

Migration
– a Challenge to the 21st Century

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Migration

– a Challenge to the 21st Century

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Foreword

The year 2008 was proclaimed within the European Union, due to Decision No. 1983/2006/EC of the 18th December 2006, as European Year of Intercultural Dialogue with the chief components found, among others, in migration, minorities and religions¹. Since 2000, on the proposal from the government of the Philippines and the Migrant Rights International organisation, the countries united in UN have celebrated the 18th of December as the International Day of Migrants (originally: International Day of Solidarity with Migrants). This day was established on the anniversary of UN's acceptance of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990)². Since 1914 the Catholic Church has celebrated Day of Emigrant, later renamed to Day of Migrant (*Dies migratoris*), since 1990 to the World Day of Migrants and Refugees – according to the date stated locally, but in most cases on the second Sunday of January (in Poland some dioceses celebrate this day in May or June). The Pope's addresses delivered on this occasion present elements of social science of the Church in this field³. For example, the address of John Paul II from 9th January 2005 concerning integration among cultures, and the address of Benedict XVI from 14th January 2007 concerning the migrant family⁴.

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¹ See: *DG EAC – Europejski Rok Dialogu Międzykulturowego (2008) – Migracja*, <http://www.interculturaldialogue2008.eu/415.0.html?&L=15>, 04.12.2007; *Zjednoczeni w różnorodności nie tylko w 2008 roku*, Europejski Rok Dialogu Międzykulturowego 2008, Dyrekcja Generalna Zatrudnienie i Prawa Społeczne, http://ec.europa.eu/news/employment/071204_1_pl.htm, 04.12.2007; (DK): *2008 – Europejski Rok Dialogu Międzykulturowego*, AKTUALNOŚCI, Departament Migracji w MPiPS, <http://www.polacy.gov.pl?1,2,167,200712,05.01.2008>.

² *Dlaczego ustanowiono Międzynarodowy Dzień Migranta*, Fundacja Barka, http://www.barka.org.pl/misja_anglia/miedzynarodowy_dzien_migranta.doc, 30.11.2006.

³ See: ORCZYKOWSKI A.: *Prawa człowieka w Orędziach Ojca Świętego Jana Pawła II na Światowy Dzień Migranta*, Parafia-internetowa.pl, 03.10.2006. The basic text is the apostolic constitution of the Pope Pius XII *Exsul familia*, of the 01.08.1952.

⁴ RADIO VATICANA: *Papieski list na Dzień Migranta i Uchodźcy*, <http://www.radiovaticana.org/>, 09.12.2004; RADIO WATYKAŃSKIE/KAI/J.: *'Rodzina migrująca' – orędzie papieża na Światowy Dzień Migranta i Uchodźcy*, Portal wiara.pl, <http://info.wiara.pl/wydruk.php?grupa=4&art=1168847507>, 15.01.2007; *Papieskie Orędzie na Dzień Migranta 2007*, Kościół Rzymsko-Katolicki na Białorusi, <http://catholic.by/port/pl/news/2007-01-14.htm>, 18.01.2007. See also: *Światowy Dzień Migranta i Uchodźcy – 13 stycznia 2008*, Ewangelizacja, <http://www.ewangelizacja.pl/swiatowy-dzien-migranta-i-uchodzczy-13-stycznia-2008/>.

Ombudsmen of European countries gathered on 24th September 2007 in Warsaw in order to discuss about economic migration in Europe⁵. In *Lisbon Strategy* (2001) the European Council found as one of the priorities to maintain the economic growth and employment, together with protection of a European social model through economic immigration⁶. Thus, on 11th January 2005 the European Commission issued the *Green Paper on EU approach to the management of economic migration*, and the discussion over this document has been lively till today⁷. In 2005 the *Green Paper on the Future of the European Migration Network (EMN)* was issued. Between 27.10. and 12.11.2005 a huge wave of riots broke out in the suburbs of over 300 French towns and cities (and spread also to Germany and Belgium). The riots were caused by immigrants residing in these areas. Two years after (26-28.11 2007) another wave of unrest took place, although this time of much limited range. In a number of countries, populist parties participated in the elections proclaiming slogans of limiting the inflow of immigrants. The EU member states, which in 2004 established restrictions to the free movement of persons and of services from the new member states, slowly stop being afraid of a Polish plumber or of a Romanian butcher; in turn, people in Great Britain and Ireland start being anxious about what will happen if Polish workers begin returning their homeland in large masses.

These and other similar facts prove that migration is an everyday phenomenon considered by everyone as extremely important. As a problem which we know how to deal with, although it constitutes an element of our reality. We don't know because we don't understand it completely.

As a phenomenon which is misunderstood, it may evoke opposite (or even ambivalent) feelings. On one hand, it is desired, because it assures a number of tasks to be completed, even though there is usually a lack of people who would like to work, it also stimulates the economic growth and maintenance of "European social model" by means of taxes and contributions made to the local systems of social insurance.

⁵ *Program konferencji „Migracja zarobkowa w Unii Europejskiej – problemy i wyzwania” – 24 September 2000*, Rzecznik Praw Obywatelskich, <http://www.rpo.gov.pl/index.php?md=3193&cs=1>, 26.09.2007.

⁶ See: *Dokument Roboczy w sprawie planu polityki w dziedzinie legalnej migracji*, Parlament Europejski Komisja Wolności Obywatelskich, Sprawiedliwości i Spraw Wewnętrznych, Gruber L. (reporter) http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/dt/648/648908/648908pl.pdf, 19.01.2007.

⁷ *The Green Paper on “EU approach to the management of economic migration”* (see: http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/doc_centre/immigration/work/doc/com_2004_811_pl.pdf) and the opinion of European Economic-Social Committee in that issue (see: <http://www.rpo.gov.pl/pliki/1190978272.pdf>) are commonly known. But, little do people know the opinion of the Independent and Self-governing Trade Union “Solidarity” (see: http://www.solidarnosc.org.pl/migracje/dokumenty/s_o_m/green_book.pdf). For the attitude of the Polish government towards the issues of the Green Paper – see: http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/news/consulting_public/emn/contributions/poland_pl.pdf.

Migration indicates also an exchange of ideas (artistic, scientific, political, religious), it enables people to learn about new visions of the world and broaden new horizons, it creates numerous opportunities to find an employment for our children. On the other hand, a lot of people feel great fear for migration, as, for example, they are afraid of losing a job or earning less money due to the flows of cheaper labour or the decrease (or increase) in the prices of fixed property. They are also anxious – the media share and sustain this feeling – about the augmentation of organised crime, especially human trafficking and its consequences: border-crossing prostitution, increase in drug abuse etc. – the establishment of new ghettos, riots in the streets, threats to the system of values etc.

Thus, there are continually maintained restrictions and controls of the flow of people, services and capitals: the quota system in certain branches, restrictions in acknowledgement of certificates, diplomas and qualifications, limits to the quantity of land that is purchased by foreigners, refusal to grant the rights for minorities that the immigrants are entitled to, the real language discrimination (in schools and offices) or cultural-religious discrimination (ban on wearing charshafs in schools or offices) etc.

More and more frequently do people debate upon possible for Europe and all particular member countries challenges that are brought about by the economic migration and upon what meaning the political agreements have on migrants. However, little is mentioned on the consequences of migration for the countries abandoned by migrants, or on the opinions of migrants themselves on the issues concerned. In general, the notion of re-emigration (return migration) is still obscure⁸.

Delivering the texts featured in this monograph, the author aims at taking up this challenge. The texts are the effect of work done by a team of researchers from Catholic University of Lublin and their co-workers from other countries co-operating in several international projects implemented within the framework of INTERREG initiative (*Migralink*, *Migravalue* and *Co-operation of Universities Supporting the Development of Lublin and Lviv Regions*). The following texts appear in a variety of forms – they are different in content and form. Describing migration from several different perspectives – from the point of view of various scientific disciplines, several different practical experiences or from the perspective of various countries – it creates an interdisciplinary picture which has been named by us as “an integrated, personalised attitude to the

⁸ I do not know if there is any research concerning the so called return of the Jews to Israel, but after ca. 2000 years since their emigration, it is difficult to classify this phenomenon within the framework of re-emigration. What more, it appears that also repatriation (or returning back to the homeland) after several generations on emigration (or in exile) – not to mention the so-called “repatriations” of 1944-1949, which in fact were displacements or “voluntary” resettlements decided under administrative, political or psychological pressure – cannot be included in re-emigration. One may talk about a real re-emigration only in the case of a single person who returns home after certain amount of time spent abroad.

economic migration”. Apart from extensive summaries of the scientific analyses supported with theoretical thought, with rich bibliography cited there, one may find short studies of practitioners being in touch with migrants (or being familiarised with phenomena similar to migration) in their regular administrative work. The latter ones may sometimes appear to be awkward in a theoretical sense, but, after all, they constitute reliable analyses of empirical data available to their authors in mother institutions, but unavailable outside. It must be stressed that, although the authors never give theoretical guidelines directly, they know and approve of the assumption⁹, common for the whole monograph, about the necessity of integrated (and therefore, interdisciplinary and comprehensive, too) approach to migration – with its consequences discussed in the article “An integrated approach to migration”.

In the English version of the monograph, as compared to the Polish and Ukrainian ones, one may find more of such concise but detailed studies, written in a number of countries (apart from the analyses made in Poland, there are results of the research done in Italy, Ukraine and Belarus – but also from Albania, Hungary, Slovakia, Germany and France). Therefore, we deal with an investigation carried out by the representative of the police and Civil Rights Department in a border city (Karlsruhe), together with a study by the representative of an international non-governmental organisation (IOM – Albania), with two analyses by representatives of the European Network of Employment abroad – EURES (France and Slovakia), with a survey of the Polish ministers (from the Ministries of Labour and Social Policy, of Internal and External Affairs), and also with reflections of top politicians, a Polish Member of the European Parliament (Z. Zaleski) and an Italian Senator, the Chairman of the Commission for Immigration and Interpol (S. Gozi¹⁰), both of them being university professors. We regard their contributions as valuable monographs, as they reveal such aspects of the issue or elaborate on such data that quite rarely appear in theoretical analyses. Therefore, they become available for the potential researchers in the future and indicate further steps for actions. Although, in fact, they constitute detailed studies of narrow and homogenous data, together with theoretical analyses covered in all the possible versions of the monograph, they create an interdisciplinary picture, forming the elements of a mosaic of “integrated presentation of the economic migration with personalised attitude”.

The division of this monograph into separate sections reflects the aspects of migration: a sociological and cultural, economic, legal, administrative, psychological and ethical aspects. We have presented migration in its social (from the European level downwards, through the national and regional ones, to the local and family levels)

⁹ Connected to a notion of a specialist in migration services (Migration Officer), elaborated within the framework of the previous project Migrest, whose profile was next prepared in details in the following projects.

¹⁰ An article by the latter, *Reflections on Immigration and Integration*, is contained only in the Polish and the Ukrainian versions of the monograph.

and individual dimensions. We have managed to achieve interesting results and we hope that the new look at certain aspects of migration that we have agreed upon will meet the expectations of the readers. For the purpose of highlighting the dimension of migration represented by “a humble man”, apart from analytical studies, a work of the film art was included in the Polish and English versions of the monograph – namely the screenplay of a documentary film “There and back” shot during the completion of one of the above mentioned projects.

Finally, we deal here with a monograph that accomplishes border and cross-border research, as migration implies continuous crossing of various boundaries (political, cultural, time, and others). Thus, in order to examine migration, one must keep crossing the boundaries of disciplines and methods, and finally, be able to accept the fact that this phenomenon will encounter entirely different interpretations, sometimes interpretations that may never be reconciled¹¹.

I want to make a few remarks on how the interdisciplinary image of migration may yet be extended. So far, nobody has ever dealt with the role of migrants (immigrants or re-emigrants) in the process of creating civil society, although migrants carry on, transfer – in both directions – and share their experience of functioning in another system¹². In recent times it has been frequently discussed (however only generally, without specific sociological analyses, so on the political or even journalism level) about the changes in mentality of Tibetans in exile – from a theocratic to a democratic society; about the process of evolution of more radical members of their diaspora towards the position modelled on that of the Palestine Liberation Organisation; or about the debate run by Dalai Lama XIV with the Jews concerning the experiences of the Diaspora of the latter in maintaining their national identity and culture for the last 2000 years. However nobody can hear about how Tibetans themselves contribute to the culture of the societies in which they have settled. Even less is mentioned about these notions with regard to migrants inside the European Union or re-emigrants.

¹¹ See: ZIĘBA M. S.: Activation of the borderland through protection and valorisation of its heritage. [In:] *Our Bug. Creating Conditions for Development of the Border Areas of Poland, Ukraine and Belarus through enhancement and preservation of natural and cultural heritage*, Zięba M. S. (eds.), The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Lublin 2008, pp. 21-28; WĘCŁAWSKI T.: *Idea Pracowni Pytań Granicznych*, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu: Pracownia Pytań Granicznych, <http://www.graniczne.amu.edu/prezent.html>, 08.02.2007; WĘCŁAWSKI T.: *Metodologia kompetencji. Co jest nauką, a co (jeszcze?) nie. Granice pojęciowe i metodologiczne*, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu Pracownia Pytań Granicznych, <http://www.graniczne.amu.edu/pl/PPGWiki/Wiki.jsp?page=MetodologiaKompetencji>, 01.05.2007.

¹² The only, timid note that touched upon this topic did I find in the paper: GALOR Z., GORYŃSKA-BITTNER B.: Wykorzenienie i migracje a „zasoby dla innych”. [In:] *Praca i kapitał społeczny w procesie budowy społeczeństwa obywatelskiego*, Stępień J. (eds.), Poznań, Akademia Rolnicza im. Augusta Cieszkowskiego – Wyższa Szkoła Nauk Humanistycznych i Dziennikarstwa w Poznaniu – Prodruck, 2006, pp. 103-114.

A religious dimension is also not touched upon – for example, there is no analysis of the pastoral work with migrants. In the secularised Europe, the religious needs of migrants are embarrassing to the decision makers so they are kept out of sight or met with silence¹³. My concern here is not only about an analysis from the perspective of the social teaching of the Catholic Church that was touched upon at the beginning. On one side, what is worth doing is a research made from a perspective that is external to a particular religion (denomination); and not necessarily from the secular or “liberal” one (which, according to politically correct assumptions, should be “more objective”), or even one that is “favourable, yet neutral in world view”, but also from the perspective of another religion. On the other hand, it would also be appropriate to carry out internal research (which may seemingly be threatened by subjectivism) from the theological perspective of a particular religion. Apart from the experience of the Roman-Catholic, Orthodox or Lutheran pastoral work with Polish, Romanian or Swedish emigration¹⁴ etc., I would willingly see some studies of Buddhist or Hindu pastoral works etc. (if such works exist at all, among the Vietnamese, Tibetans, Tamils or Sikhs), and particularly those of Muslim pastoral works are of interest to me in the context of discussion about Islam and its threat to the European identity¹⁵. Besides, it appears worth finding some general determinants, at least within the perspective of inter-religious dialogue¹⁶; and also dealing with pastoral challenge related to a possibility of changing confession while on emigration¹⁷.

¹³ See: DUDAŁA J.: *Our Father, któryś jest w niebie*, „Gość Niedzielny” 2008, LXXXV, No. 16 (20 kwietnia), pp. 16-19.

¹⁴ Again: about the Jewish Diaspora which lasted for longer than two thousand years and its experiences being important for Dalai Lama, it is, in fact, difficult to mention the category of “emigrant/immigrant pastoral work”; unless there have been any specific events in relation to the Jews arriving to Israel in the second half of the 20th century, e.g. from Ethiopia.

¹⁵ See the contribution of S. Gozi (*Some reflections on immigration and integration*) in the Polish and Ukrainian editions of this monograph, the discussion raised by the baptism of Magdi Cristiano Allam (see e.g. ZAJĄCZKOWSKA B.: *Najgłośniejszy chrzest*, „Gość Niedzielny” 2008, LXXXV, No. 14 (6 kwietnia), p. 16-19), or the legendary works by Oriana Fallaci.

¹⁶ Zob.: МОЗЕС П.: *Типови сусрета међу религијама*, „Теме” (Ниш), 2002, XXVI, No. 1 (јануар-март), p. 11-32.

¹⁷ RITTENHOUSE M.: *Naród religijnych migrantów*, „Tygodnik Powszechny” 2008, No. 16 (3067), 20 kwietnia, p. 10-11.

**Translated by Beata Wojciechowska.

I

THE PHENOMENON OF MIGRATION

Maciej St. Zięba*

An Integrated Approach to Migration Issues

Introduction

It is thought that migration is a structural element of the contemporary societies, a part of highly developed European economy, of the world of free competition and civil liberties. There arises a question as to whether migration as such is anything characteristic right for this period in the history of mankind, or whether rather nowadays it only displays some specific features which were previously unknown or hidden. After all, the economies and cultures of the United States of North America and Canada, of New Zealand, the Republic of South Africa, Argentina or Chile were built with immigrants' hands searching for better life. The population of Australia and Siberia, Brazil and Caribbean Islands is a good result of migration too (in many cases, it was an enforced migration). The spread of Arabic, English, Turkish or French languages took its source from the military and cultural expansion in which, when taken a deeper insight, one may also notice a phenomenon of migration by large masses of people.

The vice-rector of the Catholic University of Lublin, Rev. Prof. Mirosław Kalinowski once said¹: *We are all potential migrants. The mankind has migration deep in their nature because, as early as at the beginning of the world, Adam and Eve, the first human parents, had to leave their homeland in order to look for work elsewhere.* So, is there any point claiming that for the 21st century migration puts out any special challenge? Can it be said that some of the reasons motivating people to migrate have disappeared? Or, that there are no forms of migration caused by wars or natural disasters?

Maybe there are no more cases, on a large scale, of sending prisoners to penalty colonies or to Siberia's Gulags (Soviet forced-labour camps), or just of sentencing them to exile. Nor can one observe (on a large scale) "expansive" migration – the fact of conquering and settling new territories (read: territories taken from former inhabitants), as in principle every piece of our world has now had its owner or host. Yet the other relevant reasons which have stimulated people to migrate still exist. There is nothing characteristic for these days in the fact that in some regions of the world there is

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¹ During the opening ceremony of International Panel of Experts on Migration (Lublin, 2-3 April, 2006) in the framework of the Project „Migralink – Integration of Migrants in the Enlarged Europe and Policies for the Return of Productive Intellect”, Interreg III B CadSES (5C 062).

a demand for people to work, and in some others there is no job for them; that in some places natural disasters or wars occur while the other parts are peaceful and prosperous. It has always been so, it is now so, and it will be so in the future.

Three distinctive features of the modern phenomenon of migration

However, I can see three differences (I am not sure if I properly call them “fundamental differences”) between the former and the contemporary migration. The first one comes down to the question of information. As the organisers of the exhibition on Polish migrations to New Zealand entitled “At the End of the World”² could notice, it happened many times in the 19th century that to New Zealand came people (Kashubians and inhabitants of Kociewie, south of Gdańsk) who wanted to reach their close relations in the USA or Canada. They landed in New Zealand due to some mistakes of Prussian emigration officials, but it took them half a year or even longer to realise the error. Their families got to know about the facts after ages or even never. Today within half an hour, the whole Poland can quickly learn about a tragedy of a Chechen woman whose daughters froze to death in the forest in Bieszczady mountains during an attempt of illegal crossing the Polish-Ukrainian border. On the next day all the world already knows about it.

Formerly, therefore, migration existed somehow on the margin of the main events happening in the society, among others due to lack of communication. Distance and time necessary for the information to reach from another country resulted in the fact that the fate of emigrants/immigrants was only of a little range. Therefore, only few people could easily and freely decide to become migrants. These days, with the widespread access to the television and Internet, everyone (willy-nilly) becomes interested in what is going on with Polish workers in Italy, Ireland or Iceland, or what is the everyday life of refugees from Darfur (Sudan) to neighbouring Chad³. In this way, if somebody thinks of emigrating, he has an easier access to the information on conditions of work and life in the target country⁴ (or has an eased consideration and comparison of many potential destinations). Globalisation of the flow of information concerning migration makes decision about emigration (or re-emigration) easier and easier.

² GRIFFITHS P., PANFIL T., SIERADZKI P.: *Wystawa Na końcu świata – At the End of the World Exhibition*, [brochure], The Embassy of New Zealand, the Institute of Research of Polish Migration KUL (org.), Lublin 2008.

³ „Become interested” does not mean automatically that they devote more attention to his fact than while listening to or reading “a news”.

⁴ This fact does not imply automatically the information being reliable and honest, as can be visible in occasional sensational revelations about human trafficking of migrants to the camps of enforced labour or brothels.

The second aspect which differentiates the contemporary migrations from those of the 19th century or earlier times is represented by the fact that a growing number of countries⁵ creates some standards supposed to civilise migration. The standards concerning immigration or emigration coming from the 19th and 20th centuries perceived this phenomenon mainly within legal and economic categories. The countries, from which emigrants were coming, used to set up quotas of people leaving for some or other parts of the world (or quotas for particular professions) out of concern whether their state could “afford” sending larger number of emigrants, or on the contrary, letting the people stay in the country which was afflicted by economic difficulties. Immigration countries set up quotas of immigrants coming from certain areas (or of people with certain educational background, profession etc), thinking mainly whether their nation “could afford” taking in a larger or a smaller amount of immigrants within a certain period of time. (It was assumed at that time, that sooner or later immigrants should eventually assimilate themselves in the host country, so they tried not to take in immigrants completely different in culture, religion, civilisation or race, etc). Hardly anybody cared for an individual migrant, assuming that since one had taken such a radical step as migration, he should know how to deal with it.

Today, as a result of globalisation of information about conditions of migration (that is, due to the first characteristic feature of contemporary migration), these rules are becoming more and more similar. The existence of a world-wide system of care for human rights gives all these norms a form of caring standards concerning an immigrant himself and his family. People learn that in some part of the world immigrants are given certain rights or permits, so they do their best to bring the same rights into their own countries. (Those who attempt to introduce such norms most often are immigrants themselves, but sometimes they are also “natives” of good will). Hearing about the problems triggered off by an unregulated immigration in other countries, they try to prevent similar problems in their states.

The discussion on Green Paper on the approach of the European Union approach to migration management reveals that considering emigration only within the two “classical” categories – legal and economic – is not enough today. The rules need to be humanised.

The third characteristic phenomenon is the multiculturalism of migration. We simultaneously take in immigrants from various countries and from different cultures. In immigrant countries, people from the whole world appear, everybody bringing his own cultural inventory. Previously, such a clash of cultures happened only in the case of migrations of highly expansive (e.g. conquerors, etc) or enforced character (e.g. slave trade), today they occur on a daily basis in completely peaceful and voluntary

⁵ In this context, the European Union may be regarded as supra-state rather than as an international organisation or supranational body.

situations. Over many years, the United States used to limit the flow of Chinese and Japanese people, in the fear of their different culture (and their aversion to assimilation, coming from this difference); these days, apart from Negroes (Afro-Americans) and Asians, the USA have a great deal of Latino and Caribbean people. The first to encounter such situation on a large scale were the inhabitants of the former colonial countries; Indonesians, Papuans and Surinamese in Holland, Algerians, Senegalese or Vietnamese in France, Pakistanis, Hindus or Kenyans in Great Britain in the 1960s were but a shy start prequel to a of the phenomenon we experience in the contemporary world. However, the West of today is the land of new, self-generating ghettos and not a “melting pot”.

This arises in a natural way from the two aforementioned characteristics. The Western countries provide with a relative peace and good conditions of life, the rights of every incomer are protected by public institutions on analogical basis as the rights of every citizen, and such information easily reaches everywhere. However, this does not mean that we are ready enough for such a situation.

It is very easy to travel within the Schengen Zone in Europe and that is why it is difficult to research the human mobility here. Implementation of the free movement of people, services and capital (even though not fully perfect) caused liquidation of one of the basic sources providing statistical information about people’s movements (Border Guards’ data) and it hinders the use of other, so far obvious sources (e.g. “registration” data, data from business activity registration in the place of residence, data about the place of tax payment etc.). Migration becomes a hidden phenomenon as a result of its excessive overtness (“The darkest place is under the lamp”) and prevalence in daily life (ubiquity); as long as a migrant does not stand out with his appearance from other people it is even more and more difficult to identify him. This requires a new methodological approach to research into the phenomenon of migration. So far it has been with great difficulty that the research of illegal migration has been made – now, similar efforts will need to be put to a research of legal migration. Former research concerned mostly long-term migrations and forced migrations; now a “pendulum” (or commuting) migration and one that is as if casual become a rule. No one has researched into the phenomenon of re-emigration on a larger scale. Research on ethical aspects thereof is still in its infancy...

Importance of Migrest, Migralink and Migravalue projects

The reflection over aforementioned topics was made easier for the authors of the following monograph by their participation in three international projects concerning some issues of migration, lead by Italian partners from Veneto province: namely

Migrest⁶, Migralink⁷, and Migravalue⁸. Not intending to handle with their thorough presentations, I would like to pay attention to certain issues which are important and relevant for the proper understanding of migration, as it was perceived in our projects. They had three common purposes. The first was to examine some little known facts concerning the phenomenon of migration (and basing on that – to presentat some recommendations). The secondwas to carry out certain innovative trainings on a integrated approach to the issues of migration in order to create a group of specialists in migration affairs. The third, to propose (plann and construct) and to implementat certain pilot ventures connected with management of migration.

The study of these little known facts concerned among others the relationship between the professional success while abroad and an inclination to come back, or re-emigrate. The re-emigration⁹ has scarcely been studied over, so little is known why certain people decide to return rather than to stay abroad, and some other decide the other way round – to be on emigration and not to return home. Even in such country as Italy, which preserves a long-term tradition of re-emigration from over the ocean, this phenomenon is uninvestigated and hardly known. Do emigrants come back to the country of origin when they succeed or when they fail? Are they fully economically productive or are they rather already retired (when nothing more keeps them “in a strange land”)? Do projects supporting the maintenance of business contacts with the hosting country after having come back to the country of origin have a chance to be successful? Will it be possible to arrange them in a system or do they rather belong to a category of individual business contacts and as a systematic solution they are...a chimera?

What should be the goal of social politics aimed at migrants – in the country of origin and in the welcoming country? Should some synchronised actions of both these countries be undertaken? And if so, then what kind of actions should they be?

It seems that it is obvious (from theoretical analysis) who (which society) incurs the costs and who gathers the profits. However, do people in the welcoming country and in the sending country have this knowledge? The migrants themselves? The clerks who encounter a migrant?

In what way, do the migrants support their families left in the country – through informal channels or would they be willing to accept a new system specially constructed for them which would support their social needs, those of their families and their future investments?

⁶ *Migrest – Pilot Programme on the Impact of Enlargement for the Regions Bordering the Candidate Countries (2004-2005)*, <http://www.migrest.net/>.

⁷ *Migralink – Integration of Migrants in the Enlarged Europe and the Policies for the Return of Productive Intellect (2005-2007)*, <http://www.migralink.org/>.

⁸ *Migravalue – Steering Economic and Social Cohesion in the Cadses Space: Valuing Migration as a Development Tool (2006-2008)*, <http://www.migravalue.net/>.

⁹ Some authors write “remigration” or “return migration”.

The Chinese are well known (maybe these are rumours) for the fact that whole villages gather money for a journey of one emigrant who later returns the local society's favour by sending them financial support or by bringing other immigrants. Do European emigrants also care for the regions of their origin or do they think that if they did not find job there and they had to leave, they have no more obligations? There are a lot of questions and only a few answers.

Learning them requires researching into the motivation of people's actions in both their individual (psychological) aspect and the environmental (sociological) one, taking into account the social influence factor. An element of this is migrants' perception of their motives as the ground of their own decisions: the decisions concerning emigration and return, prior to or during that (while abroad). It has been necessary to investigate to what extent this decision is conscious and justified, "maybe not rational, but consistent"¹⁰. What has also been studied has been the tendency of emigrants to make certain economic decisions, like saving money for other than consumptive purposes (consumption postponement), locating some part of the resources for a future enterprise or for social assistance to the families who stayed in the native country – especially not through a direct assistance, but through a kind of system security. It enabled us to notice a clear individual, family and cultural¹¹ dimensions in economic emigration.

It appears to me that on this occasion, it is worth debunking a myth. In the contemporary world, migration is frequently divided into economic and non-economic. In other words, we assume that these are kinds of migration which are completely different from an ordinary job migration. Probably, with the first motive (push factor) it is not true, but not as far as the further results are taken into consideration. Every migration – whether in search for education, for shelter before ethnic persecutors, or for joining the family, or as a form of escape from the results of tsunami – will eventually end up in the need of finding work. After all, we all work to feed ourselves.

Among the pilot ventures proposed, following the results of the aforementioned study, a new model of a well-educated specialist in migration issues (*migration officer*) was created. With this notion, one could understand a person who is in touch with migrants while working in a specifically defined and specialised administration, but having achieved an additional profile, making him/her capable of grasping the true meaning of various intricate problems of a migrant himself, of the environment which he leaves and of the society which accepts him as he is coming. With the aim of establishing an appropriate, integrated system of migrants' service, the project involved

¹⁰ According to a praxeological convention: "a human being acts not so much rationally but consequently consistently: his activity is always motivated". TRZCIENIECKA-SCHNEIDER I.: Pojęcie granicy i krańcowości. [In:] *Etyka wobec sytuacji granicznych*, Probućka D. (ed.), Impuls, Kraków 2007, p. 407-8.

¹¹ Nonetheless, without too many theoretical generalities, of the kind of the theory of cultural dimensions by Geert Hofstede.

the need of generating (pursuant to a network of specially trained “*migration officers*”) some regional chains of support to migrants and professional mobility in all the countries which participated in the projects. The second pilot venture consisted in creating a model of a system for administrative (institutional), political (legal) and economic (financial) instruments which would induce successful emigrants, to return to their homelands so as to be able to function within the network of economic connections with the country they used to work in¹². The third project focused upon designing local plans of actions in the regions and local government administrations which were affected by the problem of emigration. The project gave some advice on how to cope with an issue of depopulation and lack of manpower on the local market¹³, with social problems of the families who stayed at home etc. Working out common recommendations and guidelines for regional, national, interstate (bilateral) and European social policies in reference to migrants themselves and to their families, to regions of emigration and to those of immigration – basing on the aforementioned findings – and instilling the idea of necessity for such change in the decision makers’ groups in the partner regions may turn out to be the important permanent contribution towards improving the social situation in the decade to come.

The third important aspect of the three projects has implied trainings on the subject of an integrated approach to the issue of migration for the aforementioned specialists in migration. In principle, within the context of my previous analysis, it is not difficult to guess what they are to be about. A migrant cannot be perceived only in most frequently applied categories: legal (the issue of legitimacy and illegitimacy of his stay, legitimacy of his employment, reunification of families, cross-border delinquency, etc) and economic (the issue of finding jobs by all migrants and the need of meeting the demand for particular kind of work in the host country, the issue of payment of social contributions etc. or in contrary, receiving unemployment allowances and other social benefits if a migrant did not succeed on the job market). The following questions: *Did the migrant contribute to the economic development of the host region and country? In what ways did the fact of his emigration become conducive to the development of his country and region which he had left? (Did the emigration diminish or make the problems grow even higher?)* are political questions, so, finally, for those who govern a country, all legal and economic issues come down to political issues (*Does migration constitute a problem or benefit for the country? Is it a problem or success for the people in government? A problem or benefit for voters?* etc.).

An integrated approach to migration must imply the proper perception of individual and general (on every level of community) costs and benefits of migration.

¹² *MigraLink Work Package 5: Strategie per la migrazione di ritorno. Strategies for return migration*, Pauletti E, Sommariva R. (ed.), Unioncamere de Veneto – Eurosportello del Veneto, [Mestre] 2007.

¹³ There are a lot of proposals as to how to deal with an extensive flow of immigrants and tackle the problems concerning population, this one is one of the least mentioned within the contrary issue.

The ethical dimension

A migrant ought to be perceived as a person. A person is an individual who functions in an environment (on different levels: from family through local, regional, national, religious as far as to international society). Therefore, a migrant also ought to be perceived – within the categories appropriate for these levels: psychological, cultural, religious, patriotic, sociological and ethical – as a human.

A migrant is to be treated as a subject. He cannot be regarded (or treated) exclusively as an object of someone else's actions, nor as an instrument to satisfy someone else's purposes, even those most proper ones. A migrant cannot be regarded only as a manpower which is to bring about the efficient functioning of economy and of the "European social model", but he is a person with his accumulated experience, his own view of the world (conditioned by the culture), purposes and aspirations. Apart from satisfying purely material needs (such as food, clothing, shelter), a migrant, who has come to a foreign country, needs some space to fulfil some higher, cultural, religious and social needs. When failed to discern the fact that *We called for a work force, but we got humans*¹⁴, may finally result in riots, such as those in the outskirts of many French cities from 2005.

In order for a migrant to feel as a subject, we cannot treat him only based on categories of regulations and rights given to him by somebody (for example by a national government or by the European Commission), but he ought to be treated also within categories of obligations which rest with him towards some groups of people. Rights make a person feel free. Obligations make him feel necessary. Obligations do not mean that a migrant may be used by someone else, or be abused by someone or become useful for the realisation of someone else's aims which go beyond him, but that he himself may apply himself to something.

What are these obligations? Firstly, obligations towards those who are closest to him – the family and friends, or neighbours. The fact of emigration does not exempt or excuse us from anything. Therefore, a breakdown of the family proves that emigration has brought about more harm than good. Next, a migrant has some obligations towards the community, so the nation, where he was brought up and educated (one can say – which have given him the core!) facilitating further activities or job commitments taken up by him (including starting a job while on emigration). . A migrant is supposed to respect his national culture, to care for the good name of his country and to resist easy temptations of depreciating it as an "inferior" country (only because he couldn't find job there); he is expected to cultivate all these best things which were given to him in his home land, and preserving it for the future (that is: not to lose his own culture). Some other obligations rest with a migrant towards the host community

¹⁴ Quoting a famous speech by Max Frisch: *Wir riefen Arbeitskräfte, und es kamen Menschen*

which accepted him – an obligation of respecting it in its own identity, so also in its otherness from a migrant's native community. He must not despise it, especially when being convinced of superiority of his own culture, since this community has accepted him and has given him support. Finally, a migrant has obligations towards himself. He should cultivate himself, care for improvement of his social status, he should not regress, making a headway or become stuck (even while working below his qualifications). Emigrations ought to be treated as an opportunity to invest in one's abilities, to benefit not only from material but also spiritual matters: a chance to pick up some new phenomena, new vision on the world, new organisational culture, or at least to learn a new language. Especially, in an attempt to satisfy a short-term aim, a migrant may not forget about his system of values, ideas and practices which he has believed in so far, he may not "debase himself" just for the sake of success – at any cost. It does not happen rarely that migrants lose what they have, and in this way contribute to the breakdown of their families, they debase themselves and end up in the gutter, depreciating their country and culture. This affects both the country of the migrant's origin (his society) and the host country which has accepted him – the latter, because those who assimilate themselves there are people who lost part of their dignity.

Not only a migrant has obligations; both communities, the sending and the hosting one, have certain obligations towards him because a migrant has something to offer to both of them. These obligations – beside his inborn human dignity – constitute a source of all his rights. Nonetheless, a migrant is not to be considered in the categories of rights (or entitlements) only. Such an approach, belonging to a category of "political correctness", breeds a false inclination to make people tolerate things that should never be tolerated. Or, on the side of a migrant, this may give rise to a wish of pursuing by himself for what he is entitled to, in his opinion; Such an approach, one may call it Marxist or extremely liberal, reduces a human being to a machine of desires.

And the other way round – one should not be considered in the categories of obligations only – commitments taken on. We ought to speak also about the natural right that he is entitled to: the right to equality, justice, freedom, solidarity. One side of them (either rights or obligations) cannot obscure the other side, replace it and appropriate a migrant.

Researchers relatively rarely take up specific ethical issues in reference to the situation of migrants. Some try to create a theoretical base in the form of the so-called global ethics¹⁵. However, it concerns generally every multicultural situation or transcultural meeting and does not specifically concern the situation of a migrant. Global ethics is also most often confused with the issues of ecological ethics, which may refer to the situation of a migrant only in a very distant and metaphorical way. Moreover, global ethics is often marked with the currently popular cultural relativism or at least

¹⁵ See: *Idea etyczności globalnej*, Janusz Sekuła (ed.), Wydawnictwo Seculum, Siedlce 1999.

with strong subjectivism. This does not help us work out a proper point of departure to understand the ethical situation of a migrant (a person stemming from one environment and functioning in a different cultural context) and that of his surrounding. Therefore a lack of solid theoretical (normative) basis for the analysis of ethical cases occurs – one of the two pillars of reliable ethics falls down.

When applied ethics is concerned, in a very skimpy literature¹⁶ of the subject, we may find two types of issues which should be classified as the elements of social ethics¹⁷: macro-ethical issues (political ethics) and mezzo-ethical ones (business ethics, administration ethics). The micro-ethical issues are rarely or never brought about (individual ethics of the migrant himself and of his closest surroundings). Besides, ethical issues of migration are most often placed in the context of illegal immigration and practically no one (apart from the Popes in their addresses for the World Day of Migrants and Refugees¹⁸) takes care for the ethical issues of legal migration.

Issues of political ethics concern the attitude of the host country towards migrants and the ethical dimension of immigration policy. They concern mainly the issues of non-discrimination (critic of statutory exclusion of some immigrant groups; issues of equal access to social security benefits and to decent work – rejection of exploitation) and tolerance (for race, language, cultural or religious diversity etc.). It is interesting that no-one¹⁹ brings about the issue of the ethical dimension of emigration policy of the sending country (apart from the critic of legal limitations to leave as limitations of one's basic freedom).

Researchers try to place migrant business ethics (if ever mentioning it) in the general context of ethical codes of business and in the context of socially responsible entrepre-

¹⁶ See: 1. *The Ethics of Migration and Immigration*, Santa Clara University Markkula Center for Applied Ethics, http://www.scu.edu/ethics/search/index.cfm?cx=015735913753929981099%3Aufbludde_8g&cof=FORID%3A9&q=migration&hq=#907, May 2007; 2. *Discussion platform - Theological reflection on migration*, Oikoumene, World Council of Churches, <http://www.oikoumene.org/en/programmes/the-wcc-and-the-ecumenical-movement-in-the-21st-century/global-platform-for-theology-and-analysis/2007-reflection-on-migration.html>, October 2007; 3. *Migrants et migrations*, „Projet”, Ceras – Recherche et Action sociales, <http://www.ceras-projet.com/index.php?id=162>, février 2008.

¹⁷ For various classification models of applied ethics, see: ŚLIPKO T.: *Zarys etyki szczegółowej*. T. I: *Etyka osobowa*, T. II: *Etyka społeczna*; Wyd. WAM, Kraków 2005; tenże: *Zarys etyki ogólnej*, Wyd. WAM, Kraków 2004; HOŁÓWKA J.: *Etyka w działaniu*, Prószyński i S-ka, Warszawa 2001; *Etyka ... w nauce ... w polityce ... w medycynie ... w biznesie*, Zdunek A. (red.), Lubelskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Lublin 2003.

¹⁸ See some detail bibliographic data in the *Foreword* to the present work.

¹⁹ Apart from the Pope John Paul II, who – as the only one – raises e.g. the issue of the right not to emigrate. See: ORCZYKOWSKI A.: *Prawa człowieka w Orędziach Ojca Świętego Jana Pawła II na Światowy Dzień Migranta*, Parafia Wniebowzięcia N.M.P., Wągrowiec, 2006; [parafia-internetowa.pl, http://www.parafia-internetowa.pl/?dzial=2&id=285](http://www.parafia-internetowa.pl/?dzial=2&id=285), 03.10.2006.

neurship²⁰. I am not convinced that this is either the most proper context, or the only proper one. The same applies to administration: the issues of migration management ethics are placed (again – mentioning them only casually, marginally) in the general context of good administration practice, among civil service codes of ethics, fight with corruption and similar issues. No-one thinks that administrations of both countries (the sending and the accepting one) have a more important role to fulfil than only making proper decisions (“accept” – “send back”). The success of many individual migration projects depends on the proper approach to a prospective (“potential”) and actual (“real”) migrant, mainly on the reliable information (“incompetence is immoral”²¹) and on the support given. Demoralisation of individual migrants is very often caused by individual failure, which affects both the host country and society as well as the sending ones. Administrations, however, (even the EURES network), do not have any planned prevention models of education, they rather have the legalistic, decision making-repressive model instead.

It seems that in order to create a proper model of ethical analysis of the migrant’s and society’s ethical situation, in which the migrant functions, one has first to overcome the politically correct cultural relativism (a good point of departure is the critic of the ethical cultural relativism and of the strong cultural subjectivism together with the tolerance analysis done by I. Lazari-Pawłowska²²). Secondly, one has to conduct proper analysis of the specific migrant’s situation (a person alienated from his cultural environment) as a situation particularly vulnerable to the birth of anomy: temporary abandoning (“putting in brackets”) of basic values accepted and of an easy finding (“arranging”) of specific, strong reasons for this practice.

A bit of futurology

Everything shows that migration processes – together with the “acceleration of the world”- will intensify in all directions; in the case of the more open EU common market one will talk more rarely about the “commonly preferred directions”. The number of destination countries (accepting, welcoming, hosting ones) will increase;

²⁰ See e.g. *Impreditorialità responsabile. Une raccolta di esempi di buona prativa rilevati tra le piccole e medie imprese di tutta Europa*, Commissione europea Direzione generale per le imprese (ed.), Lussemburgo, Ufficio delle pubblicazioni ufficiali delle Comunità europee, 2004; *ABC of the main instruments of the Corporate Social Responsibility*, European Commission Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs Unit D.1 (ed.), Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2004 („Industrial relations and industrial change”).

²¹ GRONKIEWICZ-WALTZ H., GOWIN J.: *Niekompetencja jest niemoralna*, „Znak” 1998, No. 513 (lut), p. 11-19.

²² See: ŚLICZNIAK D.: *Relatywizm i tolerancja w ujęciu Iji Lazari-Pawłowskiej*. [In:] *Pluralizm i tolerancja*, Wiliński K. (ed.), Wydawnictwo UMCS, Lublin 1998, s. 11-128.

the number of return countries will also increase (countries, to which former emigrants will readily be coming back). Countries perceived so far as “rich” will more often become countries sending migrants to countries perceived so far as “poor”. At least the former will less frequently be perceived as explicitly host countries **only**.

It seems that there will be fewer explicit situations (“emigrant is a person who left his country permanently or for a long time”) and the phenomenon of short-term emigration (more than a year but less than 5 years) and the phenomenon of pendular or circular migration (repeating stays lasting less than half of a year) will intensify. The number of countries paying transit service to other forms of migration (stay below one year) and the number of temporary stay countries, where the migrants will emigrate or come back, will also increase. The phenomenon of gradual emigration (by stages: first from A to B, and then from B to C) and especially that of return emigrations (from A to B, then back from B to A)²³ will probably intensify.

In essence, many things indicate the growing possibility of co-existence in the same areas of alternate (criss-crossing) migration phenomena (some emigrate from A to B and at the same time others emigrate from B to A). Maybe this way a new melting pot will emerge? Of course, this phenomenon will be more and more difficult to examine, and what follows – more and more interesting (challenging to a researcher).

In the area of the Schengen Zone (EU +EEA) first of all, after having abolished the control on the internal borders and after gradual abolishing of the settlement restraints, the remaining restraints on migration phenomenon will not have formal character any more; they will become individual (internal) restraints of a potential migrant. The decisive role will be played by the abilities and personal features truly possessed, by motivation, as well as by self-evaluation and evaluation of the external situation in both locations. All this poses an even greater challenge for those who intend to face up to the negative effects of migration because they will not be controlled any way, even statistically.

Summing up

The following monograph is aimed at presenting the results of our reflections concerning the aforementioned issues, primarily taking into account the low level perspective: that of individual motivation, psychological benefits and expenses, micro-economics, influence of migration on family situation, cultural outcomes, and ethical dimension of migration as a social phenomenon. Of course we couldn't forget about the aspects traditionally discussed in this context: the legal and the macro-economical one. Both these dimensions are really essential for the functioning of the societies

²³ On the subject of proper understanding of “return migration” (“re-emigration”), see the *Foreword*.

which have become afflicted by migration, both of them are dynamically changing. Since in the globalisation era – especially in the area of the common European Union market – an exchange of experience between different countries is more and more necessary, we have invited our partners from various institutions in Poland, from neighbouring countries and from the countries co-operating with us on the projects within the framework of the Interreg III programme: Migralink, Migravalue and the Co-operation of Universities Supporting the Development of the Regions, to share their opinions on the subject. Their reports on a situation in their countries (or government departments) are the basis for further discussion.

In order to have a clearer and more integrated vision of migration, one must be able to discern a number of aspects in different kinds of migration (which are divided on the account of motivation), to understand them and to function in their presence. The regional or national administrations which deal with the management of migration flows on their territories and which cope with the effects of such flows, must either become polyvalent administrations (which, taking into consideration the increasing specialisation of public administration units, may be difficult), or learn how to function in co-operation networks with other administrations, entrepreneurs, public interest institutions, commercial institutions and non-governmental organisations. In a migrant they must recognise a human being with his culture, and not only a paper in a binder “legal worker”-“refugee”-“illegal, deportation”.

Living up to these expectations constitutes a real challenge for the 21st century²⁴.

** Translated by Beata Wojciechowska.

Migrations – Changes of Social Position

1. Introduction into the problems of migration

In sociology migration is most generally defined either as a change of place in the social structure and described as vertical migration, or as a change of the dwelling place, and then it is described as horizontal migration. The first is a change in the social space of man, a change of his status, a place in the system of “interpersonal relations, distances, and hierarchies.”¹ The relations and distances may be perceived as a result of functions played by the individual or group “in the division of labour or acquired knowledge,”² and also with a view to the wealth that the individual or group have, their education and health, or with a view to their privation or deficiency. The shift of social position causes changes that mean social advance – when they are combined with new competencies, a higher rank in a job, a higher material position, the increase of social capital in the life of the individual or group. This shift can also mean degradation, a loss of the hitherto material standards, privileges, rights and respect attributed to a position, and the loss of social capital.

The change of the place in the social space, social position, in a hierarchy do not necessarily mean a parallel change of the place of life and sojourn. It is a reflection, a consequence of advance or degradation and its indicator (e.g. dwelling in a better housing estate or in a hostel for the homeless). And vice versa: a change of the dwelling place (at home and/or abroad) may, although not necessarily, cause a change in the social situation as regards the hitherto relations and social closeness or distance.

Recently, observing people’s migration in the quest for a job in general, or a better-paid job, we often speak about migration in the second meaning, as a migration connected with the change of place in the geographical, territorial space, including the change of the dwelling place, job, and life. Generally, although this is not sufficiently marked, together with a change of the geographical space there are changes in social situation, in social space, social contacts and distances among migrants. The changes may be associated with advance and degradation. During and as a result of the change

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¹ OSSOWSKI S.: *O strukturze społecznej*. Warszawa, PWN, 1982, p. 114.

² PACHOLSKI M., SŁABOŃ A.: *Słownik pojęć socjologicznych*. Kraków, Akademia Ekonomiczna w Krakowie, 1997, p. 179.

of the dwelling place there is a change in the subjects of social contacts and the character of contacts. Some social distances come to existence and become more profound, and others are eliminated (the relations with former acquaintances are changed, new acquaintances are made, introduction or loss of a place in the group of interests).

The change of place in the social or territorial situation may concern individuals, families, or even whole social groups, usually national or ethnic. Depending on who makes changes – the individual, or the group, the consequences of migration may have a different character. The migrating individual changes many or almost all social relations (it is necessary to make acquaintance in a new milieu). The migrating group (e.g. family, friends) may change little in the relations inside the group. New relations are made only outside the group, thus individual consequences of migration for the migrating individual in a group may be lesser than in the case of individual migration.

Changes in the social situation of migrants and consequences for their gains (profits) and losses (costs) depend also on the character of migration.

