring the rest of the family over or the family remains separated spatially, which does not have to mean its dissolution or disfunction. The traditional model of migration assumed that it was the man who migrated first and then prepared the appropriate environment in which to introduce the rest of his family. Such a model was related to minimised risk and costs of move factors. Post-ascension migration brought up the issue of women's migration, a group which has very strongly assigned traditional roles and moral obligations as mothers and wives in Polish culture. Hence, as this stream increases and more women-mothers and wives move abroad, it is accompanied by increased stigmatisation in the media, which blames them for leaving their children and family "nests". Meanwhile, studies into the narrations and biographies of migrant women indicate that for many of the young female migrants the process of moving country is a specific life strategy, which on the one hand indicates a willingness to improve the material standing of the family unit, and on the other the need to free oneself from tightly defined cultural frameworks, defined by male domination of women in their wife and mother roles in Poland. An important aspect of the research is that women leaving home

place huge importance on and take great pains to maintain contact with their children constantly (by phone or the Internet), in order to be "up to date" with the lives of their children (Urbańska 2009). When a father leaves home, the emotions involved are not as extreme, due to traditional images of the male, who is perceived as the breadwinner, even though this role has dramatically altered in Poland in the past two decades. Both migrating mothers as well as fathers cause a spacial separation, "life at a distance". Psychologists and pedagogues are not in agreement about how this physical separation affects familial bonds. Proponents of the idea of a transnational family argue that physical distance in an age of cheap communications (Skype) and transport (discount air lines) allow the family to function normally. This concept is supported by a number of arguments, which include the notion that in non-migrant families time split between work and home is largely similar to that in transnational families, hence everything depends on the degree of care applied to nurturing strong emotional connections – in the non-migrant case they are direct, whereas in the migrant context they are to a definite degree intermediary. Those arguing against this concept state that a prolonged physical separation, lack of intimate contact and direct involvement in everyday routines lead to the weakening of bonds, and possible family dissolution. This thesis appears to be supported by cases in which migrants set up families with other partners while abroad. In this way, "patchwork families" come into being, something quite typical of migrant experience. They are an ever-more prominent phenomenon in countries such as France, though this is also true of Poland. This thesis about families falling apart as a result of migration are further supported by research into the sex lives of migrants in the UK, which indicate that migration increases the likelihood of unplanned and risky sexual behaviours. It is also worth mentioning that, in the whole of the discussion about the weakening of family ties, cause and effect are often mixed up, and in certain cases it is hard to define whether migration was the cause of the family disintegrating or quite the opposite – whether it was weak family bonds that led to one of the members migrating.

A truly key issue, which has created a moral panic in Poland, is that of children in cases of separation caused by migration. The media-friendly and powerful term "Euro-orphans" relates to the situation where one or both parents migrate for a longer period of time, leaving their children in the care of the second partner or their family – grandparents, in most cases. As is often emphasised by researchers, the media panic based on a few marginal and dramatic cases of children being "abandoned" – in spite of their inherent drama – is not equal to the scale of the phenomenon. On the one hand, the media have in a large degree helped stigmatise migrating parents, especially mothers, and yet on the other hand one cannot dismiss factual, psycho-social effects of migration on children. Research conducted by pedagogues, among others, indicate a range of problems which appear after the parents have migrated, the most important of which include: a lowered inclination to study,

17

worsening grades, failing school attendance, discipline, aggressive behaviours, emotional distress, longings, a feeling of loneliness and anxiety (Walczak 2009:164). Another situation we must deal with is when a child, at a certain stage of their educational path, has to completely change their environment. As shown in relevant studies, the process of adapting to a new environment is incredibly layered, lengthy and involves barriers such as language (difficulties in adapting to a second tongue), new models of behaviour, a different type of student-teacher relations (often more individualistic and less rigorous) and new peer group circles. One of the key barriers to quick adaptation to new educational systems is the degree to which that system is ready to involve migrant children. The case of Ireland can act as an excellent example of ground-level, dynamic changes and adaptations within the whole system, which was imposed by the rapid influx of migrant children from all over the world into Irish schools (Kosmalska 2012). In the process of analysing return migrations, the phenomena of "return shock" was noted, something which especially affects children and young adults. Young migrants tend to already adapt to their new socio-cultural environment and after a few years they are forced to undertake another challenge, the repeat adaptation to Polish socio-cultural realities (Grzymała-Moszczyńska 2011). The process of re-adaptation of children carries with it a number of problems involving emotions, discipline and education, but also – identity. The above questions do not exhaust the complex issue of family ties – they merely constitute a certain subjective selection.