One of the division of migration takes into account the criterion of the freedom of migration – whether the decision to migrate is independent of or dependent on migrants. Taking into consideration this criterion we divide migration into:

- enforced, a change of the dwelling place caused by actions and pressures of a political character:
 - as deportations and relocations which in general concern the whole social groups, usually of ethnic and national character (displaced persons, refugees);
 - as an escape from relocations, threat to one's life and/or health (refugees);
 - under a pressure, in general political (“one-way passport,” political emigrants);
- free – decided when there is no threat or external coercion
 - usually because differences, disproportion in payment and employment between the country (place) or origin and the country (place) where one is looking for a job and payment,
 - because of differences in the standards of life and education,
 - in order to join one's family.

Another division of migration takes into account its main causes. They are, as it were, written in the goals of migration, in the expected gains when the dwelling place is changed. According to the criterion of causes one mentions here economic and non-economic migrations.

- * Economic migrations – generally, they take place when one is looking for a job and better salaries; they are intended to gain material profits and embrace two groups of economic migrants: “migrants of survival,” for whom the goal is to obtain any means to satisfy their basic needs (food, clothes, renovation, debts)

and “mobile migrants”³ who tend to improve their life standards (a good car, a house), accumulate funds for investment and other ways to develop.

* Non-economic migrations whose sources are the following:

- educational aspirations, more frequent in recent years – oriented at the increasing of the broadly understood life capital (knowledge and professional competencies) of migrating persons;
- religious persecutions, tourism, pilgrimages⁴ – they are intended to seek safety for the confession of one’s faith, to fulfil religious practices or those ordered by their faith (e.g. pilgrimages to Mecca);
- natural disasters and ecological catastrophes (damages in nuclear reactors, e.g. the relocation from the region of Chernobyl) – finding a new territory for living in place of the destroyed one;
- political migrations – as an effect of war, struggles between the world political camps (cold war), refuges and relocations connected with the change of borders – in each case they are organised to safeguard physical safety, protection of life and health (the migrant’s and his close relatives’).

This division shows that the change of place does not have to be permanent, e.g. educational or job migration. Therefore as an additional criterion the division includes the period of migration. Then the division determines whether migration is permanent (with plans and intentions to stay), temporal (long-term – not shorter than a year, and short-term – longer than a year), and seasonal (usually, it is connected with the season of working in agriculture or picking fruits of the forest). Undoubtedly, with regard to the length of migration, and its particular stages, there may be various kinds of gains and losses, and their various levels.

In many cases openness – legality of migration is important. Assuming this criterion, we have the following kinds of migration: legal, illegal, and transitional period: applying for asylum, temporal residence permit, employment and education permits.

Taking into account that fact the legality of residence abroad does not always correspond with the declared goals of a trip (and in addition whether a job is legal or illegal), one may distinguish three situations: the first, when migration and work are legal; the second, when migration is legal but work is not legal; and the third, when migration and work are illegal. It is obvious that the legality or illegality of residence

³ Migrants of survival – when migration is a reaction to the misery of the ways of survival; mobile migrants – when migration is supposed to raise personal well-being outside one’s country, and better chances are sought. *Studia o procesach migracji zagranicznych*. T. II *Ekonomiczne aspekty procesów migracyjnych*, „Instytut Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych. Studia i Materiały” 1989, No. 3, p. 32-33.

⁴ A. Maryński points to migrations related to pilgrimages in the Arabian countries. He gives an example of Sudan as a country along the main route of „religious migrations to Mecca whose participants, the black Muslims from the zone of Sahel in Africa, stop on their way in the Sudan for a number of years and often stay for good.” In 1956 the number of pilgrims amounted to 560.000, i.e. over 5% of the whole population of the country. MARYŃSKI A.: *Migracje w świecie*. Warszawa, PWN, 1984.

and/or work is combined with the migrants' rights and gains and/or lack of rights, risk and/or actual exploitation, threat, and losses.

It is not without significance for an analysis of the consequence of migration, especially in the individual and family dimensions, to define the participant of migration and who stays at home/in the country of residence, what functions and tasks in the family were played by the migrant up to now, whether and to what extent those who stay are able to take over the migrant's tasks, and what are and what changes undergo the ties and mutual relation between the migrants and those who stay at home.

2. Forced migrations – whose gains, whose losses?

Our study is devoted mainly to job migration. An analysis of the consequences of migration (gains and losses) will more complete, when we learn the mechanisms and causes of other migrations, especially enforced migration. It is especially worth focusing on the goals and consequences associated with enforced migrations. Such an analysis seems important because it unveils very specific motivations undertaken by a country that has never been a “sending” country (because people stayed in the same country), or a “receiving” country. It is such a country that through terror and directions actions changed the situations of people, their families, and the whole national or ethnic groups, forcing them to leave their places of life, work, and residence. Thus it carried out its various plans, although mainly political and exterminatory. On the other hand, using the physical, intellectual potential and enforced labour of the relocated people, treated only as labour force, often deprived even of their basic and elementary needs, the rulers of the country accomplished their goals of economic and demographic character.

Putting aside the earlier Polish experiences of the period of the partitions and repressive transportation to Siberia, I wish remind you the actions taken by Russia after 1917. As early as 1927 a national conference of workers was called to discuss the “issue of relocations,”⁵ and its resolutions were soon accepted by the central political authorities. They became a basis of the programme of “spec-relocations,” which affected the whole ethnic groups in the territory of the Soviet Union⁶. The relocations would send people to undeveloped territories with a small number of inhabitants and harsh natural and climatic conditions. Leaving other goals out of consideration, that motivated Stalin and other inspirers and executives of spec-relocations, their effect was supposed above all to develop those territories and solve demographic problems there.

⁵ KOWALSKA E.: Podstawy prawne przymusowych przesiedleń narodów Związku Radzieckiego. [In:] *Migracje i społeczeństwo. Zbiór studiów*. Zamojski J. E. (ed.), Warszawa, Instytut Historii PAN, 1995, p. 71.

⁶ БУГАЙ Н. Ф.: *Северь в политике переселения народов*, „Северь” (Петрозаводск) 1991, No. 4, s. 92-99. KOWALSKA E., op. cit., s. 71.

Now in the years of 1935-38, in the period preceding the Second World War relocations were organised to “build a safe borderland” (120.000 Koreans and 8.000 Chinese were relocated from the Far East – from the Buryat-Mongol Republic and Khabarovsk, Primorskiy Land to Kazakhstan and Central Asia; the Finns from Leningrad; the Poles and the Germans from Ukraine and Byelorussia). In that period the official justification and at the same time pretext for mass relocations was to prepare the country for the looming war and counteract the “intensive intelligence and sabotage actions”⁷.

During the war, mainly in the years 1940-44, apart from mass deportations of the Polish people from the territories of the Second Republic ca. one million Germans were relocated to Kazakhstan, the Altai Land, to the Regions of Novosibirsk, and Omsk⁸.

In that period 4 decrees about relocations and organisational-administrative changes were issued. In conformity with the law made by Moscow they made it possible to eliminate republics or national districts, to change borders, but mainly they were a pretext to split national groups into various administrative units⁹. Now the deserted territories were then settled by inhabitants from other republic and nationalities. The repression was supposed to be a punishment for treason (soldiers returning from war were also treated as traitors), for helping the invader, for making bands in the liberated territories¹⁰. The hidden goal of enforced migration was to destroy the sense of nationhood, ethnic, social, and religious ties. In the latter sense the authorities sought to make society entirely atheistic, hence the relocations were forms of a battle against any religion, for each of them created a tissue, a very strong tie that gathered the whole social groups.

Relocations caused also another consequences. During the war the Crimean Tatars were relocated eastward. I quote this example to show how tremendous were the effects resulting from a change of the physical space. The context of this change is important and the way in which it is implemented. We know the conditions of deportations from the history of Poles, of our relatives, acquaintances, or from literature. L. Alekseyev, among others, writes as follows: “in the night people were driven out their homes by the NKVD, without any warning; they were driven to livestock vans,

⁷ Ibidem.

⁸ The repression undertaken in the Ukraine in the years 1935-36 aimed at Poles who resisted collectivisation. Together with the action of hunger in the Ukraine, again to quench resistance against collectivisation, did not bring about any special changes in the relocation of population. Rather, they resulted in depopulation of the territory which could then be peopled by other inhabitants.

⁹ In December 1943 the Kalmuk Republic was eliminated and the Astrakhan District created. In March 1944 the Chechen-Ingush Republic was eliminated, and in April the Balkars from the Kabardyn-Balkar Republic were relocated and the republic was renamed the Kabardyn Republic. Quoted after: KOWALSKA E., op. cit., p. 72.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 71.

which were then sealed, and sent eastward [...], where they were settled as special settlers. The conditions of the journey were extremely harsh, the settlers were not adapted to the climate, they experienced hunger and nostalgia. During the first six months 195.471 people died, i.e. 42.6% of all the deported. After the war the Crimean Tatars, who fought in the Soviet Army, were relocated to the same places”¹¹.

In the 1940s they were not allowed to go back home. By virtue of the decree of the Council of State (26th November 1948) “Fugitives from the places of obligatory and permanent settlement, relocated to the far regions of the Soviet Union during the war, will be brought to justice.” For leaving their exile they were sentenced to twenty years of convict’s labour¹².

Such practices were abandoned after Stalin’s death, nevertheless it was only in the time of perestrojka that the following declaration was issued: “to treat all repressive acts towards the nations subordinate to enforced relocations as illegal and criminal, and safeguard those nations’ rights.” (1st November 1991)¹³

The open and hidden goals carried out by means of enforced relocations show us various consequences of mass migrations. It true that job migrations have a different background, different contexts, and are generally free from direct coercion, yet one should look at their consequences also in the light of the previous facts. The goals and at the same time consequences of resettling migrations have turned out to be:

- the territories of relocations (people often worked in coal mines there “on the basis of the local resources”¹⁴, building new industrial centres and factories with housing estates and new urban areas);
- demographic changes, the growth of population in poorly-populated territories.

At the same time deportation had another goal and in fact put it into practice. They were designed weaken the social capital of a resettled group, radically change its dwelling place, including the social space of a group, the status of its members, the system of “interpersonal relations, distances, and hierarchies.”¹⁵ Eventually, deportation brought about the following results:

- social potential was destroyed and weakened: the national and ethnic sense, social and religious ties, faith itself grew weaker and people were rooted out their culture;
- physical ruin of a considerable number of people subjected to deportation and extermination; their health deteriorated due to the conditions of the relocation, slavery labours, absence of elementary conditions to live;

¹¹ ALEKSJEJEW L.: *Walka Tatarów krymskich o powrót na Krym*. „ABC” 1988, nr 6 KOWALSKA E., op. cit., s. 73.

¹² Ibidem.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 78.

¹⁴ MARYAŃSKI A., op. cit., p. 148.

¹⁵ OSSOWSKI S.: op. cit., p. 114.

- settlers were deprived of almost all their material goods (personal and real properties).

Our analysis of the goals and practices of deportations makes us ponder on the gains and losses of forced migration. Now we may draw the following conclusions.

On the one hand relocations effected in gains anticipated by their organisers. They are as follows: appropriations of the abandoned territories and development of those resettled, weakening of social ties, which could in the future cause an outburst of dissatisfaction and fight. On the other hand there evident losses on the part of the settlers (they lost their material possessions, could not continue their religious practices, interpersonal, ethnic, and national ties were broken). Consequently:

- there are positive economic and demographic effects for the territories displaced persons live,
- costs of enforced migrations – social and economic effects (broadly understood, loss of position and property) and health deterioration¹⁶, are shouldered by those who change their dwelling place and life, people subjected to deportations and forced to migrate.

People forced to change their dwelling place and life have gone through dramas. It was done against their will and against their them, mainly for political and economic purposes. Their histories show the saddest and tragic picture of emigration. Their histories, unexpectedly, reveal some truth about the gains and losses that resulted from the “relocation” of large groups of people, we learn the truth about economic and demographic profits for the “receiving” land, and many losses for those who change the place of their dwelling, work, and life.

It is interesting to put together conclusions and consequences, gains and losses resulting from job migration. In technical literature one distinguishes the “receiving” (attracting) countries and the countries “pushing” out job migrants. Is there any analogy between the consequences in the change of the living space in the situation when this change is caused by deportation, and when it is due to a quest for a job, a result of one’s personal (or almost personal) choice?

¹⁶ SUNDQUIST J., IGLESIAS E., ISACSSON A.: *Migration and Health. A study of Latin American refugees, their exile and repatriation.* „Scandinavian Journal of Primary Health Care” 1995, 13 (2), June, p. 135-140.

** Translated by Jan Kłos.

II

ANALYSIS OF LABOUR MIGRATION

Economic Aspects of Migration

1. Introduction

The word “migration” is derived from the Latin word *migratio* and denotes movement of people, that is, of inhabitants of one country or region moving from one place to another¹. The causes of migration are usually different. They may have an economic character (job migration) or political (war, persecutions etc.).

The concept of migration is very closely related to the concept “emigration” – the latter also comes from the Latin (*emigratio*) and denotes a voluntary emigration from one’s homeland. A third concept very closely related with the previous two is the concept of immigration (Lat. *immigro*) and denotes arrival to a foreign country in order to settle there for good. Immigration results from emigration and they together constitute processes of human migration in the world.

Now the phenomenon of migration may be viewed, among other things, with regard to the time of duration, range, and form. In the first case we have internal migration, i.e. people moving inside one country, region, or external. External migration takes place when people move from one administrative or political unit to another. This migration may last for a definite time – then we speak about temporal or shuttle migration. It may also be permanent, i.e. a person or persons move places for good.

While analysing migration tendencies, Castels and Miller have arrived at a conclusion that the phenomenon of migration will soon increase, i.e. there will be more and more people willing to migrate and this will slowly cover the whole world². This means that many countries will become both a source and a goal of migration. According to these authors, migrants will belong to various social and ethnic groups, so practically it will not be possible to define concrete waves of migration (e.g. job, political migration etc.). Moreover, the majority of migrants is composed of women.

The phenomenon of migration may be considered from the sociological, psychological, and economic points of view. The paper will focus on the economic aspects of

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¹ *Słownik wyrazów obcych*, Tokarski J. (ed.), Warszawa, PWN, 1980.

² CASTELS St., MILLER M.: *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*. London, Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2003.

migration. It will outline briefly the gains and costs suffered now and in the future by the receiving countries; we shall also deal with the gains and losses of migration the Poland will suffer as a sending country.

2. Causes of migration in Poland

As a result of political transformations from the beginning of the 1990s onwards, Poland has changed its centrally-managed economy into a free-market system. Despite considerable successes in reforming economy, closing down big and unprofitable work places, mass redundancies – all these have contributed to a high rate of unemployment³. For many years, in spite of a permanent growth of economy, the rate of employment in Poland did not increase. This was cause, among other things, by the entrepreneurs who sought to improve work output and to lower the costs in their firms mainly the reduction of employment.

Unemployment entails very negative effects both for unemployed persons and their families, and for all economy. A large rate of unemployment considerably impoverished a part of society and decreased the life standards of many homesteads. Other effects of unemployment include a growth in crime, deterioration of health, redundancy and its attendant sense of frustration, aggression, sense of resignation and withdrawal, inhibition of personality growth, decrease of educational aspiration, and fear about the future etc⁴.

In the macroeconomic scale a large number of unemployed persons entails draining public finances for unemployment benefits, welfare, and the programmes designed to counteract unemployment. Aside to this, the budget income of the state decreases because the unemployed do not pay income taxes, do not pay insurance fees, and buy much fewer goods. The result of a smaller internal consumption is on the one hand smaller receipts from indirect taxes (VAT, excise), and on the other a smaller development of enterprises because there is a lesser demand on their goods and services.

According to the Ministry of Work and Social Policy⁵ the most important properties of Polish unemployment are the following:

³ The rate of unemployment in increased in Poland from 0,3% in 1990 to 20,6% in 2004. The unemployed registered in job centres at the end of 2006 made up 15,2% of the civil working population. (The data from the Main Statistical Office: <http://www.stat.gov.pl>, 20.10.2006).

⁴ Cf.: CHIRKOWSKA-SMOLAK T.: Zaburzenia zachowania, ich interpretacja i przeciwdziałanie u bezrobotnych. [In:] *Bezrobocie. Podręcznik pomocy psychologicznej*. Bańka A. (ed.), Poznań, Wydawnictwo PRINT-B, 1992, p. 107-120.

⁵ *Praca*. Ministerstwo Pracy i Polityki Społecznej, <http://www.mps.gov.pl/index.php?gid=438>.

- Considerable differences in its intensity in relation to territory. In the Warmia-Mazury region the rate of unemployment equalled – 27.2%, whereas in Little Poland – 13.6%. A similar rate for smaller administrative units is several times higher. It concerns young people. At the end of September 2005 persons aged 25-34 constituted 27.9% of the general number of the registered unemployed.
- Among the unemployed people with a low level of education dominate. At the end of September 2005 the largest group of the unemployed had vocational secondary education – 32.3% of the general number of people registered in job centres, secondary school education and lower – 32.2%.
- A large contribution of long-term unemployment. At the end of September 2005 the total number of the registered unemployed was dominated by those who had been looking for a job more than 12 months – 51.6%.
- A high percentage of the unemployed living in a village. At the end of September 2005 there 1.154.000 unemployed villagers. They made up 41.8% of the total number of the unemployed (the percentage of those living in a village in relation to the total number was ca. 38%). The above percentages of unemployment do not take into account hidden unemployment in the village. It is estimated that hidden unemployment in the village equals 0.8 – 1.2 million people.

The lower standard of life, difficult in finding a job, and lack of prospects for the future have become the reason of job migration, an event that is growing stronger at an unprecedented scale. This kind of migration is linked with a quest for a job indispensable to survive, to improve one's living standards abroad or outside the region of origin. The difficult situation on the labour market shows, as PBS DGA surveys for the daily "Gazeta Wyborcza" show, that every second Pole aged 18-24 considers to leave Poland within the next two year in the quest for a job⁶. It follows from the research that as many as 40% of respondents has in their families someone who left to look for a job after 1st May 2004, whereas 24% of the subjects have knows such persons among their close friends. The polls indicate that job emigration concerns each social group and each region of the country. The subjects claim that the main reason of emigration is low salaries in Poland and unemployment. The polls conducted at 46 Polish universities, including AR, KUL, PL, and UMCS in Lublin, conducted by the International Association of Students AIESEC⁷, indicate that nine out of ten students from economic faculties intend to look for a job abroad, and as many as 60% students out of 4.000 (within the research "Employer of the Year) declare they are willing to look for a job or work experience abroad, mainly in the countries of the European Union, and one third of them still hesitate. Undoubtedly, the intention to leave does not guarantee that a person declaring it will actually leave. Nevertheless, as PBS DGA surveys show,

⁶ See: KOTNAROWSKI M.: Wjazdy Polaków do pracy za granicą. [In:] *PBS DGA => Wyniki => Praca za granicą*. PBS DGA, 2007, <http://www.pbsdga.pl/x.php?x=408/Praca-za-granica.html>, 03.09.2007.

⁷ *Studencki exodus za pracą*. „Kurier Lubelski” 2006, nr 112 (09.05).

the majority (69%) of young people thinking about emigration have already started some preparations, i.e. they are looking for job offers, check information about the country where they want to go, and learn a foreign language.

Not only young people consider emigration. According to the Interactive Institute of Market Research (Pol. IIBR), almost half of the workers (49.3%) from average-sized and big companies are ready to accept a job offer from abroad, at a similar position they have now⁸. For almost all those (99,1%) who were willing to accept a job offer from abroad the most important motivating factor, when making a decision to leave the country, was a salary, higher than the one at home. The essential thing was also whether it was possible to develop the command of a foreign language, and gain work experience. According to 75% of respondents, the job abroad at a similar position would bring them greater satisfaction, for 39.1% it would be considerably more satisfactory.

3. The Size of Emigration in Poland

The Poles and citizens of the new countries of UE have no obstacles to work in eight states of the new “15”: Great Britain, Ireland, Sweden (since May 2004), Finland, Spain, Portugal, and Greece (since May 2006), and in Italy (since August 2006). Five states, i.e. Belgium, France, Denmark, Luxembourg, and Holland have made some steps to partly abolish limitations, and facilitated the procedures of job permits. Now Germany and Austria announced they would abolish limitations only after 11th May 2011.

It is difficult to estimate the number of Poles who have emigrated to work in the countries of the European Union. There are no data as to the number of Poles who have left for good and those who have left for a certain period of time. Various Institutions quote different numbers, from 0.5 million to 2 million.

As the European Citizen Action Service (ECAS) estimates 1.120.000 Poles have left Poland since the time of the UE enlargement to look for a job in the countries of the European Union⁹. This makes as much as 3 per cent of all Poles and almost

⁸ *Interaktywny Instytut Badań Rynkowych*. <http://www.institutbadan.pl/index.php>, 04.01.2007.

⁹ See: TRASER J.: *Who's Still Afraid of EU Enlargement*. ECAS – European Citizen Action Service, 2004, http://www.euractiv.com/29/images/Who's%20still%20afraid%20of%20EU%20enlargement_Sept06_tcm29-157485.pdf, 20.11.2006; Summary – see: *Związek Biur Porad Obywatelskich: Seminarium o migracji zarobkowej Polaków do Irlandii*, http://216.239.59.104/search?q=cache:rnvQBkD32pwJ:www.zbpo.org.pl/page/en/aktualnosci/seminarium_o_migracji/+TRASER+Who%E2%80%99s+Still+Afraid+of+EU+Enlargement,+ECAS&hl=pl&ct=clnk&cd=3&gl=pl,26.11.2007. Cf.: TRASER J.: *Who's Afraid of the EU's Latest Enlargement. The Impact of Bulgaria and Romania joining the Union on Free Movement of Persons*. ECAS – European Citizen Action Service, 2006, http://www.ecas.org/file_uploads/1187.pdf, ECAS, 20.11.2006.

5 per cent of those in working age. Aside to Poles only Italians are so eager to work in other countries. In the countries of the European Union there are 1.863.000 working Italians.

The calculations of ECAS have been shown in table 1. The ECAS experts suggest that Germany is the main target of Polish job migration. More than half a million Poles have found jobs in the western neighbour, whereas in England a half of that number. The ECAS estimates include both those who have permanent jobs and seasonal workers.

Table 1. *Number of Poles working in the countries of the European Union*

Country	Number of people	Country	Number of people
Germany	534.990	Spain	6.118
England	264.000	Sweden	3.838
Ireland	100.000	Belgium	3.086
France	90.000	Denmark	2.656
Italy	72.229	Portugal	434
Holland	20.000	Slovakia	366
Austria	12.615	Hungary	1.575
Czechy	6.664		

Estimates on 5th September 2006, the data from the period of July 2004 to December 2005

According to the ECAS specialists, Poles aged 25-34 are most willing to migrate. The main motive is their hope to improve working prospects. They are often ready to accept a job that is below their qualifications, but is still better paid than in Poland. Despite that, as Sullivan and Barney say in the Financial Times, more and more people from Poland work at better paid positions in the sector of financial services, thereby filling the personnel shortage of qualified workers not only in the financial City of London, but also in the whole country¹⁰. Since the moment Poland joined the European Union in 2004 ca. 240.000 Poles have been registered in Great Britain, and 60.000 in London itself. The polls conducted by Joslin Rowe's recruitment agency show that almost 6 per cent out of them work in accountancy. The largest size of Poles' employment is in Ireland, where their number in job centres has risen by 190 per cent in comparison with 2005. In 2004 there were practically absent there. In Scotland the process has taken a slower course, but it has begun to speed up.

There are no indications that the scale of emigration among Poles has slowed down. The IIBR polls show that 38% of the subjects think to change their job. 47%

¹⁰ SULLIVAN R., JOPSON B.: *Polish accountants multiply in Square Mile as red tape adds up.* „The Financial Times” 2006, 06.10.

of them declared they were willing to change their employer, if they should receive a comparable proposal of work. Some of them have already started looking for a new employer. Three fourths of the subjects, considering changing their job, have recently been looking for job offers in the Internet, a little more than half of them have been looking for offers in the press, whereas 17% have gone to job agencies, or job centres. 42% of them have sent their documents (CV, motivational letters), whereas one fourth of those considering changing their job have met a potential employer. Theoretically speaking, they are all potential emigrants. The more so because according to other polls – this time from CBOS, the decisive majority of respondents have been very critical about the Polish labour market¹¹. Namely: every fourth respondent (24%) describes this situation as very bad, every second (47%) says it is bad. Only few (6%) have said it is positive, whereas 18% are of the opinion that the situation is moderate. The respondents under study are also critical about the local labour market, two fifths of the respondents (41%) say that it is difficult to find any job on the local labour market, and almost every fifth (18%) claims that there is no employment there. Only one in a hundred says that in his dwelling place or in the vicinity he can easily find a proper job, in accord with his aspirations and needs, whereas two fifths (37%) think that some (although not necessarily appropriate) is attainable.

According to estimate data of the Lublin Statistical Office the population of the Lublin region in the end of September 2006 numbered 2.173.800 and it was less numerous by 0,3% in relation to the end of September 2005¹². This means that during one year the number of inhabitants dwindled by 6521 persons. Taking into account that in the same period there 16.400 alive births 17.000 deaths, ca. 6.000 people have permanently notified the authorities about their change of address and left the Lublin region somewhere else in Poland, or permanently left the country.

The World Bank report on migration shows that Poland is among the leading countries that receive or send most emigrants¹³. With regard to the number of the received foreigners Poland has been ranked 10 in the world. The first place fell to the United States, then Russia, Germany, and the Ukraine etc. According to the experts of the World Bank, the phenomenon of migration will most likely be increasing not only within the group of the countries going through the period of transformations in Middle and East Europe, but also in the global scale. The British Institute for Pub-

¹¹ WCIÓRKA B.: *Zmiany opinii o rynku pracy i bezpieczeństwie zatrudnienia. Komunikat z badań.* CBOS, 2006; http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2006/K_143_06.PDF, 04.01.2007.

¹² *Komunikat o sytuacji społeczno-gospodarczej województwa lubelskiego. Wyniki wstępne listopad 2006.* Urząd Statystyczny w Lublinie, http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/lublin/ASSETS_komunikat_11_06.pdf.

¹³ See: *Report: Labor Migration Likely to Grow in Europe and Central Asia*, World Bank–News, 2007, 16.01., <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:21183561-menuPK:34457-pagePK:34370-piPK:34424-theSitePK:4607,00.html>, 26.11.2007.

lic Policy Research, analysing the emigration of the British, has arrived at the similar conclusions. Only in 2005 198.000 educated Britons emigrated from England¹⁴. The most popular country to which they emigrated was Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the Republic of South Africa.

Wanting to know what economic effects are entailed in migration one should analyse this phenomenon from the point of view of:

- macroeconomy, i.e. costs and gains of the sending and receiving country, and
- microeconomy, that is, profits and costs for the migrating person and his family.

4. Economic consequences of migration for the receiving country

Emigration may be useful for the receiving country and the influx of immigrants may be the cause of economic, social, and political problems. The scholars differ as to the characterisation of immigrants and their influence on the labour market. Let us take an example. According to professor George Borjas from Harvard, immigration is harmful to Americans¹⁵, whereas professor David Card from the University of California in Berkeley thinks that it exerts a small but positive effects, whereas the real economic value, contributed by immigrants, is contained in the dynamism, innovation, and the motor of growth¹⁶.

The differences in the evaluation of migration depend on the temporal perspective that one takes into account (it may be analysed in a short or long period), the scale of the phenomenon itself, the amount and quality of variables considered in the analysis. According to Martin Wolf, the influx of educated people will most probably bring the English economy more profits (also in terms of taxes) than the influx of uneducated people¹⁷. Wolf says that the immigration of educated people is likely to change the distribution of incomes in favour of the indigenous and uneducated inhabitants. Now the influx of people without education will certainly cause a contrary phenomenon. Wolf is sure that entrepreneurs are in favour of immigration as a remedy to the lack of workforce.

¹⁴ SRISKANDARAJAH D., DREW C.: *Brits Abroad. Mapping the scale and nature of British Emigration*. IPPR, 2006; See: *Brits Abroad*. ippr – Institute for Public Policy Research, <http://www.ippr.org.uk/publicationsandreports/publication.asp?id=509>; Summary – See.: *Brits Abroad – Executive Summary*. http://ippr.typepad.com/brits_abroad/files/brits_abroad_final_exec_summary_pdf.pdf, 20.12.2006.

¹⁵ BORJAS G.: *Native Internal Migration and the Labor Market Impact of Immigration*. „Journal of Human Resources” 2006, vol. 41 No. 2, p. 221-258.

¹⁶ CARD D.: *Is the New Immigration Really So Bad? January 2005 Abstract*. Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, 2005; <http://www.phil.frb.org/econ/conf/immigration/card.pdf>, 20.10.2006.

¹⁷ WOLF M.: *Immigration can no longer be ignored*. „The Financial Times” 2006, 28.09.

According to Thornton, the influx of workers from the new countries of UE has stimulated the British economy, supplementing the shortage of qualified workforce¹⁸. The increase of labour supply has inhibited the growth of salaries and inflation. Despite that, as it is suggested by scientific research in the countries where immigrants are welcomed, much fewer persons remain unemployed and the immigrants do not lower the level of salaries for local workers¹⁹. As a rule, immigrants have only filled the gaps on the labour market, but have not replaced the local workers. The Financial Times quotes findings from the polls conducted from British Home Office. The polls show that immigrants pay by 2.5 billion pounds of taxes more than their social welfare. One of the reasons why immigrants have their net contribution is pensions. Most immigrants are professionally active, therefore – in the ageing western economies – they considerably support the fragile state pension systems. According to The Financial Times, immigrants bring new ideas and stimulate competition. Indeed, it is difficult to measure but immigrants turn the scales of economic balance in favour of immigration.

According to Brittan, the official statistics, of which there is a common opinion that they are understated, say that net 250.000 immigrants arrive in Great Britain each year, out of which number 25.000 or less apply for asylum. The economic effects of the growth of immigration are, at first glance, neutral. More workers serve for a larger population. The gross domestic product per capita is almost unchanged. In total, the British economy in 2004 and 2005 increased by 5.3 per cent. The October bulletin of the Institute of Economic Research says that 0.9 of percentage point may be attributed to immigrants²⁰.

Immigration has also another, less beneficial face. It causes a pressure on transport and dwelling conditions: it may cause traffic jams and because of a greater demand on flats, the costs of their rent or purchase may rise. Depending on the size of migration, it may force the local authorities to raise financial outlays on safety, since some immigrants, as will not be able to find a job, there may be conflicts between them and the local people. Another unfavourable phenomenon of migration may be a growth of the number of the homeless²¹. The phenomenon and size of migration force to change not only the way in which one interprets the sources of economic growth, but also the role

¹⁸ THORNTON P.: *Polish builders filling skills gap and helping to hold down inflation*. „The Independent” 2006, 24.05.; See: “The Independent: Business News, Business”, <http://news.independent.co.uk/business/news/article570969.ece>, 20.11.2007.

¹⁹ See: *Migrants mean money*. „The Financial Times” 2006, 31.07.

²⁰ See: BRITTAN S.: *A few home truths on immigration*. „The Financial Times” 2006, 17.11.

²¹ As the Polish Press Agency (PAP) quotes after the Financial Times there are ca. 3.000 homeless Poles in Great Britain. See: *Wlk. Brytania: trzy tysiące polskich bezdomnych*. PAP, 23.12.2006; PSZCZÓŁ-KOWSKA D.: *Bezdomni Polacy żyją nie tylko na ulicach Londynu, lecz także Dublinu, Paryża, Rzymu i innych europejskich miast*. „Gazeta Wyborcza” 2006, 28.12.

of social welfare in the developed economy. According to Field, the growing and elastic labour market does not fit in the existing system of social welfare in England²².

In conclusion, as the instance of Great Britain shows, the balance of the gains of migration with its appropriate management will be positive for the country receiving migrants.

5. Costs and gains of migration for the sending country

Citizens of a country leave it for many reasons. Some of them do it because they need adventures, others wish to develop, and the country of their origin does not offer respective conditions. Still others want to improve their own and their families' standards, that is why they decide to change their dwelling place in the hope that in another country they will find a job they want, i.e. and their payment will provide them and their families with an appropriate standard of living.

The kind of consequences emigration has for the sending country depend to a large extent on its scale, and on still other conditions, such as: who is living, for how long, how his departure affects family members etc.

If one wants to analyse the effects of migration for Poland and the Polish economy, one should take into account these variables, or at least their majority. As it has been presented above, emigration in Poland has a mass character, i.e. since the moment Poland joined the European Union each day some people have left for various countries, mainly European. The nature of those emigrations is chiefly economic and it is caused by the absence of prospects, opportunities for a rapid promotion, or the desire to raise one's living standards. Additionally, the difficulties in solving daily problems become an impulse to leave one's homeland.

The migration processes are principally affected by the level of economic growth in particular countries, especially the so-called phenomenon of convergence, i.e. making the standard of life and the level of prices equal in various countries²³. The relationship between the salaries in e.g. Poland and Germany is at the moment very unfavourable for Poland. Most certainly people consider migration when their payment for a similar job varies. Making the standard of life equal and, what follows, the payment relations in the two countries will not happen soon. Assuming that the annual growth of the gross domestic product in Poland will still be three times faster than in our western neighbours, we stand a chance to accomplish a similar level of growth in more or less

²² FIELD F.: *The influx of workers demands welfare reform.* „The Financial Times” 2007, 15.01.

²³ DUSZCZYK M.: *Swoboda przepływu pracowników – dylematy związane z integracją Polski z Unią Europejską.* „Studia Europejskie” 1999, No 2, p. 91-104.

30 years²⁴. Similarly unfavourable is the relation between the wages in Poland and in other European countries. As Wagstyl reports, if installers earning in Poland on the average 1.500 zlotys monthly may earn in the West from four to five times more, then this is a sufficient motive to make many people emigrate²⁵.

A high rate of unemployment and an opportunity to earn more money with similar amounts of effort make it that mainly mobile, entrepreneurial, and qualified persons emigrate who would also have a chance to find a job in Poland. One of the consequences of the Poles' mass job emigration to the countries of UE is that Poland is experiencing a shortage of workforce in many basic occupations. The companies functioning in Poland and planters have difficulties to find people ready to seasonal work. This is most marked in the building sector which goes through a period of prosperity²⁶ because, among other things, banks have introduced hypothetical credits to cover the costs of a flat purchase or to simplify the procedures of its grant. Even foreign investors where work was most desirable begin to have problems to find people in Polish factories. A Korean company in Mława has problems to find 200 workers²⁷. Foreign companies located in the Goleniów Industrial Park near Szczecin have similar problems. The German Optical Disc Service, the Korean Lucky Union Foods, the Belgian Spin Group and several others are looking for workers²⁸. The difficulties in finding workers are caused for two reasons, namely: some people professionally active prefer to go abroad to work, whereas local unemployed living on unemployment benefits prefer to do nothing than to work for the offered pay²⁹.

Thus emigration deepens the maladjustment of work resources to the needs of business, both in the spatial (in the country those stay who in general are not willing to leave to find a job abroad) and professional sense (new blanks on the maps of sought after specialisation). The research of the National Bank of Poland suggests that as many as 10% of Polish entrepreneurs as one of the barriers of growth indicate difficulties in finding new workers³⁰.

Reducing costs in the years of 2001-2004, restructuring, planning how to sell their products, analysing the market, taking advantage of the elastic forms of employment, Polish entrepreneurs made it that Poland took the UE by storm, with high

²⁴ The calculations were made by the experts of the International Monetary Fund. Cf.: *Schody do Europy* (dodatek specjalny), „Polityka” 1998, November; DUSZCZYK M., *op. cit.*, p. 99.

²⁵ See: WAGSTYL S.: *Labour market: Where have all my workers gone?* „The Financial Times” 2006, 19.12.

²⁶ MAĆKOWSKI D.: *Brakuje chętnych do pracy na budowach.* „Gazeta Wyborcza” 2006, 22.11.

²⁷ See: CIENSKI J.: *EUROPE: Employers struggle to fill factories as Polish workers go west.* “The Financial Times” 2006, 25.10.

²⁸ KRAŚNICKI A.: *Goleniów: 1800 miejsc pracy i brak chętnych.* „Gazeta Wyborcza” 2006, 11.09.

²⁹ Cf.: BRZEZIŃSKA M.: *170 zł dziennie to za mało dla bezrobotnego?* „Gazeta Wyborcza” 2006, 14.07.; WOJCIECHOWSKI M.: *Nie ma pracowników, truskawki będą zaorane?* „Gazeta Wyborcza” 2006, 28.06.

³⁰ MORAWSKI I.: *Polskie firmy pracują pełna parą.* „Rzeczpospolita” 2007, nr 19 (7616), p. B1.

export and rapid growth of the GDP. Their competitiveness, however, was to a large extent based on maintaining low wages. Emigration and its attendant problems to find workers make it that further relying on cheap labour – in order to keep Polish companies competitive – is a thing of the past³¹.

Once the labour markets in the UE became open to Polish workers the employers must raise wages and offer a better pay to keep their workers and employ new. A pressure on pay rise may additionally become stronger because more and more people emigrate to find a job and it is more and more difficult for entrepreneurs to find workers with appropriate qualifications in the country. In the market economy a growth of pay usually results either from better work output or motivational steps. In the case of Polish companies the reason for a pay rise was to a large extent due to the supply difficulties on the labour market. IN consequence, the offered higher pay will not affect the increase of work output which is not too high in Poland. As the Conference Bard estimates, in 2005 a Pole within one hour produced commodities and services of almost 20 dollars worth (19.9\$), whereas in the same time an average American produced commodities for 48.2 dollars, a Luxembourger for 61.5\$³². This means that within the same amount of time the output of Polish workers in comparison with Americans equals 41,3%, while in comparison with Luxembourgers 32,4%. If Polish companies raise wages, there competitiveness will diminish – they must incur higher costs with the same incomes. This will also affect the pace of their development because of lower profits, and at the same time lower means for investment. All the more so that higher wages will not act as a motivational factor. Should companies raise wages without increasing their work output all over the country, will on the one hand raise inflation – there will be more money on the market with the same amount of goods and services, whereas on the other hand the incomes of the budget will diminish because of smaller companies incomes. This will partly be compensated by higher incomes from income taxes from natural persons.

The necessity to pay higher wages may also discourage foreign investors from locating their firms in Poland, for it will become unprofitable.

Some solution of this problem would be to activate those persons who are active, lowly qualified, and above all those who have remained out of work for a long time, to open Polish borders for immigrants from the east. In the first case, however, this entails additional and fairly high costs because training workers usually takes about three years, and besides no one knows whether they will want to work as they have been unemployed before for long. Now opening Polish borders for workers from the east does not mean that they will want to work in Poland. It is likely that they will choose as

³¹ Cf.: BIAŁKOWSKA A.: *Koniec rynku pracodawcy*. „Nowy Przemysł” 2007, nr 1; http://www.wnp.pl/nowyprzemysl/3158_2_118_0_0.html, 07.01.2007.

³² BIŃCZAK H.: *Polak lepszy od Koreańczyka*. „Rzeczpospolita” 2006, nr 15 (7309), p. B1.

their workplace the same countries that Poles are choosing. They can earn much more there. Poland is not a very attractive country for them with regard to employment³³.

It is very desirable for our economy that emigrants return to the country. Poles' trips abroad have many positive aspects for them. The emigrating persons get to know the world, learn languages, acquire new qualifications, knowledge and experience – such is the valuable capital. Gains, however, are potential and they can be seen when emigrants return home. If Poles do not decide to come back, our economy will suffer losses, for it will not retrieve its outlays on education and also it will not have appropriate workers. It is generally qualified people who leave, very often university graduates. This is certainly very unfavourable for the Polish labour market³⁴. A pay rise might keep the present employees in the country, but it will not rather make those who are abroad in the west return, at least not until wages in Poland rise from ca. 25% of the west European rate to over 50%³⁵. The polls presented at the conference on emigration of 17th May 2006 in the Polish Embassy in London suggest that only 20% of Poles in Great Britain say they will certainly go back to Poland; those who are sure they will stay abroad number 14% of those under study. The remaining part of them say they will consider it later³⁶. This means that the Poles abroad do not say they will return after time to their country.

Poles going to work in the UE countries and, possible, settle there permanently may be very unfavourable for the state of social insurance, which is even now not best. In 2007 it was subsidised from the state budget at 26 billion Polish zlotys. According to Director Teresa Guzelf from the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, the reason why the financial situation of social insurance is getting worse is because the relation between the working people, those who pay social insurance fees and pensioners is getting worse³⁷. The data of the department suggest that as much as 13.5 million Poles (without farmers) pay fees, and as many as 7 million receive pensions. The financial condition of our system of social welfare is very unfavourably affected by demography. Fewer and fewer children are born, and baby boomers come to their retirement age. Therefore fewer and fewer persons will be employed. The state of our insurance finances is also made worse by job emigration because people working abroad pay their insurance fees there.

³³ BRZOSTEK D.: *Nie chcą pracy w Polsce*. „Gazeta Wyborcza” 2007, 16.01.

³⁴ MARCZUK B.: *Emigranci wrócą, jeśli będą reformy*. „Gazeta Prawna” 2006, 12.07.

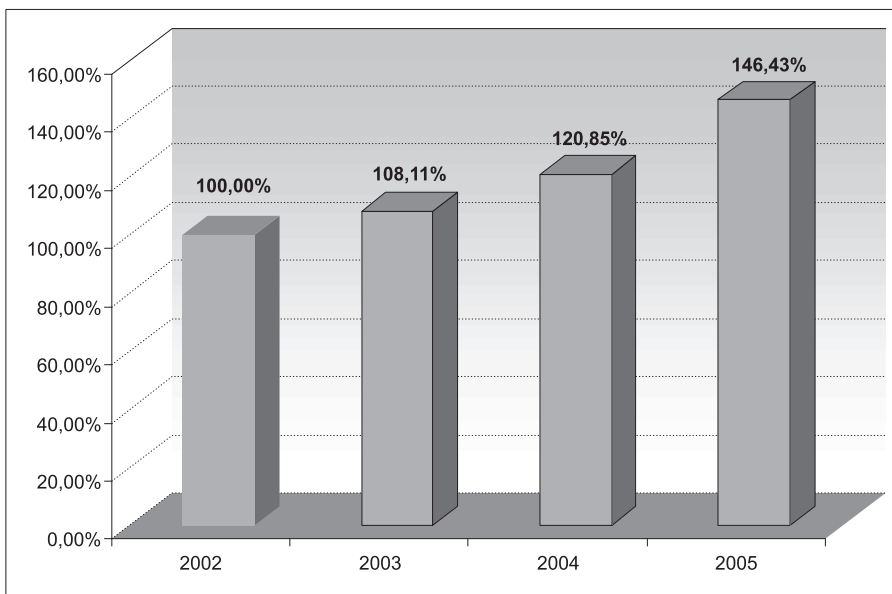
³⁵ CIENSKI J., op. cit..

³⁶ PIŃSKI A., TREBSKI K.: *Desant liberałów*. „Polish Express – Polski tygodnik w Wielkiej Brytanii” 2006, nr 94; <http://www.polishexpress.co.uk/artukul.aspx?id=296>; [republished as]: *Polacy w Anglii: czy jeszcze powrócą?* Barka.org, http://www.barka.org.pl/misja_anglia/czy_polacy_wroca.doc, 16.11.2006.

³⁷ *Coraz mniej Polaków do utrzymywania rencistów*. Informacyjna Agencja Radiowa, 03.11.2006.

The worsening relation between the working people and pensioners will make the non-pay costs of labour, high in any case, remain high. In consequence, if Polish companies raise wages, then instead of motivating the employee (to work better) or the employer (to be wiser in managing the human capital) it will not bring about the desired effect because a considerable part of the rise will fall to the state.

Aside to its negative effects, emigration may also exert some favourable influence on economy. This positive factor which can essentially affect the economic growth is money sent from migrants for their families in the country. The data of migration from the Report of the World Bank suggest that the officially registered payments of money earned abroad in Europe (including the former Soviet republics) excelled 19 billion USD³⁸. This made 8% of the global sum of money orders from migrants equalling 232.3 billion USD. The largest receipts (ca. 207 billion USD), calculated as a percentage of the GDP, were noted in Moldavia. In 2004 the money sent from emigrants corresponded to 27% of its GDP. Much was received by families in Herzegovina (21% GDP – 1.83 billion USD), Albania (respectively 16% and 1.6 billion USD), and Armenia (9%; 226 million USD).

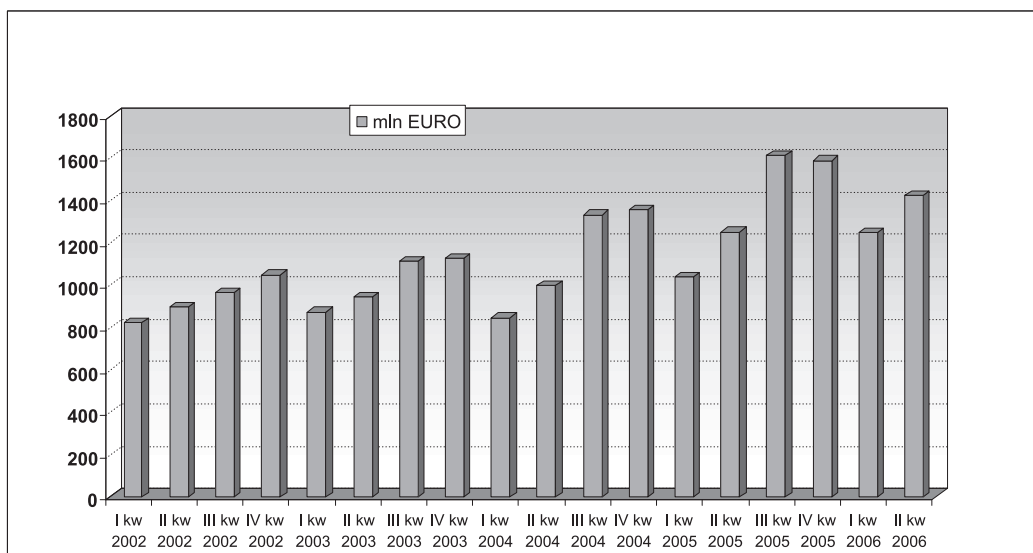


Drawing 1. *Dynamism of the increase of current private transfers in particular years. Source: personal conclusions from the data of the National Bank of Poland (2006). Poland's balance of payments for the second quarter of 2006, http://www.nbp.pl/Publikacje/Bilans_platniczy/bilans_platniczy2006_2.pdf.*

³⁸ *Migration and Remittances. Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union.* Mansoor A., Quillin B. (eds.), The World Bank, 2006, p. 57.

The same is happening in Poland where for several year the official statistics have been noting an increase of private money receipts from abroad, from both the UE countries and from outside the UE, as it is illustrated by drawing 1. In 2006 there was a clear increase of private transfer incomes both in the first and in the second quarter, if compared with the previous year. The private transfers on the part of incomes in the first quarter of 2006 increased by 19,81% and in the second quarter by 13,7% in comparison with analogous quarters in 2005. The private transfers (on the part of incomes) were mainly sent by people working abroad, payments for non-investment goals, pensions received by residents from foreign national insurance, and some means received from Poles' forced labour during the Second World War.

Analysing the data concerning the payment private transfers for each quarter in particular years (see drawing 2) one may notice that their value increases, especially in the third and fourth quarters, which is likely to be connected with the employment of a larger number of seasonal workers in the EU countries. One should presume that this trend will grow deeper, i.e. in successive years the dynamism of the increase of private transfers will rise. This is due to the fact that more and more countries open their labour market for Poles, and that probably still more Poles will go abroad to work.



Drawing 2. *The values of quarterly current private transfers in particular years (divided by quarters of a year – kw.). Source: personal conclusion of the basis of NBP data (2006). Balance of Poland's payment RP for the second quarter of 2006. – http://www.nbp.pl/Publikacje/Bilans_platniczy/bilans_platniczy2006_2.pdf.*

Obviously, private transfers are not all money earned outside Poland. The majority of people bring cash. As Leszek Balcerowicz says, in the first half year of 2006 there were by 56% more British pounds in currency exchange bureaux than in the analogous period of 2003³⁹.