Another field of scientific study worthy of closer attention from the perspective of the individual is return migration. The very concept of returning is rather vague – we do not know how long one has to be away before we can start talking about a return, nor whether the person being interviewed factually and definitively has settled back for good in their country of origin. From a phenomenological perspective, an excellent metaphor capable of illustrating the situations involved in return migration is the example of Alfred Szchütz's "Homecomer", which refers to an individual returning to a world remembered from the past, a world they think of as theirs, which in direct contact turns out to be completely new and which has to be "learnt" all over again, from the start. This syndrome of the "Homecomer" is familiar to migrants who visit their homelands for only a few, occasional days (Christmas, family events), during which they have the impression that the everyday lives of their loved ones are becoming estranged from them, while their own experiences turn out to be "untranslatable" into their mother tongue.

Returning migrants are of interest to researchers, politicians and decision-makers due to certain expectations relating to transfers of not only economics, but also societal (social remittances) and cultural (new models of behaviour, competencies in terms of communication, new ideas, etc.). One of the notions in social sciences is the perceiving of returning migrants as key

instigators of social change (Górny 2002), those who in a significant, innovative way influence their own communities, social groups and national spheres. Agents of change are a category which has also come up in the typology of researchers from the Strategic Consulting Centre (Bieńkowska, Ulasiński, Szymańska 2010) along with other migrant types, such as "specialists", "tourists" and "investors". These categories differ from one another through aspects such as socio-demographics, causes of migration and returning, the realities of returning and overall effect of migration. The "agents of change" group are usually young, with a higher education, who consider migration as an extraordinary chance to gain new professional skills and cultural competencies. This group involves the biggest percentage of people employed full-time, those who declare a sense of satisfaction with the experience of migration, who are able to make use of the cultural and social capital they have earned (Bieńkowska et al. 2010: 49). However, there is much to suggest that agents of change are a marginal group among returning migrants. Research conducted by Krystyna Iglicka across six Polish cities (Iglicka 2010) indicate that they have a very serious problem with repeat entry into the Polish job market. As many as 40% of respondents questioned remained unemployed after returning, compared with 10% before departure. This, according to Iglicka, is related to the loss rather than the gaining of social and cultural skills (e.g. through working in jobs beneath one's qualifications), eventually leading to a repeat migration (23% of those quizzed concluded that their return to Poland would not be permanent).

Along with media "portrayals", there have been no analyses of the process of "homecomers'" re-adaptation in their intersubjective dimension. Studies of the process of reconstructing the "old-new" they find back home, new mental maps with all the attached baggage of diverse migrant experiences, are yet to happen. The experience of varied cultural templates, a different work and study ethos, everyday routines, living styles and standards – these are cultural puzzle pieces which can fit, or not, into the migrant's new world view. At this junction, we can put forth the hypothesis that the success or failure of return adaptation is in the main decided by cultural context. Much indicates that one's own migration capital remains unexploited after a return, due to cultural, mental, institutional and systemic barriers. Return migrants often battle with problems which include the psyche, difficulties in accepting a different living standard or the patterns of everyday behaviours and mentality, which they had already managed to leave behind. The idea of a "return shock" often used in the context of migrant children can therefore be stretched to encompass the whole group, regardless of age, which decides to return to their homeland.

This short, selective description of our current knowledge base on the theme of intersubjectively perceived socio-cultural aspects of post-ascension migration should be supported by structural correlates relating to various spheres of social life.

4. Migration and the economy, politics and media

The logic of social spheres, according to Jeffrey Alexander (2010) is based on the assumption that individual and collective actions, social phenomena and processes take place within the framework of relatively autonomous social spheres, which influence each other. In terms of defined spheres, various "languages" are apt, along with sets of rules, norms and values. The world of the media uses one such language, while politicians use another, and economists or researchers yet another. The main actors within such spheres also operate different value systems. According to Alexander, the media play a key role, one which serves a "trigger" function in relation to the others, directing the attention of broad sections of society towards specific phenomena, which then transfer from the worlds of economics, religion or politics into the public sphere.

In terms of migration, the economic sphere appears to be key, and yet we should avoid the reductionist approach, in which only the areas of analysis and explanations of certain aspects of migration processes are acknowledged. As an autonomous sphere, featuring defined events which occur according to defined rules (market, distribution) and with the aid of macro-economic indicators, such as GBP, level of inflation, unemployment statistics, it strongly influences not only the media, but also the political sphere. In economic analyses, the focus tends to be on economic impacts of migration streams in national and local contexts, both in relation to the countries sending the migrants as well as those which take them in. In relation to the former, one of the key questions is the money transfers made by migrants. One of the aspects of post-ascension migration is that a key number of those involved are young people without any ties, and hence one would expect that they would be less likely to send money back home than if they had families waiting there. And yet, in spite of this, money transfers noted by the National Bank of Poland rose as much as 60% in the first post-ascension year, and in the third quarter totalled 1.964 billion zlotys, which places Poland in the top ten of all transfer beneficiaries [6]. In addition, from an economic perspective, post-ascension migration is less and less profitable due to the strengthening of the zloty in relation to the euro and the pound stirling, along with a rise in both pay and prices in Poland. Romuald Jończy reports that while in the 1980s Polish migrants in Germany earned 65 times what the standard was back home, at present that differences has fallen to 3-5 times the amount (Jończy 2008). A few months of working abroad in the 1980s allowed some to be set up for life, whereas today's situation leads to nothing more than some minor savings. This is confirmed by studies by the Centre for Strategic Advisement in Krakow. A large majority of migrants declaring their intention to return home have savings no greater than 100,000 zlotys (82%), with only 4% returning with between

250,000-500,000 zlotys and 2% with more than half a million (Bieńkowska and others, 2010:55). Management of the capital earned abroad – according to research – is generally focused on covering shortfalls in domestic budgets. As many as 26% of the respondents declared the intention to channel their savings into everyday life back home, 19% into fixing up or fitting out their homes, and another 14% into buying a car. Intended investments feature the purchasing of a plot of land suitable for house building (25%), setting up their own business (15%), personal education (9%) or education for those closest to them (6%) (Bieńkowska et al. 2010:56). It is therefore possible to talk about a definite improvement in the economic conditions experienced by migrant households, though it is harder to present a long-term, economic gain for the country as a whole. Those analysing the economic effects of migration also point to a lessening of tensions in the job market, direct and indirect influence on reduced unemployment and changes in employment patterns caused by the outflow of experts in the construction sector, along with a noticeable, though not mass, exodus of medical practitioners (Wiśniewski, Duszczyk 2007). Economist-researchers, when referring to the large number of migrants with degree-level education, instead of the term "brain drain" prefer to use the updated "brain circulation" or "brain gain", pointing to the fact that the ways in which migrant capital is used is ultimately decided by its eventual allocation in a given country (Wiśniewski, Duszczyk 2007:43).

Some of the economic impacts of migration – unclear from a national perspective – appear to be easier to perceive from a local perspective. The Opole region of Poland is particularly well researched in terms of a specific migrant profile of its population. Studies conducted by Romuald Jończy indicate that on the one hand migration has helped increase the overall living standards of those living in the Opole region, on the other it has led to a collapse of local enterprise, due to households and estates becoming dependent on money transfers from abroad (Jończy 2008). At the same time, the rise in affluence among the residents of Opole brings with it a range of problems, involving demographic, social and cultural aspects. These are, first and foremost: depopulation of the region (young residents leaving); "life at a distance" becoming a more permanent lifestyle option; the elderly becoming more lonely and isolated.

Migrations are closely related to the political spheres, both national and international. The influx of population from new Central and Eastern European EU states into "old Europe" automatically aroused political debates and new solutions were put forward in relation to migration politics. Among these politics we should mention first of all: national politics relating to migration and asylum processes, politics relating to those leaving the country, as well as politics relating to diasporas (e.g. "Polonia politics"). At EU level, the intensification of the political debate regarding migration has been caused by a range of economic, demographic and socio-cultural factors. Key

factors include negative birth rates and forecasts of shrinking work forces within the EU, and, as a result, the need to accept migrants from "third countries" in Africa and Asia (Dzięglewski 2012). In this context, the influx of "Eastern" Europeans into the West does not involve the kinds of challenges inherent in accepting in foreigners from countries which are more distant in terms of culture and developmental level. However, most european politicians agree with the statement that the international flow of migration can and should be managed through appropriate legal recourse. In relation to post-ascension migrants from Poland, various "old Europe" states have adopted a range of measures: some opened their job markets from the point of the expansion of the EU (the UK, Ireland, Sweden), while others implemented interim periods (Austria, Germany). Such states also implement politics relating to migrants which are aimed at assimilation and future naturalisation of the migrant group, their integration and the development of a multicultural society, with the aim of achieving "social cohesion". These political strategies simultaneously change in relation to new inflows and difficulties arising out of states functioning in a global, mobile environment. Political debates at present involve elements taken from active media reporting of the issue. On the one hand, they adopt a tone of fear, relating to jobs being lost to new arrivals, "social dumping", ethnic conflicts and migrant abuses of state welfare provision. On the other hand, attention is drawn to definite benefits of migrant influx, such as: gaps in routine, low paid job markets being filled, an increase in cultural diversity, along with reduction in loss of population in certain regions. The dynamic nature of national politics in countries which have been accepting migrants from Poland can be seen through the example of changes in how social politics are regulated. In times of economic crisis, many "old Europe" countries have severely limited migrants' ability to secure benefits, through the introduction of more restrictive legal frameworks (requirement for a long period of stay or work to qualify, etc.). At the same time, there is a notable set of integrating actions directed at migrants flowing in from Central and Eastern Europe, which alongside initiatives aimed at the migrants themselves also include raising awareness and knowledge about the new arrivals among various strata of native populations of a given country. This course is visible through the creation of special governmental agendas focused on integration (e.g. The Minister for Integration in Ireland), a range of institutional solutions allowing greater participation from migrants (education, administration, etc.) and a range of socio-cultural initiatives, which are meant to aid both sides getting to know and understand each other. Integration contextualised in this way (as a two-way process) is meant to reduce the risk of ethnic ghettoes forming and the escalation of conflicts between groups. In the case of migrants from Central and Eastern Europe, even though such integration drives do come up against tangible barriers, this direction turns out to be correct and effective. Poles tend to adapt quickly to new socio-cultural

conditions, though the level of their integration depends largely on factors such as age, education or socio-economic standing.