Each economic phenomenon may cause many different effects. It is similar in the case of financial means sent to the country. The polls of the World Bank suggest that ca. 85% of financial aid from the relatives working abroad is sent mainly for the daily needs of their families in the country, such as: food, clothes, purchase of various things etc. A little more than 10% of the means is aimed at education and savings. Only a small part of the means sent to families (less than 5%) that can affect the economic growth is sent to economy in the form of investment in agriculture or industry.

If in Poland the structure of expenditures sent from abroad will be similar, then – as we learn from the example of Salvador, where 16% of GDP is transferred from families working abroad – this will not influence the economic growth of the country in any significant way. All this depends on how many means will be provided for consumption, and how many for savings and above all investment, including education. The more percentage of the money sent from abroad will be destined for investment, the greater is likelihood that they will essentially contribute to improve the situation of households, and first of all to the permanent growth of Polish economy. Otherwise the money can increase a little consumption demand⁴⁰, but through its influence on the increase of the value of Polish currency it can make it difficult for exporters to develop. In consequence, this may in the long run cause a downturn in the economy. Receiving money from abroad can make the families living in the country reduce or give up employment, as it is happening in Mexico and in other countries of Latin America⁴¹.

Summing up, the balance of emigration at the moment is still favourable for Poland. One may, however, observe some unfavourable economic trends. In effect we shall have a negative balance, so sending even much greater means from emigrants to their families will not change.

The first unfavourable phenomenon, already observed in the end of 2006 is a strong pressure on the increase of payments due to a shortage of workers on the labour market. As a result inflation can grow very rapidly, an effect of greater wages on the one hand, and necessary price increases of goods and services on the other. Together with the rising inflation the conditions of economic activity become worse because it is difficult for entrepreneurs to predict possible costs and gains in the long run. Consequently, they will be less willing to make decisions with regard to new

³⁹ GADOMSKI W.: *Kto wypędza Polaków – rozmowa z Leszkiem Balcerowiczem*. „Gazeta Wyborcza” 2006, 15.09.

⁴⁰ BIŃCZAK H.: *Sami napędzamy gospodarkę*. „Rzeczpospolita” 2006, 28.12.

⁴¹ MITRASZEWSKA A.: *Migracja za chlebem niewiele pomoże gospodarce*. „Gazeta Wyborcza” 2006, 19.11.

investments, so that their companies can develop, and to create new workplaces. The increase of inflation will also affect the decision of the Board of Monetary Policy as regards the increase of interest rates by the National Bank of Poland. Now together with the increase of interest rates in the NBP the interest of credits, both mortgage, consumptive, and investment credits. Many firms, seeing that credits have become more expensive, will not decide to make new investments or will reduce their present investments, households will take fewer consumptive and mortgage credits, hence consumption will diminish – households will buy less, firms will have a smaller profit. This will influence the size of economic growth. Additionally, the influx of means from migrants on the one hand and means from the European Union from the other will affect the increase of the value of Polish currency. The export companies will find it more difficult to manage, which in turn will be negative for economic growth, the development of companies and new workplaces. This again will encourage people to emigrate.

Obviously, whether this nightmare scenario is fulfilled depends still on many other factors like the costs of energetic resources such oil, gas, global economy etc. As it has been presented in this paper, the phenomenon of migration causes many consequences. The basic problem is how to manage it, so that it could bring more gains than negative effects. The World Bank estimates that if migration is supposed to bring some gains to the receiving, the sending countries and emigrants themselves, those countries must better co-ordinate their migration policy⁴². According to experts from the World Bank, the most favourable solution of the problem of migration could be to combine a short-term emigration with some encouragement to return to one's homeland, or to propagate the mechanism of the so-called cyclical emigration. An effect of the cyclical emigration would be the following gains:

- the receiving countries could supplement their shortage of workforce, raise the level of incomes, and relieve social tensions caused by uncontrolled immigration,
- the sending countries could accumulate human capital which otherwise would be lost,
- the emigrants could have an opportunity to raise their incomes, develop their human capital, increase savings, and at the same time maintain family relations.

⁴² *Migration Could Yield a 'Triple Win' For Migrants And Sending And Receiving Countries, Says World Bank Report*, "News & Broadcast, The World Bank", <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:21183567~pagePK:64257043~piPK:437376~theSitePK:4607,00.html>, 16.01.2007.

** Translated by Jan Kłos.

Job migrations – the quest to enhance one’s own potential / capital

1. Introduction

Migration, especially job migration, is a phenomenon typical of poorer countries. Poland from the time of partitions onwards was a poor country and as such a reservoir of migration. As early as the 19th century Poles emigrated to work abroad – to the United States, and in the inter-war period large groups emigrated to Germany, Belgium, and France. After the war, due to the political situation and the iron curtain dividing the countries subjected to Moscow from the rest of Europe, the opportunity to leave was variously limited, therefore many Poles could simply not go abroad. As Dariusz Stola writes on the basis of archives and analysis of official documents (hence official statistics based on passports issued then), at the turn of the 1940s and 1950s there was a “Great Closure”. There were unprecedented restrictions on foreign trips, the result of which was “an almost complete closure of borders for passenger traffic, which had almost disappeared for several years”¹. Therefore in the 1950s the “dimensions of border mobility in that period were close to zero. [...] In the modern history of Poland those numbers had never been so low”². Emigrations that did happen (I have not found any data as to their number) were rather escapes for political reasons and bore the hallmarks of exile. Thus “for most emigrants they meant a loss of Polish citizenship and difficulties when they later sought to visit their homeland”³.

Already in later years there was an opportunity for tourist trips, a considerable part of which meant rather working than sightseeing, which in fact was a specific form of trade (towels, cigarettes, nivea cream, and medicines). “In terms of an individual this trade was so small that one could call it international microtrade, whereas the mass character of this phenomenon made it that the total movement could be fairly large”⁴. The dominance of women going abroad for tourist purposes suggest that “some female trippers are those ‘nominated’ for foreign trade within the division of roles in households”⁵.

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¹ STOLA D.: Międzynarodowa mobilność zarobkowa w PRL. [In:] *Ludzie na huśtawce. Migracje między peryferiami Polski i Zachodu*. Jadźwińska E., Okólski M. (eds.), Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2001, p. 65.

² Ibidem, p. 63.

³ Ibidem, p. 64.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 79.

⁵ Ibidem,., p. 76.

Apart from job tourist trips there were also trips organised by factories. They were supposed to facilitate additional earnings, often for their own workers within the economic co-operation and international contracts of the Eastern block (Council of Mutual Economic Assistance – COMECON)⁶. There were job trips for artists organised by PAGART. In both cases only a small number of people could take part in them and they were strictly controlled by the state.

We can speak about a typical job emigration in Poland only after the changes following 1989. It was then that the transformation started, which in relation to political and economic changes caused emigration. Firstly, visas were abolished for tourists. The double character of passports – one for the countries from the eastern block, and another for the West; one for business trips and another for private trips – was done away with. Passports were valid for all countries of the world, and their owners could keep them at homes, like identity cards. At the same time people were allowed to possess “foreign currency,” i.e. American dollars or another currency from the West (for which one could have been arrested before), the exchange of currencies was sanctioned (banks, exchange bureaux), which was previously done by black-market money exchangers.

A possibility to leave the country in the 1990s caused job emigration. In the initial period, however, it had a character of illegal migration⁷. The causes of job emigration were extremely complex⁸. From a general point of view it was accounted for by the differences between particular countries in the economic sphere (the rate of wages, opportunities for employment, values of particular currencies) and life standards. Now from the individual point of view it was accounted for by attempts to diversify the risk of households in the unstable economic system. Initially seasonal migration dominated, often connected with illegal work⁹. The situation radically changed after Poland had integrated with the UE and some countries had opened their labour markets for Poles. At the moment, “in accord with secondary legal acts (orders and directives) concerning a free movement of labour no one can deprive a person looking for a job or going abroad to find a job of his or her right to leave and arrive in a given member state”¹⁰.

⁶ MAREK E., *Zatrudnienie pracowników polskich za granicą*. „Instytut Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych. Studia i Materiały” 1992, z. 6.

⁷ CHORAŹKIEWICZ G.: *Współczesne procesy migracyjne*. „Instytut Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych. Studia i Materiały” 1992, z. 6, p. 15.

⁸ OLEKSYN T.: *Słonność Polaków do emigracji zarobkowej*. „Instytut Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych. Studia i Materiały” 1992, z. 6.

⁹ OKÓLSKI M.: *Przepływ siły roboczej w świetle niemiecko-polskiej umowy dwustronnej o pracownikach sezonowych*. [In:] *Polscy pracownicy na rynku Unii Europejskiej*. Kaczmarczyk P., Łukowski W. (eds.), Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2004.

¹⁰ *Migracje zarobkowe polskiej młodzieży. Badania i analizy*. Warszawa, Urząd Komitetu Integracji Europejskiej Departament Analiz Ekonomicznych i Społecznych, 2004, p. 21.

As we can see, the legal situation concerning departures in general, including emigration, has radically changed. This caused a violent change of the migratory situation in Poland, and also in many countries of Mid-East Europe. The polls of CBOS of the beginning of March 2005 with a sample of 1 025 adult Poles suggested that every seventh respondent (15%) had in his close family at least one person who after Poland's accession to the European Union (1st May 2004) had left abroad to work. Part of them (9%) are still working there, some worked but have already returned (5%), and others (1% out of 15% of those declaring their close relative have gone) have not found a job¹¹. The phenomenon of migration has an unusually dynamic character. Further CBOS polls, conducted in October 2006, show that for the last half a year "the percentage of those whose relative went to work abroad in some of the UE countries have doubled."¹² And two and a half years after Poland had joined the Union "almost every third of the respondents (31%) declare" that somebody from his or her close relatives have gone abroad to work. Out of them 22% are still working, 8% worked but have already returned, and 1 % have left but have not found a job¹³. There are no exact data as to how many Poles have left abroad to look for a job. Nevertheless "according to the estimates of European Citizen Action Service published in August this year ca. 1 220 000 citizens have left Poland to work abroad."¹⁴

The dynamism of this phenomenon requires that one look at its various consequences.

2. The macro-social perspective

As we consider conditions and consequences of migration, one should look at it from two angles: macro-social – the receiving country and the country allowing for migration, and micro-social – persons, families, and migrating groups. Much information on the migratory processes is provided by an analysis of emigrants' features, and the situation in which they decide to emigrate.

The countries receiving immigrants calculate whether it is profitable for them to accept workers from outside. The consent to accept them appears when immigration is in the interest of the receiving country, therefore when the newcomers fill

¹¹ CBOS: *Praca Polaków w krajach UE – plany i doświadczenia. Raport kwiecień 2005*, Warszawa 2005, p. 3.

¹² CBOS: *Praca Polaków w krajach Unii Europejskiej. Raport listopad 2006*, Warszawa 2006, p. 1.

¹³ *Ibidem.*, p. 2.

¹⁴ TRASER J.: *Who's Still Afraid of EU Enlargement*, ECAS – European Citizen Action Service, 2004, http://www.euractiv.com/29/images/Who's%20still%20afraid%20of%20EU%20enlargement_Sept06_tcm29-157485.pdf, 20.11.2006. TRASER J.: *Who's Afraid of the EU's Latest Enlargement. The Impact of Bulgaria and Romania joining the Union on Free Movement of Persons*. ECAS – European Citizen Action Service, 2006, http://www.ecas.org/file_uploads/1187.pdf, ECAS, 20.11.2006.

in the current gaps in particular categories of employment¹⁵, especially promoted is to employ the deficit staff of specialists and job that call for long-term education (e.g. physicians).

Now the countries of immigrants' origin generally agree to emigration because, in accord with the expectations of international society, one cannot limit the freedom of one's citizens. They can, however, be interested in emigration to regulate their own labour market, mainly in the situation of high unemployment, or ten to reduce emigration. Then they must concentrate on a detailed discernment of factors "pushing" out to emigrate, on measures encouraging to stay in the country, among other things by considerable pay rises, or by doing away with barriers in self-employment, or by reducing labour costs for entrepreneurs. Such steps can be effective so far as they take into account the actual reasons of individual decisions to leave the country, and as the "pushing out" is able, fairly soon, to level the differences in earnings, opportunities to employ, and life standards in comparison with the "attracting" countries.

3. Gains and costs of the receiving country in the light of literature

As literature on the problem of migration shows, there are above all positive effects in the economic (productive and consumptive) sphere due to the influx of immigrants in the receiving country; professional competencies rise on the labour market, and there are positive effects in the demographic structure.

- It is generally stressed that the appearance of new workers, or the influx of a large wave of job immigrants contribute "new energy to economic development," and in the end a dynamic development of the regions settled anew. The examples here are the Canadian prairie, the Russian Far East „whose economy was formed out *of nothing* as a result of mass influx of people,"¹⁶ and recently the dynamically developing economy of Ireland.
- In general, the new workers coming to the labour market are employed where the local people, for various reasons, are not interested to work. To a large extent this phenomenon occurs in the periods of a relative shortage of workforce. As it is observed in various countries receiving immigrants, they fulfil a niche in services and other areas where there a permanent or seasonal shortage of workers. In the situation, however, when on the labour market there is a shortage workers with higher, or more specialist, qualifications. Then for this country the following things are especially profitable:

¹⁵ Measures (laws) regulating emigrations may affect the migratory processes because they contain various solutions: prohibiting, selecting, permitting, promoting, and expelling.

¹⁶ MARYAŃSKI A.: *Migracje w świecie*. Warszawa, PWN, 1984, p. 13.

- “brain drain” – encourage people with special qualifications, knowledge, and intellectual potential. It is observed in the policy of many countries (the USA or Canada are leading here), offering especially attractive working and life standards for highly qualified workers;
- “draining jobs,” “stealing workers” skilled in forgotten jobs, or in jobs abandoned by the local people, or in jobs that call for difficult university diplomas and constant training, such as physicians. Meanwhile the youth in the rich countries are not interested in such a contribution of effort, do not decide to learn difficult professions¹⁷, that is why the newcomers fill in the gap in employment.
- In both cases the receiving country lowers the costs of educating workers and do not invest in their preparation, and acquires a highly qualified workforce. As many authors stress, it is much cheaper to welcome qualified workers with fanfares rather than educate the staff. It is more profitable to subsidise employment of qualified specialists than to finance long-term and expensive education, training and their professional development.
- Despite lowering the costs of education, the receiving countries also costs of labour. This is done on two levels – legal and illegal employment. Accepting new workers gives employers a chance to lower the level of earnings, and this may keep the costs of production at a low level. The second situation, in discord with the legislation of the receiving country – costs of labour are reduced, especially for employers employing illegal workers.
- Moreover, what should be stressed, new workplaces in the realm of the service of migration are established in the receiving country. The increase of employment in the control and organisation of migration, often the organisation of learning the language, education, social welfare for migrants.
- The level of a broadly understood consumption is increased, if only because the number of inhabitants increases. This concerns above all, but not exclusively, the expenditures on daily food and hygienic means. Immigrants in the receiving country, even those who plan to save as much as possible, send it to their families, spend some money on a flat and attendant charges, clothes, rarer on health, entertainment, rest, and culture. In total, the immigrants’ expenditures enhance the demand on many goods and services. Immigrants, not only as workers, but also consumers, stimulate the economic development of the receiving country.
- The changes in the population structure of the receiving country have a special character. As the statistical data concerning immigrants show, migration

¹⁷ In the coming years there will be 60.000 workplaces in the UE countries for doctors. See: LEŚNIEWSKA J.: *Problemy migracji polskiej kadry medycznej*. „Polityka Społeczna” 2005, nr 4, s 18.

embraces mainly the countries whose population is younger because this age category is most mobile. Migration therefore makes the process of ageing in the receiving country slow down¹⁸ – but it also causes “significant changes in the structure of population, especially ethnic or linguistic.”¹⁹

One cannot, however, fail to notice that the receiving country also suffers some costs related to the reception of immigrants.

- Firstly – it must safeguard the infrastructure for the influx of people and flats, health care, social welfare, and education. For many reasons, the conditions offered and available for immigrants are below standards regarded as a norm in the receiving local milieu.
- Secondly – there is a fear that some workplaces will be reduced for the inhabitants of the receiving country. Generally, however, since the immigrants enter the niche of employment, this problem is not particularly stressed as the costs of the receiving country, but it may cause discontent and unrest among the local workers.
- The appearance of a large group of immigrants, especially from a different culture, entails a risk of racial, religious, and social conflicts. This risk is treated more and more seriously, as there are in many receiving countries (among others, in France and Germany) riots of young from immigrants and unrest in many cities. As a result of them, there are enormous material losses.

The conflicts are triggered by difference in how the local inhabitants perceive the social situation of the immigrants and how the immigrants see it. The local people believe that immigrants make the life standards deteriorate, cause unrest, threaten safety, and generally lower the quality of life. Whereas the immigrants are aware of discrimination, but also of a lesser access to education and work, lower opportunities to obtain a higher life standard, are treated worse, and belong to a “second category.”

- Additionally, as A. Maryński signalises, in some situations, especially when mass migration is not controlled enough, one observes degradation of the environment. According to this author, the refugees, immigrants do not respect enough or even destroy the country in which they have found a shelter²⁰.

4. Gains and losses of the sending country

If a “sending” country accepts job migration, this is undoubtedly connected with the dominance of gains, profits from its citizens’ emigration over the general costs or losses of this emigration. Being aware of the relation between gains and losses calls

¹⁸ STANEK M.: *Sytuacja imigrantów na hiszpańskim rynku pracy*. „Polityka Społeczna” 2006, nr 7, p. 23.

¹⁹ MARYAŃSKI A., *op. cit.*, p. 13.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

for a detailed presentation of all possible consequences when a larger group of people emigrate to work abroad.

As technical literature devoted to an analysis of consequences in the macro-social approach shows, emigrations cause a series of changes of a various character. They are observed in the demographic structure and in the intellectual or economic potential of the societies with a high level of migration.

Firstly – this may be expressed as effects in population (demographic).

- This can weaken the demographic potential of the country, and the scope of weakening is evaluated according to the indicator of migration in comparison with the indicators of natural growth.
- The structure of age is deformed, mainly in the rural areas, where one observe the “accelerated” ageing of population, due to both the emigration of young people and the co-existent internal migration (looking for jobs in towns, changing dwelling places).

Secondly, one can observe that the “quality of population” in the sending country becomes worse.

- If there is an overrepresentation of young and better-educated people among emigrants, as we can observe it in the case of our migrants, then one should notice in it a tendency to diminish the number of the highly qualified staff and to reduce the number of educated people in the whole of society, especially in the younger, migrating categories of age. More people less educated remain, often less active, less entrepreneurial, or only not so desperate and ready to give in to this fashion of emigration.

These changes may have a very essential and long-term significance. It is indicated by A. Maryński who quotes the example of Bulgaria from which “as early as the 19th century a small group of Turkish intelligentsia left, and the other Turks who stayed in villages in further regions have become the most benighted ethnic group.”²¹ This fact have had far-reaching, enormous, and unfavourable effects for the further development of our country.

The third area contains unfavourable economic effects not only financial, but also such that mean degradation of the economic potential and the natural environment. One indicates the following issues here:

- inflation as the effect of the uncontrolled influx of money/earnings to the places of origin,
- economic degradation of the depopulated areas and deprived of routine actions and new economic initiatives, due to emigration.

Now one should look at the gains and profits of the sending country from two perspectives: one that refers to migrants during their stay abroad, mainly those who

²¹ Ibidem.

treat their emigration as transitory, and plan to return; and another perspective when they return to the country. I omit here the otherwise important also for the sending country job migration treated as a transitory period for permanent emigration. Then the majority or almost all money is invested in the target country, where they plan to stay permanently.

The period of job migration abroad causes concrete consequences for the sending country. Firstly, the situation in the labour market changes. Looking for a job abroad in general or a better-paid job results from some irregularities on the labour market (high rate of unemployment) and dissatisfaction with the amount of earnings (the working poor) that do not guarantee satisfactory living standards. As a result of these irregularities, and at the same time when compared with a respective situation in another country, a point of reference for a potential migrant, people/social groups make decisions to emigrate in order to enhance their social welfare and/or raise their own or their family's/homesteads' living standards. Finding a job and relatively higher wages for a large group of migrants, and the fact that at least part of their incomes is transferred to the country, have much importance for the sending country. This is manifested through the following:

- reduction of the rate of unemployment as the surplus of the movement of labour;
- influx of consumption capital – one observes an increase in consumption when more money comes to the market; this in turn increases production and services, and indirectly stimulates new workplaces;
- influx of investment capital – earnings are sent to the country of origin and affects the development of building, production investments, multiplication of workplaces.

Gains for the country of origin are also mentioned in the case of seasonal job migration. The migrants' incomes contribute to the local markets, enhance demand and constitute, if only seasonal, a "positive impulse for local enterprise."²²

Similar situations are observed more frequently when we deal with return migration, especially when re-emigrants have gained a bigger capital and treat it as their foundation for creating workplaces, invest their money in their own employment and the development of investment. Re-emigration causes yet other gains for the country of return. These are both notable benefits that can be estimated and benefits connected with a better life potential, improvement of the quality of life for the re-emigrants and their families.

In total, in the macro-social scale job emigration and re-emigration bring about the following effects in the sending country:

²² KACZMARCZYK P., ŁUKOWSKI W.: *Migracje sezonowe – zarys problemów badawczych*. [In:] *Polscy pracownicy na rynku ...*, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

- increase of professional competencies and general life potential for migrants owing the experience they have gained outside the country; their innovation and mobility are enhanced, they know a foreign language better and become pro-investment,
- increase of trade production of goods on which the re-emigrants are often oriented (seeking the symbols of status), mainly cars, education, and houses,
- the general increase of the quality of life in the country of origin,
- increase of the sense of social safety for this group of emigrants who left due to marginalisation, a particular sense of threat and low life standards,
- return of the young generation, the main component of the migratory wave and the basic demographic potential of the country.

As we can see, it is difficult to take stock of one's gains and losses or compare them for the sending country. The gains of the receiving country appear to be decisively more clear. Our analyses here indicate a very complex dimension of the overall evaluation of job migration at the macro-social level. Nevertheless they make us conclude that job migration is more profitable for receiving countries than for those from which emigrants come. It solves or minimises the problems of the former countries.

Job migration, however, would not be possible if there were no calculations on the part of the migrating people. It is for them that the balance of profits must surpass costs they incur. They in fact make decisions to leave to find a job. They and their families must do it. They are less interested in the gains and losses for particular countries: the one that pushes them out, and the one that receives them.

**Translated by Jan Klos.

III

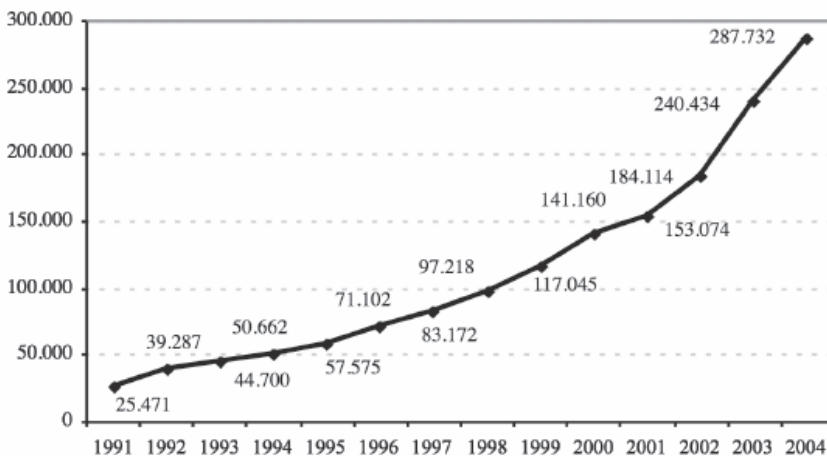
VARIOUS NATIONAL EXPERIENCES IN MIGRATION AND MIGRATION POLICY

Immigration in Veneto Region

1. Basic demographic data

According to the data provided by ISTAT¹, the number of foreign residents in Veneto region has reached at the end of 2004 the sum of 287.732 almost double the amount found out during the 2001 Census and almost six times the number of the early 90'. 45,8% are woman (the lowest rate in Italy) and 23% underage people. Graph 1. Shows the figures of foreign population in Veneto Region during the years.

After Lombardy, Veneto region has the higher number of foreign residents with a rate of 12% of national total amount while in 1991, according to the Census, this rate was of 7,2%.



Graph 1. Resident foreign population on 31.12. 1991-2004. Source: Osservatorio Immigrazione Regione Veneto (ISTAT data).

In the last years the foreign population greatly increased thanks mainly to the last and large regularisation programme for illegal immigrants begun in 2002. This program is an extraordinary administrative measure that makes it possible for an irregu

* Veneto Lavoro.

¹ Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (Italian National Institute of Statistics), <http://www.istat.it/>.

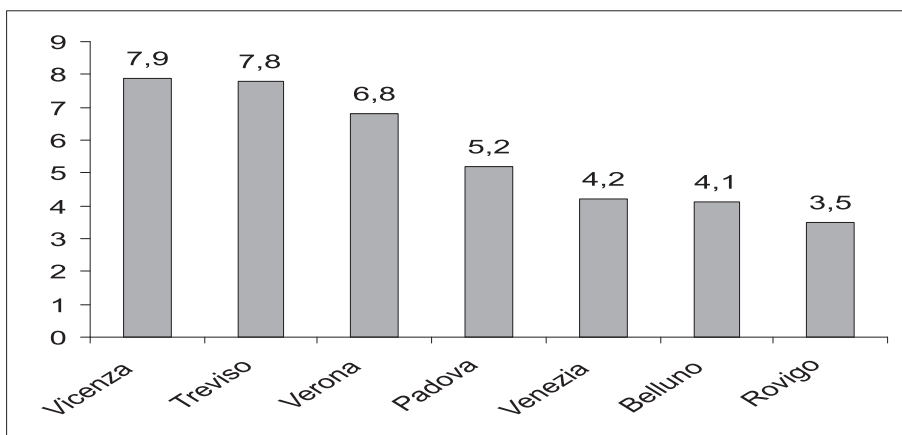
larly residing or illegal immigrant to obtain an Italian residence permit by presenting an application that respects certain residence and work conditions.

This way the incidence of foreign population on the total population at the end of 2004 was in fact of 6,1% while it was 3,4% according to the 2001 Census. Italian average rate is 4,1%.

Sum of Non-UE citizens amounts to 95,1% of foreign citizens at the end of 2004.

As a constant tendency of the last years has to be said that in Veneto region foreign citizens are distributed mainly (75%) out of metropolitan areas, the more relevant groups are from Morocco (40.361 registered), Romania (36.559), Albania (30.644), Serbia-Montenegro (18.647) and China (14.063). Graph 2. shows incidence percentage of foreign population in the 7 provinces of Veneto.

Last regularisation program has not only increased the number of foreign citizens but has also changed their qualitative profile regarding age and civil status mainly, they are in fact young unmarried immigrants in working age (53,6% in 25-44 class age and with an average age of 29,4) and it's easy to foresee for next years an increase of fluxes for family reunions.



Graph 2. Incidence percentage of foreign population in the 7 provinces of Veneto region on 31/12/2004. Source: ISTAT data (bilancio demografico cittadini stranieri 2004).

The younger average age of foreign population in Veneto region in comparison with the native population further to its renewal as 11,2% of children, 7,1% of young people in the 6-17 school age and 10,2% of people in the 25-44 class age have foreign citizenship.

Despite that Veneto population is still one of the older in Italy.

Continuous low birth rate and rise of average life time has lead to a general ageing of Italian population which is the older within EU.

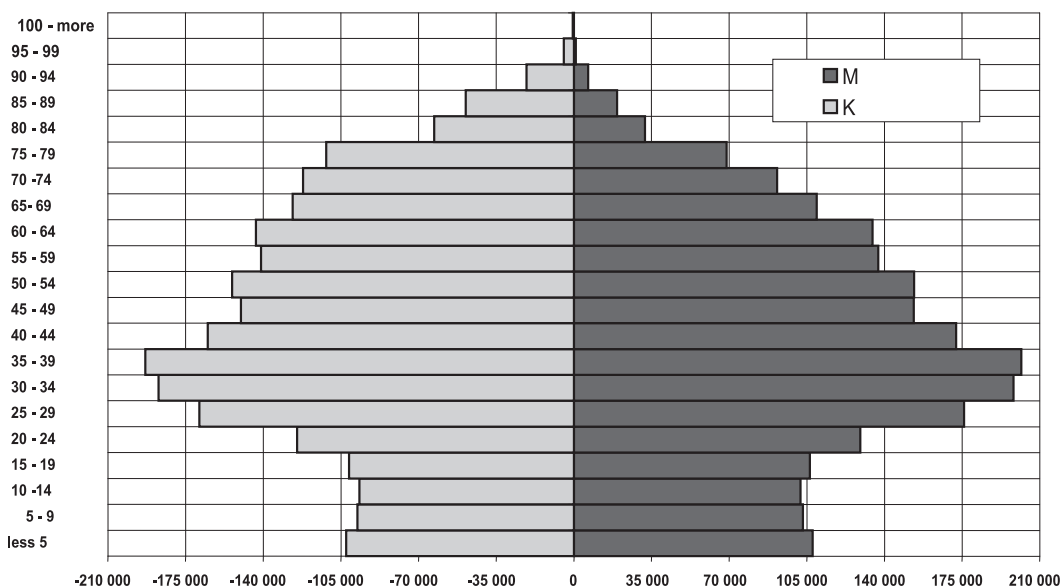
Several researches in the last years confirm this trend offering forecasts on demographic evolution in this region.

“Simula” model² on 2000 data basis and not considering immigration, estimates the Veneto population to remain the same of 2000 in 2010 and with class age 15-64 lowered of 6% (175.000 people) and class age 20-49 decreased of 11% (220.000 people) in 2010-2020 period.

ISTAT forecasts on 2001 data basis and considering also the effect of estimated immigration, assume the working age population (class age 20-49) to decrease of almost 100.000 between 2001 and 2010 and of 250.000 in the following decade.

Graph 3. illustrates the frame of Veneto population according to 2001 Census.

In 2004 for every 100 people below 15 years old there were 138 people over 65 years old and the forecast for 2025 is that this number will amount to 200, this meaning a figure of elderly people double the number of young people.



Graph 3. Veneto. Male and Female resident population. Source: 2001 Census data. ISTAT.

2. Working immigrants data

The situation of the labour market isn't better, the replacement rate is negative because the figure of people in 60-65 class age leaving the labour market is 34% higher than the number of people in the 15-19 class age potentially entering the market.

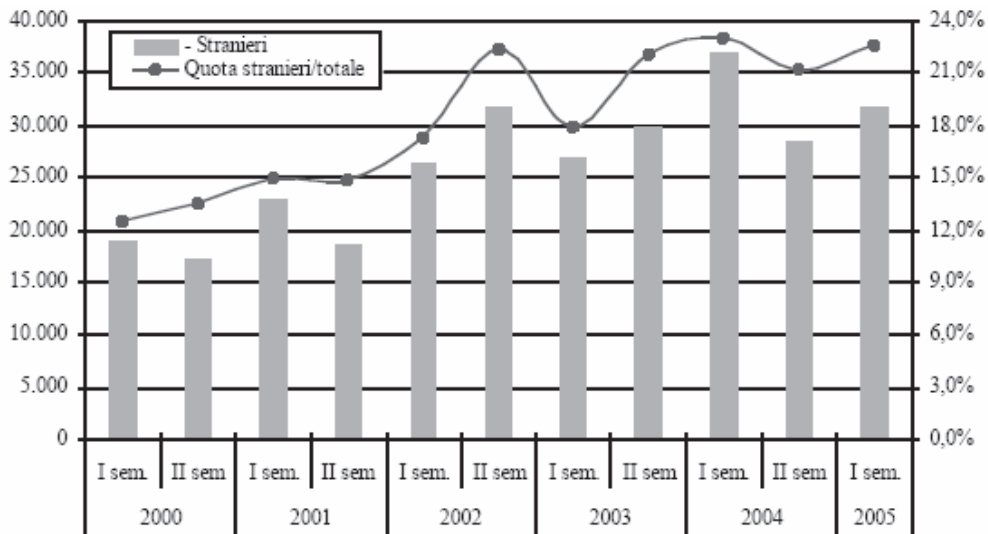
Given the above indicated demographic decline Veneto Region needs nowadays about 30.000 external workers per year and immigration will be stopped or mitigated

² MIGLIORINI E.: *Scenari di evoluzione demografica in Veneto. Le conseguenze di ipotetici scenari di flussi migratori prossimi venturi.* „I Tartufi” 2002, No. 9 (Agosto); see: *Veneto Lavoro – Il portale del lavoro Veneto – Osservatorio e ricerche.* <http://www.venetolavoro.it/servlet/dispatcherServlet?load=osservatorio/tartufi/tartufi9.zip>, 12.12.2006.

only by a decrease of economical development or the inversion of the actual demographic trend.

In all, the amount of employees in Veneto region during the years has increased from 285.000 in 1992 to 550.000 in 2003 but the quota of foreign workers grown up at a higher percentage, from 12.200 labour contracts in 1992 to 116.000 in 2003 with an average rise of nearly 30% per year and going from an incidence percentage on total workers amount of 4% to 21% in the last years.

In the next graph (graph 4) you'll see the figures of foreign workers for 2000-2005 period³.



Graph 4. Veneto foreign employment figures during 2000-2005 semesters (—●— Incidence percentage of foreign workers on total). Source: Veneto Lavoro elaboration on Silrv-Amm.in Netlabor (Sistema Informativo del Lavoro Veneto, basato sugli archivi Netlabor), Oct. 2005.

³ Por.: Assunzioni 2000-2006. Fonte: SILRV – Archivi amm.vi Netlabor. Estrazione febbraio 2007, see: Veneto Lavoro – Il portale del lavoro Veneto | Osservatorio e ricerche | Dati statistici | Assunzioni 2000-2007. http://www.venetolavoro.it/servlet/dispatcherServlet?load=struttura1.jsp&ind=osservatoriomdl&int=/portal/html/v4/osservatorio/dati_statistici/datiamministrativi.html&msx=barralaterale.html&mdx=menuosservatoriomdl.html&bric=Osservatorio%20e%20ricerche%20|%20Dati%20statistici%20|%20Assunzioni%202000%20-%202007, 31.03.2007. Le liste di mobilità in Veneto 2000-2007 (secondo trimestre) l. 223/91 e l. 236/93. Fonte: SILRV-Archivi amm.vi Netlabor. Estrazione luglio 2007. Gli ingressi di lavoratori nelle liste di mobilità in Veneto al 30 giugno 2007; see: Veneto Lavoro – Il portale del lavoro Veneto | Osservatorio e ricerche | Dati statistici | Le liste di mobilità. http://www.venetolavoro.it/servlet/dispatcherServlet?load=struttura1.jsp&ind=osservatoriomdl&int=/portal/html/v4/osservatorio/dati_statistici/listemobilita.html&msx=barralaterale.html&mdx=menuosservatoriomdl.html&bric=Osservatorio%20e%20ricerche%20|%20Dati%20statistici%20|%20Le%20liste%20di%20mobilita, 21.09.2007.

Every economic sector has been involved in this process but till 2002 manufacturing sector had the higher quota of external workers (60%) while service sector had around 30% and agriculture 10%. From 2003 the distance between secondary and tertiary sector decreased as the percentage of foreign workers has been 48% and 42% respectively.

Regarding women it is important to underline a feminisation tendency in the labour market, in fact in 1997 immigrant working women were less than 20% but 35% in 2003.

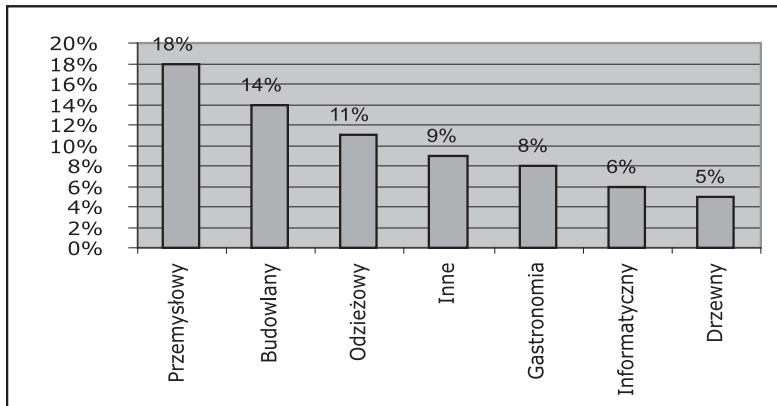
About of 51% of immigrant women are resident in Veneto for work, 39% have arrived to rejoin the family, the great majority of immigrant working women are employed as carers looking after the elderly (often ill or disabled) inside the families.

The presence of carers is estimated at about 25,000 (about 20% are illegal), the most representative origin countries of these workers being Romania, Moldavia and Ukraine.

In all around half of external hiring in 2003 and 2004 concerns workers coming from Europe especially Eastern part, 30% coming from Africa, 5% from America and 15% from Asia. The higher hiring percentages by country are Romania (16%) Morocco (14%) Albania (8%) and China (5%).

In 2005 immigrants workers are spread at 23% in Treviso province, 20% in both Verona and Vicenza provinces, 16% in Padova, 15% in Venice and 4% and 2% in Belluno and Rovigo provinces respectively.

In the last years the economical sectors absorbed external workers in the percentages shown in the next graph (Graph 5)⁴.



Graph 5. *Economical sectors and immigrant workers quota. Source: Dossier statistico Immigrazione 2006 (Caritas/Migrantes).*

⁴ Compare: *Anticipazioni del Dossier Statistico Immigrazione Caritas/Migrantes 2006. Immigrazione: riflessioni sui dati del 2005 e sulle prospettive*, Caritas Italiana, Caritas diocesana di Roma e Fondazione Migrantes, Roma 2006; see: *Copia di Anticip Dossier 2006 19-05-06.doc*, http://www.db.caritas.glaucio.it/caritastest/temi/Immigrazione/Dossier_2006/Anticipazioni_Dossier%20.pdf, 12.12.2006. See also: *Główne aspekty imigracji we Włoszech w 2006 roku. Dossier Statistico Immigrazione 2007 Caritas/Migrantes*, Caritas Italiana, Caritas diocesana di Roma e Fondazione Migrantes, Roma 2007; <http://www.dossierimmigrazione.it/schede/pres2007--schedapolacco.pdf>, 31.03.2007.

3. Immigration legislative management in Italy. Last developments

Italian legislation begun to organically deal with immigration management in 1986 after a period of legislative inertia.

Law 943/1986 implemented the principles of the International Convention No.142/1975 of ILO (International Labour Organisation) concerning the protection of immigrants on the labour market and the repression of human trafficking, it introduced statements about the condition of foreign workers in Italy. This means equal treatment in relation to labour market, access to services and removal of obstacles preventing the full assertion of immigrants rights. It has also been recognised the claim of family reunification.

With respect to the labour market, employment of workers from abroad was allowed but only after verifying that Italian workers weren't available, immigrants had the opportunity of finding a new job registering oneself as an unemployed in the employment list after a job loss.

This law represents the first regularisation program for migrants illegally resident on Italian territory but there was a lack of rules regarding the entrance and residence of foreign citizens.

Law 39/1990⁵ was the first attempt to regulate immigration in a systematic way introducing a quota system with inter-ministerial decrees and the possibility of a regularisation based on a lower level of selectivity.

In this case there were problems mainly regarding the effective integration of immigrants as the law was focused on control of entry and expulsion power, the quota decree was ineffective because of its usually late issue.

In 1998 the so called Turco-Napolitano law No. 40⁶ introduced some important changes:

A fair planning of entrances within the annual fixed quota, an effective policy against illegal migration and a social integration policy to remove the obstacles to the full integration of immigrants.

For matching labour supply and demand in the market were introduced a three years program on migration measures and a residence permit (12 months long) for looking for job giving NGO's, local authorities or citizens the power of "sponsoring" a foreign worker for the purpose of seeking employment.

Moreover it was established to grant a permanent residence permit after 5 years.

Regarding social integration policies attention was focused on giving equal opportunities and condemning any form of discrimination in access to services such as health service, education and housing but also recognising civil rights and the right to participate in the public life.

⁵ The law called *Legge Martelli* (Bill of Martello).

⁶ Law of the 6 of March 1998, No. 40, called *Legge Turco-Napolitano* (Bill of Turco and Napolitano). http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Legge_Turco-Napolitano.

Last episode in the evolution of Italian legislation on immigration is established with the law No. 189/2002, called Bossi-Fini⁷.

It introduced a new and more strictly residence contract and the abolition of the previously “sponsor system“ and the looking for job residence permit.

Length of non-EU unemployment was reduced from 1 year to six months and time constraints for the permanent residence card were increased from 5 to 6 years.

At last was created a new Unified Office for Migration (Sportello Unico per l’Immigrazione) managed by the government territorial offices (prefectures) in order to simplify procedures in all the process for getting foreign employees with different job contracts.

As foreseen in law n.189/2002 every year in Italy the fluxes decree law defines the maximum number sustainable of foreigners that can be employed from national companies also on the base of regional forecasts.

The foreign or Italian entrepreneur willing to employ a foreigner living abroad has to:

Present a request of “nulla osta” (or “no obstacles perceived”) at the Consolidated Office for Immigration (Prefecture) and ensure a suitable lodging, then he has to write a proposal of “contract of stay”, undertake to pay the eventual repatriation expenses and to communicate every change on the relation between himself and the employee.

The request will then be send to Provincial Direction of Employment, Employment Agencies and qualified police department to receive their opinion.

Once and if these controls have given good results the Consolidated Office gives the “Nulla Osta” in respect of the allotted quota.

After this, on request of the employer, the office sends the documentation to the consular offices, with the fiscal code, to get the visa.

This way, following Italian legislation based on the quota system, foreign workers can arrive in Italy only after having found a job but in reality, all foreign workers come to Italy without a job, they start to work as undocumented and only during a regularisation campaign they have a chance of becoming registered and recognised as legal workers.

However, there are few quotas and too many requests for registration, consequently a great number of undocumented workers are unable to become registered and are obliged to remain with irregular status in Italy. During the last regularisation campaign, which started on 14 March 2006, approximately 500,000 undocumented migrants submitted a request for registration for approximately 170,000 available places.

This way of approaching the immigration issue shows different problems as it ties more strictly entry and residence to work and, in presence of an increasing flexibility of the Italian labour market, produces inefficiencies and promotes illegality among the migrants that lose their job.

⁷ Law of the 30 of July 2002, No. 189, calle Legge Bossi-Fini (Bill of Bossi and Fini). http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Legge_Bossi-Fini.

Moreover inefficiency of the quota system in the matching of the migrant labour domain and offer leads to periodical necessary regularisation of migrants already present illegally in Italy.

New Italian government, according to the notes of Minister of Internal Affairs G. Amato on a reform of immigration law (October 2006), is going to deal with a rearrangement of the law in the direction of a more flexible quota system with a 3 years mid-long planning and the possibility of changing the quota in time according to the national needs.

Abroad Italian embassies could become the places where it will be possible to join employment lists for selection and/or training activities and also the old sponsor system (Turco-Napolitano law) could be reintroduced giving the power to public or private agencies of choosing workers from these lists and help them in the process for obtaining a residence permits for seeking work.

External worker will spend a trial period in a company after which he can be hired or not but the agency in this case will try to find a new employer.

Moreover according to EU guidelines these new legislative proposals are intended to give the residence card after 5 years (no more 6), to simplify procedures for family reunion, to extend from 6 months to 1 year the period for seeking a job and finally to give Italian citizenship after 5 and no more 10 years.

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Dieter Behnle*

Migration and Foreigners in Pamina Region

In this paper I would like to present the role of the Citizens Service and Security Section of the Police Department of the City of Karlsruhe of which I am the Head¹.

Our objective is implementation of administrative measures. To this objective you could count also issues of foreigners and citizenship. A sphere of law that has recently being developing under strong influence of globalisation.

Karlsruhe is a city in Baden-Württemberg, that has developed itself from a pure officials' city to the city of technology, a city with some 280 000 residents, situated directly at the Rhine, and it is also considered to be the Gates to the Schwarzwald.

Karlsruhe is situated in the northern part of Pamina Region. Pamina space amalgamates two countries, France and Germany. A small part of those, naturally, but a very charming one. If could please imagine the flow of the Rhine. Its source lies in Switzerland, it flows through the Lake Constance up to Basel, there it makes a powerful curve to the north, passes lengthways Strasbourg, Karlsruhe, Mannheim and Frankfurt and then in the direction north-west through Lorelei, Cologne and Düsseldorf to Rotterdam. Somewhere there the Rhine flows into the North Sea, a part of the Atlantic Ocean. Between Strasbourg and Karlsruhe, to the left and to the right from the Rhine, in other words in Germany and France, is situated the Pamina Region². See the map (picture 1).

The name "Pamina" is a mixture of the names of the territories in Baden – Pfalz – Elsaß border region. This trans-border region in the northern Upper-Rhine is naturally edged by the Black Forest (German: Schwarzwald, French: Forêt-Noire) in the East, and by Northern Vosges (German: Vogesen, French: Vosges) and Palatinate Forest (German: Pfälzerwald) in the West. The appellation "Pamina" comes from the three participating spaces:

- PA is an abridgement of Palatinate (Ger.: Pfalz³, fr.: Palatinat rhénan),
- MI stands for Middle Upper-Rhine (Ger.: Mittlerer Oberrhein)⁴,

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¹ See: *Karlsruhe: Bürgerservice und Sicherheit (BuS)*. <http://www.karlsruhe.de/rathaus/buergerdienste/bus>.

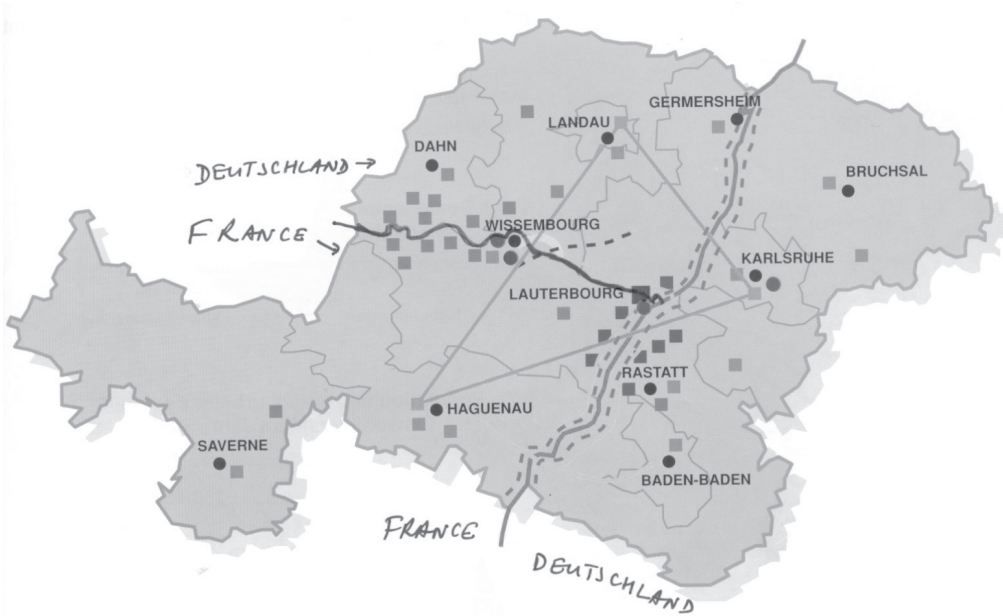
² *Pamina*. <http://www1.karlsruhe.de/Stadtentwicklung/siska/pamina/pamina.htm>.

³ See: *Rheinland-Pfalz*. <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rheinland-Pfalz>.