A separate form of politics are those relating to diasporas. Polish politicians, but also those in countries accepting migrants, quickly discovered that in mass migrations, caused by vast groups of migrants spread out across a number of territories, there is a potential new electorate. It is therefore unsurprising that countries where large numbers of Polish migrants have settled have received visits from politicians from various parties, both during parliamentary election campaigns (2005, 2007, 2011) as well as presidential campaigns (2005, 2010). Polish migrants are also of interest to native politicians who might count on the migrant vote. The most recent research into current Polish migrant group politics ("Polonia politics"), conducted among 3500 Poles living abroad, indicate that more than two-fifths of them perceive this external politics negatively (44% of those interviewed) (Fiń and others, 2012:53). Only 8.1% of respondents thought this politics to have been well managed. The authors of this report point to three essential elements of governmental reform, in relation to its citizens living abroad. The first is "cooperation and dialogue" – the building of open partnerships based on trust and solidarity, and common working between the state and diaspora partners who tend to be treated as lesser subjects. The second element is "decentralisation" – a broader engagement of the Polish migrant group in cooperation with their homeland at local and regional levels, the creation of organisational forms such as HTA (Hometown Associations), especially in so-called "migration hotspots". The third element of this new Polonia strategy should involve diversification – any new programmes of action should take into consideration the characteristics of the country which is taking Polish migrants in, the specific aspects of receiving groups, especially young age groups among migrants (Fiń and others, 2012:82).

Another type of migration politics key in the context of post-ascension migration is that referring to return migrants. This encapsulates a range of systematic features, programmes and specific operational actions, which are intended to effectively utilise migrant potential (economic, social, cultural) and facilitate a quick re-adaptation not only into the Polish job market, but also into socio-cultural and civic spheres (Lesińska 2010).

A coherent strategy relating to returning migrants remains at concept stage, due to ongoing absence of systematic regulations and solutions, which would facilitate the use of skills brought back by Polish migrants in the form of innovative solutions, ideas – not only in the economic sphere, but also the socio-cultural, in how a migrant might envision their situation – an actor of social change. In place of a coherent politic, a range of initiatives and loosely related projects were undertaken, aimed at returning migrants, such as "powroty.pl", "8 miast" and others. Their effectiveness, however, remains in doubt. The effects of a lack of coherent politics are illustrated by,

for example, research results presented by Krystyna Iglicka (2010), which indicate that migration increases the risk of unemployment upon a return home, instead of becoming an ace card to play in the Polish job market.

In the context of migration, modern media is another sphere which plays an incredibly important role in the context of contemporary migration: on the one hand, they bring up certain topics, which then become subjects of political or scientific debate, and on the other they create media portrayals and narratives covering a range of migration aspects. That which today remains surprising is the vast variety of media communication platforms, from the traditional (radio, television, print press) through to blogs, podcasts and internet forums. Messages sent out via media channels are in part created by migrants themselves, aimed at other migrants or natives, but also by institutionalised public and private agencies, which create perceptions of migration and migrants themselves.

Up to now, Polish media studies relating to presentations of migrants have concentrated mainly on immigrants residing in Poland (Mrozowski 1998; Grzymała-Kazłowska 2007). It is only relatively recently that the press has come under scrutiny, along with television programmes, blogs and social portals, from the perspective of how they show migration and migrants. Analysis of the Polish press, mainly the serious weekly journals (Bloch, Lewandowska 2008; Richter 2012; Dzięglewski 2013a), indicate a specific dynamism of the press debate concerning the post-ascension outflow from Poland, both in terms of the level of interest as well as the tone of what is being said. The number of publications on the subject of migration rose rapidly between 2004 and 2006 – the year of the greatest exodus of Polish migrants, and then went on to contract, increasing again only in 2011 (the opening of job markets in Austria and Germany) (Dzięglewski 2013a: 158). At the same time, the thematics and overall evaluation of the outflow of migration are changing over time. In 2004-05, we see a dominant theme in the press celebrating migration, speculating on the various opportunities available abroad, describing the first experiences of those who went. The years 2006-08 is the time of the first stock taking, "loss and gain" accounts of migration, and the most varied analysis of problems relating to migration – economic, social, psychological and cultural descriptions of how Poles have adapted to new environments. The years 2008-09 are a time when journalists devote a lot of column inches to the economic crisis, its impact on migrants and returning migrants. The years 2011-12 are characterised by a gradual lessening of coverage and much cooler, if not actually negative, opinions about post-ascension migration. The uniqueness of this media debate is often based on negativity and sensationalising perspectives, hence such topics come to dominate, in terms of global community viewpoints: problems associated with return migration, a rise in crime, a weakening of family ties, the inability of embassies and consulates to

cope. Presenting migration in terms of "problems" is often based on drastic and over-dramatised descriptions of extreme cases, where children were abandoned by mothers in care (the problem of "Euro-orphans") or the Apulia labour camps, as examples of migrant criminality. Such descriptions are meant to lecture the reader, and in a wider social context to cause a moral panic (Cohen 2002). A negative tone also dominates in reports relating to cross-ethnic and inter-ethnic relations. The former is characterised by an unwillingness by representatives of the native community to welcome new arrivals – open conflict. In inter-ethnic relations, we also see a dominant "picture" of migrants exploiting rather than aiding each other.

Descriptions of individual migrant biographies have a more complex character, more ambivalent. Migrants often improve their economic circumstances, while also broadening their cultural resource base (linguistic competencies, diplomas, personal growth, professional experience, knowledge of other cultures, work and study ethics). Not all, however, are successful – biographies published in the press are also biographies of those who have failed, who are not subject to many studies: the unemployed, homeless, along with those from the criminal community. Published stories often show how an increase in personal wealth is related to personal loss – family problems (separation, "Euro-orphans"), weakening of social bonds, depression, problems with fitting into a new environment (Dzięglewski 2013a:67). An interesting, although an infrequent, story in the press is that relating to impact not only on the regions taking in migrants, but also those sending them out. Among topics relating to local communities which send migrants out we see a dominance of reports relating to: a lack of workforce, shortage of specialists, depopulation of regions, a growth in local migrant networks, families living apart, a rise in affluence and a fading of local enterprise. In the coverage of local communities which take migrants in there are frequent descriptions of problems relating to integration as a result of radical changes in the ethnic make-up of those communities, changes in semi-professional structures, the halting of the process of depopulation of a given region and its development (Dzięglewski 2013a:173). The language used in press narratives has a battling, hyperbolic character. Polish migration is presented as a mass and sudden "invasion" or "conquest" or "flood". This emotional, and often over-dramatised, tone of journalistic reporting is tempered by academic discourse, which is skilfully woven into press articles, forming a coherent fabric. The quotes from experts as used by journalists (coming from sociologists, psychologists, pedagogues, economists), along with analyses and academic texts, serve to legitimise the "official line". This can be seen in, among others, reporting on the phenomena of "Euro-orphans". Individual journalists, depending on their own evaluation of the phenomena, make reference to researchers who give conflicting views: confirming the vast destructive effect on the psyche of those migrating or confirming "normal" functioning by children in terms of transnational families. Such filtering

through of academic discourse into the media doesn't only apply to the press debate around migration – it seems to be a general feature of today's public discourse (present, for example, in such fields as discourse around global warming, etc.).

An interesting area of media attention is the creation of images of migrants and migration by television programmes, and televisions series in particular. After the 1st of May 2004, Poles were able to watch three "soap operas" dedicated to post-ascension migration: "Battle of England", "The Departed" and "Londoners". The first two were documentary in nature, while the third – earning a huge, almost 4 million strong audience – was scripted. "Londoners" was a series which aroused powerful emotions, both among migrants themselves, as well as among politicians. Some saw in it an unrealistic representation of migrants as those chasing their own "American Dream", while others were upset that it showed Polish migrants as wastrels, slobs and often as homeless. A systematic analysis of the narrative woven by the scriptwriters shows a few interpretative angles. Above all, the choice of characters presented in "Londoners" fits nicely into the characteristics of socio-demographic post-ascension migrants – these include mainly young people (20-35 years old), often with higher education level, from small towns and villages, migrating to the global metropolis that is London. The thematic threads also indicate a strong sense of intertextuality – they seem to relate to debates in the press, such as: the outflow of medical professionals, the problem of "Euro-orphans", the dissolution of family ties, having to work below one's level of qualification, criminal elements, those pursuing careers, complex relations between Poland and the problem of returning. In the presentations of migrants' professional careers we can see four main paths:

a. "U-shape" type career,

b. highly qualified specialist career,

c. "American Dream" career,

d. socio-economic degradation.

The first type of career involves a person starting a job below their level of qualification in a sector of routine, low-paid services, and then a gradual advancement, up to the point where one works at a level appropriate to one's actual qualification and education. The second type of career involves specialists, such as nurses (Ewa in the TV series), who work abroad in trained professions. The third type of career is the mythical "from shoeshine boy to millionaire" trajectory, as shown by two main characters in the show: Paweł, a stock market analyst and Andrzej, an entrepreneur and Ealing council leader. The last type of career path is social degradation, illustrated by the fate of the homeless Doctor and by Marcin, Ewa's husband. The main narrative thread in "Londoners" is the story of young people's determination and their dreams of a better life, which can be attained in London.The main characters are individuals who slowly melt into the landscape of a global city,

adapting to its rhythms and lifestyles, moving away from traditional values in the name of individual development, improved skills, putting various strategies in action, new hobbies and interests. It is pointless to try looking in "Londoners" for strong Polonia communities working alongside churches – characteristic of earlier waves of migration from Poland – instead, we see individual characters, who support each other, at the same time adapting value systems appropriate to the new environment, whose norms, values and life styles are quickly absorbed, without losing sight of a contemporary version of patriotism, as illustrated by Paweł and Maria's return to their home town of Lodz, and the decision to open a factory there.