⁴ See: *Region Mittlerer Oberrhein*. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Region_Mittlerer_Oberrhein.

- NA is to identify with the North Alsace (Fr.: Nord d'Alsace)⁵.

The territory of Pamina Region encompasses about 7000 km² with population of approximately 1,6 mln. The population as well as the economical power has a tendency to an unequal division⁶.



Picture 1. Map of Pamina Region.

Although in the Pamina Region's case it is about a relatively small territory, you should say "Klein aber fein" – "Small but good". Even if Pamina is not yet a part of people's perception, one should confirm that the twenty-year activity delivers more and more benefits. The birth of Pamina is rooted to one of the Programs of the European Union to support of the trans-border regions aimed to diminish the border-determined obstacles and develop trans-border co-operation. Unfortunately the cities of Strasbourg, Freiburg and Basel do not belong to Pamina. But it is only a question of time until the Pamina Region essentially increases itself. Only in recent days the next steps in this direction have been made. It is planned to create a trans-border European Metropolis-Region from Mannheim to Basel in which Pamina will merge. As a constant indicators of the polycentric space in German, French and Swiss trans-border region there will be "three-nationality" and "the idea of the network".

⁵ See: *Bas-Rhin*. <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bas-Rhin>; *Basse-Alsace*. <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basse-Alsace>.

⁶ See: *Strukturdaten der Region Karlsruhe (Raum PAMINA)*. <http://www1.karlsruhe.de/Stadtentwicklung/siska/sgt/sgt16050.htm>, 02.03.2006.

About all these Pamina issues you will surely get information from Ms. Anni Renaud of INFOBEST, the Information and Consulting Office of Pamina⁷.

In my report I would like to concentrate on the migration in the Pamina Region⁸ and nowadays it is represented by the foreigners' legislation first of all, and I'll have to involve the legislation adopted as well as implemented in Germany.

We'll start with the definition of migration. Earlier it was understood as entry to and departure from the country, as emigrants and re-migrants. It was the sociological approach. Today the perception of the term "migration" in Germany has totally changed. "Migration" is now perceived in general as foreigners' regulation. It is a legal-political approach⁹. It is reflected also in that the current foreigners' legislation is not any more called Foreign Nationals (or: Citizens) Law¹⁰, but Law on Immigration. Accordingly, there has been a change in a definition, which may and can be estimated in a way, that within the globalisation of the world (not only Germany) a number of terms acquired new meaning. We don't see foreigners most of all, but more and more – and this I consider to be very good – we see people.

In the Pamina Region there is still a peculiarity, that the French for us, Germans, are naturally foreigners. On the other hand, we Germans are foreigners for the French. In routing life this fact is of no importance. Every day there are some 16 000 people crossing the border. Germans and in foreigners living in Germany work in the French part of the Pamina Region, French and foreigners living there – many Germans as well – work in German part. If you go through the German towns of the Pamina Region you often hear French and there is nothing special about it. The French of the Pamina Region go shopping over the Rhine. Although the Baden cuisine is wonderful – there is nowhere so many prominent cooks as in this part of Pamina, you will find many Germans in Alsace (Elsaß) just because they want to enjoy good cuisine. And in Schwarzwald as well as in Alsace there are a lot of travellers, enjoying the beautiful landscape. None of the group of people will mind they were abroad. Every one can move absolutely free along the territory of the other. From one side it is possible because of the Schengen Agreements and the so called EU free movement legislation. Of course, there are also bilateral agreements.

There are also "real" foreigners as well. I mean those who come from further away and settle down here. About 130 000 foreigners live in the Pamina Region.

⁷ See: *Regio Pamina*. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regio_Pamina, 02.03.2006.

⁸ The figures presented in this paper concerning the population of migrants etc. in Karlsruhe and Pamina are mostly derived from the first-hand data collected by the Karlsruhe Bürgerservice or communicated from the related administrations; or else see the footnote 11.

⁹ See for example the difference of approach between Heinrich Henkel (HENKEL H. *Einführung in die Rechtsphilosophie. Grundlagen des Rechts*. München, Beck, 1964) and Norbert Horn (HORN N.: *Einführung in die Rechtswissenschaft und Rechtsphilosophie*. Heidelberg, C. F. Müller Jur., 2006, 4. neubearb. Aufl.).

¹⁰ See: *Foreign Nationals Law Sub 2: Citizens not from EU and EEA countries*, Cologne Chamber of Commerce and Industry. <http://www.cci-cologne.de/index.asp?ID=46189&MENU=3>.

In the German part, the group of the Turkish citizens with about 25 000 people is the biggest group of all. The second biggest group are Italian citizens with about 8 000 people, followed by people from Serbia and Montenegro, with about 7 500 persons. Greeks follow with about 5 000 people and Poles with about 4 000 people. In general, you can say that in Pamina there live about 70% of the so called third countries' citizens and only 30% of the European Union citizens. According to the statistical data¹¹, by the end of the year 2004 a third of the foreigners have lived for 20 years or more in Pamina Region. 43% have had their residence period for more than 15 years. More than a half has declared a residence period of more than 10 years. Here we should differentiate those who came here in the 50ies, in the 60ies and in the 70ies with their families looking for a job, and those who came to Germany for some other reason (e.g. asylum). Most of the Afghanis, Romanians, Pakistanis, and Poles have lived in Germany and in the Pamina Region for less than 10 years.

It is obvious that here we speak of the "pure" migration that defines the foreigners coming and leaving in quantitative dimensions. Since 1991 more foreigners come to Pamina, than leave. Nevertheless, the number in comparison with the year 1992 is constantly falling. It looks so, that the annual incommers' surplus remains constant. Countrywide it is now about 177 000 incommers' cases. The women share in all transfers shifts constantly between 38,8% and 42,9%. So women are underrepresented in the migration processes.

The Pamina Region has become the land of immigration as well as Germany itself. A migrant/foreigner is accepted to the greatest extend. There are still discussions anyway, sometimes more, sometimes less. As an example for those discussions should be mentioned that with the unemployment number of about 5 Mio. in Germany it comes to the fierce discussions. Also the "caricature quarrel" overburdens the relations and leads to hot discussions.

Nevertheless it should be noted that in the Pamina Region the multicultural way of thinking cannot be repudiated so easily. Migrants/foreigners live nearby and the private contacts get installed. In everyday life for a normal citizen the fact that somebody belongs to a foreign state is of very little interest. Please regard that Germany has lived with foreigners since the 1960-ies very intensively. At that time a lot of foreign citizens purposely engaged themselves into German economy from such countries as Italy, Greece, Morocco, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey. This so called first generation has left

¹¹ The statistical data that are not of the direct origin in the Bürgerservice Karlsruhe and that concern the whole of Germany can be found at: Statistische Bundesamt; see: *Gemeinsames Datenangebot der Statistischen Ämter des Bundes und der Länder*. <http://www.statistik-portal.de/Statistik-Portal/>. If they concern a specific Land only, they can be searched for at the given Land Statistic Offices (Die Statistischen Landesämter der Bundesländer). For a full list of them with the Internet addresses, see: *Statistisches Landesamt*. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Statistisches_Landesamt. For Baden-Württemberg it is the Statistisches Landesamt Baden-Württemberg <http://www.statistik-bw.de/>.

their traces by the course of time also in Germany in the Pamina Region. We speak today of the third generation of the foreigners and migrants already, and from this third generation we have integrated most of them, many were naturalised as well.

On the 01. Jan. 2000 new citizenship legislation entered into force in Germany¹². Now children of the non-citizens born in Germany besides the citizenship of their parents automatically acquire the German citizenship from their birth without citizenship application, if at least one of the parents by the date of the birth has regularly lived in Germany for eight years, and has a residence permission, or has had a permanent residence permission for 3 years. When these children are 18 years old, they should make a decision on their citizenship. If the decision is not made, the citizenship is lost as a rule.

This regulation is very important. For instance, in Karlsruhe since the year 2000 according to this birth right, 2 200 children acquired German citizenship.

The new state citizenship legislation with its indulgences gave a possibility to many foreigners to acquire citizenship. In Karlsruhe for example, instead of 500 annual naturalisations that were a norm until 2000, 30% more foreigners obtain citizenship yearly in comparison to the previous years.

After this growth the number of the applications went again down. Now in Karlsruhe annually about 350 people obtain citizenship.

All in all from 1994 till the end of 2004 in Germany about 1 341 000 people obtained the citizenship¹³.

Naturalisation since 1991 is performed according to legal entitlements, basing for instance on residence period. Failing knowledge of the language exclude citizenship acquisition as well as anti-constitution or terrorist activities, or criminal violations. Multi-citizenship can be allowed as an exception.

How does the situation with the foreign citizens' legislation in the Pamina Region look like?

First, it should be noted, that there is no special foreigners' legislation regulations concerning migration only for territory of Pamina. There are common – for the whole Federal Republic of Germany – rules for foreign citizens, which naturally have essential impact on those living in the Pamina.

¹²The history of the changes and different meanings of the German Nationality Law could be seen on: *Deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit*. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deutsche_Staatsangeh%C3%B6rigkeit; *German Nationality Law*. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_nationality_law.

¹³To see the number of the people of foreign origin country-wide by Land, see: *Ausländische Bevölkerung*. <http://www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/DE/Navigation/Statistiken/Bevoelkerung/AuslaendischeBevoelkerung/AuslaendischeBevoelkerung.psm1,31.12.2006>. For Baden-Württemberg it is 11,8% of the population (1.271.211 out of 10.738.753 inhabitants); see: *Gebiet und Bevölkerung – Ausländische Bevölkerung*. http://www.statistik-portal.de/Statistik-Portal/de_jb01_jahrta2.asp.

Already in the 70ies there rose the voices in science and politics, demanding fundamental change of the Foreigners Law of the year 1965. Their opinion was that purposed employment of the labour force and the immigration as a result of it demand active migration policy. The regulations of the 1965 Foreigners Law were directed more to the prevention and were not appropriate to respond to the already existing resettlements and to provide targeted management of the future ones. Since the mid 80es reform discussions started in form of proposals and draft laws, and finally on 01. Jan. 1991 a Law on Foreigners was adopted. The law was focused on the introducing of legal claims based on clearly defined facts as well as distinct limitation of the migration officials' discretion. For different purposes of the residence special terms were created. The Law should contribute to the better life planning of the foreigners and anticipation of the immigration for the inhabitants¹⁴.

The composition and structure of the foreign population hasn't changed essentially during the last years. Accordingly, the migration regulations of that time, which were directed to the protection of the public order and security, couldn't satisfy the factual developments. After long delivery process, Germany passed the Law on Immigration that entered into vigour on the 1st of January 2005¹⁵.

Essential changes can be seen in that this law for the first time regulated not only entrance and residence of the so called third countries citizens, meaning citizens from outside of the European Union, but also their employment and measures of integration. It has been secured that Germany is an immigration country. There must also be made relevant conclusions that the immigration inadmissible for economical as well as for political reasons was in fact actively established and supplemented by the comprehensive integration support.

The has also been a modernisation of the immigration legislation in the aspect that unambiguous regulations were created for the purposes of residence, language courses, school visiting, other educational activities. The regulations on the families' amalgamation (or: reunification) were simplified.

With foreigners' law regulation of integration issues, which were adopted for the first time, the foundations for the legitimate support of integration into the German society have been developed.

What does it mean for someone, the migration into a German-speaking Pamina's space?

For entry and residence in Germany a residence authorisation is needed. This authorisation is generally received before the entrance at the German representation abroad.

¹⁴ This is the competency of the Federal Foreign Office. See: *Federal Foreign Office – Coming to or staying in Germany* <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/diplo/en/WillkommeninD/EinreiseUndAufenthalt/uebersicht.html>.

¹⁵ For the full text in English, see: *The Immigration Act*. <http://www.auswaertiges-0amt.de/diplo/en/WillkommeninD/EinreiseUndAufenthalt/Zuwanderungsrecht.html>, 14.09.2005.

The authorisation is issued either in form of residence permission for a certain period, or as permanent residence permission. Residence permission stipulates different residence purposes. Permanent residence permission is issued for strengthening of the residence. Amalgamation is allowed for the purposes of the families' reunification, for employment, educational and humanitarian reasons. Visa is defined as a residence authorisation issued by the German representation. For short-term purposes it is issued as a Schengen visa¹⁶.

Due to the Community law, the Union's citizens as well as the EEA-citizens (Island, Liechtenstein, Norway) directly enjoy the free movement right in the member states. According to the free movement agreement of the European Community and Switzerland, the Swiss citizens have equal rights. The transition regulations exist for the employees from the New Member States, which entered the EU on 01.05.2004.

The citizens of the third states are partly privileged by the entrance and sojourn permit: for instance, Turkish employees and their family members, those with residence permit from middle and eastern Europe according to European agreements, with Romania for example, amalgamation entitled citizens from the Mediterranean states according to the Europe-Mediterranean Agreement, for instance with Morocco.

The Community Law enumerates also the states outside the EU, whose citizens should have visas. They are named in a so-called EU-visa list. All other issues of the entry and short-term residence are regulated by the Schengen Agreement. For the long-term residence and employment solely German entry regulations are applicable. For the return of the third countries' citizens the national decisions are bilaterally acknowledged. For the comparison of finger-prints within the Schengen Agreements „EURODAC“ has been established.

These reform aspirations basing on EU are going on. According to the so called Amsterdam Agreement the European Union has been provided with large powers for the spheres entry, asylum, and refugees. The European Council during the previous years has many times expressed its will to make the most possible use of these regulations within the common migration policy. In may 2004 the “Space for Freedom, Security and Rights” has been enlarged with 10 new members. The Commission of the EU has performed a considerable work from its side and has passed a very substantial package with proposals on free movement of the EU citizens, residence and families' reunification of the third countries nationals, as well as perception of the legal status and procedure for the asylum applicants and other refugees.

The Council of the EU has already adopted most of it and made it come into force. For some regulations however there are still implementation periods, which are not over.

All this legislation has considerably improved the entry and residence of the migrants in the Pamina Region.

¹⁶ See: *Federal Foreign Office – Visa regulations*. Auswärtiges Amt. <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/diplo/en/WillkommeninD/EinreiseUndAufenthalt/Visabestimmungen.html>;

Even if there are still certain difficulties in cases of the third countries' citizens and of the dependent employment of the new EU-members, generally it is to be noted, that opening of the borders inside the EU has influenced the inner environment decisively positive¹⁷. Especially the inner-European tourism was considerably benefited. The freedom of movement attracts many tourists to enjoy the extensive holidays supply in the Upper-Rhine and Elsaß and to experience the cultural abundance.

The magic word of the Pamina Region is integration. The newly arrived foreigners are entitled to the state supported integration course. It includes 600 hours German language course and an orientation session, in which basic knowledge on German legal system, culture and history are provided¹⁸.

The legal claim on such a course have foreigners from outside of the EU, who have a long-term residence in Germany, if they receive a residence permission for the first time for employment, private business, for purpose of family amalgamation, for humanitarian reasons, or receive a permanent residence permission¹⁹. No claims have those with short-term residence or having advanced knowledge of German language.

And those who cannot communicate in German at least at lower level, are obliged to participate in this course and can be obliged to this by the foreigners' authority. At the end an examination should be passed. Those who succeeded in it have time advantages by later citizenship obtaining.

Those who don't take the course should anticipate the difficulties by prolongation of the residence permission. If also the financing by the state is involved, it threatens with decrease of payments. The course is paid by the state.

Let me say some more words of the new developments of our foreign citizens' policy, in the sphere of voluntary refugees return and reintegration.

In sight of return of about 250 000 refugees from the Balkan wars in 2000 and afterwards²⁰, the debates of the voluntary refugees return has acquired new quality in Germany. The voluntary refugees returning to their countries of origin is a high priority according to the Foreigners' Law and constantly renewed decisions of the Ministers of the Inner Affairs.

¹⁷ Especially the stay and work for scientists and researchers has been facilitated. See: *Working, The German Mobility Portal for Researchers | Mobility Centre | Fellowships | Funding Resources*. http://www.era-careers-germany.de/portal/working_in.html.

¹⁸ Compare: KOLB H.: *The German "Green Card"*. „Focus Migration“ 2006, Issue 1198 (10.06.); see: *Focus-Migration The German "Green Card"*. http://www.focus-migration.de/The_German_Green_Ca.1198.0.html?&L=1.

¹⁹ Compare: SCHATTOVITS H.: *Ergebnisse internationaler Familienberichterstattung*. „Statistische Analysen“ 2004, No. 4, s. 20-23; see: *20 Jahre Familienwissenschaftliche Forschungsstelle im Statistischen Landesamt Baden-Württemberg*. http://www.statistik-bw.de/Veroeffentl/FaFo_Brosch2004.pdf.

²⁰ See: *A Decisive Year*. „Refugees Magazine“ 1999, Issue 114; *UNHCR – Refugees Magazine Issue 114 (Balkans) – A Decisive Year*. <http://www.unhcr.org/publ/PUBL/3b81266713.htm>.

The return of the civil war refugees after situation stabilisation in their country improves the acceptance by German population of the future admission of the refugees. In the countries of origin the capable of working people are looked for and needed for restoration and because of their specific refugee experience and contacts.

Besides the International Organization for Migration (IOM)²¹ the European Union is dealing with this issue actively. There was created a European Refugees Fund to manage the weighted dissemination of the financial obligations of the European Union member states for the period 2005 – 2010²².

The effective involvement of return and reintegration tools demands the development of the specialised central bodies with spacious know-how and contacts with different countries of origin. Only then it is possible for the persons willing to return to receive the assistance according to their personal needs and possibilities in Germany and countries of origin. In order to realise this assignment nowadays there are being founded return consulting centres with involvement of voluntary activities. The Pamina space is a part of process of solving this problem and support of return and restoration. We are now at the very beginning here, but we can involve the substantial experience of Stuttgart or Munich here, so our objective is, besides the pure integration of the foreigners, also their reintegration in the future to ensure. It provides a benefit for the people involved, because one shouldn't forget by a good designed foreigner's policy – a foreigner hardly tries to transform his new residence into the motherland. It can be succeeds sometimes, but often it is not. The home-sickness can be only then understood only by those who have ever experienced it.

It is to be stated that in the Pamina region migrants/foreigners can move practically without problems: whether basing on Schengen visas or on free movement rights. What is important, today in 2006 people try to diminish not only space barriers, but the barriers in minds. It serves to the better understanding of people. In the modern times nowadays it shouldn't occur again not to value each other, even if the real events unfortunately very often prove the opposite. The advanced integration will simplify a lot of things. The Pamina Region does its best to remove the obstacles on this way. De-bureaucratisation does good, as in Germany as in France.

Not easy does the co-operation between different separated authorities go. The government structures in France and in Germany are very different. We in the city of Karlsruhe have for instance only little contact with foreign citizens' authorities and administrative services of the French Pamina Region. Otherwise, there are no contacts of those authorities with us. It is however not applicable to pure police execution and anti-catastrophe measures, which have daily contact.

²¹ *IOM Germany*, International Organization for Migration – the migration agency. <http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/pid/1378>.

²² See: *EUROPA – Justice and Home Affairs – Funding – The European Refugee Fund*. http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/funding/refugee/funding_refugee_en.htm

Nevertheless I hope that the territory Upper-Rhine will happen to make some steps into this direction. The process of the simplification of many issues started in 1988 is not to stop anymore. Earlier there were insuperable barriers. Now it is only obstacles, partly still big ones. When every one is in good will, there shouldn't be any reason not to surmount these obstacles. Where is a will, there is also a way.

Hugues Dequick*

Polish Labour Immigration in France

1. Historic relationships between French region Nord – Pas-de-Calais and Poland

Before 1914, a few thousands of Polish came to be established in France, in particular in the agricultural sector. There were precarious working conditions but they enjoyed freedom in the cultural and religious field.

After the First World War, because of a lack of labour forces in France, a convention of immigration was signed between France and Poland. At the origin, the stay was supposed only to be temporary. Between 1921 and 1938, 300 000 Polish comes to settle in France, especially in Nord – Pas-de-Calais region (to work in agriculture or in coal mines).

Very often, the parents lived alone in France, leaving the children with their grandparents in Poland. Very quickly, the Polish community organises itself, with intense community life. In the years 1920-1930, some villages up to 98% were populated by the Polish inhabitants.

In 1945, only 70 000 Polish people came back to Poland¹.

Today, one evaluates the population of the Nord – Pas-de-Calais originating in Poland at the level of 500 000 people, that is to say 1/8 of the total population of the region. There remain 25 Polish parishes in the region. Polish speciality in the region is that they are specialised grocers.

Integration in Nord – Pas-de-Calais is often quoted as an example: “What is formidable, it is that these people of Polish roots are 100% French but also 100% Polish” – says Jerzy Drożdż, ancient Consul General of Poland in Lille².

Region Nord – Pas-de-Calais collaborates also with 3 former voivodships of South of Poland (Katowice, Kraków and Bielsko-Biała)³.

* Espace Emploi International EURES, Lille, France.

¹ SZELONG E., SZELONG A.: *Polonais en France*. Paris, Editions Noir sur Blanc, 1999.

² *L'immigration polonaise dans le Nord Pas-de-Calais: une intégration réussie*. <http://www.france-polska.com/historique/immigration/html/immigration.html>.

³ See: *Rapport sur la politique de coopération au développement et de solidarité internationale, présenté par Madame Ginette Verbrugge, Vice Présidente en charge de l'innovation sociale, de la citoyenneté et de la solidarité internationale. Séance plénière du 21 juin 2002, Region Nord – Pas de Calais, Conseil Regional, Coopération décentralisée*, p. 56-64; <http://www.nordpasdecalais.fr/international/telechargement/rapport.pdf>.

2. Work in France for Polish worker in the 21st Century

Nowadays, despite the French market not being fully freely open to the workers from the Central Europe, there are several possibilities of Employment of Polish people seeking job in France. Let me mention the general regulations, the exceptions and a special bilateral agreement.

2.1. General regulations

The French employer must ask for a request of introduction of foreign manpower at the DDTEFP⁴ on which it depends⁵. The administration checks that there are not applicants for work who can be engaged by this employer. The authorisations of work delivered within the framework of the procedure of introduction give place to the payment of a royalty by the employer to the ANAEM⁶. The employer cannot make the foreigner refund the royalty. An employer can thus neither introduce in France a foreigner without prior agreement of the administration, nor to make it work without authorisation of work.

The Employee must be provided with one of the following titles:

- Chart of valid resident 10 years temporary “employee”, or
- 1-year Residence permit, renewable but not automatically; it comprises the activities which can be carried on, with possible geographical restrictions; or
- The DDTEFP takes into account:
 - the application by the employer of the regulation of work;
 - the qualification level;
 - situation about employment – that it be not opposable with the high level executives.

2.2. Exceptions

There are of course certain exceptions under which the above mentioned regulations do not hold valid.

⁴ DRTEFP is Direction Régionale du Travail, de l'Emploi et de la Formation Professionnelle; DDTEFP is Direction Départementale du Travail, de l'Emploi et de la Formation Professionnelle ; respectively Regional and Departmental Management of Work, Employment and Professional Training.

⁵ Sources: Decree 94/211 of 11 March 1994; modification made with the Decree 2005/1332 of 24 October 2005.

⁶ ANAEM (Agence nationale de l'accueil des étrangers et des migrations, or National Agency for the Acceptance of Foreigners and for Migration) is a state-owned agency, a public service under the authority of the ministries in charge of immigration and integration. There are 8 offices in the world and one of them is in Poland: Mission de l'ANAEM pour la Pologne ul. Puławska 17, 02-515 Warsaw.

a/ Work of students

It is possible under specific conditions⁷. The basic one is that it is not the full time job but a part time job, and that the student is at the same time fully and duly registered (with the valid residence permit for students) and participating his/her studies in France.

b/ Scientist and scholars

It is also possible under specific conditions. The employee must be a holder of residence permit for a scholar or scientist, established on the basis of an agreement between the administration and the scientific establishment (valid 1 years, not renewable automatically).

c/ Seasonal workers

As seasonal are understood the tasks normally happening to be repeated each year on about fixed dates, according to the rate/rhythm of the seasons⁸. To do such a job, one must have a seasonal contract – the C.D.D. (le Contrat de travail à durée déterminée)⁹.

The contract of employment can comprise one probation period which cannot exceed a maximum fixed according to the initial duration of the contract is: two days if the duration of the contract is lower or equal to one month; three days if the duration of the contract lies between one and two months; five days maximum beyond.

The employment cannot exceed 6 months over a period of 12 consecutive months (it can amount to 8 months exceptionally in certain agricultural sectors).

The minimum salary (SMIC)¹⁰ was fixed as 8,03 Euro per hour on 1 July 2005 and as 8,27 Euro on 1 July 2006. The other condition is the respect of working conditions. Housing by the employer must be in conformity with the legal provisions of assistance.

The employer can subscribe to anonymous contracts of employment (the ANAEM recruits then on spot) or personal ones (re-introduction of workers engaged the previous year). This French/Polish agreement is managed by the ANAEM in Warsaw.

⁷ Sources: Directive 93/96 of 29 October 1993

⁸ Sources: Arrêté of 5 June 1984 and Decree 97/321 of 2 April 1997; signed in Warsaw 20 May 1992.

⁹ See: *Le contrat de travail à durée déterminée (CDD) – Contrats de travail – Fiches pratiques – Informations pratiques – Ministère du Travail, des Relations sociales et de la Solidarité*. http://www.travail-solidarite.gouv.fr/informations-pratiques/fiches-pratiques/contrats-travail/contrat-travail-duree-determinee-cdd-979.html?var_recherche=reconduction.

¹⁰ SMIC = Salaire minimum interprofessionnel de croissance, or Intercvocational (= general) minimum salary of growth; previously called SMIG = Salaire minimum interprofessionnel garanti, or Intercvocational warranted minimum salary, is a minimum salary per hour allowed to be paid to an employee. A table comparing the level of SMIG/SMIC for the period 1980-2007 can be found at: *Montant du salaire minimum interprofessionnel de croissance (SMIC) depuis 1980*, Insee – Salaire minimum interprofessionnel de croissance (SMIC), L'Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes, <http://www.insee.fr/fr/indicateur/smic.htm>.

3. Young professionals bilateral agreement: ANAEM – BTVV¹¹

The basis for the bilateral agreement was established in 1984 and renewed in 1997. The agreement itself was signed in 1990 and reviewed in 1992¹². There is another parallel agreement on the seasonal agriculture workers of 1991, renewed on 20th May 1992. They are still in vigour, despite the changes in the administrative structure of Poland¹³.

It is an exchange agreement. Its purpose consists in enabling young Polish professionals to work in France (and young French professionals to work in Poland) in order to:

- acquire new competencies thanks to the responsibilities which they are entrusted while working in an enterprise of similar sector – or of their choice;
- improve the mastery of a foreign language;
- discover other ways of living and of working (acquire extra-professional experience) of the host country;
- support the acquisition of a special “international (multicultural, trans-cultural) experience” which they will be able to develop thereafter.

The young professional in the understanding of this agreement:

- becomes an employee of the company which gives him/her benefits from a contract of employment of given duration (3 to 18 months),
- perceives wages corresponding to his/her qualification and his/her experience.

The agreement ANAEM – BTVV¹⁴ presupposes an annual quota of 1.000 candidates (each way) on 1st January 2005. The company sending an employee abroad usually agrees also to accept an employee from the other country.

Applicant must have between 18 and 35 years, be of the Polish nationality, hold a professional diploma and/or a professional experience and have a good knowledge of the language of the host country (French).

One should obtain a promise of recruitment from the other country beforehand. The document must specify the corporate name of the company, the nature of the post proposed, the duration of the employment, and the level of remuneration.

¹¹ In French: Bureau du Travail de la Voïvodie de Varsovie, in Polish: Urząd Zatrudnienia Województwa Warszawskiego, or Office of Employment of the Voivodship of Warsaw

¹² Sources: *Accord bilatéral franco-polonais relatif aux échanges de jeunes professionnels (Bilateral Agreement between France and Poland on the Exchange of Young Professionals)*, 29/09/1990.

¹³ See: *Circulaire interministérielle DPM/DMI2 no. 2006-143 du 24 mars 2006 relative aux travailleurs saisonniers étrangers dans le secteur agricole pour la campagne 2006*, “Travail – Emploi – Formation, Bulletin Officiel du Ministère de l’Emploi de la Cohésion Sociale et du Logement” 2006, No. 4 (30 avril), Texte 11/110, p. 1; http://www.travail.gouv.fr/publications/picts/bo/30042006/TRE_20060004_0110_0011.pdf.

¹⁴ See: *Accord bilatéral franco-polonais relatif aux échanges de jeunes professionnels*. http://www.ambafrance-pl.org/article.php3?id_article=860.

Apart from the professional profile papers and the promise of recruitment, the other essential necessary documents include:

- Valid national passport for the period of employment – after which one obtains *Permit of stay and of work* (“Titre de séjour et travail”, “Pozwolenie na pobyt i pracę”), which costs 72,45 Euros to be paid by the candidate.
- Local insurance – which has to be supplied by the employer.
- Private international insurance – which has to be paid by the candidate.

In order to work on the basis of this agreement one has to pass a competition of applications. The authorisation of work is related to the contract of employment – it can last from 3 to 18 months. No change of employer is permissible. Period necessary to obtain a visa lasts from 8 to 12 weeks.

The French procedure has been simplified since 1st June 2005. The employees for the exchange are not any more selected, but rather approved by one institution: l’Espace Emploi International¹⁵ in Paris on the basis of the candidates’ files previously approved by the employer. The contract of employment is now understood as valid for a provisory authorisation of employment for the time written in the contract. The delay necessary for the analysis of the files has been shortened and since September 2005 all forms to be filled by the candidates can be downloaded from the website of EEI.

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¹⁵ See: <http://www.emploi-international.org/>.

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Migration of Slovak workers in the enlarged European Union within the European Employment Services (EURES)

EURES – European Employment Services – is a co-operation network designed to facilitate the free movement of workers within the European Economic Area; Switzerland is also involved. Partners in the network include public employment services, trade union and employers' organisations. The network is co-ordinated by the European Commission.

The main objectives of EURES are:

- to mediate employment for people in the EU/EEA;
- to inform, guide and provide advice to potentially mobile workers on job opportunities as well as living and working conditions in the European Economic Area;

to assist employers wishing to recruit workers from other countries;

- to provide advice and guidance to workers and employers in cross- border regions.

Information sought for and provided is mainly about living and working conditions, taxes and charges on labour, incomes and cost of living, social welfare, education and nostrification, health care and useful links or contacts.

1. Services of the EURES network in Slovakia

Clients may, since 1 May 2004, use the EURES network services also in Slovakia; an EURES advisor and/or assistant is available at each Labour, Social Affairs and Family Office. People can also use our national portal of EURES – the website <http://www.eures.sk>.

A lot of vacancies have language conditions: Slovak language skills are generally required in Slovakia, although a different language may be acceptable in special cases, e.g. of foreign employers, lecturers at schools, language teachers, etc.

English or German are the most used foreign languages, but Hungarian and Polish are routinely spoken in border areas, and the Czech language is very close to Slovak.

* EURES Slovakia.



Figure 1. Map of Slovakia with EURES Centres marked

EURES in Slovakia is organised as a unit in each of 46 local labour offices, it is therefore part of state employment services in SK. We have total of 74 staff members, 15 trained EURES Advisors and 59 EURES Assistants throughout Slovakia. Unit of EURES comprise:

- the agenda of EURES;
- the agenda of international labour mobility;
- the agenda of mediation of employment for a fee (private employment agencies).

2. Mediation of employment abroad and mobility of labour force from Slovakia to foreign countries

Most of the mediation of employment in Slovakia is done through the EUROpean Employment Services – EURES. This is a public service provided by the state¹.

Mediation of employment can be also done in Slovakia through the private employment services provided by a legal person or by a physical person, according to the licence to provide paid mediation of employment, issued by The Centre of Labour, Social Affairs and Family in Bratislava.

Mediation of employment through the private employment services show the following data for 2004.

¹ All the analyses below are based on EURES Slovakia internal data.

- a) Mediation of employment for a fee is executed by 390 subjects (224 physical persons and 165 legal persons). They mediated: 11.958 occupations (2.857 occupations in the territory of Slovakia and 9.101 occupations abroad – out of which 8.019 (67%) in the EU states: e.g. 2.531 in the Czech Republic, 2.338 in Great Britain, 1.199 in Cyprus, and 601 in Ireland.
- b) Agencies for temporary employing mediated 9.924 temporary employees in Slovakia and 902 temporary employees in the EU states (e.g. 693 in the Czech Republic, 180 in Hungary, 14 in Great Britain) and only 2 in the non-EU states.
- c) Agencies for supported employing mediated 113 occupations (101 in the territory of Slovakia and 12 to Italy).

3. Mobility of Slovak Citizens and immigration to Slovakia

The Slovak Republic (SK) is a landlocked nation-state in Central Europe. More specifically, it is at the geographical centre of Europe and is bordered by the Czech Republic, Poland, Ukraine, Hungary and Austria.

Table 1. Countries of destination of Slovak emigrants

Ing. Boris Katusčák, EURES, ÚPSV

COUNTRY	NUMBER	DATE	SOURCE OF INFORMATION	NOTES
Czech Republic	78 009	31/12/2005	http://portal.mpsv.cz/sz/stat/zam_ciz_stat_prisl/cve_2005/cizinci_dle_stat	z tohto počtu je 21160 žien
Hungary	20 000	June 2005	Report on the Free Movement of Workers in EU 25, ECAS, Brusel + informácie od maďarskej EURES manažérky: Beáta Ólah na stretnutí v Štúrove + tlač	cez 10000 Slovákov je registrovaných, no odhady maďarských predstaviteľov stúpajú až k 30000; problém je, že mnoho zamestnávateľov si v MR neplní oznamovaciu povinnosť, za čo nie sú v MR fin. postihy
Great Britain	29 395	September 2005	Accession Monitoring Report May 2004 – september 2005	Slováci predstavujú 11% pracovnej sily z iných členských krajín EÚ/EHP;
Ireland	10 011	April 2005	informácia zo ZPC v Írsku, Limerick, apríl 2005	
Austria	8 281	06/08/2005	http://www.ams.or.at/neu/1400_3920.htm	z tohto množstva je 5277 mužov a 3004 žien, medzimesačný nárast oproti júlu predstavuje 920 Slovákov alebo 12,5%; + 7000 nelegálne
Italy	6 479	May 2004	Európska komisia	jediný údaj, ktorý je k dispozícii
Slovenia	1 489	31.8. 2005	EURES manažér: Valerija Okorn	
Sweden	88	March 2005	Európska komisia	
Finland	22	December 2004	Európska komisia	z toho pracovali 19 Slováci ako hudobníci
Malta	19	May 2005	EURES manažér: Raphael Scerri	
Deutschland	4 363	31/12/2004	EURES manažér: Miguel Peromingo, Ing. Šišková	k 31/12/2004 bolo v GER 1835 mužov a 2528 žien, počas roka 2004 vycestovalo za prácou do Nemecka 8702 sezónnych pracovníkov, 1222 dlhodobých pracovníkov
Greece	146	Topical	Veľvyslanectvo SR v Aténach, telegram v reči otvorenej	prijaté 26/08/2005
Cyprus	877	15/04/2005	EURES manager: Demetris Michaelides	
Poland	120	31/07/2005	EURES manager: Barbara Polanska - Sila	do tohto množstva nie je zahrnuté veľké množstvo cezhraničných pracovníkov, ktorí nie sú v Poľsku štatisticky evidovaní
Netherlands	1 236	2004	Report on the Free Movement of Workers in EU 25, ECAS, Brusel	
Switzerland	50	August 2005	PhDr.Eva Jonáková, OSS	reálny stav Slovákov vo Švajčiarsku je však omnoho vyšší vzhľadom na to, že väčšina občanov nevyužíva služby úradov práce
Norway	731	01/10/2005	EURES manager: Berit Alfsen	
France	22		Európska komisia	

TOTAL 161 307

+ ďalšie krajiny, od ktorých nie je spätná väzba;

+ nelegálne pracujúci, ktorých štatistiky nezahŕňajú;

Over 150 000 Slovaks has been working in enlarged Europe since the access to the EU. 5,63% of economically active population is mobile internationally.

According to the local labour offices' estimates, about 20 000 people are cross-border workers commuting either daily or weekly.

Czech Republic is "the biggest destination" for Slovak job-seekers. It is thanks to similar culture, identical history, educational system and any language obstacles. Around 78.000 Slovaks per year are working In Czech Republic. Slovakia is the biggest supplier of labour force for Czechia – 1/3 of all Slovak workers who are working abroad work there.

EURES Slovakia has very good co-operation with Czech employers, relevant number of Czech employers took part in International Job Fairs organised in Slovakia (See table 2). EURES network in Slovakia organises annually an average of two International Job Fairs for foreign employers from the EU/EEA states. Over 13 000 visitors participated at the job fairs in 2004 and 2005, 91 exhibitors from the EU/EEA states took part.

Table 2. Information about International Job Fairs in Slovakia

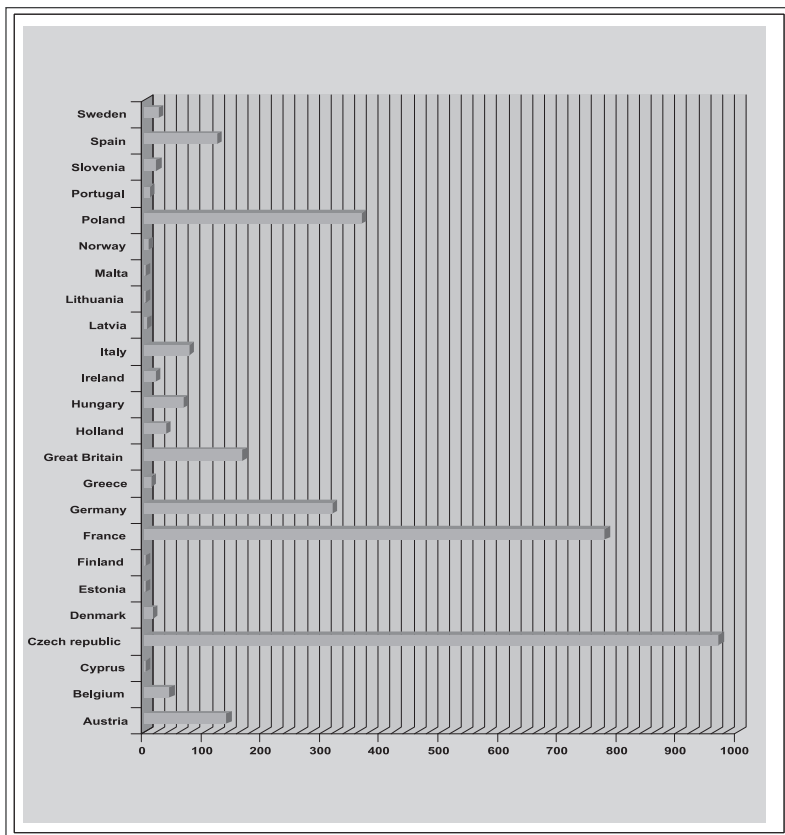
I INTERNATIONAL JOB FAIR (EURES)		II INTERNATIONAL JOB FAIR (EURES)	
Poprad 10-11 November 2004		Nitra 16-17 March 2006	
number of exhibitors / employers	12	number of exhibitors / employers	28
number of visitors / job seekers	1386	number of visitors / job seekers	5250
number of offered vacancies	400	number of offered vacancies	1428
number of job stands	150	number of job stands	1130
III INTERNATIONAL JOB FAIR (EURES)		IV INTERNATIONAL JOB FAIR (EURES)	
Košice 22-23 June 2006		Banská Bystrica 9-10 November 2006	
number of exhibitors / employers	24	number of exhibitors / employers	27
number of visitors / job seekers	3659	number of visitors / job seekers	3028
number of offered vacancies	3200	number of offered vacancies	2361
number of job stands	353	number of job stands	336

Slovakia is not a big destination of immigration, yet in 2005 there were 3.178 registered foreign nationals of the EU/EEC countries. Most of them reside in Bratislava.

The following table and diagram show the number of EU/EEA citizens in Slovakia 2005.

Table 3. *Foreign citizens in Slovakia*

Austria	138	Belgium	42
Cyprus	1	Czech Republic	968
Denmark	13	Estonia	1
Finland	1	France	776
Germany	316	Greece	11
Great Britain	165	Holland	35
Hungary	65	Ireland	18
Italy	76	Latvia	3
Lithuania	2	Malta	1
Norway	6	Poland	366
Portugal	8	Slovenia	20
Spain	123	Sweden	23
Total		3.178	



Picture 2. *EU/EEC nationals in Slovakia (2005).*

4. Employment of Slovak workers in Austria

Nationals of the new-member-states (including Slovaks) don't need a residence permit anymore, but there is a transitional period for the Austrian labour market for a maximum period of 7 years after May, 1st 2004. Therefore Slovak job seekers need a work permit (Beschäftigungsbewilligung).

Work permits are only possible:

- for skilled workers – with exception: for a seasonal work in the tourism or the agricultural sector (“Skilled” means that there must be a qualification, like at least an apprenticeship or a vocational school which ends with a certificate like a “Matura”).
- for full time jobs:
 - when there aren't any Austrian or integrated foreign qualified workers on the regional labour market in question,
 - as long as the “Bundeshöchstzahl” is not reached (There is a quota – fixed number of work permits for each year. If 8% of the Austrian labour force are reached, no more new work permits are allowed).

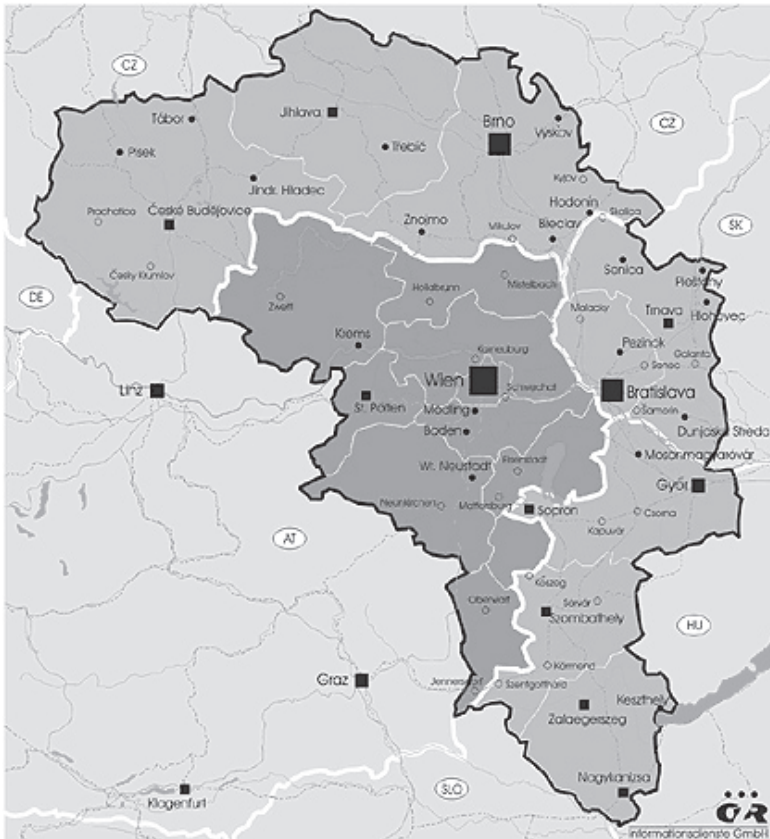
Slovak applicants can ask for job in Austria according to a special kind of form “*Bewerbungsbogen AMS/EURES*”. Applicants have to:

- be skilled workers with a qualification like apprenticeship or vocational school in the relevant field;
- be experienced: minimum 3 years of work practice;
- add photocopies of educational documents: certificate in Slovak and in German (translation);
- have good knowledge of German;
- if needed: add references (from previous employers), CV etc.

EURES Slovakia is co-operating with 3 local labour offices in Austria (AMS – Arbeitsmarktservices Niederösterreich) – Korneuburg, Gänserndorf and Bruck/ Leitha. EURES Austria and Slovakia jointly prepared a project of job vacancies exchange. This project is aimed at employing Slovaks at the Austrian labour market, as more intense co-operation is limited due to the transitory period. Through this project we have 177 applicants (from February 2005 to January 2006) and 13 applicants obtained the work permit.

The project is difficult enough because a lot of action is necessary prior to obtaining the work permit in Austria. Firstly, Austrian local office reports suitable job offers to regional office and codes them for the EURES database after having informed the employer about the project. Then regional office examines, if a work permit is possible for this job and forwards job offer to contact person in ‘partner’ – employment service, including the name of the company, the job-title, the Austrian local office, the national and the EURES-number of the job offer. Contact person in Slovakia publish the job offers in their database, make a pre-selection of applicants and forwards selected applications to local office. After that Austrian local office register all suitable candidates and send a copy to

the company. Company chooses the applicants and applies for the working permit. Local office grants the work permit, company announces the recruitment to the local office and local office posts the entry and writes off the other applicants directly to contact person. Finally regional office transmits regularly list of open and closed offers to contact person.



Picture 3. Greater Vienna Region in Austria (dark grey) and 3 neighbouring countries (gray), including Bratislava – the main area of commuting Slovak workers.

It is always the employer who has to apply for the employment permit. This employment permit is issued for the period of one year and only valid for the employer and the job the person has applied for. After one year the employer can apply for the so-called Work Permit (*Arbeitsurlaubnis*), which is valid for 2 years and for the whole region (for example Lower Austria). Or the worker is entitled to apply for the so-called Confirmation of Free Movement (*Freizügigkeitsbescheinigung*) and is allowed to work all over Austria in every branch.

At the moment there are no official restrictions concerning the branches, but there are certain branches, where a work permit is quite likely to be obtained and other with almost no chance.

Good chances of employment exist for:

- nurses with diplomas (the diplomas have to be reviewed by the Austrian Ministry of Health and Women; if the diplomas are accepted, the nurses get a so called *Berufszulassung*: they are allowed to work in Austria as a nurse, but this is not a resident work permit; the procedure takes up to 4 months and longer);
- butchers;
- electricians and metal workers;
- cooks and waiters;
- technicians, mechanics (car and other), fitters, construction workers, carpenters;
- au-pairs (they get a special work permit, which doesn't entitle them to unemployment benefit or another work permit).

In Austria you are allowed to have a job as a nurse only if you have the relevant education as the health worker with an appropriate certificate “Stredná zdravotná škola” (Secondary medical school) and have to get a nostrification. You obtain the so called *Berufszulassung*, which means, that they are allowed to work in Austria as a nurse. As far as we know, officially the nostrification procedure at the Ministry of Health and Women takes 4 – 6 months, but as about 80% of the applicants are obliged to pass additional examinations, it may take even a year or more.

The education of nurses and other health staff passed in the territory of Slovakia is very expensive, and all these costs are paid by Slovak state budget. On the other hand we can see significant migration of Slovak skilled workers abroad.

A lot of applicants are interested in work in Austrian households as nannies, housekeepers, caring for old people, for horses and so on. Without having finished any corresponding kind of education this can be treated as illegal work. There are no exemptions for these kinds of work in the Austrian foreign employment regulations, although all Austria needs people to take care for old and ill people.

Slovak workers are also very interested in seasonal work in Austria. Number of such temporary employment permits (*Beschäftigungsbewilligungen*) granted to the Slovak citizens (February 2006) has reached 7.077 (out of which 42% or 2.944 are women and 58% or 4.133 are men). Slovaks represent around 2% of all foreigners with work permits in Austria. Approximately 80% of all work permits are seasonal work permits, ca. 20% are permanent work permits.

Some interesting findings

In June 2005 there was the LAMO I– Monitoring of Labour Market Conference organised as a project within INTERREG III/A Austria–Slovakia Programme by the TechGate Vienna. The project analysed the evolution of labour market in cross-border regions of Slovakia (SK), Czech Republic (CZ), Hungary (HU) and Austria (AT).