In studies of media portrayals of migrants, there is no shortage of analyses of internet discourses (Golasińska 2010, Czarnecka 2012) and film narratives (Maziarska 2009), though we do lack a coherent elaboration which would include other pop-cultural texts (e.g. cabaret sketches, song lyrics, etc.), along with analyses of the way these media presentations are received. We also lack comparative analyses of presentations in Polonia media channels and those of local communities which accept the migrants. The comparison of these perspectives, as well as their reception, could help us understand the functioning of the media in the construction of everyday knowledge and opinions on the subject of migrants and migration.

5. Migrant literature, literature about migration or simply literature?

A separate sphere alongside the economic, the political and the media is that of the arts, which encompasses theatre, film, visual arts and literature. The sphere of writing, or in the words of Pierre Bourdieu "the literary field" (Bourdieu 2001), is ruled by its own rules and norms. In the analysis of this sphere, it is probably hardest to define its subject and borders. The focus of interest could on the one hand be fictional tales of the lives of migrants, and on the other reports, or published memoirs, penned by migrants. In this first case, there is no doubt that the subject of analysis will be the literary work, and in the second we are dealing with more of a document, "creative non-fiction", a borderline category, which belongs to both the world of media and literature. A rich tradition of reportage in Polish letters (Melchior Wańkowicz, Ryszard Kapuściński, Hanna Krall) indicate that documentary forms of writing should also be included in the canon of serious literature.

Another difficulty is the thematic narrowing down of literary outputs in the realm of questions relating to migration. Here again it is not so clear whether the subject of our attention should be literature created by migrants about migrants and migration (migration literature), or about any other subject, though still authored by migrants? Are we talking about literature aimed at

a wider public, or perhaps intentionally addressed only to migrants? In the scope of our analysis, should we include foreign literature (Irish, British, Swedish) written from the perspective of a representative of the native community which takes migrants in (literature about migration)? Perhaps the above differentiations are irrelevant, and the subject of our studies should simply be quality literature, in which the topic of migration appears? Without excessive exaggeration, we can say that a substantial part of world literature is about "meetings with the Other" (Kapuściński 2004), about an attempt to meet them in all daily aspects of their social, cultural and psychological lives. The prototype of the modern returning migrant is Odysseus, and hence in the history of literature the theme of migration is present from the very beginning, accompanying it in every literary epoch, even before humanity learnt how to use the term "migration" in its contemporary context. What then will connect such diverse works of literature as "Two waves" by Marcin Lisak, "Dublin – my Polish karma" by Magdalena Orzeł, "There is an Egg in my Soup" by Tom Galvin and "The Bastard of Istanbul" by Elif Shafak? In spite of so many literary genres, authors and potential readers – all these books in their own way take up the theme of meetings with the Other – a human being living in a way which agrees with their culture and make it possible to "enter" into that world in a mental, intellectual and emotional way*. A characteristic quality of the literary sphere will be its awareness of individual experience, which can be presented against the background of wider historical, political or socio-cultural. And yet, the specific aspects of this sphere is decided by an inner, individual world, the kind which appears through the prism of characters appearing on the pages of books.

The above deliberations relating to the very topic of literary analyses do not help solve another dilemma, namely that of the methodology of such analyses. The methodology of research in a decisive way depends on the perspectives of a given scientific discipline. The sociology of art, of literature will be interested in literary works as a product of social life, of emotional reactions or a centre of new social engagements (Ossowski 1966). A cultural expert can be interested in the "representation" of migrants in literature, the way of literary presentations of multi-ethnic and inter-ethnic relations. A literary historian might be interested by certain threads and literary conventions characteristic of specific periods. Literary experts can be interested in a broader concept on the level of metalanguage – the structure of narration in tales of migration, rhetoric, etc. The sphere of literary analyses is interdisciplinary, which offers certain benefits, because it allows a description of a complex phenomenon from a multidimensional perspective. The above notes on the topic of the literary sphere constitute only the introduction to effective research on the subject of relations between literature and migration. There remains a shameful gap in this field of study, all the more glaring as the past decade has seen an avalanche of academic and popular publications on the

themes of economics, socio-cultural or political aspects of the post-accession migration processes. The articles collected in this volume are a first-of-its-kind attempt at an interdisciplinary review of the problematics of relations between migration and literature.