Results of the study showed excessive discordance between the tendency to work abroad and the ability to realise this idea. Reality by predominance shows pendling, daily commuting rather than resident work and migration of skilled workers. In Austria the border regions are the less developed regions while the cross-border regions in the neighbouring countries are economically strong. In Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary more strong migration attitudes are not generally affirmed, population of these countries can be described as relatively immobile.

Work abroad is mostly enticing for those who are:

- young people (approximately 2/3 all respondents – younger than 35),
- qualified, mobile, flexible (not too stuck to their families),
- able to speak foreign languages,
- by preference men rather than woman (in Hungary 62% of those who seek work abroad are men, in Czech Republic – 68%, in Slovakia – 58%).

Certain overrepresentation of skilled workers among the migrants, the so called “brain-drain” can be seen. The border regions in Austria, Slovakia, Czech Republic and Hungary lack skilled workers. The main motive of work migration is difference in wages (average wage in Slovakia is 430 €). Still daily commuting work predominates over resident work.

Conclusions

Slovakia is a country mainly exporting the labour force. Slovak workers are wilfully commuting for a job and work abroad, they leave to find a job which is not adequate to their education and experiences.

The rate of unemployment in Slovakia (11,36% December 2005) and the height of average wages cause that our labour market is not enough attractive for citizens from other member states, but the other way, foreign labour market are interesting for Slovak workers.

*Viola Pöltz**

Migrants' Situation and Social Security in Hungary

Public Employment Service in Hungary

The Parliament of the Republic of Hungary amended the Employment Act in 2005, thereby establishing a new middle management agency of the Budapest and County Labour Centres: the Central (or National) Employment Office and the Public Employment Service.

When the employment service was established the key tasks were to stabilise the organisation and also to manage unprecedented unemployment levels without conflicts. However, a lot has changed in the past 10 years: the organisation has grown stronger, unemployment has declined, and the number of people in employment has grown perceptibly over the past few years. The economy has leapt onto a fast growth track, and a growing number of areas and companies are now facing a shortage of workforce. The organisation also found it increasingly hard to satisfy the growing demand for workforce with the supply of registered unemployed people, while motivating the long-term unemployed to work and making them employable have become testing tasks in their own right. The organisation has had to move gradually from distributing benefits, i.e. an administrative authority task, to using active measures to help people find their way back to the primary labour market, as well as to monitoring the efficiency of using public funds and to tracking the movement of funds.

In short, the strategy shift meant that the objectives became to promote employment growth, to make the unemployed employable, and to shorten the time spent without a job.

The organisation has the department of international relations and Migration, which co-ordinates the customer service of international relations in Budapest (EURES-European Employment Service).

Social security in Hungary

Hungary follows the distribution system of definitions used in the European Union from the point of view of benefits provided and the administrative system thereof, and thus uses the following concepts:

* Hydea Consulting Kft., Budapest.

- social protection,
- social security,
- social insurance,
- social assistance.

Social protection is the widest concept, comprising all forms of social subsidy. It rests on two pillars: social security benefits and social assistance.

The concept of social protection includes all forms of benefits and services, whether or not they are linked to payment of contributions (e.g. unemployment benefit), are universal, i.e. allowances based on objective rights (e.g. family supplement), or assistance based on need. Social protection therefore includes all three types of benefit: benefits based on insurance, universal benefits, and assistance, including:

- sickness and maternity,
- handicap and disability,
- unemployment,
- old age benefits (pension and pension-type benefits),
- benefits for relatives,
- family benefits,
- social benefits.

Since the 1st of November 2005 a new „job seeker” benefit system has been set up. The former unemployment benefits have been deleted and new types of benefits, namely job seeker benefit and job seeker aid, have been introduced. The aim of the new system was firstly to facilitate the unemployed persons to find a job, secondly to ensure that any group of the unemployed should not receive lower amount of benefit.

The subsidies that may be provided to the unemployed are the following:

- training course assistance,
- intensive job-seeking subsidy,
- assistance for the unemployed to become entrepreneurs,
- self-employment subsidy.

The subsidies that may be provided to the employer are:

- subsidies serving the expansion of employment a subsidy may be provided to the employer in an amount up to 50-100% of the employees' wages for a period of no more than one year if it undertakes certain conditions related to employment);
- subsidy of non-profit work;
- assumption of contributions relating to employment;
- subsidy of employment of those changing job skills;
- subsidy of labour market schemes.

The number of the migrants in Hungary

In the Central European Region, the Slovak nationals represented a very high proportion of the migrants in Hungary. Hungarian official sources know about 10 000 registered Slovak workers (from May 2004 to June 2005). Nevertheless, they presume that the number might be even higher given the fact that migrant workers have to register before taking up employment in Hungary, but the non-compliance with the rules does not have any consequences. This presumption is confirmed by Slovak authorities, who reported 20 000 Slovaks working in Hungary. Apart from the overwhelming number of Slovak migrant workers in Hungary, only 582 'A8' nationals registered in Hungary, 77% of whom were Polish (449 persons).

Data from June 2006 showed 66718 migrant workers in Hungary. (48,6% of employed foreigners come from Romania, 24,2% from Slovakia, 12,3% from Ukraine).

The willingness of Hungarians to leave the country for better work prospects abroad was also relatively low; the two main destinations were Austria (especially in Western Hungary) and the United Kingdom. While the first attracts mainly low- or unskilled workers, the second receives highly qualified migrants.

Since Austria restricted access of Hungarian workers to the construction sector and because competent authorities retain a margin of appreciation whether an Austrian could better fill the given job or not, not many Hungarians entered the labour market after May 2004. Those who currently work there are mainly those who have found employment before the enlargement. Western Hungary is also affected by the desertion of highly qualified doctors, since anaesthetists are in demand abroad especially in the UK, Austria and Germany. During the past 12 months already 430 – mostly young – doctors left the country for better paid posts in the EU15. Although Hungarians were expected to be quite mobile after enlargement, these expectations were not really met due to the fact that family ties are traditionally important for Hungarians and the socio-cultural elements, or the insufficient knowledge of foreign languages also influence their choice.

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Ukrainian policy towards labour migration to the EU: legal aspects

Migration (from Latin: *migratio*) can be defined as trans-border movement of people aiming at permanent or provisional changing of the place of residence¹. Consequently, labour migration denotes trans-border movement of population with the employment purposes².

In the today's globalisation era there exists not only a fast movements of capitals and financial flaws but also of people.

According to the statistics of the International Organization of Migration, 150-170 million people (3% of the world population) live outside their home country.

The Ukraine's involvement in the world's migration processes is really impressive. Nearly 20 million Ukrainians live outside Ukraine and 7 million are migrants. In other words every tenth migrant in the world is a Ukrainian³.

If we project the migration processes to the geographical map, we will see the following situation. The main part of 7 million Ukrainians living abroad is located in Western Europe and Northern America⁴, only 500 000 are legalised. Every year 2 million Ukrainians leave Ukraine with the employment purposes. Due to its negative impact on both, the state and its citizens, the mass labour migration constitutes an urgent problem of the migration policy of Ukraine⁵.

There are following reasons for such developments:

- 1) low salaries,
- 2) desire to improve the standard of living,
- 3) unemployment.

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¹ БАКАЄВ О. В., РИМАРЕНКО О. В.: Міграція. [In:] *Юридична енциклопедія в 6 т.*, Шемчущенко Ю. С. (ed.) et al., Київ 2001, vol. 3, p. 641-642.

² КУЗНЕЦОВА Л. О.: Міграція робочої сили. [In:] *Ibidem*, Т. 3, p. 642.

³ ШОКАЛО О.: *Інтеграція чи повернення додому?*, „Дзеркало тижня” 2005, № 12 (540).

⁴ 70 000 in Great Britain, 200 000 in Greece, 400 000 in Spain, 500 000 in Italy, 400 000 in Poland 200 000 in Germany, 100 000 in Argentina, 150 000 in Brazil. Leader is of course Russia, hosting approximately 3 millions Ukrainians.

⁵ МАЛИНОВСЬКА О.: *Основні засади міграційної політики України та майбутні сценарії сталого розвитку*, „Проблеми міграції. Український інформаційно-аналітичний журнал” 2002, vol. 7, No. 1, <http://www.migration.kiev.ua>.

People have been always moving where they could earn more. Very surprising might appear the big Japanese minority in Brazil.

The mechanism of migration policy consists of two elements:

- 1) normative (domestic laws and international treaties in the migration field);
- 2) institutional (governmental bodies dealing with migration policy).

To the main components of normative mechanism belong:

- 1) *The Constitution of Ukraine*;
- 2) *Law of Ukraine on citizenship, Law of Ukraine on migration, Law on entering and leaving Ukraine*;
- 3) decrees of the President of Ukraine and of the Cabinet of Ministers.

The main objectives of the migration policy are defined in the Decree of the President of Ukraine of 2000: protection of social and economic rights of Ukrainian migrant workers; creation of legal, social and economic foundations of the regulation of legal migration; preservation of labour and intellectual potential of the state; completion of the formation of legal basis and improvement of its implementation in the migration policy field, improvement of the institutional basis.

The most important elements of the normative element are international treaties. Such treaties were concluded with Lithuania, Latvia, Portugal, the Slovak Republic and Poland⁶. These treaties are one of the most effective instruments to safeguard the rights of Ukrainian labour migrants abroad. The agreements usually foresee work quotas setting up the maximum number of people entitled to work during certain period.

The reality shows however that the implementation level of these agreements is still far from perfect. A spectacular example in this respect is the agreement with Slovak Republic. According to this act the quota varied depending on the category from 200 to 1800 persons. However only 160 Ukrainians worked in the Slovak Republic on quotas⁷.

Besides international treaties domestic legislation plays a very important role in the regulation of Ukrainian migration policy. There is an urgent need to amend the *Criminal Code* and the *Civil Code* as well as to adopt a new law on migration⁸. The adoption of such an act would also significantly contribute to effective realisation of the Ukrainian migration policy⁹.

Because of the above stated reason crucially important is the character of implementation of such agreements that depend to a large extent on the institutions that

⁶ And negotiated with Greece, Belgium, Spain, Cyprus, Hungary, Czech Republic. More detailed see: *Спеціальна доповідь Уповноваженого Верховної Ради з прав людини: Стан дотримання та захисту прав людини за кордоном*, „Юридична Україна” 2003, No. 5, p. 62.

⁷ КАРПАЧОВА Н.: *Правовий статус українських трудових мігрантів та стан дотримання їхніх прав і свобод*, „Юридична Україна” 2003, No. 5, p. 64.

⁸ МОЗОЛЬ А.: *Характеристика і аналіз міграційного законодавства та міграційних процесів в Україні*, „Право України” 2001, No. 4, p. 121.

⁹ ЧЕХОВИЧ С.: *Про вдосконалення державного управління у сфері міграції*, „Право України” 1998, No. 4, p. 85.

define and implement migration policy. Among 8 institutions functioning in Ukraine in this field especially important are the following bodies:

- 1) State Committee on nationalities and migration;
- 2) Inter-ministerial Co-ordination Commission on Migration Matters.

The main task in this respect is the creation of a centralised organ – Migration Service.

The legal basis for the co-operation between Ukraine and the European Union is the *Agreement of Partnership and Co-operation (APC)* of 1994 (entered into force in 1998) that was concluded for 10 years¹⁰. However this document includes only general provisions on the co-operation and co-ordination of social security systems of migrant workers that have Ukrainian citizenship and are working on a legal basis on the territory of the EU. There are also some provisions aiming at restriction of illegal migration.

An important new step was the *EU Action Plan in the field of Justice and Home Affairs*¹¹ aiming at:

- 1) providing with expert legal aid to Ukrainian governmental bodies in the process of development and changing of migration legislation;
- 2) support of governmental institution in the migration field and creation of the State Migration Service;
- 3) monitoring of migration processes and studying of options for prevention of illegal migration;
- 4) co-operation in the readmission and migration matters.

The *EU/Ukraine Action Plan* of 2005 elaborated in the context of European Neighbourhood Policy¹² confirms the need for the implementation of Article 24 of the APC by the means of:

- 1) abolishment of all discrimination measures applied to the migrant workers;
- 2) conclusion of agreements with the European Union in the social security field¹³.

¹⁰ Угода про партнерство та співробітництво між Україною та Європейськими Співтовариствами та їх державами-членами від 14 червня 1994 року // *Угода про партнерство та співробітництво між Україною та Європейськими Співтовариствами та їх державами-членами* від 14 червня 1994 року, <http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/>

¹¹ *План дій Європейського Союзу в галузі юстиції та внутрішніх справ*. Погоджено на IV засіданні Комітету з питань співробітництва між Україною та ЄС від 12 грудня 2001 року // *План дій Європейського Союзу в галузі юстиції та внутрішніх справ*, погоджено на IV засіданні Комітету з питань співробітництва між Україною та ЄС від 12 грудня 2001 року, <http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/>.

¹² *Більш ніж сусіди. Розширений Європейський Союз та Україна – нові відносини. Заключний звіт*, Фонд імені Стефана Баторія – Фонд „Відродження”, Варшава – Київ 2004.

¹³ By today such agreements have been signed with Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Spain.

The enlargement of the European Union has brought new challenges for Ukraine which considering its direct neighbourhood with the EU has to adjust its migration policy to the new challenges especially in the way of:

- 1) improvement of its migration legislation;
- 2) development of an effective management of migration processes;
- 3) improvement of the external border control and border management;
- 4) improvement of the national labour market condition and social security field.

Such measures will foster the integration of Ukraine to the European Union and contribute to the creation in Europe of the space of “freedom, security and justice”¹⁴.

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¹⁴ *Presidency Conclusions*, Tampere European Council, 15 and 16 October 1999, <http://europa.eu.int>.

Vladimir A. Kravchanka*

The Republic of Belarus: migratory situation

The general increase in irregular migration world-wide along with migratory flows towards the new European borders as well as the trafficking in human beings, have had a pronounced impact on Belarus – creating new management challenges for an already-strained system¹. Since mid-2004, Belarus has been sharing its border with three new EU Member States: Lithuania, Latvia and Poland, accelerating this process. Furthermore, the relative inaction of many countries of destination over the trade and exploitation of humans continues to create frustration and speed up the trafficking process in Belarus. UNHCR estimates the total number of illegal migrants at up to 15.000 – 20.000 a year in Belarus including some 15% to 20% possibly in need of international protection². The most active flow of migrants comes from Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and the Baltic States.

Movements of irregular migrants into and through Belarus occur by land, air and by sea, and these flows are multi-faceted, reflecting many different nationalities and migrants varying in age and background. Migration for economic purposes appears to be by far the primary motivation, though there is a sizeable percentage of migrants moving away from volatile situations in neighbouring states³. The influx of migrants creates new challenges in the area of interdiction, reception or detention, care and services, migrant rights and registration and return. Moreover, smuggling networks that facilitate many of these movements are highly problematical in their own right and call for special tailored and co-ordinated law-enforcement responses. Government capacities to respond are limited, and even strong efforts backed by genuine political will are unable to keep pace with these growing challenges.

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¹ Short description of the migration situation in the years 1991-2000, see: Belarus – Migration. [In:] *Encyclopedia of the Nations*. <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Europe/Belarus-MIGRATION.html>, 01.03.2006.

² *Regional Operational Plan 2006. Overview: Western Newly Independent States: Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine*. Kiev, UNHCR, 2005.

³ See: *Contemporary tendencies of external labor migration in Belarus*. http://bem.bseu.by/index.php?s=on&lang=en&ot=article&car_id=1428, 01.03.2006; *Investment potential of external labour migration: Belarus*. http://bem.bseu.by/index.php?s=on&lang=en&ot=article&car_id=590, 01.03.2006.

Illegal migration is closely associated with organised crime, drug trafficking; it is a breeding ground for terrorists. Belarus undertakes important efforts to restrain this intense wave rolling through its territory⁴.

Belarus is a state party to the 2000 UN Convention against Transnational Organised Crime and two supplementing Protocols thereof: the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by land, Sea and Air, and the Protocol against Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. Belarus acceded to the 1951 Convention on Refugees and its supplementing 1967 Protocol in 2001.

On 29 November 2005 during the 90th Session of the IOM Council in Geneva (Switzerland) the Republic of Belarus became a member of the International Organisation for Migration. Thereby, Belarus has confirmed its adherence to the principle of free movement of people. This is also an additional acknowledgement of the importance of humane and orderly migration with the observance of human rights and freedoms. IOM is growing rapidly and currently counts 116 member states and this provides strong evidence of the growing importance of migration around the world. At present, there is an emerging consensus that governments can and must manage migration through international co-operation and policy approaches that address all facets of this complex phenomenon.

The Belarusian migration legislation has got high appraisal of international experts. There are 30 standard acts to regulate migration issues in Belarus⁵. Among them are laws on citizenship, foreign labour migration, refugees, national minorities (for example, Law of the Republic of Belarus On Immigration, Law of the Republic of Belarus On Refugees, Regulation of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus on Stay of Foreign Citizens and Persons without citizenship in the Republic of Belarus and others).

In March 2005, The Decree of the President of the Republic of Belarus No. 3 “On Certain Measures Aimed to Combat Trafficking in Persons” was adopted with a view to undertake effective measures to prevent the human trafficking, especially the trade of women and children and to protect life, health, freedom and other constitutional rights of the citizens of the Republic of Belarus. The document is aimed at placing tougher administrative and criminal responsibility for violations of the law in this sphere. All crimes connected with trafficking in people result in the deprivation of liberty. Belarusian legislation provides for a criminal liability for illegal trade (“trafficking”) in persons since 1 January 2001.

⁴ *Belarus Defines Order of Use of Migration Cards, Adopting Resolution #142 of February 3, 2006*, Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus, http://www.government.by/en/eng_solution361.html, 04.02.2006.

⁵ See: *Legal Acts*. <http://www.law.by/work/EnglPortal.nsf/6e1a652fbefce34ac2256d910056d559/c6247edd8e04b157c2256dee00509c40?OpenDocument>, 01.03.2006.

On August 8, 2005 president of Belarus signed Decree No. 352 'On prevention of consequences of human trafficking'. The document determines the status of victims of criminal activities connected with the trafficking in people as well as legal and organisation bases of ensuring their protection. The degree defines the notion of a victim of trafficking in people as a natural person who was affected by crimes aimed at their sexual or any other exploitation given an inquiry has been launched into the case either on the territory of Belarus or abroad. In order to protect victims of trafficking in people, the Code of Criminal Procedure of the Republic of Belarus spells out measures guaranteeing their safety, social protection and rehabilitation.

In 2001, the Council of Ministers adopted the State Program of Comprehensive Measures for Combating Trafficking in Persons and Spread of Prostitution for 2002-2007. The Program stipulates comprehensive and co-ordinated social, health care, legal and organisational measures. The key objectives of the Program incorporate combating trafficking in persons and prostitution and development of a system for prevention of these negative phenomena with the aim of their eventual reduction. Implementation of the Program is based on joint efforts of all relevant governmental agencies, non-governmental associations, legal entities and citizens. The program consists of 33 points.

As it was mentioned above Belarus has recently become an immediate neighbour of an expanded European Union. The westward flow of irregular migrants is running up against the strengthened eastern borders of new EU Member States Poland, Lithuania and Latvia, leaving Belarus with an increasing number of irregular migrants. An essentially open border between Russia and Belarus makes the latter a favoured transit route for trafficking and other forms of irregular migration, and aggravates the effects of reinforced external EU borders. We continue to look into the possibilities of promoting cross-border co-operation between Belarus and both its CIS and EU neighbourhood to address these problems and promote the durable cross-border dialogue.

On December 22, 2004 co-operation agreement between Belarusian Movement of Medical Workers, Border Troops Committee of the Republic of Belarus and UNHCR was made in order to ensure the provision of adequate legal assistance to foreigners seeking asylum in Belarus and enhance access of asylum seekers to refugee determination procedures.

Belarusian Movement of Medical Workers is a participant of the Söderköping process which strategic objective is to facilitate cross-border co-operation between EU acceding and candidate countries and the Western NIS⁶ on asylum, migration and

⁶ NIS (Newly Independent States, that is: independent since not long ago) it's an EU notion covering both the countries of CIS (Community of Independent States) and other countries having emerged after the dissolution of the USSR, only excluding the three Baltic states (which – as the countries of the EU external border – together with Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania make the other side of the Process). „Western NIS” mean Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova and the European part of Russia. Finland does not participate in the Söderköping Process. [note of the editor.]

border management issues⁷. The Söderköping process addresses cross-border issues such as, the strengthening and reinforcement of asylum, migration and border management standards and capacities. This includes such concerns as, reception procedures and facilities for asylum seekers, detention facilities for illegal migrants, readmission agreements, the return of rejected asylum seekers, protection of unaccompanied minors, and obtaining country of origin information.

NGO Belarusian Movement of Medical Workers was registered with Ministry of Justice in 1996. It is non-political, non-commercial organisation. Main object of BMMW is rendering social assistance and protection of people in need and refugees. We own ten years experience of carrying out social programs.

Since 1998 BMMW has been implementing UNHCR projects providing consultative and social aid for refugees and asylum seekers in the Republic of Belarus. Currently BMMW is working on UNHCR joint project Refugee Counselling Service (RCS).

There are two RCS's functioning in Minsk and Vitebsk cities. They are providing consultative and social aid for refugees, asylum seekers and stateless people including registration of newcomers, explaining refugee determination procedure, intervening in cases of police harassment, etc. RCS also provides consultations related to the issues of health protection, education and other social issues.

The NGO has a strong administrative structure, competent human resources and dedicated management. Effective partnership and co-operation has been developed by the management of the BMMW, both at the political and the practical level, with the Government authorities and the State Ministries responsible for migration and refugee issues.

⁷ See: *Map of the Söderköping Process*. <http://soderkoping.org.ua/page90.html>, 01.03.2006.

Teuta Grazhdani*

Overview of migration policies, legislation and structures in Albania

Introduction

As outlined in a recent publication of International Organization for Migration (IOM)¹, migration in general and return migration in particular, play a crucial role for a country like Albania that has one of the highest rate of migration compared to its population in Central and Eastern Europe, and which is also likely to become a destination country for external migratory flows in the coming years. Placed also in the context of integration into the European Union, migration management takes special importance considering the external political pressure to meet EU standards in the field of asylum and migration. In 2004 Albania approved the first National Strategy on Migration and in 2006 became the first country in Europe to sign a multilateral readmission agreement with the European Community on the return of country nationals and third country nationals. It is therefore clear that Albania is an interesting case to be examined and to draw lessons, which might be useful for other countries that experience high migration rates and/or which are striving to put in place appropriate migration management mechanisms including elaboration of policies and practices in the field of migration and asylum.

This paper intends to provide a general overview of migration policies, legislative basis and structures in Albania, highlighting the country priorities toward migration management. The first section gives a brief history of contemporary Albanian migration. The second section presents an overview of migration policy framework in Albania and pays particular attention to two policy documents, the National Strategy on Migration and the Readmission Agreement with the European Community. This section is followed by a third one presenting in brief the legislative basis that regulates migration management in the country. The government entities responsible for migration management aspects in Albania are being described in short under section 5. I conclude with conclusions under the fifth section.

* IOM International Organization for Migration, ONM Organizata Ndërkombëtare për Migracionin.

¹ *Return and Readmission: The case of Albania*. Tirana, IOM, 2006, p. 7.

1. Albanian Migration-Facts and Figures

In the last decade Albania experienced massive internal and external migration of its population. During the period from 1989 to 2001, approximately 710,000 people, or 20 per cent of the total population, were living outside the country. Of these, 600,000 are thought to have emigrated and a further 110,000 are children born in migration². However, it is difficult to obtain accurate figures, when the large number of irregular migrants cannot easily be counted. The largest settlements of Albanian migrants abroad are to be found in Greece and Italy, due to geographical proximity, cultural affinity, and knowledge of the language.

Albanian emigration is characterised as recent, intense, largely economically driven, and essentially a form of “survival migration”. As a result, there is a high level of undocumented migrants, substantial flows of migrants moving in and out of the country, especially to Greece, and finally, the movement of people is both dynamic and rapidly evolving, especially towards new destinations and along new routes of migration³. However, although these characteristics were relevant for the period up to 2000, the situation has since evolved, after the introduction of reforms in the country. Over time, the ratio of regular to irregular migration has improved, thanks to regularisation programmes in host countries.

Overall, three migration flows can be identified, the first flow taking place in the period of 1991-1992, the second flow in the period of 1997-1998, and third flow in the period of 1998-1999.

Whereas outflows of unauthorised migrants in 1991 and 1992 were the result of extraordinary individual or collective initiatives, the following years saw the establishment of ‘professional’ organisations offering transport services for clandestine migration. Smuggling and trafficking flourished in Albania and was later to take on serious and worrying dimensions⁴. During 1997-1998 Albanian politicians optimistically assumed that the initial migration flow would slow down once democratic reforms had been introduced. However, the country then experienced a severe socio-economic crisis and civil unrest in 1997, sparking a second outflow of migrants. This crisis was caused by the collapse of the pyramid schemes, which led to a breakdown in institutional structures. At least one-third of the Albanian population had deposited their savings in the pyramid schemes. Losses were estimated at USD1.2 billion, the equivalent of 50 per cent of the country’s GDP in 1996, and much of the money lost

² *Migration in Albania, Population and Housing Census 2001*. Tirana, Instituti Statistikës, 2004, p. 34.

³ BARJABA K.: *Albanian Looking Beyond Borders*. Migration Information Source, August 2004, <http://www.migrationinformation.org>.

⁴ *The Migratory Process from Albania to Italy*, Centro Studi di Politiche Internazionali, Rome 2003.

was capital accumulated by Albanian emigrants⁵. This resulted in a serious setback for the ongoing reforms and provoked a substantial flow of migrants to the EU countries. Between December 1996 and April 1997, some 30,000 migrants landed in Italy and 40,000 more in Greece, though the majority were subsequently repatriated⁶.

The third migratory flow took place during the Kosovo crisis in 1998-1999 and, according to different sources, led to some 100,000 Albanians leaving the country⁷. Among the repercussions of the Kosovo crisis for Albania was the manner in which it facilitated migration to EU countries (mainly through Italy, as a means for reaching the UK, Germany, and Belgium). Presenting themselves as Kosovars, Albanians sought asylum in several EU member states. This situation was made easier by the lack of identification documents⁸ for displaced Kosovars and by their common language. This movement was known as a “silent movement”.

Today, in 2006, migration patterns seemed to have changed, as had the attitude of Albanians towards leaving. Restrictive policies adopted by major host countries, stigmatisation of immigrants by the media, serious accidents in which hundreds of clandestine migrants lost their lives⁹, and migrants’ reports on their experiences shared with their communities at home have all contributed to this new image of Europe¹⁰. The introduction of reforms in Albania has also contributed, while the fight against forms of illegal migration and cross bordering has now been intensified¹¹.

⁵ OLSEN N.: *Albania*. Oxford, Oxfam Country Profile, 2000, p. 24 [quoted by:] KING R., VULLNETARI J.: *Migration and Development in Albania*. Working Paper C5. Brighton, Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex, 2003, p. 9; see: Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty, http://www.migrationdrc.org/publications/working_papers/WP-C5.pdf.

⁶ *Draft Action Plan for Albania and Neighbouring Region*, High Level Working Group on Asylum and Migration, Council of European Union 7886/00, Brussels 2000, p. 13.

⁷ KULE D., MANCELLARI A., PAPAPANAGOS H., QIRICI S., SANFEY P.: *The causes and consequences of Albanian emigration during transition: evidence from micro-data*. “International Migration Review” 2002, vol. 36, No. 1, p. 229-39.

⁸ Most identification documents were destroyed by the Serbian military forces when leaving Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro).

⁹ According to UNDP (see: ÇABIRI Y. et al.: *Albanian Human Development Report 2000*. Tiranë, United Nations Development Programme, 2000, p. 37; see: *National Human Development Report Albania 2000*, <http://www.al.undp.org/download/pdf/nhdr2000.pdf>. Comp.: PIPERNO F.: *From Albania To Italy. Formation and basic features of a binational migration system. Background paper for the CEME-CeSPI research mission in Italy and Albania (5-9 June 2002)*, CeSPI, May 2002, p. 4; see: *FROM ALBANIA TO ITALY*. <http://www.cespi.it/PASTORE/Italy-Albania.PDF>), more than 340 people drowned or were lost in the Otranto Channel in 1999.

¹⁰ *The Migratory Process...*, op. cit.

¹¹ *National Strategy on Migration and National Action Plan on Migration*. Tirana, Albanian Government, International Organization for Migration, 2005, p. 10.

In recent years, an interesting new trend has emerged: migrants have shifted their attention from neighbouring countries to more distant countries such as the United Kingdom, USA and Canada, where there are better economic prospects and possibilities for legal migration and/or regularisation. At the same time, there are now more regular emigrants than irregular emigrants¹².

2. Policy framework for migration management in Albania

a) The Action Plan for the Implementation of Association and Stabilisation Agreement and The National Strategy on Migration

Albania has recently signed a *Stabilization and Association Agreement* (SAA) with the EU¹³, which represents an important step forward on Albania's EU path. The country now faces the challenge of successfully implementing its SAA, which requires a very ambitious political, administrative and economic reform. The Albanian Government has placed the EU integration high on its agenda and set a list of priorities also in the area of Justice and Home Affairs that are being reflected in the *Action Plan for the Implementation of Association and Stabilization Agreement*¹⁴. These priorities (for the period 2006-2009) stress the need for improvement of administrative and financial capacities for the implementation of legislation on migration and asylum, and in particular for the implementation of the *national strategies and corresponding action plans*¹⁵. In this context, the full implementation of the *National Strategy on Migration* (NSM) and its action plan, the *National Action Plan on Migration* (NAP), remains a paramount objective. The 66 measures envisioned in this mid term¹⁶ policy document aim at:

- Addressing root causes of emigration;
- Supporting the return of Albanian Nationals from EU member states;
- Facilitating the return of 3d country nationals in their countries of origin;
- Linking emigration of Albanians and development of Albania;
- Elaborating an appropriate legal framework for emigration and immigration;
- Strengthening the institutional framework and means for migration policy.

To date, despite many efforts to foster the implementation made by the government and other responsible structures, the provisions of the NAP remain largely

¹² Ibidem. See: BARJABA K., op. cit.

¹³ The agreement was signed on 12th June 2006.

¹⁴ Subchapter 3.24. *Co-operation in Justice and Home Affairs*, Section 3.24.3. *Border Management*, and Section 3.24.4. *Migration Policies*.

¹⁵ 1. *Implementation of the National Strategy on Migration*, 2. *Ratification and progressive implementation of the international conventions in the field of migration*.

¹⁶ 2005-2010.

unimplemented¹⁷ and “*much needs to be done*”. This is mainly due to the lack of a central unit responsible for co-ordination and monitoring of the implementation of NAP, which has hampered the progress in its implementation (especially for measures which require the co-ordination of more than two ministries/agencies). In addition to co-ordination difficulties, the financial commitment of the government for funding the implementation of different measures has not yet been fulfilled. This, coupled by the administration reform undertaken by the government with the motto “*for a short and efficient administration*”, has not enabled the implementation of several measures of NAP where the strengthening of the institutional framework has been a prerequisite.

It is therefore clear that focus needs to be placed on fostering the implementation of the *National Strategy on Migration* (including provisions on readmission), which could help Albania on its way to approximation to EU standards in the field of migration and asylum.

b) The *Readmission Agreement* with the European Community

Faced with huge pressure from irregular emigration, Albania was asked by the Italian authorities to sign its first bilateral readmission agreement with Italy in 1998. Since then, Albania has signed 10 readmission agreements (RAs) and it is in the process of signing seven more agreements. Albania is also the first country¹⁸ in Europe to have negotiated and signed a readmission agreement with the European Community (EC) for the return of its own citizens and third country nationals, as part of the negotiations for the stabilisation association agreement and with the EU. Since this agreement is in fact a framework agreement covering bilateral agreements with individual EU member states, ongoing negotiations on these agreements with eight member states have been suspended, in favour of negotiations on implementation protocols, within the framework of the *EC – Albania RA*.

The Albanian government has acknowledged the importance that its successful implementation brings for the SAA process¹⁹, however, besides the good political will to facilitate its implementation, it is expected that the Albanian administration face several difficulties and challenges in its implementation. Is Albania prepared to fully and successfully implement the agreement through proper resources and facilities? How can Albania avoid the *readmission trap* of the third country nationals (TCNs) returned to Albania and stranded in the country due to lack of adequate return procedures and readmission agreements with countries of origin? How can Albania address

¹⁷ More than half of the 66 measures outlined in the *National Action Plan on Migration* remain unimplemented.

¹⁸ Other agreements include Sri Lanka, Macao, Hong Kong, Russia

¹⁹ Article 81 of the SAA agreement, states that Albania should implement the *EC – Albania Readmission Agreement* in full.

the issue of return in a broader perspective, including the reintegration of its citizens? These are all questions that the Albanian administration needs to address as soon as possible.

During 2005 and 2006 some progress has been made with regard to the clarification and strengthening of the entities responsible for handling irregular migrants, in the framework of an EC funded project (JAI/2003/HLWG/055²⁰) on readmission support to the government of Albania, managed by IOM. However, further support and capacity building measures are required to strengthen the institutional structures and capacities. Moreover, it is very important to closely monitor the implementation of the *Readmission Agreement* in order to address the evolving gaps and solve difficulties. Since Albania is the only country in the Western Balkans region to have signed a *Readmission Agreement* with the EC, it might eventually offer best practices to be followed by other countries that are experiencing the same process.

c) Other policy documents

The *National Strategy on Migration* makes several provisions on return and reintegration of Albanian migrants, along similar lines to those specified in other policy documents, such as the *National Strategy for the Fight against Trafficking*, the *Draft National Strategy for the Fight against Child Trafficking*, the *National Strategy on Employment and Vocational Training*, and their action plans. The *Action Plan on Free Movement* also contains provisions on return of Albanian nationals, which relate mainly to implementation of readmission procedures, including the need for training police personnel in readmission issues. However, the impact of policy measures on return has not yet been measured.

d) Current approach of policy makers toward migration management in the country

The current approach of policy makers toward migration management in the country stresses the need for linking emigration of Albanians with the development of the country. The recent government initiative “*Albania 1 Euro*” undertaken in 2006 reflects the proactive policy of the government toward the return and reintegration of successful migrants in Albania. From the point of view of the government, returning migrants represent a liability – after all, they are no longer sending remittances – but are also potential development agents²¹. Successful migrants bring human, social and financial capital to invest in their home country.

²⁰ Project title: “Combatting Irregular Migration in Albania and the wider region; Targetted support to capacity building within the framework of readmission support to Albania”, 2003; see: *List of Selected Projects HLWG 2003*. Humanitarian Liaison Working Group, http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/funding/2004_2007/cooperation/content/list_projects_2003_en.pdf.

²¹ KULE D., et al., op. cit.

In a similar vein, the government, the banking sector and other financial institutions are currently involved in elaborating an Action Plan on Remittances in accordance with the provisions of the *National Action Plan for Migration* (measure 38). This collaboration is made possible in the framework of an IOM/ILO intervention entitled “*Enhancing the impact of the migrant remittances in Albania: creating an integrated migrant remittance system*” funded by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This *Action Plan* is expected to envision measures that enhance the development impact of remittances in the country, through the promotion of legal channelling of remittances and investment in the country.

3. Legislative basis that regulates migration management in Albania

The legislative framework governing both migration and employment services for migrants is in evolution. Notwithstanding proposed changes, it is useful to review the current legislation.

a) *The Law on the Emigration of Albanian Citizens for Employment Purposes*

The *Law 9034, dated 20.03.2003, on the Emigration of Albanian Citizens for Employment Purposes* is the only legislative document that regulates migration aspects for the Albanian citizens. In its Article 13 the Law states: “*The Government promotes voluntary return of emigrants in their home country and their economic and social reintegration through the creation of legal, financial and fiscal initiatives, including the implementation of business development, employment and vocational training*”. However to date, the provisions of this article remain unimplemented and as the *National Strategy for Migration* acknowledges there is a need to adopt the necessary bi-laws to implement Article 13 of this law. At the time of drafting this paper the *Law on Migration for Employment Purposes* is undergoing revision by the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities (MOLSAEO). Since experts have proposed amendments of more than half of the articles of the current law, the Ministry has decided to draft a new law on emigration for employment purposes. Apart from the rights and responsibilities of Albanian citizens that want to emigrate for employment reasons, Chapter 4, Article 23 of this new draft law addresses the return of the qualified emigrants to Albania. In two paragraphs of this draft law, the Albanian government encourages the voluntary return of qualified Albanian emigrants through promoting programmes aimed at recruitment in collaboration with non-governmental organisations, local and national businesses and other interested donors in the host countries. Their reintegration in the economic, social and political life of the country is to be realised through fiscal incentives, business development, employment and vocational training programmes²².

²² Law “On the Emigration of Albanian Citizens for Employment Purposes”, March 2006.

b) *The Law on Foreigners and the Law on the Guard and Control of the State Border*

The Law on Foreigners and the Law on the Guard and Control of the State Border make for the legal basis that regulates the entry, stay and treatment of the foreigners in the territory of Albania, in particular the *Law on Foreigners*. This last one is currently undertaking revision in order to address the gaps as confront the EU *Acquis* and international norms²³ on the entry, stay and treatment of foreign citizens.

4. Responsible entities for Migration Management in Albania

a) The Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities (MOLSAEO)

The MOLSAEO bodies responsible for migration management aspects include:

- The Directorate for Migration Policies as the Directorate responsible for the formulation and implementation of migration policies in the country.
- The National Employment Service (NES) as the entity responsible for ensuring employment and participation in state labour market programmes for all citizens resident in Albania. The regional employment offices are also responsible for collecting demands for migration for employment purposes from Albanian citizens, however beside registration of the individual requests these offices are not able to process the data and facilitate the procedure of migration because no mechanism is put into place between the NES and the Ministry of Labour to enable the functioning of this process.

b) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the responsible entity for the negotiation of agreements, and for Albania's foreign relations with other states.

The Albanian diplomatic service (under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) in Italy, Greece, UK, Belgium, Germany is responsible for the delivery of consular services to Albanian citizens in the selected EU member states.

The National Institute of Diaspora within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the entity responsible for conceptualising and co-ordinating the policies for emigration, immigration and Diaspora.

c) The Ministry of Interior

The Directorate for Border and Migration within the Ministry of Interior (Sector for Foreigners and Migrants) is the entity responsible for the regulation of entry

²³ Most of the provisions presented refer to the *Twenty Guidelines on Forced Return*, Council of Europe, September 2005 and to the *Proposal for a Directive on Common Standards and Procedures in Member States for Returning Illegally Stay of Third Country Nationals*, European Commission, COM (2005)391 final.

and stay of foreigners in the Republic of Albania, and for the implementation of the Readmission Agreement with the European Community.

5. Conclusions

During the communist period, there was literally no emigration out of Albania, but a large number of migrants left the country for the European Union and other western states in the early 1990s. The main reasons for migrating were economic, although sometimes political instability was a contributing factor. After fifteen years of migration, there have been cases of return migration, followed by attempts to establish return policies, both in receiving countries and in Albania. Although Albania is primarily interested in the return of skilled migrants, pressure from receiving countries to remove irregular migrants from their territories has pushed Albanian government into signing and implementing 10 bilateral and multilateral Readmission Agreements.

Albania's willingness to comply with readmission agreements is based on an overall political will to move towards EU membership, which demands fulfilment of conditions relating to border and migration management. Albania has to face the challenge of implementing a multilateral agreement with the EU without being able to learn from other countries' experiences, since similar agreements with the EU had been negotiated by Macao, Sri Lanka and Singapore, none of which have a land border with a European member states or are seeking EU membership. Albania will have to handle the return of many of its own nationals and of TCNs who have been or will become irregular migrants in the EU and also provide for their needs once they arrive in the country.

Strengthening border checks, visa regimes, and other measures alone will help reduce irregular flows of migrants but not remove them altogether, since there will still be strong pressure to migrate.

IV
POLISH EXPERIENCE
IN MIGRATION MANAGEMENT

Marek Stasieńko*

Polish Migration Policy – fundamental regulations by law

I. Introduction

The migration policy should be understood as all of the rules and actions of the state in relation to foreign migrations from and to Poland (emigration and immigration)¹. The economic and political condition of the country has always exerted an influence on the phenomenon of migration in Poland. However, it would be difficult to discuss the reception of any integral migration policy by the state that would include the internal and external demographic situation, the socio-economic problems, and the socio-cultural factors in relation to migration of both Polish citizens and aliens (including refugees).

II. Regulations by law

The fundamental legal documents regulating the issues of the migration of persons in Poland (leaving aside the common EU regulations accepted by Poland together with all the *Acquis Communautaire*) include:

- a) The Constitution of the Republic of Poland dated 2 April 1997 (OJL² No. 78, item 483; and of 2001, No. 28, item 319).

Here, the article of fundamental significance is Art. 52 of The Constitution, according to which:

1. Freedom of movement as well as the choice of place of residence and sojourn within the territory of the Republic of Poland shall be ensured to everyone.
2. Everyone may freely leave the territory of the Republic of Poland.

* Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

¹ *Założenia programu polityki ludnościowej w Polsce. Raport w sprawie polityki migracyjnej państwa*. Warszawa, Instytut Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych, 2003, s. 4 (available on the website of the Institute, <http://www.ipiss.com.pl/>).

² OJL – Official Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland (*Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, abbrev. *Dz.U.*) [the editor's note].

3. The freedoms specified in sections 1 and 2 above may be subject to limitations specified by statute.
 4. A Polish citizen may not be expelled from the country nor forbidden to return to it.
 5. Anyone whose Polish origin has been confirmed in accordance with statute may settle permanently in Poland.
 6. In addition, accordingly to Art. 56 of the Constitution of RP “Foreigners shall have a right of asylum in the Republic of Poland in accordance with principles specified by statute”, and “Foreigners who, in the Republic of Poland, seek protection from oppression, may be granted the status of a refugee in accordance with international agreements to which the Republic of Poland is a party”.
- b) Acts, published in the Official Journal of Laws.
- The Alien Act, dated 13 June 2003 (OJL No. 128, item 1175, of 2004 No. 96, item 959; No. 179, item 1842; of 2005 No. 90, item 757; No. 94, item 788; No. 132, item 1105 and No. 163, item 1362) http://www.uric.gov.pl/auths/108/files/4346324456275_ustawa%20o%20cudzoziemcach.pdf
 - The Act on Granting Protection to Aliens on the Territory of the Republic of Poland, dated 13 June 2003 (OJL No. 128, item 1176; of 2004 No 96, item 959; No. 173, item 1808 and No. 210, item 2135; of 2005 No. 90, item 757 and No. 94, item 788) http://www.uric.gov.pl/auths/108/files/4346324456275_ustawa%20o%20udzielaniu%20cudzoziemcom%20ochrony.pdf
 - The Act on Principles and Conditions of Entry and Stay of the Citizens of the Member States of the European Union, as well as Members of their Families on the Territory of the Republic of Poland, dated 27 July 2002 (OJL No. 141, item 1180; of 2003 No. 128, item 1175; of 2004, item 959 and No. 173, item 1808)
 - The Repatriation Act, dated 9 November 2000 (consolidated text: OJL of 2004 No. 53, item 532)
 - The Act on Polish Citizenship, dated 15 February 1962 (OJL of 2000 No. 28, item 353; of 2001 No. 42, item 475; of 2003 No. 128, item 1175)
- c) Dispositions and Executive orders of the Cabinet, of the Prime Minister, of the Minister of Interior and Administration, of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and of the President of the Republic of Poland³.

³ *Rozporządzenia*, URiC > Prawo > Rozporządzenia, Urząd do Spraw Repatriacji i Cudzoziemców. <http://www.udsc.gov.pl/Rozporzadzenia,183.html>, 03.03.2006.

III. The competencies of the state authorities in the scope of the issues related to the migration of the population

The legal acts presented above distribute the competencies in the scope of the issues related to the migration of the population to many state authorities, including⁴:

- The Government Centre for Strategic Studies (in the scope of forecasting, long-term programs of socio-economic development, the regional development of the country, the evaluation of the functionality of structures of the country),
- The Ministry of Economic, Labour and Social Policy (in the scope of socio-economic conditions, the labour market, co-ordination of the programs of social security, pro-family policy, social assistance and strategy against social exclusion, social dialogue, integration of immigrants in society, support in the Polish community business initiatives),
- The Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, the Ministry of Infrastructure (in the scope of the fiscal policy promoting re-emigration, rural settlement policy, demand for the employment of the aliens in agriculture and construction)
- The Ministry of National Education and Sport, the Ministry of Scientific Research and Information Technology, State Committee for Scientific Research, Foreign Education Office and International Exchange Office (in the scope of education strategy, foreigners studying in Poland, Poles studying abroad, demand for highly qualified personnel, programs of counteraction against “brainwashing”, Polish language teaching and teaching in Polish programs, inspiration and initiation of research on emigration and immigration)
- The Ministry of Interior and Administration, the Office for Repatriation and Aliens (in the scope of creation of legal and organisational conditions promoting re-emigration and repatriation, simplifying the passport and visa procedures for Polish Diaspora and Poles abroad, pursuing the immigration policy – naturalisation, repatriation, legalisation of the stay of aliens in RP, harmonisation of RP immigration policy with EU immigration policy),
- The Internal Security Agency, the Police, the Border Guard (in the scope of internal security, protection against illegal migration, monitoring of legality of stay and employment),
- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (in the scope of consular policy and visa policy, protection of the rights of citizens living abroad, contacts and cooperation with Polish Diaspora and Poles abroad, promotion of re-emigration and repatriation),

⁴ According to *Raport w sprawie polityki migracyjnej państwa*. Instytut Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych, 2006.

- The Office of the Committee for European Integration (in the scope of harmonisation of the state's policies and regulations with EU policy and regulations, the use of subsidiary programs),
- The Ministry of Culture (in the scope of support for cultural activities of ethnic minorities),
- The Government Population Council (in the scope of forecasting the demographic development of the country),
- The Commissioner for Civil Rights Protection (in the scope of observance of the rights of the aliens in Poland and counteractions against discrimination of aliens),
- The Regional Administrative Court and The Supreme Administrative Court (in the scope of jurisdiction over cases involving aliens),
- The Refugee Board (in the scope of jurisdiction over cases involving persons applying for refugee status or a permit for a tolerated stay),

The Office for Forigners (until 2007: The Office for Repatriation and Aliens), which is of particular importance among the aforementioned organs and institutions, is soon to lose (due to the implementation of the governmental program of cuts in administration known under the name of "Cheap State") part of its competencies that will be taken over by the MSWiA [The Ministry of Interiors and Administration] and probably by the MSZ [The Ministry of Foreign Affairs]. The actions of the remaining organs and institutions are not coordinated, due to the lack of a common view on Polish migration policy, not yet established by the Polish legislator, who so far has not dealt with this urgent problem.

IV. Conclusions

Evaluating the foundations of Polish migration policy, it is necessary to emphasise that so far it has not been pursued in a single coherent way and not backed by a vision in accordance with the strategy of development for Poland. To a large degree, Poland has taken over the EU community output in the freedom of influx of persons and repatriation of aliens applying for refugee status. No concept on shaping the development of Poland, through the stimulation of positive migrations of people to Poland, has been elaborated yet. However, this seems particularly important in the light of the experience of a two-year-membership in the European Union followed by a dramatic outflow of the population to the old EU countries. This phenomenon together with negative population growth is starting to jeopardise the future development of our country. The current situation has been well represented in the conclusion of the Report prepared by the Centre for International Relations:

Poland has not developed yet any migration doctrine that would constitute 'an indispensable condition for the elaboration of presumptions of the state's migration policy'. The Polish elite are not interested in this concept, mainly due to the lack of stable convictions as far as migration is concerned. A migration doctrine cannot come into being in a situation where the convictions of the elite on migration are based on a minimisation of the problem. The question "What's next?" in relation to Polish migration policy remain open in the coming years⁵.

⁵ WEINAR A.: *Polityka migracyjna Polski w latach 1990-2003 – próba podsumowania*. „Raporty i Analizy” 2005, nr 10, s. 2; see: Centrum Stosunków Międzynarodowych, http://www.csm.org.pl/pl/files/raporty/2005/rap_i_an_1005.pdf, 03.03.2006.

Immigration situation in Poland in 2005, as compared to the situation in previous years

The immigration situation in our country is influenced by, among others, the following factors:

1. temporary residence on the basis of a permit to reside for a specified period of time,
2. settlement of aliens,
3. receipt of refugee status and of a permit for a tolerated stay,
4. repatriation.

1. The permit to reside for a specified period of time

The most applied form of legalisation of a stay for aliens in Poland has been the permit to reside for a specified period of time and the numbers of aliens applying for such a permit in recent years may be presented as follows¹:

	Respective years							
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
The number of aliens applying for the permit	9,451	16,715	17,175	23,661	30,245	31,736	28,142	25,486

The following table presents the number of citizens of countries for which the largest number of the temporary residence permits has been issued:

* Head of the Migration Analysis Section, International Co-operation Department, Office for Repatriation and Aliens (URIC)

¹ All the data are obtained from the analyses of the first-hand data collected by the Section of Migration Analysis of the Department of International Co-operation of the Office for Repatriation and Aliens (URIC).

Nationality	Year							
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Ukraine	902	2,559	3,228	4,697	6,867	8,000	8,520	8,304
Belarus	232	718	703	1,255	2,717	2,382	2,008	1,829
Russia	385	1,049	1,037	1,575	1,929	1,912	1,605	1,495
Vietnam	733	1,482	1,177	1,056	1,063	1,080	1,875	1,704
USA	166	741	506	741	1,167	969	898	765
Armenia	432	626	686	607	657	899	1,793	1,418
The total number of issued permits	4,893	16,811	15,039	20,787	29,641	28,567	25,425	22,625

As can be seen from the above presented table, generally speaking, almost all the most numerous groups of aliens, willing to legalise their stay in Poland by obtaining the temporary residence permit, are, apart from those from Vietnam and the USA, are citizens of the European countries of the former USSR. The reason for such numerous applications for temporary residence permits submitted by the citizens of Ukraine, Belarus and Russia can be explained by the geographical and cultural proximity and Polish origin of a significant percentage of the citizens of those countries. However, in relation to the citizens of Armenia, it can be stated that two factors are of considerable importance: the settlement traditions of Armenians in Poland in previous centuries and relatively large influx of the citizens of Armenia in the first half of the nineteen nineties, mainly with the purpose of illegal commerce, which was facilitated by the regulation referring to the free movement (without a visa) of persons on the basis of the “old” agreement with USSR.

2. The permit for settlement

The permit for settlement proves the willingness of an alien to stay permanently on the territory of Poland. The number of aliens applying for such permits in recent years is presented as follows:

	Year							
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
The number of aliens applying for the permits	851	725	1,580	748	1,143	3,004	5,094	4,064

In previous years, the most numerous groups of citizens for whom the permits for settlement were granted, have been citizens of the following countries:

The granted permits for settlement in the years 1998-2005									
Nationality	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
Ukraine	56	82	162	161	80	449	1,657	1,518	4,166
Vietnam	27	47	87	99	148	202	368	172	1,150
Russia	27	82	114	70	68	169	446	353	1,329
Armenia	7	30	81	50	40	118	235	111	672
Belarus	18	31	54	45	20	121	389	578	1,256
China	9	18	29	22	37	45	40	39	239
Germany	8	13	13	23	6	42	63	8	176
Bulgaria	23	14	11	14	3	38	58	71	232
Total number of the granted permits	288	512	858	679	602	1,735	4,365	3,589	12,629

3. The refugee status and the permit for a tolerated stay

6,906 aliens submitted an application for refugee status to the Office for Repatriation and Aliens in 2003. In 2004, such an application was submitted by 8,079 aliens, and in 2005 there were 6,860 aliens applying.

The number of persons granted refugee status in Poland is relatively low, which can be seen from the following table:

Type of decision	Years													
	1992	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	2000	01	02	03	04	05
Positive	75	61	391	105	120	139	66	49	75	282	253	219	305	312
Negative	58	135	189	193	374	592	1,305	1,907	2,525	2,864	4,714	3,163	1,998	2,284
Discontinuance	0	235	363	394	1,457	3,147	1,707	786	1,216	1,828	493	4,366	2,763	4,413
Total	133	431	943	692	1,951	3,878	3,067	2,732	3,794	4,974	5,460	7,742	5,066	7,009

In the years 1998 – 2004, the most numerous groups of citizens to whom refugee status was granted, were citizens of the following countries:

Nationality	Refugee status granted in the period 1998-2005								
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
Russia	1	4	26	207	206	187	265	285	1,181
Belarus	6	4	2	30	9	10	13	9	83
Somalia	8	7	10	10	3	1	8	5	52
Afghanistan	11	4	1	13	1	4	1	3	38
Sudan	2	8	3	6	2	1	--	--	22
Sri Lanka	8	1	1	2	6	--	--	2	20
Georgia	--	1	4	4	--	6	--	1	16
Ethiopia	3	1	6	1	2	1	1	--	15

In the last five years, among the aliens applying for refugee status in Poland, citizens from the Russian Federation, almost 100% of whom declared that they have the nationality of Chechnya, have been the dominant group.

At the beginning, Russian citizens of Chechen nationality used to arrive in Poland legally, benefiting from the free movement of persons (of all countries entering the European Union, Poland was the last to implement the visa obligation in the movement of persons in relation to citizens of the Russian Federation, which was implemented on 1 October 2003) and used to submit applications for refugee status directly at the border or inside the country. Currently, such applications are submitted at the border, mainly the Belarusian and Polish one.

Taking into consideration the large number of citizens of the Russian Federation declaring Chechen nationality who do not fulfil the legal requirements essential for obtaining a positive decision on the granting of refugee status, and at the same time the particular situation of the refugees from Chechnya, whose return to their previous places of residence is impossible, and also considering the probability of the appearance of similar groups of aliens in the future, and finally taking into consideration similar solutions accepted by the countries of the EU (*subsidiary protection*), the new act on granting protection to aliens on the territory of the Republic of Poland, which became effective on 1 September 2003, has introduced the notion of a “permit for a tolerated stay” (art. 97 of the Act). An alien is granted a permit for a tolerated stay on the territory of the Republic of Poland, if, for example, his expulsion may be effected only to a country, where his right to life, to freedom and personal safety could be under threat, where he could be subjected to torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, or could be forced to work, or deprived of the right to fair trial, or punished without any legal grounds, within the meaning of the Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms signed in Rome on 4 November 1950.

The tolerated stay is intended to ensure the protection of an alien until the circumstances appear in his country of origin or permanent residence that will make his return possible. In the opinion of the Office, the implementation of the notion of the permit for a tolerated stay may turn out to be an effective means of solving the problems resulting from the influx of citizens of the Russian Federation declaring that they are Chechen nationals and applying to be granted the status of refugee.

From the day on which the act became effective i.e. from 1 September 2003 to 31 December 2005, the permit for a tolerated stay in Poland has been granted to 2,682 aliens, including 2,516 citizens of the Russian Federation.

4. Repatriation

Until 1997, one of the legal bases for repatriation was the general provision of the Act on Polish Citizenship. However, this Act defined neither the procedures nor the powers of the state authorities with regard to repatriation; neither did it include any delegation for the establishment of such regulations.

Not until the implementation of the Aliens Law in 1997 was the notion of the repatriate visa or the provision for the procedures and rules of its granting introduced. In addition, the Act enables the possibility of granting assistance to the repatriates from the national budget. On the basis of the provisions of this act, a repatriate visa has been granted to persons of Polish origin or nationality, who were intending to settle in Poland permanently and who possessed guaranteed accommodation and source of income in Poland. Any alien of Polish origin from anywhere in the world has had a right to repatriation (repatriates visas were issued, among others, by the consular offices in Germany, Great Britain and Czech Republic – these were, however, incidental cases). Repatriation in the nineties had its individual character. In the period 1997 – 2000, 3,609 applications were submitted to the Ministry of Interior and Administration for settlement in the framework of repatriation. Using this procedure, 2,269 persons have settled in Poland.

In 1999, the Parliament of the Republic of Poland started working on a separate repatriation act. This act was supposed to regulate all aspects of repatriation. It was enacted on 9 November 2000, and became effective on 1 January 2001.

On the basis of the regulations of the Act, the following number of persons have come to Poland: in 2001 – 1000 persons, in 2002 – 832 persons, in 2003 – 455 persons, in 2004 – 372 persons, and in 2005 – 335 persons.

Taking into consideration the significant number of persons declaring Polish nationality in Asian countries that became independent after the break-up of the USSR, in particular, in Kazakhstan, where according to various estimates approx. 60,000 Polish persons and persons of Polish origin live, the scale of the repatriation can be evaluated

as disproportionately low. Difficult economic conditions in Poland, in particular the lack of the possibility to provide the potential repatriates with accommodation and work, and recently also the rapid economic development of Kazakhstan, are influencing this situation. These tendencies do not seem likely to change in the near future.

Conclusions

- In the near future, the immigration situation in Poland should not be a subject to any changes. Due to the economic condition of the country and the age structure of our society, Poland shall still be a country generating emigration, and not a country receiving immigrants, at least on a significant scale.
- If the political situation in the Caucasian republics of the Russian Federation should not be subject to any change, refugees from those republics will continue to come in large numbers to Central and Western Europe, with the objection that, similar to previous years, Poland will be a country of a transit migration for refugees of this region, and only to an insignificant degree a country of targeted migration.
- No changes should be expected in the high level of repatriation to Poland, in the face of current economic conditions both in Poland and also in the countries of previous settlement.

Polish experience with free movement of workers in the enlarged European Union

When it comes to nationality structure Poland is the most homogeneous country in Europe, with an average of foreign-born inhabitants fifty times lower than EU Member States average. One of the reasons behind this is that migration flows in Poland were and are now dominated by emigration, with marginal role of immigration. Between the post-war period and the beginning of transformation this situation had been caused by the political situation, and the emigration from Poland had mostly political character and aimed at settlement. Since 1989 r. the situation began to change and the departures are now dominated by short-term labour migration. Between 1990-2001 around 70 thousand Poles per year left to settle in another country, while in the same period an average of 550-600 thousand persons per year left with employment purpose, of which around 350 thousand were employed legally¹.

Apart from work permits, bilateral agreements were the basis for legal employment in the EU Member States. Poland signed such agreements with 5 EU-countries: Germany, France, Belgium, Spain and Luxembourg. The biggest impact was of the co-operation with Germany, with which Poland has worked out several agreements. They fruit with distinctive flow of labour migration, with around 300 thousand work permits granted to Polish citizens in 2005, including 273 thousand for temporary employment in agriculture sector.

As besides United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden all old EU Member States decided to apply transitional measures on free movement of workers, the Polish accession to the European Union did not bring a major change to the migration trends. The main directions and characteristics of labour migration from Poland remained the same. Still the most often destination country for labour movements is Germany, and employment taken up by the Polish workers abroad is mainly seasonal, especially in sectors of labour market such as agriculture, gardening, fruit-farming, farming, forestry, construction, gastronomy and tourism.

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¹ All the data presented are obtained from the analyses of the first-hand data collected by the Section of Migration of the Department of International Co-operation of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy.

Four of the old EU Member States which decided to apply the interim measures (Austria, Denmark, The Netherlands and Italy) introduced quota system allowing the citizens of the EU8 Member states taking up employment without applying for work permissions. As in none of these countries the quotas were decided according to the demand on immigrant labour force rather than political decision, establishing quota systems had practically no impact on scale of the EU8 workers inflow. Slight growth has been noticed in the amount of self-employed and posted workers. Nevertheless, the fears that arose because of that in these countries were totally unfounded, and the legendary polish plumber poses no threat to the old EU countries' labour markets.

A noticeable consequence of the accession was growth of migration to countries, which did not apply the transitional measures, especially to the United Kingdom. Between the first of May 2004 and the end of September 2005 around 293 thousand workers (of which around 58% were Poles) were registered in compulsory system introduced by British authorities (the so-called *Workers' Registration Scheme*). The real inflow was actually smaller because, as the British government estimates, around 1/3 of these persons were already present on the UK labour market. The coming out of workers employed illegally was in fact a positive consequence of opening of the British labour market.

In spite of the factual immigration from the new Member States being much higher than the British government presumed, the introduction of free movement of workers is assessed in the United Kingdom as a major success. No disturbances on the labour market were observed and the immigrants were no burden for social security system. On the contrary, because of their high mobility the immigrant workers filled gaps on the local labour markets, contributing to the local communities development.

Similar conclusions are formulated in the European Commission's *Report on the Functioning of the Transitional Arrangements set out in the 2003 Accession Treaty*, published on the 8th of February 2006. According to the Commission, the movement of workers between the new and the old EU Member States had positive impact. The EU8-workers helped out in satisfying needs of labour market and contributed to better performance of the European economy. The countries, which decided not to apply interim measures, observed significant economic growth, unemployment decline and rise of employment.

The report points out that the inflow of the new EU Member States into the old EU-countries did not reach mass numbers. Citizens of these countries made up less than 1% of the local workforce except for Austria where the number was 1,4% and Ireland, where it reached 3,8%. It is actually much less than number of third country nationals residing in these countries. What's more, the positive trends present on the labour markets of the new Member States as well as impact of the Structural Funds which paves way for jobs creation justify predictions, that there will be mass influx of workers from these countries in future.

The subject of labour emigration dominates Polish discourse on migration, and almost completely overshadows the challenge of immigrant labour inflow, which I would like to analyse in the second part of my presentation.

The paradox of gaps on the labour market occurring simultaneously with high unemployment, which can be observed in Poland, generates demand for foreign workers, who could fill up labour shortages both in certain specific labour market sectors, such as household services and palliative healthcare, and in jobs non demanding high qualifications in agriculture, industry and service sectors.

Relatively new phenomenon on the labour market in Poland, which in longer perspective may have a serious impact on the dynamics and structure of workforce inflow is growing in certain regions or sectors shortage of skilled workers. There are regions in Poland where employers are looking for skilled workers with no success, even in spite of high unemployment. As there is no liable statistical data covering this phenomenon, it is impossible to define its scope as well as the needs of Polish labour market in terms of foreign highly skilled workforce recruitment.

The Polish accession to the European Union had a strong impact on the process of foreign workforce inflow due to the obligation of adapting and introducing whole *Schengen Acquis*, which had been a prerequisite for introduction of the free movement of workers. It was bounded with introduction of visa regime for the citizens of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, which affected seriously a cross border movement between Poland and its east neighbours. As apart from the traditional intensive inflow of workers from these countries (mainly from Ukraine) the only new immigrant communities are the Armenian and Vietnamese diasporas the obligation of applying for a visa by citizens of these countries became a serious obstacle for the foreign workforce inflow.

The most characteristic feature of labour immigration to Poland is the emergence of dual labour market. Only limited numbers of foreign workers take up legal employment. This also applies to the Ukraine citizens, which mostly stay in grey economy even though there are legal instruments facilitating their legal work. Also in this case we lack liable data, and estimations on scale of illegal employment of foreigners in Poland give results varying from a few dozen to a few hundred of thousand persons.

Poland enters the 21st century facing some serious demographic problems that are responsible for serious danger of depopulation and upsetting of balance between generations. The demographic development prognoses justify the assumption that this problem is to be even more challenging in the upcoming years. One of the instruments, which potentially could be used to neutralise consequences of this situation, would be a co-ordinated recruitment of decent number of workers from abroad.

The effectiveness of possible actions in this field would require working out a coherent migration policy, which in a holistic and coherent manner would deal with immigration as well as emigration issues. As its main guidelines haven't been formulated

yet, and the task group working on them stopped its activity on November 2004, the Polish migration policy is still a matter of a far future.

Future migration policy should also include integration component. At present the only category of immigrants eligible for integration programmes are those granted a refugee status in accordance with the Geneva Convention rules. The Ministry of Labour and Social Policy recognising the need of supporting integration of also another groups of immigrants co-operates with International Organisation for Migration in the framework of the project named *Empowering migrants: Integration through Information and Training of Public Officials and NGO's*. Its basic aim is to provide non-governmental organisations, public administration as well as immigrant organisations with information supporting process of their integration. The project focuses also on creating a network of organisations working for integration of immigrants.

Such important initiatives as Migralink and Migravalue projects are up to date with the present challenges the European Union is facing in the field of migration policy.

Emigration Service in Poland – A Review

Emigration is a complex process that involves a lot more than just individual decisions of persons or families going abroad. Mass economic emigration triggers the activities of numerous social institutions in the country of departure, sets off supportive and organisational initiatives and mechanisms which support the emigrants before they even set foot on the foreign land. The scope of these actions is contingent upon the size and frequency of emigration but also upon the state's attitude to the migration phenomenon.

Emigration intended to improve one's economic situation, escape political oppression or to settle down in a foreign country for good has been present in Polish history ever since the 1830's. But it was no earlier than in the inter-war period of the 20th century when the state began to take care of the masses of emigrants. This process involved the commitment of the state, social and church resources¹.

The economic emigration of the 1990's Poland and later upon the Polish entry to the European Union, whose few countries opened their labour markets for the new member states, is a process that invariably gains momentum and generates initiatives and actions aimed to support the emigrants. However, the actions undertaken are distributed among many entities and an organised system of migrant assistance does not exist.

The migration Policy should be understood as collective system of rules and actions initiated by the state in response to emigration and immigration². The Polish migration has always been affected by the economic and political situation in the country. Nevertheless, one cannot say for sure that the state has developed a uniform, all-embracing migration policy allowing for the internal and external demographic situation, socio-economic problems and social and cultural factors affecting the decisions of both Polish citizens and aliens (including refugees). The lack of coherent migration policy in Poland directly answers for the lack of an extensive system of migration services.

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¹ Cf. PLEWKO J.: *Tydzień Emigranta Polaka w Polsce międzywojennej – przebieg i znaczenie*. "Studia Polonijne", vol. 21, pp. 239-242.

² *Założenia programu polityki ludnościowej w Polsce. Raport w sprawie polityki migracyjnej państwa*. Warszawa, Instytut Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych, 2003, p. 4.

When it comes to the easy access of the interested parties to the legal regulations concerning economic emigration or detailed information on the conditions of life and work in the country of destination, the present situation is far from satisfactory. When confronted with the increasing scale of emigration, this state of affairs is a major hurdle which results in a serious of obstacles that the emigrants face in the country of destination when they deal with formalities, execution of rights or when they fall victim to unfair recruitment agents or employers (both Polish and foreign). The press or some Internet portals often communicate such incidents. On the other hand, more and more protective measures are available to Poles abroad – mainly in Great Britain and Ireland. In 2007 the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs addressed an assistance programme to Poles working abroad³. Besides, it is worth mentioning the legislation proposals of the Office of the Ombudsman (a chain of low-cost legal counselling agencies)⁴ or the initiative of the Polish-British Mission for the Employment of Poles in London of the Poznań Foundation of Mutual Assistance BARKA⁵. In order to counteract the abuse of employees' rights by the British employers, Polish authorities together with their British counterparts run an information campaign on the life and work in Britain. In order to facilitate communication with the law enforcement agencies in Britain, in November 2005 a Polish-speaking hot line was launched in London (+44 20 7321 8289)⁶.

Despite the significance and benefits of the above mentioned activities, the basic and first area to explore by the migration services should be Poland before the actual emigrants' decision of departure.

The type of assistance that the soon-to-be emigrants should have recourse to is the information on the job offers and conditions of employment abroad.

After the Polish entry to the EU, the whole country was covered by the EURES network. Considering the Poles' interest in economic emigration, an effective operation of this network is of key importance. EURES is not only a database of available European jobs but also a large CV zone and source of information on the life and working conditions in the EU states.

³ The programme provides for the employment of new councils, modernisation of the existing offices and establishing new, as well as implementing an information system concerning the life and work conditions abroad. See: *Trao!: Program pomocy Polakom pracującym za granicą*, „Trao.pl – Wiadomości z sieci”, <http://www.trao.pl/news/27755/>, 14.12.2006.

⁴ WRÓBLEWSKI B.: *Władze utrzymywane przecież z podatków powinny pomóc obywatelom pracującym za granicą i zająć się tymi, którzy nie dają sobie rady – mówi rzecznik praw obywatelskich*. „Gazeta Wyborcza” 2006, 04.08.; See: *Gazeta Wyborcza – 4 sierpnia 2006 r.*, „Rzecznik Praw Obywatelskich: Serwis prasowy”, <http://www.rpo.gov.pl/index.php?md=1730&zs=1>; Cf.: *1,5 miliona Polaków wyjechało za pracę*. „Money.pl” 2007, 24.09., <http://www.money.pl/gospodarka/wiadomosci/arttykul/1;5;miliona;polakow;wyjechało;za;praca,131,0,267651.html>, 26.11.2007.

⁵ <http://biznes.onet.pl/1444798.2>, 2006-12-04.

⁶ *Przyjazdy Polaków na Wyspy w 2005 r.* „Biuletyn Migracyjny” 2006, No 5 (luty), p. 4, <http://www.migration-news.uw.edu.pl/BiuletynMigracyjny5.pdf>, 14.12.2006.

The offers of EURES directed to Poles are available in the District Employment Agencies; they can be also accessed from the governmental website: <http://www.eures.praca.gov.pl/>.

The Polish website of EURES is based on the European one, <http://www.europa.eu.int/eures/>. The Polish equivalent devotes much space to the conditions of life, travel and employment as well as social security in the EU/EEC. The data is collected in one, comprehensive brochure downloadable from the website. When entering the European site, not all the information is obtainable in Polish. So far the Polish translation has covered the general conditions of living and working in the EU/EEC. Much more data from the EURES portal is on hand in English, French and German, especially the descriptions of the living environment (rent prices, public transportation, working time, etc.).

The EURES network is also a chain of co-operating consultants and assistants located in particular countries; they can be reached by e-mail or telephone. The consultants prepare the informative materials on the living conditions and terms of employment in different countries. Their number varies depending on the country size. In 2007 the number of consultants in Poland totalled 30 persons⁷. They have their office hours at the Provincial Employment Agencies. Moreover, the aforesaid agencies and their district equivalents employ EURES assistants who support the consultants' operations; the overall number of EURES assistants in Poland is over 300 (2007)⁸. Polish EURES consultants introduced an informal division into the so called "focus zones" and each of them is accountable for two or three countries only⁹. The data concerning a particular country is revised and updated twice a year; regrettably, the database containing job offers is available in English, French and German only. Thus, it seems that EURES is more popular with educated people¹⁰.

The Polish and foreign on-line job-seeking services are hosted by both state institutions and private entities. They are many and various, however, the most popular and useful Polish services are the following:

- <http://www.praca.gov.pl> (job offers abroad, information on employment agencies and recruitment agents holding the ministerial certificates),
- <http://www.mpips.gov.pl> (official website of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy),

⁷ *Polscy Doradcy EURES*. <http://www.eures.praca.gov.pl/?module=Default&action=Index&id=238&parent=234>.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁹ Contacts details and professional profiles of these persons are to be found at the European Job Mobility Portal *EURES – The European Job Mobility Portal*. <http://www.europa.eu.int/eures>.

¹⁰ ZBONIKOWSKA I.: *Europejskie służby zatrudnienia*. „INTERIA.PL – Praca – Europejskie służby zatrudnienia – Praca za granicą na Pracuj.pl – Artykuły”. http://praca.interia.pl/kariera-praca-za-granica-artykuly_1637.htm#top, 25.08.2005.

- <http://www.pracainauka.pl>,
- <http://www.pracuj.pl>,
- <http://www.pracawunii.pl>,
- <http://europa.eu.int/ploteus/> (studies and work in the EU countries),
- <http://www.afs.org/>,
- <http://www.yfu.org/> (volunteer initiatives and international exchange of pupils and students),
- <http://eco.ittralee.ie/> (a handbook of labour market in the EU),
- <http://www.enic-naric.net> (recognition of professional qualifications),
- <http://praca.webwwweb.pl/?a=katalog&cid=129760> (“Work and Career”).

Besides, some fragmentary information about the working conditions abroad are available in the Polish press, on-line services, periodical TV programmes (e.g. *We are from PL* – a series of documentaries about the life and work of the latest Polish emigration wave in the EU shown on TV Polonia channel; regular programme entitled, Emigration News, and others), and even in some practical handbooks of an economic emigrant¹¹. The Polish press market also offers a specialised magazine for would-be emigrants, *Life and Work Abroad*.

Employment/recruitment agencies abroad – must be properly licensed to provide this type of services. The licences are obtained from HM Treasury.

The recruitment for overseas jobs is handled by the Provincial Employment Agencies in collaboration with the Migration Department of the Ministry of Economy and Ministry of Labour. The Migration Department further co-operates with the employment services in the countries which entered the mutual employment agreements (e.g. ZAV, OMI). The foreign partners report to the Ministry of Economy and Ministry of Labour on the demand of foreign employers. The reports are transferred by the Migration Department to the Provincial Employment Agencies for a review and implementation. In order to take up employment abroad, one applies to the proper Provincial Employment Agency or its local branch where it is possible to browse the foreign employment offers. The on-line service, <http://www.praca.gov.pl/>, provides the criteria to be met by the persons interested in economic emigration provided for in the international agreements and other contracts.

In mid-2006 there were 1316 officially registered entities authorised to run employment agency services for foreign employers. The details by individual provinces are presented in the table below.

¹¹ For instance, a handbook published annually by the Foreign Ministry, *A Pole Abroad*; or one of the earliest published booklets: ROBACZEWSKI A.: *Praca za granicą. Jak znaleźć dobrą pracę i zarobić pieniądze za granicą nie dając się jednocześnie oszukać nieuczciwym pośrednikom?* [or: How to find a good job, make money and protect oneself from being cheated by unfair middlemen?] Warszawa, Złote Myśli, 2004; electronic version (e-book): “*Praca za granicą*”. <http://praca-za-granica.zlotemysli.pl/>, 29.12.2007.

Table 1. *Active job centres offering work abroad with foreign employers (by region – on 31 May 2006)*¹²

Region	No. of job centres
Dolnośląskie	107
Kujawsko-Pomorskie	33
Lubelskie	29
Lubuskie	26
Łódzkie	53
Małopolskie	106
Mazowieckie	261
Opolskie	113
Podkarpackie	33
Podlaskie	14
Pomorskie	150
Śląskie	155
Świętokrzyskie	16
Warmińsko-Mazurskie	21
Wielkopolskie	102
Zachodniopomorskie	97
Total	1316

Source: own research and the information from the Socio-Economic Data Centre of the Ministry of Economy.

Besides the information services and recruitment agencies' assistance, the economic emigrant are offered provisional help owing to numerous initiatives undertaken by institutions or private persons as additional services provided within their regular business activity and sometimes even off-the-books. Let us have closer look at the most widespread types of assistance and services.

- One of the first initiatives that accompanied the intensive emigration of the 1990's and was and still is the passenger transportation business (offering mostly minibus transport) with the economic migrants as their primary customers (travelling to Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and back). They are flexible and responsive to the changing demands. They depart quite frequently, 2-3 times a week, and go along a fixed route being highly competitive to other traditional means of transportation.
- Other forms of assistance are language schools which – besides their regular courses – introduce the languages currently demanded at the foreign labour

¹² On the basis of the sources from the Socio-Economic Data Centre of the Ministry of Economy. <http://www.kraz.praca.gov.pl/StronaGlowna.aspx>.

markets (e.g. Norwegian for nurses). It also involves the teaching of the specialist, professional language (e.g. to physicians, engineers).

- There are some other services provided additionally on top of the regular activity by law offices or driving schools (training bus or lorry drivers to drive of the left hand side of the road¹³).
- Of significance is the role of low-cost airlines (e.g. Ryanair, Wizz Air) which have multiplied the number of daily flights between Poland and Ireland and Great Britain to facilitate the movement of Polish employees.

Such supporting initiatives aimed to help the emigrants before their departure directly result from the demand for specific services, yet it is rather hard to assess their scale and scope due to their random character.

It is worth adding that similar actions take place in the countries of the emigrants' destination – presently, such manifestations of entrepreneurship are to be found in London, Dublin and smaller towns of Great Britain and Ireland, but also in Spain and Germany. The Polish emigrants in most foreign countries run their own Internet forums (or even on-line services divided by topic and offering classifieds)¹⁴ – their hosts are often trade chambers, Polish newspapers and institutions¹⁵. The information they offer concern employment, self-employment, studies, bureaucratic issues, taxes, legal procedures, social assistance, health care, immigration organisations, travel agencies, churches and Polish diplomatic posts¹⁶.

¹³ *Kierowcy TIR-ów uczą się ruchu lewostronnego.* „Onet.pl Biznes – Notowania giełdowe, wszystko o podatkach, informacje o bankach, kursy walut, fundusze, ubezpieczenia.” <http://biznes.onet.pl/1477266.2,14.12.2006>.

¹⁴ The services updated on daily basis are of various types. For the Internet information destined to Poles (in Polish) on the conditions of life abroad, see e.g.: *Poradnik “Polak za granicą”.* <http://www.ms.gov.pl/Poradnik,Polak,za,granica,1806.html> (service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs); *Szkocja.net – Praca w Szkocji, Mieszkanie, Studia, Praca w Edynburgu, Praca w Glasgow, Polonia w Szkocji.* <http://www.szkocja.net> oraz *Serwis informacyjny Szkocja24.com,* <http://www.szkocja24.com/> (Portals of Polonia settled in Scotland); *Grecja dla marzycieli.* <http://grecja.home.pl> (daily life in Greece for Poles). General British services (in English) on daily-life conditions (National Express; British Rail; Streetmap; London Underground, London City Transport), see e.g.: *Citylink bus and coach travel – timetables for services across Scotland UK.* <http://www.citylink.co.uk>; *1,000's of Hotels, Guest Houses, Lodgings – UK Accommodation Directory for England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland.* <http://www.s-h-systems.co.uk>; *Transport for London,* <http://www.londontransport.co.uk>. Internet based Information for Poles on life-conditions and work in Italy, see e.g.: *Praca, praca za granicą, legalna praca we Włoszech, samozatrudnienie we Włoszech, działalność gospodarcza we Włoszech.* <http://praca-we-wloszech.bawi.pl/>; *Ufficio della Promozione del Commercio e degli Investimenti dell'Ambasciata della Repubblica di Polonia.* <http://www.infopolonia.it/vademepl.htm>; *Związek Polaków we Włoszech.* http://www.polonia-wloska.org/zwiazek_organizacje.html.

¹⁵ ZBONIKOWSKA I.: *Gazeta, Londynek i polski Dublinek,* [pracuj.pl: praca > kariera > praca za granicą > artykuły > Gazeta, Londynek i polski Dublinek,](http://www.pracuj.pl/praca%20%3E%20kariera%20%3E%20praca%20za%20granica%20%3E%20artykuly%20%3E%20Gazeta,%20Londynek%20i%20polski%20Dublinek) http://www.pracuj.pl/praca-za-granica-artykuly_6811.htm, 03.11.2005.

¹⁶ E.g. Londynek.net; Gazeta.ie.

Furthermore, the newly arrived emigrants establish associations (e.g. Polish Information & Culture Centre in Dublin) and bilingual newspapers (e.g. “Szpila” in Dublin)¹⁷. The availability of emigration-related information on-line also allows the prospective emigrants to collect important facts before they decide to go.

The market of “migration services” in Poland is very dynamic and prompts many often highly specialised initiatives. This short study signals certain problems and initiatives whose broader catalogue will be possible to compile after a longer time of observation and analysis of immigration processes.

¹⁷ *Polskie Centrum Informacji i Kultury w Dublinie – informacja, kultura, serwisy, media.* http://www.polishcentre.ie/index_pl.php?id=134&proc=1, 14.12.2006.

**Translated by Konrad Szulga.

V

PERSONALIST APPROACH TO MIGRATION

*Zofia Kawczyńska-Butrym**

Migration: the Micro-Social Perspective – Individual and Family Benefits, Costs and Losses

1. Benefits and losses

While focusing on the micro-social analysis of job migration one should take into consideration two perspectives – individual and family.

Assuming that decisions to leave from one's country are individual, our analysis of the migrant's situation becomes an analysis of the individual perspective – gains and losses of the migrant. It is he who makes a decision to migrate and leave his country in the quest for a job and salary, work in general, or a better job and better salaries. One should bear in mind that in the situation when a migrating person lives in a family, generation (parents, brothers or sisters) or procreative (spouse, children), and has a common home-stead, then even this individual decision is made in the interest and/or consequences for the whole family. Therefore an analysis of the consequences of migration broadly understood (gains, costs, and losses) is difficult to be discussed separately and divided into consequences exclusively individual or exclusively familial. The circumstances of a migrant living as a family member affects various areas of the current and future situation of that family. Consequently, a division into individual and familial consequences of migration is only designed to be ordering and conventional. In practice, however, it is difficult to separate the individual and familial analysis of gains, costs, and losses.

Making a decision to leave to work is always based on a calculation, some anticipation of success in an action, finding a solution to a problem that underlies job migration.

The term job migration contains basic indications that the goal of migration is to gain financial means by going to work abroad. At the same time it should be stressed that in job migration it is not only the willingness to earn some money that matters. It is not this motivation that makes one decided to leave. There are other benefits of migration that are taken into consideration. They may be defined, above all, as the increase of one's own social and professional capital, finding more opportunities for education, and gaining the social capital for the children in the future.

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That is why among the individual gains of job migration one mentions the following:

- notable financial effects,
- increase qualifications and professional experience, which is as of late a specially appreciated value, especially among young graduates or undergraduates,
- gaining a better command of a foreign language, contact with another (spiritual and material) culture, which is also treated as a very important form and way to increase one's professional potential, increase the individual social capital,
- earning more money for children's education,
- improving the quality of life and also compensation of the level of consumption to the standards of social milieus in which they moved or would like to move,
- gaining/increasing social security, protection of a person's and his family's life (paying debts, credits, insuring a flat against its loss due to rent arrears, money for medical procedures etc.),
- gaining a higher material position (increase of wealth) may effect a more profitable position in the structure of local society (in the hierarchy of recognition and power),
- gaining success, sense of satisfaction, faith in one's own capabilities stimulates further activity and development.

Now analysing costs/losses migration one may distinguish some measurable, financial costs directly linked with the decision to leave and respective costs necessary for the sojourn abroad. There are also costs/losses indirectly linked with the family at home, emotional costs of the migrant (and his/her accompanying family members), and the persons who stay in the country. The costs are as follows:

- money for the journey (financial means, money for the stay abroad); some emigrants take credits or borrow money from their family or friends,
- providing money for a departure, if necessary, and a possible necessity of the "delegation of roles" (e.g. baby sitting and/or care for old parents), if the leaving person has some family liabilities.

In the second kind of costs is, above all, a risk of changes in the situation of migrants (including their "place" and position in the family). We notice here that:

- the family remains formally both-parent family, whereas it functions in fact as single-parent family,
- the absence of a family member increases a risk for family ties¹ and permanence of the family,

¹ WOJACZEK K.: Rodzina w konfrontacji z migracją zarobkową. [In:] *Wyjazdy zarobkowe szansa czy zagrożenie? Perspektywa społeczno-moralna*. Glombik K., Marciniec P. (eds.), Opole, Uniwersytet Opolski, 2005, p. 209-222; JURCZYK B.: „Być” albo „mieć”. O nieświadomym dylemacie wyjazdów zarobkowych. [In:] *Ibidem*, p. 223-231.

- particular family members experience of the pain of separation – those who have left and those who have stayed in the country,
- the risk of failures rises in the process of socialisation and children rearing because a parent is absent; he/she is often reduced to his/her function to earn money.

Additionally, one should notice the risk of changes in the moral sphere of migrants' morality. In many observations one finds: changes in the systems of migrants' values, phenomenon of anomie, relativism of moral norms, things that can be defined as:

- moral costs of migration.

Furthermore, often during, or in result of, migration there is a rapid change of the individual migrants' life, especially when they cope with a misfortune in their migration plans, or are victims of fraudsters in the area of job migrations.

The social situation also changes. Migrants and their families function differently in society, and their social participation varies. One observes here the following:

- disturbances in the basic areas of the migrant's life and his family members: in their job, consumption, education, health, and culture;
- changes in the social position of the individual/and the family (degradation) in the host country in comparison with the country of origin;
- the phenomenon of marginalisation and exclusion:
- lack of participation, withdrawal, limitations of social roles (in the situation when there is an expectation to take concrete roles e.g. of a father, a mother, according to age or circumstances),
- no security benefits or participation in the basic institutions of social life (e.g. various kinds of limitation in education, health care)², security benefits, pensions, tax deductions; no religious practices, or limitations in this area, no participation in elections – either in the country of origin or in the host country, where they have not yet been granted voting rights, etc.),

The phenomenon of the marginalisation of migrants is stressed by different authors. They highlight that marginalisation embraces job migrants, both in the host country and in the sending country; it is a process prior to migration. The latter conclusion results from the fact that in job migrations participate, among others, "people marginalised on the local job market,"³ and they more often than other inhabitants, due to the economic compulsion, make decisions to look for a job abroad.

² HAASEN C., YAGDIRAN O., MASS R., KRAUSZ M.: *Potential for misdiagnosis among Turkish migrants with psychotic disorders: a clinical controlled study in Germany*. „Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica” 2000, 101 (2), February, p. 125-129.

³ OSIPOWICZ D.: Marginalizacja społeczna migrantów. [In:] *Ludzie na huśtawce. Migracje między peryferiami Polski i Zachodu*. Jadźwińska E., Okólski M. (eds.), Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2001, p. 391.

2. Feminisation of Migration

Analysing consequences of migration for the family, it is extremely important for the last wave of job migrations that they are dominated by women. This tendency is indicated both by studies of job migrations from the countries of Latin America, European migrations, and the data of migrations from Poland. The high percentage of women in migrations is caused, as analysts say, by a need in host countries. They need people to work in service, trade, tourism, home service and care, therefore in this area of employment, in which women mainly work. The scale of the phenomenon is shown among others by the data of the Spanish Ministry of Work. It follows that among those who migrate from Latin America the permit to work was granted to twice as many women than men, and in the migrations from the Dominican Republic, Peru, and the Philippines in the end of the 1990s as much as 70% of the total number of all migrants was constituted by women⁴.

The phenomenon of the feminisation of job migrations is confirmed by the data of further years. In 2001 in Spain among over 80.000 of legal immigrants from Equator more than a half was constituted by women⁵. The prevalence of women was also found in the group of Polish migrants in Spain and Brussels⁶. In 2002 a bit more than a half of legal Polish inhabitants in Spain was made up by women (in the number of 16.347 there were 8.336 women)⁷. It was also in 2004 among the illegal inhabitants in Spain there ca. 70.000 Poles, and among ca. 8.000 of those who come each year to prick fruit a considerable percentage is made up by women who “often work in very difficult conditions”⁸.

Higher mobility of women in comparison to men results from two reasons. The first one is a relatively more difficult financial situation of homesteads of the migrating women than men. Such observations were made mainly in the groups of persons who take seasonal jobs. As it has been stated, “women belong to a group which is in a relatively worse situation; their seasonal job migrations seem to be more a necessity than

⁴ MISIAK W.: *Nowe formy zaradności młodzieży. Emigracja i przemieszczenia społeczne*. Toruń 1998; quoted after: KUŹMA E.: *Kobiety – nielegalne imigrantki z Polski w Brukseli pod koniec XX w. – zjawisko i problemy*. [In:] *Kobiety i młodzież w migracjach*. Zamojski J. E. (ed.), Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2005, p. 263.

⁵ Quoted after: SKWARSKA D.: *Imigracja zarobkowa kobiet z Ekwadoru do Hiszpanii – problemy integracji społecznej*. [In:] *Kobiety i młodzież w migracjach*. Zamojski J. E. (ed.), Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2005, p. 210, 213

⁶ KUŹMA E., *op. cit.*, p. 262, 272.

⁷ MALINOWSKI-RUBIO M. P.: *Kobiety polskie w Hiszpanii (XX w.)*. [In:] *Kobiety i młodzież ..., op. cit.*, p. 278.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 279.

a planned strategy⁹.” The second reason is that it is relatively easier to be employed in the illegal sector of economy (as baby sitters, sprzątaczkki) than to be employed in other professions and typically male jobs. It is also easier for women to keep their jobs secret before the police control, especially in the period when legal jobs were not always possible in the West¹⁰.

The latter situation affected and still affects the employment structure of women. During their emigration women often do jobs much below their qualifications, mainly as “housewives or in the sector of services”¹¹, due to their difficulties in communication or their diplomas are not approved of.¹² This form of employment is also attractive for individual employers who do not have to bear the costs of insurance, so illegal employment in houseworking or housecare is financially profitable for them. Research conducted among Polish emigrants in Belgium showed that “Belges tolerate illegal Polish immigrants in their country because they need them. For small money Poles take jobs which nobody in Belgium would like to do”¹³.

Migrants’ enter the niche of employment which the inhabitants of the host country would not like to do, an illustration of which can be the data concerning legal employment of job migrations from the Dominican Republic legally employed in Spain in 1995.

Table 1. *Employing Dominican women in Spain according to sectors*¹⁴

Sector	Dominican women legally employed	Dominican men legally employed	Women working in Spain in total
Home service	87.6	43.5	7.2
Hotel	5.8	15.4	7.4
Industrial production	1.3	7.2	12.4
Municipal services	1.5	7.5	13.2
Building	0.3	10.9	1.2
Others	2.1	26.1	58.6

It follows from the data that job female emigrants take mainly the role of housewives, and this kind of employment is also dominant among men, although in the case of men it is twice as high as for women.

⁹ KĘPIŃSKA E.: Kobiety i mężczyźni w migracjach sezonowych. [In:] *Polscy pracownicy na rynku Unii Europejskiej*. Kaczmarczyk P., Łukowski W. (eds.), Warszawa, W ydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2004, p. 310.

¹⁰ KUŹMA E., op. cit., p. 263.

¹¹ SKWARSKA D., op. cit., p. 207.

¹² LISOCKA-JAEGERMANN B.: Migracje kobiet karaibskich. [In:] *Kobiety i młodzież ...*, op. cit., p. 163.

¹³ KUŹMA E., op. cit., p. 273.

¹⁴ LISOCKA-JAEGERMANN B., op. cit., p. 172.

There is, however, a considerable group of migrating women, mainly Poles under analysis, who are very flexible on the job market. During their employment abroad they attend various courses and raise their qualifications. Some of them (e.g. physicians or nurses) are well paid, and the level of their qualification is highly approved. Consequently, the position of Polish female immigrants on the legal job market does seem to be threatened for the researchers. The position of many Polish female emigrants is particularly advantageous, since they “are faster to adapt themselves in society and are better on the job market than Polish male emigrants”¹⁵.

Now female Poles, working illegally as guardians or housewives, “are gradually pushed out by female workers from the countries of the former Soviet Union, mainly from the Baltic states,”¹⁶ from where numerous women go abroad.

An additional analysis of women’s migrations has shown that they consist mainly of “single women and those who left their husbands and children in the country of origin”¹⁷. As studies on female migration show, men more often plan to return than women. Women want to stay and earn much, enough to bring their children and other member of their family. They seek to work in many places, e.g. do housework during the day in several flats, and in the evening sprzątać in offices and institutions. In general, if they do not plan to return, they treat their work as a picket for permanent emigration. If they wish to stay for good abroad, they need to bring their husbands and children, as part of the policy of uniting families.

Some women migrating for a job plan to marry a man from the host country. This is the more important, the more difficult it is to be granted the permit for legal stay in the country, in which they arrived to look for a working place and more profitable conditions of life. As one of the researchers of female migrations state “the prospects to marry to obtain legal documents is taken under consideration by the majority of single female immigrants. They can see in it a fairly reasonable way to improve their quality of life”¹⁸. Migration plays then two functions – “for money and the husband”¹⁹.

Women who are not able to take their children are additionally burdened with nostalgia and anxiety, they cannot observe how their children develop, they have not contacts with them, nor make any decisions as to their upbringing and development. Although they want to come back, they often “are not able to predict how long this separation will last. Sometimes it last several years, if not longer”²⁰.

¹⁵ WITES T.: *Kobiety w migracjach Żydowskiego Obwodu Autonomicznego*. [In:] *Kobiety i młodzież...*, op. cit., p. 249.

¹⁶ MICHALIK E.: *Aktywność kobiet w środowiskach polonijnych w Szwecji w XX w.* [In:] *Kobiety i młodzież...*, op. cit., p. 251.

¹⁷ SKWARSKA D., op. cit., p. 207.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 216.

¹⁹ KNOTHE A. M.: *Za chlebem, po męża czy dla siebie?* [In:] *Kobiety i młodzież...*, op. cit., p. 179.

²⁰ SKWARSKA D., op. cit., p. 214.

Some interesting information about the feminisation of job migrations we elicit from a further analysis of the number of persons who temporarily left Poland (more than 2 months), leaving their family members in the country. Out of almost 260.000 of such homesteads, most of them abroad in 2002, there was only one person from the homestead (78.9%)²¹. Taking into consideration the demographic traits of persons who have temporarily left the country²² there is an apparent prevalence of female migration. More women than men, almost in all categories of age, leave the country.

Table 2. *Women and men in migrations for a period longer than 2 months in particular categories of age (the 13-19 years of age category)*

Age	In total	A – women	B – men	Difference A- B
20-24	91 346	54 906	36 440	+ 18 466 ²³
25-29	116 231	68 031	48 200	+ 19 831
30-34	94 709	52 364	42 345	+ 10 019
35-39	89 898	45 378	44 520	+ 858
40-44	86 205	41 224	44 981	- 3 757
45-49	71 503	34 924	36 579	- 1 655
50-55	48 410	24 558	23 852	+ 706
55-59	24 631	13 307	11 324	+ 1 983
60-64	19 484	11 281	8 206	+ 3 075
65-and more	34 858	21 982	12 876	+ 9 106
In total	677 934	368 316	309 618	+ 53 286

Personal study on the basis of 2005 Demographic Annals, p. 467.

A high number of migrations in the group of people aged 20-34 are mainly due to unemployment and high mobility of women. This is because the level of unemployment among young women is higher than men²⁴, and their ever higher level of independence and determination. What is more, there is a rising belief that they themselves, or equally to men, are responsible for the life standard of their own family.

Temporal migrations included this time in the Census as longer migrations, lasting 12 months or more, have been presented due to their reasons. Among over 626 000 long-term migrants more than 267 000 (42.3%) left the country to look for a job, and over 8 000 (1.3%) due to poor living conditions. One should also note that among the reasons of temporal migration a category of *family affairs* has been distin-

²¹ GUS: *Wyniki Narodowego Spisu Powszechnego 2002*. „Rocznik Demograficzny 2005”, Warszawa, 2006, p. 469.

²² Ibidem, p. 467.

²³ Partly, the prevalence of women's migration in this age category may be accounted for the period of male military service.

²⁴ GUS: „Rocznik Demograficzny” 2005, Warszawa, 2006.

guished (almost 200 000 migrations, i.e. 31.5%). One may therefore assume, but also are confirmed by the findings of other authors, that women's migrate because they themselves largely look for a job²⁵, or sometimes because their husbands look for it²⁶, or they join a member of their family who has left before.

The entirely different sex structure of job migrants follows from the data of the study conducted in successive years of BAEL (Pol. Studies of Economic Activity). According to this study, among those who have stayed abroad for at least two months to work men are decisively dominant. Thus in 2000 64 200 men and 36 500 women left abroad to work; in 2002 there were respectively 85 700 men and 54 200 women, and in 2003 we had 88 700 and 63 000 women²⁷. In the set of data one may notice not only that men are obviously dominant, but the number of female migrations is on the increase as well. Between 2000 and 2003, according to BAEL, there was an increase of male job migrations by 24 700, and women by 26 500. The increasing participation of women in migration in general has been noticed by other authors. Under Polish circumstances we observe this tendency as instanced by the rising number of women in seasonal job migrations to Germany²⁸. The analysis of seasonal job migrations to Germany has permitted us to differentiate the material situation and, in this respect, to define the goals of men and women, participants of such seasonal trips. The material situation of migrating men has turned out to be less dramatic. They leave mainly to improve their life standard, to buy a car, to repair their house or flat, whereas "women's seasonal migration is relatively more often dictated by the difficult situation in their homesteads, and the money they is mainly for their living."²⁹

The statistical data show that among the migrating persons those who are married and established a family only 20.3% leave together with their families (including children).