Summary

Departures and returns are events experienced by specific individuals. In between these events a certain continuum develops, made up of a whole set of experiences of encountering the Other and of a different reality which a migrant recognises and, to a lesser or greater extent, internalises. At the same time, the example of post-ascension migration out of Poland makes it clear, due to its very scale, that migration is also a phenomena which should be studied on both macro-national and local scales. Individual experiences combine to form complex phenomena and processes in the economic, political and media spheres. Spheres which interlock. "Euro-orphans" created by the media can become a subject for political debate and systemic solutions in the fields of education or social welfare. Solutions in the political sphere have repercussions in the economic sphere. Common knowledge about the topic of migration, which is reflected in everyday discussions, judgements put forth and opinions shared, arise out of our own most immediate experiences, our own observations and our position in regards to economic, political and media spheres. A specific and as yet unfilled gap in our knowledge about migration is in the field of literary studies. Its personalised, individual and emotional character can perhaps predestine it towards helping us formulate an in-depth conceptualisation of the meaning and the point of contemporary migrations.

Bibliography

Addressing the Current and Future Reality of Ireland's Multi-Cultural Status *(2010) Dublin: Trinity Immigration Initiative*

Alexander J. (2010) Social meaning, Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy NOMOS

Andrejuk K. (2011) Polish Students at London Universities and Their Attitudes towards the Polish Diaspora in the UK, Studia Migracyjne-Przegląd Polonijny, no. 1

Bieńkowska D., Ulasiński C., Szymańska J. (2002) Direction Małopolska. The characteristics of returnees and recommendations as to how not to waste their capital, Kraków

Bloch J., Lewandowska D. (2008) Poles on the Islands – images of contemporary migration as presented in weekly magazines [in:] International migrations and the modernisation of social systems, edited by Grażyna Firlit-Fresak, Warszawa: Institute of Social Politics

Bourdieu P. (1986) The Forms of Capital, [in:] Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education, New York, Wstport Connecticut, London, Greenwod Press, p. 241-258

Bourdieu P. (2001) The rules of art. Genesis and structures of the literary field, Kraków: Universitas

Castels S., Miller M. (2011) Migrations in the modern world, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN

Cohen S. (2002) Folk Devils and Moral Panics. The Creation of the Mods and Rockers, London and New York: Routledge

Czarnecka B. (2012) In search of signs of cultural shock – Polish immigrant women in Great Britain, Annales Pedagogicae Universitatis Cracoviensis. Studia Sociologica, p. 119-126

Domański H. (2010) Fundamental tendencies in social stratification: Poland 198202008 [in:] R. Gliński, I. Sadowski, A. Zawistowska (ed.) Cultural aspects of social structure, Warszawa: IFiS PAN, p. 23-43

Dzięglewski M. (2010) Traditional and postmodern elements of identity among Polish migrants in Ireland [in:] Varieties of identity, edited by R. Szwed, J. Szulich-Kałuża, L. Dyczewski, Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL

Dzięglewski M. (2011a) Barriers to integration among Polish post-ascension migrants in Ireland, Migration Studies – Polonia Review, no. 2, p. 131-148

Dzięglewski M. (2011b) Us and them. Does a post-migration identity exist? [in:] Social worlds and contexts, edited by G. Brydy, Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy NOMOS, p. 91-106

Dzięglewski M. (2012) The Social and Economic Impact of Migration. A Central and Eastern European Perspective. Eurofund and Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Warsaw 17-18th November 2011, Annales Universitatis Pedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Sociologica, vol. 2, p. 176-180

Dzięglewski M. (2013a) Social and cultural effects of post-ascension migration as presented in weekly magazines in the years 2004-2012, Migration Studies – Polonia Review, no. 3, p. 147-188

Dzięglewski M. (2013b) The influence of social and cultural capital on the development of professional careers among post-ascension migrants, Scientific Journal of the Higher School of Management and Banking, no. 28, p. 1-16 [online:] http://zeszytnaukowy.pl/archiwum

Eade, Drinkwater, Garapich (2007) *Class and Ethnicity – Polish Migrants in London,* CRONEM, Guilford: University of Surrey

Fihel A., Kaczmarczyk P., Okólski M. (2007) "New Europeans" migrating – now and before, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego

Fiń A., Legut A., Nowak W., Nowosielski M., Schöll-Mazurek K. (2012) Polonia politics as judged by its own staff and target group, Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, IŻ Policy Papers, no. 11 (I)

Garapich M.P. (2007a) *Odyssean Refugees, Migrants and Power Construction of Other within Polish "Community" in the UK* [w:] Reed-Donahy D, Bretall C. (red.) *Immigration and Citizenship in Europe and the US. Anthropological Perspectives.* New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press

Garapich M.P. (2007b) *London's Polish Border. Class and Ethnicity Among Global City Migrants,* CRONEM. Guilford: University of Surrey

Garapich M. P., Osipovič (2007) *MIGPOL. Survey studies among citizens residing in Great Britain and Ireland,* Warszawa: MIGRESEARCH

Garapich M.P. (2012) *Between Cooperation and Hostility – Construction of Ethnicity and Social Class among Polish Migrants in London,* Annales Universitatis Pedagogicae. Studia Sociologica IV

31

(2012), vol.2, p. 31-45

Giddens A. (2001) Modernity and identity, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN

Glick-Schiller N., Bosch L., Szanton-Blanc C. (1995) *From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorising Transnational Migration,* Anthropological Quarterly, 68:1, p. 48-63

Golasińska A. (2010) *Leavers and Stayers Discuss Returning Home. Internet Discourses on Migration in the Context of Post-Communist Transformation,* Social Identities 16:3

Grabowska-Lusińska I., Okólski M. (2009) The final migration?, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar

Grabowska-Lusińska I., (2012) Limitless migrant career paths, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR

Grzymała-Moszczyńska H. (2011) The dark side of returning (from migration) [in:] Thought and politics, B. Szlachta (ed.), Kraków, p. 375-387

Grzymała-Kazłowska A. (2007) Constructing the "Other". Images of migrants in Poland*,* Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego

Górny A. (2002) ... [in:] Return migrations among Poles. Returning a success or a disappointment, edited by Krystyna Iglicka, Warszawa:…

Iglicka K. (2010) Poles returning after 2004. Trapped in the loop of migration, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR

Jończy R. (2008) External migrations of countryside residents of the Opole region after Poland's ascension to the EU. Consequences in the context of socio-demographic situations and regional job markets. Opole-Wrocław: Instytut Śląski

Kapuściński R. (2004) A meeting with the Other as the challenge of the 21st century, Kraków: Universitas

Kubiak H., Slany K. (1999), Migrations [in:] Encyclopedia of sociology, edited by Z. Bokszański and others, Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, p.

Kosmalska J. (2012) Immigration and Primary Education in Ireland, Annales Pedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Sociologica 2012, vol. 2, p. 127-146

Lesińska M. (2010) State politics in relation to return migrations of own citizens. Theory and practice. CMR Working Papers, No 44/102

Massey D., Arango J., Hugo G., Kounaonci A., Pellegrino A., Taylor E., Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal, Population and Development Review, vol. 19, no. 3, p. 431-466

Maziarska E. (2009) In Search of Freedom, Bread and Self-Fulfilment: a Short History of Polish Emigrants in Fictional Films [in:] Burell K. (ed.) Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union After 2004, Aldershot: Ashgate, p. 107-125

Mrozowski M. (1997) Images of migrants in the Polish press, Warszawa: Institute of Social Studies, series: Works on Migration, no. 1

Mühlau P. (2012) The Employment Mobility of Polish Migrants in Ireland during the Recession, Annales Pedagogicae Univeristatis Cracoviensis. Studia Sociologica, vol. 2, p. 81-94

Okólski M. (2012) Modernising Impacts of Emigration, Sociological Studies, no. 3, p. 49-79

Ossowski S. (1966) Sociology of art. A review of issues [in:] Tenże, Works, *vol*. 1, The fundamentals of aesthetics, Warszawa: PWN, p. 363-392

Praszałowicz D. (2007) Migrations old and new, old and new concepts in migration studies,"Polonia Review", no. 2, p.

Richter O. (2012) Media portrayals of Poles migrating to EU countries after the 1st of May 2004, based on analysis of articles in weekly journals, CMR Working Papers 53/111, Warszawa: Centre

for Migration Studies

Schütz A. (2008a) On the multiplicity of worlds. Sketches from phenomenological sociology, trans. B. Jabłońska, Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy NOMOS

Schütz A. (2008b) The Other: an essay from the field of social psychology [in:] On the multiplicity of worlds. Sketches from phenomenological sociology, trans. B. Jabłońska, Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy NOMOS, p. 213-224

Schütz A. (2008c) Those returning home [in:] On the multiplicity of worlds. Sketches from phenomenological sociology, trans. B. Jabłońska, Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy NOMOS, p. 203-213

Stola D. (2010) A country without a way out? Polish migrations 1949-1989, Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej

Travena P. (2006) The Polish 'Intelligentsia' in London: a Case Study of Young Graduates Working in the Secondary Sector. CRONEM seminar, 27th of March, presentation available [online:] http://www3.surrey.ac.uk/Arts/CRONEM/polish/related_events.html

Urbańska S. (2009) Mother migrant. Perspectives of trans-nationality in studies of the changes in parenting roles, Migration Studies – Polonia Review, no. 1

Urry J. (2009) Sociology of mobility, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe

Walczak B. (2009) Children in conditions of migration separations [in:] Contemporary migrations. Polish and European Dilemmas, edited by Maciej Duszczyk, Magdalena Lesińska, Warszawa: Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego

Wallerstein I. (2006) Contemporary world-system, trans. Adam Ostolski, [in:] Contemporary sociological theories, [ed] A. Jasińska-Kania, L. Nijakowski, J. Szacki, M. Ziółkowski, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar

Wiśniewski J., Duszczyk M. (2007) Poles' job seeking migrations after 1st of May 2004 [in:] To

emigrate and return. Poles' economic migrations and state politics, edited by Lena Kolarska-Bobińska, Warszawa: Instytut Spraw Publicznych, p. 15-54