Table 3. *Foreign trips of the whole families or some of their members for a period longer than 2 months versus the type of family*

Type of family	In total: N = 100%	The whole family abroad		Some members have stayed in the country	
		No	%	No	%
Married couples with children	103 940	21 090	20.3	82 850	79.7
Partners with children	1 743	168	9.6	1 575	90.4
Mothers with children	41 870	25 888	61.8	15 982	38.2
Fathers with children	4 500	1 575	35.0	2 925	65.0

Personal study on the basis of 2005 Demographic Annals, p. 470.

²⁵ KEPIŃSKA E., op. cit., p. 148.

²⁶ KNOTHE A. M., op. cit.

²⁷ KEPIŃSKA E., op. cit., p. 141.

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 163.

²⁹ *Polscy pracownicy na rynku ...*, op. cit., p. 21.

Because there are no data we cannot present a more accurate interpretation of both the phenomenon of children left in the country or other family members (including the husband or wife), social security and care under which these persons remain, when parents or spouses have left. Generally, however, except for migrations of single mothers, who rather leave together with their children, there is a tendency to leave in the country some family members, including children and spouses. This situation arouses unrest in other countries, where the scale of migration is still higher than in Poland. For instance, in one of secondary schools in Equator, Quito, “as many as 80% of female students have taken the role of the head of family, since their parents remain outside Equator, working to guarantee their family a permanent monthly income”³⁰.

This review of data makes us ask a question about the consequences of migrations in the case of only some family members/homesteads, women and men who are already married, for the stability of their marriages. Additionally, we can ask about the consequences of the migrations of young women in the most beneficial period of their procreation and in the period of the most intense commitment to child rearing.

³⁰ FERRER Y.: *Población – America Latina: Incontenible avance de la emigración*. Bogota 2002; quoted after: SKWARSKA D., op. cit., p. 209.

**Translated by Jan Kłos.

Immigration and Adaptation – For Whom Cultural Gains and Losses?

Introduction

During the 19th and first half of the 20th century there was large emigration from poor countries to rich ones, mostly to North America and Western Europe. The emigrants went from Poland and many East-European countries. In effect, after the II World War there were diasporas, separated from their lands but conserving the cultural heritage.

The adaptation to new host country, its rules, codes of conduct, cultural values often was hard, psychologically costly and not successful for everyone. J. Berry¹ proposed a simple model of an immigrant living in another country (fig. 1).

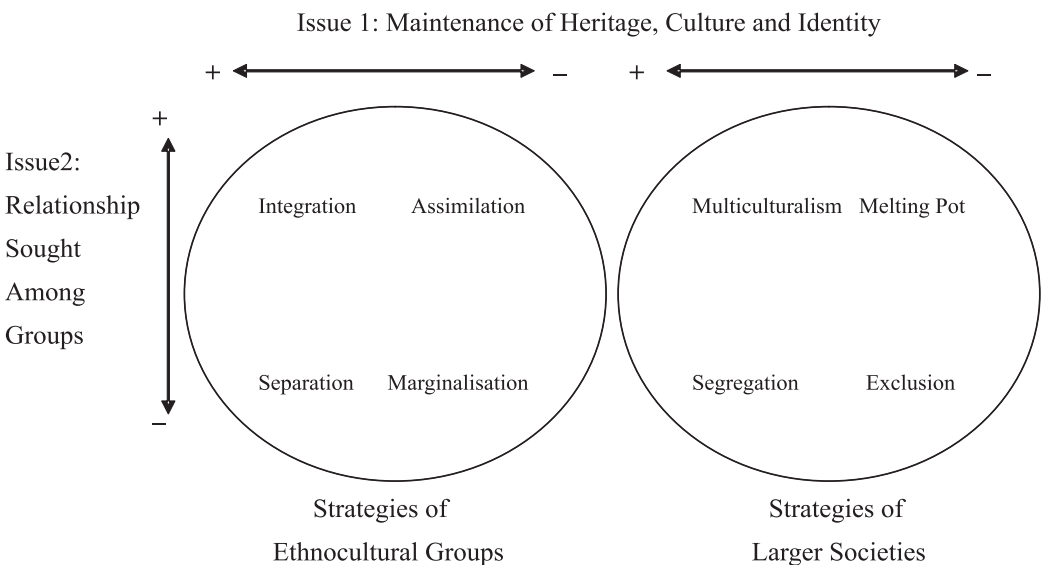


Fig. 1. Model of adaptation (BERRY J.: op. cit., p. 23).

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¹ BERRY J. W.: Conceptual approaches to acculturation. [In:] *Acculturation. Advances in theory, measurement and applied research*. Chun K. W., Organista P. M., Marin G. (eds.), Washington, American Psychological Association, 2003, p. 17-37.

Depending on how and individual manages to conserve or deny own values and volumes of the people In new place s/he can either fully adapt to the new culture, through weakness forms of connivance up to full marginalisation (social drop outs). The fact is that in the enclaves there are people of each type. At present times the emigration is of a modified type at least from some countries.

From the dictatorship & tyrannical system people escape with no intention to return eg Kurds, Congo etc. From many other countries there is an augmentation of economic emigration eg from India to US & UK. People can go out, can return, often live in both places – country of origin and country of arrival. Leaving away all other aspects we shall concentrate on cultural values attached to immigration phenomenon.

Cultural gain or loss?

Immigrants carry with them the materialised and spiritual values. Among the first ones are the architecture, dresses, food, in the second type there are beliefs, rituals, customs, songs, style of life, marriage codes, way of bringing up children.

If their values do not collide with the local ones they can have of enriching influence. As in the genetic mixture some “added values” can emerge from this encounter. If they come into collision both parties may suffer but the brought in suffer more as it is not in rooted in land, in its history. Somehow the culture tends to conserve itself – to use a personification – and due to its inherent strength, the cultures can survive away from the birthplace.

To speak in the gain and loss terms, we can state that the in-brought cultural values enrichment of the host land. Artists, scientists, craftsmen are a clear gain for the hosting country. But at the same time their absence in home land is a loss. Worse is if the selection is positive, this is when more intelligent people leave. Behind them stay the weaker ones, the less entrepreneurial, which leads to step back of the society.

The migration can be enriching if emigrants stay in contact with their country of origin. Nowadays, due to the facility of communication and transport emigrants may “commute” between the country of origin and the new living place. Some of them try to set enterprises (service, trade, even production) that cover both countries. Also they care for their mother tongue for their children, whom they send home, for summers schools and on various exchange visits. The cultural and economic bridge built by themselves makes them feel in both places. This may have crucial importance for the national identify, for not feeling devoted from their origin.

Bohdan Rożnowski*, Dorota Bryk**

The Stress of Job Migration and its Consequences for the System of Migrants' Values

1. The decision concerning migration and some of its psychological consequences

Each migration results from an individual decision or collective one (that of the whole family or society). According to G. Hugo, the decision to leave (to emigrate) takes place when the expected benefits exceed the costs¹. He stresses the role of the socio-economic context of migrations, the context that affects the process of collecting information and its interpretation². In this approach the individual traits and norms proper to a given community may be perceived as filters through which the information taken into consideration in the decision making process³ comes. This means that it is not only possible but also necessary to take into account various levels of the analysis of the decision-making process (see Picture 1).

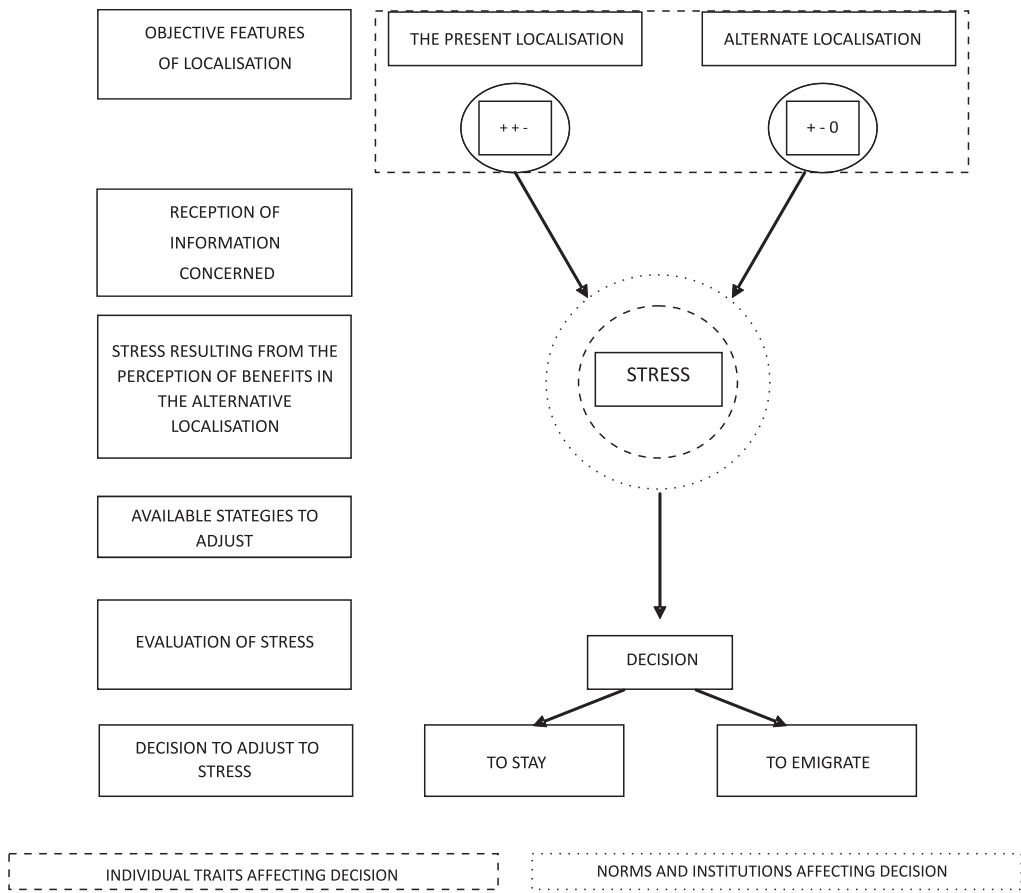
The first step to make a decision to leave is that a need for migration appears. This is a result of a fact that one becomes unable to carry out the needs important for a human being in one's community – or localisation. The person notices the possibility to satisfy his/her needs in another localisation, but at the same time he can see the negative aspects thereof. Migration is not only a chance, but also a threat and deprivation of various needs caused e.g. by separation with one's family. The decision to leave is made when the balance of likely gains and losses here and there is in favour of the alternative localisation. The perception of the potential possibilities offered by another localisation causes stress, and it deepens due to the fact that the decision to leave is affected not only by individual, internal traits of the person, but also by social norms concerning the migration itself and those who leave. The decision itself, as the final stage of that process may be either positive, which means emigration, or negative, which means staying at home.

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¹ HUGO G.: *Circular migration in Indonesia*. „Population and Development Review” 1982, No. 1.

² See: LEWICKA M.: *Deformacje w spostrzeganiu ludzi*. Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1985; MAŁDRZYCKI T.: *Deformacje w spostrzeganiu ludzi*. Warszawa, PWN, 1986.

³ LENT R. W.: *Contextual supports and barriers to career choice: a social cognitive analysis*. „Journal of Counseling Psychology” 2000, vol. 47 No. 1, s. 36-49.



Picture 1. *The process of taking decision concerning migration (Authors' analysis, following G. Hugo, op. cit.).*

Hugo's approach is based to a large extent on the *push-pull* model, but it refers also to other models, especially to G. Germani's proposal to distinguish three levels of the analysis of the decision concerning migration⁴:

1. *The objective level:* here we have the variables taken into account in the majority of traditional approaches to migration analysis. What is meant here are distracting and attracting factors related to certain places, such as labour opportunities, possibility of finding a job, level of salaries, living standards, individual features affecting the perception of the above, and elements related to the sphere of communication between places (e.g. transport, media).

⁴ GERMANI G.: Migration and acculturation. [In:] *Handbook for Social Research in Urban Areas*. Hauswer P. M. (ed.), Ghent, UNESCO, 1965.

2. *The normative level*: these are norms, rules, and institutions related to the functioning in a given social space. Decisions are not made in a vacuum, but in a certain socio-economic context.
3. *The psychosocial level*: at this level individual features accountable for the attitude towards various options and personal expectations are the most essential.

At the psychosocial level the structure of the person's needs is particularly important. The necessity to satisfy them is always a motivation for one's action, something that pushes a person to search for opportunities to satisfy them in various places, wherever it is possible.

According to one of the most popular theories of motivation, A. Maslow's theory⁵, the person's needs are the source of his/her motivation. These are grouped into five hierarchic categories – layers of needs: physiological, safety, social, self-assessment, and self-actualisation. Needs push people to satisfy them through definite actions. The process has practically no end, nevertheless it has a hierarchic character: first the basic needs are satisfied, only then those from a higher level.

The author of another theory of motivation based on needs, C. P. Alderfer, reduces five groups of Maslow to three: existence, relations with others, and growth (development). He abandons the principle of hierarchy. In his opinion at one moment various needs may be activated and satisfied simultaneously⁶.

Although the two theories are different, they both indicate that the motivating potential of needs changes due to the level of their satisfaction. Maslow thinks that a need that is satisfied ceases to instigate to action, and is replaced by other needs. Once all the needs from a given level are satisfied, the needs from a higher level are activated. According to Alderfer's theory, the needs that are satisfied do not lose their motivating power. What is more, the activity of needs from one group (e.g. growth) do not inhibit the activity of needs from another group (e.g. relations with others).

Therefore the decision to emigrate is in fact a consequence of impossibility of satisfying some of the needs in the present environment (according to Hugo: localisation). This makes people look for opportunities to satisfy them somewhere else, where – as they see it – the situation is favourable towards that end.

The above explication is fairly simplified. The decision to emigrate is not only an effect of unsatisfied needs. Man not only evaluates the opportunity to satisfy his needs, but also the extent to which they are available; he makes a balance of gains and losses. According to Adams⁷, people have certain principles of evaluation whether a given

⁵ MASLOW A.: *Motywacja i osobowość*. Warszawa, PAX, 1970.

⁶ ALDERFER C. P.: *Existence, Relatedness and Growth. Human Needs in Organizational Settings*. New York, Free Press, 1972.

⁷ BIELA A., ROŻNOWSKI B.: Public perception of nature Conservation forms in inhabitants of the Białowieża Forest region. [In:] *Protection of Forest Ecosystems Biodiversity of Białowieża Primeval Forest*. Paschalis P., Rykowski K., Zajączkowski S. (eds.), Warszawa 1995.

relation of the exchange of contributions (e.g. the time devoted to the performance of a duty, the effort put in) for effects (e.g. the salary received for a job) is fair. The essential condition of equity is the proportionality of contributions and effects. A sense of inequity occurs when one of the parties of the interaction perceives that the relation of his contributions to his effects differs from the relation obtained by other people, of equal importance. The perception of inequity causes tension, which is in proportion to the size of inequity. This tension motivates the person to reduce or remove the state of imbalance. Therefore, though a man can satisfy certain need through his action (e.g. he receives a salary for his job), it is not always satisfactory to him, as his evaluation depends also on the evaluation of the contributions and gains of another person doing a similar, or the same job. Similar comparison one can find in other areas of human life (Biela, Rożnowski⁸).

In case someone perceives discrepancies between the relation of effort put into an action to the resulting salary of oneself and that of a co-worker, the person experiences a tension, which motivates him to undertake an action leading to minimise it. Thus not only the lack of opportunities to satisfy one's needs may motivate someone to emigration, but also the insufficient degree of satisfaction. On the list of needs that are the most powerful motivations in favour of migration we find material needs – to earn money, often for one's own family living or for another specific aim. Salary belongs to the group of the three most important conditions of job acceptance by young people, along with the job's stability and being interesting⁹.

While analysing Hugo's model of the decision to emigrate, one may notice that immediately after having evaluated of the opportunities to satisfy one's needs in the present and in the alternative localisation, the decision maker starts being under stress. It arises first of all from the necessity to confront new and hitherto unknown challenges, including potential threats, during an emigration. Stress affects not only mental but also physical health, and – indirectly – may become the underlying factor of certain diseases and a threat to life (Terelak¹⁰). The study conducted by T. Theorell and R. H. Rahe indicates that there is a relationship between heart attack, the number and kind of stressogenic events, such as e.g. the spouse's death, loss of a job etc.¹¹ The earlier

⁸ BIELA A., ROŻNOWSKI B.: Public perception of nature Conservation forms in inhabitants of the Białowieża Forest region. [In:] *Protection of Forest Ecosystems Biodiversity of Białowieża Primeval Forest*. Paschalis P., Rykowski K., Zajączkowski S. (eds.), Warszawa 1995.

⁹ ROŻNOWSKI B., MARKOWSKI K., SOBOCKI J., KONEFAŁ K.: *Lokalne rynki pracy województwa lubelskiego w opiniach pracodawców, pracowników i młodzieży*. Lublin, Europejski Dom Spotkań – Fundacja Nowy Staw, 2006.

¹⁰ TERLAK J.: *Stres psychologiczny*. Warszawa, Oficyna Wydawnicza Branta, 1995.

¹¹ THEORELL T., RAHE R. H.: *Psychical factors and myocardial infraction. An inpatient study in Sweden*. „Journal of Psychosomatic Research” 1974, No. 15, s. 25-31.

studies conducted by T. H. Holmes and R. H. Rahe produced a list of stressogenic events¹², as they are present in Table 1.

Table 1. *Stressogenic events (Authors' research, following Birch & Malim¹³). The bold figures signify those events that occur in economic migration*

STRESSOGENIC EVENT	VALUE	STRESSOGENIC EVENT	VALUE
Death of a spouse	100	Child leaving home	29
Divorce	73	Trouble with in-laws	29
Marital separation	65	Outstanding personal achievement	28
Imprisonment	63	Spouse starts or stops work	26
Death of a close family member	63	Begin or end school	26
Personal injury or illness	63	Change in living conditions	25
Marriage	50	Revision of personal habits	24
Dismissal from work	47	Trouble with boss	20
Marital reconciliation	45	Change in working hours or conditions	20
Retirement	45	Change in residence	20
Change in health of family member	44	Change in schools	20
Pregnancy	40	Change in recreation	19
Sexual difficulties	39	Change in church activity	18
Gain a new family member	39	Change in social activity	17
Business readjustment	39	Minor mortgage or loan	17
Change in financial state	38	Change in sleeping habits	16
Death of a close friend	37	Change in number of family reunions	15
Change in frequency of arguments	35	Change in eating habits	15
Major mortgage (above 10.000 dollars)	31	Vacations	13
Foreclosure of mortgage or loan	30	Christmas	12
Change in responsibilities at work	29	Minor violation of law	11

The bold figures in the above table mark those stress factors which occur during migration. On the list of life events – stress factors estimated in this conception – job migration embraces 16 elements. What is worth noting is not only their number, but also the value which in total equals to 427 points, a sum that four times exceeds the value of the most stressogenic event from this list. According to the presuppositions of

¹² HOLMES T. H., RAHE R. H.: *The social readjustment rating scale*. „Journal of Psychosomatic Research” 1967, No.11, p. 213-218.

¹³ BIRCH A., MALIM T.: *Psychologia rozwojowa w zarysie*. Warszawa, PWN, 1998.

this theory, the greater the level of stress (the higher number of points on the scale), the greater is the likelihood of a disease or threat to life¹⁴. This confirms the thesis that job migration is a very powerful stressogenic situation. The estimated value of the stressogenic events in total exceeds the alarming threshold indicated in this theory – that of a threat to life.

Stressors, or the stimuli evoking stress, throw the organism off the state of relative balance, which enables it to function. In order for man to normally live and fulfil his tasks, goals etc., his body and soul must come back to the state of balance. This is carried out through the process of re-adaptations to new conditions, i.e. to the situation that takes into account the stressor.

Stress not only makes the physical and mental states deteriorate or causes health problems, but its long-term action may also bring about profound changes, or even disintegrate the sphere of human values. A long-term and potent stress leads to crisis¹⁵.

In the situation of crisis the psychological structures disintegrate. Dąbrowski based his principal conception on the hierarchy of values, where the choices of a lower order are subordinated to the values of a higher order. The process of building this hierarchy is assumed to be creative. The mental development is a transformation from biological determinism to moral autodeterminism. It is manifested in the accomplishment of an ever higher level of individual interests and skills in the area of exclusive and unique emotional relations, in a conscious identification with the history of one's development and a conscious projection of this development on the future.

This whole complex process is slow and gradual. It may be triggered by external factors, which are often stress stimuli throwing the body off the state of health. In such a crisis situation like job emigration, under a potent and especially long-term stress, the system of values changes as well, first in order to enable adaptation to a new situation. Then, at a deeper level, it brings about a reconstruction of mental structures in order to enable their development. Thus the values that are the most powerfully deprived, impossible to be accomplished, have to be re-evaluated with a view to their validity. In order to adapt to the new conditions some values must lose their importance, some other must gain in importance. Such processes are especially strong in the case of emigration, which triggers a sequence of stressful events not only before the departure, but also during the sojourn abroad and on return. The return reopens the adaptation process consisting in shifts within the system of values. People under stress are forced to re-evaluate their situation. They need to make a secondary evaluation of their situation not with a view to threats and losses in, but possible benefits. That kind of thinking based on a re-evaluation is one of the ways to cope with stress. It can ensure normal functioning for a man, it is not, however, the only way towards that aim. It is

¹⁴ ELLIOT G. R., EISDORFER C.: *Stress and Human Health. Analysis and Implication of Research*. New York, Springer-Verlag, 1982.

¹⁵ DĄBROWSKI K.: *Dezintegracja pozytywna*. Warszawa, PWN, 1979.

possible to resort to defensive interpretations of stressful events, which trigger defence mechanisms, especially rationalisation¹⁶. Rationalisation consists in giving rational explanation or justification to the attitudes and actions (acts) usually conditioned by emotional factors of such a nature that man either wishes to hide them or is not fully aware of them. W. Szewczuk indicates¹⁷ that rationalisation is a defence mechanism of personality which reduces or annuls internal conflicts evoked by stress.

A source of that type of conflicts is usually cognitive dissonance perceived. According to L. Festinger, we actively tend to acquire information, which is in accord with our opinions, attitudes or evaluations of a given situation, whereas – in order to avoid an unpleasant dissonance – we avoid the information, that would counter our opinion etc.¹⁸ In a situation when expectations connected with migration are exaggerated and plans are impossible or very difficult to be realised, man will seek to counteract the unpleasant dissonance, also by using defence mechanisms, such as rationalisation.

Each decision about migration is a result of a balance made of estimated gains and costs of migration. From the theoretical analysis of the situation of migration it follows that the elements of migration which are taken into account by a potential migrant are the following: costs incurred, separation with family, uncertainty of the future, a necessity to accommodate to new conditions, difficulties in communication and other. They are collated with the gains of emigration, e.g. a job, high salaries, a higher life standard. If in the evaluation the alternative to the current localisation is estimated higher, then a person will decide to leave. Such evaluation of the current and of the possible localisation is carried out not only before departure, but also before return¹⁹.

Unfortunately, making such evaluation, one too often focuses only on material benefits and losses, underestimating the likely losses in the mental and social spheres. According to M. Rokeach, the general number of values rated highly by an individual is relatively small²⁰. All the people, irrespectively of the place and time in which they live, appreciate the same values, although not in the same degree.

According to this author, there are two basic groups of values: ultimate and instrumental. The ultimate values are the most important, non-situational goals of the human life, whereas the instrumental values deal with the general ways of conduct (in opposition to norms which concern less general, more specific ways of conduct), and have the nature of means useful to bring about the ultimate values (goals). The values internalised by an individual do not form a kind of coherent and hierarchised whole, but – on the contrary – they criss-cross, co-exist in a personality despite their contrary characters; some are dominating, other cushioned and in various circumstances some

¹⁶ LAZARUS R. S., FOLKMAN S.: *Stress, Appraisal and Coping*. New York, Springer-Verlag, 1984.

¹⁷ SZEWCZUK W.: *Słownik psychologiczny*. Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna, 1985.

¹⁸ FESTINGER L.: *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1957.

¹⁹ BIELA A., ROŻNOWSKI B., op. cit.

²⁰ ROKEACH M. *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values*. San Francisco, Jossey-Bass, 1968.

of them affect the individual's behaviour. Changes within the set of one's values may concern all types of values, both the instrumental and the ultimate ones²¹.

2. The methodology of authors' research

On the basis of the model of decision concerning migration presented in the first part of the paper, the following research question have been posited:

1. What is the main motive for migration? What role is played by financial benefits (a comparison of the bad situation in Poland with the good situation in Western Europe)?
2. Does job migration, which is a crisis situation, and a very stressful one, lead to the symptoms of somatic stress?
3. Does a crisis within the period of migration evoke changes in the system of values?
4. Does the evaluation of the situation and of the motivational potential of needs change after a certain period of staying abroad?
5. Is return an equally difficult decision about the change of the place and the way of living, and does it imply the comparison of gains and losses related to various localisations?
6. Does the system of values change on return? Does it come back to a state similar to the one before migration?

The study has assumed the principle of repeated measurements. The subject questioned – a returning migrant (re-emigrant) described retrospectively his or her beliefs: in the situation prior to migration, during migration, and after return.

The questionnaire included questions related to:

- the greatest gains due to emigration: an open question in which the subject was asked to name three greatest gains (q. 10);
- the greatest losses due to emigration: an open question in which the subject was asked to name three greatest losses (q. 11);
- the respondent's system of values: one was supposed to evaluate the significance of given values on a 1-5 scale. The following were values given: good family relationships, well-being, health, success, self-respect (self-esteem), life full of events, comfortable life, personal freedom and social respect, all of which in the three situation: before emigration, during it, and on return (q. 12);

²¹ Ibidem.

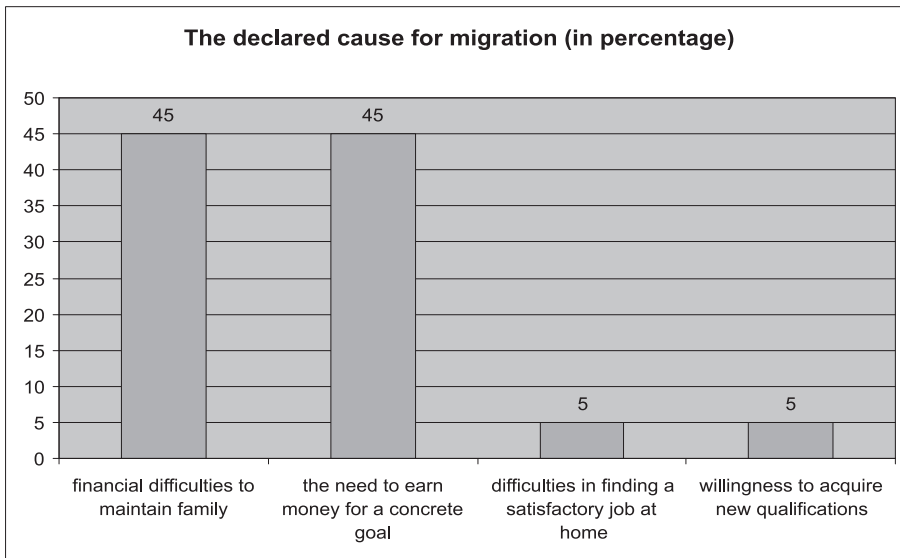
- the decision to return: an open question in which one was supposed to name three greatest facilitations and three difficulties influencing this decision (qs. 25 and 26);
- non-material benefits from emigration: one was supposed to state whether the gain was accomplished or not. The following gains were given: new qualifications, a new profession, a foreign language, courses or trainings abroad, professional experience social and business contacts, elevation of self-esteem, and other (to be named) (q. 32);
- the degree to which the experiences gained during migration have been put into practice: one was supposed to define on a 1-5 scale the range of their usage (q. 33);
- psychosomatic disorders felt before emigration, during it, and on return: one was supposed to indicate whether the disorder in question occurred and to what degree (on a 1-5 scale) (q. 19, 20).

The research has had a pilote character.

3. Findings of the authors' research

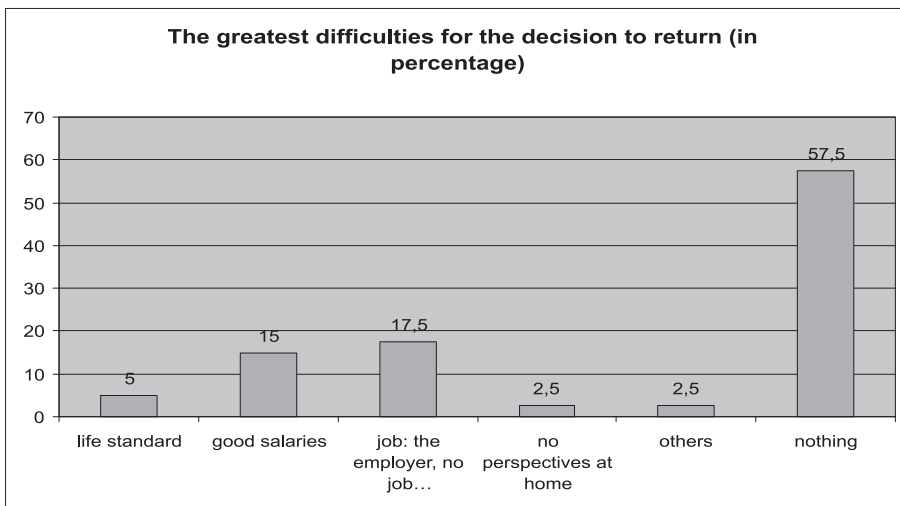
a) Migration and return – the results

Analysing the responses to the questions, some data have been gathered with a view to find the causes for migration. Graph 1 shows the percentage distribution of the declared reasons for emigration. It clearly follows from the findings that the main motive for emigration are material needs; 45% of the respondents state that they left to earn for the family. The same number of them declare that they wanted to earn money with a fixed goal in their minds. A further 5% of the subjects say that there was no work for them in their country, therefore one may assume that their motives also belong to the group of financial reasons. Consequently, only for 5% of respondents the financial needs were not the main motives for migration. This reflects the kind of needs that play the leading role for the respondents. The most often deprived needs, in this case the material needs, force them to leave, for only in another localisation can they satisfy them (in general, or to a satisfactory degree).

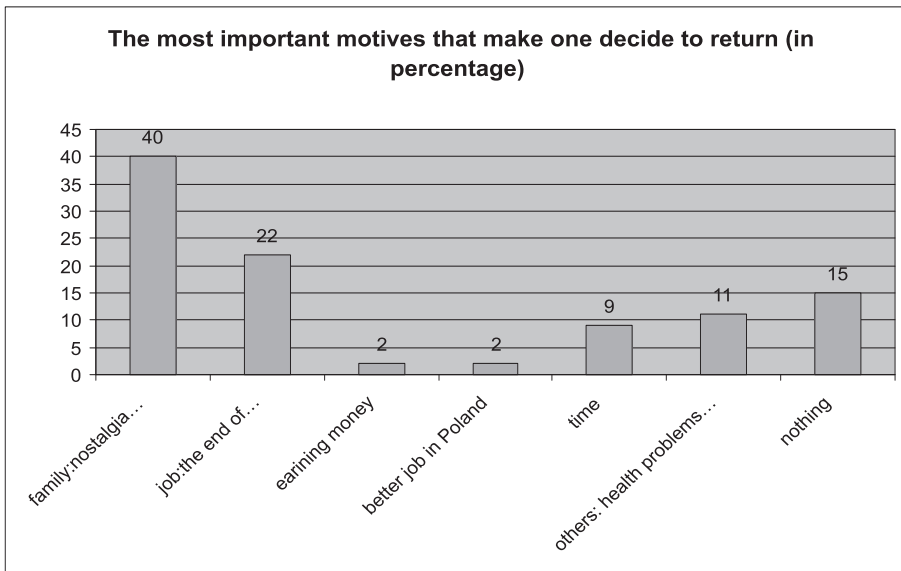


Graph 1. *The causes for migration (N=44).*

The respondents were asked to name the greatest difficulties for their decision to return home and those factors that most facilitated it – the responses are given in graphs: 2 and 3.



Graph 2. *The greatest declared difficulties for the decision to return (N=40).*



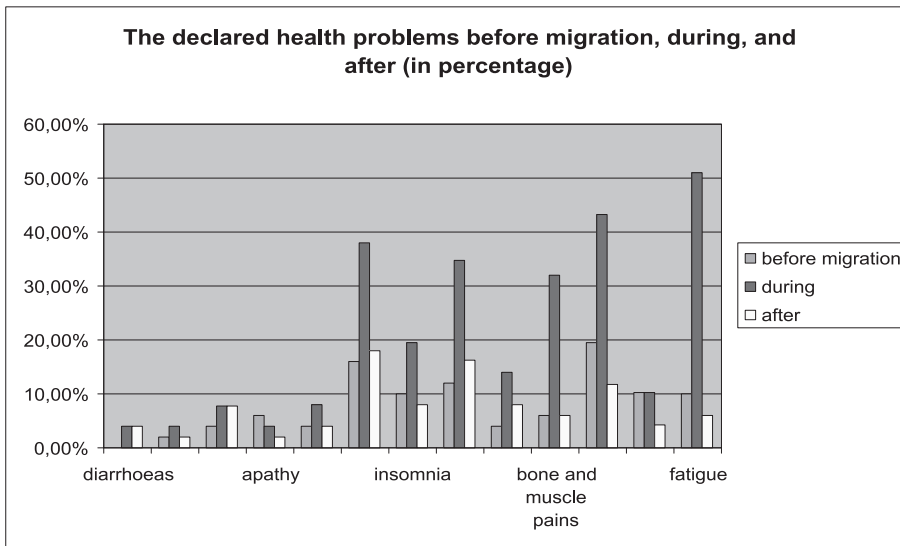
Graph 3. The greatest declared facilitations for the decision to return (N=55).

On the basis of the results one may assume that the decision to return home was supported, above all, by the willingness to join one's family. There were also other factors that made one return, such as the end of seasonal job, or difficulties to find another job. More than half of the subjects (57.5%) declared that there was no obstacle to their decision. Few people were stopped by their superiors or by an opportunity to earn yet more money.

b) Migration stress and its health consequences

The respondents were asked about the physiological and psychological symptoms of stress. They evaluated the general state of their health and its selected components. 87% of respondents evaluated their health before departure as good or very good; during emigration such evaluation of one's health was given by 64%, and by 70% on arrival. It is easy to notice that emigration caused the deterioration of health, whereas return to the country of origin and the well-known milieu improved this state.

In the graph below you will see the responses in three situations. They make it possible to compare the symptoms of stress: before emigration, during, and after it (Graph 4).



Graph 4. Health problems experienced by respondents before migration, during, and after it (N=51).

Table 2. The values of Chi² Pearson's Test for the changes in the sphere of health problems. The stars denote statistically significant values at the level of $p < 0.05$

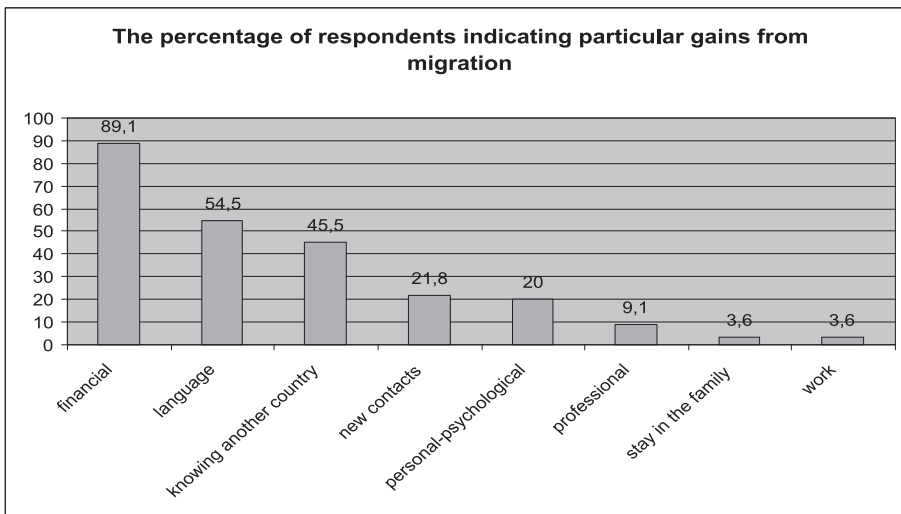
Problem	Chi ² Pearson's Test	Degrees of freedom
Diarrhoeas	3.19	4
Constriction in the chest	0.90	4
Stomach pains	2.63	4
Apathy	2.68	4
Pains in the chest	1.35	4
Vexation	8.32	4
Insomnia	6.28	4
Back pains	10.60*	4
Numbness in the extremities	5.96	4
Bone and muscle pains	19.23*	4
Irritation	16.20*	4
Headaches	2.00	4
Fatigue	36.01*	4

One should note that if before migration the respondents were usually healthy, complaining only about some minor vexation or irritation, then during their emigra-

tion they have noticed other symptoms, such as: fatigue, vexation, irritation, back pains, bone and muscle pains, and also insomnia. In the case of such symptoms as back pains, bone and muscle pains, fatigue and irritation the differences in their intensity before and during job migration are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). The above problems are undoubtedly caused by hard and exhausting work, mostly physical, but also by stress.

c) Gains from emigration

Now let us first discuss the gains obtained by respondents. Graph 5 shows their responses, in terms of percentage:



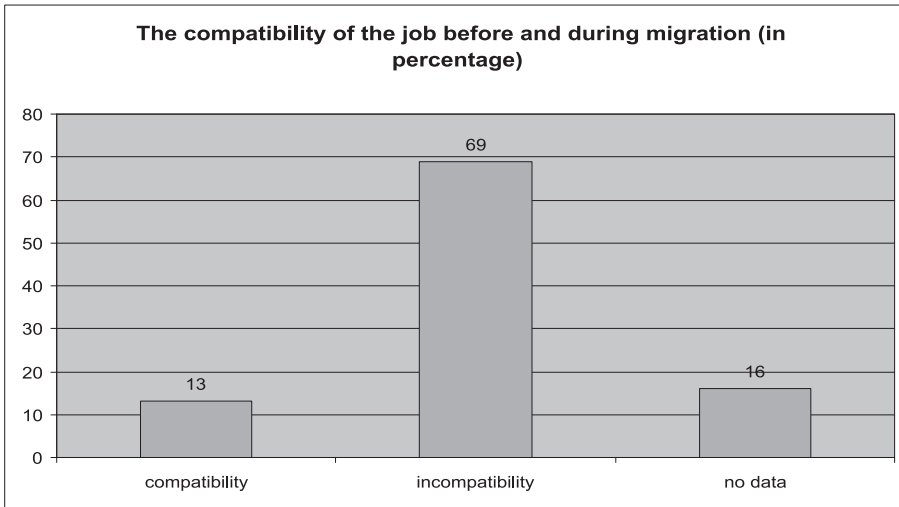
Graph 5. Gains from migration ($N=55$).

One can see that material-financial profit was regarded as the most important gain by the respondents. As many as 89.1% of the subjects declare it to be the most significant result of migration, a fact in accord with common opinion: job migration should bring about, first of all, money. It is the most important, but not the only gain of migration. Then they listed: learning a foreign language (54.5%), knowing another country (45.5%). These are typically cognitive gains, which additionally are pro-developmental (they enrich the amount of knowledge about the world, satisfy curiosity, provide opportunities to know and participate in another culture, etc.). The remaining gains do not reach that high level: drawing personal contacts (21.8%) is at a similar level as personal-psychological gains, such as better confidence, more experiences, new skills etc. (20%).

The results clearly show that the basic gain from migration is a financial profit, which does not mean that migrants fail to notice other gains of migration. It is char-

acteristic that, although work brings about the desirable profits, in itself it is not sufficiently attractive. The more appreciated thing is experience that one gains from it.

The data indicate that only 13% of respondents worked during migration in their field, and 69% did another job (Graph 6).



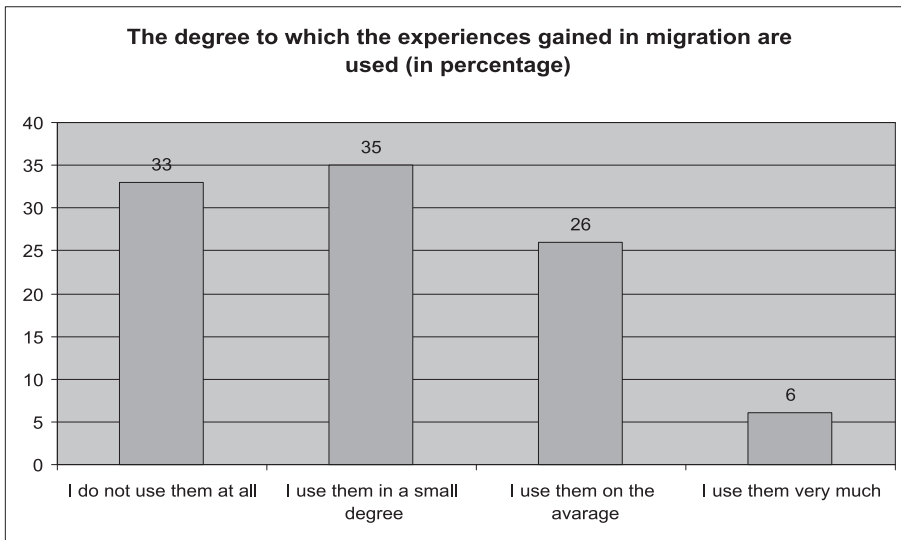
Graph 6. *The compatibility of the job before and during migration (N=55).*

The data may in a way explain why the job in migration is not important for the respondents in the same manner as the payment. If during migration a person had to do a different job than the one in his field, this could cause additional stress. The reason for the latter is the necessity to acquire new skills, and no satisfaction.

Doing another job than the one at home may be combined with the phenomena of the professional role that is underestimated. According to Łoboda²², it takes place when a person who plays a role does not receive any expectations to fulfil it or any ways how to do it. In other words, this worker's role is too poor. From the point of view of its properties and personal aspirations it is not satisfactory. This situation cause, among other things, health problems and apathy. During job migration people are often forced to work under such circumstances in which they cannot fulfil their professional role, hence the role is underestimated.

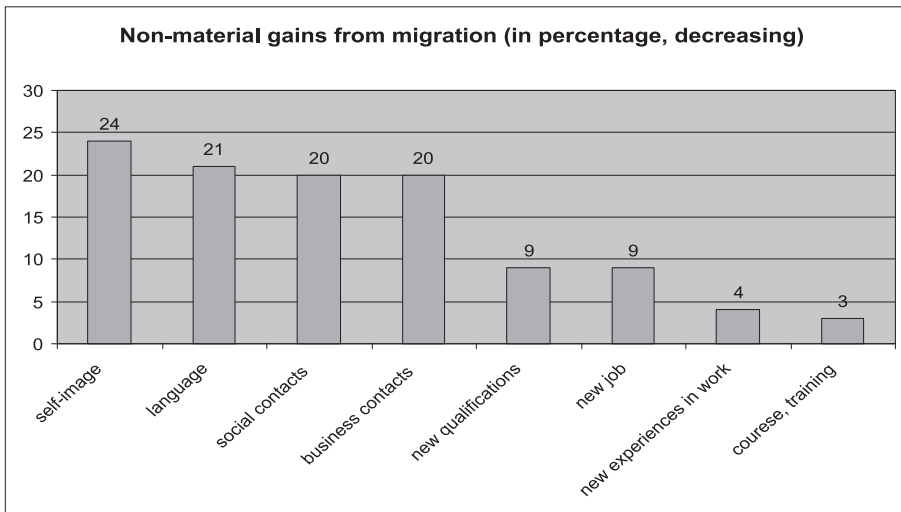
Taking under consideration the fact that the majority of subjects did not work in their field during job migration, one should not wonder that almost 70% of respondents do not use their skills they have acquired during migration when they come back (Graph 7).

²² ŁOBODA M.. Czynniki stresogenne w organizacji. [In:] *Stres w pracy zawodowej*. Biela A. (ed.), Lublin, Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, 1990.



Graph 7. The use of professional experiences acquired in migration (N=54).

The subjects were also asked to name three greatest non-material gains from migration – the distribution of responses shows Graph 8.



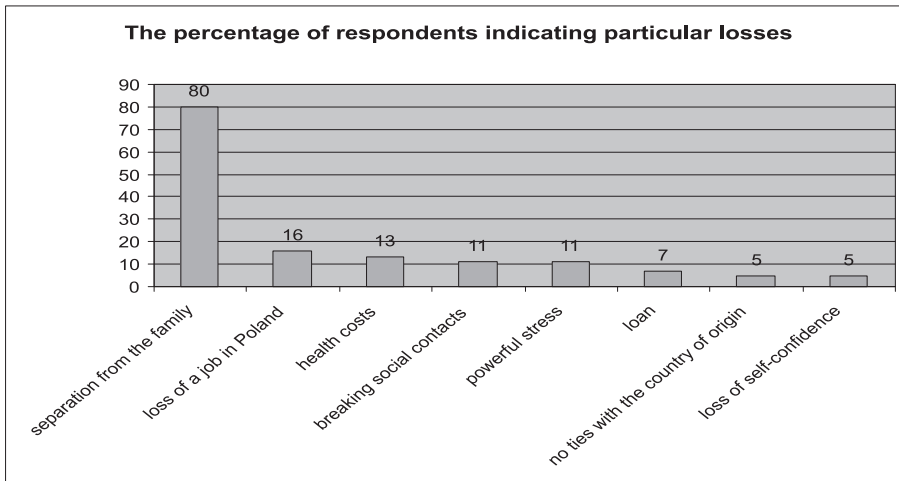
Graph 8. Non-material gains from migration according to the respondents (N_{responses}=144).

Although in this case learning a foreign language is evaluated highly, the first place is taken by self-image. Therefore it seems that migrants are most satisfied, despite material profits, with the sense of their own resourcefulness which increased, hence it brought about positive self-evaluation. Coping with a difficult situation, staying in new and potentially stressful conditions, coping with loneliness and other negative

emotions, consequence in accomplishing goals – all these affect self-image, increasing the sense of their own value. Man's adjustment to the environment depends not only on physiological mechanisms (homeostasis or reduction of tensions), but also to a great extent on social norms and pressure, cultural patterns, goals and values, which are to be carried out by the individual. G. Albee²³ reports that the amount of stress is composed of the relation between the organic factor (body resources), the subjectively perceived stressors and coping with a difficult situation, the sense of value and groups of support. Coping with a difficult situation, finding support among one's acquaintances, friends or family members, an adequate sense of one's value decrease stress. Other declared non-material gains are, above all, new social contacts. Undoubtedly, they also played an important role in coping with stress and loneliness.

d) Losses while on migration

Graph 9 shows the losses most often declared by the respondents:



Graph 9. Losses incurred due to migration (N=55).

As many as 80% of respondents say that the greatest loss because of migration was their separation from family and attendant emotions, such as homesickness, sense of loss and loneliness. This is, according to the subjects, the greatest loss. Other losses, such as loss of work in Poland during migration, hence losing material stability, acquiring the low status of the unemployed or incurring health costs – obviously as a result of powerful stress (declared by 11% of respondents) – unsatisfactory job conditions

²³ ALBEE G. W.: A competency model must replace the defect model. [In:] *Readings in Primary Prevention of Psychopathology*. Albee G. W., Joff J. M., Kelly L. D. (eds.), Hannover, University Press of New England, 1984.

abroad are underestimated by the respondents. Weakening or breaking social contacts with one's acquaintances at home (11%) is also a loss. Generally speaking, it is a loss to have not ties with one's country, the impossibility of participating in public life and deciding about its future, lack of Polish culture and Polish traditions (5%), these are equally great losses as the loss of self-confidence.

Values

Another area of research was the system of respondents' values and changes caused to the system by job migration. The question dealt with 9 various values essential from the point of view of job migration:

- good family relations,
- well-being,
- health,
- life success,
- self-respect,
- life full of adventures,
- comfortable life,
- personal freedom,
- social recognition.

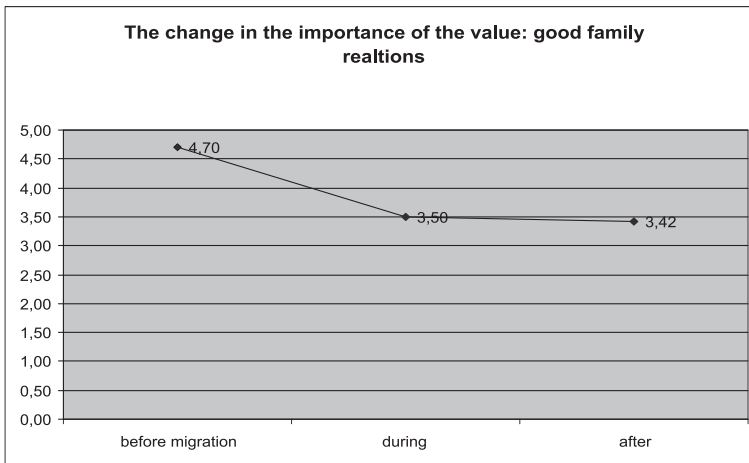
The above values come from Rokeach's theory. The results with regard to values are presented in Graphs: 10-18.

Good family relations

Good family relations and family's well-being were mentioned as the first values. According to Mariański's research²⁴, who studied the most popular values at the end of the 20th century, family happiness is ranked second (65% of respondents deemed it the most important), immediately after love, chosen by 65% of subjects.

The subjects before migration ranked family values very highly (on the average 4.6 on 1-5 scale). The significance of this value underwent changes during migration: it fell to the mean level and it remained so also after return. One observes the statistically significant difference between the importance of this value before migration, and after return ($p < 0.001$), whereas between the level of this value during migration and after return there is no significant difference. One notices, therefore, its depreciation, which may be accounted for by separation from family, and may cause the weakening of ties with close relatives. This explanation is confirmed by respondents' answers with regard to losses incurred by migration: 80% of the subjects deemed separation from their family as the greatest loss.

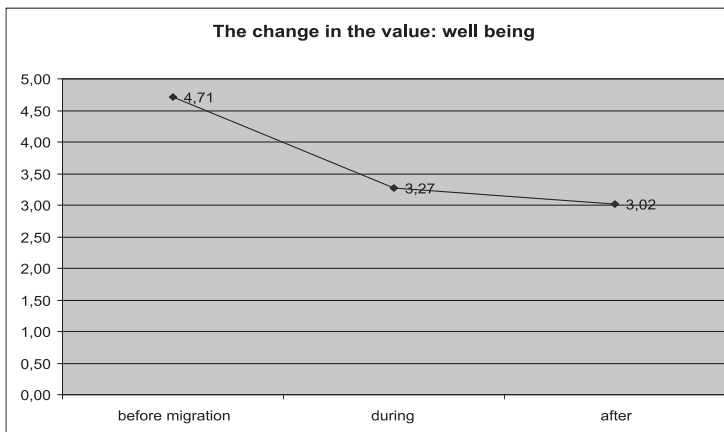
²⁴ MARIĄSKI J.: *Kryzys moralny czy transformacja wartości? Studium socjologiczne*. Lublin, TN KUL, 2001.



Graph 10. *Changes in values: good family relations (N=53).*

Family's well-being

The second value was family's well-being. If before migration it was deemed equally important as good family relations (the average 4.7 on a 1-5 scale), then during migration and after the significance of this value distinctly fell to the mean value. The value of change observed before migration, during, and after return is statistically significant ($p < 0.005$).

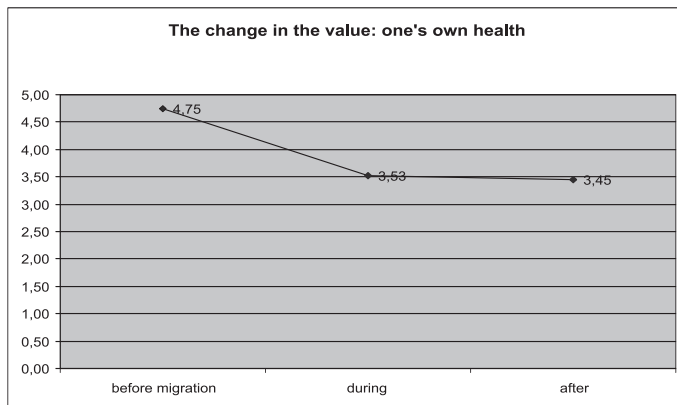


Graph 11. *Changes in values: family's well-being (N=52).*

Health

Another value under study was health. The evaluation of its importance before migration was high (the average 4.7) and fell during migration (the average: 3.5). The difference between the evaluation of the importance of this value before migration and after return is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$), whereas there is no essential difference

between the level of this value during migration and after return. It seems that the change of this subjective evaluation of importance could have been affected by difficult job conditions, often causing exhaustion, both physical and psychological. Lack of rest and long-term stress surely lead to health problems. Migrants often have to terms with them as they work hard abroad. Therefore the importance of this value may decrease and remains stable also after return home (the average: 3.4).

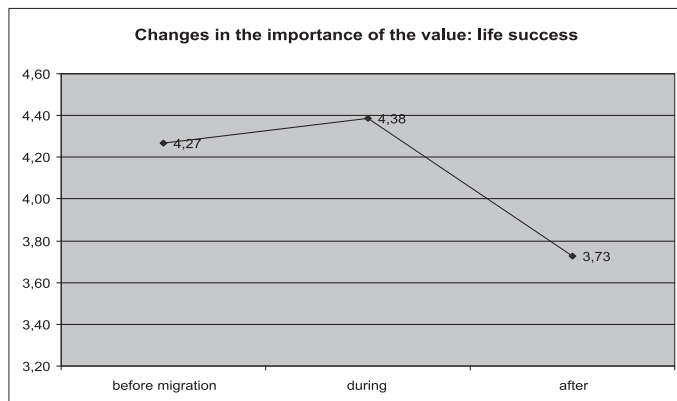


Graph 12. *Changes in value: health (N=52).*

Life success

The fourth value under analysis was life success. The results here are different than in the case of the three previous ones in which we have observed a fall of importance from the high level during migration. The low level remained after the return home.

In the case of life success it was deemed equally important before and during migration (there are no statistically significant differences here), whereas after return its importance fell (statistically significant: $p=0.02$). This suggests that the value after return is deprived by the respondents.

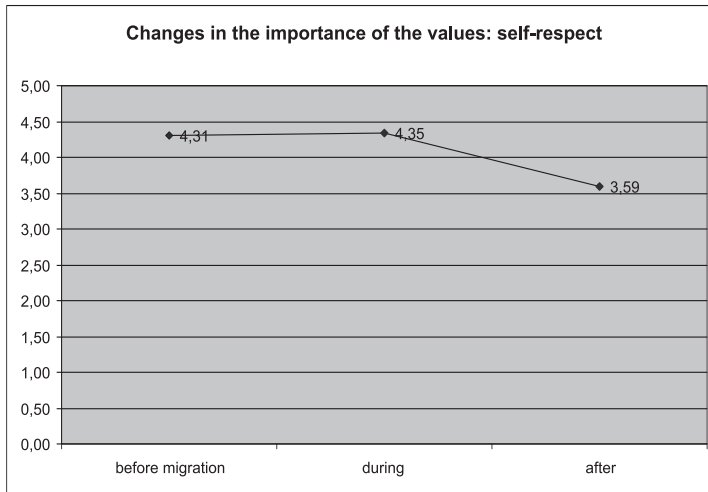


Graph 13. *Changes in the value: life success (N=52).*

Self-respect

The fifth value is self-respect. Its evaluation is analogous to the previous one. The level of its importance was high before and during migration (the mean values were equal and amounted to 4.3, no statistically significant differences between the means). It is only on return home that their importance was decreased. The difference between its evaluation before, during migration and after return is statistically significant at the level of $p < 0.001$.

It is possible that this evaluation of the importance of the two values and its attendant changes are combined with a strong need to accomplish success and to improve the sense of self-respect, self-image. Going abroad may be an occasion to satisfy those needs by finding a job there, earning money for oneself and one's family (which is often impossible at home). Thus one can fulfil one's roles and fulfil social expectations. It may turn out that the needs are satisfied during migration, hence they lose their importance after the return home.

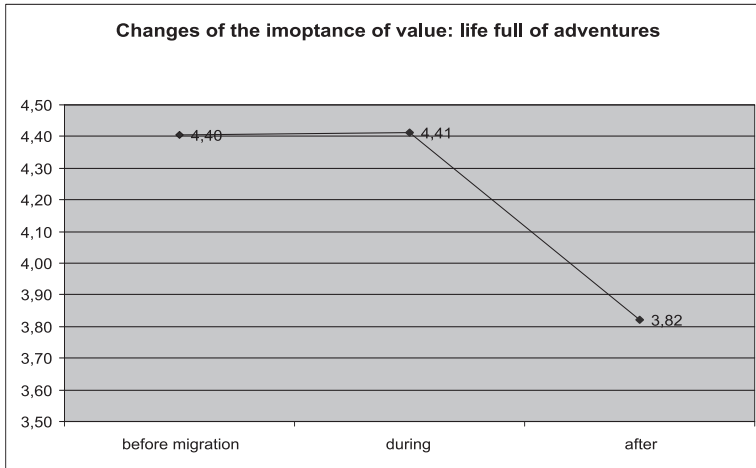


Graph 14. Changes in the value: self-respect ($N=53$).

Life full of adventures

Another value in the research was life full of adventures. It was evaluated highly before migration (the mean 4.4) and stayed important during migration. It seems that the needs of impressions, adventures, knowing the world and people may be one of the non-material factors that motivate to leave and may thus justify the result. It is worth mentioning that knowing another country is evaluated highly among the gains of migration (45.5% of respondents indicate it). When this value becomes less important after return, one may conclude that the need for adventures has been satisfied, since the difference in the evaluation of the importance of this value during migration and

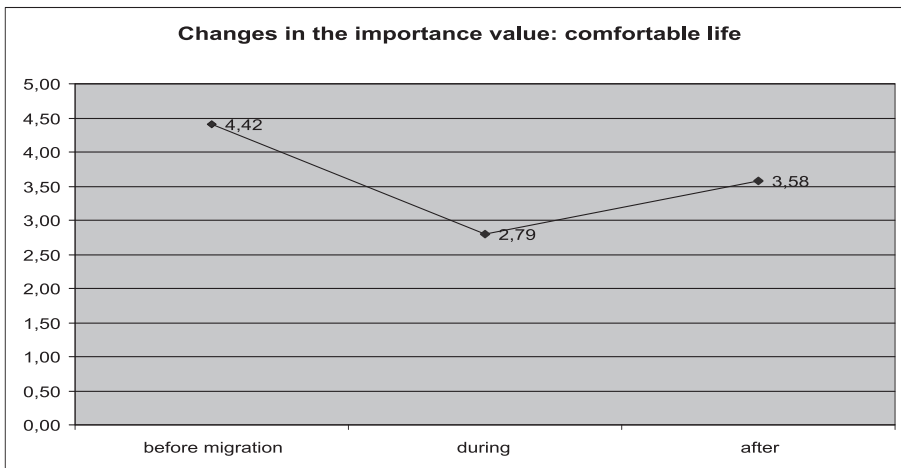
after return is statistically significant ($p=0.01$).



Graph 15. *Change in the value: life full of adventures (N=52).*

Comfortable life

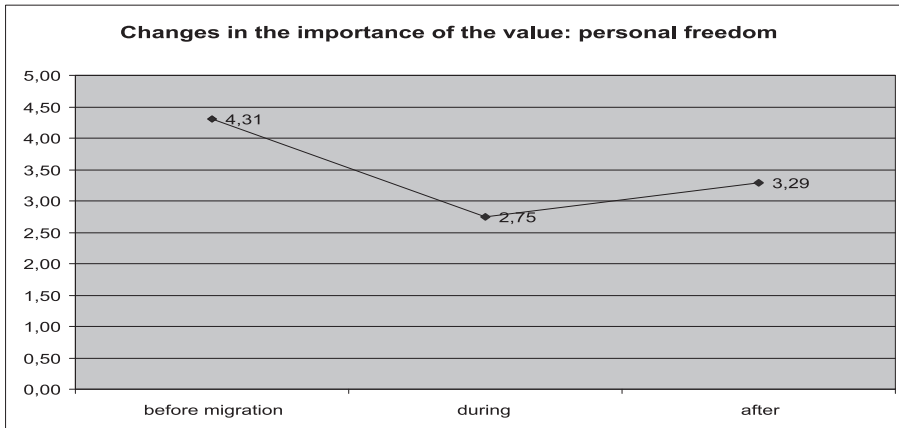
A comfortable life was another value studied. Its importance was high before migration and it drastically fell during migration. The differences here are statistically significant ($p<0.001$). It is likely that this line of changes is connected with the deprivation of the basic needs during migration. The common problems are housing difficulties, difficult working conditions, lack of rest, inappropriate food etc. Under such circumstances it seems obvious that this value becomes less important on behalf of others, more available ones.



Graph 16. *The change in the value: comfortable life (N=53).*

Personal freedom

The last but one value was personal freedom. The level of importance in this value was also lowered during migration (the differences between its importance before, during, and after return are statistically significant, $p < 0.001$). This may correspond with the necessity to limit freedom in the job abroad. As a rule, it is difficult and exhausting, forces to sacrifices, to be subordinate oneself to such principles that might not be accepted or regarded as a violation of personal freedom and independence.

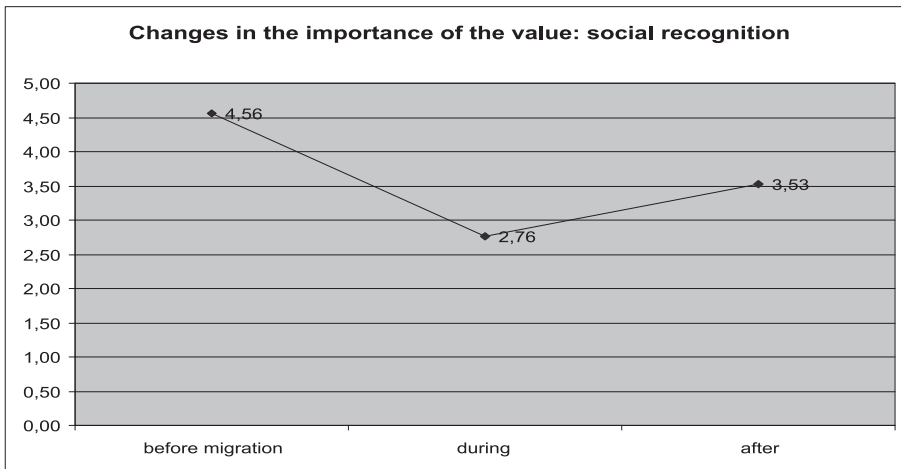


Graph 17. *The change in the value: personal freedom (N=52).*

Social recognition

The research has taken into account also social recognition. As regards the importance of this value, migration caused changes: initially, its significance was evaluated highly (the mean value 4.5), but during migration it fell to the level of 2.7 (the differences are statistically significant: $p < 0.001$). Probably this is connected to the sense of loneliness, an alienation experienced in the country of migration, inability to fully participate in civic life. Such facts were declared by migrants. The way they are usually perceived is full of stereotypes, they are treated as a marginal group, and rarely have an occasion to be granted the same rights as other citizens. Each group, because of its behaviour, a different language, or separate culture, becomes more clear against the background of society and with time is the object of stereotypes. This is especially easy in the case of a group of emigrants who usually clearly stand out of other society members of a given country. Stereotypes concerning other nationalities are particularly powerful, for they constitute one of culture-making functions. They co-exist with such phenomena as ethnofaulism, that is, contemptuous names for social groups. One can notice it in the language in use, especially the colloquial "language of the street" (MacCrae, Stangor, Hewston²⁵).

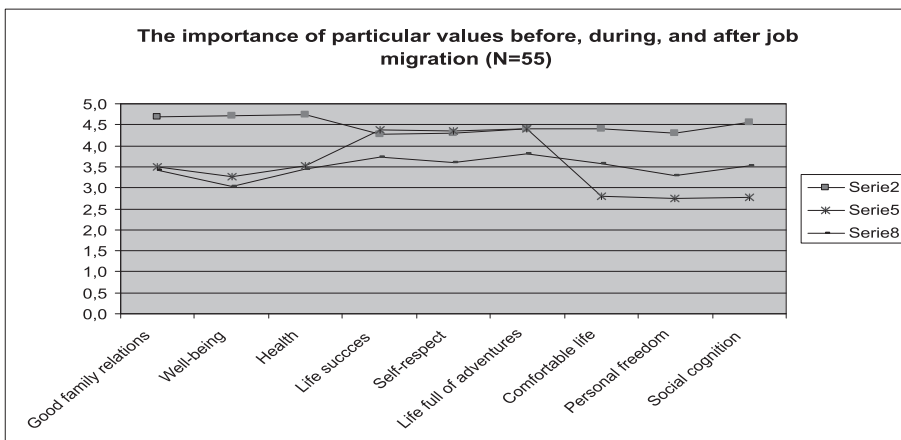
²⁵ MACRAE C. N., STANGOR C. H., HEWSTONE M.: *Stereotypy i uprzedzenia*. Gdańsk, Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, 1999.



Graph 18. *The change in the value: social recognition (N=52).*

e) Values-changes in the system of values caused by job migration

One of the research questions dealt with the influence of migration on a given system of values. It was supposed that migration, as a stressogenic factor, is a kind of stimulus which affects people who leave, causing not only changes in their behaviour (due to the necessity to adapt to new conditions) but also – as a consequence – leading to changes in the deeper spheres of psyche, including the system of personal values. Graph 19 shows the collective results, putting together the importance of particular values before migration, during, and after return, hence it allows for a more thorough grasp of the changes.



Graph 19. *The importance of particular values before, during, and after job migration (N=55).*

On the basis of the results one may say that before migration the level of the importance of particular values was fairly homogenous, especially in the case of values connected with family, social contacts, and social recognition. They were evaluated most highly by the respondents.

During migration, as the situation of life and the milieu change, the picture of values changed as well. One notices that the values connected with family become less important, a result of the lack of relation with one's relatives and loneliness. The values connected with comfortable life and social recognition become less important, a consequence of a lower status of the emigrant and hard working conditions. What gains in importance is those values which not so highly evaluated before migration, such life success or life full of adventures.

After return there is yet another adaptive change, the values again undergo re-evaluation. Those values are receive higher marks which have been depreciated before migration.

One may say that the system of values tends to re-constitute the balance that was before migration, but it is not entirely possible. The clear thing is that the importance of particular values returns to the state from before migration, the importance of particular values is analogous to that from before migration. Here again family and social values become most important, yet their level is not equal to the level from before migration. Migration affects not only the system of values from before migration, but also after return. The course of changes in the values under study indicates that the situation of migration is a factor that destroys the kind of balance that the respondents have worked for during their lifetime in the country of origin. Migration causes the lowering of the importance of some values, those which cannot be put into practice during migration, or it is very difficult to do it. The systems of values return to their balance – the relations between particular values become similar as before migration. Because the importance of some values has become lower one seeks to equalise the relation between values, which lowers the evaluation of other values.

4. Concluding remarks

The research questions sought to bring closer to us the subjective evaluation of job migration, the balance of gains and losses. The results clearly show that the gains of emigration perceived by migrants focus on financial matters. The basic declared gain is material profit, what does not mean that it is the only positive effect of migration. The respondents have appreciated the fact that they could learn of improve a foreign language, an also could know another country, with its entire wealth of culture and uniqueness. The principal place, however, is occupied by financial profit, which seems coherent with the main motive of migration, i.e. the willingness to earn money. This

was the most frequent motive of migration. What more, it is bound to fixed reasons: 45% of the subjects declared they needed to earn money for a given goal, 45% said they had to cope with the difficulties to maintain their families (see: Graph 1).

The costs of migration are particularly potent in the sphere of family, separation with one's family is most often felt a loss. While one of family members is absent, the whole family system must react to adapt itself to a new situation. Both the migrant's duties and his role are delegated to other persons. Accordingly, the family is able to function, although its members are not protected against as the ties with the leaving person get weaker. The return from migration is no longer a return to the same family, playing the old family roles is not always possible, and it is the more difficult, the longer was absence. It is worth noting that the subjects indicate as a loss depreciation in these spheres which occupy a high position in the hierarchy of values. Therefore they indicate, above all, family relations and well-being of their family.

During job emigration the subjects were under a strong stress manifested with numerous somatopsychic symptoms. Stress during migration is a factor that causes tension motivating for a change. A change that makes adaptation to new conditions in life possible starts from the sphere of perception, where stressors become re-evaluated, and reaches to the deepest spheres of values. Migration leaves its an irreversible mark on the system of values shared by those who go abroad to work.

As a result of the deprivation of important needs, long-term stress and necessity of assimilation to the new surrounding, there is a change in the system of migrants' values. Values before migration are evaluated as important, lose their significance, become less important than those which may be accomplished during migration. It would therefore seem that after return from migration the situation will go back to normal, and the system of values will go back to the state of balance. There is, however, no return to the system of values from before migration. One notices secondary changes in the evaluation of particular values, making them similar to those from before migration, the value attributed to them is considerably lower than before emigration. Therefore it turns out that only migration is a situation so stressful that it may lead to changes in the system of values, but the return from migration is equally difficult and psychologically eventful.

After the return home the adaptive processes are set to motion again, and they lead to re-evaluations. The system of values returns to the similar form from before migration, but particular values do not reach their previous level of importance. The situation of migration is then a catalyst for too profound changes, so that complete to the past – the situation from before migration – could be possible.

**Translated by Jan Kłos.

Gains and Losses of the Participants of Migration – Findings of the Author’s Research

Our review of literature, individual conversation with migrants, and the experience of our research group have allowed us to define some problems. They seemed to be important for us, if one seeks to discern gains and losses resultant from a change of life and job. Our studies attempt at an analysis from the micro-social angle.

The pilot study we have conducted on a group of 55 migrants from mid-eastern Poland and from territories with brief migration traditions are fairly limited in scope. They have not included all the individual and family consequences of migration in the assessment of migrants themselves. Nevertheless, our studies have allowed us how migrants perceive gains and losses resultant from their trips abroad, an example of which is job migration. Our question focused on the changes that have undergone and attendant difficulties:

- in various areas of life migrants and their families together with migrants’ health,
- in social relations with their close relatives, including those that made up the migration “network,”
- in using institutions in the host country.

1. Changes in various areas of migrants’ life

Direct assessment of gains won by them and their families indicate that migrants, to a certain extent, have accomplished their goal. That goal dominated when they were making their decision about job migration, they have increased their material capital: they have improved their material situation (table 4) and that of their family (table 5).

As respondents’ assessments show, individual changes of their situation, generally positive, are placed in their material situation (they have improved their financial or the housing situation), they have improved their quality of life (life standards, perspectives on life). It is clear, however, that they are not fully satisfied – assessments partially positive (“a bit”) prevail over those “decisively” positive. The migrants are not fully satisfied with their housing situation, as well.

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Table 1. *Changes in the respondent's situation on his/her arrival in the country*

I think that my situation:	Has decisively /a bit improved	Has got considerably /a bit worse
Financial	90.9	-
Life standard	61.8	-
Perspective on life	50.9	5.4
The housing situation	29.1	-
Job	20.0	10.9
Social	20.0	10.9

Source: Author's research.

The situation is different in the case of assessments in the respondents' social relations and jobs, or in their social capital. It is true that positive assessments are declared more often than negative, but the total evaluation of this scope of changes is little satisfying for migrants. One may therefore state that if respondents notice changes, they are mainly found in the increase of material capital, rarely changes of social capital; at the same time some of them are aware of losses in social contacts.

A similar distribution of assessments is found in defining changes in the family due to the respondent's migration. Among positive changes we have those which determine the economic standard of family life (finances, flat equipment, the housing situation). The respondents considerably weaker, but with a distinct prevalence of positive indications, assess changes in their families with regard to the quality of life, including emotions and security. The health situation is considered the worst. The respondents were only negative in their perception of changes in the health situation of their family.

Table 2. *Changes in the respondent's family situation after his/her return to the country*

I think that my situation:	Has decisively /a bit improved	Has become considerably /a bit worse
Financial	72.7	3.6
Flat equipment	58.2	-
Housing	21.8	-
Life perspectives	45.7	4.6
Educational chances	32.7	5.4
Emotional	18.2	3.6
Security	12.7	1.8
Job	16.3	10.9
Health	-	13.2
Social	9.1	14.5

Source: Author's research.

These results were elicited from an open question. Among the gains of job migration the respondents usually listed:

- financial (first of all, they could pay back their credit, more rarely financed bigger purchases or investments),
- sightseeing (knowing another culture, another country),
- the increase of their educational capital – they could pay their children's universities, gain new professional experiences, or master a foreign language.

When asked an open question, the respondents talked about losses incurred as they worked abroad. Mainly they listed:

- emotions – emotional losses, such as separation with their close relatives, primarily children, nostalgia, loosening of family ties, no contact with their family or acquaintances,
- area of health – it was partly lost,
- bad conditions of work abroad, especially long working hours and lack of relax,
- social – mainly no insurance in that period.

2. Health as an area of changes caused by migration

The sphere of health was mentioned among the changes under analysis, and this aspect is more and more often analysed in the phenomenon of migration¹. As the literature of the issue shows, changes in health manifest changes in the social location of individuals and social groups. Therefore changes in migrants' health confirm a thesis that migration may not be positive in the social situation of migrants, especially when they stay abroad².

Taking into account only job migration, one should presume that decisions to leave to work abroad are made by healthy people. They are sure that they are physically and mentally fit, therefore they can bear the burden of a journey, work, and adaptations to life conditions in a new country. They are such persons who have a positive assessment of their health potential, an essential and basic condition when the decision to go abroad is made.

¹ DUNN J. R., DYCKI I.: *Social determinants of health in Canada's immigrant population: results, National Population Health Survey*. „Social Science and Medicine” 2000, 51 (11), December, p. 1573-1593; RYAN A. M., GEE G. C., LAFLAMME D. F.: *The Association between self-reported discrimination, physical health and pressure: findings from African Americans, Black immigrants, and Latino immigrants in New Hampshire*. „Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved”, 2006, No. 17 (2 suppl.), May, p. 116-132.

² PONIZOVSKY A., RISTNER M., MODAJ I.: *Changes in psychological symptoms during the adjustment of recent immigrants*. „Comprehensive Psychiatry” 2000, No. 41(4), July-August, p. 289 -294.

On the other hand some information about problems that migrants find abroad makes us presume that their idea of difficulties is often divergent from reality, which they cannot predict. They also cannot predict their own reactions to problems. It is the difficulties they have to struggle with, the level of stress and the way they cope with difficulties and stress that affect their health³. This type of situations may be accompanied by changes in physical and mental health, including depressive states, somatic “complaints” (*soma* – body), defined as somatisation⁴, a psycho-social situation that is dealt with in medical literature⁵. Somatisation means, among other things, recurring stomach pains, headaches, pains in the extremities, sleeplessness and fatigue, upsets in the gastric-intestinal or urinal-sexual tracts.

Technical literature has long noticed that emigration affects the migrants’ mental health⁶. The concept of the emigrant syndrome has even been coined, defined as “a pathological syndrome, characterised by depressive states that may even lead to suicide, frequent fits of cry, especially in children at the memory of their family home, fear about the future⁷”. Some authors think that depression or dejection appear mainly in the initial stage of their sojourn abroad⁸. Others, however, say that emotional problems occur commonly. They do not indicate any particular period during their sojourn abroad, which would be free from emotional problems. Such observations have helped to establish the telephone of confidence in the Polish Catholic Mission, which is on for seven days a week. It offers immigrants an opportunity to talk about their problems⁹. Similar changes in health were observed among women who had emigrated to Israel. They suffered from “mental disorders associated with an increased vulnerability to depression, problems with sleep, nicotine and alcohol dependence, stomach upsets, as

³ FARLEY T., GOLVES A., DICKINSON L. M., PEREZ M. de I.: *Stress, coping and health: a comparison of Mexican immigrants, Mexican – Americans, and non-Hispanic whites*. „Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health” 2005, 7 (3), July, p. 213-220

⁴ SILBER T. J., PAO M. D.: *Problemy somatyzacji u dzieci i młodzieży*. „Pediatria po Dyplomie” 2005, nr 9, p. 57.

⁵ *Przewlekły ból brzucha u dzieci. Cz. I: Raport Kliniczny American Academy of Pediatrics, North American Society for Pediatrics Gastroenterology, Hepatology and Nutrition*. „Medycyna. Praktyczna. Pediatria” 2005, nr 5, p. 19-24

⁶ PETERS R T.: *Health and illness of Moroccan immigrants in the city of Antwerp, Belgium*. „Social Science and Medicine” 1986, No. 22 (6), p. 679-685.

⁷ MISIAK W.: *Nowe formy zaradności młodzieży. Emigracja i przemieszczenia społeczne*. Toruń 1998; quoted after: KUŹMA E.: *Kobiety – nielegalne imigrantki z Polski w Brukseli pod koniec XX w. – zjawisko i problemy*. [In:] *Kobiety i młodzież w migracjach*. Zamojski J. E. (ed.), Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2005, p. 271.

⁸ Quoted after: SKWARSKA D.: *Imigracja zarobkowa kobiet z Ekwadoru do Hiszpanii – problemy integracji społecznej*. [In:] *Kobiety i młodzież w migracjach*. Zamojski J. E. (ed.), Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2005, p. 213.

⁹ KUŹMA E., op. cit., p. 272.

they had bad eating habits, but also were passive in treatment”¹⁰. Similar health problems have been noted among migrants from Russia to the USA¹¹.

The cause of health changes may be the fact that the migrants had the sense of a lesser value and social degradation in the host country, especially when their jobs were below their professional skills and below the position they had had in their own country. Jan E. Zamojski highlights the importance of this process in migrants’ life, while interpreting the attitudes and behaviour of immigrants from Asia, Africa, South America, and the Caribbean as a result of social disintegration and “drama of cultural, social, and material marginalisation”¹².

In this situation, in the pilot study we have taken into account the question of migrants’ health. The respondents made a retrospective and current self-assessment of health in three situations: before, during, and after their return from abroad. The analysis of answers enabled us to formulate the following conclusion.

Firstly, it has been confirmed that healthy people or those who are positive about their health leave abroad, who define themselves as healthy, go abroad.

Secondly, a subjective evaluation of health while working abroad considerably deteriorates, if only because of the unfavourable conditions and a sense of separation with relatives.

Thirdly, the “final” assessment of health with reference to the situation after their return indicates a deterioration of their health in comparison with the period before departure, but it is better in comparison with their sojourn and work abroad.

Now the respondents were supposed to define various kinds of complaints. The results have confirmed that their job abroad entails some changes in health and their physical and mental state. The main unfavourable changes were “localised” in the sphere of disorders classified in literature as psychosomatic disorders. Apart from fatigue (treated in the categories of physical and mental fatigue), migrants experience, above all, irritation, annoyance, and sleeplessness.

Almost all the analysed symptoms (except diarrhoea and headaches), intensified during the respondents’ job migration. This is concerned both with the above-mentioned psychosomatic disorders and, in particular, with stress – pains in the bones, muscles, and the back. Since their relationship with a character of a job has not been studied, one may only presume that these pains came as consequences of the migrants’ hard physical labour, often below their qualifications, but they also followed the emotional states and stress owing to the current social situation.

¹⁰ WITES T.: Kobiety w migracjach Żydowskiego Obwodu Autonomicznego. [In:] *Kobiety i młodzież...*, op. cit., p. 237.

¹¹ SMITH L.S.: *New Russian immigrants: Health problems, practices and values*. „Journal of Cultural Diversity” 1996, No. 3(3), p. 68-73.

¹² ZAMOJSKI J. E.: Migracje masowe – czynnik przemian społeczeństw współczesnych. [In:] *Migracje i społeczeństwo. Zbiór studiów*. Zamojski J. E. (ed.), Warszawa, Instytut Historii PAN, 1995, p. 30-31, 69-81.

Table 3. *Incidence of disorders in particular periods of working abroad*

Type of disorder	Before departure	During	After
psychosomatic disorders			
Fatigue	9.1	47.3	5.5
Irritation	14.5	34.5	16.4
Annoyance	18.2	40.0	10.9
Sleeplessness	9.1	18.2	7.3
painful disorders			
Pains in the bones and muscles	5.5	30.9	5.5
Pains in the back	10.9	32.7	14.5
Stomach-aches	3.6	7.3	7.3
Headaches	9.1	9.1	3.6
Chest pains	3.6	7.3	3.6
others			
Numbness in the extremities	3.6	12.7	7.3
Apathy	5.5	3.6	1.8
Constriction in the chest	1.8	3.6	1.8
Diarrhoeas	18.2	3.6	3.6

Source: Author's research.

One should also note that a part of unpleasant symptoms, although their frequency on arriving home die down, were present before leaving the country (stomach aches and irritation).

3. Changes in the Social Relations of Migrants

First, one should note that the respondents point clearly in their answers to the changing character of the social network of migrant relations. Although the family network is still strong, yet the significance of the neighbour/friend network and institutional support increases. Most often the respondents indicated a member from their family as a source of financial and organisational support, both with regard to their migration, accommodation, and job. In many cases, however, they were helped by acquaintances and neighbours living abroad. One should therefore assume that migration, though it makes contacts with relative more difficult, it does not necessarily deprive migrants of them.

Most often, however, the changes resulting from job migration are located by the respondents in the sphere of emotions and relation with their close relatives. They are defined as nostalgia, lack of close persons, lack of a direct contact with children, and loneliness. Generally speaking, these emotions and relations are assessed as feelings and states experienced while being away, and not as changes in those relations. This is so both during their sojourn abroad and on their arrival home. When asked about the character of the changes in relations with their close relatives, only part of the respondents indicate that there have been any changes at all. Much more often their evaluations of those changes are positive rather than negative.

Table 4. *Evaluation of changes with close relatives during the sojourn abroad*

I think that in that period my relations:	decisively /a bit improved	got considerably /a bit worse
with my children	18.2	1.8
with my wife/husband	12.7	7.2
with my parents	12.7	5.5
with my partner	9.1	5.4
with my former colleagues	3.6	12.7
with my neighbours	5.4	9.1
with my acquaintances	10.9	16.3

Source: Author's research.

It follows from the respondents' answers that during their stay abroad they improved their relations, mainly with family members, especially children. With the persons from outside their family, especially acquaintances, the respondents note that their relations more often became worse than better.

A similar situation occurs after their return to their homeland, especially in the case of non-family relations. In the family relations the changes are more spectacular. The percentage of respondents who report that their relations in their family improved in comparison with the period while abroad.

Table 5. *Evaluation of changes with close relatives after return home*

I think that after my return the relations	have decisively /a bit improved	have got considerably /a bit worse
with my children	23.6	1.8
with my wife/husband	14.5	1.8
with my parents	16.4	5.5
with my partner	10.9	5.4
with my former colleagues	-	12.7
with neighbours	7.3	5.5
with acquaintances	10.9	14.5

Source: Author's research.

One should stress, however, that the majority of relations, according to the respondents' reports, have not changed. With a detailed analysis of the respondents' answers we notice a tendency:

- to positively interpret any changes in family relations (with children, husband/wife, parents, and with a "partner"),
- to give a little less favourable evaluation of changes in non-family relations (with neighbours, colleagues, and acquaintances).

4. Assessment of difficulties experienced while abroad

The respondents of pilot study (55 subjects) were asked about the difficulties they had to cope with while abroad. The difficulties were referred to various institutions and areas of social and professional functioning in the host country.

- Generally, the respondents claim they had not difficulties, whereas some answers indicate that this was because they had had no contacts with the institutions of interest (education, social welfare, health service),
- They attributed the difficulties they met to their insufficient knowledge of regulations abroad (16 subjects), or due their poor command of the language (13 subjects).
- Incidental difficulties referred to the institutions of culture and relax (8 subjects), or their employers (6 subjects), but rarer with fellow-workers (2 subjects).

In the pilot study, however, only one, fairly general, question was devoted to this kind of difficulties. Therefore we could not determine either the kind or character of difficulties in the migrants' sojourn in the host country, nor could we indicate institutions, which were most friendly and accessible for them or those where they met with various barriers.

5. Conclusion

As the estimates of the international organisations and Polish studies show, migration has become a more and more widespread phenomenon (it embraces ca. 1.220.000 people) and has unusual dynamics. The latter is indicated by the data, i.e. in the recent ten or more months the number of people going abroad in quest for a job has doubled.

In such circumstances one should look closer at the phenomenon of migration as a phenomenon of a fairly broad social significance, taking into consideration its various aspects.

On the one hand it is indispensable to take into account the macro-social perspective concentrated on gains and losses related to the “sending” country, or – as some say – the “pushing” country, and the host country. Our analysis allow us to conclude:

- the gains of the host country are much bigger than the gains of the “pushing” country, and vice versa,
- the costs/losses of the host country are lower than those of the pushing country.

The gains of the host country result, mainly, from the enormous human capital it takes over: intellectual capital of the young, often well educated workforce, the demographic potential that weakens the process of ageing in the rich countries which attract migrants. The coming population brings not only “workforce” and intellectual resources, but it is an additional “purchasing power,” which obviously contributes to the development of the economy of the host country. No wonder then that the countries of the Union open their doors for the incoming, well-educated and highly acclaimed young, and not only young, migrants from Poland.

Now taking into consideration the costs and losses of the sending country, one should discuss the direction in which some steps should be taken to weaken the wave of migration from Poland. Its sources are difficulties on the job market and relatively low salaries than in the host countries. This may change when the economic situation in Poland improves, job offers increase, and salaries become more satisfying. Taking into account other factors enticing migrants, if only learning a foreign language, one could include other proposals, such as:

- more favourable (among others, from the financial point of view) conditions for the learning of foreign languages (taking into account the conditions for pupils and students in short trips abroad, which enhances the effects of learning).

On the other hand, it is interesting to note the conclusions that indicate individual and family gains, losses and costs. We have focused a part of our studies on these problems. Their results have shown that:

- gains deal, above all, with the increase of life potential for the migrants, their relations with close relatives improve, they obtain concrete material benefits, i.e. the goal of migration is accomplished,

- costs and losses refer, above all, to the emotional and health spheres: they may result in the loss of their ties and the breakdown of their marriage, relations with children and acquaintances become worse, and there is an unfavourable change in the state of health, defined as a *migrant syndrome*.

It seems indispensable that the people who decide to migrate have a better awareness of the risk of losses linked with migration and, as far as it is possible, make efforts to prevent them.

**Translated by Jan Kłos.

APPENDIX

Artur Kalicki*

“There and Back” – A Screenplay

*In the years of 1998-2000
almost million persons
emigrated from Mid-Eastern Europe
(data from the UN Centre of Information)*

*250.000 young Poles
emigrated in 2004 and 2005
(data from the Institute of the Opinion
and Market Research PENTOR)*

*The recent (Feb. 2006) estimates
say about 800.000 Poles
who have emigrated
since Poland joined
the European Union*

Economic emigration is not only a Polish problem. Tens and hundreds of thousand people emigrate from the new members and from those which are waiting to be accepted to the Union.

Entrepreneurial people leave to work abroad, those who do not want to come to terms with role of an underestimated worker or unemployed person. They meet great, often being initially unaware, of the challenges associated with their life in exile. Usually, they are able to manage abroad, but suffer great costs when adapting to a new situation: overcoming the linguistic and cultural barriers, if only their separation with family. Many of them could be using their potential at home, but they feel that their return would be their failure, a kind of capitulation. The programme of re-emigration opens for them new opportunities.

* TVP 3 Lublin.

Dr Maciej Stanisław Zięba
John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (KUL)
Co-ordinating Committee of MIGRALINK Programme:

The MIGRALINK programme focuses on the Pole-emigrant who has succeeded abroad and has found his source of earnings there, develops contacts and after some time decides to continue his success in Poland, or is not certain of this decision but may be persuaded to it. The point is to employ him on behalf of the region from which he comes, keeping in touch with the country where he has succeeded in his job. It is important to make use of his previous contacts and develop the economic activity between the two countries.

Michał Jastrzębski
Head of the Section of the Co-ordination of European Programmes KUL
Co-ordinator of the MIGRALINK Programme:

The point of this programme is to find a model of the co-operation between various institutions, not only on the regional level, but also between regions, so that one could manage the phenomenon of migration..

Immigrants have up to now been associated with low qualifications and illegal work. The MIGRALINK programme is designed to change this stereotype. There is a chance for the immigrants from the new members of the UE to fully participate in the process of integration and coexistence on the European labour markets. Immigrants within the MIGRALINK project will be prepared to return to their country of origin and establish co-operation with the enterprises from the UE states in which they have been staying. In Poland this project is conducted by the Catholic University of Lublin.

Michał Jastrzębski
Head of the Section of the Co-ordination of European Programmes KUL
Co-ordinator of the MIGRALINK Programme:

Main actions undertaken by KUL within the framework of the MIGRALINK project concentrate on those domains that our university knows best. We mean first research on emigration and re-emigration. The second part focuses on training for workers of public administration and non-governmental organisations that deal with migration. One should get ready to work with both emigrants and re-emigrants..

The leader of the MIGRALINK project
is the Trade Chamber of the Italian region of Veneto

Michał Jastrzębski

Head of the Section of the Co-ordination of European Programmes KUL

Co-ordinator of the MIGRALINK Programme:

Today the Veneto region is one of those where there is a shortage of workforce, where our partners from Venice say: *We would like to welcome workers from Poland in our factories – even the technical or managerial staff.* Production today, productive activity or the service sector have no limits.

Dr Maciej Stanisław Zięba

John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (KUL)

Co-ordinating Committee of MIGRALINK Programme:

Italians are also interested in keeping those most entrepreneurial people. And even if they lose them, they want to have contacts with them and thereby establish a network of services or trade under remote control.

Paweł Wierzbicki, 28

Re-emigrant, co-owner of a pizzeria:

A friend of mine went abroad and stayed there for three years. One day he phoned me and said there was a proposal for me to visit him and try my own efforts. Of course, I told him I was an ignorant in the gastronomic area. He said: why don't you try, come, you'll wash the dishes and clean. I agreed. I thought: I'll take the risk, I'll go... Then I packed my things within four days and I left.

Jarosław Porębiak, 28

Re-emigrant, co-owner of a pizzeria:

My profession is electronic technician, but I have always had a kind inclination for gastronomy, since my young age, one could say...

Paweł Wierzbicki:

My first days looked the same. In the beginning I had a close look at the work in the kitchen. Wash the plate – so I washed it, then I operated the dishwasher. And in this way, step by step... With time I began to make pizzas. After six months our chief dismissed the cook, and then the cook's assistant. Thus we two were left. We stayed in the restaurant for 120 people, only we – two Poles.

Jarosław Porębiak:

It was very difficult, our spirits began to deteriorate...

Michał Jastrzębski

Head of the Section of the Co-ordination of European Programmes KUL

Co-ordinator of the MIGRALINK Programme:

We learn how to work with migrants. In a moment, in several months or years the problem of migration will not be only a problem to leave Poland. We shall have people coming to Poland from all over Europe and the world. We shall have to help them to adapt here in the social, economic, and cultural aspects.

Jarosław Porębiak:

In Germany we worked for Italians, completely by accident. They asked me to try, although I didn't know the language, perhaps I'd succeed... And I made it. Shall I stay longer? I don't think so, I long for my family... We felt as strangers there, although they were good people.

Dr Jadwiga Plewko

sociologist at KUL:

Migration obviously is not always a phenomenon that bears only gains. There are also very difficult – psychical and cultural – clashes which result from different patterns of behaviour, sometimes difficult to overcome. These are, however, costs of migration that one may learn before. This is where we need broad information and where we must build certain structures of support for migrants.

*60% of Poles aged 15-29
would like to emigrate.*

*(Institute of the Opinion and Market
Research PENTOR, 2005)*

Dr Krzysztof Markowski

economist at KUL:

The people who will leave and stay abroad are largely young. After some time the problem of pensions will arise, for which they will not pay fees.

Prof. Zofia Kawczyńska
Institute of the Science of Family KUL:

Society is growing old irrespectively of whether there is migration or not, but migration can make the processes of ageing more intensive. In the demographic policy of various countries there were some preferences to accept young people, especially women, as it once happened in Australia. Undoubtedly, the process of migration is connected with the stimulation of demographic processes.

*Every third Pole
aged 15-29
would like to emigrate
but not permanently.
(PENTOR)*

Dr Maciej Stanisław Zięba
John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (KUL)
Co-ordinating Committee of MIGRALINK Programme:

Part of our project is addressed to the youth. When young people graduate from their schools and can find a job in their profession here, they decide to look for it abroad. One should prepare them now, so that they could be aware how to use their potentialities, their earnings saved abroad, when they decide to return to Poland.

Paweł Wierzbicki:

After a year, my partner Jarek well managed the work in the kitchen. I became his help, a pizza baker, and managed it, too. We decided we had too many duties. For the two of us there should be eight persons in the kitchen. And we, two Poles, earned two little money.

Jarosław Porębiak:

We resolved to go back and try at home. It is easier to be here in the country where I am simply myself, and there I was a foreigner.

Paweł Wierzbicki:

We said: let's go. We'll have a small pizzeria in a housing estate or a club, and we'll see. At first, only the walls were painted and a couple of tables. Then slowly and gradually we made it more attractive. From the beginning, from the first month of our business we had no debts.

Dr Krzysztof Markowski
economist at KUL:

Along with the emigration of intelligent and skilled persons to western countries we shall have to employ those who have no education or skills.

Prof. Zofia Kawczyńska
Instytut Nauki o Rodzinie KUL:

We don't know exactly who is leaving. And this is because migration is also an phenomenon in the gray zone. Hence there are no official data as to how many people in fact emigrate, how many leave Poland. There are, for instance, whole regions where only women leave.

500.000 people a year
go abroad to seasonal work.

"Seasonal" emigrants
bring to Poland
2 billion Euros yearly
(rough estimates)

Dr Jadwiga Plewko
sociologist at KUL:

Emigration is treated as a network of relations between the emigrant who left and his surrounding that stayed in the country. Between his family, his acquaintances, relatives, and friends there is a continuous transfer of information. This generates further migratory decisions.

At the moment one speaks about a new phenomenon of incomplete migration. These are migrations that don't rely on one decision, that change one's life, or the life of one's family, i.e. permanent emigrations. We are dealing often with recurrent emigrations in the biographies of one person or family. It is often so that job emigration

has become a lifestyle of a way to live. One often goes to the same country, or even to the same employer.

Dr Krzysztof Markowski
economist at KUL:

If one establishes an institutional support for those coming back from emigration, then we may have e.g. joint venture companies. Those coming back from emigration can establish their small businesses, co-operating with their partners from the West with whom they have made contacts before. This will be cost-effective and profitable for both parties.

Michał Jastrzębski
Head of the Section of the Co-ordination of European Programmes KUL
Co-ordinator of the MIGRALINK Programme:

The so-called service of migrants is not situated in one place. Many institutions are responsible for various actions related to this phenomenon. Therefore it is very essential that the administrative staff know what other offices are doing. The point is that the immigrant who comes, for example, to a job centre be reliably informed where he should go, e.g. to regulate his affairs connected with health insurance or national insurance.

*In 2005, 14% of Poles
sought to find a job
in the European Union*

Jarosław Porębiak:

Shall we assimilate? I don't think so it would be possible. Despite our good relations with Italians, although they treated us like their family, we are and shall always be from a foreign country. There will be a situation or a day will come when they show us that we are strangers in their family...

The end.

**Translated by Jan Klos.

